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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Title: Rise of Domestic Terrorism and Its Relation to United States Armed Forces

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19 April 1996

Thesis: Extremist and potentially terroristic groups have, to some extent, infiltrated and negatively impacted on the morale and cohesiveness of individual military personnel and units. Racial, religious and political ideological differences will continue to exist within and among active duty military personnel, primarily as a reflection of the same issues in the civilian society. Fair and effective means of limiting the involvement of active-duty military personnel in extremist organizations will require aggressive education and training at all levels, particularly among new recruits.

Discussion: Recent events of domestic terrorism which have been either perpetrated by active duty United States military personnel, or have been indirectly linked to active duty and ex-military persons, have caused significant concern and alarm over the extent to which extremists and hate-groups are present in the military services. A major dilemma is posed in dealing with this issue, specifically when an individual's freedoms of thought and association are identified as a contributing factor to the existence of such people in the military services. Restrictive policies and punitive actions taken against persons "actively" involved with groups identified as extremists or terroristic require a clear and well-defined definition of what degree participation can be considered "active." Growing numbers of radical right-wing and racially-motivated groups within the United States, and the growing dissatisfaction with government policies and practices will have a continuing impact upon the military into the foreseeable future.

Conclusion(s) or Recommendation(s): Right-wing extremists and hate-motivated groups have historically, and are currently recruiting active duty military personnel for several reasons, including: 1) they lend a degree of "legitimacy" and "bravado" to militant groups that aids in the group's ability to recruit civilians, 2) they are trained and are capable of training group members in the use of weapons and tactics, 3) they are useful as an "inside" point of contact for ordinance and munitions thefts, and 4) the military environment fosters a more disciplined and conservative mindset that these groups can exploit and construe to attain loyalties and devotion based upon the racial or religious convictions of the soldier. Guidelines and policies must be carefully and succinctly enacted which clarify the degree to which military personnel can participate in groups that are deemed potentially dangerous, however great care must be taken to protect the freedoms and rights of military personnel. Additionally, education and frank, open discussions will be required to prevent and eliminate such problems in the future.

COLLEGE OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY.

RISE OF DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND ITS

RELATION TO UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES

by

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Research Paper submitted to the Faculty

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

RISE OF DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND ITS RELATION TO

UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES

From the moment a large proportion of the population begin to take his activities seriously, his success is assured. The Government can only intensify its repression, thus making the life of its citizens harder than ever: homes will be broken into, police searches organized, innocent people arrested, and communications broken; police terror will become the order of the day, and there will be more and more political murders - in short a massive political persecution . . . the political situation of the country will become a military situation.

-- Carlos Marighella, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*

MILITARY PERSONNEL AND DOMESTIC TERRORISM:

EXTENT OF INVOLVEMENT AND EFFECTS

Various recent events, most particularly the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma in April, 1995, and the racially motivated murders of two civilians by active-duty United States Army personnel in Fayetteville, North Carolina in December, 1995, have focused the attention and suspicion of both military and civilian authorities on the possibility that extremist and potentially terroristic elements have established themselves within the Armed Forces of our country. Organized extremist/terrorist groups of particular concern with regard to their abilities to recruit from, and exist within the United States armed services have historically been racist and/or anti-government in character. Although preliminary investigations by law enforcement agencies, both civilian and military, following the Fayetteville murders, have been able to identify only a very few military personnel actually associated with such groups, some such people have been found. The potential threat to readiness, good order and discipline posed by even a few such personnel should be considered significant.[1] The significant detrimental impact these elements might pose to unit morale, cohesiveness and their ability to be employed efficiently are not the only factors that should be considered. The potential threat of, and actual theft of weapons, ordinance and supplies can be equally as damaging to a unit's efficiency and morale.

This paper will review the historical and contemporary trends of domestic terrorism within the United States as a means of establishing the similarities that exist between domestic extremist/terrorist groups of yesteryear and today. I will then discuss the ways in which military personnel may be influenced, involved or utilized by extremist and /or terrorist organizations or groups in pursuing and accomplishing their ultimate goals through these service members. Additionally, the current threats and evolving characteristics of domestic extremist and terrorist groups and their impact on military personnel and the military "establishment" as a whole are discussed. A survey of approximately 175 mid-grade military officers, predominantly United States Marine Corps Majors, was conducted to determine the perceptions and attitudes common among such a cohort regarding the threats posed to "civilian and military authority" by contemporary extremist and terrorist groups. Particular emphasis is placed on discussing the two most significant extremist and/or terrorist threats facing America today, the first being the racial hate-groups and racial supremacists, and the second most significant rising threat is that of anti-government, ultra right-wing separatists and state's-rights armed militia groups. A major point of concern that must be considered in delineating these groups along these lines, is the ever-increasing "blur" that is developing between and among these groups. Many of the ultra right-wing groups are also racial supremacists, as well as religious extremists, and are thereby able to recruit from and influence a larger portion of the population.

In a free, democratic society such as ours the First Amendment freedoms of thought and speech are among those most cherished by the citizenry, whether serving their country in the military or as a civilian. The recent incidents of domestic terrorism and widespread vocal and printed rhetoric of hate-groups motivated by racism, religious intolerance, anti-government, or anarchist views have awakened many Americans, including leaders in government and military service, to the reality that "freedom isn't free", and that to solve these problems we must first acknowledge and attempt to understand them.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Domestic terrorism has existed and influenced the political and social structure of the United States, to varying degrees, since this country's inception. To be able to quantify the extent to which domestic terrorism has existed in our country, and to qualify the degree to which it has influenced our history, the definition of domestic terrorism must first be clarified. Initial usage of the terms 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' occurred during the French Revolution in a positive-sense reference to the actions of the Jacobins.[2] These words have since been used to denote a wide array of negative and violent actions against governments and societies.[3] The United States Department of Justice defines domestic terrorism as:

The unlawful use of *force or violence*, committed by a group(s) of two or more individuals, against *persons or property* to *intimidate or coerce* a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of *political or social objectives*.[4]

Although the definition is relatively clear in its meaning, often a case-by-case interpretation is necessary to determine where extremism ends and terrorism begins. An interesting compilation of different definitions of domestic terrorism are provided in Appendix A.

When studying domestic terrorism and trying to understand the intricacies and motivations that characterize such organizations, it is difficult to clearly differentiate an extremist group from a terrorist group, even though superficially the use of violence seems to be an adequate point for division. A more succinct differentiation between extremism and terrorism is apparent in the realization that the former is not unusual in any political environment, and is normally controlled by civil discourse, education, societal pressures, and the law. Terrorism, on the other hand, due to its violence is far beyond control by civil, educational or societal elements and must be pursued and punished by law enforcement agencies. The *Dictionary of Political Thought* defines "extremism" as:

A vague term, which can mean: 1) Taking a political idea to its limits, regardless of 'unfortunate' repercussions, impracticalities, arguments and feelings to the contrary, and with the intention not only to confront, *but also to eliminate opposition*. 2) Intolerance towards all views other than one's own. 3) Adoption of means to political ends which show *disregard for the life, liberty, and human rights of others*.[5]

Frank G. McGuire, a renowned expert on domestic terrorist groups, further expands on the characterization of extremist traits in his summation that they have three things in common. First, extremists commonly represent some attempt to distort reality for themselves and others. Secondly, they try to discourage critical examination of their beliefs, either by false logic, rhetorical trickery or some kind of intimidation. And finally, extremists represent an attempt to act out private, personal grudges or rationalize the pursuit of special interests in the name of the public welfare.[6] The difficulty in clearly separating terrorism and extremism is that in numerous instances, domestic groups which are ostensibly law-abiding presently, may be planning violent actions in the future. Most violent groups began as non-violent discussion or protest movements with high ideals, and as time elapsed they evolved into something else. For this paper, the focus will be primarily on groups that have utilized violence to further their ambitions (terrorists), as well as upon organizations that intimidate through threats of violence, or are known to be planning violence in attaining their goals (extremists).

Even though the term "terrorism" was not in common usage in reference to a strategy or means of achieving political ends until the late eighteenth century, the actual practice can be traced to the *Sicarii* religious sect activities during the Zealot struggles in Palestine during the period 66-73 A.D.[7] In actuality, terrorism has been used throughout history in a wide variety of applications, usually as a singular element of an overall strategy. From labor disputes, peasant wars and brigandage, to general warfare, civil wars, revolutionary wars, wars of national liberation and resistance movements against foreign occupiers, the systematic use of terror has been present worldwide, including within the United States. A relatively thorough historical review of the evolution and employment of terrorism is provided by Walter Laqueur of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (Washington, D.C.) in his book, *Terrorism*.[8] He discusses how terrorism has evolved from its original purpose as a means of eliminating specific individuals from government or society, to its present status as a means by which weaker states and non-states can wage war against far more powerful conventional forces of their enemies. Bard O'Neill, an authority on contemporary insurgency and terrorism issues, classifies terrorism as one of three warfare strategies. Its comparative

effectiveness with regard to the other two strategies, guerrilla warfare and mobile-conventional warfare, is largely dependent on environmental, cultural, economic, and the moral dimensions of the conflict or political struggle.[(9)]

Historically there have been limited cases or incidents of domestic terrorism in which active duty military personnel have been involved or implicated, most probably due to the rigid structure and character of the military environment. Based upon the Department of Justice definition of domestic terrorism--which may well be a poor one--, it is plausible to characterize the actions leading up to the very creation of the United States of America as incidents of terrorism directed against the government of the British Crown. Along this same vein of logic, it is plausible to characterize the soldiers of the first revolutionary armies, at least prior to the formal Declaration of Independence, as participating in terroristic activities to achieve political goals.[(10)] A more accurate and realistic definition of the currently accepted use of the word 'terrorism' must infer that the violence is directed against civilian, non-combatants. Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, provides a much more appropriate characterization of terrorism when he defined it as: "The deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends."

Events in our not too distant past, most particularly revelations from Fort Bragg, North Carolina within the past year, suggest that elements of terroristic organizations and groups do exist within the ranks of the military, the full extent is yet unknown. These incidents of terroristic or extremist activities have been primarily associated with individuals involved in extreme right-wing and/or white-supremacist hate groups, and they seem to reflect a growing racial hate-oriented tension which is occurring in the civilian society as well. Examples of this assertion include the "call to arms" of blacks against whites, and vice versa, by various extremist hate groups and the rampant street violence inflicted by Skinheads against blacks, gays and other minorities.[(11)]

Such problems are not necessarily new to the military. In the late 1970's, several sailors aboard the USS Independence donned Ku Klux Klan robes while underway in the Mediterranean Sea, and Ku Klux Klan activities were reported on at least two other Atlantic Fleet ships. In 1981, four Fort Monroe soldiers were forced to resign by the Army for their open and blatant participation in the Ku Klux Klan.[(12)] The 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, has had associations with white-supremacists groups within the past two decades. In 1979 the Army discharged a sergeant named Glenn Miller for distributing racist literature, after which he founded the White Patriots Party which espoused the violent takeover of the United States government, including the mass slayings of high officials and minorities (coincidentally or not, very similar to tactics and strategies portrayed in *The Turner Diaries*).[(13)] Miller was arrested and stood trial on other charges in 1986, during which Robert Norman Jones, a prosecution witness and former Marine, testified that the White Patriots Party had obtained more than $50,000 of anti-personnel mines, grenades and other ordinance stolen from sources at Fort Bragg and that active-duty soldiers had helped him train party members in tactics and the use of those weapons. Klanwatch Project in Montgomery, Alabama implicated ten active-duty Marines as being members of the White Patriots Party in a related case in 1986. Three of the Marines were eventually discharged as a result.[(14)]

