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# FBI

## Law Enforcement Bulletin



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John E. Otto, Acting Director

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# Domestic Terrorism in the 1980's

***"Symbols, such as double lightning bolts and swastikas, which were used by Hitler's Nazi regime, are often worn by members of the Aryan Nations and other right-wing neo-Nazi extremist groups."***

The United Freedom Front ... the Armed Forces of the National Liberation ... the Armed Resistance Unit ... the EPB-Macheteros. These are some of the names that have become synonymous with terrorist activity in the United States and Puerto Rico during the 1980's. These groups are domestic; they are not funded, directed, controlled, or supported by foreign sources. They, and other groups of similar philosophies and ideologies, are responsible for more than 125 terrorist incidents and numerous other terrorist-related acts since 1980. Bombings, armed robberies, murders, and arsons are some of the criminal acts that have been attributed to them.

The 1980's followed 2 turbulent decades when domestic terrorist and extremist political activity in the United States reached levels not previously recorded in American history. The 1960's, for example, were dominated by violence generated by racial hatred, campus unrest, and urban disorders. The 1970's were dominated by antiwar and anti-imperialist attitudes which resulted in a wave of terrorist bombings. Many of the issues and values that impacted on these times changed little and once again have become factors in the 1980's. Although the majority of the in-

dividuals responsible for the post-1980 terrorism were not directly responsible for the violence of the 1960's and 1970's, many can trace either their group's beginnings or their own individual involvement in a movement to this period.

## **Perspectives**

At the beginning of the 1980's there was a certain attitude among law enforcement about the threat of terrorism in the United States. This was based upon the most recent activity, or lack of activity, by the various domestic terrorist factions.

The early-to-mid-1970's were marked by the bombing attacks by such leftist groups as the Weathermen or Weather Underground Organization and the New World Liberation Front. By the end of the decade, however, these activities had become sporadic at best (six terrorist incidents in 1978, one in 1979, and none in 1980). Most of those responsible for the terrorism from these elements were either in custody or they had disappeared and their locations and activities were unknown. Once regarded as a most serious domestic security threat, the "white left," because of a lack of identifiable terrorist activity,

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was considered to have all but ceased to exist as a problem by 1980. This same opinion was held of black and right-wing elements, neither of which was known to have been actively engaged in terrorist activities during the latter part of the 1970's and into 1980.

In contrast, violence-prone, pro-independence elements of the Puerto Rican independence movement were considered the most viable domestic security threat at the beginning of the 1980's. Approximately 100 terrorist incidents were attributed to Puerto Rican elements in the United States and Puerto Rico between 1977 and 1979, and there were 12 such incidents in 1980. Also considered a threat, but less so than the Puerto Ricans, were the Jewish terrorists, who were responsible for 16 terrorist incidents in 1978 and one in 1979.

But appearances are not always as they seem. The fact is that all factions—right and left, black and white—were very much active during the late 1970's and into the 1980's, even though not all were involved in identifiable terrorist activities such as bombings. Left-wing elements, for example, had begun to reorganize. Sometimes black and white extremists worked together committing robberies. In addition, some right-wing groups that became of interest to law enforcement during the 1980's were organized during the late 1970's.

It was not until late 1981, however, that law enforcement began to refocus its thinking in domestic terrorism because of one event. On October 20, 1981, a Brinks Armored Car Service truck was robbed of more than \$1.5 million at a bank in Nanuet, NY. A Brinks guard was killed and another wounded during the robbery. Participants in this crime included black males, who actually committed the robbery, and white

males and females, who acted in support roles. The suspects fled the scene in a van but abandoned it nearby for a U-Haul truck. Other suspects accompanied the robbers in a tan Honda automobile.

Police stopped the truck near the entrance to the New York State Thruway in Nyack, NY, to question the driver. Several black males jumped from the back of the truck firing automatic weapons; two police officers were killed and another was wounded. One suspect who had been in the cab of the U-Haul, a white female, was arrested at the scene. Other suspects escaped on foot or in commandeered vehicles.

The Honda and another car sped away from the shooting scene and were pursued by police. During the chase, the Honda crashed and its occupants, a black male, a white male, and a white female, were arrested. The other car was later found abandoned.

