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WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND TERRORISM: PROLIFERATION BY NON-STATE ACTORS

by

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Executive Order No. 12938 signed by President Clinton on November 14, 1994 declared a national emergency with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat that proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (those weapons categorized as nuclear, chemical or biological) poses to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.

In the wake of the Cold War, a new world disorder seems to be emerging wherein the legitimacy of many states is being challenged from within by increasing non-state calls for self-determination from the likes of religious cults, hate groups, isolationist movements, ethnic groups, and revivalist movements. These movements often prey on the insecurities of the population, offering to fill psychological, social, political, or religious security needs of those who would join them. Religious oriented groups appear to share a common ideology which rejects existing social, economic, and political structure demanding a drastic revision of the world - a world where they become the authoritarian, dominant influence. These are the Post-Modern Terrorists who possess a "ripeness" to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction.

This study presents an argument suggesting that terrorist groups operating under the veneer of religion are truly the most likely candidates to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction in a mass casualty causing terrorist act.

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WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND TERRORISM: PROLIFERATION AND THE NON-STATE ACTOR

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
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ABSTRACT

In the wake of the Cold War, a new world disorder seems to be emerging wherein the legitimacy of many states is being challenged from within by increasing non-state calls for self-determination from the likes of religious cults, hate groups, isolationist movements, ethnic groups, and revivalist movements. These movements often prey on the insecurities of the population, offering to fill psychological, sociological, political, or religious security needs of those who would join them. Of note: religious oriented groups appear to share a common ideological thread that rejects existing social, economic, and political structure demanding a structural revision of the world, a world where they become the authoritarian, dominant influence. These are the Post Modern Terrorists who possess a "ripeness" to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction.

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This study presents an argument suggesting that terrorist groups operating under a veneer of religion are truly the most likely candidates to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction in a mass casualty causing terrorist act.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To date, most informed opinions on non-state political violence have suggested that terrorist of the future will neither seek to develop nor threaten to use weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Arguments supporting this position are typically presented through a framework of outdated assumptions that have been in use since the days of the late nineteenth century Russian Nihilist movement.

These assumptions suggest that: (1) terrorist groups are nothing more than a collection of frustrated, political actors bent on correcting a perceived flaw in the socio-political order of the state. The cause to take up terrorism evolves adjunct to their failure or inability to influence the political, economic and/or social conditions that define their environment; (2) that these frustrated actors adopt terrorism as a means to force their political agenda through the use of directed and carefully modulated violence. This violence is designed to communicate a complex message that primarily gains the terrorist group public recognition for their cause. Unmitigated destruction and violence is not the goal as noted by Brian Jenkins who suggests that "terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead;" (3) terrorists are mirror imaging rational actors, e.g., their behavior is normative. As such, they understand that exceeding a certain violence threshold may result in a globally enjoined effort to eradicate them. Finally it is assumed that the technology and associated costs involved in the development and production of weapons of mass destruction are beyond the reach of the non-state group. For these reasons the image of the classical terrorist of the twentieth century has not included WMD. However, these traditional arguments have all been weakened due to the changing nature of the terrorist phenomenon. Specifically these changes are emerging in areas related to supply and demand variables that certainly influence a non-state group's decision to develop and threaten use of WMD.

WMD may have strong appeal to non-state groups that embrace a religious ideology affiliated with apocalyptic millennialism, redemptive fanaticism or racist/ethnic hate. Where traditional terrorists typically conduct their actions within certain violence thresholds, those operating under the aforementioned belief systems are arguably not subject to the same constraints as they conduct their acts to satisfy a higher authority, namely God. These groups may be attracted to the power that ownership of WMD provides precisely because WMD use can result in mass casualties and mass disruption against an "enemy" defined by their religious beliefs. Non-state groups operating under the cloak of religion might very well be the most likely candidates to use the unlimited or disproportionate violence WMD afford.

Much as scientific, technological, and social changes continually influence the art and science of warfare, so too have these factors influenced the behavior and enhanced the capabilities of the terrorist. The divergence from traditional means to ends in recent terrorist acts is evident in the 1993 World Trade Center complex bombing; the 1995 Oklahoma Federal Building bombing and the Tokyo nerve gas attack; and the 1996 bombing of U.S. personnel in Saudi Arabia. New twists on old ideological imperatives, coupled with the availability of more lethal weapons and weapon related technologies, are rapidly enabling the terrorists to cause large-scale death and destruction. Again, for the terrorist empowered by an underpinning of religion, the ability to please God by killing his enemies *enmasse* with WMD becomes an end unto itself.

The ultra-violent terrorist act followed by silence has increased in frequency. Many times in recent years terrorist acts have been committed without a group stepping forward to claim credit for the event. Where traditional terrorists use the event to gain access to a bullypulpit to air their grievances, these silent terrorists desire to send a message that creates a superordinary sense of overwhelming fear and vulnerability amongst their enemies. Additionally, non-state, religiously oriented groups arguably have no great need

for media assistance to articulate their cause, as the intended audience is their own closed-cell constituency - and God.

The change in the characterization of terrorism may be indicative of a new era, one in which the traditional, constrained terrorist of the twentieth century is supplanted by the ultra-violent post-modern terrorist of the twenty-first century. Post-modern because of the manner in which they employ advanced technology, and anonymity, to commit destructive acts traditionally viewed as disproportionate to their goals. Capitalizing on the highly cultivated fear WMD use engenders may convince these groups that they possess a power great enough to compel the state to concede to their demands. If the state is not prepared to respond effectively to multiple WMD crises, and to manage the consequence of such attacks, non-state groups may actually be able to achieve their desired goals. Armed with WMD, the non-state group may achieve its objective, circumventing the need to engage in a protracted terrorist campaign.

WMD use can cause mass casualties and substantial infrastructure disruption, far more than that caused by any previous acts of terrorist. Since the threat to use WMD affords the non-state group a powerful tool (to compel, deter, or destroy) that heretofore has not been available to them, non-state proliferation presents a serious security concern to the global community. Despite the existence of a robust, widely supported international regime to control the spread of WMD, the consensus of various scholars and policy makers identifies WMD proliferation as a top security threat to our nation. Senator Sam Nunn's address concerning proliferation echoes these sentiments:

> The number one security challenge in the United States now and probably for years ahead is to prevent these weapons of mass destruction, whether chemical, biological or nuclear, and the scientific knowledge of how to make them, from going all over the world to rogue groups, to terrorist groups, to rogue nations.

In November of 1995 Congressional hearings on the potential for non-state group employment of WMD concluded with the assertion that non-state

proliferation poses a difficult challenge to our national security primarily because these groups are exceptionally hard to target, and much harder to deter, much more so than an identifiable rogue state. It is quite clear that when a non-state group, such as Aum Shinrikyo, is able to develop a WMD capability, a major failure within the international community has occurred that must certainly be remedied. That failure relates to two significant deficiencies. First, our collective, intelligence capabilities need to be improved. Strategies that might facilitate improvement include the development of more robust international information sharing protocols between national-level investigative bodies. Interpol and the FBI provide good examples. Other improvements might be found in the development of cooperative efforts enjoined by foreign, federal, state, and local law enforcement and intelligence-related communities. As discussed in Congressional hearings held in November of 1995, the threat posed by Aum was never even on our intelligence "radar screens." If we are going to marginalize the efforts of groups such as Aum, we must fine tune our intelligence apparatus so that we can identify these groups, their capabilities, and intentions. By doing this we assure ourselves the ability to operate inside the terrorist group's "decision making loop." Operating inside this "loop" will allow us to preempt the terrorist action before it occurs. Second, export controls and domestic efforts to restrict the sale of chemical/biological precursors, dual use technology and equipment must be strengthened.

Aum has proven that a determined non-state group can amass material, know-how, and equipment to develop and threaten the use of WMD. The concern now lies in discerning what the next group will do, having learned from Aum's mistakes. A robust effort to improve our knowledge of terrorist groups through human and open source intelligence gathering, coupled with strengthened efforts to control access to chemical and biological agents, their precursors and duel use equipment, will certainly help to minimize the WMD threat posed by these "post-modern-terrorists."

I. INTRODUCTION

A. PURPOSE

This study seeks to present an heuristic argument suggesting that non-state groups motivated by religious ideologies affiliated with apocalyptic millenialism, radicalized redemption, or racist/ethnic hate are the most likely candidates to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in a terrorist action. The objective of this research is two fold: first, to develop an understanding of why WMD use is attractive to these groups, and second, to identify the critical pre-condition indicators (variables) that exist in a group that possesses WMD potential. Through the theoretical frameworks developed by this study, discernment of the motivations and intentions underpinning the non-state WMD threat becomes a possibility. At least one of these frameworks may possess a sufficient predictive power that might be used to forecast the emergence of a non-state group that might threaten WMD use.

Most studies attempting to analyze terrorist group motivations and intentions meet with the same constraint: lack of an empirical data base to support a relevant hypothesis. Underlying this assumption Alex P. Schmid, a professor with The Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Leiden, Switzerland, suggests that:

> It has to be stressed from the beginning that the term 'theory' is taken more in the sense of "current thinking" and interpretation than in terms of formal proposition which have been operationalized and tested empirically. Theories in the more rigorous sense of that term, with

prognostic power, are inexistent.[1]

The same data constraints which have thwarted other attempts to provide general theories regarding aspects of the terrorist phenomenon affect this study as well.[2] At present no general theory, hypothesis, or attribute set specifically designed to analyze the threat of WMD terrorism exists. This condition then begs the question, how can any worthwhile conclusions be made in support of an argument if there is no empirical data? To offset the absence of empirical data on this aspect of terrorism, exploratory research was conducted to select a suitable methodology and framework for analysis. Conclusions suggested that case study and framework-comparative method would be most appropriate for the task.

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[1] Alex P. Schmid, Political Terrorism: Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature, (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1983), 161.

[2] Martha Crenshaw and Nathan Leites attribute this to the lack of systematic, standardized, analysis. See Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," Comparative Politics, vol. xii, no. 4 (July, 1981), 379; also Martha Crenshaw,"The Subjective Reality of the Terrorist: Ideological and Psychological Factors in Terrorism," in Robert O. Slater and Michael Stohl, eds., Current Perspectives on International Terrorism, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 13; also Nathan Leites, "Understanding the Next Act," Terrorism, v.3, n. 1-2 (1979), 1.

1. Case Selection

There is a "universe" of cases in which WMD use by terrorists has been documented.[3] In this "universe" the acts have ranged from assassinations using toxin tipped umbrellas, to product contamination, to the dispersion of toxic nerve gas in a crowded subway complex in an effort to cause mass casualties. For this study the focus is narrowed to examine that area of the universe involving religiously oriented non-state groups which advocate the use of ultra-violent means to cause mass casualties. Cases selected for this study include the Japanese terror cult "Aum Shinrikyo," whose members dispersed nerve gas in a Tokyo subway; "The Jihad Organization," comprising the Islamic radicals who have been accused of bombing the World Trade Center complex; and a right-wing extremist (U.S.) group known as "The Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord" (CSAL).

These cases were chosen for the following reasons. First, they represent a cultural and geographic spread that magnifies seemingly inherent differences between them. Second, they occurred in the past decade (two of them after 1993), a time characterized by remarkable advances in technology and science and changes in the orientation of global power structures. These advances and changes have fueled speculation concerning the emergence of terrorist

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[3] Bruce Hoffman, Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1994), 3. Also see Ron Purver, "Chemical and Biological Terrorism: The Threat According to the Open Literature," report, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, (June, 1995).

"...super-violence, mass destruction terrorism, or nationally-disruptive terrorism,"[4] speculation that has been recognized as a reality. Third, in all three cases, groups violated or planned to violate the established "norms" of expected terrorist group behavior, i.e., their doctrine and strategy called for goal attainment through the use of violence to cause mass casualties or mass disruption. Traditional understanding of terrorism suggests that acts of violence are constrained, committed to gain attention, not to cause mass casualties.

These cases may well represent the beginning of a "paradigmatic shift" regarding the utility of constrained violence. Though it appears that religiously-oriented, non-state terrorist groups have taken the lead in committing ultra-violent terrorist acts, a contagion (copy-cat) effect may infect other, more secularly oriented groups. Studies focusing on the intensity of violence in terrorist acts would elucidate this paradigm shift. For now, the hypothesis remains an interesting question outside the scope of this particular study.

An antithetical case of a group that would probably not desire to threaten use of WMD, the Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army (PIRA), is examined to provide a balance to the study as an apparent disconfirming case . It has been selected because: (1) though religious overtones characterize the violence perpetrated by the PIRA, there are significant constraints that argue against this non-state group pursuing the use of WMD; (2) the PIRA has been subjected to the same technological advancements and global power changes

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[4] Purver, 2.

as the other three cases analyzed.

B. PERSPECTIVE: THE POST-MODERN TERRORIST

To date most informed opinions about non-state group political violence have held that the terrorist of the future will neither seek to develop nor threaten to use weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Arguments supporting this position are typically presented through a framework of assumptions used since the days of the late nineteenth century Russian Nihilist movement. These assumptions suggest that: (1) terrorist groups represent a collection of frustrated, political actors bent on correcting a perceived flaw in the socio-political order of the state. The reason to take up terrorism derives from their failure or inability to influence political, economic and/or social conditions that define their environment;[5] (2) these frustrated actors adopt terrorism as a means to force their political agenda through the use of directed and modulated violence. This violence is designed to communicate a complex message that draws public attention to the terrorist group's cause. Unmitigated destruction and violence is not the goal, as noted by Brian Jenkins, who suggests that "terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead;"[6] (3) terrorists are "mirror-imaging" rational actors, e.g., their behavior is normative.[7] As such they are subsumed to understand that

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[5] Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism," in Walter Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 17-24.

[6] Brian Jenkins, The Potential for Nuclear Terrorism, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1977), 8.

[7] Discussions with Dr. Jerrold Post, M.D., Washington D.C., October 25, 1996.

exceeding a certain violence threshold may result in a major effort to eradicate them.[8] Finally it is assumed that the technology and associated costs involved in the development and production of WMD are beyond the reach of the non-state group.[9] For these reasons the image of the classical terrorist of the twentieth century has generally not included WMD. However, these traditional arguments have weakened during the last decade due to the changing nature of the terrorist phenomenon. Specifically these changes are emerging in areas related to supply and demand variables, variables that influence a non-state group's decision to develop and use WMD.

Supply issues suggest that: (1) the availability of materials and technical requirements to produce an elementary WMD capability are well within the reach of contemporary non-state groups; (2) that many groups have the financial capacity to fund such programs; (3) that individuals knowledgeable of WMD technologies are involved with groups that might threaten the use of WMD.

Demand issues revolve around the notion that ownership and use of WMD by a non-state group provides a negotiating tool of great status, and power. Thomas Schelling notes that a terrorist organization which achieves a

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[8] Ted Robert Gurr, "Terrorism in Democracies: Its Social and Political Bases," in Walter Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 94.

[9] Karl-Heinz Kamp, "Nuclear Terrorism-Hysterical Concern or Real Risk?," German Foreign Affairs Review, v. 46, n. 3, (1995).

WMD capability ascends to a higher position of relative power and prestige.[10] Additionally, the absence of territorial boundaries in the case of the non-state group serves to make state retaliation more difficult as the terrorist becomes hard to target, a problem that Marrs suggests serves to "vitiate the retaliatory threats of the state."[11]

It is noteworthy that Schelling's and Marrs' aforementioned arguments may have strong appeal to non-state groups that embrace a religious ideology affiliated with apocalyptic millennialism, redemptive fanaticism or racist/ethnic hate. Where traditional terrorists typically operate within certain violence thresholds, those operating under the aforementioned belief systems are probably not subject to the same constraints as they conduct their violent acts to satisfy (in their belief) a higher authority, God. These groups may be attracted to the power ownership of WMD affords precisely because WMD use can result in mass casualties and mass disruption against an "enemy" defined by their religious beliefs.

1. The "Post-Modern Terrorist"

Much as scientific, technological, and social changes continually influence the art and science of warfare, so to have these things influenced the behavior and enhanced the capabilities of the terrorist. Recent studies suggest

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[10] Thomas Schelling, "Thinking about Nuclear Terrorism," International Security, v.6, n.4, (Spring 1982), 68-85.

[11] Robert W. Marrs, "Nuclear Terrorism: Rethinking The Unthinkable," Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, (December, 1994), 3.

that terrorists are becoming increasingly more lethal and violent.[12] The days of constrained or modulated violence in some cases may be over. Drawing on the work of Mark Juergensmeyer an "ultra-violent" act is defined as one which involves killing or planning to kill others *en-masse*. This killing is conducted outside the boundaries of warfare and punishment in such a horrific manner as to elicit total revulsion and anger from those who witness or become aware of the act.[13]

The divergence from traditional "means to ends" in recent terrorist acts is evident in the bombing of Pan Am flight 103; the 1993 World Trade Center complex bombing; the 1995 Oklahoma Federal Building bombing, and the Tokyo nerve gas attack; the 1996 Hamas bombings in Israel, IRA bombings in London, and the Islamic radical bombing of Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. New twists on old ideological imperatives, coupled with the availability of more lethal weapons and weapon related technologies, are rapidly enabling the terrorists to cause large scale death and destruction.[14] Again, for the terrorist empowered by an underpinning of religion, the ability to please God by killing his

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[12] Jeffry D. Simon, "Terrorists and the Potential Use of Biological Weapons: A Discussion of Possibilities," R-3771-AFMIC, (Santa Monica CA: Rand Corporation, 1989), 5.

[13] Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Logic of Religious Violence," in D. Rapaport, ed., Inside Terrorist Organizations, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 177.

[14] Simon., 5. Also see Bruce Hoffman,"Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Terrorism in the United States,"R-3618, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1988), 10.

enemies *en-masse* with WMD, becomes an end unto itself.

The ultra-violent terrorist act followed by silence is increasingly frequent. Many times in recent years terrorist acts have been committed without a group stepping forward to claim credit for the event. Events such as the downing of Pan Am flight 103, the Air India flight that crashed off the Irish coast in 1988, the recent terroristic bombing at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, all suggest a shift in terms of the message the terrorist act is supposed to send. Where traditional terrorists use the event to gain access to a "bullypulpit" to air their grievances, these "silent terrorists" desire to send a message that creates a superordinary sense of overwhelming fear, and vulnerability amongst their "enemies." Additionally, non-state, religiously oriented groups arguably have no great need for media assistance to articulate their cause as the intended audience is their own closed cell-constituency and God.

By not claiming responsibility for the event, non-state groups may actually be able to do more damage to the selected target and, at the same time, escape retaliation. The fact that no one group has stepped forward to claim responsibility for the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing and the downing of TWA flight 800 has, at a minimum, caused difficulties between the U.S. and her economic allies and heightened tensions between the Islamic countries of Libya, Iran, Sudan and Syria vis-a-vis the U.S.[15] This might represent part of a non-

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[15] "French Minister/No Lesson To Learn From U.S. On Terrorism," Xinhua, August 7, 1996; also "U.S. House Report Sees Terror Drive Launched," Reuters, August 1, 1996. As of this writing the cause behind the crash of TWA 800 has not

state strategy to polarize the Islamic community against the West, while causing divisiveness among Western allies. The change in the characterization of terrorism may be indicative of a new era, one in which the traditional, "constrained" terrorist of the twentieth century is supplanted by the ultra-violent "post-modern terrorist" of the twenty-first century. These terrorists are *post-modern* because of the manner in which they employ advanced technology, and anonymity, to conduct destructive acts traditionally viewed as disproportionate to their goals e.g., to compel the state to adopt policies consistent with their societal objectives.

2. Genesis of the Post Modern Terrorist

The emergence of the post-modern terrorist appears to have two causes. One may be religious revivalism. Religion has played a part in legitimizing ultra-violent acts throughout history, acts which have generally been constrained in traditional, secularly oriented non-state groups. Ultra-violent terrorist acts rooted in religious imperatives can be seen in Sri Lanka, where Tamil Hindus are waging a bloody terrorist campaign against the Sinhalese Buddhists; in India and Pakistan where Hindus, Sikhs and Muslim extremist groups are engaging in violent struggles; in Israel where both radical Palestinian and Israeli movements have caused great injury and death in the name of God.[16] The success of

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been determined.

[16] Jeffrey A. Builta, Extremist Groups: An International Compilation of Terrorist Organizations, Violent Political Groups, and Issue Oriented Militant Movements, (Chicago, Ill: The Office of International Criminal Justice, 1996), 663-675, 725-823,

Khomeini's 1979 Islamic Revolution and his calls to propagate Islam through the use of "holy-terror" have also been viewed as enhancing extremes of radical Islamic violence in many locations.[17]

The second cause is arguably related to the removal of constraints imposed by the Cold War, and the subsequent disintegration of a bipolar world order. As a result of this devolution, a new world disorder seems to be emerging in which the legitimacy of many states is being challenged by increasing non-state calls for self-determination. Huntington affirms this trend in a recent essay whereby he argues that the cause of future conflict will be rooted in a clash of non-state, transnational cultures.[18] He suggests that ethnic and religious underpinnings will play key roles in supplanting traditional political ideologies with cultural ones. Where these movements cross each other, bloody conflict will erupt. Prime examples of this phenomenon can already be seen in Algeria, Somalia, Egypt, Sudan, Rwanda, Chechnya, the Balkans, Indonesia, Japan - and even here in the United States.

These movements often prey on the insecurities of the population, offering to fill psychological, sociological, political or religious security needs of those who would join them. Examples of such groups have emerged in the form

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1039-1115. Since 1983 over 50,000 people have been killed by political violence in Sri Lanka.

[17] Amir Tahari, Holy Terror, (Bethesda, MD: Adler & Adler, 1987), 1-20.

[18] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," Foreign Affairs, v. 72, n. 3, (Summer, 1993).

of the Japanese terror cult Aum Shinrikyo, the Identity movement in the U.S., and the radical Islamic revivalist movements that exist in a variety of countries.[19] These religiously oriented groups appear to share a common ideological thread that rejects existing societal structures and demands a structural revision of the world in a manner that will ensure their own dominance. Capitalizing on the highly cultivated fear WMD use engenders may convince these groups that they possess a power great enough to compel the state to concede to their demands. To this end, the threat or actual use of WMD may be the method by which these non-state groups believe they can attack the state and achieve their objectives.[20] If the state is not prepared to effectively respond to multiple WMD crises, and manage the consequence of such attacks, non-state groups may arguably be able to achieve their desired goals. Armed with WMD, the non-state group may achieve its objectives and circumvent the need to engage in a protracted

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[19] The case of Aum is by now assumed to be the first time in which WMD has been employed in a contemporary terrorist attack. However, there is information to suggest that the Islamic terrorists that bombed the World Trade Center may have incorporated cyanide as part of the package. See "Doomsday Cults: Only the Beginning," Newsweek, April 3, 1995, 40. Additionally, in a 1986 Justice Department raid of the Identity oriented group known as the *Covenant, Sword, Arm of the Lord*, federal agents seized approximately thirty gallons of cyanide and plans to poison the water supplies of several unidentified U.S. cities. Also see J.Coats, Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1987), 140; Also see Purver, 86.

[20] The devastation wrought by the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945; the Nazi use of poison gas to annihilate six million Jews during World War II, and the use of chemical weapons by both Iran and Iraq during their war in the 1980's, are all incidents that have served to create a superordinary sense of fear of such weapons in many people.

terrorist campaign .[21]

WMD use can cause mass casualties and substantial infrastructure disruption, far more than that caused by traditional terrorist methods. Since the threat to use WMD affords the non-state group a powerful tool (to compel, deter, or destroy) that heretofore has not been available to them, non-state group proliferation presents a serious security dilemma to the global community.

Recognizing the WMD threat in general terms, President Clinton signed Executive Order No. 12938 on November 14, 1994. This order declared a national emergency with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat that proliferation of weapons of mass destruction poses to the national security, foreign interests, and economy of the United States. On November 9, 1995 a continuation of this order was declared by Executive notice. This declared state of a national emergency has continued. Despite the existence of a robust, widely supported international regime to control the spread of WMD, [22] the consensus of various scholars and policy makers identifies WMD proliferation as

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[21] This concept is similar to one referred to by Tarrow as the "the window of opportunity." See Sidney Tarrow, Power in Movement, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 81-99.

[22] This regime includes codified efforts consisting of, but not limited to those involving the International Atomic Energy Agency, Non Proliferation Treaty, Chemical Weapons Convention, Biological Weapons Convention, export controls through the Zangger Committee and the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Note that though the United States has yet to sign the Chemical Weapons Convention (problems related to private industrial concerns that inspections will result in industrial espionage) the DoD is actively engaged in destroying existing stockpiles of chemical agents and their delivery systems.

a top security threat to our Nation. Senator Sam Nunn's address concerning proliferation echoes these sentiments:

> The number one security challenge in the United States now and probably for years ahead is to prevent these weapons of mass destruction, whether chemical, biological or nuclear, and the scientific knowledge of how to make them, from going all over the world to rogue groups, to terrorist groups, to rogue nations.[23]

Raising the specter of this concern in March of 1995, members of the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo released nerve gas in a Tokyo subway, resulting in the death of 12 people and the injury of 5000.[24] Following this horrendous event, Congressional hearings on the potential for continued non-state group employment of WMD concluded with the assertion that non-state proliferation poses a difficult challenge to our National security primarily because these groups are exceptionally hard to target, and much harder to deter, more so than an identifiable rogue state.

C. DEFINITIONS

Is it truly important to define the concept of "terrorists" or "terrorism?" Or perhaps is this a significant point because government policies are developed as an adjunct to agreed upon definitions. This can be a true dilemma for the policy-maker, for it is definitional concepts that establish the parameters by which counter-terrorist strategies, at both the national and international level, are

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[23] Senator Sam Nunn's comments made during November, 1995 Congressional hearings on issues related to Weapons of Mass Destruction.

[24] "Global Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: A Case Study of Aum Shinrikyo," Congressional Testimony Hearing, October 31, 1995, 1.

developed.[25] Unfortunately the ability to build a consensus relative to these terms is an elusive proposition since there seems to be no precise or widely accepted definition beyond the premise that "terrorism is what the bad guys do."[26] Much of the difficulty here stems from the fact that people tasked with defining terrorism often have a vested interest in either countering it or granting it an aura of legitimacy. "Some governments label as terrorism all violent acts committed by their political opponents," writes Brian Jenkins, "while anti-government extremists frequently claim to be the victims of government terror."[27] For the purpose of this study the following definitions apply:

- Terrorism: A purposeful use of politically, socially, economically or religiously motivated violence, conducted by a non-state group. The violence is symbolic in that the Proximate Target (the target of violence) can be separate from the Ultimate Target (the target of influence).[28] Terrorism is thus an alternative form of coercive diplomacy whereby the primary mechanism to influence the Ultimate target is through the inducement of fear and anxiety.

- Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD): Weapons that include nuclear explosives or radiological contaminants; lethal chemicals;

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[25] Ambassador Anthony C.E. Quainton, "Moral and Ethical Considerations in Defining a Counter-Terrorist Policy," in David Rapaport and Yonah Alexander, eds., The Rationalization of Terrorism, (Maryland: University Publications of America Inc, 1982), 40.

[26] Brian M. Jenkins, "The Study of Terrorism: Definitional Problems," in Yonah Alexander and John M. Gleason, eds., Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives on Terrorism, (New York: Pergamon Press, 1981).

[27] Brian M. Jenkins, "Statements About Terrorism," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. xiii (September, 1982), 12.

[28] This concept is drawn from a definition of terrorism developed by Professor Gordon McCormick, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.

or lethal biological agents (toxins or pathogens). Terroristic use of WMD is designed to cause mass disruption or casualties in order to coerce, compel, or destroy the Ultimate Target.

- Non-State Group: An autonomous organization devoid of any formal, overt connection to the state government. Non-State Groups may be "transnational," e.g., members may not see themselves as citizens of any one country, but instead enjoin with those who manifest common religious, ethnic, political, social, economic or personal objectives that transcend nation-state boundaries. These groups may be recognized as legitimate organizations by the state i.e., be granted legitimate status accorded to religious groups or social organizations.

- Effective Demand for WMD: The condition that permits threatened use of WMD. *Effective Demand for WMD* exists when internal attributes referred to as *WMD Demand Variables* and *WMD Supply Variables* exist in the non-state group. *Intervening Processes* are external variables that are present within the sociopoliticoeconomic environment the non-state group resides in. They are situational in nature e.g., a transnational, non-state group operating in the Philippines would experience a different set of *Intervening Processes* if it moved its operations to the U.S. Intervening Processes, in this respect, can either enhance or degrade *Effective Demand.*[29]

- Cult: A group or sect bound together by devotion to or veneration of the same thing, person or ideal. The ideology of the cult maybe of a sacred or religious nature viewed as anti-societal by a state.

- Mass Casualties: The number of injuries that begins to overwhelm an average metropolitan area's casualty management capability. Ten to fifteen casualties arriving at a hospital emergency room at the same time may jeopardize the ability of the ER staff to effectively and rapidly treat the injured in a timely fashion. This definition is extremely subjective and is dependent on the

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[29] The basic definition of *Effective Demand* was developed by Dr. Gordon McCormick, Ph.D., Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA. The concept of *intervening processes* is a modification of Babbie's *intervening variable*. See Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research; Seventh Edition, (Belmont: CA: 1995), 400. The importance and influence of *intervening processes* was added following discussions with John Arquilla Ph.D., Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.

consequence management infrastructure of the city or area affected.[30]

D. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Chapter II offers a brief survey of theories and hypotheses regarding the phenomenon of terrorism. It is included to provide a summary of the terrorist phenomenon, and an understanding of the magnitude of this issue. Importantly, it also provides a basis for the development of one of the two frameworks used to analyze selected cases. This framework is derived from a synthesis of theories addressing realism, individual/group psychodynamics and organizational process. These are addressed further in Chapter III.

Chapter III presents the methodology and frameworks used for case analysis. It begins by addressing the scope of the study and a brief historical account of non-state WMD use. This is followed with a review of the traditional constraints that have precluded non-state group use of WMD and why those constraints are weakening. The study's methodology, and the two competing frameworks used for case analysis are explained next. Each competing framework illustrates the logic for WMD use by a non-state group. One framework is founded on theories of structural realism; the other is based on a synthesis of theories addressing structural realism, individual and group

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[30] Philadelphia hospitals were recently overwhelmed by heroin junkies (100 plus) who had all acquired and used a lethal combination of heroin laced with cocaine, dextromethoraphan, thiamine, and scopolamine. As reported, some ER facilities apparently were too overwhelmed to accept all the casualties. See "Bad Batch of Heroin Sends Crazed Addicts to Hospitals," Salinas Californian, May 11, 1996, 8A.

psychodynamics, and organizational process. Through both frameworks, specific key variables were identified that when aligned in a "nomothetic" model, seem to provide at least partial, probabilistic, explanation of why a non-state group would threaten to use WMD.[31] The comparative usefulness of each model (as a predictive tools to discern *Effective Demand*) is addressed in case analysis. It is recognized that the true utility of these models would require their use in an in-depth statistical analysis of the universe of cases were WMD interest by non-state groups has been evident, an effort that is beyond the scope, time, and resources presently available for this study. Nevertheless they are presented as means by which non-state groups possessing *Effective Demand* for WMD might be identified.