When considering the involvement, or potential involvement, of active duty military personnel with terrorist or extremist groups, we must not only address their participation or membership in such groups, but also the opposite spectrum which is the use of the military to combat or prevent domestic terrorism. Historically, the United States' military forces have only rarely been used to directly combat domestic terrorists or potentially violent extremist groups. The first such use of the military was by George Washington in 1794, when he put down Pennsylvania's 'Whiskey Rebellion' tax revolt with federal troops. Later, immediately after the Civil War, Southern GOP officials tried to use the Army to suppress the reign of terror led by the Ku Klux Klan, but failed and the troops were withdrawn; the incident led to the *Posse Comitatus* Act. One of the most notable cases, to which parallels can be drawn to current religious fundamentalists, was that of the fundamentalists of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and their convictions to practice polygamy in Utah. Immediately after the church was founded in 1830, it became obvious that the concept and practice would put the church at odds with society at large. Mormons were strongly persecuted for their practice of polygamy, and numerous clashes with "gentiles" in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois drove them to establish a "stronghold" in Utah.[(15)]

By the time President Buchanan assumed office in 1857, the Mormons in Utah were in open rebellion against the United States government over the issue of polygamy, among other things, including an incident in which rebellious Mormon settlers

massacred more than 100 California-bound immigrants in southern Utah. In response, Buchanan sent an Army under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston to Utah to put down the rebellion. The Mormons, convinced that the millennium was at hand and that the demise of the United States government was imminent, were more than willing to fight for their way of life against Johnston's army. The army was attacked repeatedly by Mormon guerrilla bands as they proceeded towards Utah, but finally arrived and established a military post at Camp Floyd, and restored the peace. Ultimately President Buchanan negotiated a settlement with the Mormons for them to accept an appointed governor, and the practice of polygamy continued unabated until the late 1880s.[16]

Characterization of Groups

To fully understand the way social and moral attitudes and convictions have shaped the American perception of groups that promote extremist views and actions, some eventually leading to acts of terrorism, it must first be understood that the unique cultural characteristics of our society are extremely dynamic and change to some extent with each new generation. A brief review of the general types of domestic terrorism that have occurred in the United States since the Civil War is provided to illustrate the magnitude of those differences.

Post-Civil War. Following the defeat of the military forces of the Confederate States of America, at least the formally recognized forces, and the conclusion of the Civil War there remained massive numbers of displaced and desperate civilians and veterans. There were also a few remaining die-hard elements of armed resistance within the South. The widespread poverty and extremely destitute conditions present following the war, and the occupation of the South by Union troops, combined with the profiteers and lingering attitudes of white supremacy, spawned an environment of lawlessness and corruption that was addressed through vigilante justice. These conditions were the impetus for the formation of the original Ku Klux Klan, whose principal role was to restore its version of law and order and to protect the white southern people from opportunistic victimization by marauding criminal elements, and militant ex-slaves. Once law and order and civil justice were reinstituted in the South through the passage of the Federal Force Act there was no longer any need for the Klan, and it faded away.[17]

Other terrorist acts during the late nineteenth century were primarily in association with organized labor disputes, and were dominated by anarchist attacks against industrialists and their holdings. Much of the impetus for these attacks was strongly influenced by the Russian labor struggles and communist doctrine being spread to the United States. The most famous of these attacks was the Haymarket Riot of 1886 in Chicago, in which seven policemen were killed and seventy were wounded.[18]

In the early 1920's the Ku Klux Klan was revitalized, only this time its motivations and goals were purely oriented towards white supremacy, religious extremism, and a general hatred of anyone and anything outside of their view of right and wrong, good or bad. The "new" Klan became a very powerful and dangerous political engine in the United States throughout the next half-century, often controlling or strongly influencing local and state elections.[19]

Vietnam War Period. There was a dramatic difference in the character and motivating factors of domestic terrorism of the Vietnam War period. Widespread discontent among a large segment of the American people, particularly among college-aged youth, with the United States government and its involvement in the war, combined with racial tensions and an anti-establishment movement, fueled a wide variety of violent demonstrations, riots, and terrorist actions. Groups such as the Weathermen Underground, Ku Klux Klan, Black Panthers, Students for a Democratic Society, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, The New Year's Gang, and many others too numerous to mention, were instrumental in conducting an unprecedented assault on almost all aspects of life in the United States. In California alone, an average of twenty bombs per week rocked the state throughout the summer of 1970.[20]

The impact of the violent and vocal rhetoric of these groups on the soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines, particularly those serving in Vietnam, was significant in that it caused many to question their actions and severely disrupted morale through racial conflicts and unrest. Although President Truman had issued the Executive Order Number 9981 in 1948 which required "equality of treatment and opportunity in the military," reality, almost two decades later, was that throughout most of the Vietnam War those goals of equal opportunity and treatment of all racial and ethnic groups remained far from fruition. Exacerbated by stresses from the war and social upheaval in the civilian sector, serious racially-motivated violence was endemic in the Army during the

early 1970s. The quality of military training and readiness were seriously compromised by these stressors.[21] Ultimately, as was demonstrated through America's experience during the Vietnam War, the social and political environment in the civilian "world" does have an impact on the military, and it is that correlation that is the most threatening danger from the current increases in racial and anti-government elements within this country.

CONTEMPORARY DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Although terrorism has plagued governments, and public and private institutions for centuries in one form or another, its application and the strategies associated with it have evolved as surely as the societies upon which it is imposed. Technological advances, particularly in the transportation, communication and weapons fields, have facilitated the abilities of modern-day domestic terrorist groups to get their message out and has improved their capacity to take violent action to achieve their goals. Recent incidents, particularly the Weaver family incident at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and the incident at the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, have brought into question the extent to which government interdiction of armed citizen groups is actually legitimate before it violates their Constitutional civil rights. Additionally, to what extent is the use of force against these groups acceptable? In February of 1995, President Clinton introduced a counterterrorism bill into the Senate and House of Representatives. Among other extremely controversial proposals in the bill, the Department of Defense would be assigned an increased role in assisting in the investigation of domestic terrorism incidents in which chemical and biological agents were used (currently the military can be utilized in cases of terrorism in which nuclear weapons or devices are suspected or confirmed).[22] Although the increased role for the military would be very limited, requiring further amendment to the *Posse Comitatus* Act of 1878, civil liberties experts warn that it would violate the tenants of "civil supremacy over the military" and would further kindle the animosities and anti-government sentiment of the citizen-militias and conspiracy theorists.[23] Additionally, many Congressmen, law-enforcement officials and some military advisers agree that such uses of the military would be an extremely dangerous avenue of approach to combating domestic terrorism. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (Democrat from New York) responded to questions as to whether the use of the military, in an expanded role, should be a part of the counterterrorism package, saying: ". . . the military defends the nation and does not involve itself in internal affairs."[24]

Incidents and Implications

There has been a clear and continuous decline in the number of terrorist incidents in the United States during the past two decades. Table 1 illustrates the number of suspected, prevented and actual incidents of domestic terrorism during the period 1977 through 1994. To more clearly delineate the trend of decline over time, a comparison of the average number of incidents per year during each of three, six-year periods is useful. During the six year period from 1977 through 1982, there was an average of 59.0 incidents/year; from 1983 through 1988 an average of 15.7 incidents/year were recorded; this compared to an average of 5.3 incidents/year investigated during the period from 1989 through 1994 (Table 1).[25] Complete and current data on the number and characteristics of incidents of domestic terrorism for 1995 are not yet available, but based upon the events that have received high visibility from media sources, the decade-long trend of declining incidents may have abruptly ended.

TABLE 1. Incidents of suspected, prevented and actual terrorism occurring in the United States during the 18-year period 1977 - 1994.[26]

Year	Suspected Terrorist Incidents*	Prevented Terrorist Incidents	Total Incidents of Terrorism
1977	nd**	nd	111
1978	nd	nd	69
1979	nd	nd	52
1980	nd	nd	29
1981	nd	nd	42
1982	0	3	51
1983	2	6	31

1984	3	9	13
1985	6	23	7
1986	2	9	25
1987	8	5	9
1988	5	3	9
1989	16	7	4
1990	1	5	7
1991	1	4	5
1992	0	0	4
1993	2	7	12
1994	1	0	0

* = Definitions of suspected terrorist incident and prevented terrorist incident are provided in the notes section.

** = No data (nd) available for years indicated.

Apparent Motivation

There are basically four categories into which groups that are regarded as domestic terrorists can be distinguished currently existing in the United States. These groups can be generically delineated as being either motivated by: (1) religious convictions, (2) racial prejudice and supremacist goals, (3) anarchistic/anti-government/ politically motivated, or (4) in pursuit of unique special interests. These categories are derived from a conglomeration of the categorization and delineation of extremist and terrorist groups by two respected subject-authorities, Stephen Segaller and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. Segaller, in his book *Invisible Armies,* categorizes domestic terrorism in the United States into four groups as well, but lists them as being: (1) Cuban infighting (political), (2) "backwoods terrorism" (a combination of religious, racist and anarchistic), (3) violent Puerto Rican independence groups (political), and (4) a handful of domestic revolutionary Marxist groups (anarchistic/anti- government and racist).[(27)] The Department of Justice classifies domestic terrorist groups into six categories as indicated in Table 2, segregating further the religiously-motivated groups.

TABLE 2. Terrorist incidents differentiated by the classification of the group claiming responsibility, during the 13-year period 1982 - 1994.[(28)]

Group Classification	Number of Incidents	Percentage of Total Incidents*
Puerto Rican	79	44.38
Special Interest	38	21.35
Left Wing	23	12.92
Jewish Extremist	18	10.12
Anti-Castro Cuban	12	6.74
Right Wing	8	4.49

* Total number of incidents during period (n) equals 178.

Philosophically, the motivations for the formation and continued existence of extremist and terrorist groups can be directly related in many instances to ethnic, cultural, religious, and racial feelings of superiority. An appropriate illustration of the continuum formed by these supremacist attitudes, and how they propagate further tensions, is presented by Frank G. McGuire, when he states:

As long as Christians feel superior to Jews (or is it actually vice-versa?) and Catholics feel superior to Protestants (or is it actually ... ?) and Ashkenazic Jews feel superior to Sephardic Jews (or is it ... ?) and men feel superior to women (or ... ?) and whites feel superior to blacks/browns/yellows/reds and so on ... the phenomenon will be with us.[29]

These cultural, racial, gender, and vast myriad of other differences that exist among the people of a large society, particularly one as diverse as the United States of America, must be recognized and appreciated, but not viewed as a hindrance to peace and harmony within the society. Nor should these differences be viewed as totally benign in their impact on the functioning of the society as a whole. Tibor Machan, a social and political commentator, presents a timely treatise on the fallacies associated with viewing multiculturalism as simply a difference in dress, music, dance, and customs. Dr. Machan concludes that cultural differences, whether a result of race, gender, religion, or whatever, impacts both negatively and positively on other cultures within the society.[30] Attitudes of cultural-superiority and intolerance are directly related, and incorporated into many of the extremist views and motivations that are plaguing America today.

The targets of domestic terrorism during the period from 1982 through 1994 were predominately commercial establishments (Table 3). The majority of incidents directed against commercial establishments were perpetrated by animal-rights and/or anti-abortion extremists, either attacking stores that sold fur, or clinics that performed abortions or provided abortion advice, respectively.[31] A listing of some of the terrorist and extremist groups operating within the United States during the past decade is provided in Appendix B.

Table 3. Terrorist incidents differentiated by the classification of the target attacked during the 13-year period, 1982-1994.[32]

Target Classification	Number of Incidents	Percentage of Total Incidents*
Commercial Establishments	69	38.77
Military Personnel / Establishments	35	19.66
State / U.S. Government Buildings/Property	32	17.98
Private Residence / Vehicle	18	10.11
Diplomatic Establishments	18	10.11
Educational Establishment	6	3.37

* Total number of incidents during period (n) equals 178.