The individuals arrested on October 20th were identified as Kathy Boudin (at Nyack), and Judith Clark, David Gilbert, and Samuel Brown (in the Honda). Another suspect, Samuel Smith, was killed in a gun battle with New York City Police Department officers 3 days later, and a second suspect, Nathaniel Burns, was arrested. Several safehouses in the New York City metropolitan area were searched as a result of leads generated by these arrests. Weapons, bombing components, radical literature, and other items were recovered at some of these. Others were implicated in the robbery, including Mutulu Shakur, Marilyn Jean Buck, Donald Weems, Sylvia Baraldini, and Susan Rosenberg, among others.

This event changed many opinions in the law enforcement community toward leftist terrorist activity. It showed that many of the radicals from the

## ***Violence prone pro-independence elements of the Puerto Rican independence movement were considered the most viable domestic security threat at the beginning of the 1980's...."***

1970's, who had disappeared and were thought to no longer be involved in the "movement" were, in fact, still very much active. It also showed that black and white elements were cooperating. Members or associates of earlier groups, such as the Weather Underground, the Black Liberation Army, and the Black Panther Party, and contemporary groups, such as the May 19th Communist Organization and the Republic of New Afrika, were associated with the events of October 20, 1981. Many of the individuals associated with the Brinks robbery were also connected to other armed robberies in the New York City metropolitan area and elsewhere.

### **White Leftists**

During the 1980's, white leftist terrorism again became a factor after several years of relative inactivity. Since 1981, leftist terrorists have been responsible for 21 bombings or attempted bombings. The most active period was during 1983 and 1984 when white leftists claimed 16 of the 26 terrorist acts committed in the United States.

The radical left bases much of its philosophy on the teachings of such historical revolutionaries as Karl Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao. They perceive that many ills exist in the United States, both socially and politically, which they blame on the U.S. Government. They also view the Government as being capitalistic, militaristic, and imperialistic.

The solution, according to the radicals, is to destroy the cause of these problems—the system—by any means possible. A violent popular uprising, a revolution, must occur. They realize, however, that they cannot accomplish this alone. The New Left Movement advocates violent revolution, as opposed to nonviolent change by working within the system. To this end, the radicals,

who often view themselves as urban guerrillas, have instituted an armed campaign against the state. These philosophies are little different from those espoused by the leftist groups of the 1960's and 1970's.

These radicals have chosen symbolic targets for their attacks—military facilities, corporate establishments, the U.S. Capitol Building. Through communiques, New Left groups have claimed credit for attacks, as well as provided reasons for them, thus delivering a message to the American people: Opposition to South African apartheid policies and to American corporate and governmental support of that regime, opposition to American military presence in Latin America, opposition to American corporate exploitation in Southern Africa and other parts of the world, etc. There is little difference between these demands and those of the 1970's. The reasons for the attacks have basically remained the same; only the names and places have changed.

The New Left terrorist organization most active during the 1980's was the United Freedom Front (UFF). This group, which was organized in early 1981, claimed responsibility for 10 bombings and 1 attempted bombing between December 1982, and September 1984. The UFF was comprised of four white males and three white females. A black male was also a member of the group, prior to the onset of its bombing campaign. All of the UFF members had ties to radical movements of the 1960's and 1970's. Several members were also engaged in armed attacks against the system during the 1970's.

In addition to the bombings, UFF members were implicated in and/or convicted of other criminal acts, including the murder of a New Jersey State policeman in December 1981, and the

attempted murders of two Massachusetts State policemen in February 1982. The group also reportedly committed armed bank robberies from Connecticut to Virginia to sustain themselves. They lived under a variety of false identities and usually resided in rural areas, moving regularly. Prior to a criminal act—a bombing or a robbery—group members conducted lengthy and extensive surveillances of the target and surrounding areas. There are no indications that the UFF was connected to other leftist terrorist or extremist groups, except through ideology.