Chapters IV through VII provide case studies of the aforementioned non-state groups.

Chapter VIII concludes the study by addressing: (1) the main argument concerning religiously oriented terrorist groups and their "ripeness" to use WMD; and (2) the utility of the theoretical frameworks presented to assess *Effective Demand* in non-state groups.

In a testimonial provided to the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Donald Cobb and Walter Kirchner stated that:

...there are over twenty countries suspected of some form of nuclear,

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[31] A nomothetic model involves identifying those relatively few considerations that seem to provide at least a partial explanation for causation or why things occur. See Babbie, 67-69.

> biological, or chemical proliferation. In addition, subnational, organized crime, and other terrorist groups that could gain access to these (WMD) materials are of growing concern...The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is the most urgent and direct threat to national security. The threat to U.S. civilians and interests is real, and the political, societal, economic and psychological impacts are potentially devastating. The consequence of failure in countering the threat could be catastrophic. We cannot afford to be surprised, nor, as one senior government official put it, "exchange calling cards at the site of an NBC incident."[32]

It is clear that the window of opportunity for non-state groups to develop a WMD capability is open. Since it is difficult to preclude technologies with weapon potential from eventually diffusing to a broad audience, it is only reasonable to assume that the "WMD genie" is out of the bottle and in the hands of non-state groups of a diabolic nature. Minimizing the WMD threat posed by non-state groups requires the early identification of their capabilities, motivations and intentions. This study is designed to do this by presenting hypothetical (exploratory) frameworks that possess both explanatory and predictive qualities necessary to address this issue.

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[32] "Reducing the Threat of Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Proliferation and Terrorism," prepared testimony of Donald D. Cobb, Director Nonproliferation and International Security Programs and Walter L. Kirchner, Director of Defense Programs, March 13, 1996 to the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate.

II. THE PHENOMENON OF TERRORISM

A. INTRODUCTION

As noted by Walter Laqueur, terrorism has existed in many different forms, evolving out of religious protest movements, political revolts and social uprisings.[33] In its earliest noted form, terrorism was used by Sicarri Zealots in their struggle against Roman rule in Palestine (AD 66-73).[34] The Sicarri were a highly organized religious sect who employed murder, arson, and sabotage in their drive to ensure that God alone was considered Lord. To this end their devotion to Judaism was so complete that they refused to compromise for less than total religious and political autonomy. Unbelievers that attempted to impose any other sectarian or secular power over the Sicarii were deemed "targets" to be eliminated. This included both Romans and the Jewish moderates in Palestine and Egypt. Given the power of Rome and its hegemony in the East, the uncompromising attitude of the Zealots led to their destruction at Masada where they committed mass suicide rather than capitulate.[35]

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[33] Walter Laqueur, The Age of Terrorism, (Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), 12.

[34] Ibid., 12.

[35] Ehud Sprinzak, The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 24-25.

Rebellion and terrorism are described in historic myth and biblical writings. In Greek mythology, Prometheus rises as a political rebel to help others by rectifying a flawed social order that is viewed as still worth saving.[36] In this effort he provides humanity with the gift of fire and subsequently incurs the wrath of Zeus. From the Bible it is learned that Satan rebels as a function of resentment for having his true nature suppressed. As David Rapoport writes:

> To this end he accepts no responsibility for his action, viewing himself as a blameless victim of powerful, impersonal forces. Because he understands the existing order as totally corrupt, his rebellion aims at creating a new system, one that is global. He manipulates, debases, and destroys existing standards in the effort to create a wholly new life style based on an idea of perfect virtue. But in the end he cannot create, only mock old values by inverting them.[37]

This Manichean view places exclusive principals of organization in deadly conflict with each other, where no reconciliation or compromise is feasible and where evil ultimately is destined to be abolished. Martha Crenshaw seems to be in agreement with this as she notes that, for the terrorist, the world is divided by the "good" represented by the terrorist organization, and a much stronger and pervasive "evil," usually embodied in governmental authority and the social classes identified as supporting the state (Rapoport's powerful, impersonal forces). The terrorists see themselves as elites with superior consciousness and

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[36] David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander, eds., The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justification, (New York: Columbia University Press), 5.

[37] Ibid., 5.

perceptiveness.[38]

Both of these ideas manifest themselves to some degree in the actions and logic of the terrorist who uses violence to alter or destroy the standing social order as a means to pave the way to an ideal future, a way that more often than not leads directly through hell. This observation may be the only point that those who have examined the phenomena can agree upon. The general consensus holds that the search for a comprehensive model or theory to explain the phenomenon of terrorism is exceedingly difficult. For example, in his evaluation of terrorism studies Alex Schmid cautions that:

> The newcomer to the field of terrorism research has to find his way with little to guide him. There is no clear and generally accepted definition of what constitutes terrorism to begin with. Its relationship to other concepts like political violence, guerrilla warfare, political assassination, etc., is insufficiently clarified. The theories which attempt to explain the occurrence of state terrorism or the rise of insurgent terrorism are widely dispersed in the psychology, historical, sociological, criminological and political science literature and the newcomer to the field is likely to waste much time before he gains an overview of the state of thinking.[39]

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[38] Martha Crenshaw, "The Subjective Reality of the Terrorist," 20.

[39] Alex P. Schmid, Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature, 1; also see The Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Idealogies, Theologies, States of Mind, Walter Reich, ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.

As addressed by terrorism experts, attempts to pinpoint causes and develop theories on terrorism have yet to reveal conclusive results.[40] Under the broad rubric of causes for terrorism Schmid qualifies his survey of current theories:

> It has to be stressed from the beginning that the term theory is taken more in the sense of "current thinking" and interpretation than in terms of formal proposition which have been operationalized and tested empirically. Theories in the more rigorous sense of that term, with prognostic power, are inexistent.[41]

At one level, locating the nominal cause of terrorism is a fairly simple and straightforward matter. If we are content to accept the rationales for terrorist acts furnished by the terrorist themselves, then the causes of terrorism are amply evident. But as Abraham Kaplan has remarked, "these rhetorical justifications for terrorism are not necessarily identical to true causes."[42] They could be rationalizations masking the true causes. In a discussion of causes of terrorism Martha Crenshaw writes that concrete grievances among an identifiable subgroup coupled with perceived deprivation, lack of political participation and dissatisfaction with ruling elites provide for preconditions that set the stage for terrorism to occur.[43] In this regard, terrorist acts are conducted

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[40] Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 379.

[41] Schmid, Political Terrorism: Research Guide, 161.

[42] Abraham Kaplan, "The Psychodynamics of Terrorism," Terrorism, vol. i, nos. 3-4 (1978), 237.

[43] Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 381-384. Also John Dollard, Frustration and Aggression, (New Haven: Yale University, 1939), 1., and Ted R. Gurr,

to achieve instrumental objectives. Several other scholars suggest that the search for a unified causal model of terrorism is a wasted effort and the phenomena should be examined from the perspective of the beholder. One who holds this view is Austin Turk. He writes that:

> How one approaches the problem of explaining terrorism depends on one's postulate about the nature of the social order. One view is that the basic social reality comprises durable, complementary relationships sustained by cooperative interaction. Disputes are resolved by consensual methods, violence is an aberration, and social change occurs by evolution. The contrary view is that the basic social reality comprises tenuous, antagonistic relationships sustained by explosive interaction. Conflicts are suppressed by deception and force, violence is normal and social change occurs by revolution.[44]

According to Turk's assertions, those who oppose terrorism, including target governments, hold the first view of society, while those who are sympathetic to terrorist causes, including the terrorists themselves, hold the second. This of course can lead to the notion that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter, an argument that says little about the cause of the terrorist phenomenon. However, when used as an analytic framework Turk's assertion might help to organize what is known about terrorism. Along similar lines are two essays published in a volume of works entitled Multidimensional Terrorism. One addresses "The Rationality of Terrorism,"[45] and the other

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Why Men Rebel, (Princeton: Princeton University), 1970.

[44] Austin T. Turk, "Social Dynamics of Terrorism," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. cdlxiii (September, 1982), 122-123.

[45] Robert Maranto, "The Rationality of Terrorism," in Martin Slann and Bernard Schechterman, eds, Multidimensional Terrorism, (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reiner,

"Irrational Terrorism."[46] Schecterman elucidates the basic partition between these two ways of looking at terrorism as he writes:

> Efforts at defining and classifying recent international terrorism overwhelmingly focus on politically motivated behavior as both the causal factor and goal for such activities...the clear implications is that politically motivated behavior is viewed as both rationally understandable and discernable (even if disapproved)...As vital as the inquiry into these more obvious forms of terrorism may be, investigations usually overlooks or inadequately confronts another variation, irrational terrorism, which is more disturbing by its very nature....[47]

By "more disturbing," Schecterman means that "irrational terrorism" is rooted in the individual, psychological motives of the terrorist taken apart from the political cause or goal which is assumed to be only loosely connected to the real cause of terrorism. From these two perspectives a framework based on an assumption that all forms of terrorism may stem from both types of causes emerges.

The best explanation of the phenomenon of terrorism may be found in Laqueur's description of how the West German government approached the study of the subject. Between 1977-1983 a team of political scientists, sociologists, philosophers, psychologists, criminologists and jurists engaged in a

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1987), 11-18.

[46] Bernard Schecterman, "Irrational Terrorism," in Martin Slann, and Bernard Schecterman, eds., Multidimensional Terrorism, , (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reiner, 1987), 19-30.

[47] Ibid., 19.

comprehensive examination of terrorist ideologies, and strategies.[48] What the Germans realized is that terrorism can not be monocausally explained.

In an examination of terrorism, maybe it is more important to target and identify the moment at which terrorism occurs vice why it takes place. Does terrorism begin when members of a radical organization decide as a "group" to conduct terrorist acts; or when individuals actually cross the line to engage in terrorist acts? How this question is answered plays a part in determining which theoretical framework is most useful to explain the phenomenon e.g., those grounded in the works of political, sociological, or psychological sciences.

What the review of literature regarding the phenomenon of terrorism clearly shows is that no one academic discipline can be said to have exclusive claim over explaining the causes of terrorism. It is therefore exceedingly important that individuals engaged in the development of counter-terrorist strategies be sensitive to the fact that terrorist acts may be committed as a synergetic explosion of political, psychological, and sociological forces, an explosion that could very well include the use of weapons of mass destruction.

The following sections examine some, but not all, of the explanatory theories representing four disciplinary orientations used to address the phenomenon of terrorism. These orientations include political science, sociology, psychology, and organizational theory.

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[48] Laqueur, The Age of Terrorism, 163-164.

B. POLITICAL THEORIES OF TERRORISM

The premises of political theories regarding the cause of terrorism are based on the supposition that terrorists are committed ideologues advancing their vision of a better world.[49] From this perspective, terrorism is a rational means by which non-state actors deal with objectionable political, economic and/or social conditions that define their perceived reality. The use of terrorism is a calculated choice by the non-state actor who finds access to democratic processes to be unavailable, ineffective, or too time consuming.[50] Since the terrorist group is militarily weaker than the state in terms of war-fighting capability, the use of "random violence" becomes the only way they can gain attention to "voice" their cause.

One then asks what objectionable social conditions drive terrorists to "react?" The typical response suggests that terrorists react to intolerable conditions imposed or maintained by the government structure or the social status quo. The "cause" to take up terrorism is done to correct the disparity in the distribution of resources between the ultimate target (regime in power) and the group the terrorist organization claims to represent. Philip Karber and R. William Mengel contend that terrorism is a political response to external

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[49] Richard Clutterbuck, Living With Terrorism, (London: Faber &Faber, 1975), 28.

[50] Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism," 17-24.

circumstances imposed by the terrorist's political enemies.[51] Further, they assert that terrorist groups normally arise as offshoots of broadly based protest movements:

> The extent of success achieved by the (protest) movement is, in the main, the measure for the likelihood of a splinter element evolving into a terrorist groups. The greater the degree of success the less likely members will be inclined to resort to violence. Conversely, as frustration builds because of the lack of success or because of actual repression, the more probable a terrorist group will result.[52]

In this respect the terrorist group might be construed as the radicalized membership which splinters off from an egalitarian "social movement" that is deemed by them as "ineffective." Political theories of violence thus focus to some degree on the argument that terrorism is used as a weapon of the "impatient, would be political players," or those who are denied access to the political contestation processes.

This argument has the greatest potential validity when applied to authoritarian regimes that inspire terrorist violence because of: oppression, denial of other forms of political-social protest and change. Further, there are regimes that are too inept to eradicate or contain terrorist groups.[53] Arguably, this assumption suggests that since terrorist groups are politically weak, they

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[51] Philip A Karber and R. William Mengel, "Political and Economic Forces Affecting Terrorism," in Patrick Montana and George S. Roukis, eds., Managing Terrorism, (Connecticut: Quorum Books, 1983), 24.

[52] Ibid., 25.

[53] Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 383-384.

balance this weakness through the use of terrorism. Minimally, this assures their cause will be elevated to the public conscience, a conscience deemed critical to the pursuit of the policy changes they seek. On balance the objection usually made to this last resort or weakness thesis is that terrorism frequently takes place or is directed against regimes that do offer other avenues of political and social change, notably the liberal western democracies. The rejoinder to this observation is made by noting the existence of the blocked society or political immobility thesis advanced respectively by L. Bonante and Franco Ferracuti. The former has written:

> A society that knows terrorism is a blocked society, incapable of answering the citizens' requests for change, but nevertheless capable of preserving and reproducing itself....

In reference to Italy in the 1980s, he says:

> When a Communist party collaborates with a middle class government or actually agrees to share governmental responsibilities with the latter, how much room is there for an autonomous initiative by a revolutionary.[54]

Franco Ferracutti has stated that terrorism can, ironically, be consequence of an overabundance of political stability in that nation.[55] Despite the rise and fall of cabinet and coalition governments, the same classes remain in control to maintain the status quo. In support of Ferracutti's argument,

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[54] Luigi Bonante, "Some Unanticipated Consequences of Terrorism," Journal of Peace Research, vol. xvi, no. 3 (1979), 205-207.

[55] Franco Ferracutti, "A Sociopsychiatric Interpretation of Terrorism," Annal of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. cdlxiii (September, 1982), 138.

Crenshaw asserts that in a blocked society where the elite (potential terrorists) are dissatisfied and the masses are indifferent, preconditions for the emergence of terrorism exist:

> Perhaps terrorism is most likely to occur precisely where mass passivity and elite dissatisfaction coincide. Discontent is not generalized enough to provoke the majority of the populace to action against the regime, yet a small minority, without access to the bases of power that would permit overthrow of the government through coup d'etat or subversion seeks radical change. Terrorism may thus be a sign of a stable society rather than a symptom of fragility and impending collapse.[56]

In such circumstances, terrorism is used by a non-state group unknown or unpopular with a society, as a means by which they can force radical social changes they see as essential.[57] This unpopularity leads them to dismiss possibilities for change through standard political means e.g., the electoral campaign. Consequently they adopt the use of terrorism to improve access to the political process.

Though political conflict theory provides strong causal arguments for explaining the phenomenon of terrorism, several objections which can be made. Political conflict theories characterize terrorists as rational individuals committed to a specific ideological or political cause. As noted by Laqueur, the political/ideological "cause" espoused by many terrorist groups often seems to be more of a pretext for committing acts of violence than an authentic causal

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[56] Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 384.

[57] Ibid., 88. A contemporary example of this is Sinn Fein and the PIRA who suggest that they represent the will of the Catholic majority desiring a united Ireland.

factor.[58] Laqueur further criticizes the arguments that terrorist are political actors responding to widespread oppression or injustice by noting that if such oppression exists, why are the ranks of terrorist organizations not overflowing? Richard Clutterbuck notes this point in his examination of West German terrorist groups as he writes:

> In West Germany in 1968-1970 there were, perhaps some 10,000 radical students who sympathized with the aims of the Baader Meinhof group, but only about 50-100 of these graduated to the hard core of killers in the Red Army Faction (RAF) in 1975-1977.[59]

On balance, terrorist groups are small for many reasons, least of which relate to security considerations. When masses do fill the ranks of non-state groups the situation becomes better characterized as social revolution vice terrorism.

The phenomenon of terrorism may not be totally explicable by underpinning theories found in political science. Valuable insights and contributions may be provided through analytic frameworks afforded by other disciplines. Within the relevant literature on terrorism the work of various psychoanalysts who focus on individual "drive derivatives," seem to overcome some of the problems found in political violence approaches. Drive derivatives are defined as aspirations to satisfy deep psychological needs related to libido

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[58] Walter Laqueur, "Interpretations of Terrorism: Fact Fiction and Political Science," Journal of Contemporary History. vol. xii, no. 1 (January, 1977), 14.

[59] Richard Clutterbuck, The Future of Political Violence: Destabilization, Disorder and Terrorism, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 22.

and aggression.[60] A person's "drive" is the synergistic composite of these "drive derivatives." [61]

Psychoanalytic theories of terrorism also provide a bridge to discussions of terrorism based on sociological interpretations of the causal behind the phenomenon. The following section is presented as a synthesis of theories put forth by noted "experts" in the field of terrorism and psychopathy.

C. PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS OF TERRORISM

Introducing his readers to psychological theories of the causes of terrorism, Schmid contends:

> If it is assumed that nonviolent behavior in society is normal, those who engage in violence, criminal or other, are necessarily 'abnormal' deviating from the rules of society. An outflow of this assumption are the many theories which regard the terrorist as a peculiar personality with clear identifiable character traits.[62]

This assumption arguably contends that many, if not all, terrorists are subject to psychopathologies of various kinds and that they are in essence "crazy." Referring to elaborate initiation rites common to Western-based terrorist groups and their satanic symbolism, Kaplan continues along these lines, arguing that "the Baader-Meinhoff group is not very different in the causes and consequences of their actions whatever their reasons, from the Manson

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[60] Charles Brenner, M.D., "The Mind as Conflict and Compromise Formation," article, New York Psychiatric Institute, (http://plaza.interport.net/nypsan/egoid.html, September 2, 1996), 7.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Schmid, Political Terrorism: Research Guide, 142.

family."[63]

Terrorists engage in violent acts that result in indiscriminate killing of innocent victims, acts typically referred to as unconscionable, or immoral. In spite of this disposition towards the use of violence, no single psychological model has been developed to explain the "terrorist."[64]

Discussions with several psychodynamic (Freudian) analysts, suggest that terrorists may represent a violent manifestation of personalities that range from those that possess a superordinate sense of self-righteous conviction, to the sociopath who functions without the benefit of conscience or morality. This is not to be confused with the psychotic individual, who is completely out of touch with the external world and would be hard pressed to function as part of a terrorist group.[65]

The development of such personalities is blamed on the less-than-complete development of the "superego," which is that part of the psychic structure where individual conscience and morality reside. Since superego formation occurs in the early stages of childhood development, the choice to participate in terrorist acts (subsumed to be unconscionable, illegal and immoral,

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[63] Abraham Kaplan, "The Psychodynamics of Terrorism," 244.

[64] Jerrold M. Post, "Terrorist Psycho-Logic: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Psychological Forces," in Origins of Terrorism, 25.

[65] Discussion with Don Silver, M.D. and B.K. Campbell Ph.D., September 2, 1996. Drs. Silver and Campbell are psychodynamic analysts whose research and practice focus on infant-child psycho-social development.

regardless of personal conviction) is partially explained as a function of childhood calamities, e.g., the calamity of parental disapproval and punishment wherein the child, during a critical phase of personality development referred to as the "oedipal phase of development" experiences tremendous parental disapproval or rejection. Dr. Charles Brenner suggests that:

> ...when a child believes a parent disapproves (thinks the child is bad, naughty, doing wrong) the consequence is believed to be one or more of the other calamities, namely, object loss, loss of love, or castration. In our society, at least, the idea of a parent judging one or more of a child's wishes to be (morally wrong) plays a very important role in every child's mental life and development. Shame and guilt are closely related dynamically because both are consequences of parental disapproval at an early stage of development.[66]

Providing a slightly different perspective Richard Clutterbuck mentions guilt as a motivation for affluent, middle class youth to join terrorist organizations, writing of them that "part of the explanation may lie in a feeling of guilt about their sheltered childhood and the privileges they enjoy."[67] Feelings of guilt have been identified not only as a factor pushing individuals to join terrorist organizations, they also play a part in explanations of why terrorist acts are committed once its ranks are complete. In this context Kaplan refers to a self-reinforcing mechanism inherent in terrorist activity:

> On a deeper level, self destruction may be an explanation of guilt. Terror thereby becomes a self-sustaining process: each act of terror imposes a

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[66] Charles Brenner, M.D., "The Mind as Conflict and Compromise Formation," 7.

[67] Richard Clutterbuck, Living with Terrorism, 131-132

burden of guilt, to be expiated by self-destruction in a subsequent act.[68]

This might explain in part why young men belonging to militant Islamic organizations are so readily able to kill themselves in suicide bombings against perceived enemies. Survivor guilt may play a part in this particular dynamic, as comrades that have not experienced a similar fate despair about being alive and thus engage in suicide attacks or other such operations to show the depth of their commitment to the cause. For the Islamic radical, the promise of paradise for martyrs is also entwined with this hypothesis. Brenner calls this type of symbolic gratification a masochistic tendency, where the atonement e.g., the suicide attack, is done to gain or regain approval of the parent figure, in this case God, and to avoid disapproval or a worse unpleasure.

Dr. Jerrold Post, another psychodynamic psychiatrist and well known authority on the subject, believes that the terrorists are motivated by more than one form of psychological affliction and that they can be categorized to some instances as self-centered narcissists and paranoid delusionist.[69] He agrees with Brenner concerning the importance the role child-parent relations play in the personality development of the individual and suggests the root causes for terrorist behavior resides in experiences of growing up, the influence of parental upbringing and childhood experiences which lay the foundation for an individual

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[68] Kaplan, "Psychodynamics of Terrorism," 251.

[69] Jerrold M. Post, "Notes on a Psychodynamic Theory of Terrorist Behavior," Terrorism, vol. vii, no. 3 (1984), 245.

to become a terrorist.[70] Post cites in his work studies of terrorist conducted by the Ministry of the Interior of the Federal Republic of Germany.[71] These studies suggest that many terrorists suffer from incomplete psychosocial identities, resulting from early psychic woundings. These woundings predispose such individuals to: (1) seek affiliations with like-minded individuals; (2) to externalize the blame for their inadequacies back on society. This strong need to belong to an idealized group, coupled with a predisposition to externalize provides the foundation for powerful group dynamics, dynamics that may result in the commission of the violent terrorist act.

In an analysis of leaders and followers in terrorist groups, Post notes that narcissism and charismatic leadership play key influential roles. Charismatic leadership is described as a relationship between leaders and followers characterized by the following:

- The leader is perceived by the followers as somehow superhuman.
- The followers blindly believe the leader's statements.
- The followers unconditionally comply with the leader's directives for action.
- The followers give the leader unqualified emotional support.

According to Post's research, charismatic leadership is essentially a function of the individuals who need and chose to follow a leader.

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[70] Jerrold M. Post, "Its Us Against Them: The Group Dynamics of Political Terrorism," Terrorism, vol. x, no. 1 (1987), 24. .

[71] Jerrold M. Post, "Prospects for Nuclear Terrorism: Psychological Motivations and Constraints," in Paul Levanthal and Yonah Alexander, eds., Preventing Nuclear Terrorism, eds., (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1987), 93.

Metaphorically, Post describes this as a lock (the follower) and key (the leader) relationship. Drawing on the work of Kernberg's examination of the pathological narcissist, Post suggest that narcissistic personality disorders carry great implications for explaining the powerful forces that emerge in terrorist groups as a result of such relationships.[72]

The development of an unhealthy narcissistic personality results from suffered psychologically damaging childhood self-esteem. From this damage an individual can develop into either a "mirror-hungry" or "mirror-ideal" personality.[73] The "mirror-hungry" personality strives to make up for a sense of worthlessness and they "hunger for confirming and admiring responses to counteract...their lack of self esteem."[74] The "ideal-hungry" personality feels a sense of worth only when they can relate to individuals whom they can admire for their prestige, power, and intelligence. Post provides elucidating insight on what transpires in a group when the forces of charisma, narcissism and paranoia merge. Writing on the psychodynamics within which a religiously oriented terrorist cult may emerge, Post suggests that:

> ...the paranoid belief system has a restitutive function for the individual on the edge of (the) psychological apocalypse. Examination of some religious conversion experiences suggest that they too have this sense

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[72] O. Kernberg, Borderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism, (New York: Jacob Aronson, 1975).

[73] Jerrold M. Post, "Narcissism and the Charismatic Leader-Follower Relationship," Political Psychology, v.7, n. 4 (1986), 678-679.

[74] Ibid., 679.

> making function. On the verge of psychological collapse, some find comfort and meaning and become intensely committed to a highly structured religious belief system. On the edge of meaninglessness, to find a faith which restores a sense of meaning and purpose, to become a true believer, can bring immense relief. Some...become convinced of their own divinity, and see themselves fighting the forces of darkness. If the paranoid with messianic delusions possesses leadership abilities, and can identify a vulnerable populations, the ingredients are present for a (violent) charismatic, apocalyptic religious cult...(such as) Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple of Guyana and David Koresh and the Branch Davidians.[75]

In a final argument for the explanatory power of psychological theories addressing the terrorist phenomenon, Post discusses the influence of low self-esteem. He finds that individuals who come to young adulthood with a deficient sense of self-esteem and inadequately integrated personalities "project" their inadequacies back on society...so that society becomes the evil entity to destroy.[76] In this regard terrorism becomes a response to a lack of self-esteem and the "cause" terrorists fight for ultimately winds up "fighting" for them, e.g., participating in a special group with a special mission boosts their sense of self-worth..[77] On a more systemic level, Kaplan suggests that the issue of esteem provides a causal explanation for why various Arab groups engaged in terrorism following the defeat of the Arab armies in the 1967 war with Israel e.g., it was a

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[75] Interview with Dr. Jerrold M. Post conducted February 9, 1996, in San Francisco, CA. Quotes were taken from the draft notes of a book Dr. Post is presently writing which concerns cults.

[76] Post, "Psychodynamic Theory," 246.

[77] Gordon McCormick, Ph.D., lecture on terrorism in which he discussed at length the issue of the "cause" not being the "cause" of the terrorists' motivation., Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, Spring 1995.

way of boosting their sense of self following a tremendous loss.

These theories all appear to play a role in explaining the phenomenon however, in a short critique of those that would try to explain terrorism wholly through psychological theories Crenshaw notes that an evaluation of the typical terrorist:

> ...suggests that the common outstanding characteristic of terrorists is their normality. Terrorism often seems to be the connecting link among widely varying personality types.[78]

In summation, psychological theories of terrorism provide an understanding of individual behavior, beliefs, and motivations. When psychological analysis is incorporated as one part of an analytic framework that includes socio-cultural (structural), organizational process, and political theories of violence, a composite explanation for why terrorism occurs emerges. This composite framework might better serve those trying to understand the occurrence of the terrorism phenomenon. The next section will address several prevailing thoughts concerning terrorist demographics and permissive (structural) factors that enable or enhance opportunities for terrorist acts. This will be followed by a review of group dynamic and organizational processes theories of terrorism as presented by Post and Crenshaw, theories that draw from political and psychological interpretations but add other concept areas such as group interactions, institution and social structure.

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[78] Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 390.

D. PROFILES AND PERMISSIVE FACTORS

Brian Jenkins notes that "terrorists share a common demographic profile."[79] In a widely -cited demographic profile study of terrorism published by Charles Russell and Bowman Miller they observe that:

> The typical urban terrorist is a young male adult (22-24 years of age), unmarried with some post-secondary school education or training. In many cases they come from middle or upper middle class families with parents holding professional jobs such as lawyers, doctors etc.,. Though many hold conventional jobs most are perpetual students. This accords with a notion that terrorists are generally members of an idle elite, their education placing them above those they claim to represent; their lack of full time careers affording them the time to engage in terrorist activities. Although most West European terrorists tended to specialize in humanities and social science, those from Middle Eastern groups tended to be educated in technical fields such as engineering. Further that most West European and Latin American terrorists were recruited at college campuses where they were exposed to radical ideologies. In fact they note that there is a strong correlation between rapid extension of college education to the Latin American middle class in the 1960s and the increase in terrorist groups in the late 1960s and 1970s. The exception to this pattern involves those groups founded on nationalist or separatist ideologies such as the IRA and some Palestinian groups, were the most common place of recruitment has been prison.[80]

In a contemporary example supportive of Brown and Miller's demographic study, note that members of Hamas who committed the March '96 suicide bombings throughout Israel were noted to be young, male students of

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[79] Jenkins, "Statements About Terrorism," 11.

[80] Charles A. Russell and Bowman H. Miller, "Profile of a Terrorist," Terrorism, vol i, no 1 (1977), 17-30. Note that in this study Bowman and Miller use statistics compiled from over 350 known terrorist representing eighteen Middle Eastern, Latin American, West European and Japanese groups.

engineering studying at Bir Zeit University.[81]

Permissive factors that enable and enhance terrorist activities are addressed at length by Martha Crenshaw in a discussion of societal preconditions and precipitants which emerge as a reaction to modernity. Preconditions, the factors that set the stage for terrorism to occur over the long run, include such things as concrete grievances among an identifiable group such as an ethnic minority being discriminated against by the majority.[82] Contemporary examples of this are evident today in Ireland, the Balkans, Israel, Egypt, Algeria, and Sri Lanka. In support of Crenshaw's observation, Schecterman has suggested that terrorism may be an outgrowth of rapid change in socio-political conditions. He contends that:

> Revolutionary dynamics in innovative technology and economic systems have produced great dislocation and anomie among vast populace, and especially so among the elite of such societies. The universal challenge to older belief systems and institutions, the inability to comprehend changes, and the growing impersonalism involved has led, as in other moments in history, to severe resistance as part of the reaction. Major juncture points in civilization development or undoing produce severe and intense forms of response. Terrorism has been a reaction pattern for many people under such duress.[83]

These rapid changes leave the population feeling disassociated from the familiar

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[81] "Deadly Israeli Bus Blast Rocks Mideast Peace," Reuters News Media, (http://www.excite.com/Bulletin/Reuters/96.3.3.7.NEWS-BOMBING.html.)

[82] Crenshaw, "Causes of Terrorism," 383.

[83] Schecterman, "Irrational Terrorism," 22.

and highly agitated.[84] Examples of this are found in a close examination of events that have followed the disintegration of the Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia into separate states. Conflict and terrorist activities continue to occur in Bosnia as various state and non-state groups within attempt to adjust to changes brought on by the dissolution of the latter. The Former Soviet Union has it's hands full in Chechnya, were devolution of the Soviet Republic has led to a re-emergence of Chechen desires for their own state, a desire that has prompted the use of terrorist tactics to force their agenda.