Religious and Racial Supremacy/Intolerance. Religious intolerance based upon fundamentalist views has been the impetus for acts of terrorism throughout history, and has involved Orthodox Jews, Moslems, Catholics, and Protestants. There is probably no issue or conviction among mankind that is as inflammatory as that of religious beliefs. Fortunately, thus far in the United States, wholesale terror motivated by religious intolerance or hatred has not been as significant a threat as in other parts of the world, such as in Africa, the Middle East or Bosnia. The following statement was made in direct reference to Mormon fundamentalism and summarizes the very ideologies upon which this country was founded, and also provides an insight into the potential dangers that exist with religious extremist groups:

America is a unique nation in that it guarantees the freedom of religion with the First Amendment and the right to [*keep and*] bear arms with the Second Amendment. This means that people can believe whatever they want, and they can buy the guns to protect that belief. ...[33]

There has, however, recently been rhetoric and open threats of violence by various extremist groups that characterize themselves as being motivated by religion, but have unquestionably revealed racial supremacist and hate-mongerer views. The leader of the Nation of Islam, Louis Farrakhan, preaches a mixed rhetoric of black supremacist views and religious ardor. He claims to have a

following of some four million people.[34] Additionally, various white-supremacist groups, including some of the numerous Christian militia factions, espouse extremely caustic and hate-filled threats as well; seemingly an endless, ages-old game of "I call you a name, you call me a name." The relationships common among some of the more well-known right-wing extremist and terrorist groups operating within the United States is provided in Appendix C. Strangely enough, two racial supremacist groups representing opposite extremes, the Nation of Islam and the Posse Comitatus, have agreed to an ultimate endstate segregation of the United States into regions of "pure" racial integrity. Appendix D is a reproduction of the proposed division of the country into Whites-only, Blacks-only, and Jews-only territories that was obtained by law enforcement authorities during an investigation of the Posse Comitatus group.

Another group within the United States that has historically blended a racist agenda with religious rhetoric, and was truly terroristic in its actions and goals, is the Ku Klux Klan. They have, however, declined significantly in both their membership numbers and "invisible" power-base in recent years, and although there are still very vocal individuals appearing from time to time, the threat posed by the Klan these days is basically limited to localized regions, in the form of parades and rallies. As the Klan has faded in its activities and numbers, it has been replaced by the extremely violent and rapidly growing racist movement known as the Aryan Nations, which is associated with the "Identity Church" and proclaims Anglo-Saxons to be "God's chosen people."

The fundamentalist Mormons are another religiously-motivated group within the United States that are drawing the attention and concern of law enforcement and other government officials. As discussed previously, this group has been at odds, to some extent, with the government since its creation in the early 1800s. Many of these fundamentalist Mormons are well-armed conspiracy-minded survivalists who have retreated to the mountains of central Utah to await Armageddon, which they believe will occur on April 6, 2000. Believing in their gifts of prophecy and revelation, and fired-up by heavenly visions and doctrines of blood atonement and oaths of vengeance, they have isolated themselves awaiting the end of the world and fearing that the government is about to take away their freedoms.[35]

A particularly sensitive and volatile issue to a large segment of the American people, regardless of their individual convictions, is the classification of specific abortion clinic-related violence as domestic terrorism. The *Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances* (FACE) *Act of 1994* in conjunction with the *Attorney General Guidelines* (AGG) *on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations,* directed the formation of the Department of Justice Task Force on Violence Against Abortion Providers to investigate conspiratorial acts of violence against abortion clinics and personnel as domestic terrorism.[36] Even though personal views on the moral dimensions associated with abortion, whether for or against, are not strictly limited to religious convictions, the most vocal and visible anti-abortion advocates are directly allied with religious organizations. Abortion rights continues to be one of the most divisive issues among Americans, and stimulates extremely passionate and emotional rhetoric and reactions from people on both sides of the issue. During the period between 1982 and the end of 1984 there were a total of 220 separate acts of violence, including 89 cases of bombing, arson and other serious incidents, conducted against clinics where abortions were performed or abortion-advice offered.[37]

An issue which merits some consideration is the involvement of active-duty military personnel in organizations or groups that are directly related to anti-abortion (pro-life) militant groups that have used violence or destroyed property while expressing their opposition to abortion, which as stated previously could, and should be considered terrorism.[38] The use of threats of violence and/or sabotage to accomplish political objectives, whether "justified" by religious convictions or the most noble of humanitarian reasons, is still simply terrorism, and no degree of 'pseudo-legitimization' can alter that designation. The irony of, and obvious logical contradiction associated with anti-abortion extremism can be compared to the Shiite Muslim suicide bombers, and their actions against Israeli police buildings or public buses. Both groups conduct their efforts in the name of well-respected cosmopolitan religious values, and both claim to "oppose the violence of the system," but in actuality they are both employing terror to gain their desired endstates.

It should be acknowledged that the majority of anti-abortion, or pro-life proponents are non-violent and limit their active participation to public demonstrations and vocal opposition to abortion, however they may be indirectly supporting the more extreme elements of the movement through financial contributions, or by assisting in fund-raising activities. The real crux, or interpretive dilemma posed by this specific issue is whether a military service member can freely exercise their moral convictions without "actively" being involved with such groups. Involvement in churches or through monetary contributions to

such groups based upon religious or moral convictions could be interpreted as being "actively" involved in the issue, and could potentially effect the service member's attitudes toward others within the military working environment. Although the solution of the dilemma is beyond the scope of this paper, I do submit it as a point for consideration by the reader as it relates to the "Constitutional freedoms" for citizens, whether in the military or a civilian.

Racially and ethnically motivated prejudice, hatred and violence are as much a part of human history as any other characteristics of mankind, and have at least to some degree influenced the cultural and social identities of essentially all civilizations to date. From the enslavement of Hebrews by ancient Egyptians, to the current situation in the Balkans, racial and ethnic differences have caused immeasurable amounts of suffering and death. The history of racial and ethnic turmoil in the United States is no different, and we seem to be experiencing an increase in such activity recently. Even though the scope of this paper is not such as to allow an amplified discourse on the sociological impact of racism and ethnicism on our history, it is important to note that as a nation of immigrants we have, ironically, struggled with this issue since our initial breaths as a nation. Racially-motivated extremist and terrorist groups in the United States, especially those of today, tend to utilize religious justifications and "teachings" for their violent actions, and all indications are that this trend will continue at an accelerating rate into the foreseeable future.

Anarchistic / Anti-government / Political. Terrorist groups of today that are actually anarchist, anti-government or political in their motivations are mostly associated with the growing self-determination, radical citizen-militia movements, or have been around a relatively long time, such as the Puerto Rican "freedom" fighters. The former has drawn considerable attention, and elicited wary concern from law-enforcement and civil-rights groups due to the bombing in Oklahoma City, and their rapid and continuing growth in numbers and visibility. A few of the more extreme citizen-militia groups, often motivated by "New World Order" conspiracy theorists and anger over a belief that government has become too large and repressive in everyday life, are openly soliciting and calling for the overthrow of the United States government. These groups, when allied with the self-described "Constitutionalists", are being considered as extremely dangerous by many law-enforcement and "watchdog" groups.[39] The Puerto Rican terrorist groups have been almost exclusively limited in their actions to operating within Puerto Rico against local and federal targets of opportunity.

Unique Special Interests. Within this designation of domestic terrorist groups are those of relatively recent creation, or at least they have relatively recently gained high public visibility through their actions. Groups such as the extremist animal-rights groups, environmental extremist groups and homosexual-rights groups, including People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Earth Night Action Group, and Act Up, respectively, have emerged within the past two decades and have actively used violence, destruction and intimidation to gain recognition, and to further their respective political agendas.[40]

Again, as with religiously motivated terrorist groups, initial contact and association with members of such organizations based upon a shared belief or personal conviction does not necessarily infer approval or even knowledge of their often "hidden" agendas and tactics. Oftentimes well-intentioned people, including active-duty military personnel, can inadvertently join or participate in activities sponsored by such groups, and unknowingly become indoctrinated with extremist and activist views. These viewpoints, along with peer-pressure from within the organization, can lead to active participation in furthering the "noble" objectives of the group through violent and/or destructive actions. Additionally such attitudes can be reflected in how the service member views national policy, and interacts with others in their unit(s) that may hold and express an opposing viewpoint.

The following diagram (Fig. 1) illustrates some of the existing and emerging extremist groups and organizations within the United States that are of concern to law enforcement authorities and political leaders.

Figure 1. Existing and emerging extremist groups within the United States that are of growing concern.

Criminal Association with Extremist/Terrorist Groups

The potential danger posed to society by many of the extremist and terrorist groups and organizations that exist today can be directly assessed from their links to convicted criminals, and their associations with organized crime. There are two principle

associations between domestic terrorist groups and the criminal subculture within the United States; the first and most obvious being the use of crimes such as robbery, theft and drug trafficking as a means to accumulate funding to achieve their "higher" goals, and secondly as a population and environment from which to recruit "willing and able" members. There are several recent historic examples of both of the above associations, however the scope of this study will limit its focus to the correctional institution recruiting-grounds of both the Aryan Nations and the Black Guerrilla Family.

Pastor Richard Butler, the designated leader of prison ministries for the Aryan Nations, actively recruited from and maintained liaison with the prison gang known as the Aryan Brotherhood. The Aryan Brotherhood was first formed in the early 1960's in San Quentin, and is composed predominately of outlaw bikers, and the rest are from the ranks of the American Nazi Party and other groups. Additionally, Gary Yarbrough, a leader of what was one of the most dangerous terrorist group in the United States, The Order, formed an alliance between his group and the Aryan Brotherhood while he was in prison. On the other extreme end of the racial hate-group spectrum, the Black Liberation Army terrorist organization maintains an affiliation with, and recruits from, its in-prison component, the Black Guerrilla Family. The Black Guerrilla Family was originated in the mid-1960s by the former Black Panther Party member George Lester Jackson while serving time in San Quentin as well. After Jackson was killed, James "Doc" Holiday, a former member of the central committee of the Symbionese Liberation Army, took command and formed additional alliances between his group and the New World Liberation Front, and the Weather Underground.[41]

RISING TRENDS OF CONCERN

There is an atmosphere of lawlessness, of cowardice, of anarchy, that's perpetuated by these people who are setting up their own governments. . . . I can't accept that.

-- Sen. Harry Reid, Democrat of Nevada[42]

Citizen Militias

A growing concern among state and federal law enforcement officials, as well as among the general citizenry, is the revelation of the extent to which armed, right-wing, citizen militias occur in the United States and the recent upsurge in their numbers. A report published by the Anti-Defamation League in October, 1994 stated, that at that time, there were no fewer than 13 states in which armed right-wing, and/or racist militias were operating, including: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia.[43] It is believed that by May of 1995, citizen-militia groups were established and active in at least 34 states, with an estimated membership of approximately 10,000 to 40,000 people.[44] Morris Dees, chief trial lawyer for the Southern Poverty Law Center and its Militia Task Force, reports that by the end of 1995 there were 441 active militias dispersed throughout all 50 states. Additionally, 368 allied "Patriot" groups advocated the formation of militias, or espoused the doctrines common among existing militias. Further investigation and characterization of these militias and allied groups revealed that 137 had ties to racist ring-wing groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations.[45]

The basic motivation for the formation of, and membership in these militias varies widely from a desire for self-determination at the local governmental level, to racism and religious extremism, or both, but the common-thread shared among most of them is a right-wing, anti-federal government ideology.[46] It should be clearly stated and understood that not every militia unit has racist or violent tendencies, and that many of them have been formed by individuals who truly believe the units to be a legitimate means of expressing their anger and frustration with a too distant and hostile government. Many of these units are made-up of working people that believe in and love our country, and do not support or associate with hate-groups, racists, or bomb-throwers.[47]

The legality of, and necessity for the existence of citizen-militias has become a focal point of debate at both the state and national levels. Title 10, United States Code states in section 311 of Chapter 13, the following regarding the classes of militia that are legitimate: (1) the *organized* militia, which consists of the National Guard and the Naval Militia; and (2) the *unorganized* militia, which consists of members of the militia that are not members of the National Guard or the Naval Militia (emphasis added by author). Section 312 goes further to list those persons that are exempt from militia duty, and includes

"members of the armed forces, except members who are not on active duty."[48] From this classification of militias and the exception, it can--and often is--infered that every citizen, including reserve military personnel are members of the militia simply as an obligation of citizenship. However the interpretation of what constitutes an organized or unorganized militia, and whether it is controlled by the federal government, has become the central point of discussion and debate.