Following intense investigation, five of the UFF members were located and arrested in the Cleveland, OH, area during November 1984. The remaining two members were arrested in Norfolk, VA, during April 1985. Automatic shoulder weapons, handguns, bombing components, and communiques were found in the group's safehouses. Trials have been held in New York and Massachusetts and convictions have been handed down. Other trials are anticipated in the future.

In addition to the UFF, other New Left groups were actively engaged in bombings between January 1983, and February 1985. These included the Red Guerrilla Resistance (four bombings), the Armed Resistance Unit (three bombings), and the Revolutionary Fighting Group (one bombing). Although the identities of all group members are not known, all three groups may be one and the same.

Several other New Left organizations active during the 1980's are the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) and the May 19th Communist Organization (M19CO). The history of these groups dates back into the 1970's to the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), which broke apart in 1976 because of internal dissension. Some former WUO members wanted to con-

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***"The most violent far right group active during the 1980's has been the Order, an offshoot of the Aryan Nations."***

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tinue the struggle alone and adopted the PFOC name, which had been the name of an aboveground WUO support organization. These individuals resided principally on the west coast. Other former WUO members wanted to interact with other radical elements in the struggle and adopted the M19CO name. These individuals were generally located on the east coast. Neither group was more radical than the other, as both were still deeply committed to the cause. Each had aboveground members whose activities generally were nonviolent, and underground members whose identities and activities were not known to law enforcement. Other former Weathermen, including Bernardine Dohrn, Kathy Wilkerson, and Bill Ayers, resurfaced to face charges.

At the beginning of the 1980's, neither the M19CO nor PFOC were known to be involved in criminal activities, but it soon became apparent that some reputed members were involved in criminal conduct. Susan Rosenberg, for example, was a participant in the October 20, 1981, Brinks robbery, during which she and her associates acted in a support role. A fugitive, she and M19CO member Timothy Blunk were arrested in New Jersey during November 1984, in possession of weapons and explosives. Although the explosives were linked to dynamite used by a Puerto Rican group in bombings during December 1982, an exact connection between the two factions has not been determined. Blunk and Rosenberg were convicted on charges of violating Federal weapons statutes during May 1985.

Also during May 1985, M19CO associates Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, and Laura Whitehorn were arrested in New York City and Baltimore, MD. Materials seized at a safehouse in Baltimore included bombing components, weapons, false identifications, and a

target list and surveillance notes for possible bombings.

Neither the M19CO nor the PFOC has claimed credit for a terrorist act. During the 1980's, members of these groups have participated in legal political activities, such as attending rallies and demonstrations and supporting captured leftist terrorists.

#### **Puerto Rican Leftists**

The actions of Puerto Rican terrorists revolve around attempts to gain independence for Puerto Rico through violence. They consider their activities to be acts of war, and when captured, they consider themselves to be prisoners of war.

The wave of attacks by Puerto Rican groups during the 1970's has carried over into the 1980's. Since 1980, Puerto Rican terrorists in the United States and Puerto Rico have been responsible for more than 70 terrorist incidents. Included in these are bombings, assassinations, armed robberies, and rocket attacks. Targets have been military facilities and personnel (especially in Puerto Rico), U.S. Government facilities, and corporate interests. Seventeen of these attacks occurred in the continental United States.

The Puerto Rican group most active in the continental United States during the 1980's has been the Armed Forces of the National Liberation, or FALN. Since 1974, this group has been responsible for more than 100 terrorist attacks in the United States; however, the group has claimed only 10 bombings since 1980. All of these occurred in 1982, when the last FALN-claimed acts occurred. The FALN was also responsible for takeovers at campaign offices of former President Jimmy Carter and Vice President George Bush during March 1980.

Eleven FALN members were arrested in Evanston, IL, during April

1980, planning an armored truck robbery. An FALN leader, Oscar Lopez, was arrested in Glenview, IL, during May 1981. He was subsequently convicted of seditious conspiracy, armed robbery, and weapons violations. Four other FALN members were arrested during June 1983, in connection with a plan to free Oscar Lopez from jail. Following these arrests, several FALN safehouses were located and searched. Dynamite, weapons, bombing materials, and bulletproof vests were seized. A second plot to free Lopez during 1985 was interdicted and resulted in indictments of several persons, including Donna Jean Willmott and Claude Marks, who are Top Ten fugitives.