A subset of preconditions are permissive factors that, as a function of modernity, enable the terrorist group to conduct significant violent acts that affect societal structure. Relevant examples include urbanization-industrialization, which offers the terrorist group a multitude of random targets such as airliners, power grids, computer networks, public utilities and transportation. Diffusion of technology through the media, educational institutions, and the internet, provide the terrorist group with access to knowledge that enhance their ability to develop strategy, tactics, arsenals, communications and transportation networks.[85] The end of the Cold War and the need for the Newly Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union to

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[84] Damian Thompson, "As The Millennium Approaches, The Armageddon Business Is Booming," London Daily Telegraph, August 8, 1996.

[85] For examples of this see David Harber, Assorted Nasties, (Arizona, Desert Publications, 1993); also see William Powell, The Anarchist Cookbook, (New Jersey: Barricade Books, Inc 1989).

generate capital has resulted in a robust trade in small arms and light weaponry, which includes such items as SA-7 shoulder launched surface to air missiles. The availability of hi-tech weapons through the black-market further enhances the lethality of a terrorist group.[86]

Modern education plays a role as a permissive factor in that it has helped to generate an intellectual climate that nurtures pre-terrorist. Here Schecterman provides the observation that "intellectual life has made some followers thoroughly critical of their societies."[87]

E. GROUP DYNAMICS

Post's psychological theories of terrorism present some of the motivations that draw in and hold terrorist groups together. He believes that individuals who have experienced a degree of psychically damaging "childhood calamities" are particularly vulnerable to the powerful influence of group and organizational dynamics. For these "wounded individuals," joining a terrorist group:

> ...serves more than one goal; one is the espoused goal of the group...and there is the goal of belonging so that sustaining the group and one's acceptance by it assume major...indeed preeminent...importance.[88]

Post suggests that the strong need to belong gives strength to the argument concerning the power of group dynamics. So while it is ideology that

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[86] S.D. Mundi, Pangs of Proximity: India and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis, (California: Sage Publications Inc, 1993), 71, 91, 125.

[87] Schecterman, "Irrational Terrorism," 21. This is not meant to be taken as an anti-intellectual statement as education also cultivates values antithetical to terrorism.

[88] Post, "Psychodynamic Theory," 248-49.

holds the group together and serves as the overt rationale for the conduct of violent acts, terrorists, do not commit these acts only for ideological reasons. They also commit them as part of a process to maintain group identity and more importantly, group existence.[89] Post explains that terrorism is caused by a combination of psychological needs and an individual's perception that the group can fill those needs. This is not a static model since the ability of the group to meet individual expectations plays a part in how much the group will influence the individual's behavior, particularly when it comes time to commit a terrorist act.[90]

In an application of Wilfered Bion's contribution in this area Post cites that groups normally work under one or more of three basic assumptions: (a) the dependency group devoted to a charismatic leader, (b) a pairing group dominated by messianic, and apocalyptic projections, and (c) the fight-flight group. In the dependency group the followers turn to the "omnipotent, charismatic, leader" for security. Typical of this association is the blind, unquestioned following of the leader's order as he/she is placed on an ideological pedestal. When the leader fails to meet expectations of the followers, followers may get angry and defect from the group. In the pairing

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[89] Post,"Group Dynamics," 23. In religious groups, it is the religion that serves as the rallying point. In politically oriented groups, the political cause is the rallying point. In single issue groups is the issue of focus that serves as the rallying point...ad infinitum.

[90] Ibid., 25-26.

group members conduct actions they believe will result in the emergence of a messiah, someone who will save them.

Usually it is the "fight-flight" basic assumption which especially dominates terrorist group life. The fight-flight group acts oppositional to the outside world, a world that threatens and justifies the group's existence. The only way for the fight-flight group to preserve itself is by fighting against or fleeing the enemy.[91] To support this proposition, Post refers to the language of absolution that dominates terrorist rhetoric, which promotes a message that outsiders are either for or against the group, that if a person is not part of the solution he/she is part of the problem and therefore fair game for victimization. There is a very close fit between the personality types attracted to terrorist groups and the assumption of the fight-flight psychology that comes to dominate group behavior. Post writes that even healthy individuals can come under the influence of these three assumptions. He states , "for alienated and marginal individuals, who tend to externalize the source of their own failures, the psychological attractiveness of these states is over whelming."[92] Belonging to a terrorist group may become the linchpin of psychosocial identity, Post believes, filling a psychic split or gap in the individual member, "so that the only way the member feels reasonably complete is in relationship to the group."[93]

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[91] Ibid., 31.

[92] Post, "Psychodynamic Theory," 250.

[93] Post, "Group Dynamics," 26.

Group processes tend to reinforce the new member's need to belong. New members are likely to be subjected to comprehensive and consciously-planned programs of indoctrination. Questioning of group decisions or of the group's legitimacy is met with negative sanctions.[94] Members are cut off from any competing messages about social reality or the nature of the group by the characteristic isolation of terrorist groups from society. To further "burn bridges" between the nascent terrorist and society the "new guy" is required to commit illegal acts thus furthering dependence on the group.[95] Other effective forces that create the perception that members must depend upon the group for their survival may be that group cadre assert that counter-terrorist forces have standing orders to "shoot to kill" terrorists on sight, that no surrender is possible. Post comments

> in their intense commitment, separation from the outside world and intolerance of internal dissent, terrorist groups resemble religious sects or cults.[96]

He argues that group belonging heals psychic splits. This enables individual members to cross the line of normal conduct and embrace violent activities of terror, acts done primarily to re-entrench their commitment to the group which supplants the family that never sufficiently existed.

Post posits that the skillful charismatic leader shapes attitudes and

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[94] Post, "Psychodynamic Theory," 250.

[95] Crenshaw, "Causes of Terrorism," 393.

[96] Post," Group Dynamics," 26-27.

induces dependency states in his followers, particularly those that are overwhelmed with fear and doubt. In such individuals it is extremely attractive for them to suspend individual judgement and repose their faith in the leadership of the charismatic who convey's conviction and certainty. Examples of such leader-follower interactions can be seen in the behavior of those that follow(ed) Hitler, Reverend Sun Yung Moon, and the Ayatollah Khomeini.

The last section of this discussion focuses on Crenshaw's Theory of Terrorism and Organizational Process. In her theory, she focuses on individual behavior, moderated by group dynamics, all of which are constantly exposed to change from internal and external forces. Thus her approach integrates political, psychological and structural theories that attempt to explain terrorism and appears to provide a balanced though not final explanation for the terrorist phenomenon.

F. CRENSHAW'S ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS THEORY

Crenshaw's Organizational Process Theory of Terrorism focuses on the internal politics of the organization. She suggests that the keys to understanding how terrorism emerges lies in: (1), understanding the conditions that cause a group to come together and (2), understanding how groups attempt to sustain their terrorist organization. She writes that:

> ...terrorism can become a self-sustaining process regardless of its political consequences, it assumes that the fundamental purpose of any political organization is to maintain itself. Terrorist behavior represents the outcome of the internal dynamics of the organization rather than

> strategic action. The minimal goal of any organization transcends mere survival. Leaders, in particular wish to enhance and promote the organization. Their personal ambitions are tied to the organization's viability and political position.[97]

Crenshaw places great emphasis on the role played by leaders in a terrorist organization. Since the beliefs held by the group leader are determinants of action preferences for the group, it is important to understand the dynamics that shape the personality of such leaders. Empirical evidence suggests that individual motivations and intentions can be discerned based on an understanding of the environmental, social, and economic, forces that shape a leader's personality and thus the group's belief system.[98] Predicting the behavior of terrorist leadership is key to countering the terrorist group's destructive intentions. For the authoritarian leader, the driving force is the fear of being weak, a fear derived from the occurrence of psychic wound occurring in childhood. For example, a child who had been subject to an overly strict, perhaps even brutal, authoritarian parental system might develop, as part of his character, an unbridled hostility toward the state, which he experiences as unjust and dangerous to him and those like him. At the same time he also identifies with the hated parent, becoming himself the sadistic monster, who can

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[97] Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," in David C. Rapoport, ed., Inside Terrorist Organizations, (New York: Columbia University, 1988), 19.

[98] T.W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson, R.Nevitt Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality: Studies in Prejudice, (New York: Harpers and Row Publisher, 1950), 1-27.

justify to himself his brutal acts. Such a person might experience himself as reaching the helpless victims of the state he opposes, just as he might have imagined in his childhood rescuing his passive mother or helpless siblings.[99]

The following attributes have been noted in the authoritarian personality:[100]

- Extreme narcissism, emptiness or shallowness.
- Inordinate longing for status and power.
- Readiness for aggression against the weak or defenseless, primed to externalize against "out-group" others.
- Demands for immediate recognition.
- Uses religious ideas in order to gain advantage or aid in manipulating people.

Leaders are distinguished from rank membership as a function of their perceived authority, commitment to the cause and by their control over organizational resources and incentives that can be provided to organization membership. Leaders in terrorist groups thus hold tenuous and at times paradoxical positions in that they are authoritarian amongst a group that typically rebels against authority.

At the same time, the leader's qualifications and policies may be questioned by the group membership:

> There are no written rules for the election or appointment of a leader: he emerges because he was one of the founders or because his authority was generally recognized. But his position is bound to be questioned

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[99] Concept developed adjunct to a discussion with Linn A. Campbell, M.D., November 11, 1996.

[100] Adorno, et al., 727-781.

sooner or later by others for a variety of reasons.[101]

The leader prevents the success of these challenges through his ability to control a range of incentives that can be offered or withheld to individual members. The terrorist group leader is thus in a precarious situation: he must balance his interests with those necessary to ensure the survival of the organization. This includes those interests related to maintaining his group's position relative to rival terrorist organizations. Incentives are rather complex and include those addressing the groups formal objectives (usually couched within a political aspiration to gain control of some aspect of society), and those that include rewards to members for participating in terrorist activities:

> ...however, the relationship between the actual rewards for membership and the organization's stated objective is not straightforward, since recruits often join an organization for reasons other than ideological commitment. Leaders maintain their position by supplying various tangible incentives to members, rewards that may enhance or diminish the pursuit of the organization's public ends.[102]

Crenshaw lists four types of interpersonal incentives that leaders of terrorist groups apportion to members; the opportunity for action, the need to belong, the desire for social status and the acquisition of material "reward." With reference to action Crenshaw notes that leaders make the decisions regarding which members will participate in a terrorist attack. The operation proper can thus serve as a "reward" particularly for the member who sees his

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[101] Laqueur, Age of Terrorism, 95.

[102] Crenshaw, "An Organizational Approach to the Causes of Terrorism," Orbis, vol. xxix, no. 3. (Fall, 1985), 474.

actions as a professional craft.[103] The incentive of "belonging to a group" was addressed in the discussion on Post's observations. Belonging to a group maybe considered one type of incentive. Crenshaw notes that there are also powerful disincentives to oppose leaders and their policies, specifically the threat of disenfranchisement, which might even mean "death." Leaders can wield this incentive to coerce members to "toe the line," as they strive to accomplish their multiple objectives. The third incentive concerns social status e.g., joining a terrorist organization may bring recognition as a freedom fighter or hero from those the group claims to represent. There is also a status element within the group: individuals may want to conduct terrorist acts to improve their reputation amongst their peers. In support of this idea, Crenshaw notes that during a Congressional hearing on terrorism H.H.A. Cooper stated that "the terrorist, above all, craves respect."[104]

Lastly, Crenshaw writes:

> terrorist organizations offer material incentives, although these are probably less important than the (other) three described.[105]

Leaders can directly or indirectly allocate these rewards to different members or at least influence their chances of obtaining them. Leaders must therefore use a certain amount of skill and tact in doling out incentives which may still not have

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[103] Ibid., 476.

[104] Ibid., 478-479.

[105] Ibid.

their intended effect. In trying to keep his/her leadership position, use of interpersonal incentives provide leaders with some control over the behavior of rank and file members Personal incentives aside Crenshaw emphasizes that:

> ...purposive incentives remain strong for a number of reasons. Collective goals appeal to the individual's sense of satisfaction at contributing to a worthy political cause. Many members sincerely identify with the organizations purpose....[106]

Despite purposive and personal incentives, Crenshaw states that there is a point in the evolution of the organization where the leader's perceived need to maintain the group intact comes to dominate the group's nominal cause as a determining factor. Here Crenshaw draws on James Q. Wilson as she writes:

> Wilson concludes that conspiratorial organizations tend over time to substitute group solidarity for political purpose...as the dominant incentive. This development seems likely to be characteristic of tightly compartmentalized underground organizations. Progressive isolation from the environment reduces the amount and quality of the information members receive about external events. They become less concerned with the achievement of political goals and more concerned with maintaining the group.[107]

The longer a terrorist group is in existence, "the more likely that group solidarity will replace political purpose as the dominant incentive for members."[108] The group leader plays the key role in this largely unconscious shift from political to non-political variables that determine group actions, particularly those which focus on terrorist acts. Paradoxically, as the importance

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[106] Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism," 20.

[107] Ibid., 21.

[108] Crenshaw, "An Organizational Approach," 473.

of non-purposive incentives grows in close parallel to the substitution of group solidarity for political goals, the tendency to engage in terrorist acts rises. In order to enlarge the group's pool of incentives and satisfy rank and file wants, terrorist leaders must plan and execute terrorist events so that in time, terrorism becomes self-reinforcing. In this regard "victory " for the terrorist group becomes a threat because it takes away the group's raison d'etre. This provides an explanation for why so often the demands of terrorist groups escalate and become outlandish. It is not that they are acting irrationally in setting demands that they cannot hope to realize, it is that these demands must be kept beyond the ultimate target's ability to yield to them so that they cannot be met.

According to Crenshaw's model, individual acts of terror are thus a result of decisions made by group leaders to further a range of purposive, personal and organizational objectives by manipulating incentives offered to group members. This leaves open the question of how these groups come into being on the first place. She writes:

> Organizational analysis explains not only why terrorism continues regardless of political results but why it starts. It implies that structural explanations of civil violence are of limited use. The objective conditions likely to inspire grievances and hence incite violence are permanent, whereas violence is not continuous or universal. The formation of organizations, not environmental conditions, is the critical variable.[109]

Crenshaw asserts that terrorist groups come into existence as a function of their collective instrumental desires. Members will likely come to occupy

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[109] Crenshaw, "Inside Terrorist Organizations," 21.

leadership slots within the group as they engage in entrepreneurial methods to attract members.[110] Eventually these instrumental desires are replaced by organizational goals related to the survival of the group.

In a second dimension of terrorist organizational motivations Crenshaw discusses at length how groups try to prevent their decline. Crenshaw writes that:

> Organizations are dedicated to survival. They do not voluntarily go out of business. Right now, the immediate objective of many hard pressed terrorist groups is the same as the immediate objective of many of the world's hard pressed corporations...that is, to continue operations.[111]

One area that causes terrorist groups to go into decline is that of competition. In an elucidating example of this Crenshaw writes:

> Rival groups have competed in a vicious game, where the victims are Israeli citizens or anonymous airline passengers, but where the immediate goal is influence within the resistance movement rather than the intimidation of the Israeli populace or international recognition of the Palestinian Cause.[112]

A prime example of this is evident in the hijacking of the Achille Lauro orchestrated by Abbu Abbas. Here Abbas engaged in actions to upstage the PLO in an attempt to be viewed as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian cause.[113] Terrorist leaders are arguably challenged by the need to

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[110] Ibid., 21. This phenomenon is "classically" observable in the examination of the terror cult Aum Shinrikyo.

[111] Ibid., 22.

[112] Crenshaw, "Causes of Terrorism," 387.

[113] Crenshaw, "Inside Terrorist Organizations," 22.

keep control of their group's position. They do this by providing recruitment an other incentives to attract new membership and to keep existing members for defecting to other groups. This leads too two other areas Crenshaw addresses which explain how members leave a group or voice their discontent.

Given the powerful disincentives followers experience when questioning (voice) the authority of terrorist group leaders, Crenshaw finds "exit" the most frequent recourse for dissatisfied member. She notes that

> the exercise of this option apparently occurs when the most extremist members chafe under the restrictions imposed by the relatively moderate and demand escalation of violence.[114]

The goal of preventing exit by group members to other organizations helps to explain why terrorist groups undertake acts when a more prudent strategy would be to temporarily refrain from action. On this point Post writes that:

> even if the prudent course were to lie low for security reasons, after a time the tensions (between intragroup cliques) become unbearable.[115]

Both Crenshaw and Post indicate that a terrorist group must act even when the external situation indicates a high degree of risk, the alternative being an intra-group implosion of defections or splintering.

The concept of exit also plays a part in those bridge-burning initiation rites mentioned earlier. Such acts create a barrier to the terrorist's return to a non-terrorist life because his illegal activities have made him dependent upon

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[114] Ibid.

[115] Post," Group Dynamics," 31.

the resources and good will of his brother terrorist. Thus the terrorist may hesitate to leave a group unless there is a support network he can move into, such as a rival group.

When group leaders realize the organization is in decline, they may engage in last ditch attempts to keep members from defecting by indulging in frenetic activism. This activism often manifests itself in the form of increased terrorist operations. Terrorist organizations can, therefore, be most dangerous when they are on the verge of falling apart.

G. CONCLUSION

Crenshaw admits that the use of her model has both merits and drawbacks:

> Organizational theory permits us to disaggregate the complexity of opponents values and to differentiate among different types of organizations according not only to purpose but to incentive structures and competitiveness. This theory is, however, less coherent and more complex. It may be less satisfying because the act of terrorism appears to be the random result of unpredictable interactions. This interpretation makes violence less politically meaningful to the observer because its intentions are obscured.[116]

Despite Crenshaw's self critical evaluation, the power of her model to explain the phenomenon of terrorism is magnified by the simple observation that it incorporates key components of the other three theories discussed. To recapitulate, these are:

- Political theories that suggest terrorist groups emerge in response to objectionable inequities that can be of a political, social,

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[116] Crenshaw,"Inside Terrorist Organizations," 28.

economic, or religious nature.

- Theories of individual psychology that address the etiology of personality disturbances, which facilitate individual decisions to join terrorist groups and engage in unconcienable (sic) acts of violence.

- Theories of group psychology, suggesting that while instrumental reasons may bring an individual to a group, it is the desire to "belong" with like minded individuals who have suffered similar psychic wounds that causes them to stay. Identification with the group and its' articulated ideals supplants individual judgement. The group determines the "good and the bad" thus paving the way for the commission of terrorist acts against "evil-outgroup others."

In essence Crenshaw's organizational process theory of terrorism with its insightful discussion of the importance of leadership and organizational survival, might be appropriately referred to as a synthetic composite of theories of political conflict and psychology, a "systems approach" to the analysis of terrorism. So how does this help us to understand the "post-modern terrorist" and those non-state groups that would threaten use of WMD?

Based on Crenshaw's theory, the terrorist group maintains multiple agenda, including the need to control political, economic, social or religious resources and the need to survive. Which agenda receives the most energy is situational, dependent on the group's perceptions of its health as an organization, and security posture vis-a vis "out-group" others. In order to achieve these multiple objectives, the terrorist group must fuse inputs (leaders and followers with "like orientations,"capital, technology) with a managerial processes (planning, organizing, staffing, leading, and controlling) to produce

actions that provide the group:

- The power to force or coerce others to respond in a desired fashion
- Security/survival
- Satisfaction to members
- More inputs

The issue of non-state group survival and the use of weapons of mass destruction is an interesting one. Discussed in the following chapter, traditional opinions suggest that non-state groups will not use WMD precisely because it will hasten their demise. This opinion is predicated on a belief that forces of the state will react in an extraordinary fashion to eradicate the group. As such, no group would seriously engage in the use of WMD to cause mass casualties or disruption. This supposition fails to understand that non-state actors, certainly religiously oriented non-state actors, may at times view the use of extraordinary methods as their only bid to maintain an acceptable existence, or achieve redemption, even if that bid results in their destruction.[117]

Drawing on Scott Sagan's analysis in his essay entitled "The Origins of the Pacific War" he recounts that the prevailing view suggested that the bombing of Pearl Harbor was an irrational decision, indicating the Japanese had "...gone stark, raving, mad."[118] In fact, as Sagan notes, the Japanese decision

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[117] This hypothesis is exemplified by the old testament story of Samson, who, in his atonement for sinning against the word of God, destroys himself and his Philistine enemies.

[118] Scott D. Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," in The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars, eds Robiert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 324-325.

for war was a function of choosing between the lessor of two sub-optimal alternatives. One was to capitulate to U.S. demands, withdraw from China and accept defeat of their plans for conquering Southeast Asia. The other was to strike at the U.S. through a campaign that might allow them a negotiated settlement (hopefully favorable to their end-state desires in Southeast Asia), even if that meant that U.S. reaction could result in the annihilation of the Japanese regime. In fact many Japanese naval and army leaders felt that conflict was inevitable and that it was better to go to war sooner than later, while Japan maintained a slim chance of achieving a settlement that would leave them with their pride and power intact.[119] Sicarii Zealots must have had similar thoughts when they decided to engage the Roman Legions through a campaign of terrorism and insurgency, a campaign they surely knew possessed only a slim chance of success. In the end, they committed mass suicide at the fortress of Masada rather than capitulate to the power of Rome. Analogously, though use of WMD by a non-state group might result in their annihilation, the slim chance that such use could help to ensure group survival, on their terms, may be all that is needed to rationalize WMD use.

Survival, security, and success demand that the terrorist group incorporate a doctrine of flexibility, adopting and adjusting to the changing nature of the environment. The actions that characterize the post-modern terrorist might be explained as part of this adaptive process. Old ideas and

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[119] Sagan, 342.

methods are replaced by new ones involving ideology, technologically advanced equipment and weapons, disproportionate violence, and "silence." The use of WMD by non-state groups may represent part of this "shift." Based on what is understood about terrorist groups (systems), non-state groups that would credibly threaten use of WMD would have to possess certain key attributes. These attributes are addressed in the next chapter and form the basis for a framework by which such groups might be identified.

To explain the phenomenon of terrorism is a complex, convoluted maze of theories and ideas that transcend the spectrum of political, psychological and sociological disciplines. Examining the phenomenon through a the multi-disciplinary framework of organizational process theory may be the only method by which terrorism can ultimately be understood and thus countered. Whether this is an acceptable proposition or not, it is essential for those engaged in the development of counter-terrorist policies to understand the phenomenon from a multi-layered perspective. For as Post notes, if actions are taken based on restricted assumptions and analysis, catastrophes can result.[120]

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[120] An example of this is discussed by Dr. Post wherein he states in his forthcoming book concerning, among other cases, the Waco standoff "...The Federal Bureau of Investigation profoundly misread the nature of the social system within the compound and the nature of Koresh's personality. They defined the circumstances as a hostage and barricade situation, where police rescue doctrine indicates a two track strategy, negotiating while increasing pressure. They misdiagnosed Koresh as a psychopath, a manipulative con man. As the foregoing makes evident, Koresh's followers were by no means hostages but committed followers of the charismatic leader of a closed apocalyptic religious cult. Koresh, while possessing many manipulative and sociopathic characteristics, was also paranoid, grandiose, delusional, and moving in and out of reality, traits consistent with the so-called "borderline disorder." Such

individuals can function quite normally, but when under pressure can slip beneath the border of rationality into psychosis. When an individual is hanging from the edge of the cliff of sanity by the skin of his teeth, you do not subject his teeth to merciless pounding with a high frequency drill..." Dr. Post suggests that the FBI's misdiagnoses and assault did nothing more than provide a powerful legitimacy to Koresh in the eyes of his followers as he had prophesied a "grand apocalyptic event" and it occurred (and as martyrs, they keep the movement alive and fresh in the minds of surviving constituents and sympathizers).

III. SCOPE, THEORY, HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

A. SCOPE AND THEORY

The scope of this chapter focuses on developing a typology of non-state groups that might seek to acquire and threaten use of WMD. The theory argues that under certain conditions, non-state groups that follow radical, religious ideologies exhibit a *ripeness* to threaten use of WMD.[121] Studies examining religiously oriented violence arguably suggest that non-state groups maintaining religious ideologies affiliated with: (1) apocalyptic millennialism; (2) messianic redemptiveness; (3) racism and ethnic are prejudice, are prone to commit unconstrained, ultra-violent acts, acts that may include the threatened use of WMD.[122] This is not to say that terrorist groups manifesting a traditional political based ideology or those that are state sponsored are to be discounted as proliferators of WMD. Indeed, politically oriented groups may also pose a WMD threat, though arguably not as severe as those groups who claim a direct conduit

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[121] Ripeness is a concept that suggests an orientation towards accomplishing a desired event. See Richard N. Haass,"Conflicts Unending: The United States and Regional Disputes," (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), 27-28.

[122] "Recent Trends in Domestic and International Terrorism," report, Center for National Security Studies, Washington DC, April 26, 1995. Also see Bruce Hoffman, "Holy Terror": The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative, (Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1993); "U.S. House Report Sees Terror Drive Launched," Reuters, August 1, 1996; "U.S. Expert Sees Growing Extremist Use of Chemicals," Reuters, August 1, 1996; Juergensmeyer, 177; and Simon, 5.

to God.[123]

Before discussing development of the theory, hypothesis, and methodology used to support this position, it is important understand why non-state groups have been traditionally constrained from using WMD, and why those constraints are weakening.

B. BACKGROUND ON NON-STATE USE OF WMD

The use of chemical and toxic agents by non-state terrorist groups is not a new phenomenon. Revisiting the historical account of Moses forcing Ramses of Egypt to release the Hebrew slaves, one notices that, through the power of God, Moses poisoned the Nile, brought a pestilence to the land, destroyed the Egyptian livestock, caused boils to break out amongst the Egyptian populace, and killed the first born of the House of Egypt.[124] As events are described, it appears that the Almighty may have engaged in the use of WMD including the employment of a sophisticated bio-genetic agent designed to kill a specific population. In another ancient account, Sicarii Zealots poisoned Jerusalem's water supply (circa 70 A.D.) as part of their terrorist campaign against Roman

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[123] In an analogous argument, Zeev Chafets comments on the ease at which Israeli citizens can acquire permits to carry hand guns stating that "...this is very bad from the point of view of keeping guns out of the hands of people who talk to God." Inherent in his statement is a subtle implication that people who claim legitimacy for their acts through an association with the Almighty are extremely dangerous. See Marjorie Miller, "A Gun-Toting Society Confronts its Ambivalence Over Easing Controls," Los Angeles Times, November 14, 1996.

[124] "Exodus 8-11," The Holy Bible, (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1979), 89-94.

occupation.[125] In a more contemporary account, Bruce Hoffman cites the occurrence of fifty-two incidents involving non-state terrorist threats or actual uses of WMD between 1968 and 1994.[126] Though incidents of WMD use by non-state terrorist groups pale in comparison to the number of events involving the use of bombings, hijackings and the like,[127] recent use of a nerve agent weapon in the Tokyo subway in March of 1995, and a radiological weapon deposited in Moscow's Izmailovsky Park in November of 1995, provide a horrific example of the potential threat WMD pose in the hands of the non-state terrorist group.[128]

As documented by a recent report published by the Center for National Security Studies in Washington D.C., the occurrence of terrorist incidents (in quantitative terms) seems to be on the decline, however the lethality of the incidents has risen.[129] This note on the "qualitative rise" in terms of the casualties and damage produced by terrorist attacks provides an indication that

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[125] Walter Laqueur, The Age of Terrorism, 12.

[126] Bruce Hoffman, Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum, 3.

[127] Ibid., 3. Between 1968 and 1994 the Rand study catalogued 8000 terrorist incidents of which fifty-two involved WMD related chemical or biological agents.

[128] The Japanese terror cult Aum Shinrikyo was responsible for releasing nerve agent in a Tokyo subway that resulted in 12 deaths an 5,500 casualties. Chechen separatists buried thirty pounds of cesium-137 in a Moscow park to demonstrate their ability to cause mass damage to Russia. See "Five Russian Troops Killed in Chechnya: Federal Command," Agence France Presse, November 23, 1995.

[129] "Recent Trends in Domestic and International Terrorism," 1.

terrorist may very well engage in more spectacular and sophisticated events that include the use of WMD. The bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie Scotland, the World Trade Center Bombing, the gas attack in Tokyo and the radiological device placement in Moscow may hold related implications that arguably suggests non-state group adaptation of WMD as a primary weapon of choice.

As noted, the Aum incident has clearly demonstrated that the use of WMD by terrorists poses a very different threat than conventional terrorism. For the United States in particular, and most western countries in general, individual acts of conventional terrorism do not constitute a serious threat to national interests or security. Even Israel, the target of more terrorism than perhaps any other country in the world, is not threatened with annihilation by conventional terrorism.

Modern terrorism, with its ideology grounded in instrumental purpose, has been the tool of the weak employed against the strong; a poor man's coercive diplomacy. As discussed earlier, WMD significantly alters that context. Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons give terrorist organizations a strength that they could never hope to achieve through conventional means allowing them to seriously threaten the security of a national population with a single blow.

It is therefore more important than ever to explore those dynamics that may constrain or motivate terrorists to use WMD. Consequently, the following

two fundamental questions are addressed:

- What constraints inhibit the use of WMD?
- What factors may weaken or remove these constraints?[130]

C. CONSTRAINTS AGAINST USING WMD

Weapons of mass destruction, in the modern form of chemical and biological weapons at least, have existed since the turn of the century. So, too, has modern terrorism. Yet until the spring of 1995, the two had never mixed as the latter had not truly utilized the former's deadly potential.[131] Nominally well suited to terrorism, use of WMD is constrained by several factors.

The first constraint involves the technical complexities associated with developing and weaponizing WMD. These are most obvious in the case of nuclear weapons. The technology and resources to construct and use a nuclear device have, in the past at least, been out of the practical reach for the terrorist. This is true to a lesser extent for chemical and biological weapons as well. Yet, while not as difficult to manufacture or expensive as nuclear weapons, the employment of chemical and biological weapons has been eschewed by terrorists. Why? Generally because conventional tactics have historically provided the terrorist with the ability to command the desired attention or

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[130] These questions and the framework for this analysis are slightly modified and expanded from a report published by Jeffry Simon. See Simon, 1-22.

[131] There have been numerous incidents involving the use of chemical and biological agents prior to 1995. However, from a global awareness perspective, none of these incidents were categorized as having caused mass casualties or mass disruption.

reaction from target audiences.

Perhaps a much more compelling constraint to terrorist employment of WMD is the concept of "backlash."[132] As addressed earlier, backlash manifests itself in two distinct forms e.g., government reaction and public reaction.[133] It occurs when an "act" of terrorism exceeds the acceptable violence threshold of the public. The result of this is twofold as first, a loss of constituency (popular support and legitimacy) for the terrorist group may occur and second, an extraordinary effort on the part of the government to eliminate the terrorist group may ensue. Backlash therefore represents a significant constraint to the use of WMD.[134] Backlash is also applicable to state-sponsored terrorism. The sponsor of any WMD attack would undoubtedly elicit a response from the U.S. and other modern industrial states that would threaten its very existence. In both cases, WMD use is convincingly self-defeating.

Finally, the continued utility of conventional tactics may deter terrorists from venturing into the politically risky world of WMD.[135] While there has been a trend towards increased violence and more spectacular events over the past

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[132] Ted Robert Gurr, "Terrorism in Democracies," 94. Also Simon, 11.