A central, recurring theme among many of the militia groups, particularly the predominately Caucasian groups, is the belief that the federal government is secretly controlled by international bankers aspiring to conquer the United States and form a one-world government, executed through the United Nations' troops. Based upon the grand conspiracy theory, most of the groups call for secession of their respective states from the federal government and the formation of locally-ruled governmental bodies.

Another central focal point of extreme significance, whether coincidentally or by design, is the 19th day of April. On this date in 1775, the Revolutionary War started in Lexington, Massachusetts; in 1992, an attempted raid on the Weaver's complex in Idaho is aborted; in 1993, the Branch Davidian complex in Waco, Texas explodes and kills at least 81 citizens; in 1995, white supremacist Richard Wayne Snell is executed for murder in Arkansas; and also in 1995, the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma is destroyed by a bomb, killing 168 people. As April 19, 1996 approaches, particularly with the ongoing stand-off between law enforcement officials and the Montana-based, anti-government Freemen underway, the "importance" of that date may be reaffirmed. The inferred importance of calendar dates and numerology that are coincidental to events or situations involving extremist or terrorist groups is not unique to contemporary right-wing groups. Left-wing organizations of the past have also focused on key dates of importance to their particular group, such as the May 19 Communist Organization.[49]

Conversely, as with any political or social issue, there are citizen-militias threatening violence if the federal government does not increase its role in day-to-day life. Although not as widely publicized recently as some militia groups, the "Black Panther Militia" (not affiliated with the Black Panther organization) was calling for black Americans to cut phone lines, burn tires on freeways and attack other institutions unless the federal government created more jobs, improved education and housing, and took other steps to combat urban poverty. This group, claiming to have membership in excess of 1,200 in New York City, Indianapolis, Dallas, Milwaukee, Detroit, Chicago, Atlanta, Washington, Los Angeles, Jacksonville (FL), and Minneapolis, has been involved in, or suspected of involvement in various malicious destructive acts, but has not been implicated in any violence directly against individuals.[50]

Currently there is only one militia known to be organized on a national level, the Unorganized Militia of the United States.[51] Although there are hundreds of local and state citizen militias or militia-type groups operating within the United States, there are several that will be discussed to convey the character and potential threat they pose through their alliances and leadership. The Militia of Montana, the first truly well-organized citizen-militia in the United States, has had long-standing ties to the ultra right-wing Aryan Nations Church (for further examples of alliances and relationships among right-wing extremist groups, refer to Appendix C). Another militia group with approximately 12,000 members and strong links to the Aryan Nations Church, and which reportedly exists in at least 70 of Michigan's 83 counties, is the Northern Michigan Militia. This group is led by a prior United States Air Force Officer, Norm Olson. Another reportedly large militia group, claiming a membership of 11,000, is the Lone Star Militia of Texas. Robert Spence, the dual-hatted leader of the Lone Star Militia, is also the self-described Imperial Wizard of the True Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.[52] "Bo" Gritz, a former Green Beret and 1992 Populist Party candidate for President of the United States, is one of the most active and influential militia organizers and advocates in the country today. He has purchased the land for, and constructed two paramilitary "compounds" in Idaho where he conducts rigorous military-type training programs and claims to be preparing his "followers" to fend-off the coming massive intrusion by the federal government.[53] It is these groups, those militias that are directly linked to known terrorist organizations, that are of particular concern to federal law enforcement agencies, and are known to recruit and claim association with active-duty military personnel.

Although there are obviously numerous citizen militia groups operating within the United States, the "feeding frenzy" by "shock" journalists following the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City in April of 1995 has definitely vilified and possibly exaggerated their existence, as well as dramatically increased their membership rolls. The prominence and degree of recognition that is nowadays associated with such organizations as the Michigan Militia, Militia of Montana, Freemen, and other "popularized" extremist groups is truly a phenomena resulting directly from media exposure. Most Americans had never heard of such groups, or even would have believed that such groups were actually operating within the country, prior to April 19,

1995. However, with the unprecedented national and international exposure and publicity these groups have, and are currently receiving, their threats and 'power' rhetoric has been greatly enhanced. A prime example is from a quote by the former Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon and Aryan Nations "Ambassador-at-large", Louis Beam, in reference to acts of vengeance for the Ruby Ridge and Branch Davidian incidents:

The blood of these innocent ones, like a prism, makes everything clear. ... Someday, without a signal from anyone -- yet, as if a signal from everyone -- [men] will walk quickly out of their doors with a look of grim determination on their faces ... it will happen nationwide. Ten thousand Randy Weavers are spread out from one coast to another.[54]

Common-Law Citizenship

A rapidly growing concern, especially among officials at the state and municipal levels of government, is the offshoot groups evolving from the self-determination or states-rights movement; the formation of common-law courts and "enforcement" groups. The extent to which these groups exist is difficult to accurately assess, but realistic estimates report that as of late-1995 they were active in more than eleven states throughout the farm belt and western United States. The actions of these groups have ranged from merely serving as a means of dramatizing grievances towards local, state and federal officials, to issuing a murder contract on a Montana judge.[55] The unifying theme to which the organizers of these common-law courts adhere, appears to be the distrust and contempt of the current governmental systems; including judicial, legislative and economic, at the local, state and federal levels. The majority of the "cases" brought before these "courts" involve parties that have lost property (either real-estate and/or fiscal) to government foreclosure or interdiction.[56] Recent alliances between these common-law citizen groups and elements of extremist citizen-militia groups are causing concern among state and federal law enforcement officials.

An excellent example of the character, motivations and activities of these common-law extremist groups is provided by the ongoing stand-off in Jordan, Montana between law enforcement agencies and the Freemen. The credo of the Freemen espouses that all forms of organized government are illegitimate and have no right or authority to collect taxes, or even require auto license tags; that they possess the right to form their own government (apparently *their* government would be "legitimate"); that they can defy foreclosure actions, issue arrest warrants and hold trials of government officials; that they can act as their own central bank and defraud the existing government, financial institutions and merchants. Their philosophy is primarily a hodge-podge of selective interpretations of the Old Testament, the Magna Carta, the anti-tax Posse Comitatus of the 1980s, and the United States Constitution. It incorporates racism and talk of a Jewish-directed conspiracy, and identifies directly with the growing 'Christian Patriot' movement.[57]

Armed Forces Active-Duty Personnel Involvement

When you have a volunteer military, and you don't have sort of a wide swath of people coming in, there's always a danger that you will attract people for the wrong reasons.... Because the military can get cut off from society, you can sort of deviate from your own culture.

-- Lawrence J. Korb, Brookings Institution

Military personnel involvement in extremist and hate-groups, specifically "hard-core" white supremacist groups is estimated to be similar to that degree of involvement that exists in the general population. It is estimated that there are about 25,000 (0.01%) "hard-core" white supremacists and 200,000 (0.08%) sympathizers in the United States civilian population of approximately 260 million.[58] Results of the army-wide investigation ordered by Secretary of the Army, Togo D. West, to determine the existence of racists and hate-groups in the ranks,[59] revealed that of 7,600 soldiers personally interviewed, only two (0.03%) actually admitted membership in such groups. Additionally, 17,000 soldiers were queried via written format, and approximately 3.5% (595/17,000) reported having been approached for recruitment by such groups, while 7.1% (1,207/17,000) claimed to know another soldier that was a member of a "hate-group."[60] An obvious and discerning disconnect exists in these data; if 7.1% (1,207/17,000) soldiers claim to "know" an active-duty member that is also a member of an "hate-group" organization, but the Army's probe only found 0.03% (2/7,600) that admitted it, then the overall validity of the investigation must be carefully considered. These discrepancies may be a result of several different factors, including: 1) the cohort queried was not indicative

of the overall "soldier" population, 2) the honesty of those responding was questionable, or 3) the two that admitted involvement have an extremely active social-life.

Although military personnel, both active-duty and reserve, are explicitly prohibited from active involvement in extremist groups, membership in such groups is not prohibited and is further guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Army regulations define "active participation" as demonstrating, fund-raising, recruiting, or training. Interestingly enough, in April of 1995 a spokesman for the Army, Lieutenant Colonel Bill Hartley issued an almost prophetic statement, when he said: "To my knowledge, at some point our folks may have to look into this stuff. But, basically we are still looking at freedom of association."[61]

The recent involvement of three 82nd Airborne Division personnel in a racially-motivated murder of two civilians last December in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and the subsequent discovery that they were members of the racist hate group called Skinheads, triggered an intense investigation of the extent to which such groups have infiltrated the ranks of the active duty military. The internal investigation conducted immediately after the incident, revealed that a total of twenty-two soldiers of the 82nd Airborne were, or had previously been involved to some extent in racists groups. Nine soldiers were discovered to be actively involved with white separatists, Skinheads, that espouse neo-Nazi type ideology. Additionally, four others were found to belong to the multi-ethnic group called Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARPs). Eight other soldiers admitted to having prior involvement in the Skinhead organization, or to hold white supremacists views. One additional soldier claimed to be a member of a group called "Independents", which is similar in ideology to the SHARPs.[62]

In direct response to the racially-motivated Fayetteville, North Carolina murders, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) conducted an investigation to determine to what extent racism against blacks occurs in the Army. The results of the study, which was conducted at five towns in North Carolina with military bases in close proximity to them, suggests that racist attitudes and practices are a much bigger problem than the Army is willing to admit. The NAACP also submitted a listing of twelve recommendations to remedy such problems. The recommendations included the establishment of military base liaisons to the NAACP, and the requirement for mandatory periodic diversity and sensitivity training for all personnel.[63]

Perceptions and Attitudes of Active-Duty Personnel. Apparently, the most common perception among active duty military personnel is that extremist and terrorist groups are principally a problem of, and for civilian authorities and law-enforcement agencies. To assess the perceptions and attitudes of a group of active-duty, mid-grade officers as to the degree of threat various extremist organizations pose to the United States' civil and military institutions, an opinion survey was conducted among the students of the United States Marine Corps' Command and Staff College, Marine Corps Combat Development Command, Quantico, Virginia. The subject cohort was admittedly very small (ca. 175 individuals), and was predominately Marine Corps officers, with some representation of Army, Navy, Air Force, and civilian law-enforcement personnel. The survey was anonymously distributed via student mailboxes, with directions to facilitate completion and return of the form to a central collection point (see Appendix E). Resultant data were analyzed using *Statistix*™, a PC-based statistical package, to perform descriptive analyses to determine mean, median and the standard deviation of means. Response data from section one of the survey (ranking of groups based upon the perceived threat they pose; see Appendix E) was utilized and analyzed as index values, and is provided in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Descriptive statistical values indicating ranking of perceived threat posed by various extremist or terrorist groups operating within the United States (n = 103 total respondents of a total of 175 survey forms distributed; 58.86% response).

Extremist / Terrorist Group	Index Value* of Perceived Threat	Standard Deviation	Median Response
Drug / Crime Gangs	4.24	(+/-) 0.98	5.00
Nation of Islam	3.05	1.34	3.00
Moslem Extremists	2.57	1.43	3.00
Citizen-Militias	2.36	1.17	2.00

Aryan Nations (Skinheads)	2.34	1.09	2.00
Common-Law Courts	2.08	1.10	2.00
Ku Klux Klan	2.04	1.03	2.00
Other Religious Extremists	1.97	1.15	2.00
Jewish Extremists	1.82	1.07	1.00
Christian Extremists	1.78	1.06	1.00

* Index values for ranking ranged from 1 - 5: With 1 equaling the degree of the threat posed to be primarily media-"hype", and 5 being an imminent and immediate threat posed by the group.