Another Puerto Rican organization that has been active in the United States during the 1980's is the National Liberation Movement, or MLN. This is an aboveground support group for the FALN. MLN members have been involved in legitimate political activities, such as staging and attending pro-independence Puerto Rican rallies and demonstrations and showing support for jailed FALN members. They have not been involved in known terrorist related activities.

Terrorist groups in Puerto Rico, in contrast, have been far more active committing violent acts than have those in the continental United States. Between 1968 and 1978, for example, slightly more than 200 attacks occurred in Puerto Rico. Since 1980, 56 of the more than 70 terrorist acts committed by Puerto Rican groups occurred in Puerto Rico, approximately 75 percent of the total number of Puerto Rican terrorist incidents since 1980.

Of these 56 terrorist acts committed in Puerto Rico since 1980, nearly 40 have been credited to two groups—the EPB-Macheteros and the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican

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Revolution (OVRP). Both of these groups emerged during 1978, when they claimed joint credit for a theft of explosives from a public works warehouse in Puerto Rico.

Most of the attacks attributed to the Macheteros and the OVRP were conducted alone; however, several acts were committed together or with other groups. A majority of the attacks were bombings or attempted bombings; others included shootings, robberies, and two light antitank weapon (LAW rocket) attacks. While Puerto Rican interests have been targeted in most of these incidents, U.S. Government facilities and military facilities and personnel have been attacked with greater frequency since 1983.

Possibly the most spectacular attack to occur in Puerto Rico during the 1980's took place on January 12, 1981. The EPB-Macheteros destroyed nine A-7D Corsair Attack jet fighters at the Puerto Rican Air National Guard base in San Juan. Damage was estimated at approximately \$50 million. The Macheteros claimed credit for the attack in a communique, and they sent a video tape, showing members constructing the explosive devices, to a local television station.

Two other attacks by the Macheteros used a light antitank weapon. During October 1983, the group claimed credit for an attack against the Federal building in Puerto Rico, in support of the people of Grenada. During January 1985, the Macheteros and the OVRP claimed joint credit for a similar attack against the U.S. courthouse in Old San Juan.

During September 1983, a \$7.2 million robbery occurred at the Wells Fargo terminal in West Hartford, CT. An employee at the terminal, Victor Gerena, eluded capture and reportedly was granted asylum in Cuba. Gerena is currently a Top Ten fugitive. Nearly 2

years later, during August 1985, 17 persons were indicted for their role in the robbery. All were leaders or members of the Macheteros or they were associated with the group in some other way. On August 30, 1985, 14 of those indicted were arrested in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Massachusetts, and Texas; 18 Macheteros safehouses in Puerto Rico were also raided and 37 searches were conducted of houses, automobiles, etc. Numerous documents, weapons, and bombing paraphernalia were found.

Until the August arrests, the EPB-Macheteros was considered the most significant terrorist threat in Puerto Rico. The group's ability to operate was severely disrupted because of the arrests, but it was not completely broken. The group has been credited with eight terrorist attacks in 1986. All but one was jointly claimed with the OVRP and the Armed Forces of National Revolution (FARP); however, the Macheteros' name may have been included in these as a statement of solidarity. These attacks occurred on October 28, 1986, at various military installations and facilities throughout Puerto Rico. Two bombs detonated and three other live devices were rendered safe. Five additional devices had functioned but did not detonate, due to inadequate main charges. The Macheteros initially claimed credit for the attacks in a telephone call and provided instructions to locate a communique which attributed the attacks to the FARP/OVRP/Macheteros. On November 4, 1986, the Macheteros also provided authorities with the location of a device that was found and rendered safe.

Because the OVRP jointly claimed credit for the October 28th attacks, for two other attacks in 1986, for two attacks in 1985 (one jointly claimed with the Macheteros), and for five attacks

during December 1984, this group is currently considered the most significant terrorist threat in Puerto Rico.