[133] Closely associated but differentiated according to legitimacy of the government, backlash can be uniform, e.g. a truly democratic government will reflect the popular will of the people in its action against a terrorist attack/group. Backlash manifests itself differently when an authoritative government reacts without the support of the people.

[134] Simon, 11.

[135] Ibid., 11.

decade, such typical terrorist acts as conventional bombings and hijackings still receive substantial worldwide attention. As long as terrorists can use such incidents to achieve the response they desire (from media, public, and government) they may feel little need, especially in the face of backlash, to use WMD.

D. CONSTRAINTS ARE WEAKENING

The aforementioned constraints may explain the lack of terrorist employment of WMD thus far, but they are increasingly less effective. Structural influences of a social, political, technical, and economic nature, combined with terrorism based on religious ideologies are gradually easing the "taboos" that have constrained the use of uncontrolled or disproportionate violence.

1. Factors Increase the Potential for Non-State Terrorist Use of WMD

Permissive factors, as explained by Crenshaw, are those associated with social and technical variables that enable and/or encourage a terrorist group to conduct violent acts.[136] Things such as improved education, global communication, the media, industrialization, urbanization, all play a part in facilitating terrorist. A brief discussion of the more relevant variables follows.

Terrorists use violence as a symbolic means of communication. Laqueur states that "Guerrilla warfare can exist without media coverage, but for terrorism

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[136] Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 386.

publicity is absolutely essential." [137] For the terrorists in general, the need to be recognized encourages the use of destructive, violent acts. As mentioned, terrorist attacks have become more spectacular and sophisticated over time. This qualitative rise has two related implications for the use of WMD. First, "the tendency for a few spectacular events to capture world headlines and elicit dramatic government responses"[138] has set in motion a potential escalation spiral that may lead terrorists to employ WMD. If conventional methods of hijacking and bombing become routine and accepted, it is much more difficult to capture the type of world-wide attention and government response that terrorists desire. Thus in order to capture the level of media and government attention they need, terrorists may be compelled to use WMD. Second, A global population desensitized to violence further weakens the constraints on WMD use. Violent acts that seemed excessive ten years ago may now be considered acceptable. This rise in tolerance may eventually allow terrorists to use WMD without that use being perceived as illegitimate. The advent of global communications network and a population desensitized to "run of the mill bombings and assassinations" provides encouragement for the use of WMD.

Intense urbanization increases the number and accessibility of targets. Terrorists using a radiological device, chemical or biological agents can easily cause mass casualties or infrastructure disruption. The multitude of potential

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[137] Laqueur, The Age of Terrorism, 123.

[138] Simons, 6.

targets vulnerable to a WMD attack easily permits the terrorist to selectively destroy a critical piece of urban infrastructure or kill a significant number of people if they so chose.

Concern for individual rights in Western democracies provides an environment where non-state groups can emerge and develop their WMD potential. In the United States, the Constitution guarantees a multitude of personal freedoms and protection from state intrusiveness in areas of religion, speech, press, assemblage; the right to bear arms; and protection against unreasonable search and seizures (Amendments I, II, IV-VI). Rights such as these permit sub and transnational terrorist groups to establish networks that: (1) allow them to develop financial resources; (2) facilitate military or para-military training for members; (3) provide advanced education opportunities for members; and facilitates the procurement of weapons, material and WMD related technologies. Steven Emerson addresses this particular issue at length as he describes how Hamas and other Islamic organizations that support terrorism operate here in the United States.[139]

Diffusion of WMD-related technologies and production information is occurring at an extremely rapid rate. Local book stores, libraries and the internet provide the reasonably educated individual enough information to construct a "low-tech" chemical weapon. A prime example of this is can be

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[139] Steven Emerson, "The Other Fundamentalists," The New Republic, v. 212, (June 12, 1995), 21.

found at *The Little Bookstore* located within an internet website. From websites such as this, one can draw the necessary reference material needed to manufacture an assortment of lethal chemical agents and dispersal systems.

The economic hardships experienced by the former Soviet Union has created a pool of knowledgeable individuals who's services are being sought by those with nefarious ideals. Former Soviet scientists, accustomed to a certain life style and governmental support now find themselves fortunate to be employed. As a result, they are extremely susceptible to offers of hard cash for their scientific services. With the creation of this "arms and minds" market, it is much easier for terrorist groups to obtain parts of the WMD production puzzle.[140]

A resurgence of terrorism motivated by certain religious ideologies, ethnic traditions and race coupled with the growing sophistication of established, more "professional" groups is likely to lead to higher levels of lethality and destruction.[141] Religion and prejudice can provide the moral justification necessary to convince terrorists and supporters alike that using WMD is legitimate, particularly within groups that believe their crusade is sanctioned or demanded by God. For these groups WMD use can virtually create the "prophesied event," or annihilate the ultimate target with a combination of

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[140] A. Cooperman and K. Belianinov, "Moonlighting by Modem from Russia," U.S. News and World Report, April 17, 1995, 45. Also see "Syria Builds Nerve Gas Arsenal," London Sunday Times, November 17, 1996.

[141] Bruce Hoffman, Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum, 19.

simultaneous operations aimed at population centers and critical infrastructure. This strategy was actually going to be employed by the Japanese terrorist cult "Aum Shinrikyo."

E. THEORY DEVELOPMENT AND FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

A theory is a systematic grouping of inter-related principles. A principle is a fundamental truth that explains the relationship between two or more variables. Variables are constructs of concepts or "mental images" of things.[142] These mental images are formed through an understanding of theoretical frameworks developed by others (deductive reasoning), and through observation and experience (inductive analysis). In this study, two competing theoretical frameworks are each fused with inductive analysis in an effort to develop and test a new theory that examines whether religiously oriented groups are the most likely candidates to use WMD.

1. Typological Theory For Non-State Group Use of WMD

As mentioned, the theory this study seeks to test argues that non-state terrorist groups, following radical religiously oriented ideologies, represent a typology most likely to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction.

The argument for this position is derived from a synthesis of deductive reasoning (based on a thorough review of that which has been written on the subject of terrorism; theories of international relations, political science,

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[142] Harold Koontz, Cyril O'Donnel, Heinz Weihrich,, in John R. Meyer, Peggy Rehberger, eds., Management, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984), 6-10. Also see Babbie, 112-115.

psychology and organizational process); and inductive observation of non-state groups known to have an expressed interest in the use of either nuclear, chemical or biological agents to cause mass casualties or disruption.

To test this argument, two competing frameworks are used to analyze and compare four non-state groups that have, in some preliminary way , expressed an interest in weapons of mass destruction. The first approach is derived from international relations theory of Realism. This framework suggests that non-state groups, like states, strive to develop a power base strong enough to manipulate or coerce their adversaries to behave in a desired fashion. Given that non-state groups are weaker than states (thus the reason for using terrorist tactics), the acquisition of WMD would seem to be a logical choice as it provides them power to coerce an adversary, power much greater than that afforded by conventional weapons. Though this framework provides a powerful argument for why non-state groups would want WMD, it does little to explain why such groups have eschewed the widespread use of such weapons. One answer may lie in the fact that prior to the end of the Cold War, such groups could rely on the assistance of one of the super-powers. Being able to "balance externally" against an adversary with the support of the U.S. or the U.S.S.R., may have obviated the need for such groups to acquire WMD.

The second framework is synthesized from theories of Realism and Organizational Process. This framework recognizes that while non-state groups seek power to coerce, the decision to develop and threaten use of WMD is

contingent upon internal variables inherent to the group. This reductionist approach begins by positing that a non-state group would have to manifest certain key variables in order to credibly threaten use of WMD. These key variables or indicators are identified, defined and placed in a conceptual model which is used to analyze cases selected.

F. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ONE: "THE REALIST ARGUMENT""

In a discussion of international relations theory, Hans Morgenthau suggests that from the "classical realist" perspective, power is viewed as an end unto itself. The struggle for power arises because first, men want things (scarce goods), and second, because men operate under "*the animus dominandi*, the desire for power."[143] In this regard, the possession of weapons of mass destruction by a state (or non-state group) provides a currency of power that can be perceived as both a status symbol and as an instrument of political and military strength for the pursuit of hegemonic objectives.[144]

From a neo-Realist perspective, states (or non-state groups) are seen as unitary actors who wish to survive in the anarchic environment of international relations. Rather then attempting to acquire an "ultimate power" that may, in any event, be outside the reach of states (or non-state groups), such states (groups)

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[143] Kenneth N. Waltz, "War In Neorealist Theory," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb eds., The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars, , (Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press), 41.

[144] Robert G. Joseph, "WMD: A Proliferation Overview," in William H. Lewis and Stuart E. Johnson, eds.,Weapons of Mass Destruction: New Perspectives on Counterproliferation, (Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 1995), 5-6.

will "behave in ways that tend toward the creation of balances of power."[145] This might include aligning with another sovereign state (or non-state group) sympathetic to their cause. This done, states (or groups) can then protect themselves and accomplish some, if not all, of their objectives. Waltz calls this external balancing. Another method states (or groups) adopt is that of internal balancing. Here the state (or group) will mobilize or create power from internal assets, such as that afforded by the organic development of WMD.

In any event, if WMD afford the state an ability to balance internally against international competitors, they certainly afford this to the non-state group working against the state. From the perspective of the post-modern terrorist, WMD provide a powerful negotiating tool, a tool that can be used in a coercive diplomatic effort to accomplish instrumental objectives in a way that conventional weapons do not afford. This exploitation of coercive potential is a fundamental component of both state and terrorist behavior. Since the dynamics surrounding WMD facilitate power by generating the potential to inflict unacceptable damage, ownership of WMD becomes a "key" ingredient in the contest for relative superiority between the non-state group and the state.[146] As mentioned earlier, the dissolution of the Cold War may have reduced the ability of many non-state groups to press home their agenda's through external balancing. This might

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[145] Kenneth N.Waltz, Theory of International Politics, (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc, 1979), 118.

[146] Marrs, 30.

force them to adopt internal balancing strategies that could include the development of a WMD capability.

Arms control theory concerns the development of arms control strategies that enhance stability within the international system. For those states armed with WMD, the maintenance of global stability means managing the security dilemma posed by the strategic (and sometimes) conventional forces of each. In this context, the security dilemma is defined to mean that uneasy feeling a state gets when it perceives a contradiction between an adversary's declared defensive intentions, its threatening military capabilities, and the unresolvable uncertainty that develops as the former attempts to interpret the actions of the latter.[147] Mutual vulnerability between states drives them to avoid engaging in WMD related conflict, despite feeling the "security dilemma." However, because non-state groups generally do not offer a visible target (such as the institutions and territory of the state) they are not susceptible to WMD deterrent strategies, strategies which are based on retaliation or mutual vulnerability. Marrs suggests that this creates an asymmetric situation in which the non-state group may exploit the offensive use of WMD:

> Since the state cannot retaliate against an unknown opponent, this dilemma can continue for as long as the terrorist desires, provided that invulnerability is maintained and the threat (of WMD use) remains credible.[148]

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[147] N.J. Wheeler and K. Booth, "The Security Dilemma," in J. Baylis and N.J. Rengger, eds., Dilemmas of World Politics, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 31.

[148] Marrs, 53-54.

As a rejoinder, if a non-state group is externally balanced through a transparent alliance with a state, the state may exercise some control over the non-state group's decision to use WMD for fear that being visible they will be the focus of a retaliatory attack. This control might come in the form of withdrawing safe-haven, weapons, and financial support from the non-state group in question.

In an analysis of risk, traditional threats posed by non-state terrorist groups are generally seen as causing some damage or suffering e.g., they are acts that can be absorbed by the ultimate target (state or regime) without truly threatening the survivability of the same. With the possible exception of the terrorist campaigns waged by the Israeli "Irgun and Stern gangs" (1939-1947); the Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army against the British (1969-1996); and the Palestinian Intifadeh against the Israel government (mid-1980s through early 1994); the coercive power of terrorists has historically not been great enough to force a shift in domestic power structures to favor the terrorist group.[149] The non-state terrorist's ability to employ WMD changes this equation by orders of magnitude. Now the risk assessment must be done from the perspective that mass casualties or major infrastructure disruption may occur. Under threat from the modern terrorist, the state's risk assessment regarding

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[149] In an analogous example, Lewis Gann discusses success and failure in "small wars." In the preface to his book, he suggests that "...guerrilla warfare is neither...new...nor has it always served a revolutionary cause...(nor) is it a certain road to victory." See Lewis H. Gann, Guerrillas in History, (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1991), vii.

vulnerabilities focuses on the ability to absorb the attack without having to adjust to demands of the group. Under threat from the "post-modern" terrorist equipped with WMD, the focus of this assessment shifts.[150] Where conventional attacks can be "politically absorbed," those involving the use of WMD threaten entire population centers or worse. The ramifications for the state in this situation is tremendously different.

From the "neo-Realist" argument a hypothesis is developed suggesting that: (1) non-state groups would certainly desire to have this "power;" and (2) groups that must internally balance against more powerful adversaries, may seek the power of WMD to balance against the superiority of the latter. This could result in an increase of non-state WMD proliferation and use. Key indicators to look for in such non-state groups would minimally include supply side indicators such as: (1) financial resources sufficient to fund a WMD program; (2) membership knowledgeable of the technical requirements to develop WMD; (3) access to WMD related materials and technology.

Through this "Structural Realist" framework, a simple hypothesis (model) is created which argues that non-state groups exhibit a ripeness to threaten use of WMD when the three aforementioned indicators are present in the group, and the group is not constrained in its actions by any significant external influences. This model is referred to as the Structural Realist Model of *Effective Demand.*

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[150] Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, The Spread of Nuclear Weapons, (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1995), 7-8.

As defined in Chapter I, *Effective Demand* is a conceptualization of a non-state group's predisposition to cause mass casualties or disruption through a terrorist act using WMD. A simple illustration of this model is provided as Table 3-1.

Structural Realist Model of *Effective Demand*
Demand Indicators Supply Indicators (Desire for Power) x (Financial Resources x Knowledgeable Membership x Access to Materials) = *Effective Demand ~ External Influences (Alliances)*

Table 3-1: Structural Realist Model

The Realist Model of *Effective Demand* is thus a product of the non-state group's desire to internally balance (off-set political and military weakness) against the state. The development of a WMD capability provides such a power, delivering a tremendous coercive potential to the non-state terrorist group. In order to understand the meaning and importance of the indicators deemed sufficient to cause *Effective Demand*, each is identified through a brief explanation.

1. Balancing Power (Demand Indicator)

For the terrorist to be effective, their ultra-violent potential must raise the specter of a catastrophic event that the state cannot "politically absorb." In this regard Marrs writes on the concept of power:

> Hans Morgenthau defines power as man's control over the minds and actions of other men. By political power, we refer to the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large. However, Harold Laswell and Abraham Kaplan insist that the analysis of power must also consider its scope and domain. Domain of power consists of the persons over which power is exercised and scope of power consists of the values whose shaping and enjoyment

are controlled...power is really the possession of *coercive potential.*[151]

2. Membership that Includes Personnel Knowledgeable of WMD Technical Requirements (Supply Indicator)

Jessica Stern cites a National Intelligence Estimate reportedly concluding that clandestine (non-state) production of crude chemical and biological weapons requires no greater technical expertise than does the production of narcotics or heroin.[152] While it is true that manufacturing a radiological weapon or high quality "bugs and gas" is a difficult proposition and that further, manufacturing a delivery or dispersal system is equally difficult, one must remember that terrorist group membership can include individuals possessing degrees in everything from electrical engineering to nuclear physics. These individuals are more than capable of developing crude WMD given access to the appropriate materials. A key variable of concern is thus the non-state group that recruits members from the science and engineering fields.

3. Financial Resources to Fund a WMD Capability (Supply Indicator)

The ability of a non-state group to develop a WMD capability is also contingent upon the financial resources they possess. While it is readily acknowledged that the production of a crude nuclear explosive device would be quite costly for a non-state group operating without state sponsorship, on the

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[151] Marrs, 28-29.

[152] Jessica Stern, "Contribution to Round Table Discussion on C/B Terrorism," manuscript for Politics and Life Sciences, May, 1996.

order of millions of dollars, the financial resources needed to develop a chemical or biological weapon is quite small.[153] On balance, many non-state groups certainly possess significant financial resources to pursue the development of nuclear weapons capability, their coffers filled by cash generated from enterprises that include such things as legitimate businesses, bank heists, contract assassination, drug dealing, counterfeiting, covert weapons trade, extortion, and soliciting contributions from sympathetic supporters.[154] As an elucidating example the investigation into the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo uncovered assets exceeding $1.4 billion dollars.

4. Availability of Materials and Access to Technology (Supply Indicator)

Access to material sources and technology to develop a WMD program is a key consideration for non-state groups desiring to develop a WMD capability.

5. Lack of Externally Imposed Constraint

This attribute is significant because it suggests that the non-state group, void of any negative external influences, is free to make decisions to use WMD unimpeded by threats of being cut off from a supporting state or group. *Effective*

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[153] As noted in a discussions with Dr. Jessica Stern of Stanford University, and Dr. Kathleen Bailey of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, a non-state group with 2-3 knowledgeable personnel and about $25K can develop a chemical capability suitable for use in a terrorist attack. The dollar figure may be somewhat high as cyanide dispersal device can probably be put together for something less than the $25K figure.

[154] For a detailed account of how non-state groups generate cash reserves see CDR J.K. Campbell, "Arms for the Insurgency," unpublished research paper, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, Fall 1995, 7-10.

Demand may be modulated by the influence of this attribute.

G. FRAMEWORK TWO: "SYNTHETIC THEORY OF STRUCTURAL REALISM AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS"

Through a synthesis of theories related to realism, psychology, sociology and organizational process, a second framework is developed which argues that non-state groups make decisions based on: (1) a desire for power to balance against their adversaries; (2) the internal psycho-dynamics of individuals in leadership positions; (3) the psycho-dynamics of group-think; (4) and the ultimate desire to survive as a group. Therefore, the non-state group's decision to pursue the development of a WMD capability occurs as a fusion of inter-relating variables (indicators). These indicators range from concepts discussed in the preceding framework, to those related to group leadership, ideology, and group behavior. This framework further argues that in order to discern whether or not a non-state group would threaten use of WMD, a detailed examination of the group must be done to disaggregate and determine which indicators are present. Once this is done, those indicators identified in the group can be compared to those needed to credibly threaten use of WMD. This leads to the second hypothesis of this study which argues that a non-state group reveals a *ripeness* to employ WMD when it possesses *Effective Demand* as a function of The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process.

The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Model of *Effective Demand* is also affected by *Intervening Process. Intervening*

Processes are situational influences that can affect the non-state group's decision making process or actions. These influences can either increase or decrease *Effective Demand* for WMD. An example of a negative *Intervening Processes* is seen in the authoritarian state that has effectively penetrated society with a robust security apparatus e.g., secret police. In this example, non-state terrorist groups would have a difficult time just trying to operate with traditional, conventional tactics and weapons. Attempting to develop a WMD capability would be extremely difficult under these circumstances. Key indicators determined to be necessary and sufficient to suggest a non-state group possesses *Effective Demand* for WMD under The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process are listed as Demand Indicators (DI), and Supply Indicators (SI). These indicators are identified in Tables 3-2 and 3-3.

DEMAND INDICATORS	SUPPLY INDICATORS
Group desires power to balance against the state or regime	A demonstration of a certain degree of sophistication in weaponry and tactics.
Leader manifests the "Authoritarian-Sociopathic Personality"	Membership that includes personnel knowledgeable of the technical requirements to develop and weaponize WMD
Ideology supportive of ultra-violent extremism	Financial resources to fund a WMD program
Behavior that includes use of ultra-violence	Access to materials and technology needed to develop a WMD program
Lack of concern over public or government backlash	
Group cohesiveness and a closed cell constituency that includes total loyalty to cause	
Willingness to take risks	

Table 3-2: Key Indicators of Synthetic Theory

EXAMPLES OF INTERVENING PROCESSES
Linkages with other terrorist groups or rogue states willing to assist in the development of WMD capability
A permissive, democratic, sociopolitical environment. Such an environment facilitates a non-state group's ability to operate and do such things as penetrate the state apparatus and/or industries engaged in the development of dual use technologies

Table 3-3: Intervening Processes

H. KEY VARIABLES: "SYNTHETIC THEORY OF STRUCTURAL REALISM AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS MODEL OF *EFFECTIVE DEMAND*"

To understand the meaning of the relevant indicators used in the Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Model of *Effective Demand*, a brief explanation of each is provided. These nominal definitions are used solely to elucidate the essential nature of each indicator for purposes of this study.

1. A Desire to Possess the Power to Compel (Demand Indicator)

Mentioned earlier (refer to page 80), for the terrorist to be effective, their ultra-violent potential must raise the specter of a catastrophic event that the state cannot "politically absorb." In this regard Marrs writes on the concept of power:

> Hans Morgenthau defines power as man's control over the minds and actions of other men. By political power, we refer to the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large. However, Harold Laswell and Abraham Kaplan insist that the analysis of power must also consider its scope and domain. Domain of power consists of the persons over which power is exercised and scope of power consists of the values whose shaping and enjoyment are controlled...power is really the possession of *coercive potential.*[155]

2. Ideologies that Supports Extremist Violence is a Key Independent Variable (Demand Indicator)

An ideology is a comprehensive system of concepts and beliefs held by an individual or group. It is an organization of opinions, attitudes and values

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[155] Marrs, 28-29.

that determine how we think about ourselves and society. The term itself was coined by the French philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), who attempted to reform post-revolutionary French society according to a pragmatic "science of ideas."[156] Thus ideology becomes a primary variable as it is the raison of the non-state group's overt, purposive foundation. On balance, ideologies carry different levels of appeal at any given time and are subject to both historical process and contemporary social events.[157] Additionally, non-state groups motivations can be extremely multi-dimensional, ideology being only one aspect that influences behavior and actions. The ideologies of non-state groups this study posits as arguably manifesting *Effective Demand* for WMD are of a religious nature, affiliated with apocalyptic millennialism, radicalized redemption, or racist/ethnic hate.[158]

Destruction is part of the logic of religion. Every religious tradition carries with it images of chaos and terror. Some forms of religion seem to propel the faithful to militant confrontations. In an essay on "The Logic of Religious Violence," Mark Juergensmeyer identifies several key points that elucidate why

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[156] See Microsoft Encarta 1995 for a discussion regarding the nature of the term "ideology."

[157] T.W. Adorno, et al., 2.

[158] Religiously oriented redemption and racist/ethnic hate are sometimes fused together within an ideological framework providing a synergism that can make the non-state group possessing this attribute all the more deadly.

religiously oriented ideologies can be dangerous to the extreme.[159]

- Religion domesticates violence. Most histories of religion focus on the struggle between good and evil. Through the ages this struggle has been associated with horrific slaughters conducted against, or on the behalf of, the faithful. Religious stories, myths and symbols (swords, crosses and the like) make religiously oriented killing palatable, even if those acts are ultra-violent.

- Violence sanctioned by religion breaks the states monopoly on morally sanctioned killing and provides the perpetrators with a sense of political independence. It places them on the moral high ground above the state because God's judgement is giving them the "green light" to kill in his name.

Religious beliefs of an apocalyptic, radical redemptive or racist/ethnic hate orientation advocate the use of ultra-violence as a means to gain a desired end. The true danger occurs when they appeal to the most primitive and irrational wishes and fears e.g., the collective emotional needs, of the non-state group. When this happens, ultra-violent acts causing mass casualties or disruption are likely to follow.

a. Ideology Based in Apocalyptic Millennialism

The ideology of apocalyptic millennialism is rooted in a belief that the present age of the world is irredeemably evil, ruled by a Satanic figure personifying evil. Further this ideology professes a belief that the evil age is soon to be ended, destroyed by God (or God's servant), who is good. The subsequent age to follow this event is lauded as one of *utopia*, where everything is perfect and only those who were formerly oppressed or those who are "true

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[159] Juergensmeyer, 172-190.

believers" will survive to enjoy it.[160]

Norman Cohen writes that historical records documenting apocalyptic millennial cults show a variance in attitude from the most violent aggressiveness to the mildest pacifism and from the most ethereal spirituality to the most earthbound materialism.[161] The concern of this study is the cult that would engage in ultra violence, viewing their acts as part of the prophesied apocalyptic event. In a report addressing technology and terrorism, Ronfeldt and Sater suggest *that the potential users of such weapons (WMD) will most likely be apocalyptic millennarian cults or terrorists operating under a religious imperative.*[162]

b. Ideology based in a Redemptive Religious Imperative

> In Jewish history, from time immemorial, and in Jewish history today, that which will be is conditioned on one thing only: *If you shall walk in My statutes*, and *If you shall disdain My statutes.* ...The former guarantees peace and tranquillity and bliss and

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[160] Norman Cohen, The Pursuit of the Millennium, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 19-61. Some interpretations of the concept of the millennium suggest that it is a time whereupon Christ returns to the earth and, with a chosen few, reigns over the earth for one thousand years. At the end of the thousand year reign, all the wicked are annihilated and the just live forever with Christ in a renewed heaven and earth. As noted by Cohen what has been seen historically in many of the cults manifesting an apocalyptic ideology is a leadership that claims to be either the "instrument" of God, the second Messiah, or even God himself. These leaders have engaged in inciting membership to engage in horrific slaughters legitimizing these events as part of the prophesied apocalyptic moment.

[161] Ibid., 16.

[162] David Ronfeldt and William Sater, The Mindset of High Technology Terrorists: Future Implications From An Historical Analogy, (Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1981), 25-31.

> redemption. The latter assures tragedy and catastrophe. There is no escape from this immutable law of creation. But if one does, indeed, walk in the footsteps of his Creator, then the Father of the Jewish people, the All-Mighty, has obligated Himself to give to His children the promised reward. This is the answer, this is the key to the Gate of redemption. One who understands it shall enter it. One who does not is doomed to be scattered as the chaff in the wind and, God forbid, to take many of his brothers and sisters with him.[163]

A redemptive religious imperative is based in a belief that God will reward his people only when certain prerequisites are fulfilled. The aforementioned quote taken from Rabbi Kahane's writings are cited to elucidate how his radical interpretation of religious scripture and Jewish theology is used to argue for the use of violence as a prerequisite to receiving God's promises and blessings. According to Rabbi Kahane, Israel and the Jewish people will never truly be "graced and protected" by the Lord until they return to orthodox Judaism and recover at least that part of "Eretz Yisrael"[164] that encompasses the occupied territories (West Bank and the Gaza strip). To effect such gains, Rabbi Kahane engaged in alleged terrorist acts culminating with his 1980 arrest by Israeli authorities for planning to blow up the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. He was subsequently tried and incarcerated in the

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[163] Rabbi Meir Kahane, Forty Years, (Miami, Florida: Institute of the Jewish Idea, 1983), 66.

[164] Eretz Yisrael is that land mass God promised to Abraham, which the Jewish people owned and gave up when they were forced into exile by the Babylonians. Eretz Yisrael incorporates Jordan and other areas occupied by Arab countries. That the Jews originally took this land away from the Canaanites is irrelevant to Kahane's interpretation as he says that God expropriated the land for his chosen people the Jews.

Ramla maximum-security prison for nine months. This planned terrorist act was seen by Rabbi Kahane as part of the redemptive process that would result in the Jewish people being favored and protected by the Lord.[165]

Religious beliefs penetrate to the core of human existence for many people. Religion manipulated to provide a legitimate rational for the use of violence by a non-state group is thus a very dangerous variable because it appears to unleash constraints that hold the use of ultra- violence in check. History has shown numerous occasions were this phenomenon is evident. The Sicarii Zealots who engaged in the wholesale slaughter of Romans occupying Palestine circa 66-73 A.D. is one example of how religion is used to justify horrific terrorist acts. Contemporary examples of extremely violent terrorist attacks motivated by religious belief, can be found in the actions of groups such as Hizbullah, Hamas, and the Islamic Jihad. A quote cited by Muhammad Selhami of the Lebanese Amal brings pointed clarity to the thought process behind such terrible acts.

> *Child*: "Mother dear! When will I be old enough to drive a truck?
> *Mother:* Why do you ask dear?
> *Child*: I long to fill a truck with explosives and drive it into one of the strongholds of the infidels in our country![166]

Under a redemptive religious ideology the use of ultra-violent methods becomes a divine act, sanctioned by God. As Bruce Hoffman writes:

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[165] Sprinzak, The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right, 211-250.

[166] Amir Tahari, Holy Terror, (Maryland: Adler & Adler, 1987), 126.

> The volatile combination of religion and terrorism has been cited as one of the main reasons for terrorism's increased lethality. The fact that for the religious terrorist violence inevitably assumes a transcendent purpose and therefore becomes a sacramental or divine duty arguably results in a significant loosening of the constraints on the commission of mass murder. Religion, moreover, functions as a legitimizing force, sanctioning if not encouraging wide scale violence against an almost open-ended category of opponents.[167]

Upon examination of the group held responsible for the bombing of New York's World Trade Center complex in 1993, Bruce Hoffman's comments appear to be prophetic. In this well publicized case a radical Islamic group, operating under the rationale of a religious imperative, used an extremely powerful explosive device alleged to have been augmented with the lethal chemical agent sodium cyanide in a terrorist attack against New York City's World Trade Center complex.[168] Discussed in various reports, the intent of the group was to cause the complete destruction of the World Trade Center's twin towers and the death of the thousands of people working in the building. This act was perpetrated as retribution for the corruption and decadence Western powers had introduced to the world in general and the Islamic states in particular.

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[167] Bruce Hoffman, Holy Terror: The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1993), 1, 12.

[168] The group responsible for the WTC bombing is alleged to have been an amalgamation of individuals loosely affiliated with Hamas, Hizbullah, Islamic Jihad, and Fuqra. Information was derived from a presentation given by Steven Emerson, a terrorism analyst specializing in Middle East terrorist groups and profiles. Mr. Emerson's comments were presented at the Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute conference on Chemical and Biological Terrorism, Washington D.C., 29 April, 1996.

c. *Ideology Based in a Racist/Ethnic Hate Imperative*

> To the faithful, toil-burdened masses the victory was so complete that no further effort seemed required. Germany had fallen, and with her the world combination that had crushed her. Authority was dispersed; the world unshackled; the weak became the strong; the sheltered became the aggressive; the contrast between victors and vanquished tended continually to diminish. A vast fatigue dominated collective action. Though every subversive element endeavored to assert itself, revolutionary rage like every form of psychic energy burnt low. Through all its five acts the drama has run its course; the light of history is switched off, the world stage dims, the actors shrivel. The chorus sinks. The war of the giants has ended; the quarrels of the pygmies have begun.[169]

What is meant by a racist or ethnic hate imperative? The definition of the word "racist" in its basic form means to discriminate based on the belief that some races are by nature supreme. The same could be said for the concept of "ethnic hate." Winston Churchill's statement voices a concern that with the downfall of several dynastic regimes following the conclusion of WWI, the world would see an eruption of inter- and intra-state conflict based in ethnic prejudices. With the devolution of the Soviet State, history seems to repeat itself. As addressed by Paul A. Goble, ethnicity and its political expression, ethno-nationalism, provide some answers for analysts who seek to understand and explain many of the conflicts that have emerged following the end of the Cold-War.[170] In its most radical state, race and ethnicity are used as a banner cry for

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[169] Winston Churchill, 1929.