By far, the group which was considered to be most dangerous and threatening to civilian and military authority by the respondents to the survey, were the gangs that operate in the illicit drug trade or are involved in other criminal endeavors. Drug/crime gangs received a perceived threat index value of 4.24 (+ 0.98), which was significantly greater than the 3.05 (+1.34) index value attained by the second most threatening group, the Nation of Islam. An anomaly, at least when initially perusing the results, was the ranking of Moslem extremists (index value of 2.57 (+1.43)) as a more significant and immediate threat than that posed by either the Aryan Nations or Ku Klux Klan (index values of 2.34 (+1.09) and 2.04 (+1.03), respectively). Additionally, there was an obvious segregation of both Nation of Islam and Moslem extremists from the other "religiously-motivated" groups such as Jewish and Christian extremists, as well as all other religious extremists (Table 4).

The service affiliation breakdown of those individuals responding to the survey is provided in Figure 2. Of the 103 total respondents, 59.2% were Marine Corps officers, 14.6% were Navy, 11.7% were Army, 8.7% Air Force officers, and 5.8% were government-employed civilians that are attending the college. All military officers were at least the rank of Major (Lieutenant Commander), or the civilian service equivalent.

FIGURE 2. Frequency distribution of branch of government service to which respondents were affiliated.

The respondent's perceptions of the comparative threat posed by the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations racist groups are illustrated in Figure 3. The Ku Klux Klan is considered to be a minor threat by 35.9% of the respondents, and strictly a media-induced threat by 35.9% as well, while only 1.9% of those responding perceived them to be an extreme threat. Comparatively, only 24.3% of the respondents considered the threat posed by Aryan Nations to be a result of media "hype", while 34.0% considered them to be a minor threat and 24.3% identified them as a moderate threat. Less than 4.0% of those responding viewed the Aryan Nations as an extreme threat.

FIGURE 3. Frequency distribution of perceived threat posed by racist hate-groups.

Even though it was previously pointed-out that there is essentially a very "blurry" distinction developing between many of the racist and religious extremist/terrorist groups, this survey aggregated the Christian, Moslem, Nation of Islam, and Jewish extremist groups into the religious extremists category, primarily to facilitate data presentation. The frequency distribution of responses to the index value rating of the perceived threat each group posed is provided in Figure 4. Overwhelmingly the threat posed by both Christian and Jewish extremists was considered to be a product of media "hype", with 57.3% and 53.4% of the respondents indicating such, respectively. The majority of respondents (35.9%) considered the threat posed by Moslem extremists to be primarily media "hype", while 10.7% of those responding considered them to be an extreme threat. The perceived threat posed by the Nation of Islam seemed to range from 16.5% of the respondents considering it to be media "hype", to 17.5% considering them to pose an extreme threat, while the majority (24.3%) rated the threat as moderate.

FIGURE 4. Frequency distribution of perceived threat posed by extremist religious groups.

The perceived threat posed by self-determination and/or anti-government groups, such as citizen-militias and common-law courts, is surprisingly low compared to other groups like the Nation of Islam and Moslem extremists, particularly in light of all the media coverage and negative information on citizen-militias throughout the past two years (Figs. 2-6). Citizen-militia groups

are perceived to pose an extreme threat by 5.8% of those responding, and only a minor or media "hype"-induced threat by 28.2% of the respondents. There seemed to be a significant number of individuals (12) that were not familiar with whom or what the common-law courts groups were; note the survey was conducted prior to the late-March stand-off by the Freemen in Garfield County, Montana, perhaps the data would be somewhat different if collected today.

FIGURE 5. Frequency distribution of perceived threat posed by self-determinationist and anti-government groups.

To evaluate the characteristics or moral convictions that the surveyed population used in shaping their attitudes regarding whether an activist group is identified as a terrorist group or not, and to illustrate how easily moral or humane convictions can lead to supporting or at least sympathizing with a violent group, the following question was posed: "Do you consider anti-abortion activists to be terrorists?" Interestingly enough, the responses were almost equally split, with 47.6% indicating "yes" and 50.5% answering "no", while 1.9% were undecided. However there were also numerous written comments on the survey sheets with regard to the question; some clarifying that any act of violence to attain a political goal is terrorism, while others expressed their extreme dissatisfaction with the mere association of the term "anti-abortion" with the term "terrorist" (Fig. 6).

Additionally, Figure 6 illustrates the feelings of the respondents with regard to whether the military should become involved in combating domestic terrorism. The vast majority, 62.1%, responded negatively, while 36% of the respondents agreed that we should be more involved.

Figure 6. Frequency distribution of survey response to questions regarding anti-abortion activism, and the extent the military should be involved in fighting domestic terrorism.

From the results of the survey it can be concluded that (excluding drug and criminal gangs), racial supremacists and hate-groups, specifically the Nation of Islam and Aryan Nations, and the growing threat from citizen-militia groups are perceived to be the most significant threats to civilian and military authority today.

Weapons / Training / Recruitment. The ability of terrorist groups to successfully complete their mission, which is terror, requires them to have available the implements and materials necessary to intimidate, disorient and destabilize their "enemy". Although small arms such as small caliber rifles, shotguns and handguns are readily available within the United States, these groups must depend upon illegal gun-traders and black-market sources for automatic weapons and high-tech military equipment. As mentioned previously, these groups have been able to utilize military personnel, either through actual infiltration, theft or through exploiting greed, to obtain weapons and munitions with which to build their arsenals. Since explosive devices are a much more effective weapon for inciting mass terror than are guns, they are commonly used by domestic terrorist. Within the United States the principal sources from which these groups obtain high-quality industrial high explosive is either from quarrying sites, or from military bases and stockpiles. Recently a civilian maintenance employee at the West Point Military Academy was arrested while attempting to sell one-hundred sticks of dynamite to an undercover agent. Military bases can also become the target of these "bombers"; Puerto Rican Macheteros used Iremite[R] high explosives stolen from a construction site to cause more than $50 million in damage to Air National Guard aircraft.[64]

Laura Wood, a field researcher at the Klanwatch Project, asserts that active-duty as well as former military personnel are a prime target for recruitment by many of the extremist hate groups. They are valuable to the groups primarily due to their training with weapons and tactics, and for the 'image' they provide in attracting new, civilian members.[65] The ability of extremist groups, whether actively violent or merely vocal at present, to recruit active-duty military personnel poses a serious threat to efforts by the military leadership to control such activities.

The recently released results of the Army's investigation of the degree to which extremists and racist hate-mongers exist in the military found that such groups do not necessarily "target" the average soldier for recruiting, but may more aggressively recruit from Special Forces personnel.[66] A *Navy Times* published interview with Tom Maddox, the spokesman for the Maryland Chapter of the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and a former 10th Mountain Division soldier who left the Army in 1989, confirmed these findings. Mr. Maddox said that the military is not a primary target for recruiting, but they do not "steer clear" of the services either. He also added that the ongoing debate over homosexuals in the military has helped in recruiting

efforts over the past couple of years. In the same article, an active-duty sailor and soldier were interviewed and reported that they both recruit from within the ranks.[67]

Potential Effects on Readiness. Morale and cohesiveness among personnel within a military unit are critical elements, both directly and indirectly, to that units readiness and potential for successful employment. Directly, the trust and camaraderie that is necessary for a team to function and fight effectively is highly dependent on the ability of the members to communicate at all times. Conflict, whether caused by racial tensions, religious intolerance, or political differences, negatively influences communication and may ultimately disrupt good order and discipline. Supremacist views, discrimination and disparate treatment jeopardizes combat readiness by weakening interpersonal bonds, fomenting distrust, eroding unit cohesion, and will ultimately negate a unit's ability to operate to its full potential.[68] Even though the strict prohibition of active-duty military personnel "actively participating" in extremist organizations addresses the topical public concerns and provides a degree of deniability for the Department of Defense regarding the existence of such elements in its ranks, it fails to acknowledge the more dangerous influence in the form of subtle attitudes and ideologies that can develop from 'passive participation' in such groups.

The all-volunteer force has also been identified as a contributing factor to the rise of extremist elements within the military. Sociologists and historians point out that, without a draft of personnel from the general population, military institutions tend to become more conservative and isolated from civilian society. Lawrence Korb, former Secretary of Defense, points out the opinion that:

Volunteers have a longer initial term of service, reenlist in much higher numbers, and have a far lower turnover rate than draftees. Their conservative tendencies are constantly reinforced, and young soldiers can be easy prey to the extreme right-wing groups that proliferating.[69]

This selective process of developing a military force that is highly conservative politically, and is increasingly segregated from a more liberal civilian society, will ultimately result in future problems if not aggressively addressed from a 'personnel' standpoint.

Department of Defense Response. Upon conclusion of the three-month probe ordered by Secretary of the Army Togo D. West, Department of Defense investigators reported "minimal presence of extremist activity," but have expressed concern over two specific findings. First, the presence and frequency of gang-related activities, which they said were "more pervasive than extremist activities on and near Army installations, and are becoming a significant security concern for many soldiers." The second finding that has stimulated concern, not only in the Army but throughout all of the Department of Defense, is the lack of clear and concise standards or guidelines regarding official policy on association with extremist groups by active-duty personnel.[70]

A primary concern and dilemma posed by the freedom of speech and association, as guaranteed by the First Amendment, is the authority of the military establishment to fully prohibit military personnel from becoming 'passively' involved with groups or organizations that promote unsavory viewpoints and rhetoric. There is a very thin line, with a lot of latitude for flexible interpretation when determining to what extent association with these groups, and actual participation in them is occurring. Piers Wood, Center for Defense Information chief of staff, has been quoted as saying:

We're concerned that the rights of free speech and assembly are not unduly restrained, they have to be restrained to a certain extent in all military establishments. And that means keeping active [duty] military out of politics, out of any groups with politicized pull.[71]

Among the major recommendations by the investigators were drafting of clearer rules on participation in extremist organizations by military personnel, closer screening of recruits to keep out persons with extremist views, and new training courses about extremist activity. Additionally, Army Secretary West ordered a review of after-hours regulations and guidance regarding the activities of junior service members, and stressed an increase in the degree of awareness of responsibility that mid- and upper-level supervisors had of what their soldiers were involved in when off duty.[72]

Martin van Creveld presents an interesting perspective on the relationship between the declining stature of large governments

controlling all aspects of its citizen's endeavors, and the growing prominence of non-governmental organizations and groups demanding sovereignty at the local and state levels.[(73)] Many of these non-governmental groups instill fanatical loyalties among their membership which can potentially be exploited for violence and terroristic actions against the state, or other non-governmental organizations supported by or dependent upon the central government. The faltering ability, or at least perceived inability, of the government to adequately protect and represent the individual interests of its citizens has caused the development of a massive private security industry within the United States, as well as a virtual fortification of the residences and working areas of many senior government officials. The private security industry employs approximately as many people as there are active duty military personnel (1.6 million).[(74)]

The combination of this growing trend away from trust and reliance upon a large, all-powerful government, and towards a more localized and decentralized regional sovereignty (or even self-reliance in the case of many corporations) is central to the threat posed by militant and terroristic groups of today. The future role of the military in providing for the defense of the nation, against "all enemies foreign and domestic," and its support and composition in an environment of declining trust and confidence in "big government" bureaucracies, will be an area of concern into the 21st century.[(75)]

Effects of "Information Revolution" and the Mass Media

The phenomenal increase in the availability of global information to the populace of the world-wide community through the *Internet* or *World Wide Web*, particularly within the United States where the average citizen can easily afford a personal computer or has ready access to one at the local public library, has significantly increased the ability of extremist and terrorist groups to promulgate their dogma. The ability of anyone "surfing the 'Net" to access huge volumes of hate-mongering, racist and violence-inciting information (both textual and video-graphic) has undoubtedly opened a new avenue for recruiting and communication for such groups. Explicit and detailed information on the materials required and methods of assembly to construct "homemade" bombs, how to store and transport them, and how they can be employed, is accessible at numerous *World Wide Web*-sites and is easily downloaded.[(76)] There are also, even after the passage of the Federal Communications Bill in February, countless hate-groups and groups espousing various tid-bits of seditious information on the Internet. An example of the ease with which subversive, sometimes criminal, elements can utilize the new global information super-highway, is an advertisement for a mercenary to assassinate a Nigerian head of state recently appeared on the *World Wide Web* (see Appendix F). For anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of how to utilize the Internet and/or World Wide Web search engines, a full spectrum of racists, anti-government, and even blatantly seditious information is available upon demand, directly into one's home or business. Another potential threat to the military that may result from the hyper-generation in personal computer and communications technology, and its ready accessibility by the general public, is the potential for terrorist groups bent on disrupting government operations to "hack into" Department of Defense automated information resources.