### **Black Groups**

There have been three terrorist incidents attributed to domestic black groups in the United States during the 1980's. All of these 1983 acts were the result of a religious rivalry. In addition, as least one other terrorist incident was prevented by arrests in 1984, and a possible terrorist plot was prevented during August 1986. Some black groups, however, have been involved in criminal activities, such as murder and armed robbery.

The three terrorist incidents were attributed to the group Fuqra, a black Islamic religious sect headquartered in Detroit, MI. In order to further its religious goals, Fuqra seeks to purify Islam by eliminating rival religious sects, such as the Ahmaddiya Movement in Islam (AMI). During August 1983, several terrorist acts occurred against the AMI in Detroit: The AMI secretary was killed; firebombs were thrown at the home of the AMI treasurer but the bombs did not ignite; and an AMI temple was burned. Fuqra was implicated in these attacks because the bodies of the arsonists, Fuqra members, were found at the temple. They had become trapped setting the blaze and died. The gun used to kill the AMI secretary was found on one of the bodies.

In addition, a possible terrorist plot involving a black street gang was prevented in August 1986, when several members of the street gang, the El Rukns, were arrested in Chicago. Group members had in their possession numerous weapons, including an inert light antitank weapon that had been sold to them during an undercover operation. This group, which has loose ties to black Islam, is a violent criminal organization involved in narcotics traf-

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**"Another far right-wing faction of interest to law enforcement during the 1980's are the tax protest and antigovernment groups."**

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flicking and other illegal enterprises. Some group members allegedly have met with operatives of the Libyan Government. The El Rukns apparently were seeking to commit a terrorist act in return for money. No act, however, has yet occurred.

Black religious cult-type groups, such as the Yahweh Church or Black Hebrews, have also been active in criminal activity during the 1980's. The Yahweh Church is a national organization headquartered in Miami, FL. Its leader is Hulon Mitchell, Jr., also known as "God" and "Moses Israel." This is a violent, black supremacist organization that claims that whites are devils and that a race war will occur in the near future. The group advocates the violent elimination of all forms of government in the United States, as well as white society. Mitchell has stated that all who speak out or act against the church should be beheaded.

Much of the activity of the group is directed toward fundraising, distributing propaganda, etc. Some members, however, have reportedly been involved in murders, beatings, and arson attacks. Arrests have been made in connection with some of these crimes.

In contrast are other black groups which are politically oriented, such as the Republic of New Afrika (RNA). The RNA calls for the creation of an independent black nation out of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The group itself is set up as a shadow government with a president, a vice president, a minister of defense, a minister of justice, etc. Another RNA goal is that the U.S. Government pay all black citizens \$10,000 for their ancestors' slave labor. The RNA publicly espouses the peaceful attainment of these goals; however, RNA leaders also publicly advocate support of revolutionary groups which preach

violence. There have been no terrorist acts claimed by the RNA.

A militant group with views similar to those of the RNA is the New Afrikan Freedom Fighters. During October 1984, nine persons associated with this group were arrested in New York City. They had been planning to blow up police cars and then kill police officers as they ran out of a nearby police station. This was to be a diversion to effect the escape of Nathaniel Burns, a participant in the October 1981, Brinks robbery. Searches of their safehouses yielded weapons, ammunition, and explosives. During August 1985, eight of the nine were convicted of various firearms violations and other charges.

Another militant faction with views similar to the RNA is the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO). The stated objective of this group is to win independence for New Afrika and establish a socialist republic. This, according to the organization, can be accomplished through a people's war. Several RNA leaders and key members are NAPO national leaders.

Some members and/or associates of black leftist groups were involved in the October 1981, Brinks robbery. Marilyn Jean Buck, for example, the only white Black Liberation Army member, was a participant. Chokwe Lumumba, the RNA minister of justice, has been the defense attorney for several defendants in the Brinks robbery case. Jeral Wayne Williams, also known as Mutulu Shakur, who reportedly directed the robbery, was an RNA member. An FBI Top Ten fugitive, Shakur was captured during February 1986. Another RNA member, Cheri Dalton, is currently a fugitive wanted in connection with the October 1981, robbery.