[170] Paul A. Goble, "Ethnicity as Explanation, Ethnicity as Excuse," in Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. and Richard H. Shultz, Jr., eds.,Ethnic Conflict and Regional Instability,

prescriptions of terrorist violence and separatism. Witness the mass genocides in Rwanda and the Balkans in the early 1990's, and the ultimate travesty of the Holocaust wherein six million Jews were executed by Hitler's Nazi apparatus. History is filled with violence based in a racist/ethnic hate imperative. Here in the United States a growing movement of neo-Naziism and white supremacy operating under a loosely organized web of militia organizations and revisionist Christian movements may very well pose a threat that could result in the use of WMD. In 1985, members of a racist hate group known as The Covenant, Sword, Arm of the Lord" (CSAL) were arrested on charges of sedition. The U.S. Justice Department raid on their compound resulted in the discovery of a cyanide producing laboratory and massive quantities of cyanide stockpiled for the express purpose of poisoning the water supply of an unnamed city.[171] The CSAL will be the focus of the case study addressing the WMD threat posed by the non-state group operating under a religiously oriented, racist/ethnic hate imperative.[172]

(Strategic Studies Institute US Army War College, 1995), 51.

[171] Coats, 140.

[172] Ruth Sheehan notes that today many hate groups no longer cling to the banner of racist rhetoric that typified the dogma of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Instead these groups claim to be patriots, protecting the memory and history of the great South. Membership in many of these groups, particularly those established to memorialize the Civil War, is used as a veneer to express white male dissatisfaction and anger at the social and economic problems the perceive as holding them back. Ruth Sheehan, "Roots or Racism," San Francisco Chronicle, May 5, 1996, A-10

3. Leadership involving the "Authoritarian-Sociopathic Personality" (Demand Indicator)

Addressed in Chapter II of this study, the terrorist group leader with an authoritarian personality is primed to commit (and direct) aggressive acts against "out group others." In order to convince or manipulate group membership, such leaders frequently use emotionally evoking ideas such as race or religion as a main component of their rhetoric. The leader with the "authoritarian personality" may also exhibit other attributes such as charisma, narcissism, and paranoia, attributes that Post suggest can further enhance the potential for the conduct of ultra-violence.

4. Extremist use of Unmitigated Violence (Demand Indicator)

By examining ideology, rhetoric and terrorist attack profiles, this attribute can be assigned to the non-state group being analyzed. A review of statements made by various leaders of non-state groups that routinely employ terrorist attacks against the State of Israel indicate a desire and intent to destroy that Nation and all it stands for. Statements made to the press by Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, the new leader of Islamic Jihad (and former South Florida State University professor) exemplify the type of rhetoric that causes concern.[173]

> ...so many Islamic Jihad youths wanted to be human bombs, (to attack Israel), that...bombers have been chosen by lot....
>
> ...Israel ...will pay a heavy price for the deaths of Shakaki (former leader

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[173] "Islamic Jihad Vows More Bombings Against Israel," USA Today, April 1, 1996.

of Islamic Jihad) and Yehi Ayyash (chief bomb-maker for Hamas).... Terrorist actions perpetrated by Islamic Jihad and Hamas demonstrate their willingness to commit disproportionate violence in the form of murder and injury. Thus rhetoric and intensity of violence associated with their terrorist attacks arguably supports the posit that they are "ultra-violent." In a second example of this concept the leader of Aum Shinrikyo, Shoko Asahara, was known to suggest that a guru's order to murder meant that it was time for the victim to be elevated to a higher spiritual level. To this end he stated that:

> ...killing...may appear simply as murder in the objective view of the human world, but when a wise person views it, the person who has killed and the person who killed both benefitted.[174]

Operating under the rationale of such rhetoric and ideas, Aum followers committed a variety of terrorist acts, ranging from simple kidnappings, assassination of dissident membership, and the infamous sarin attack against the Tokyo subway. Again, by examining rhetoric and action the assignment of this attribute to non-state group is possible.

Often the concept of revenge is frequently seen as a rhetorical motive for engaging in ultra-violent behavior. Revenge, legitimized as an act of retaliation against others perceived as having wronged the group, provides a powerful motivational force to conduct acts of disproportionate violence.

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[174] "Prosecutors Detail Guru's Alleged Crimes," USA Today, April 25, 1996.

5. The Closed Constituency And Group Cohesiveness (Demand Indicator)

Non-state groups operating under a "secular-political" imperative conduct their violent acts as part of a strategy to correct perceived flaws in the socio-political order of the state. As their goals are typically grounded in a belief that their actions will bring beneficial change to the masses they insist they represent, their violent acts will be tempered and focused at state symbols. This is done for several reasons. First, a non-state group's survival is contingent on membership appeal. If their violent acts become too distasteful recruitment suffers, defections occur and the group loses strength, or worse, internal power struggles result causing the same effect.[175] However, in the non-state groups that operate under the religiously oriented imperative, the concern is not with benefitting the masses, but with benefitting the group and pleasing God. In the closed cell group, close cohesion or bonds amongst members is very important. In some cases members may be required to pass an initiation ritual to demonstrate their commitment to the group. In extremist groups this initiation ritual may include murder. Group member's dedication to their cause is an important part of maintaining cohesion. Members who are willing to commit suicide or be killed for their beliefs arguably support a means to ends philosophy that enables the use of disproportionate violence.

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[175] Jeanne N. Knutson, "The Terrorists' Dilemmas: Some Implicit Rules of the Game," Terrorism, v.4., 1980, 206-211.

6. Lack of Concern over Public or Government Backlash (Demand Indicator)

The concept of "backlash" manifests itself in two distinct forms, government reaction and public reaction. Backlash occurs when an act of terrorism exceeds the acceptable violence threshold of the public or state. The result is twofold in that a loss of constituency and popular support may occur. Second, the state may engage in extraordinary measures to eliminate the terrorist group. For the non-state group operating under a religiously oriented imperative, backlash possesses little deterrent value as death holds its own reward for the martyred, while perpetuating the struggle for the living by giving them heroes to avenge and emulate. In fact, backlash may reinforce the resolve of these groups to use WMD, viewing themselves as a closed cell surrounded by forces of evil who ultimately desire to destroy them. Violence to these groups is thus seen as an end in itself whereby the corrupt system of "out-group others," must be totally destroyed or substantially damaged so as to allow, minimally, a negotiated settlement favorable to the group; even at the risk of their being reduced to an ineffective force in the process.[176] As a result, WMD use becomes a rationale choice for the closed cell group. This indicator is closely associated with the following one, though the two are arguably unique enough to require separate explanation.

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[176] This is an extrapolation of thoughts and ideas expressed by Bruce Hoffman. See Bruce Hoffman, "Holy Terror": The Implications of Terrorism Motivated By a Religious Imperative, 3. Also, refer back to the discussion of the Japanese decision to attack Pearl Harbor found in Chapter II of this study.

7. A Willingness to Take Risks (Demand Indicator)

Theory of choice applies logic to the act of choosing and rational behavior implies some ordering of alternatives based on terms of relative desirability. So what logic and rationale compels the non-state group to engage in activities that risk the very existence of the group? The answer lies in the perceived pay-off. Extraordinary risks are taken in anticipation that these actions will result in some type of "special reward."[177] For the group operating under the apocalyptic imperative the reward is the "new life" following Armageddon; for the redemptive religious fanatic the reward is the blessing of the Almighty; for the racist/ethnic hate monger the reward is the destruction of the offending population. When the perceived pay-off is viewed as worth taking the risk, the group will do so.

Of special note the risk for the religious redemptive operating under a radicalized Islamic imperative are minimal for this individual is acting within a win-win paradigm. If the Islamic radical dies in a terrorist attack, he/she becomes a martyr and goes to paradise. If the terrorist survives the attack, he/she walks away knowing that the Almighty is pleased with the "contribution" to the cause. In any event the perceived high-pay off overrides concerns of risks involved.

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[177] See Michael Stohl, "States, Terrorism and State Terrorism: The Role of the Superpowers," in Robert O. Slater and Michael Stohl, eds., Current Perspectives on International Terrorism, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 161. Also Mary Douglas, Risk Acceptability According to the Social Sciences, (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1985), 43-44.

8. Group Exhibits Sophisticated Use of Weapons or Tactics (Supply Indicator)

Non-state groups that take advantage of advances in areas of communications, weapons development, and maintain a flexible posture to adopt new strategies and doctrine are arguably prime candidates to pursue development of a WMD capability.

9. Membership that Includes Personnel Knowledgeable of WMD Technical Requirements (Supply Indicator)

Jessica Stern cites a National Intelligence Estimate reportedly concluding that clandestine (non-state) production of crude chemical and biological weapons requires no greater technical expertise than does the production of narcotics or heroin.[178] While it is true that manufacturing a radiological weapon or high quality "bugs and gas" is a difficult proposition and that further, manufacturing a delivery or dispersal system is equally difficult, one must remember that terrorist group membership can include individuals possessing degrees in everything from electrical engineering to nuclear physics. These individuals are more than capable of developing crude WMD given access to the appropriate materials. A key variable of concern is the non-state group that recruits members from science and engineering fields.

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[178] Jessica Stern, "Contribution to Round Table Discussion on C/B Terrorism."

10. Financial Resources to Fund a WMD Capability (Supply Indicator)

The ability of a non-state group to develop a WMD capability is also contingent upon the financial resources they possess. While it is readily acknowledged that the production of a crude nuclear explosive device would be quite costly for a non-state group operating without state sponsorship, on the order of millions of dollars, the financial resources needed to develop a chemical or biological weapon is quite small.[179] On balance, many non-state groups certainly possess significant financial resources to pursue the development of nuclear weapons capability, their coffers filled by cash generated from enterprises that include such things as legitimate businesses, bank heists, contract assassination, drug dealing, counterfeiting, covert weapons trade, extortion, and soliciting contributions from sympathetic supporters.[180] As an elucidating example the investigation into the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo uncovered assets exceeding $1.4 billion dollars.

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[179] As noted in a discussions with Dr. Jessica Stern of Stanford University, and Dr. Kathleen Bailey of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, a non-state group with 2-3 knowledgeable personnel and about $25K can develop a chemical capability suitable for use in a terrorist attack. The dollar figure may be somewhat high as cyanide dispersal device can probably be put together for something less than the $25K figure.

[180] For a detailed account of how non-state groups generate cash reserves see CDR J.K. Campbell, "Arms for the Insurgency," unpublished research paper, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, Fall 1995, 7-10.

11. Availability of Materials and Access to Technology (Supply Indicator)

Access to material sources and technology to develop a WMD program is a key consideration for non-state groups desiring to develop a WMD capability.

12. Summary

To recap what has been presented thus far, a non-state group possesses *Effective Demand* to threaten use of WMD when *Demand Indicators* (those related to desires for power, ideology, leadership, behavior, constituency, backlash, and risk) and *Supply Indicators* (those related to sophistication of group weapons/tactics, knowledgeable membership, financial resources) are present in the group. *Effective Demand* is either enhanced or degraded by *Intervening Processes.*

I. METHODOLOGY AND NOMOTHETIC MODEL

1. Methodology

To test whether religiously oriented non-state group use of WMD to cause mass casualties or mass disruption is best explained simply by Structural Realist Theory or by the more complex Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process, four cases are analyzed using the two models presented. Three of these cases involve non-state religiously oriented groups that have manifested interest in the use of WMD to cause mass casualties.

Each model relies on the rationale of Mill's Method of Agreement which simply states that:

...if an investigator wants to know the cause of a certain phenomenon, he or she should first identify instances of the phenomenon and then attempt to determine which circumstance invariably precedes its appearance. The circumstance that satisfies this requirement is the cause....researchers should look for a single causal condition in which all instances agree (however) this single circumstance might be a recurrent combination of conditions....[181]

The weakness of using this method is rooted in the danger that it's simplicity can lead to faulty generalizations. In order to minimize this danger, Mill's Indirect Method of Difference is used to examine the case of the Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army, were interest in WMD may exist but has yet to truly materialize.

2. Nomothetic Model and Operationalizing Indicators

A nomothetic model involves identifying those relatively few considerations or indicators that seem to provide at least a partial explanation for the causation of an event. Exploratory research identified a total of four indicators that seem to be necessary and sufficient for a non-state group to possess *Effective Demand* under the Structural Realist Model, and eleven indicators under the Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process Model. Acknowledging the supposition that there may be other indicators of importance, these models are referred to as being of a "nomothetic nature."

Each model contains indicators identified as either Supply or Demand. In the Structural Realist Model, indicators are provided a numeric value of 1.0 if the attribute is evident in the case being analyzed, or .0 if the attribute is absent.

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[181] Charles C. Ragin, The Comparative Method. (California: University of California Press, 1987), 36-37.

These values are then multiplied providing a product of either 1.0, indicating the presence of *Effective Demand* for WMD, or .0, indicating an absence of *Effective Demand* for WMD, see Table 3-4.

In the Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process Model each variable is provided a numeric value ranging from .0 - 1.0. Values are assigned based on the the educated guess of the analyst examining the group.[182] Each indicator set is then multiplied separately. The products of each set are then multiplied together providing a numeric value between .0 and 1.0. This score represents a raw value for *Effective Demand.* The raw value for *Effective Demand* is then adjusted based upon the influence of any significant *Intervening Processes*, see Table 3-5. From this model, potential for a non-state group to threaten WMD can thus be gauged e.g., the higher the value (taking into account any significant intervening processes), the greater the potential threat. An analysis of the four cases examined elucidates at a minimum, a value that might be used to identify the non-state group that is *ripe* to threaten use of WMD.

Though outside the scope of this study, using this model to analyze all non-state cases of WMD involvement might permit the establishment of *threshold values* for potential WMD users. These values might then be used to identify non-state groups that would use WMD to cause mass

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[182] This method is adopted from a system developed by Wendy Nicol of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Ms. Nicol is a Strategic Analyst in the Criminal Extremism Analysis Section of the Criminal Intelligence Directorate, RCMP.

casualty/disruption; those that would use WMD in constrained acts of terrorist violence; and those that would probably not use WMD.

Attribute Set for Structural Realist Model of *Effective Demand*			
Demand Variables	**Score 1.0 or .0**	**Supply Variables**	**Score 1.0 or .0**
Desire for Power to balance against the nation-state		Group membership knowledgeable of WMD technological requirements	
		Group possesses financial resources to fund WMD program	
		Group has access to materials and technology required to manufacture WMD	
Structural Realist Model Equation			
Desire for Power x (Knowledgeable Membership x Access to Materials and Technology x Financial Requirements) = *Effective Demand ~ External Influences*			

Table 3-4: Structural Realist Model

Attribute Set for Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Model of *Effective Demand*			
Demand Indicator	**Score .0-1.0**	**Supply Indicator**	**Score .0 - 1.0**
Group desires power great enough to balance against the nation-state		Group exhibits sophisticated use of weapons or tactics	
Group leader manifests the "authoritarian-sociopathic personality"		Group includes membership knowledgeable of WMD technology	
Ideology advocates use of ultra-violence		Group possesses financial resources to fund WMD program	
Group engages in ultra-violence		Group has access to materials and technology	
Group is cohesive and closed cell. Group members are loyal to the cause			
Group disregards backlash			
Group willing to take high risks			
Product of Demand Indicators = DI(r)		Product of Supply Indicators = SI(r)	
Organizational Process Model			
DI(r) x SI(r) = Effective Demand (r) ~ Intervening Processes = *Effective Demand* for WMD			

Table 3-5: Synthetic Theory Model

IV. THE APOCALYPTIC MILLENNIAL GROUP: THE CASE OF AUM SHINRIKYO

A. INTRODUCTION

The most serious use of WMD by a non-state group occurred on March 20, 1995, when members of Aum Shinrikyo released a nerve agent into a crowded Tokyo subway. The Aum attack represents the first widely known attempt by a non-state group to use WMD with the specific intent of causing mass casualties and mass disruption.

This chapter opens with a narrative overview of Aum's activities and key members. Information for this overview was obtained from a review of open sources: relevant books, newspaper articles, the internet, and testimony presented to Congress through hearings conducted in November of 1995. These sources provide a detailed understanding of important elements of the cult specifically Aum leadership, organization, ideology, group behavior and key events. As such the review allows for concise understanding of the complexity, depth and capabilities of the Aum organization. Importantly, the discussion provides a glimpse of what may become a more familiar event, WMD use by non-state groups. The overview of Aum will be followed with a comparative analysis of the group using the two theoretical models presented.

B. OVERVIEW OF AUM

Aum was originally created as an amalgamation of Hindu/Buddhist/Yoga type beliefs that generally advocate an ascetic lifestyle and devotion to the

leader. Aum's leader, Chizuo Matsumoto aka "Shoko Asahara," professes to have existed in a previous life as "Imhotep, the vizier of the Pharaoh Zoser," and thus responsible for building some of the Egyptian Pyramids. Asahara claims that he has attained the ability to levitate and he has openly praised Hitler as a prophet. The group believed that the world will come to an end in 1997 as a corrupt Japanese society is replaced by the ideal society of Aum, the only survivor of Armageddon. Not surprisingly, the cult's symbol is the Hindu god Shiva, the god of destruction and reproduction. Prior to the Tokyo subway attack, Aum membership claimed 10,000 followers in Japan and 30,000 members in Russia. Aum also had established a presence in New York City, Bonn and Sri Lanka truly making them a "transnational-group/threat."[180]

Aum's emergence in Japan is explained in part as a function of several negative and underlying trends in Japan. For example, consider the stereotype that exists about Japan. Instead of a national interest there are corporate interests; instead of a cohesive vision enunciated by Japanese leaders, there is little or no leadership; instead of a strong foreign policy, there is only the negotiating of financial strength issues primarily vis a vis the United States; instead of looking to the future, Japan still struggles with the past. As a result, a cadre of college students, businessmen, and academics desiring more from life

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[180] "A Cloud of Terror-And Suspicion," Newsweek, April 3, 1995, 41.

than a fat bank balance and good career, fell into the quagmire of Aum.[181]

Given the doubts and searchings of Japanese society, Aum, through its recruitment and indoctrination, offered a life of meaning and a spiritual void filled. Thus, Aum was able to attract many intelligent, talented people who "once lured, pursue(d) their new faith with the stupendous energy of the lost."[182]

C. ORGANIZATION

Shoko Asahara was born on the island of Kyushu in 1955. Practically blind at birth, Shoko received his primary education at a school for the blind. Shoko's limited sight brought him prestige and power at the school as being able to see even a little gave him a great advantage over the other children. A former teacher recounted that:

> "Being able to see even a little is prestigious because blind children want to go out and have coffee in a tearoom but cannot go by themselves. The would say to Chizuo(aka Shoko), 'I will buy you dinner. Why don't you take me out?'"[183]

As he grew up he was known as a difficult individual prone to violent outbursts

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[181] This situation is very similar to Germany in the 60's-80's e.g., an atmosphere ripe for the incipient phase of radicalization that led to development of the RAF. Also Schecterman's essay on Irrational Terrorism suggests that terrorism is an outgrowth of accelerated changes within a particular society. He contends that "revolutionary dynamics in innovative technology and economic systems have produce great dislocation and anomie among vast populace, and especially so among the elite of such societies...Terrorism has been a reaction pattern for many people under such duress." The case of Aum's emergence and growth in both Japan and Russia seems to reflect Schecterman's postulation.

[182] David Van Biema, "Prophet of Poison," Time, April 3, 1995, 26.

[183] James Walsh, "Shoko Asahara: The Making of a Messiah," Time, April 3, 1995, 30.

and temper tantrums.

Shoko's early ambitions were to become rich and famous. By the time he graduated from high school he had amassed some $30,000 dollars saved from government grants for the disabled and from "scamming his classmates."[184] His first real failure came when he was turned down for admission to the prestigious Tokyo University. This event reportedly left him angry and bitter. In 1978 he married Tomoko Ishii, who eventually became a senior Aum official. In 1982, Shoko was arrested for selling fake medicine cures as part of an acupuncture health clinic he had established. Known as the Matsumoto Acupuncture Clinic, customers were treated through a regime of acupuncture, yoga and "herbal cures of a dubious nature."[185] In 1984 Shoko established Aum Inc. and his first enterprise known as the Aum Association of Mountain Wizards. As written by Kaplan "...it was a fancy name for what was actually a one-room Tokyo yoga school with a profitable sideline in phony health drinks."[186] As part of his ambitious agenda to become a man of religious and political importance, Shoko went to the Himalayas in search of enlightenment and returned claiming mystical powers and capabilities. As further reported by Kaplan, Shoko's yoga schools became quite successful and he expanded by reinvesting profits in the opening

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[184] David E. Kaplan and Andrew Marshall, The Cult at the End of the World, (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc, 1996), 8.

[185] Ibid., 9.

[186] Ibid., 11.

of new schools all over Japan.[187] Membership continued to increase and Shoko's schools became a sort of sanctuary for students and businessman trying to get away from the stressful life inherent to contemporary Japanese society. As reported by Kaplan it was during a meditative state on a beach on Japan's Pacific Coast that Chizuo' rhetoric took on an apocalyptic tone. He was cited as saying that "...a message from God...(directs that)...I have been chosen to lead (his) army."[188] Later that year Shoko is alleged to have met a radical interpretivest historian who suggested that Armageddon would come at the end of the century and that a godly race emerging from Japan would survive. This revelation combined with Chizuo's own thoughts of grandeur led to the birth of his new identity as Shoko Asahara, Guru extraordinaire.[189]

In a society primed to recover its spirituality and national identity, Shoko Asahara preyed on the psychological and religious cravings of the Japanese people. As such his brand of snake-oil salesmanship, enveloped in a veneer of eclectic religious rhetoric and mysticism, was too much for the spiritually parched Japanese. Aum's message quickly attracted a significant following of Japanese intelligentsia, blue collar workers and young adults. Their recruitment strategy focused primarily on developing a cadre of bright professionals having expertise in area of physics, chemistry, and biology. As the organization grew,

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[187] Ibid., 12.

[188] Ibid., 12.

[189] Ibid., 12.

so did Shoko's plans to create the Armageddon and conquer Japan. Shoko is reported to have said in a March, 1994 sermon that:

> ...the law in an emergency is to kill one's opponent in a single blow, for instance the way research was conducted on soman (a gas developed by the Nazi's) and sarin during World War II. I come under a gas attack wherever I travel, and jet fighters from the U.S. forces fly for exercises around Mt. Fuji.[190]

Moreover, Asahara blamed the United States military for Japan's economic and social problems and his own declining health. He regularly boasted of predicting the Kobe earthquake and the rise of the yen against the dollar.[191] A former classmate of his said:

> I think Matsumoto is trying to create a closed society like the school for the blind he went to. He is trying to create a society separate from ordinary society in which he can become king of the castle.[192]

When he was arrested, police found Asahara in a secret room between the second and third floors of his Mt. Fuji commune meditating. Dr. Jerrold Post suggests that Aum is a prime example of a terrorist group that emerges from the efforts of a charismatic, narcissistic, deluded, paranoid leader who is able to develop and nurture a hard-core cadre possessing similar attributes.[193]

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[190] Ibid. See also Nick Cassway, "The Wit and Wisdom of Gas Attack Guru Shoko Asahara," (http:// www.webcom.com/~conspire/sayings.html).

[191] Teruaki Ueno, Reuters, April 20, 1995.

[192] The Irish Times, April 1, 1995. Also, James Walsh, "The Making of a Messiah", Time Magazine, April 3, 1995, 30.

[193] Discussion with Dr. Jerrold Post, George Washington University, May 1, 1996.

D. ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE

As part of Shoko's plan to create Armageddon and lead the survivors of this cataclysmic event, he directed that the Aum organization be modeled after the Japanese government. This would ensure that an organizational structure familiar to the "surviving population" would be in place to govern the "new world of Aum." Table 4-1 illustrates the complexity of the Aum organization showing the key leadership/management positions established within the cult. This chart was developed through a review of several references sources that included the Japanese "Sunday Mainichi" news paper, Newsweek and the Internet.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF AUM SHINRIKYO
Leader of Aum: Chizuo Matsumoto aka Shoko Asahara.
Ministry of New Believers East: Eriko Iido **West:** Kazuko Tozawa
Ministry of Construction: Kiyode Hayakawa: the number two man in Aum.
Ministry of Science and Technology: Hideo Murai: graduate of Osaka University. Holds a degree in space physics; reported to be the number three man in Aum.
Ministry of Defense: Tetsuya Kibe: responsible for security; also Kiyohide Nakada, former Yakuza, assists with enforcement and commands the Action Squad.
Ministry of Health: Seiichi Endo: studied genetic engineering at Graduate School of Kyoto University specializing in genetics and medicine.
Ministry of Intelligence: Katsuhiro Inoue
Ministry of Healing: Ikuo Hayashi: Chief physician at Aum Hospital, graduate of Keio University department of Medicine.
Ministry of Finance: Hisako Ishii
Legal Affairs Ministry: Yoshinobu Aoyama: graduate of Kyoto University Department of Law.
Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications: Kazuko Matsumoto: wife of Shoko Asahara.
Ministry of Education: Shigeru Sugiura
Ministry of Public Relations: Hirofumi Joyu: Waseda University graduate specializing in artificial intelligence.
Chemical Arms Unit: Masami Tsuchiya: doctoral candidate of organic chemistry at Tsukuba University.
Secretariat of Interior: Reika Matsumoto: daughter of Shoko Asahara.

Table 4-1. Organizational Chart of the Aum Shinrikyo Cult

As Table 4-1 suggests there are a variety of ministries through which Aum leadership administrated and managed the Cult's membership, businesses and weapons manufacturing efforts. Key ministries behind Aum's power and enforcement efforts include:

- **The Health and Welfare Ministry. Headed by Seiichi Endo.** Endo's ministry is apparently responsible for germ warfare research. Endo is a genetic engineer who studied genetic engineering and academic work at a virus institute.[194] Subsequent raids of Aum's Satian-7 facilities located at the Kamikuishiki compound showed that the cult was set for botulinum toxin production in addition to having a robust sarin production capability. The raid uncovered 160 barrels of peptone used for cultivating bacteria and large quantities of glycerine and sodium cyanide.

- **The Science and Technology Ministry. Headed by Hideo Murao.** Murao was stabbed and killed in front of Aum's Tokyo office. He was an astrophysicist by training.[195]

- **Clandestine Activities: Headed by the No. 2 leader of the sect Kiyode Hayakawa.** The Clandestine Activities section is reported to have been in control of the enforcement element of the sect called the Action Squad. The Clandestine Activities arm was also involved with developing the capability to manufacture a variety of weapons to include AK-47s and to procure military hardware which eventually included a Russian MI-17 helicopter with chemical spray kit.

- **Chemical Arms Unit. Headed by Masami Tsuchiya** who was reported to be working on a doctorate in organic chemistry at Tsukuba University. Interestingly, Tsuchiya wrote in 1991 that "Asahara will be imprisoned in the 1990s, but his trial will prove the existence of supernatural power and all 100 million Japanese will

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[194] N.D. Kristof, "Japan Police Arrest 2 Found Beneath Sect Headquarters," NY Times, April 27, 1995, A1.

[195] MacNeil/Lehrer News Report, May 4, 1995.

become followers of Aum." [196]

- **Action Squad. Headed by Kiyohide Nakada**, the Action Squad is Aum's enforcement element. It is the Action Squad that is allegedly behind the abductions and disciplinary actions taken internally against sect members. Nakada is formerly of the "Yamaguchi Gumi," an underworld organization affiliated with the "Yakuza" (the Japanese mob).[197]

E. AUM RECRUITMENT AND INDOCTRINATION

Aum focused on a traditional resource e.g., bright university students, somehow alienated, who could contribute immediately to the cause. Students willing to join the cult were encouraged to pursue studies in the fields of physics, chemistry, and biology.[198] Recruitment also focused on computer specialists, lawyers, doctors, members of the Japanese Defense Force and National Police. Asahara himself has been known to actively encourage recruiting by promising a decorative sword to any member who could bring in thirty new members in three months. Moreover, any member who did so would automatically be promoted.[199] The collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent release of constraints on

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[196] Kevin Rafferty, "Japan Looks to Transvestite Actor to Save It From Doomsday Terror Cult," The Observer, April 23, 1995, 19.

[197] The Dallas Morning News, April 14, 1995, 10A.

[198] Japanese Economic News wire, April 4, 1995.

[199] Yomiur Shimbun, "Aum Recruiters Given Decorative Swords," The Daily Yomiuri, April 17, 1995, 2. The practices noted here provide a superb example of Crenshaw's discussion terrorist group leader's control of incentives. It is also evident that Aum recruitment programs were designed to attract members in the JDF, National Police and other professional areas to allow the organization to penetrate and gain access to sensitive information.

religious practices in the Newly Independent States (NIS) provided the missionaries of Aum with a fertile source of new membership. In fact, the spiritually starved Russians are alleged to have quickly swelled the ranks of Aum with a membership approximating 30,000 at the height of the cult's short lived popularity in Russia.

Indoctrination into the cult began during the recruiting process. First, Asahara's writing and teachings were published for the open market. His books are as specific as prescribing how a new Aum member should handle a traditional father when explaining involvement in the cult.[200] They are also used to explain Shoko Asahara as prophet and messiah. Once a member, the new recruit was further indoctrinated into the Aum lifestyle of self-sacrifice and asceticism. More importantly the hard core cadre of Aum used a variety of mind control techniques and terror tactics to control members and to discourage dissent and defections from the cult. These efforts included the use of isolation regimes, sensory deprivation techniques, use of mind altering drugs and stimulants, induced vomiting, colonic irrigation, unknown injections to the body, electrode stimulations to the brain, torture, and murder.[201] When police forces raided the main Aum facility near Mt. Fuji on March 22nd, they found fifty members in an almost coma-like state. These individuals had been subjected to crude forms of electromagnetic shock and kept in tiny, windowless

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[200] The Mainichi Daily News, April 25, 1995.

[201] The Irish Times, April 1, 1995.

cells.[202] Members who objected to the cult's practices were severely beaten, isolated in tiny cells and in several cases, allegedly killed.[203] Finally, members were forbidden to have sex and were encouraged to wear helmets equipped with electrodes, allegedly to put them on the same wavelength as Asahara.[204] As written by Kaplan, Shoko Asahara may have professed an ascetic life for his followers, however he and an inner-circle of Aum leaders lived a luxurious life that included Rolls Royces, sex, and eating binges.

F. SUPPORT MECHANISM

Aum recruitment attracted a wealthy and educated membership. Financial holdings exceeded a reported $1.4 billion dollars and included such assets as discount stores, coffee shops and a computer assembly factory. Members were encouraged to give all "personal assets" to Aum.[205] In some cases if a member owned a substantial piece of property, Aum cadre would engage in techniques such as forgery to acquire and then sell the property.[206] The organization incorporated in Japan, Moscow and New York under the trade company name Maha Posya Inc. Chizuo Matsumoto was listed as the director of

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[202] Robert Guest, "Cult's Commune Of Torture: Harrowing Purification Rituals," The Daily Telegraph, March 24, 1995, 16.