The technological advances and improvements in the television industry, in so much as the increased ability to transmit "real-time" reports of occurrences worldwide from virtually any location, has made television a very valuable channel through which terrorists and extremists can disseminate their messages. And conversely, the television news organizations rely on the terrorist or extremist groups to "provide them a good story". This mutually dependent relationship is illustrated very well by the following quotation: "Television terrorists can no more do without the media than the media can resist the terror-event. The two are in a symbiotic relationship, ..."[(77)] It is this "symbiotic" relationship that, in a free-speech society such as ours, requires an aggressive and wide-ranging education of Americans regarding the policies and actions of the government, and how those policies and actions impact on the citizenry.

CONCLUSION

Coercive action in the absence of consensus - particularly those actions likely to be carried out by [a government to counter a domestic threat] - could well pose greater long-term dangers to the fabric of a democratic society than the evils they are supposedly designed to negate.

-- Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism*

The results of the Army's recent investigation have substantiated prior assertions that extremists and hate-group members do not exist to any greater extent in the military than in American society as a whole. Even though very few active-duty personnel are involved in such groups, the high visibility of the military and the expediency with which the media pursues and reports any related activity, tends to exaggerate the actual situation. Although the direct impact of the active involvement of military personnel in extremist and terrorist groups or organizations is quite obvious, the indirect impact of these groups and organizations on readiness and morale are arguably more important. The most significant and dangerous direct impact of involvement in such groups is the potential conflict of loyalty and/or devotion to duty in the case of a situation in which government policies or actions are contrary or damaging to the cause or objectives of the extremist group with which the service member identifies. There are several significant ways that extremist or terrorist movements can critically, yet indirectly impact upon the readiness and morale of military units through individual service members. First and most obvious is the moral and personal dilemma faced by military personnel when utilized to supplement law enforcement agencies in efforts to restore the peace, including situations like that in which the Marines were used in the Los Angeles, California riots following the highly controversial Rodney King incident. The realization by active-duty soldiers, sailors, airmen, or Marines that they are utilizing military force against other Americans that are "fighting" for similar, if not shared, values; including Judeo-Christian convictions, desire for self-determination/state sovereignty, or ethnic background. The indirect impact from extremist "self-determination" militia movements on the image and public perception of the military, as an institution, can seriously impact negatively upon the support the public provides to the military, as well as the confidence they have in the military.

A second significant indirect impact on the military from extremist and terrorist groups, is a fear of the military as an instrument of an overly-powerful federal government. This fear is consistently voiced by many of the ultra right-wing groups, which, if exploited to a large enough extent, could result in reduced willingness of the American people to fund the military. Possibly the most dangerous result of extremists actions and rhetoric against the United States government, as an entity, is the amplification and exaggeration of the "cultural" divide between the military and the civilian population. An excellent example of how this very phenomena has occurred in history, and how it could easily develop again was made in relation to how the American people view the need for, or lack of a need for a massive, standing military.[(78)]

The historical and cultural separation of the American military from civilian institutions, and political and societal attitudes and trends, demands that an ideological insularity and neutrality from partisan politics be exercised by military leaders to ensure the maintenance of our Constitutionally mandated democratic system of government. However, when the military recruits its soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines from the civilian society, it must draw from existing sectors with very distinctive cultural norms and values. It therefore becomes necessary that a measure of consideration be given to how those cultural and social factors interact, or contrast with the policies of the military. I would submit that to fully overcome these conflicting ideologies and attitudes, open and direct discussions and a refocusing of training and indoctrination programs are the only plausible solutions. This approach is further validated by the fact that today's military, and the military of tomorrow, will be increasingly made-up of educated and highly-competent citizens that will be exposed to a vast and unprecedented array of attitudes, ideologies and cultural diversities through ever-expanding information and communication technologies.

<div align="center">APPENDIX A.</div>

Terrorism: Diversity of interpretation as to what it really is.

"*The deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends.*"

-- Israeli UN Ambassador **Benjamin Netanyahu**, in his book, *Terrorism: How the West Can Win*, 1986.

"*A strategy whereby violence is used to produce certain effects in a group of people so as to attain some political end or ends.*"

-- **Brian Jenkins**, *International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict*, 1975.

"*. . . a person commits an offense if he threatens to commit any offense involving violence to any person or property with intent to (1) cause a reaction of any type to his threat by an official or volunteer agency organized to deal with emergencies; (2) place*

any person in fear of imminent serious bodily injury; or (3) prevent or interrupt the occupation or use of a building, room, place of assembly, place to which the public has access, place of conveyance, or other public place; or (4) cause impairment or interruption of public communications, public transportation, public water, gas or power supply, or other public service."

--**Texas Department of Public Safety**, *Texas Criminal Laws*, 1985.

"*The purpose of terrorism is to terrorize*."

-- **Vladimir Lenin**

"*Really, a definition of terrorism is hopeless ... terrorism is just violence that you don't like*."

-- Prof. **Richard E. Rubinstein**, Director, Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, May 1990.

(From: Frank G. McGuire, *Security Intelligence Sourcebook: Who's Who in Terrorism*, (Silver Spring, MD, Interests, Ltd., 1990).

APPENDIX B.

SOME OF THE ACTIVE GROUPS OPERATING WITHIN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE PAST DECADE THAT HAVE BEEN CLASSIFIED AS "TERRORIST":

African National Prison Organization (ANPO). An arm of the African Peoples Socialist Party.

Animal Rights. Principally against use of animals for any purpose beyond their natural existence.

Armed Resistance Group (ARG). aka Revolutionary Fighting Group, Red Guerrilla Faction. This group has been characterized in 1988 as "tired and aging revolutionaries."

Greenpeace. Principally environmental-use extremists.

Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Reorganized and relocated several arms of its group in 1989.

Macheteros. Puerto Rican nationalists.

Ohio Seven.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (**PETA**). Very public-relations oriented.

Radical Feminist Organizing Committee (**RFOC**). Driven-out of the feminist movement in 1989, operating independently.

RAMBOC (Restore a More Benevolent Order Coalition). Targets and actively pursues the US assets and people of foreign groups with terrorist links, such as the PLO, SWAPO, ANC, etc...

Rolling Thunder. aka American Foundation for Accountability; primary focus is to draw attention to the POW/MIA issue from Vietnam War.

Satanic Cult. Associated with attempted bombing of churches and kidnapping, and animal sacrifices, tombstone vandalism, and miscellaneous actions.

Skinheads (SKA). Groups consists of both racist and anti-racist factions.

SS Action Group. Principally anti-Semitic.

(From: Frank G. McGuire, *Security Intelligence Sourcebook: Who's Who in Terrorism*, (Silver Spring, MD, Interests, Ltd., 1990).

APPENDIX C.

SOME EXTREME RIGHT-WING AMERICAN GROUPS

APPENDIX D.

APPENDIX E

SURVEY DATA

Questions are numbered as **(#n)** to correspond to database entries.

1. Do you consider the threat(s) posed to civilian and/or military authority by any of the following groups/ organizations as being immediate and imminent, or as primarily a product of media "hype", or somewhere in between? (circle appropriate choice):

```
                               Media "hype"-----------------------Real Threat


        (#1)     A.  Ku Klux Klan                 1              2              3
4               5

        (#2)     B.  Aryan Nations                1              2              3
4               5

        (#3)     C.  Drug/Criminal Gangs 1              2              3
4               5

        (#4)     D.  Citizen-Militia Groups        1              2              3
4               5

        (#5)     E.  Common-Law Courts   1              2              3
4               5

                 F.  Extremist Religious Groups:
```

(#6)	Christian	1	2	3
4	5			

(#7)	Moslem 1	2	3	4
5				

(#8)	Nation of Islam 1	2	3	
4	5			

(#9)	Jewish 1	2	3	4
5				

(#10)	Others 1	2	3	4
5				

2. Do you have personal knowledge of, or have you personally encountered another military member that is/was actively involved with an extremist group? ___YES ___NO **(#11 - Yes = 1; No = 2)**

If yes, what is/was the type of group : __**1**_Religious

__**2**_Anarchist/Political

(#12 - Response entered as 1,2,3,4) __**3**_Racist

__**4**_Criminal

3. Do you consider anti-abortion activists to be terrorist? ___YES ___NO **(#13 - Yes = 1; No = 2)**

4. Should the US military become actively (visibly) involved in combating and preventing domestic terrorism? **(#14 - Yes = 1; No = 2)** ___YES ___NO

5. Your branch of service? _**1**_USA _**2**_USN _**3**_USAF _**4**_USMC _**5**_Other **(#15)**

DATA:

M= Missing/No response

KKK	ARY	DRU	CIT	COM	CHR	MOS	NOI	JEW	OTH	KNO	TYP	ABO	MIL	SERV
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

Rise of Domestic Terrorism and Its Relation to United States Armed Forces

```
  1      1      4      2      M      1      1      2      1      1      1      1
1       2      4

  1      2      4      3      1      2      5      5      1      5      2      0
1       1      4

  1      1      4      1      1      1      2      2      1      1      2      0
1       2      4

  M      M      5      4      M      1      4      3      1      M      2      0      2
2       4

  2      2      5      5      3      1      3      4      1      1      2      0
1       2      2

  1      1      3      1      1      1      1      1      1      1      2      0
1       2      4

  3      3      3      2      1      2      2      3      2      M      2      0
2       2      4

  2      M      4      1      1      1      2      4      2      2      2      0
2       2      5

  2      2      5      2      3      3      3      3      3      3      2      0
2       2      4

  1      1      3      1      1      2      2      3      2      2      2      0
1       1      2

  1      2      3      2      2      3      3      4      2      2      2      0
1       2      4

  2      2      4      3      1      3      3      3      1      1      2      0
2       1      5

  3      3      4      2      4      2      2      2      2      2      2      0
1       1      3
```

Rise of Domestic Terrorism and Its Relation to United States Armed Forces

```
4    4    5    5    4    4    4    4    4    4    2    0
1       1       4

1    1    2    1    1    1    1    1    1    1    2    0
2       2       1

2    2    3    3    2    2    3    4    2    2    2    0
2       2       5

1    3    5    2    1    1    1    1    1    1    2    0
2       2       4

2    2    5    3    2    1    5    5    1    1    2    0
1       2       1

3    2    5    M    M    1    1    2    1    1    2    0    1
1       1

1    2    5    2    1    1    1    3    1    2    2    0
2       2       2

2    3    5    4    3    2    2    2    2    2    2    0
1       2       4

2    1    5    3    3    2    1    3    2    2    2    0
2       2       2

2    2    4    2    3    3    3    4    3    3    1    2
1       1       1

1    3    5    3    1    1    1    1    1    3    2    0
2       1       2

1    1    4    1    1    1    1    1    1    1    2    0
2       2       4

3    3    5    2    3    1    4    2    1    2    2    0
2       2       4

1    2    3    1    1    1    3    2    1    1    1    1
```