#### **Right Wing**

Right-wing terrorism has become an area of focus for law enforcement

during the 1980's. Although belief in the white supremacist and antigovernment views of the far right is not illegal, the commission of violent acts to further these views is criminal. These acts have included bombings, armed robberies, assaults, and murder. Much of the rhetoric of the extreme right is particularly volatile and corrosive and is a motivating factor in this violence.

Unlike leftist terrorists, the terrorists of the far right do not leave communiques to claim credit or provide explanations. Therefore, an act that initially appears to be criminal may, in fact, be terrorist related. Although numerous violent acts have been committed by right extremists, the total number of terrorist incidents directly attributed to this faction has been few—two shootings (1981 and 1983) and four bombings and an attempted bombing (1986).

A basic belief of many right-wing extremists is the superiority of the white race. According to this view, blacks, other nonwhites, and Jews are inferior racially, mentally, physically, and spiritually. Much of this is based upon a racist, anti-Semitic religion, the Christian Identity Movement. This religion teaches that the white race is God's chosen race and that whites, not Jews, are the true descendants of Israel. Jews, instead, are of Satan's bloodline. According to Identity doctrine, the Bible is a history and guidebook of the white race that began with Adam. The appearance of the white race on earth (some 7,400 years ago) postdated black, Asiatic, and all other races.

One of the leaders of this philosophy is the Rev. Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations, Church of Jesus Christ Christian, which is headquartered near Hayden Lake, ID. His sermons, Identity propaganda, and other white hate and neo-Nazi literature and materials are

distributed nationally from Hayden Lake by members of the group. Aryan Nations members maintain contacts with other far right groups. Symbols, such as double lightning bolts and swastikas, which were used by Hitler's Nazi regime, are often worn by members of the Aryan Nations and other right-wing neo-Nazi extremist groups.

Many followers of the Identity religion live on compounds in isolated areas. Bible readings are conducted and religious instructions are held. Paramilitary and survivalist training also occurs, however, and weapons and foodstuffs are often stored in preparation for the racial and social upheavals that, according to Identity doctrine, will precede the Second Coming of Christ. Some of the groups that are located on compounds include the Aryan Nations in Idaho; the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord in Arkansas; and Elohim City in Oklahoma. Another group, the National Alliance, a less religious-oriented organization than the others, is also located on a compound in West Virginia. A several-day Aryan Nations Congress has been held at the Aryan Nations compound for all but one of the past several years. It is attended by members of a number of far right groups.

In addition to racist views, many right-wing groups also espouse anti-government sentiments. They refer to the Government as the Zionist Occupation Government or ZOG because they view it as being controlled by Jewish interests. Members of these groups engage in paramilitary and survivalist training, believing that the United States is headed toward a moral or economic collapse or a communist takeover.

The most violent far right group active during the 1980's has been the

Order, an offshoot of the Aryan Nations. Another name for the group is Bruders Schweigen or Silent Brotherhood. This group was founded by Robert Mathews, who was an Aryan Nations member. Order members were also members of other right-wing organizations and had become disenchanted with their respective groups' lack of action to further the cause. Among the groups represented in the Order were the National Alliance; various chapters of the Ku Klux Klan; and the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord.

The Order was loosely based on a book, *The Turner Diaries*, written by National Alliance leader William Pierce under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. It is a futuristic account of racial warfare in the United States. In the book, an elite and clandestine force, the Order, spearheads efforts to destroy the U.S. Government to replace it with one based on white supremacy.

Members of the Order have been involved in numerous criminal activities since 1983, mostly in the northwestern United States. Included among these acts are counterfeiting; armed robberies with proceeds totaling more than \$4 million; assaults on Federal officers; bombings, including those against a Jewish synagogue and a Catholic priest; and the murders of a suspected informant, a Missouri State patrol officer, and a Denver, CO, talk show host.

Between October 1984, and March 1986, 38 members of the Order were arrested. On December 7, 1984, Robert Mathews was killed on Whidbey Island, WA, resisting arrest. Shoulder weapons, handguns, hand grenades and other explosives, money, ammunition, and possible target lists were recovered at various safehouses and other locations.