[203] Kaplan, et al., 35-37.

[204] Van Biema, 26.

[205] Van Biema, 31.

[206] Kaplan, et al, 64.

the company. Maha Posya Inc. was licensed in the United States as a general trading company through which imports such as computers and agricultural products were to be exported. Aum was also involved in illegal drug production and sales to include LSD and stimulants.[207] It was through Maha Posya Inc. that Aum was able to acquire the equipment needed to develop and manufacture Aum's arsenal, an arsenal which included chemical and biological agents.

G. MATERIALS AVAILABLE

From the sources noted thus far, Aum is known to have possessed a large WMD manufacturing potential that included huge stockpiles of chemicals. This included sodium fluoride, phosphorus trichloride, isopropyl alcohol, and acetonitrile. All are components of various forms of nerve gas. Once combined to make nerve agent, this stockpile of chemicals had the potential to kill approximately 4.2 million people.[208] It is not known how many other caches might exist. Ensuing investigations also uncovered massive amounts of ergotamine used for LSD production, phenylacetonitrile used for producing stimulants, and massive amounts of other chemicals which could be used to manufacture explosives.[209]

As mentioned earlier Aum scientists were also in the process of developing biological weapons, having experimented with anthrax, Q fever, and

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[207] Congressional Testimony on Aum, Oct 31, 1995.

[208] Van Biema, 27.

[209] Kaplan, et al, 98.

botulinum. It is alleged that Aum actually attempted to perfect and deploy a biological weapon several years prior to the attack on the Tokyo subway. Kaplan writes that in 1993, Shoko Asahara directed Seiichi Endo to develop a bio-weapon that could be used against the Japanese royal family on the day of the wedding between Prince Naruhito and Masako Owada. At Asahara's direction, Endo developed an anthrax agent and dispersal system. Fortunately, the system was not ready for use on the day of the wedding. However, when it was ready, Shoko directed that it be tried out against the population of Tokyo; he even accompanied the "assault party." Fortune was on the side of the Japanese public as Endo had not perfected a viable anthrax bug and the "attack" did little more than pollute the air.[210] Failure to create a viable biological weapons caused Aum scientists to focus on development of a less sophisticated weapons, organophosphate based nerve agent.

Following the Tokyo subway attack, Japanese national police raids of Aum facilities led to confiscation of a Russian made helicopter and a nerve gas detection device. Chemical agent spraying equipment that could have been installed on the helicopter was also confiscated. Additionally, documents discovered by the raids revealed a keen interest in the procurement of new and used Russian tanks, fighter aircraft and nuclear weapons technology. By November of 1995 the U.S. Congressional testimony heard by the Permanent Sub-committee on Investigations indicated that Aum had been in the process of

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[210] Ibid., 93-95.

developing a huge, deadly, arsenal. Aum weapons development activities elucidated by the investigation included:

- Conventional arms cache and the necessary industrial machinery to manufacture a variant of the Russian AK-47. This equipment, which included computer-controlled lathes and steel fabrication equipment, was acquired when Aum bought out a failing steel manufacturing company (Okamura Ironworks). Blue prints for these weapons are alleged to have been smuggled out of Russia.[211]

- Attempted to acquire weapons of mass destruction and technology from the Russia. Also attempted to steal technical documents from Mitsubishi Heavy Industries on weapons such as tanks and artillery. Successfully penetrated a number of Japanese defense contractors to include Mitsubishi Heavy Industries to gain access to industrial technology to assist in the development of WMD program.

- In addition to the MI-17 Russian helicopter and spray kit, Aum was experimenting with the use of Remotely Piloted Vehicles (RPV) equipped with spray kits. The RPVs could have been used to release nerve agent.

- Molecular modeling software from Cache Scientific of Beaverton, Oregon; also $400K worth of software and computer hardware used in biogenetic research from a U.S. firm located on the east coast.

- 400 gas masks from a firm in San Jose, CA (recalled from the freight forwarder by the trading company broker on 20 March 1995 following media broadcasts of the Tokyo attack).

- Attempted to acquire a sophisticated laser from a Northern California manufacture in March of 1995 and an interferometer from a Connecticut firm in 1993. Both systems have nuclear material enrichment applications.

- At least twenty volumes of KGB manuals.

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[211] Ibid., 88. Note that the sarin recipe used by Aum is of Russian origin.

- Purchased a tract of land (sheep ranch known as Banjawarn Station) in Western Australia and acquired uranium mining leases. It has been alleged that Aum was interested in mining Australian uranium which was to be exported back to their facilities in Japan. There it be enriched to bomb-grade quality using laser enrichment technology. It was also reported that Aum tested their sarin nerve agent on sheep kept at the Australian ranch.

- Alleged to have been working a deal with the North Koreans wherein cult members would receive weapons and training in exchange for computers and lasers. These items were restricted export to North Korea. Aum easily purchased these things through its' trading company Maha Poysa Inc.[212]

- Established a significant following in Russia with the assistance of top level Russian officials. This relationship allowed Aum scientists to penetrate various academic and technical institutions through which they allegedly received information helpful to their WMD and small arms production efforts.

H. CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

A chronological history of Aum activities provides a concise summary of their activities and true nature:

- February, 1984. Asahara establishes the cult in Tokyo after his spiritual awakening in the Himalayas.

- 1988. Asahara predicts that Japan will rearm and that nuclear war will occur in 1997.

- 1989. Asahara allegedly ordered the execution of follower Shuji Taguchi. Taguchi had the dubious honor of becoming Aum's first murder victim and was assassinated for trying to leave the cult. Later that year a human rights attorney, Tsutsumi Sakamoto along with his wife and son were abducted and also murdered by Aum operatives. Sakamoto was in the process of representing 23 parents who wanted the cult to release their children.

- February, 1990. Asahara and 24 other cult members ***run***

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[212] Ibid., 68.

unsuccessfully for parliament. Also in 1990 Aum begins to promote its organization in Russia.

- April, 1990. Cult members disperse a botulinum toxin near the Japanese Diet in an unsuccessful attack against members of the Japanese government.[213]

- March, 1992. Asahara meets with Russian authorities to include Aleksandr Rutskoi, then vice president and eventual participant in the armed insurrection against Boris Yeltsin. He also meets with Oleg Lobov who at the time was the Russian Security Council Secretary. Aum eventually establishes a radio show and educational center in Moscow. The Russian connection was a fortuitous event for both Aum and certain Russian officials. Shoko wanted to penetrate Russia for its membership potential and access to WMD technologies. Russian officials were anxious to entertain Asahara's desires as he spread money around like fertilizer, a virtual "cash cow."

- June/July, 1993. Late June, cult members spray downtown Tokyo with botulin toxin with negative results. In Early July, residents near Aum's Tokyo office suffer from white fumes coming from the sect's building. Local authorities receive over 200 complaints but no investigation ensues. This event was actually an attempt by cult members to disperse anthrax throughout Tokyo City.

- June, 1994. Under the direction of Masami Tsuchiya, head of the Aum chemical unit, two members of Aum release sarin gas near the judicial building in Matsumoto. The attack was allegedly ordered by Asahara to preclude a negative judgement being levied against the cult in a land dispute matter. Seven people were killed and 150 injured to include three judges involved with the case.

- July 1994. Villagers in Kamikuishiki complain about a strong odor coming from the Aum compound at the base of Mt. Fuji. Police later find evidence of sarin use in the soil near the compound.

- December, 1994. An Aum lieutenant attempts to assassinate 83-year old car park manager Noburo Mizuno using VX. Mizuno is hospitalized but recovers. Between September and November of 1994 Asahara has at least two members who left the organization

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[213] Ibid., 58.

killed by VX injection. A member belonging to the Japanese Defense force is charged. In addition a Yokohama journalist who wrote a story connecting Aum with the Sakamoto family, is the victim of a phosgene gas attack in her residence.

- January, 1995. Fear that a police investigation of the Matsumoto gassing was leading to an investigation of the Aum facilities at Kamikuishiki causes cult members to destroy sarin stockpiles and camouflage equipment used to produce the nerve agent.[214]

- March 15, 1995. Police find attaché cases (modified with vents and battery operated fans) at a subway station.[215]

- March 20, 1995. Twelve die and 5,000 are injured in a Sarin gas attack on Tokyo subway. On this date, twelve Kamikuishiki residents claim they were threatened by Aum in December, 1992.[216]

- March 22, 1995. Almost 3,000 Japanese police raid Aum facilities at 25 separate locations in Tokyo, Shizuoka, and Yamanashi. At the main headquarters they find $7.9 million dollars and twenty-two pounds of gold. Enough chemicals are confiscated to kill an estimated 4.2 million people. Police also confiscate a Russian made helicopter and poison gas detector. [217]

- March 30, 1995. Takaji Kunimatsu, Japanese police chief heading the National investigation is shot. Perpetrator escapes on a bicycle.

- April 1, 1995. Raids and searches of Aum compound result in discovery of library of biochemistry books, incubators and electron microscope. Speculation suggests that Aum was engaged in

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[214] Ibid., 215-217.

[215] The Economist, March 25, 1995, 37.

[216] While these facts are confirmed by several accounts, this history is based on an article by Chiaki Ishimura "Events surrounding Doomsday Sect Aum Supreme Truth", Agence France Presse, March 22, 1995. Also see Van Biema.

[217] Nicholas D. Kristof, "Poison Gas Targets Secret Cult; Japanese Raids Turns Up Chemicals," The International Herald Tribune, March 23, 1995.

research to make biological weapons.

- April 8, 1995. Police raids of Aum facilities result in confiscation of equipment and machinery used to manufacture AK-47s.

- April 28, 1995. Two members of Japanese Ground Self Defense Force arrested after being identified as Aum members and responsible for leaking information relative to preparations for police raids on Aum facilities.[218]

- May 5, 1995. Railway station employees find and douse a burning bag of sodium cyanide in men's room in Shinjuku Station. Next to the burning bag is a bag of diluted sulfuric acid entwined with the cyanide. Had the two bags had adequate time to "mix" this low tech device would have made a cloud of hydrogen cyanide gas capable of killing thousands in the crowded Tokyo subway.

- May 16, 1995. Chizuo Matsumoto, aka Shoko Asahara is arrested by members of the National Police at the Kamikushiki compound.

I. ANALYSIS OF AUM

Determining the relative value of Structural Realist Theory or Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process for explaining *Effective Demand* in the case of Aum, is truly a complicated task. Fortunately the event has been extensively documented which facilitates the process of analysis. In this particular case it appears that both theories seem to emerge as plausible explanations for causation of *Effective Demand.*

1. Structural Realist Model

Shoko clearly desired to play an important role in Japanese politics. This was evident as early as 1990 when a cadre of Aum membership unsuccessfully

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[218] Kaplan reports that JDF membership in Aum included approximately 40 active duty and 60 former members of the JDF. Kaplan, et al.,188.

ran for various political positions during Japan's general elections. Following this unsuccessful bid for office Shoko Asahara, still desiring to be an "impact player," turned to the use of internal methods that would allow him to balance against the Japanese government and assume a leadership role in Japanese society, WMD terrorism. From a realist perspective, Shoko's decision to internally balance through the development of a WMD capability was a logical choice, providing him with a coercive potential great enough to propel him into the seat of power in Japan. Further, Shoko's membership recruitment and business strategies reflect a deliberate plan to do just that.

From a structural perspective (as noted in the narrative), Aum cadre included those with the technical knowledge to develop, minimally, a nerve agent and rudimentary dispersal system. That the group made several glaring errors is irrelevant as evidenced by the mass casualties and disruption caused by their "amateurish" effort in the Tokyo subway. Aum also possessed a tremendous financial support base, arguably large enough to fund the development of a rudimentary nuclear device. Additionally, they had unfettered access to the necessary materials and chemicals to pursue a robust WMD program.

A quick look at Aum through the framework of the Structural Realist Model of *Effective Demand* clearly supports the hypothesis of this study. Aum pursued the development and use of WMD in order to overcome (balance against) the military and political superiority of the Japanese state, see Table 4-1. On

balance, the Aum case raises an important question which is not easily answered by Structural Realism theory e.g., what key factors empowered this group to cross the traditional lines of modulated violence to use WMD. Maybe the logic employed by Shoko Asahara and his cadre manifests nothing more than a veneer of the rational choice assumption structural realist theory implies. If this is the case, a closer examination of the organization through a reductionist approach may provide answers regarding Aum's ability to transcend those "traditional constraints" and use WMD.

Attribute Set for Structural Realist Model of *Effective Demand*: Aum Shinrikyo			
Demand Indicator	**Score 1.0 or .0**	**Supply Indicator**	**Score 1.0 or .0**
Desire for power great enough to balance against the "nation-state"	1.0	Group membership knowledgeable of WMD technological requirements	1.0
		Group possesses financial resources to fund a WMD program	1.0
		Group has access to materials and technology required to manufacture and disperse WMD	1.0
Structural Realist Model			
Desire for Power x (Knowledgeable Membership x Funding x Access to Materials) = Effective Demand: 1. x (1. x 1. x 1.) = 1.0 ~ no constraining external influences			

Table 4-2: Analysis of Aum: Structural Realist Model

2. Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Model

By dis-aggregating Aum and examining the group through the framework of the Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process Model, a more "focused" explanation for why the group selected to develop and employ WMD emerges.

a. Power to Balance Against the State

This attribute is self-evident. As Aum's membership, business, and financial holdings grew, so did Asahara's desire to become a dominant influence in Japanese society. Adopting a strategy that would eventually lead to an armed confrontation with the Japanese authorities, Asahara directed actions to internally balance Aum against the military superiority of the Japanese Defence Force and National Police. These included: (1) penetrating both the JDF and JNP with Aum members; by doing this, Asahara could stay in front of the counter-terrorism efforts of the Japanese government; (2) developed a small arms manufacturing capability to arm Aum members; (3) developed the WMD program that would ultimately be used in an effort to stave off the intrusiveness of the Japanese government into Aum affairs. Aum is ranked 1.0 for their efforts to pursue a balancing power through development of WMD.

b. Leadership of the "Authoritarian-Sociopathic Personality"

In this particular case I have had the good fortune of being able to access a significant amount of information concerning Shoko Asahara. This includes having been able to discuss Shoko's "personality" with several psycho-dynamic psychiatrists, including Dr. Jerrold Post.

In general, Dr. Post provides a revealing insight as he suggests that Shoko Asahara provides an example of the "mirror-hungry personality" addressed in Chapter II. Add to this Shoko's other attributes including his

charismatic, deluded, paranoid qualities; the use of religious ideas to legitimize his behavior and manipulate membership; an obvious desire for power to coerce; and grand assertions that those external to the Aum organization where they enemy to be destroyed. These attributes arguably suggest a profile of a leader who will, given the opportunity, manipulate his followers to commit ultra-violent acts of terrorism. Place this type of leader over a "leader-hungry" membership with similar attributes and Dr. Post says the following will result:

> If the paranoid with messianic delusions possesses leadership abilities, and can identify a vulnerable population, the ingredients are present for a charismatic apocalyptic religious cult. His delusion is sense making not only for him but for other wounded individuals whose world is falling apart as well. He is a collective diagnostician. Initially alone against the paranoid psuedocommunity, now the paranoid with religious delusions has followers and is no longer alone. Moreover, his followers confirm the truth of his inspired religious conviction. For the followers, such an inspired leader has provided a diagnosis of the ills afflicting the world and they have a special role to play. He has made sense for them of the chaos surrounding them. Their sense of the outside danger has been confirmed, but they are no longer alone in facing the enemy. Rather they are united with their fellow true believers under the banner of a gifted leader. In this closed cult, he and his followers are in a closed system, in which each reinforces the beliefs of the other...in the apocalyptic religious cults...(this) can have important political consequence.[219]

Shoko Asahara undoubtedly manifests the traits of the authoritarian-sociopathic personality. For this indicator, Aum receives a score of 1.0.

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[219] Interview with Dr. Jerrold M. Post, 9 February, 1996, San Francisco, CA. Quotes were taken from unpublished draft notes of a book Dr. Post is presently writing concerning cults.

c. *Ideology*

Despite the rhetoric of peace that permeated the teachings of Aum Shinrikyo, the heart of the group's ideology was based in an apocalyptic millennial imperative that supported the use of extremist violence. Shoko Asahara created this belief system for the express purpose of recruiting and manipulating a membership that truly wanted to believe they could be part of something greater then their temporal existence could ever afford e.g., the chosen few who would survive the apocalypse and become part of a new world order ruled by Aum. As Shoko created his "church" he engaged in a variety of practices specifically designed to increase Aum stature, power and his own perceived importance. These efforts were highly visible to Japanese authorities and the public at large. Recalling the history of Shoko, one sees an entrepreneurial spirit that eventually adopts a pseudo-religious twist. His message was literally advertised through the media in Japan and other places. Rhetorical references to the apocalyptic nature of the group was also evident in the books the cult published wherein Shoko describes himself as the messiah. Further, Shoko claims to have had an epiphany in which God tells him he has been chosen to lead an army that will cleanse Japanese society of its social and political ills.

Eventually Shoko "sells" his devoted cadre of zealots and aspiring gurus a vision of the future that includes not only spiritual enlightenment, but a guaranteed lead position in the new world order, an order that he prophesies will

come following the Armageddon. As documented in various public relations videos and writings produced by the cult, Shoko is noted predicting that Japan and the U.S. would engage in a nuclear exchange between 1997 and 1998, and that Japan would suffer devastating blows to her economy and infrastructure. In addition, he frequently claimed to have been the victim of persecution and poison gas attacks perpetrated by the U.S. and Japanese government.[220] He uses this "fiction" to convince the hard core Aum cadre that the group's existence is threatened and that Armageddon is near. Unfortunately as the time for this cataclysm to occur draws near, Shoko's credibility is threatened. This forces him to stage events that could be lauded as the beginning of the Armageddon e.g., the Matsumoto and Tokyo gas attacks (journalist reporting on the case suggest that the attacks were also designed to dissuade the Japanese authorities from investigating the cult). It is clear that Aum exhibited an apocalyptic millennial ideology that legitimized the use of extreme violence. For this indicator, Aum receives a score of 1.0.

d. Lack of Constraint to Commit Ultra-Violence

Aum's history of violence starts with the practice of assassinating dissenting and defecting members and those external to the group that were perceived to be a threat. They crossed the line of no return when Shoko directed the murder of Shuji Taguchi and the Sakamoto family in 1989.

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[220] Hajime Takano, "Aum Veiled in Nerve-Gas Attack Suspicion-Performing its Own Armageddon?," Insider, April 1, 1995.

Japanese authorities investigating these incidents placed Aum under a wall of suspicion, however official inquiries into the events were lauded as inconclusive. Possibly emboldened by their acts and the lack of hard inquiry by Japanese authorities Aum members, as directed by Shoko, indulged in a multitude of violent behavior that included torture, kidnapping, attempted murder, murder and the capstone events in Matsumoto and the Tokyo subway. In fact, between 1991 and 1995 over 60 people escaped from Aum facilities in Yamanasi and informed the authorities of the abuses and isolation regimes cult cadre imposed on members.

Prior to the gas attacks, many complaints regarding the Aum cult were registered with the Japanese authorities by concerned family members who's relatives and children had come under the spell of Shoko's Aum, all prior to the gas attacks. Townsfolk living in proximity to the Aum compound in Kamikuishiki regularly brought their complaints concerning the intrusive, strange ways of the cult, to the attention of the authorities. Suffice to say the cult's penchant for committing unmitigated violence was evident prior to the gas attacks. In fact Shoko was noted to talk about murder as if it was a means by which one could further spiritual enlightenment.

> I preached that it was one of the heavenly principles to terminate your life by using sarin, X and other kinds of gases developed during World War II.[221]

Many cults manifest the trait of unmitigated violence. Sometimes

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[221] Cassway, "The Wit and Wisdom of Gas Attack Guru Shoko Asahara."

this violence is focused strictly at cult membership as seen in the case of the "Order of the Solar Temple." On October 5, 1994, 53 members of this cult simultaneously committed suicide in a flaming ritual in two locations, one in France and the other in Canada.[222] According to media reports the suicides were conducted so that members might leave this world and entire a new dimension of paradise. Casualties of this event included several children who were alleged to have been shot in the head. Approximately one year later a second mass suicide occurred in which 16 members of the Solar Temple killed themselves.

In a more notorious case 900 members of "The Peoples Temple" cult died in a mass murder suicide orchestrated and forcefully directed by their leader the Reverend Jim Jones.[223] This catastrophic event occurred in Jonestown, Guyana November 18, 1978. Although some members died of gunshot wounds, most died as a result of ingesting koolaid laced with cyanide. The dead included Representative Leo Ryan who went to Guyana to investigate allegations of human rights abuse of members (particularly children and teenagers) by cult leaders and security cadre. As an adjunct to this particular case The House Foreign Affairs Committee suggested that the subject of cults should be discussed with special reference to their mode of operation and the style and

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[222] "Killer Cults Hit List," article. (http://www.mayhem.net/Crime/cults1.html.)

[223] For a full account of the Jonestown massacre see Kenneth Wooden, The Children of Jonestown, (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill, 1981).

tactics of their leaders.[224] For this indicator, Aum receives a score of 1.0.

e. *The Closed Constituency and Group Cohesiveness*

Aum Shinrikyo represents a "closed cell-system" in which actions are accomplished for the benefit of the group, leadership, and God (though at times Aum suggested he was a "God"). Perhaps even more disturbing than Aum's alleged gas attacks was the structure and ruthless efficiency of the society they created. Aum preached that the only hope for survival was in isolation, groupism, and their own brand of self reliance. Members ceded not only their money, but their very identity to the group. In this sense they were cohesive to an extreme.

Believers were taught that outsiders could not understand their unique and mystical religion and that further they sought only to destroy it. The danger posed by outsiders and outside ideas is a recurring theme in Aum's internal propaganda. A siege mentality was created and nurtured so that membership would buy into the myth that Aum had to defend it's very existence against a world bent on its eradication. As such Aum's dedicated cadre, led by Shoko Asahara, developed a rational motive (within their deluded irrationality) that the only way to protect themselves was to attack those they perceived to be their enemies. Brutality, abduction, confinement, flagrant violations of human rights seemed only natural under these circumstances.

The hard corps cadre of Aum were all loyal to the ideals, vision,

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[224] Ibid., 206.

and grand plans of Master Shoko. This attribute was evidenced through the behavior and actions of those engaged in executing Aum's grand strategy to create the Armageddon and lead those who survived in a new world order of Aum.

The closed cell nature, cohesion and loyalty of this group was truly evident this case study. Aum receives a score of 1.0 for maintaining a closed cell, cohesive, loyal, group structure.

f. Lack of Concern over Public or Government Backlash

Aum leaders and followers, particularly those involved in the atrocities, were not concerned with public opinion or Japanese government reaction because the public at large and the Japanese (and U.S.) government were recognized as "the enemy." In an elucidating example of how thoroughly brainwashed hard core cadre became under Shoko's tutelage, cult member Kensaku Nagano stated during Japanese court proceedings that:

> To meet the Rev. (Asahara) again would be my greatest joy...even if I am reborn or die, I want to serve the guru forever...(reference to the gas attack in the Tokyo subway)...I think it was right.[225]

In another recorded statement Ikuo Hayashi, a doctor who admitted planting gas on one of the Tokyo trains, was quoted as saying the goal of the subway attack was to wipe out the Kasumigaseki section of Tokyo, where many

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[225] "Aum Member Says Deadly Sarin Gas Attack was 'Right,'" Kyodo News International, March 25, 1996.

government offices are located.[226] Prior to the gas attack the cult was known to stand up vociferously to local government authorities. In their petition to be recognized as a religious group by Japanese authorities in 1989, Aum members harassed city officials, staged demonstrations, and filed a lawsuit against Tokyo's governor.[227] Operating under a rationale that suggested death was nothing more than movement to a better existence, it was not hard for members to engage in the use of WMD, a use that would either perpetuate the survival of the group in this existence, or hasten them to "another." Aum receives a score of 1.0 for their disregard of backlash.

g. A Willingness to Take Risks

Ultimately Shoko Asahara was the consummate con-man, more than willing to take risks in order to gain a high payoff. This behavior begins to manifest itself in 1982 when he was arrested for selling fake medicinal cures. Shoko's risk taking nature matured and grew as he facilitated the cult's financial growth through the use of strong arm tactics, forgery and the like to acquire the personal assets of cult members. Of particular interest was the fact that cult members were operating globally in their attempts develop a WMD program. As noted in the case narrative, Aum members pursued WMD related knowledge and equipment in Russia and the United States. They even bought a sheep ranch in Australia were they tested their sarin nerve agent on sheep, having

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[226] Irene M. Kunii "Engineer of Doom," Time, June 12, 1995.

[227] Kaplan, et al, 24.

smuggled in chemicals and equipment to whip up the sarin agent locally.[228] In fact Australian customs officials actually caught Aum members attempting to smuggle hydrochloric acid and other chemicals into Australia from Japan in April of 1993. Cult members were subsequently fined $1800.00 and banned from returning to Australia for six months.[229] Well before the Matsumoto and Tokyo attacks Aum members exhibited a willingness to take extreme risks. Aum receives a score of 1.0 for risk taking.

h. A Demonstration of a Certain Degree of Sophistication in Weaponry or Tactics

Aum leaders certainly exhibited a high degree of sophistication in terms of recruitment methods and endeavors to develop capital resources. They were also adept at negotiating the purchase and delivery of a variety of restricted substances, high tech computer hardware and software and the MI-17 helicopter which was brought into Japan through a rather circuitous routing via Austria, Slovakia, the Netherlands and finally Japan.[230] During Aum's engagement and enlargement efforts in Russia during 1994, fifteen cult members attended a ten-day weapons training course in which they learned survival and shooting skills including the use of rocket launchers. Even a soft investigation into Aum activities in Russia would have uncovered enough

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[228] Ibid, 126-133.

[229] Ibid., 126.

[230] Ibid., 193.

information to suggest that the group possessed a sophisticated nature and interest in nuclear weapons. Aum receives a score of 0.8 for exhibiting sophistication in their attempt to develop a WMD program.

l. Membership that Includes Personnel Knowledgeable of WMD Technical Requirements

Though not part of the original plan, Aum recruitment practices eventually focused on individuals who possessed education and professional expertise in nuclear physics, biogenetics, chemistry, medicine and higher mathematics. A cursory review of Aum membership prior to the Matsumoto attack would have revealed an extremely robust "braintrust" of individuals who more than understood the basic requirements to produce and weaponize lethal chemical agents. Aum receives a score of .8 for knowledgeable membership.

j. Financial Resources to Fund a WMD Capability

This attribute may truly be of limited importance as the costs to develop a low tech nerve agent and dispersal system (cyanide and sulfuric acid) are minimal. Regardless, Aum financial holdings exceeded any amount needed to produce even a nuclear device. Aum receives a 1.0 for financial resources.

k. Availability and Access to Materials

Acquiring chemicals and various pathogens was not difficult for Aum. As discussed in congressional testimony, everything Aum cadre needed to develop a WMD potential was available and purchased locally in Japan. Aum receives a score of 1.0 for access and availability of materials.

I. Intervening Processes and Summary of the Analysis

The primary Intervening Processes seen as enhancing *Effective Demand* for Aum is the fact that Japan is an open, democratic society. The nature of this democratic structure heavily influences judicial and legislative practices relative to the investigative license of the state. It is suggested that this, plus the ultra-sensitive attitude Japanese culture manifests towards religious institutions, gave Aum plenty of room to develop their WMD potential under the nose of the Japanese state. This ultra-sensitive attitude toward religious institutions is said to be an outgrowth of those that remember the restrictions and atrocities imposed on the Japanese population under the fascist regime of Tojo in the 1930's through 1945. Since that time religious groups are generally lauded as "untouchable" in Japan. This might explain to some degree why there was no hard inquiry into the many complaints lodged against Aum.

The general availability of WMD related technology and assistance Aum was able to gain from sources in Russia is also seen as enhancing Aum's *Effective Demand*. Cult penetration of industries engaged in the development of dual use technologies also helped. Of related importance was the cults ability to penetrate various government offices, police, and defense forces. Through this penetration Aum cadre developed an early warning network that enabled them to monitor the plans of the authorities relative to the cult. This network assisted Shoko to avoid arrest for almost two months following the attack on the Tokyo subway. Table 4-2 provides a visual summary of the Aum case analysis.

Using the Attribute Set for The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Model of *Effective Demand*, Aum received an overall score of .64.

Attribute Set for Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Model of Effective Demand: Case of Aum Shinrikyo			
Demand Indicator	Score .0-1.0	Supply Indicator	Score .0-1.0
Group desires power great enough to balance against the nation-state	1.0	Group exhibits sophisticated use of weapons or tactic	0.8
Group leader manifests the "authoritarian personality"	1.0	Group includes membership knowledgeable of WMD technology	0.8
Ideology advocates use of ultra-violence	1.0	Group possesses financial resources to fund WMD program	1.0
Group engages in extremes of violence	1.0	Group has access to WMD materials and technology	1.0
Group is cohesive and closed cell. Group members ar loyal to the cause	1.0		
Group disregards backlash	1.0		
Group willing to take high risks	1.0		
Product of Demand Indicators = 1.0		Product of Supply Indicators = 0.64	
DI(r) x SI(r) = Effective Demand(r) ~ Intervening Processes = *Effective Demand* for WMD **1.0 x .64 = 1.0 ~ enhancing Intervening Processes = *.64 (Indicative that Aum possessed Effective Demand for WMD)***			

Table 4-3 Summary of Aum Analysis: Synthetic Model

J. SUMMARY OF THE AUM CASE

Both theoretical frameworks used in the analysis of this case show that Aum did indeed possess a high level of *Effective Demand*. Though the Theory of Structural Realism suggests greater strength for potential WMD use in this case, it fails to account for important nuances that influence a group's decision to develop a WMD capability. Recall that there exists a series of traditional constraints that have typically precluded non-state groups from moving towards the use of WMD. If these constraints did not exist, WMD use would arguably be the terrorist's primary weapon of choice. **To date, non-state group use of WMD is still the exception vice the rule. This suggests that the Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process may indeed provide a stronger argument for causation despite its apparent weakness in this case.** Specifically, this model elucidates Aum's ability to transcend the *traditional barriers* to commit ultra-violent acts using WMD, barriers that many theorists of terrorism have argued would keep non-state groups from venturing down the WMD path. The synergistic combination of the desire for power, "authoritarian-sociopathic" leader, religious ideology, the closed cell nature of the group, etc., provided powerful forces that certainly overcame these barriers. In order to determine a non-state group's motivations and intentions, maybe it is more important to place emphasis on some of the psycho-social aspects of such groups. In any event, had the intelligence apparatus in Japan been equipped to analyze Aum through either of the theoretical models, it might have

become readily evident that the cult exhibited a *ripeness* to develop and employ WMD. At a minimum, this might have identified Aum as a group predisposed to violent extremism.