2   2   4

    4   4   5   3   5   2   2   2   2   2   2   0
2   2   4

    1   1   4   1   4   1   1   1   1   1   2   0
2   2   4

    2   3   4   3   2   3   5   3   3   M   1   3
2   1   3

    3   3   4   3   3   3   4   4   3   3   2   0
2   M   4

    2   2   5   1   3   1   1   1   1   1   2   0
1   2   4

    2   2   4   2   1   2   4   5   2   M   2   0
2   2   2

    3   3   5   3   3   3   4   4   3   3   2   0
1   1   1

    2   3   5   2   3   2   5   5   4   1   2   0
2   1   4

    2   2   4   4   1   3   4   2   3   3   2   0
1   2   4

    2   3   5   5   4   5   5   5   5   5   2   0
M   1   4

    3   4   5   5   M   1   4   5   1   1   2   0
1   2   4

    1   1   4   1   1   1   1   1   1   4   2   0
2   2   2

    4   4   5   1   1   2   4   4   4   3   2   0
2   2   4

```
2    2    5    2    2    1    1    2    1    5    2    0
1       1       4

2    2    5    2    M    1    1    2    3    1    2    0
2       1       4

1    1    4    2    2    1    4    3    1    1    2    0
1       1       2

4    3    4    2    2    1    4    4    2    2    2    0
1       2       2

3    3    4    3    2    3    3    4    3    3    2    0
2       2       4

1    1    3    1    1    1    1    2    1    1    2    0
2       2       4

1    1    3    1    1    1    1    1    1    1    2    0
2       1       4

1    1    4    1    1    1    1    2    1    1    2    0
1       2       4

5    5    5    4    3    4    4    4    4    3    2    0
1       1       4

1    1    1    1    3    1    1    1    1    1    2    0
2       2       4

2    3    4    3    4    1    1    5    1    2    2    0
2       2       4

2    2    4    2    M    1    2    2    1    M    2    0    1
2       1

1    1    3    2    1    1    3    3    1    2    2    0
2       2       4
```

Rise of Domestic Terrorism and Its Relation to United States Armed Forces

2	2	5	3	M	2	4	3	2	M	2	0	1	2	4
4	2	5	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	2	2	4
1	2	5	2	1	1	2	5	1	1	2	0	2	2	4
3	3	4	3	2	1	5	5	2	4	2	0	1	2	4
1	2	4	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	1	2	2
2	2	5	4	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	0	2	1	3
2	3	4	3	1	1	4	3	1	1	2	0	2	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	2	2	4
4	3	5	3	2	4	5	4	3	3	2	0	1	1	5
3	3	5	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	2	0	2	1	4
2	2	5	2	4	1	1	3	2	3	2	0	1	2	4
2	2	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	0	2	2	3
2	2	4	2	2	2	3	4	2	2	2	0	2	1	5
2	2	5	2	2	3	4	5	4	2	2	0			

Rise of Domestic Terrorism and Its Relation to United States Armed Forces

1   2   1

    2   M   5   5   1   1   1   2   1   M   2   0   1
1   4

    5   5   5   2   2   M   4   4   M   M   2   0   2
2   4

    2   4   2   3   M   3   4   5   2   3   2   0
1   2   2

    2   2   5   3   1   2   2   2   2   2   2   0
1   2   2

    4   3   5   3   M   2   3   3   2   M   2   0   1
2   4

    1   2   3   1   1   1   1   3   1   1   2   0
M   2   2

    1   1   5   1   3   1   1   1   1   1   2   0
2   2   1

    3   4   5   1   1   1   1   5   1   1   2   0
1   2   4

    4   5   5   3   2   1   1   5   1   1   2   0
2   2   3

    1   2   3   4   1   1   2   2   1   1   2   0
1   2   4

    2   2   3   1   2   4   4   4   3   M   2   0
2   1   2

    2   3   4   3   2   1   1   4   1   2   2   0
2   2   4

    3   3   5   2   2   1   1   3   1   1   2   0
2   2   4

2	2	4	3	M	1	3	3	1	1	2	0	
1	1	4

1	2	5	3	3	3	4	4	3	M	2	0	
2	2	1

1	1	5	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	
1	1	4

1	1	5	1	M	3	3	3	3	M	2	0	1
1	4

3	3	5	2	3	4	3	5	4	3	1	3	
1	1	4

1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	0	
1	1	4

1	1	4	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	2	0	
1	M	4

2	4	5	4	3	1	3	4	1	M	2	0	
1	2	4

2	2	4	2	4	3	3	3	3	3	2	0	
2	2	4

3	4	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	
2	2	4

1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	
2	2	3

1	1	4	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	0	
1	2	4

1	1	4	1	M	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	
1	1	3

| 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |

| 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | |

| 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | | | | | | |

| 3 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 2 | 2 | 4 | | | | | | | | | |

| 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |

| 1 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | | | | | | |

| 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 1 | 4 | | | | | | | | | |

| 2 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 2 | 1 | 5 | | | | | | | | | |

| 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 2 | 1 | 4 | | | | | | | | | |

| 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| 1 | 1 | 4 | | | | | | | | | |

APPENDIX F.

NEWSGROUPS: soc.culture.nigeria

FROM: Ben Ibru <B.Ibru@NSU.edu.us>

Provided as downloaded in ASCII format.

WANTED. WANTED. WANTED. WANTED. WANTED. WANTED. WANTED.WANTED.

Ex-mercenary, preferably ex-special forces commando or ex-Delta/Green Beret force/Fort Bragg member required to assassinate Sani Abacha in Abuja, Nigeria before April 96..

Fee: $150,000 in a numbered Swiss account in Zurich. Half on taking the job, then balance when job is complete.

Abacha must be killed with 2 bullets to the head. No bombs please.

Spare the Life of his no 2 man, Oladapo Diya.

CNN or Reuters must be informed at least 1 hour after the assasination.

If interested contact me by e-mail only with some information on your backgroud and if you have killed African heads of state before.

NB I am an ex MOSSAD informer, so no tricks or hanky panky.

Time wasters please do not bother me.

NB: Do not reply to this notice on the Nigeria newsgroup, OR ELSE.

Ben Ibru

UFLN

New York/Israel

NOTES

1. Following the racially-motivated murders in North Carolina by active-duty soldiers, the Department of Defense initiated a full investigation to determine the extent to which extremist and racist groups have infiltrated the ranks of the armed forces. The results of the investigation are reported in later sections of this paper.

2. Jacobins were members of the violent radical democrats in France during the revolution of 1789; they were under the leadership of Robespierre, and conducted the Reign of Terror.

3. Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics, and Counter-measures,* (New York: Cambridge University Press,

1989), 18-24.

4. U.S. Department of Justice, National Security Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Terrorist Research and Analytical Center, *Terrorism in the United States, 1994*. (Washington, DC), 26.

5. Roger Scronton, *Dictionary of Political Thought*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

6. Frank McGuire is the editorial director of the biweekly newsletter report, "Counter-Terrorism and Security Intelligence." He specializes in law enforcement and security as they involve terrorism and intelligence operations. Frank G. McGuire, *Security Intelligence Sourcebook*, (Silver Spring, MD: Interests, Ltd., 1990) 102-104.

7. Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism,* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1977), 6-8. Further explanation of the sects use of crowds and confusion to attain surprise and anonymity in their attacks, and their characteristic use of a short sword (*sica*) hidden under their clothing is provided by Laqueur, and by de Quincey (Thomas de Quincey, *"*On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts", In *The English Mail Coach and Other Writings*, Edinburgh: 1862, 52).

8. Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism,* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1977), 3-20.

9. Bard E. O'Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism, Inside Modern Revolutionary Warfare*, (Washington: Brassey's (US), Inc., 1990), 40-47.

10. This interpretation is somewhat controversial. An argument to classify them as partisans fighting a revolutionary insurgency utilizing the terrorism style of warfare may be more accurate. Examples of "forceful" or "violent" actions conducted prior to the Declaration of Independence and establishment of formal United States military forces, included the Boston Tea Party, and others.

11. Rev. Louis Farrakhan (Leader of the Nation of Islam) traveled abroad and openly solicited for funding and support from foreign, declared enemies of the United States, and when confronted with the legality of his actions by federal authorities, stated: "If you are going to deny black people the help of their own brothers, then we're going to rise-up against you." Quote from: Michael A. Fletcher, "Farrakhan Vows to Take Libya's Aid; Black Leader Invites 'Showdown' with U.S." *Washington Post*, 3 March 1996, Sec. A1.

12. William H. McMichael, "Military Welcomes Supremacy Probe," *Free Lance-Star, Fredericksburg, VA*, 14 December 1995, Sec. C2.

13. Numerous similarities exist between the seditious plots exposed during Sergeant Miller's trial, including the mass execution of blacks, "race-traitors" and government officials, and the infamous *The Turner Diaries*. This book is an extremely volatile fictious chronology of the overthrow of the United States government by white supremacist militants. Andrew Macdonald, *The Turner Diaries*, (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1980), pp.211

14. Jonathan S. Landy, "Army Brass Rattled by Ties of Soldiers to White-Supremacists," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 19 December 1995, Sec. US.

15. Garn LeBaron, Jr., "Mormon Fundamentalism and Violence: A Historical Analysis," downloaded from *World Wide Web*, <http://www.tcd.net/~garn/ polygamy.html>.

16. Eugene E. Campbell, "Government Beginnings," In *Utah's History*, eds. Richard Poll, Thomas Alexander, Eugene Campbell, and David Miller, (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1989), 165-170.

17. J. M. Shotwell, *Crystallizing Public Hatred, Ku Klux Klan Public Relations in the Early 1920's*, ((thesis) University of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 219

18. Nicholas von Hoffman, "To Kill Everyman; A New Chapter in American Terrorism," *Washington Post*, 15 October 1995, Sec. B3.

19. J. M. Shotwell, *Crystallizing Public Hatred, Ku Klux Klan Public Relations in the Early 1920's*, ((thesis) University of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 219

20. Information from an analogy of the almost total disarray and chaos of the late-sixties and early-seventies, with current domestic terrorism. Nina J. Easton, "America the Enemy," *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, 18 June 1995.

21. George H. Lawrence & Thomas D. Kane, "Military Service and Racial Attitudes of White Veterans," *Armed Forces & Society*, (Winter 1995/96), Vol. 22(2): 235-255.

22. Mimi Hall, "Clinton's Military Police Plan Under Fire", *USA Today*, 11 May 1995, Sec. 5A.

23. Jonathan S. Landay, "Tempering Terrorism," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 8 May 1995, Sec. US.

24. Bob Minzesheimer, "Terrorism Bill Warning: Go Slow", *USA Today*, 1 May 1995, Sec. 5A.

25. Data obtained from the FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center publications entitled *Terrorism in the United States 1982 - 1992*, and *Terrorism in the United States 1994*. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

26. The FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center publication, *Terrorism in the United States 1994*, provides the following definitions: **Suspected Terrorist Incident** -- A potential act of terrorism; however, responsibility for the act cannot be attributed to a known or suspected terrorist group or individual(s). Assessment of the circumstances surrounding that act will determine its inclusion in that category. Also, additional information through investigation can cause a redesignation of a suspected terrorist incident to terrorist incident status. **Terrorism Prevention** -- A documented instance in which a violent act by a known or suspected terrorist group or individual(s) with the means and a proven propensity for violence is successfully interdicted through investigative activity.