Another group that was involved in criminal activity is the Covenant, the

Sword, the Arm of the Lord (CSA). Beginning in 1980, some CSA members were involved in bombings, arsons, robberies, and the murder of a black Arkansas State policeman. During April 1985, the CSA compound was raided by Federal authorities. Military surplus equipment, shoulder weapons, a heavy machine gun, money, handguns, and grenades and other explosives were found in a search of the compound. A total of five persons were arrested, including four Order members, two of whom were fugitives, and CSA leader James Ellison. Other CSA members were arrested at a later time. Of the CSA and Order members arrested, all either pled guilty to charges or were convicted in Federal or State courts. As a result, the threat posed by these two groups has significantly decreased.

Another far right-wing faction of interest to law enforcement during the 1980's are the tax protest and anti-government groups. Organizations such as the Sheriff's Posse Comitatus (SPC) and Arizona Patriots view Federal and/or State authority with suspicion. They espouse parochial as opposed to national interests, and they desire that there be as little government involvement as possible in their lives. They advocate nonpayment of taxes and regard Federal and State laws as unconstitutional. The SPC, for example, views the local sheriff as the only legitimate law enforcement authority and the only legal elected authority, and it regards the justice of the peace as the highest court in the country.

The SPC, however, is the only tax protest group to which a terrorist incident has been attributed. This occurred during February 1983, in North Dakota when SPC members fired upon authorities attempting to arrest Gordon Kahl, an SPC leader, for tax evasion. A U.S. marshal and a deputy U.S. mar-

**"During the 1980's, approximately 20 terrorist incidents and numerous other acts of violence, including extortion and threats, have either been claimed by or attributed to militant Jewish terrorists."**

shal were killed. Kahl himself was killed during June 1983, by authorities trying to arrest him in Arkansas. A county sheriff was also killed at this time. Other SPC members have been arrested for weapons violations and assault. This group, which has autonomous chapters or adherents throughout the country, continues to be a threat because of its penchant for violence.

A favorite target of these anti-government groups is the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). The leader and several members of the group Committee of States were arrested during October 1986, in Arizona, California, and Nevada by IRS agents for threats made against IRS personnel. On December 15, 1986, eight members/associates of the Arizona Patriots, including its leader, were arrested in connection with a proposed armored truck robbery and other offenses.

Other white supremacist groups

active during the 1980's include the White Patriot Party, the National Alliance, the National Socialist White People's Party, the Christian Patriots Defense League, the Ku Klux Klan, and others. These groups hold many of the same racist and antigovernment values as the Posse Comitatus groups and the Aryan Nations, including the desire to create a separate nation out of five Northwestern States. They are engaged largely in demonstrating and distributing propaganda and they participate in paramilitary and survivalist training. Members, however, have been known to engage in destroying property and making threats against blacks, Jews, and others they regard as inferior. The leader of the North Carolina-based White Patriot Party, Frazier Glenn Miller, Jr., and his second-in-command were convicted of criminal contempt charges in July 1986, for engaging in paramilitary training. The

WPP was dissolved but some members reformed it as the Southern National Front.

A number of arrests involving right-wing extremists occurred in the spring of 1987. During April, Federal indictments were returned against Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations, Robert Miles of the Mountain Church of Michigan, and 13 others, representing such organizations as the Order, the SPC, various factions of the Ku Klux Klan, and the CSA. Among the charges in the indictments were seditious conspiracy, interstate transportation of stolen money, and attempted murder of a Federal official. Seven of the individuals listed in the indictments were already in prison on other charges; seven others, including Butler and Miles, were arrested on April 24, 1987; and one other individual, Louis Beam, remains at large, a Top Ten fugitive.

In addition to these arrests, on

## **Terrorists on the FBI's Top Ten**



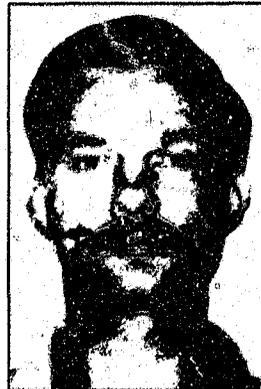
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*Donna Willmott*



*Victor Gerena*



*Louis Beam*

April 15, 1987, Glenn Miller, formerly of the WPP, mailed copies of a letter that he had written to other right-wing extremists. In this letter, he declared war on ZOG and stated that he had gone underground. On April 30, 1987, Miller and three others were arrested in Ozark, MO; Miller was charged with violating terms of his parole. Among the materials recovered were weapons, including rifles, shotguns, and cross-bows; pipebombs; homemade military-type hand grenades; ammunition; gas masks; money; and bombing paraphernalia.