In conclusion, Kaplan provides an excellent summation of the man and the cult writing that:

> In 1986, Shoko Asahara walked into the Himalayan mountains as a con artist, and emerged as a self-proclaimed messiah. In 1995, he came down from the mountains again, this time as one of the century's most notorious mass murders - as the prophet of hi-tech terrorism.[231]

The horrific accounts of what transpired during the brief history of Aum are just now coming to light as a result of the writings of Kaplan and others. However, Shoko Asahara, with his twisted cadre of scientists, thugs and followers are certainly not the first group of apocalyptic millennialists to engage in unmitigated violence. In 591 A.D. historical records provide an account of a man of Bourges France who goes into the forest, loses his mind over the course of two years, and emerges claiming to be Christ. Discussed in the course of a larger work on millennial cults, Norman Cohn writes that this individual claimed great healing powers, mystical insights and the like. People were alleged to have given large sums of gold and silver to this "Christ" and his followers (which included female acolytes).[232] In approximately 1148 A.D. another "messiah" emerges in Brittany following a period of "self-imposed exile" in the forest and is

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[231] Ibid., 282.

[232] Cohn, 41-43.

reported to have led a mass following of peasants that raided churches and delighted in violence.[233] Shoko is certainly not the first millennial/apocalyptic prophet as evidenced by the likes of the Reverend Jim Jones and David Koresh.[234] He will certainly not be the last.

In response to a growing concern over threats cults pose France, Germany, and Switzerland have instituted watch-dog bodies to monitor cult activities in their respective countries. In a non-binding resolution the European Parliament enjoined in an agreement whereby police and investigative bodies such as Interpol and Europol would work together to monitor cults for illegal or unsavory activities.[235] The case of Aum is surely a wake up call and represents what may be an emerging trend; that of non-state proliferation of WMD.

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[233] Ibid., 46.

[234] Rev. Jim Jones was the leader of a cult known as the "Peoples Temple." In 1978, 900 members died in a mass suicide at the cult's facilities in Jonestown, Guyana, at the direction of Jim Jones. David Koresh, leader of the Branch Davidians, and his apocalyptic followers perished in a blaze adjunct to an assault of their compound by Federal authorities in spring of 1993.

[235] "MEPs plead for EU Action Against Dangerous Cults," Reuters, February 29, 1996.

V. RELIGIOUS REDEMPTIVE GROUP: THE JIHAD ORGANIZATION AND THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING

A. INTRODUCTION

Non-state groups operating under a redemptive religious imperative have been known to use chemicals in their terrorist attacks. As documented in open source literature there have been several incidents in recent years that have involved the use of chemical agents. In summary they include:

- A May 1983 Israeli government report that it had uncovered a plot by Israeli Arabs to poison the water in Galilee with "an unidentified powder."[236]

- A report that proposals were made at an early February 1993 meeting of fundamentalists groups in Tehran, under the auspices of the Iranian Foreign Ministry, to poison the water supplies of major cities in the West as a possible response to Western offensives against Islamic organizations and states.[237]

- A 1975 incident where German entrepreneurs were apprehended in Vienna attempting to sell Tabun (nerve agent) to Palestinian terrorists.[238]

- A report stating that "Force 17," a special cell within Yasir Arafat's

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[236] Joseph D. Douglass Jr., and Neil C. Livingston, America the Vulnerable: The Threat of Chemical and Biological Warfare, (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1987), 186.

[237] Safa Haeri, "Iran: Vehement Reaction," Middle East International, 19 March,1993, 8.

[238] Robert H. Kupperman and Jeff Kamen, Final Warning: Averting Disaster in the New Age of Terrorism, (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 101.

Fatah, had received training in chemical weapons.[239]

- A report whereby Europeans in at least three countries became ill from eating citrus products that had been contaminated with mercury, which presumable had been injected under the skins of the citrus products with a syringe. A group identifying itself as the Arab Revolutionary Army Palestinian Commandos in a letter sent to the Dutch government, announced that its goal was to sabotage the Israeli economy. In this case no one died however the incident severely affected Israeli citrus exports.[240]

- A reference made concerning a "still secret" 1984 chemical warfare incident in which the nerve agent carbamate was added to the coffee of an Israeli military mess.[241]

- Reports indicating that cyanide may have been incorporated in the bomb used to attack the World Trade Center in New York in January of 1993.

As noted by Senator Nunn, the Islamic terrorist that bombed the World Trade Center may very well represent the first non-state attempt to employ WMD against the United States. Investigations into this attack concluded that the goal of the terrorists was to bring down both towers of New York City's World Trade Center complex in a lethal cloud of cyanide. This toxic, chemical agent was specifically incorporated into the explosive device to increase the casualty count by orders of magnitude.

Radical Islamic notions suggesting the U.S. is predominantly responsible

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[239] Yonah Alexander, "Will Terrorists Use Chemical Weapons?," JINSA Security Affairs, (June-July, 1990), 10.

[240] Douglass and Livingston, America the Vulnerable, 30. Also see Alexander, "Will Terrorists Use Chemical Weapons?," 10.

[241] Ibid., 29.

for many of the ills being suffered in the Islamic community word wide is provided as the rationale behind this terrible deed. Further, some Islamic fundamentalist leaders believe that attacks against the West (the U.S. in particular) are justified as a legitimate course of action to protect the Islamic world from becoming increasingly influenced, diluted, and fractured by the enticements and temptations offered by the secular, democratic, and capitalistic West.[242] Unfortunately acts such as the World Trade Center bombing result in the unfair stereotyping of Islam as a religion of terrorism. Philip C. Wilcox puts this in context as he states:

> The United States does not equate Islam and terrorism...It's a calumny on the name of Islam to equate it with terrorism.[243]

On balance, Islamic non-state terrorist groups seem to be extremely volatile and prone to "splinter," particularly when the leadership of a mainstream group chooses to adopt a more moderate approach to negotiating the desires or objectives of the group. In these cases it is not uncommon to see members defect and regroup into new, more violent organizations.[244]

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[242] Atlantic Monthly, (September, 1990) 2; also see Ziad Abu-Amr, Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994), 102, 130; Taheri, 1-5.

[243] Statement made by Philip C. Wilcox, Jr., State Department Coordinator for Counter terrorism, 25 June, 1996.

[244] An example of this is readily evident upon analysis of Arafat's Fatah and the PLO. Former members of Arafat's mainstream group, not happy with his moderate approach to resolving difficulties with the State of Israel, stood up the Abu Nidal Organization, and fill the ranks of Hamas.

In this next case study the analysis focuses on a cadre of Islamic radicals that merged as a function of shared frustrations and anger at both Israel and the United States. Members of this group were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury for: (1) the assassination of the Israeli extremist rabbi Meir Kahane; (2) sedition; (3) the attack against the World Trade Center; (4) planning to destroy various Federal buildings and traffic tunnels in the New York City area. Reports from court records and news journal articles provide detailed insight into this group and suggest that they had ties to known Islamic terrorists.[245]

The redemptive religious imperative that "fuels" radical Islam is a complex issue. Understanding the genesis of this phenomenon is key to appreciating how acts such as the World Trade Center bombing can occur.. In this particular case study I find it beneficial to proceed by addressing the underpinning roots of radical Islam, and a concept referred to as "Holy Terror." Following will be the case study of the group responsible for the World Trade Center bombing.

B. THE ROOTS OF RADICAL ISLAM

There are presently forty-five countries in the world where the Muslim religion dominates the population. The world-wide population of Muslims total some 900 million people or approximately one-fifth of the human race. Within this population of Muslims resides great cultural, ethnic, and regional variances. Unfortunately, there exists an uninformed impression of Islam that suggests the religion stands for fanaticism, violence, and holy war. This view totally negates

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[245]Steve Emerson, "The Other Fundamentalists."

the rich contributions Islam provided to the European culture as it emerged from the Dark Ages and into the Renaissance. Those that would typecast Islam in this negative light seem to ignore the fact that Christianity has a history of violence as well. Documented in the Crusades, and followed by centuries of Euro-Christian efforts to dominate the world through colonial imperial rule, Christianity has often shown its violent and repressive nature. Other religions share in this spotlight as evidenced by a bloody civil war being fought in Sri Lanka between Tamil Hindu's and Sinhalese Buddhists, and the Phalangist attacks against the Palestinian refugee camps at Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon.

Despite this argument, contemporary events occurring in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, Israel, India, the Philippines, Indonesia, and the U.S. lead some observers to believe that Islam is synonymous with religious based violence. In fact, traditional Muslim teachings abhor violence, do they not? As a rejoinder, these countries do experience a high degree violence, much of which is carried out by Islamic radicals.

Islam is not just a religion, but a complete system, one that fuses religion with the social, political, economic and legal aspects and entities of the Muslim community. There is truly no separation between church and state, church and economy, church and the judiciary, or church and social behavior. The meaning of the word Islam is "submission or surrender to Allah's (God's) will" and it penetrates all aspects of the Muslim society. Therefore, any violence occurring as an adjunct to social, economic, or political issues, can rarely escape being

grounded in an Islamic religious imperative by virtue of this socio-religious fusion. Unfortunately terrorist violence conducted as part of a religious ideology seems to result in tremendous loss of life and injury, often times to the innocent.

1. History of Radical Islam

The origins of the Muslim community dates back to the seventh century wherein God revealed himself to Muhammad through the Angel Gabriel, circa 610 A.D.. Muhammad was forty years old at the time. The essence of Muhammad's epiphany revealed that God first sent his revelation to the Jews, and then to the Christians. Both times this revelation became distorted and corrupted by man. Gabriel's appearance to Muhammad represented God's last attempt to send down his word to mankind, this time through Muhammad.[246] This revelation commanded the people to turn away from polytheistic cults and practices and to worship the one true God, the God of Abraham.[247]Over the course of the next twenty years, Muhammad transcribed the word of God into Islam's sacred scripture. Known as the Quran, this work was not compiled until sometime following Muhammad's death in 632 A.D.. The Quran brought not just a religious message but prescribed behavior for leaders, merchants and individuals. It condemned the exploitation of the poor, orphans, and women, forbade corruption, cheating, the flaunting of wealth and arrogance; and it

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[246] John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat: Myth of Reality?, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 26-27.

[247] Note that the God of Abraham is also worshipped by Jews and Christians.

prescribed strict punishments for slander, stealing, murder, the use of intoxicants, gambling, and adultery.[248]

In time, Muhammad consolidated his position as both leader and Prophet (in the city of Medina) primarily by fusing together religion and politics. Guided by divine revelation he oversaw domestic and foreign affairs, the military, and such things as tax collection. Eventually he returned to Mecca where he brought together the various tribes of Arabia. In the words of Esposito, Muhammad:

> ...fashioned a new order and community, a religious and political (more accurately, a religiopolitical) community rooted in and united by a religious vision or bond.[249]

Muhammad's death in 632 A.D. resulted in a split in the Muslim community by those that felt the mantle of the Prophet should go to his eldest surviving male kin, Ali, (who was not only his first cousin but his son-in-law) and those who believed that Muhammad had left this decision up to a quorum of his senior companions. This led to the eventual emergence of two separate Muslim sects, the Sunni and the Shii. The Sunni's desired to follow a caliph or political leader who made no claim to the position of Prophet, but who would be guided by senior Islamic clerics. The Shii desired to follow a religiopolitical leader who's selection was based on lineage to the house of the Prophet. The majority Sunni position prevailed over Shii desires, and the Islamic community was organized

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[248] Esposito, 28.

[249] Ibid., 30.

and governed under a caliphal state.[250] In short order the Shii broke with the Sunni, a break that to this day results in terrorism and in-fighting between these sects.[251] Through subsequent centuries, the armies and merchants of Islam spread Muhammad's message to the world through Jihad. Eventually Islamic influence permeated a geographic region exceeding that of Rome.

Jihad has many meanings attached to it. In its basic form it means to strive in the path of God. It also means to engage in efforts to lead the good life by making society more moral and just through proselytizing, teaching and armed struggle against the evil of Satan. Thus Jihad comes to mean the struggle to spread and defend Islam. In fact Islamic law stipulates that it is a Muslim's duty to wage war against:

> ...polytheists, apostates and People of the Book (Jews and Christians) who refuse Muslim rule and those who attack Muslim territory.[252]

This stipulation alone carries important connotations for the radical Islamic terrorist, for it is frequently used to legitimize the use of violence in support of radical Islamic agendas.

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[250] Ibid., 31.

[251] The Shii disputed the decision regarding succession to Muhammad. The Shiites claimed that rule over the community should be a divine right of the Prophet's descendants, starting with those of his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali. Shii theology suggests that, beginning with Imam Ali, there existed twelve infallible religious leaders, the last one disappearing in 880 A.D.. In this theology, when the 12th Imam returns, the world will be filled with justice. Until that time even the best ruler is viewed as only half legitimate.

[252] Ibid., 33.

The Islamic empire spread, encroaching on the Christian West and eventually absorbing the Persian empire, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, North Africa, most of Spain, and the Mediterranean from Sicily to Anatolia. For many of the subjugated non-Muslim populations, Islamic rule meant more flexible, tolerant conditions, conditions that included lower taxes and religious freedom. Under Muslim rule non-Muslims were afforded three alternatives: (1) they could convert to Islam; (2) they could pay a religious tax and keep their religious faith; (3) they could fight and presumably, die.

In response to Muslim encroachment and the pleas of the Christian Emperor Alexius, leader of the besieged imperial capital at Constantinople (1095 A.D.), Pope Urban II called for a holy crusade to defend the faith and liberate Jerusalem. The Christian world responded to Pope Urban's call with a series of eight military expeditions. These expeditions known as the Crusades, occurred between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries and challenged the hegemonic intentions of Islam. This protracted conflict eventually culminated with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A.D.. Victory went to Islam and Constantinople was renamed Istanbul. Istanbul subsequently became the seat of the Ottoman Empire. By the mid fifteenth century three great imperial Muslim sultanates existed, each known individually as the Ottoman, the Safavid in Iran, and Mogul in India. Indeed, it was the Ottoman Turks that "struck terror into the hearts of Christian Europe" because of their geographic proximity to Europe.[253]

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[253] Ibid., 42.

Through the centuries competing religious and political interests between Islam and Christianity created a tremendous rivalry as each fought for land, people and souls.

With the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries came advancements afforded by the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and Euro-Christian imperial colonial expansionism. This caused a shift in the balance of power, a shift that eventually left the Muslim world hard pressed to compete with the Europeans they had once dominated. This change produced a sense of loss and consternation among many Muslims, particularly following the end of World War One when much of the Muslim world was partitioned and parceled between France, and Great Britain. What had gone wrong? Why had a once powerful force been so marginalized and how were Muslims to respond? In these questions is found the genesis of Islamic revivalism, a revivalism through which radical Islam emerged.

Esposito notes that during severe moments of decline in the Islamic community, Muslim spiritual leaders would rise up suggesting that this was God's punishment for not living his word.[254] They would then encourage (incite) communities to lobby the ruling elites for a return to a fundamental way of life, one governed by the precepts of the Quran, hadiths, and Islamic (Sharia) law.[255] They would also insist that the enemies of God be destroyed, as they were part

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[254] Ibid., 50.

[255] Hadiths are accounts of what the prophet Muhammad said and did.

of "the problem." Enemies of God are typically identified as Muslims and non-Muslim that have refused to submit themselves. Following the accomplishment of these things, Allah would then bless and protect the faithful and give rise to their prosperity and position in the world order. These movements occurred during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the leadership of the Mahdi in the Sudan (1848-85); the Sansui in Libya (1787-1859); the Wahhabi in Saudi Arabia (1703-92); the Fulani in Nigeria (1748-1817); the Faraidiyyah of Hajji Shariat Allah in Bengal (1764-1840); Ahmad Brelwi in India (1786-1831) and the Padri in Indonesia (1803-37).[256] Responding to socio-political crisis caused in part by western colonialism, two Islamic organizations emerged in the mid twentieth century . One was the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, the other the Jamaat-I-Islami (Islamic Society) of India. Both were hostile to further penetration of Islam by western influences, Marxism and the secularization of Muslim societies along nationalist lines. Both supported a more "Islamic" existence, whereby Islamic states were to be ruled by the precepts outlined in the Quran and Sharia (Islamic) law. Though the original Muslim Brotherhood organization in Egypt was effectively dissolved by the Egyptian government in the late sixties, both these groups inspired the establishment of similar organizations in Sudan, Syria, Jordan, the Gulf States, Lebanon, and the Palestinian occupied territories of the Gaza and West Bank of Israel. Some of these organizations took on an extremely radical, violent nature in order to

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[256] Ibid., 50.

further their Islamic goals and agendas. Violence intensified following Israeli victories over the secular Pan-Arab coalition, particularly following the 1973 war. Islamic revivalist rhetoric of the day suggested that these losses were caused by the less then Islamic, more secular nature of the governments making up the Arab coalition.[257]

The greatest boost to radical Islam occurred as a result of the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, wherein the Ayatollah Khomeini successfully led a revivalist Islamic movement to forcibly oust the Shah. This event is lauded as precipitating a subsequent resurgence of world wide Islamic radicalism, strengthening the position of existing groups, and encouraging the emergence of new ones. Examples include the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria; al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya in Egypt; Hamas, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad in the occupied territories; Hizbollah in Lebanon; Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain in Bahrain; Muhammad's Army in Jordan; Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, al-Fuqra in the U.S.; Islamic Revival Party in Tajikistan; Eritrean Islamic Jihad in Eritrea; Hizbollah-Gulf in Saudi Arabia.[258] These groups universally support the establishment of an Islamic, theocratic, governance. That which stands in the way of this goal is to be forcible removed or destroyed. To this end governments and monarchies can either "capitulate" and let a new theocratic order take over; change the nature of their rule and govern according to the Quran and Sharia

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[257] Esposito, 133-134.

[258] Jeffrey A. Builta, 277-287, 463, 573, 599, 603, 687, 775, 800, 837.

(Islamic) law; or be destroyed through Jihad. In an effort to realize this broad scope objective, many of these groups have engaged in violent terrorist activities, killing and injuring thousand in their war against the perceived enemies of Allah, e.g., the secular regimes of Muslim states, Arab monarchies, Israel and the West.

In conclusion, radical Islam roots are embedded in the periodic emergence of Islamic reformist movements which have attempted to address the ills of Muslim society. In the twentieth century these movements have typically occurred in Muslim countries experiencing poor economic growth, high unemployment, and minimal social-reform programs. In many cases no mechanism exists by which the aggrieved population can redress their problems to the power elites in government. Under the influence of radical Islamist, many turn to the use of "Holy Terror" as a method to force the changes they seek.

Israel presents a unique problem to radical Islam, one that includes issues of Palestinian autonomy and the perceived threat Israel poses to their Muslim neighbors. The inability or unwillingness of various Muslim regimes and Israel to resolve these problems, coupled with the violent repressive measures all employ to eradicate reformist Islamic groups appears to perpetuate vice ameliorate the radicalized Islamic terrorist seen operating in the global environment. To date Iran is truly the only Islamic revivalist success story, presently ruled by a theocratic governance. Unfortunately there are many Islamic groups that aspire to have their "Iranian revolution," each more than

willing to use ultra-violent means to achieve their desired objectives.

C. HOLY TERROR

Bruce Hoffman writes:

> What is particularly striking about "holy terror" compared to purely "secular terror"...is the radically different value systems, mechanisms of legitimization and justification, concepts of morality, and Manichean world view that the "holy terrorist" embraces. For the religious terrorist, violence first and foremost is a sacramental act or divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative...indiscriminate violence...(is) not only morally justified, but is a necessary expedient for the attainment of their goals.[259]

The relationship between terrorism and religion is neither new or unique. David C. Rapoport notes that through the nineteenth-century, the only acceptable justification for the use of terrorist violence was grounded in religion.[260] Eventually religious terrorism was overshadowed by acts emanating from notions of ethno-nationalism, and political based ideologies. Relevant examples include the Russian nihilists movement of the 1880's; the Irish nationalist/separatist movement of this century; and the "left wing" urban terrorism found in Europe and the U.S. in the 1970's and 1980's.

Though overshadowed by secular ideologies of the twentieth century, terrorism based in a religious imperative never truly disappeared. In fact acts of religious terrorism occurring daily in Egypt, Algeria, Pakistan, and India seem to

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[259] Bruce Hoffman, Holy Terror: The Implications of Terrorism Motivated By A Religious Imperative, 2.

[260] David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," American Political Science Review, v. 78, n. 3, (September 1984), 659.

indicate that a "renaissance" of sorts is emerging whereby religious-political terrorism is once again taking the forefront, supplanting secular- political terrorism that has dominated the phenomenon since the mid-nineteenth century. This is especially evident to the observer who analyzes the radical Islamic revivalist's view of the world and the role Allah commands them to play in it.

1. Holy Terror and the Islamic Revivalist

Esposito argues that, in the strict sense, an Islamic Fundamentalist includes all those practicing Muslims who accept the Quran as the literal word of God and who attempt to emulate the examples set by the Prophet Muhammad. In fact all Muslims are encouraged to do this.[261] He notes that the word "fundamentalist" is actually a twentieth-century creation used to describe those Christians that advocate a literal interpretation of the Bible. These "literal interpretivest" are further type cast as static, retrogressive or in some cases extremists. Often this concept is mis-used by a Western world trying to explain the behavior of various Islamic oriented states such as Libya, Syria, Sudan, Iraq, and Iran. These states all differ sharply in how they incorporate and apply Islam to their respective religiopoliticalsocial order and are far from being religious fundamentalists. A more befitting label would be that of Islamic revivalists, particularly in the case of the Iranian Revolution wherein a close analysis of its leader, the Ayatollah Khomeini, reveals a man pressing home socioeconomic grievances, and radical wealth redistribution plans that smack more of theocratic

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[261] Esposito, 7.

dominated socialism rather than a religious fundamentalism.[262] Truly this is not surprising as Islam is a synergistic combination of religious, political and social systems. The problematic issue that emerges from the Islamic revivalist world starts with a notion described by Shaikh Hassan al-Banna. Shaikh Hassan, lauded as the founder and Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt circa 1930, said:

> It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet.[263]

To the Islamic revivalists clinging to interpretations made by radical Islamic clerics, God demands that the world be purged of the unclean infidels through conversion or elimination. This on-going effort concludes only when a world Islamic order has been established. In this endeavor terrorism, sanctioned by religious interpretation, becomes a legitimate means to an end. This gives rise to the concept Amir Taheri calls "Holy Terror." Islamic revivalist movements that support spreading the rule of Islam through the use of Holy Terror, do so based on interpretations provided by respected religious clerics. Examples of such interpretations are evident in most of the literature published on the subject. Ayatollah Muhammad Baqur-al Sadr stated that:

> The world as it is today is how (the infidels) shaped it. We (therefore) have two choices: either to accept it with submission which means letting

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[262] Ervand Abrahamain, Khomeinism: Essays On The Islamic Republic, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993), 1-88.

[263] Amir Taheri, 1.

Islam die, or to destroy it so we can construct the world Islam requires.[264] Another revivalist, Mostaf Chamran suggests that "(Muslims) are not fighting within the rules of the world as it exists today, we reject all those rules."[265] Further, Hussein Mussavi, a leader in the Lebanese revivalist movement, suggests that:

> We are not fighting so that the enemy recognizes us and offers us something. We are fighting to wipe out the enemy...what is demanded is not even negotiated surrender, but the enemies total annihilation.[266]

For the Islamic revivalist, terrorism is conducted as a function of Holy War or Jihad. This concept forms a basis of a theory for individual behavior and state policy that suggests the duty of every believer is to convert or kill the enemies of Allah. Ayatollah Fazl-Allah Mahalati sums this up opining that:

> An Islamic State is the sum total of such individual believers. An Islamic State is a State of War until the whole world sees and accepts the light of the True Faith.[267]

Finally Shaikh Hassan al-Banna adds that "The dagger, the poison, the revolver...these are the weapons of Islam against its enemies."[268]

For the Islamic terrorist, violence is a divine duty. Where the use of indiscriminate violence is shunned by the secular terrorist as counterproductive,

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[264] Ibid., 15.

[265] Ibid., 15.

[266] Ibid., 16.

[267] Ibid., 16.

[268] Ibid., 18.

the Islamic terrorist sees this violence as justified and necessary in their crusade to convert or destroy the infidel. As such the Islamic terrorist conducts violent acts for no audience but themselves, and God. Hoffman notes that:

> The absence of a constituency, combined with an extreme sense of alienation, means that such terrorist can justify almost limitless violence against virtually any target, e.g., anyone who is not a member of their religious sect.[269]

At a minimum, the rhetoric employed by radical Islamic revivalist suggests they are more than capable of committing ultra-violent acts. Indeed, events occurring in locations throughout the world confirm this assertion.[270]

This next case examines the group of Islamic radicals held responsible for the February 26, 1993 bombing of New York City's World Trade Center complex. Steve Emerson notes that those involved with the bombing had ties to known Islamic terrorist organizations to include the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hamas; the Sudanese National Islamic Front; the Pakistan based al-Fuqra (black Islamic group); and the Egyptian based al-Gama's al-Islamiyya.[271] Journalistic accounts of the bombing and subsequent investigations indicate that the group received support from a number of sources to include Sudanese diplomats who aided them with money, access to the building and credentials.

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[269] Hoffman, Holy Terror: The Implication of Terrorism Motivated By A Religious Imperative, 3.

[270] In a fourteen-day period between 15-29 July, 1996, Islamic related terrorism resulted in the death or injury of at least 103 people. See Newspage Direct, internet news source and reference archive.

[271] Emerson, "The Other Fundamentalists."

Emerson suggests that the group came together as a diaspora here in the U.S., facing a common enemy: Westerners and their values. Shaikh Omar Abdul Rahman, an Egyptian dissident Sunni cleric living in the United States, provided this diaspora of Islamic radicals the spiritual direction and legitimacy they needed to engage in this act of holy terror, an act that resulted in the death of six and injury of over one thousand.

D. "THE JIHAD ORGANIZATION"

The story of the February World Trade Center Bombing in New York is an incredible mosaic of Islamic militant networks and affiliations. The majority of information used in this narrative comes from press accounts of U.S. Justice Department efforts to track down, arrest, and prosecute the perpetrators. The relevance of this particular case lies in two areas. First, cyanide was alleged to have been incorporated in the bomb that damaged the World Trade Center.[272] This assertion is verified through press accounts of court proceedings documenting the sentencing of the defendants. Second, the investigation of those involved with this vicious act suggests some rogue state involvement e.g., Iraq, Iran, and Sudan.

The group was assigned the name "Jihad Organization" by federal prosecutors who alleged they were conspiring to wage "holy war" against the United States.[273] Unraveling the complex details of this case has been a

[272] Tom Post, "Doomsday Cults: 'Only the Beginning,'" Newsweek, March 29, 1995, 40. Also Laurie Mylroie, "The World Trade Center Bomb," The National Interest, winter 1995/96, 3.

monumental effort primarily because the decisions and actions that culminated with the actual bombing were never linear, e.g., various disconnected events occurred, at times simultaneously, that eventually merged in the form of the Jihad Organization. It was not until this merger occurred that plans were made to attack the World Trade Center. In a simplistic overview this group came together as a result of individuals who shared certain frustrations and anger at the United States for:

- Imprisoning El-Sayyid Nosair, convicted for his part in the assassination of the radical rabbi Meir Kahane.
- Supporting the State of Israel.
- Supporting Hosni Mubarak's secular administration in Egypt.

Early in 1992, the Jihad Organization made the decision to conduct terrorist acts as part of Jihad against the U.S.. Of note, most of the group's members belonged to the mosque were Shaikh Rahman frequently spoke his radical orations. Rahman provided spiritual guidance as the group's ideological leader, sanctioning their plans to commit urban terrorism (Jihad) in an effort to force U.S. policy changes toward Egypt and Israel.[274]

During the Jihad Organizations initial terrorist campaign planning phase, two individuals, Abdul Rahman Yasin, and Ramzi Yousef, arrived from Iraq and

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[273] Steven Emerson, "Sunday Focus: The Trial We Should Be Watching" Newsday, July 7, 1995, A37.

[274] Peg Tyre, "Sheik Called Backer in U.S. Terror," Newsday, February 2, 1995, A23.

quickly became members of the group. Yousef is alleged to have assumed a position as the group's "operational leader."[275] As the "operations boss," Yousef was the one who selected the targets of "holy terror." He is lauded as having developed the plan to attack the World Trade Center, providing the money and technical skill to manufacture the improvised explosive device used in the bombing.[276] Laurie Mylroie suggests that Yasin and Yousef were professional terrorists operating under the direction of Saddam Hussein. She provides a circumstantial argument that suggests Yasin and Yousef were sent specifically to manipulate this group and focus their efforts, efforts that culminated in the attack against the World Trade Center complex on the second anniversary of the ending of the Gulf War. In a recent BBC news broadcast Hoffman suggests that manipulation of amateur terrorists by more professional, seasoned veterans, may be a developing trend.[277] This case study is explained through a narrative of the personalities involved and the role each is alleged to have played in the World Trade Center complex bombing. Table 5-1 lists the conspirators in this American tragedy.

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[275] John Goldman and Ronald J. Ostrow, "Iraqi is Nabbed in Pakistan and Returned to U.S. After a 2-Year Manhunt," Los Angeles Times, February 9, 1995, A1.

[276] Ibid., A1. Also see Mylroie, 3.

[277] BBC interview with Bruce Hoffman, Ph.D. and senior lecturer at St. Andrews College, Scotland, NPR, May 26, 1996.

Jihad Organization: "World Trade Center Bombing Conspirators and Co-Conspirators"
Shaikh Omar Abdel-Rahman: Spiritual Guide for al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, Gahid al-Gadid and other radical Islamist movements. Provided the Jihad Organization with the "religious license" to conduct the bombing.
El-Sayyid Nosair: The original leader of the "Jihad Organization." Jailed in Attica prison for the murder of extremist rabbi Meir Kahane, Nosair originally planned to direct a "minor" campaign of terror against those responsible for his incarceration.
Mohammad Salameh: Impressionable Palestinian living illegally in New York. Reported to have been the driver of the Ford van used to contain the bomb.
Ramsi Yousef aka Abdul Basit: Iraqi agent or free-lancing Islamic terrorist? Lauded as the "brains" behind the bombing.
Abdul Rahman Yasin: Likely Iraqi agent. Yasin taught Salameh how to drive the van and assisted in mixing chemicals for the bomb used in the attack. Last reported living in Baghdad with his father.
Ibrahim Elgabrouny: Nosair's cousin. Planned to break Nosair out of prison and assist his getaway to Nicaragua.
Nidal Ayyad: Naturalized U.S. citizen of Palestinian heritage. A chemical engineer by education and profession, Ayyad helped to manufacture the bomb. He also assisted Nosair in the assassination of rabbi Kahane.
Mahmud Abouhalima: Hamas operative? Egyptian born German citizen. Abouhalima worked for Shaikh Rahman and helped build the bomb.
Siddiq Ibrahim Siddiq Ali: Member of the Sudanese diplomatic mission. He aided the group in the greater plan (never realized) to bomb New York City infrastructure and the U.N.
Mohammed Saleh: Owned a gas station in Yonkers. Provided diesel fuel for manufacture of the bomb.
Osama ibn Laden: Wealthy Saudi dissident known for funding Islamic terrorist groups.
Emad Salem: Former Egyptian Army colonel. One of Shaikh Rahman's security aids. Also an FBI informant and intelligence source for Egyptian military police.