27. Segaller goes on to characterize these groups as follows: Cuban infighters largely in Florida; 'backwoods terrorism' which is variously Christian fundamentalist, anti-taxes, anti-government, racist and anti-Semitic, and represented by such groups as 'The Order', the 'Aryan Nations', and 'The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord'; violent Puerto Rican independence groups, of which the principal names are the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), EPBM (*Ejercito Popular Boricua Macheteros* or, literally, 'machete-users') and the PRAR (Puerto Rican Armed Resistance); and the various revolutionary Marxist groups forming a family tree whose roots are in the 'Days of Rage' - anti-Vietnam war campus movements like the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) - and whose genealogy loosely links the Weathermen, the Weather Underground, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the May 19 Communist Organization, the Republic of New Africa, the Black Liberation Army, the United Freedom Front, the Revolutionary Fighting Group, Red Guerrilla Resistance and Red Guerrilla Defense. For more see Stephen Segaller, *Invisible Armies, Terrorism into the 1990s,* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1987), 221-225.

28. Data from the FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center publications entitled *Terrorism in the United States 1982 - 1992*, and *Terrorism in the United States 1994*. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

29. Frank G. McGuire, *Security Intelligence Sourcebook*, (Silver Spring, MD, Interests, Ltd., 1990) 10.

30. Tibor Machan, "Fallacies of Uncritical Multiculturalism," *The Freeman*, March 1996, Vol. 46(3): 134-135. The following quote from Dr. Machan's treatise presents an interesting view contrary to those being espoused as being politically correct: "The demand for fairness to all cultures is predicated on a misunderstanding, namely, that cultures consist mainly of benign characteristics, nothing mean and nasty. Once we admit that different cultures may exhibit various degrees of evil, not simply

benign dissimilarities, it immediately becomes perfectly justified to ask which, on the whole, exhibit the best characteristics. ... Few people take the time and trouble to consider more stable and universal standards than those they have picked up in their own cultures."

31. The information regarding the terroristic acts primarily targeted against furriers and abortion clinics was obtained from the FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center publication, *Terrorism in the United States 1994*, and from Frank G. McGuire, *Security Intelligence Sourcebook*, (Silver Spring, MD, Interests, Ltd., 1990).

32. Data from the FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center publication entitled *Terrorism in the United States 1982 - 1992*, and *Terrorism in the United States 1994*. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

33. Garn LeBaron Jr., "Mormon Fundamentalism and Violence: A Historical Analysis," downloaded from *World Wide Web*, <http://www.tcd.net/~garn/ polygamy.html>.

34. Reverend Farrakhan's most recent threats of violence and takeover of the United States government came during and after his return to the States following a 23-nation tour of Africa and the Middle East, including stops in Sudan, Iraq and Libya. Michael A. Fletcher, "Farrakhan Vows to Take Libya's Aid," *Washington Post*, 26 February 1996, Sec. A1.

35. The information on the history, character and potential threats posed by the fundamentalist factions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, was taken from a manuscript by Garn LeBaron Jr., "Mormon Fundamentalism and Violence: A Historical Analysis," downloaded from *World Wide Web*, <http://www.tcd.net/~garn/ polygamy.html>.

36. The FBI's *Terrorism in the United States 1994* publication further clarifies precisely when an abortion-related act of violence is considered domestic terrorism as follows: "The AGG states that a domestic terrorism investigation may be initiated when facts or circumstances reasonably indicate that two or more persons are engaged in an enterprise for the purpose of furthering political or social goals wholly or in part through activities that involve force or violence and a violation of the criminal laws of the United States. Given this narrow definition, the majority of abortion-related investigations are not classified as "terrorist incidents." In many of the cases and incidents, the perpetrator(s) are not identified. However, when investigation reveals that two or more individuals are conspiring, the investigation, is at that point, reclassified as a domestic terrorism case and is then investigated by the task force."

37. Stephen Segaller, *Invisible Armies, Terrorism into the 1990s,* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1987), 222-223.

38. Terrorist Research and Analytical Center, *Terrorism in the United States 1994*. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

39. Brad Knickerbocker, "US Militias: The Dark Side of Frontier Independence," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 24 April 1995, Sec. NATIONAL.

40. Some other examples of 'special interests' terrorist groups, and their actions, include: Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC), Earth Night Action Group (responsible for 28 April 1990 malicious destruction in Santa Cruz, CA), Animal Liberation Front (responsible for nine incidents of bombings and arson in Chicago, IL from 27-28 November 1993).

41. Frank G. McGuire, *Security Intelligence Sourcebook*, (Silver Spring, MD, Interests, Ltd., 1990) 29-34. More in-depth and interesting discussions of these and other group alliances and histories are provided in Mr. McGuire's book.

42. Taken from an interview written by/in: Mark Potok, "Common-Law Courts Take on Legal System," *USA Today*, 28 August 1995, Sec. 1A.

43. Anti-Defamation League Fact Finding Report, *Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government*. (1994). The report goes on to discuss the character and composition of these militia groups in each of the states listed, and provides the text of interviews conducted with militia leaders and law enforcement personnel.

44. Katy Kelly and Mark Potok, "Militia Movement's Draw: A Shared Anger, Fear," *USA Today*, 3 May 1995, Sec. 6D.

45. Information from the article: "Still 'A Recipe for Disaster," *USA Weekend Magazine*, 12-14 April 1996, 4-5, which is an excerpt from the soon to be published book: Morris Dees and James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc., 1996).

46. A relatively common theme among the contemporary militia groups is a desire for self-determination at the local level due to a distrust of the federal government, and "supported" by a cornucopia of federal conspiracy and "New World Order" theorists. These groups, for a large majority of them at least, can be classified as a mix of classic Secessionists and extreme right-wing Constitutionalists.

47. "Still 'A Recipe for Disaster," *USA Weekend Magazine*, 12-14 April 1996, 4-5, which is an excerpt from the soon to be published book: Morris Dees and James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc., 1996).

48. 10 U.S.C. sections 311 and 312.

49. A lengthy oration on the "occult" influence of numerology on the planning and construction of the U.S. capitol city, as well as its influence on the Founding Fathers of the U.S. was provided by Rev. Louis Farrakhan during the "Million Man March" (Washington, DC, October 1995).

50. Sharon Theimer, "'Black Militia' Vows a War on Property," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 September 1994, Sec. A-7.

51. The "Unorganized Militia of the United States" is headed by Linda Thompson, a lawyer from Indiana, whom claims an active membership of three million members. Additionally she heads the American Justice Federation which specializes in litigation against the Federal government. -- (There appears to be a conflict in the very existence of a nationwide militia, when the primary impetus for citizen militias is to ensure regional and local sovereignty).

52. Information from the article: Katy Kelly, "Hundreds of Militias in the USA," *USA Today*, 24 April 1995, Sec. 4A.

53. Irwin Suall, Thomas Halpen and David Rosenberg, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government," *ADL Fact Finding Report*, October 1994.

54. Brad Knickerbocker, "Why 1992 Shooting in Idaho has Become a Rallying Point," *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 September 1995, Sec. US.

55. Mark Potok, "Common-Law Courts Take on Legal System," *USA Today*, 28 August 1995, Sec. 1A.

56. Specific examples and interviews regarding various actions taken against citizens and the reasoning behind their displeasure with the federal government are provided by Mark Potok, "Common-Law Courts Take on Legal System," *USA Today*, 28 August 1995, Sec. 1A.

57. Serge F. Kovaleski, "'Freemen' Finally Taxed the Patience of Federal Government," *Washington Post*, 31 March 1996, Sec. A1. -- The extent to which the "dissatisfaction" with current government policies and practices by 'normal' US citizens is discussed in two recent books, which are: Murray Sabrin, *Tax Free 2000: The Rebirth of American Liberty*, (Lafayette, LA: Prescott Press, Inc., 1995), pp. 240. and Raphael G. Kazmann, *The American Revolution Resurgent*, (Washington: Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1994), pp. 186.

58. Jonathan S. Landay, "Army Brass Rattled by Ties of Soldiers to White-Supremacists," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 19 December 1995, Sec. US..

59. Secretary of the Army, Togo D. West in a statement during a news conference in Washington, DC on December 12, 1995.

60. Steve Komarow, "Report: Hate Groups Find Army Bases Attractive," *USA Today*, 22 March 1996, Sec. 3A.

61. Jonathan S. Landay, "'Be All You Can Be' -- But Not in Militias", *The Christian Science Monitor*, 28 April 1995, Sec. US.

62. Dana Priest, "22 Soldiers at Fort Bragg Tied to Extremist Groups," *Washington Post*, 23 December 1995, Sec. A3.

63. The major complaint among black soldiers was that there were no "organized" activities to stimulate racial harmony in the Army, particularly in North Carolina. Article by Paul Nowell, "NAACP: Military has Racial Woes," *Free Lance-Star, Fredericksburg, VA*, 2 March 1996, Sec. A4.

64. Stephen Segaller, *Invisible Armies, Terrorism into the 1990s,* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1987), 273.

65. Jonathan S. Landy, "Army brass rattled by ties of soldiers to white-supremacists," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 19 December 1995.

66. Steve Komarow, "Report: Hate Groups Find Army Bases Attractive," *USA Today*, 22 March 1996, Sec. 3A.

67. Patrick Pexton, "Extremists Aren't Hard to Find," *Navy Times*, 1 April 1996, Special Report, 10.

68. William J. Perry, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense to the President and the Congress*, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, October 1995), 95.

69. Patrick Pexton, "Rooting Out Hatred in Uniform," *Navy Times*, 1 April 1996, Special Report, 8.

70. Bradley Graham, "'Minimal' Extremist Presence Found in Army by Task Force," *Washington Post*, 22 March 1996, Sec. A3.

71. Comments made during an interview published by William H. McMichael, "Military Welcomes Supremacy Probe", *Free Lance-Star, Fredericksburg, VA*, 14 December 1995, Sec. C2.

72. Bradley Graham, "'Minimal' Extremist Presence Found in Army by Task Force," *Washington Post*, 22 March 1996, Sec. A3.

73. Martin van Creveld, "The Fate of the State," *Parameters*, (Spring 1996), 4-18. Dr. van Creveld presents a very interesting discussion of how the "welfare state" developed and why it is disintegrating throughout much of the world; for example, in the United States in 1972, one in 13 citizens were bureaucrats, compared to approximately one in 80 prior to 1870.

74. Information on the relative size of the private security industry in the United States was obtained from: B. Jenkins, "Thoroughly Modern Sabotage," *Worldlink* (March-April 1995), 16., and is discussed further in Martin van Creveld, "The Fate of the State," *Parameters*, (Spring 1996), 16.

75. A Gallup nationwide telephone poll of 1,007 adults conducted in April 1995, and reported by Tony Mauro, "Militia's Battlecry Drawn Straight From the Constitution," *USA Today*, 26 April 1996, Sec.5A., found that 4 of 10 people fear federal government powers. Specifically, questions posed resulted in the following findings: 1) "Is the federal government so large and powerful that it poses an immediate threat to the rights and freedoms of the ordinary citizen?" [YES = 39%, NO = 58%, No Opinion = 3%]; 2) "Should ordinary citizens be allowed to buy firearms and organize to resist the powers of the federal

government?" [YES = 19%, NO = 78%, No Opinion = 3%]; 3) "Should the government investigate and infiltrate groups that have firearms and are resisting the government, even if doing so may infringe on their Constitutional rights?" [YES = 72%, NO = 23%, No Opinion = 5%]. Margin of error: +/- 3%.

76. A *Web-Crawler* search conducted on 06 February 1996, using the keyword "BOMB" yielded 1,167 sites, including the *Terrorist Handbook*, *The Anarchist Cookbook*, and detailed directions for making dynamite (TNT) and plastic explosives using ordinary household supplies.

77. J. Bowyer Bell. "Terrorist Scripts and Live-Action Spectaculars," *Columbia Journalism Review, 1978*, 17(1): 50.

78. Comments made during a non-attributible lecture at Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 22 February, 1996.

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