### **Jewish Extremists**

During the 1980's, approximately 20 terrorist incidents and numerous other acts of violence, including extortion and threats, have either been claimed by or attributed to militant Jewish terrorists. Groups claiming credit for these attacks have been the United Jewish Underground, the Jewish Defense League, the Jewish Defenders, and the Jewish Direct Action. Included in these attacks were smoke bombings, fire bombings, and pipe bombings. As a result of these acts, three persons were killed and many more were injured.

Persons, organizations, or other elements deemed anti-Semitic, or overly supportive of Arab efforts determined not to be in the interests of Israel, are targets of the Jewish terrorists. In the past, Soviet Government interests in the United States have been attacked in protest of the U.S.S.R.'s treatment of Soviet Jews, Arab interests have been attacked because of the anti-Israeli policies of various Arab states, and alleged ex-Nazi's have been attacked because of their reported participation in atrocities against the Jewish people during World War II. The two most recent incidents attributed to Jewish terrorists involved the throwing of a tear gas canister during

the performance of a Soviet dance troupe in New York City in September 1986, and an arson at Avery Fisher Hall in New York City prior to a performance by a Soviet symphony orchestra in October 1986. Most of the attacks by the Jewish terrorists have occurred in the New York City metropolitan area; however, attacks have also occurred in California, Washington, DC, and elsewhere.

A major pro-Jewish group in the United States is the Jewish Defense League (JDL). The slogan "Never Again" is the slogan of the JDL. This is a national organization with chapters in numerous American cities. Leaders of the organization have publicly advocated, encouraged, and applauded the use of violence against the enemies of the Jewish people. Although terrorist attacks have been claimed on behalf of the JDL, the violence appears to have been committed by a few of the more militant and hardcore members; the entire JDL organization should not be construed as being involved in these criminal acts.

### **Conclusion**

During the 1980's, there have been approximately 125 terrorist acts attributed to domestic groups in the United States; of these, more than 50 occurred in Puerto Rico. Most of the activity took place early in the decade. For example, 74 terrorist incidents occurred between 1980 and 1982 but only 51 have taken place since. Puerto Rican groups accounted for 41 incidents during 1981 and 1982 but only 20 thereafter. White leftist groups accounted for 16 of their 21 incidents during 1983 and 1984 but none since. Between 1982 and 1985, the total number of incidents by domestic groups decreased from 35 to 7. During 1986 this figure rose to 17; however, it can be explained in that

there were two instances of multiple bombings that accounted for 11 of the 17 total incidents.

Much of this decreased domestic terrorist activity is the result of arrests made by Federal authorities, often coordinated with State and local officials through joint terrorism task forces. Nearly 100 fugitive terrorists, including several FBI Top Ten fugitives, have been apprehended during the 1980's; many have received lengthy prison sentences. This success has greatly diminished the operations of some terrorist organizations. In at least one instance, the entire group was arrested (the United Freedom Front). In other instances, the leadership structure and/or membership of a group was removed; many groups have had to reconstruct membership or leadership elements as a result.

The groups that commit terrorism, however, are far from being eliminated. Many support elements exist which, if given the proper circumstances, could become more deeply committed to their cause. Certainly, the issues that have generated terrorist activity remain. So long as these issues exist, terrorism, in the form of violent criminal acts to achieve these goals, will remain. The desire for Puerto Rican independence will surely generate future criminal acts by a fanatical few; the values of the left will largely continue unaltered, although specific issues may change; and the white supremacist attitudes of the far right will not likely fade.

Terrorism is cyclic in nature. Activities occur because of certain issues; when the issues fade or the terrorists are arrested, the activities will generally subside. But different issues will arise and different terrorists will come forth to commit new acts. And so the cycle continues.

**FBI**