Table 5-1 "Jihad Organization"

1. Shaikh Omar Abdel-Rahman

Shaikh Omar Abdel-Rahman is lauded as the spiritual guide of the Egyptian al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, better known as the "Islamic Group." He was born in the village of al-Jamallaya, north of Cairo. At 10 months he lost his eyesight because of diabetes. At age 5 years he had learned to read braille and is said to have memorized the Quran by age 11.[278] Emerging in the 1960s as a dissident Sunni cleric (having earned a doctorate in Islamic theology from Al Azhar University in Cairo), his radical calls for an Islamic state led to accusations that he played a role in the assassination of Anwar Sadat in 1981. Specifically he was accused of providing a religious edict (fatwa) for the assassination plan, though he was acquitted of the charge in 1984.[279] In 1989 he was again under indictment by Egyptian authorities, this time for allegedly inciting a riot at Fayom Oasis. Acquitted of this charge he was held under house arrest until he secretly left Egypt for the U.S. via Khartoum, Sudan in 1990.[280]

During the Mujahideen insurgency against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Shaikh Rahman was alleged to have been influential in assisting CIA efforts to aid the Mujahideen Freedom Fighters.[281] For this "assistance," he

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[278] Jeanne King, "Profile of Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman," Reuters, Oct 1, 1995.

[279] Ira Robbins, "Sheik's Side Witness Lies Won't Sway Jury," Newsday, March 11, 1995, A3.

[280] Ibid., A3.

[281] Shaikh Rahman was alleged to have met rabbi Kahane's assassin, El-Sayyad Nosair, in Afghanistan in 1988. At the time Nosair was facilitating the

was able to obtain a tourist visa through the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, which permitted him to immigrate to the U.S..[282] In April of 1991, the Immigration and Naturalization Service granted him a permanent resident visa as a religious leader.[283] El-Sayyid Nosair is said to have been instrumental in this effort. Mustafa Shalabi, the head of an Afghan relief/refugee center in Brooklyn known as "Alkifah", or the "Brooklyn Jihad Office," is said to also have helped in this matter.[284]

Arriving in the United States from Sudan via Pakistan in July of 1990, Shaikh Rahman began preaching at Brooklyn mosques. As the recognized spiritual guide of al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, Shaikh Rahman also began to appear at Islamic conferences throughout the United States at the invitation of various mosques and Islamist charitable and religious organizations.[285] During a 1991

Mujahideen insurgency by providing recruits from Islamic groups in the U.S., ostensibly with the support of the CIA. Robert Cleare (cover name), a former CIA officer assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, is alleged to have been involved in the inappropriate issuance of visas to certain Sudanese. Similar irregularities resulted in Shaikh Rahman receiving his visa, though Cleare was not held responsible for this; see James Risen, "Case of Spy in Anti-Terrorist Mission Points Up CIA's Perils," Los Angeles Times, February 11, 1996, A1.

[282] L, Roberts, "Secret Tapes Key in U.S. Case Against Sheik," Los Angeles Times, January 8, 1995. A1

[283] "After Bombing, New Scrutiny for Holes in Immigration Net," New York Times, March 12, 1993.

[284] Peg Tyre, "Bomber's Song FBI Makes Prison Calls for Testimony About Sheik," Newsday, March 27, 1995. AO7

[285] Emerson, "Sunday Focus: The Trial We Should be Watching," A37.

lecture given in Los Angeles, he is quoted as telling followers "we have to be terrorists."[286]

It was through Alkifah that Shaikh Rahman was able to sustain himself. Even after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the organization continued to collect thousands of dollars in donations for Afghan relief efforts, dollars that Rahman allegedly used for himself. Clashes between Rahman and Shalabi over use of Alkifah funds resulted in a major falling out between the two shortly after Shaikh Rahman's arrival. Concurrently, Nosair split from Rahman, believing that the Shaikh was incapable of being a strong leader due to his blindness and diabetes. On November 5, 1990 Nosair is alleged to have killed rabbi Kahane. One year later Nosair was convicted of lesser charges connected with the murder and sent to Attica Prison.[287] In May of 1991, Shalabi was found murdered in his Brooklyn apartment.[288] After Shalabi's death Shaikh Rahman established a new group, among them friends of the incarcerated Nosair. In fact the Abu Bar mosque, through which Rahman gave regular sermons, offered regularly scheduled bus trips (cost: $45.00) to visit "Brother El Sayyid Nosair."[289] Further, while Nosair serves his time in prison, Rahman is said to be providing

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[286] Roberts, A1.

[287] Mylroie, 8.

[288] Tyre, "Bomber's Song FBI Makes Prison Calls for Testimony About Sheik"

[289] "Islamic Extremists and the Terrorist Threat to America," report, Anti-Defamation-League, New York, 1993.

financial support for his family. As alleged by Federal prosecutors, Shaikh Rahman is:

> ...the spiritual leader of an organization of 'radical Islamic extremists' with members in California, New York, New Jersey, Texas, Michigan and other states. Abdel Rahman directed that all members should prepare for jihad, or holy war, against the West through paramilitary training for terrorist acts.[290]

In support of this allegation Abdo Haggag, Shaikh Rahman's former aid, stated that when he asked the Shaikh if the group should carry out the (WTC) bombing the Shaikh said:

> Depend on God...To carry out this operation does not require a fatwah (a religious opinion). You are already in training. Go ahead and do it.[291]

For providing the religious inspiration to the Jihad Organization and suggesting that violent means to ends (concept referred to as "niy'ya") was legitimate in the eyes of Allah, Shaikh Rahman is now serving a life sentence. Elucidating a perfect example of the Islamic use of dissimulation,[292] Rhaman said of his arrest in 1993:

> The American media has misinterpreted the concept of 'jihad,'...it means building themselves economically, and not accepting welfare. It also means to help their Muslim brothers financially and help them liberate their occupied lands, like in Bosnia, Palestine, and south Sudan. I don't understand why America refers to one's fighting to liberate his occupied

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[290] Roberts, A1. Also recall that for the Islamic revivalist, terrorism is conducted as a function of holy war, forming a basis of a theory for individual behavior that suggests the duty of every believer is to convert or kill the enemies of Allah.

[291] Peg Tyre, "Sheik's Sermon's Haunt Him," Newsday, July, 3, 1995, AO8

[292] Dissimulation is an accepted form of lying to protect ones self when serving the will of Allah. See Taheri, 32.

land as terrorism.[293]

As part of the conspiracy charges Shaikh Rahman was also convicted for planning a 1993 assassination attempt against the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak. As an interesting side note, in 1993 an Egyptian court sentenced Shaikh Rahman to 7 years (in absentia) for inciting the Fayom Oasis riot.

2. El-Sayyid Nosair

Accounts of El-Sayyid Nosair's background and family ties are sketchy. He was born in Egypt in 1956. He eventually immigrated to the United States and received his citizenship in 1989 while being employed by the City of New York as a maintenance worker. In the mid-80's he is alleged to have worked with the CIA to provide Islamic (expatriate) volunteers to fight with the Mujahideen against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. This effort was most likely linked to his work with Alkifah (The Brooklyn Jihad Organization).

Court testimony indicates that Nosair received paramilitary training in the use of small arms and manufacture of improvised explosive devices through a U.S. Army's Special Forces training program designed to teach these skills to Mujahideen Freedom Fighters.[294] Further court testimony indicated that Nosair

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[293] Robbins, A3.

[294] Tyre, "Bomber's Song FBI makes Prison Calls for Testimony About Sheik," AO7. ***Nosair is also said to have met with Sheik Abdul Aziz Odeh, the spiritual leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Odeh reportedly entered the U.S. by slipping passed INS officials unaware of his political identity. He is suggested to have been actively involved with those who conducted the WTC bombing and remains an un-indicted co-conspirator***, see Steven Emerson, "The Other Fundamentalists."

met Shaikh Rahman in Afghanistan in 1988. Later he assisted Shaikh Rahman by securing him a tourist visa through CIA contacts working out of the U. S. Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan in 1990. As earlier discussed, Nosair broke with Shaikh Rahman shortly after the latter's arrival in New York. He than formed a new group which included many of those convicted for the World Trade Center bombing.

On November 5, 1990, Nosair, with the assistance of at least Clement Rodney El, Mohammad Salameh, and Nidal Ayyad, assassinated rabbi Meir Kahane in a mid-town Manhattan hotel.[295] Nosair was eventually arrested and tried in New York State Court for the murder of rabbi Kahane in 1991. He was actually acquitted of the murder proper but convicted on lesser related weapon and assault charges. For this crime Nosair was awarded a 7-22 year sentence and sent to Attica Prison. In prison he was often visited by members of the Abu Bar mosque congregation and family relatives, to include his cousin Ibrahim El-Gabrouny. He also kept in contact with Shaikh Rahman. During these visits Nosair made plans to wage a terrorist campaign against those involved with sentencing him to Attica, notably the judge who presided over his trial, and a Brooklyn assemblymen.[296]

In September of 1992, Ramzi Yousef arrived in New York from Karachi.

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[295] J.J. Goldman and R.L. Jackson, "Sheik, 9 Others Guilty in N.Y. Terrorism Plot," Los Angeles Times, October 2, 1995, A1.

[296] Mylroie, 8.

A short time later Abdul Rahman Yasin arrived from Iraq. Both moved in with Yasin's older brother Musab Yasin and eventually connected with Nosair's group of "would be terrorists" through the mosque. Under Yousef's influence, Nosair's plans to wage a small scale terrorist campaign against specific personalities and Jewish targets quickly escalated to include: (1) the World Trade Center; (2) United Nations; (3) the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels (two tunnels linking New York and New Jersey); and (4) the Manhattan Field office of the FBI.[297]

Though incarcerated in Attica prison during the bombing of the World Trade Center, Nosair was charged as a conspirator in the crime. He was also retried for the murder of rabbi Kahane. This time federal prosecutors used the testimony of a physician who treated Nosair after the shooting, but who could not testify in the State Court trial. During the trial, Dr. Craig Nunn described asking Nosair "how could a nice man like you shoot someone," to which Nosair replied "I had no choice, it was my duty."[298] For his part in the conspiracy and the murder of rabbi Kahane, El Sayyid Nosair was sentenced to life in prison without possibility of parole.

3. Mohammad Salameh

Mohammad Salameh was born in the West Bank town of Bidya. As a 26 -year old Palestinian of Jordanian citizenship, he came to the U.S. on a six-

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[297] Ibid., also see John J. Goldman and Robin Wright, "N.Y. Police Act to Avert New Terrorist Attacks," Los Angeles Times, February 15, 1995, A1.

[298] Tyre, "Sheik's Sermons Haunt Him," A08.

month tourist visa in 1988.[299] He was said to have applied to stay in the U.S. under two amnesty programs, both of which were denied. Despite this, he stayed in the U.S. as an illegal alien. Salameh was reported be an active member of the Al Salam Mosque in Jersey City, (the same mosque frequented by Nosair) where Shaikh Rahman often spoke his fiery rhetoric. Through this connection he was recruited into Nosair's plots to wage a small scale terrorist campaign. According to Mylroie's research, Salameh comes from a long line of terrorists on his mothers side.

> His maternal grandfather fought in the 1936 Arab revolt against British rule in Palestine, and even as an old man joined the PLO and managed to get himself jailed by the Israeli's. A maternal uncle was arrested in 1968 for terrorism and served eighteen years in an Israeli prison before he was released and deported, making his way to Baghdad where he became number two in the "Western Sector," a PLO terrorist unit under Iraqi influence...on June 10, (1992) soon after being recruited into Nosair's plot Salameh made the first of forty six calls to his terrorist uncle in Baghdad.[300]

Mylroie speculates that Salameh was excited about the prospect of conducting Jihad in America and discussed Nosair's plans with his uncle. *Phone bills for the forty-six calls Salameh made to his uncle in Baghdad exceeded $4000.00.* Mylroie further suggests that Iraqi intelligence intercepted these calls and then formulated a plan to infiltrate Yasin and Yousef into Nosair's group.

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[299] John Dillin,"Terrorist Incidents in the US Raise Immigration Concerns," The Christian Science Monitor, March 3, 1993.

[300] Mylroie., 8.

Salameh's role in the World Trade Center bombing was small. It was Salameh who rented the Ford Rider van used to contain and deliver the bomb. After the attack against the World Trade Center, Salameh, Yousef, and Eyyad Ismail drove to John F. Kennedy airport whereupon the latter two departed the country. Salameh attempted to follow suite, having in his possession an infant seat ticket for Amsterdam aboard Jordanian Air flight 262. The infant ticket had cost him $65.00 and was used to secure a Dutch visa. However when Salameh attempted to use the ticket he was refused passage. Left by Yousef with no money, Salameh attempted to recover the deposit he put down on the Rider rental van that he might use it to purchase an adult ticket for his escape. Informing the Rider rental agency that the van had been stolen, Salameh's multiple attempts to recover the money actually aided in his March 4, 1993 arrest.

4. Ramzi Yousef aka "Abdul Basit Mahmoud Abdul Karim Baluchi"

Where Shaikh Rahman is lauded as the spiritual guide for the Jihad Organization, Ramzi Yousef is characterized as the group's "operational commander, and the brains behind the World Trade Center bombing." Yousef has also been cast as the "Carlos of the 90's" allegedly responsible for setting up Islamic terrorist cells in Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, the Middle East, and the United States. In addition to being charged with the World Trade Center bombing, he has been indicted for the December 1, 1994 bombing of a Manila

theater; the December 11, 1994 bombing of a Philippine airliner in which a Japanese national was killed; planning to conduct a massive bombing campaign against U.S. airliners; and planning to assassinate Pope John Paul II. Yousef has also been accused of attempting to assassinate Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in a bombing incident which occurred in 1993.[301] Following his arrest and return to New York, Yousef is noted as saying that the twin towers of the World Trade Center would not be still standing "...if I'd had better help."[302]

Mylroie provides a credible argument that typecasts Yousef as an "Iraqi agent" who, at the direction of Iraqi intelligence, penetrated and then took command of the Jihad Organization. Once in control of the group he steered them away from Nosair's limited scope objectives, focusing on a much larger terrorist campaign ostensibly as revenge for the losses Iraq suffered during the Gulf War.[303] Though cautious in support of Mylroie's suggestion, my own research leads me to believe that Yousef was employed by Iraq as a "free-lance operative," and another individual, Abdal Rahman Yasin, was the Iraqi intelligence agent.

In public statements Yousef has said that he came to the United States

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[301] John Thor-Dahlburg, "Bhutto Says Trade Center Suspect Also Targeted Her," Los Angeles Times, March 19, 1995, A4. Also see Pamela Mendels, "Arab Linked To Anti-Terrorist Network," Newsday, March 17, 1995, A12.

[302] Robin Wright, "First of 2 Trials To Open For Key N.Y. Blast Figure," Los Angeles Times, May 12, 1996, A12.

[303] Mylroie, 4. Note that the bombing coincides with the second anniversary of the end of the ground war offensive against Iraq.

on his own as a member of a group he calls "Liberation Fifth Battalion." He admits that he came to the United States to "pick targets" and intended to return to Pakistan to raise money to buy bomb making materials.[304] Instead, he says he met Mahmud Abouhalima and Mohammad Salameh and eventually joined in their conspiracy to wage a terror campaign in New York. What is actually known about Yousef is in contradiction to his assertion.

Ramzi Yousef is reported to be Abdul Basit Mahmoud Abdul Karim (Baluchi) who's family originated in the Baluchistan region of Pakistan. Under this identity, Yousef aka Basit, was born in the Kuwait city of Fahaheel in 1968. His father was an emigrant from Baluchi Pakistan and worked for Kuwait Airlines.[305] Being a foreign "guest worker" Yousef's family was denied Kuwait citizenship and the subsequent benefits citizenship brings. As the oil boom of the 70's and 80's increased the wealth of Kuwait, it also increased the visible economic gap between Kuwait citizens and guest workers. This disparity certainly played a part in fueling animosities toward the wealthier Kuwaiti's. Fahaheel, being a Kuwait City suburb and home to many Palestinians and guest workers, was (is still) a hotbed for the fomenting of Palestinian nationalism and Islamic revivalism.

Yousef is said to have developed his radical roots in this environment

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[304] Peg Tyre, "Yousef Denies Role By Sheik In Terror Plot," Newsday, June 22, 1995, A06.

[305] Robin Wright, "First of 2 Trials To Open For Key N.Y. Blast Figure," Los Angeles Times, May 12, 1996, A12.

propelled less by Islamic piety then by bitterness and rage.[306] Mylroie supports this as her investigations show that Yousef was certainly no "fundamentalist" having a Filipina girlfriend and enjoying the "raucous night life in Manila.[307] In any event, Yousef fine tuned his radicalism and rage as a participant in the CIA financed Mujahideen fight against Soviet occupation in Afghanistan. As a freedom fighter, Yousef is alleged to have received training in the manufacture of explosives, possibly with the assistance of U.S. foreign internal defense training programs conducted in Pakistan or Afghanistan.[308]

In 1989, Yousef (as Basit) received a two year-degree in computer aided electronic engineering from the Swansea Institute in Wales. Faculty members do not recall Yousef being militant or even interested in the Islamic religion. Following graduation he returned to Kuwait where he worked in the planning ministry.[309] During the six month Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, Yousef is alleged to have collaborated and worked with the Iraqi invasion force, although Kuwaiti officials refuse to specify the nature of his activities.[310]

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[306] Ibid., A12.

[307] Mylroie, 10.

[308] Steve Wick, "Terrorism Evidence Destroyed FBI, CIA Point Fingers On Erasure Of Computer Disks," Newsday, April 16, 1995, A03. Also see Priti Yelaga, "Worldwide Terror Plot Targeted 20 U.S. Jet Flights," Newsday, April 14, 1995, A03.

[309] Mylroie, 11.

[310] Goldman and Wright, "N.Y. Police Act To Avert New Terrorist Attacks," A1.

Mylroie contends that during the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, Iraqi intelligence operatives took the opportunity to remove personal files from the central population registry in order to create identities for their agents. She suggests that Iraqi intelligence gave Yousef Basit's identity papers in order that they might effectively use him at a later date. Of note, the Pakistani Embassy in Kuwait which was closed during the Gulf War and conceivably ransacked by Iraqi intelligence, reported that all files related to Abdul Basit and his family were missing.[311]

In early 1991, Yousef turned up in the Philippines where he joined a Filipino Islamic terrorist group known as Abu Sayyaf.[312] Under the nickname "the chemist" he established ties with Abdurajak Abubaker Janjalani aka Abu Sayyaf. Janjalani is reported to be a former Afghan freedom fighter. Yousef's link up with Janjalani suggests that a loosely-knit, global network of Islamic terrorists exists, commonly connected as veterans and former comrades of the Mujahideen insurgency in Afghanistan.[313]

Yousef, traveling under the name of Azam Mohammad, arrived in the United States from Pakistan on September 1, 1992. Not having a valid U.S. visa he bribed an immigration official ($2700.00) in Pakistan to let him on the flight. Upon arriving he was detained by U.S. immigration officials, whereupon he

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[311] Mylroie, 12.

[312] Ibid., 12.

[313] Builta, 277.

immediately applied for political asylum. Yousef's request automatically invoked a right to a hearing and he was allowed to enter the country.[314] Flying in company with Yousef was Ahmad Ajaj, a 29 year old Palestinian who attempted to enter the U.S. using a false Swedish passport. Ajaj was not so lucky. He was immediately arrested when he arrived at Kennedy Airport. A search of his luggage resulted in the discovery of a dozen bomb making manuals. Forensics analysis of the manuals following the Trade Center bombing showed two of them to have Yousef's finger prints on them. Yousef's prints also showed up in a storage locker in Jersey City, N.J. where the bomb making materials (including the cyanide) were stored.

Arriving at John F. Kennedy Airport, Yousef was met by Abuohalima and Mohammad Salameh. They took him to stay with Musab Yasin, an Iraqi living in Jersey City. A short time later Abdul Rahman Yasin (Musab's younger brother) arrived from Iraq. Once comfortably established in the "land of the free," Yousef and Yasin penetrated the Jihad Organization and redirected the group's strategic plans to focus on a variety of targets starting with the World Trade Center.

In mid-November, 1992, Yousef started to build the World Trade Center bomb as shown by phone bill records that show numerous calls to chemical companies, companies through which he purchased bomb making materials.[315]

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[314] J.J. Goldman and R.J. Ostrow, "Iraqi Is Nabbed In Pakistan And Returned To U.S. After 2-Year Manhunt," A1.

In January of 1993, Yousef and Salameh moved to a different Jersey City apartment where the actually built the bomb. On February 23, Salameh rented the Rider van used in the actual attack. On February 26th, members of the Jihad Organization which included at least Yousef, Salameh, Eyyad Ismail, and Abouhalima, stopped at a gas station, topped off the tank in the van and drove to the World Trade Center where the van/bomb was detonated shortly after noon. Yousef and Eyyad Ismail (a 21 year old Palestinian and driver of the van), were later driven to John F. Kennedy Airport by Salameh. Yousef escaped to Pakistan under a passport listing him as Basit. Ismail returned to his home in Jordan.

In Pakistan, Yousef allegedly made an attempt on Bhutto's life in October of 1993.[316] He than flew to the Philippines where he re-established his terrorist activities in conjunction with members of Abu Sayyaf (ASG). Once back in the Philippines, Ramsi Yousef wasted little time in planning his next campaign of terror. Members of ASG included a number of individuals from Yousef's past, Abdul Hakim Murad, a childhood friend; and Adel Anonn, believed to be Yousef's brother. [317] At least nine other members were Arabs having come to the Philippines from Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan. Reports indicate that many of these individuals fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan.[318] Yousef's plans

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[315] Ibid., A1.

[316] John-Thor Dahlburg, A4.

[317] Builta, 278.

for a new terrorist campaign were extremely aggressive. They included at least two separate operations. One operation involved plans to destroy eleven U.S. airliners in a single day; the other to assassinate Pope John Paul II.[319]

As part of the work-up for the massive assault against U.S. airliners, Yousef and Murad conducted two terrorist operations. The first attack involved planting a bomb in a Manila movie theater on December 1, 1994. In a second attack, they planted a bomb on board Philippine Air flight 434 on December 11, 1994. Unfortunately for a Japanese passenger, Hariku Ikegumi, the bomb functioned as designed.[320] However, time was running out for Yousef.

On January 21, 1995, Murad was allegedly making nitroglycerin based explosives in the kitchen of their Manila apartment. Something went wrong and

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[318] The connectivity between Islamic terrorists, all veterans of the Afghanistan War, has been noted by many. In an elucidating paper, a graduate degree candidate at the American University in Cairo suggests that al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya has two wings, one operating from Afghanistan, the other operating from within Egypt. "The Egyptian and Afghan factions differ in the level of sophistication displayed in their operations as the Afghan faction is thought to have received training in demolitions and small arms usage in Peshawar from the CIA during the Afghanistan War. After the successful conclusion of the war in Afghanistan, these trained veterans moved back to their countries of origin. They have become a destabilizing force in the Middle East, particularly Egypt, due to their dedication to the concept of Islamic governance and their willingness to risk all in pursuit of this goal. There is speculation by the Egyptian government and US terrorist experts that the so-called Afghan wing has splintered from Gama'a and formed Gihad al-Gadid, a separate organization whose hierarchical structure seems to be based upon the order of battle of the Afghan resistance to the Soviet Invasion." See Wassim Absood, "The Militant Islamist Threat To Egypt," (http://infomanage.com/nonproliferation.html.)

[319] "Judge Cautions Bomb Defendant," Associated Press, may 29, 1996.

[320] Steve Wick, "Terrorism Evidence Destroyed FBI, CIA Point Fingers," Newsday, April 16, 1995. A03.

a fire broke out. When authorities arrived to investigate the fire they found Murad still there. He was subsequently arrested by the Philippine police. A search of the premises resulted in a windfall intelligence break for authorities. Amongst the gallon jars of nitroglycerin, timing devices, and bomb making materials was a computer that contained files on Yousef's plans and activities.[321] The computer files contained a comprehensive data base that listed ASG's planned activities, names of ASG's members, and links to other terrorist networks worldwide. From these files it was determined that ASG had planned to kill the Pope; wage a campaign against U.S. airliners; assault the U.S. embassy in Manila; bomb CIA headquarters in Langley, VA using a "kamikaze" style attack with a small plane loaded with explosives; and assassinate the ambassadors of Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Spain.[322] Shortly after recovering these computer files, Philippine police started a massive effort to "roll-up" ASG members. Arrested individuals were reported to hold Pakistani, Sudanese, Iraqi, and Saudi passports. Meanwhile Yousef departed the Philippines, eventually arriving back in Pakistan.

In Pakistan things did not bode well for Yousef. With a $2 million dollar price tag on his head, a disaffected member of Yousef's Pakistani cadre turning him in. Istiaq Parker, a South African Muslim, notified Pakistani authorities of

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[321] Priti Yelaga., A03.

[322] Ibid., AO3. See also Ruben Alabstro, "Philippines Vows To Protect Leaders From Islamic Militants, Reuters, January 10, 1996.

Yousef's location. Yousef was arrested on February 7, 1994.[323] Parker was said to have known Yousef since 1992. In debriefings with U.S. authorities he provided a comprehensive list of Yousef's contacts, sources of funding, training, and techniques. Of note, when Yousef was arrested investigators found three passports and two letters on him. The letters were to be sent to the Philippine government and articulated a threat to kill the Philippine president and poison the country's water supply unless Murad was released. One of the letters specifically claimed the:

> "...ability to make and use chemicals and poison gas...for use against vital institutions, residential populations and the sources of drinking water."[324]

Both Yousef and Murad where extradited to the United States where they were subsequently convicted for their crimes and terrorist activities in the fall of 1996.

5. Abdul Rahman Yasin

Mylroie's research indicates that Abdul Rahman Yasin was born in the U.S. although in 1992 he was living in Baghdad, presumably with his father. In June of 1992 he showed up in Amman, Jordan where he requested and received a U.S. passport based on his U.S. birth records. Shortly after Yousef's September, 1992, arrival in New York, Yasin arrived and they both moved in with Yasin's older brother Musab. Not much information exists concerning Yasin's

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[323] Wright, "First of 2 trials To Open For Key N.Y. Blast Figure," A1.

[324] Dan Morrison, "Threats Found On Bomb Mastermind," Newsday, October 7, 1995, A15.

role in the World Trade Center bombing other than he helped to "mix chemicals...to produce explosive materials, including urea nitrate and nitroglycerine."[325] During the sweep to locate Salameh, Yasin was actually picked up, interrogated and then released by the FBI. According to an affidavit, Yasin told investigators that he taught Salameh how to drive the rented Ford van.[326] Yasin departed the United States for Amsterdam on Jordanian Air flight 262, March 5, 1993 (the same one that Salameh was supposed to be on) and eventually made his way back to Baghdad. In 1994 Yasin was spotted in Baghdad by an ABC "stringer."[327] Subsequent inquiries made of his neighbors suggested that Yasin was known to work for the Iraqi government.

6. Ibrahim Elgabrouny

Elgabrouny is Nosair's cousin. An Egyptian immigrant, he is reported to have been a civil engineer and President of Brooklyn's Abu-Bar Mosque where Shaikh Rahman often spoke. Cousin Elgabrouny is said to have been Nosair's information source while in Attica. Elgabrouny was charged as a conspirator and for planning to break Nosair out of prison. When he was arrested he was carrying false Nicaraguan passports and birth certificates that were to be used

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[325] "Seventh Man Is Indicted In New York Bombing," The U.S. National, August 6, 1993, 3.

[326] Ibid., 3.

[327] Mylroie, 10.

by Nosair and his family.[328]

7. Nidal Ayyad

Nidal Ayyad was a naturalized U.S. citizen of Palestinian heritage. A chemical engineer, he was convicted for providing expertise for the construction of the bomb. Ayyad was also a member of Nosair's hit team that killed rabbi Kahane though this information did not emerge until the World Trade Center bombing trial. During sentencing Judge Kevin T. Duffy reserved his harshest condemnation for Ayyad saying that "You are clearly the most culpable of the defendants. You had the breaks," referring to his college education and U.S. citizenship.[329]

8. Mahmud Abouhalima

Mahmud Abouhalima is believed to have been part of a Hamas terrorist cell.[330] As an Egyptian born German citizen, he was reported as have worked for Shaikh Rahman.[331] In conversations with prosecutors he stated that he became Rahman's personal assistant and driver through his association with Mustafa Shalabi (Brooklyn Jihad Office). Following Shalabi's death, Abouhalima

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[328] Larry Yudelson, "Search For Suspects In N.Y. Bombing Prompts Reopening Of Kahane Case," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 17, 1993, 5.

[329] R.L. Jackson, "Islamic Militants Given Life Terms in N.Y. Bombing," Los Angeles Times, Wednesday, May 25, 1994, A1.

[330] "Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Muslim Brotherhood: Islamic Extremists and the Terrorist Threat to America," report, Anti-Defamation League, New York, 1993

[331] Yudelson, 5.

said that Shaikh Rahman offered him a leadership position in a new organization he was forming, an offer Abouhalima says he declined. Abouhalima was convicted for helping to construct the bomb and is alleged to have been the one that purchased gas to top off the Rider rental van used in the bombing.[332] Following the bombing he fled to Egypt where he was subsequently arrested and extradited back to the U.S.

9. Siddiq Ibrahim Siddiq Ali

Siddiq Ali was part of the Sudanese diplomatic mission to the U.N. He was said to have been Shaikh Rahman's body guard. He is also reported to have been working with representatives of an unnamed foreign government that provided the group assistance. This aid came in the form of surveillance and access to the U.N. garage, and the use of diplomatic license plates. These efforts linked him to the greater terrorist campaign planned by the Jihad Organization, a plan which called for attacks against the U.N., the Lincoln and Holland tunnels linking New York and New Jersey, the George Washington Bridge, and the Manhattan office of the FBI.[333] In court proceedings he also admitted to helping test the explosives used in the World Trade Center bombing.[334]

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[332] Roberts, A1.

[333] Goldman and Wright, "N.Y. Police Act To Avert New Terrorist Attacks," A1; also see Goldman and Jackson, "Sheik, 9 Others Guilty in N.Y. Terrorism Plot," A1.

[334] Goldman and Ostrow, "Iraqi Is Nabbed In Pakistan And Returned To U.S. After 2-Year Manhunt."

10. Mohammed Saleh

Mohammad Saleh is a 39-year-old-Palestinian who emigrated form Jordan in 1978. He operated a gas station in suburban Yonkers and is said to have provided 255 gallons of diesel fuel for use in the manufacture of bombs.

11. Other Conspirators

Other conspirators convicted for their part in Yousef's planned terrorist campaign include Tariq Al-Hassan (Sudanese); Faris Khalaf Allah (Sudanese); Fadil Abdel Ghani (Sudanese); Matrawy Mohammed Salih (Egyptian); Victor Alvarez (Puerto Rican), and Eyyad Ismail who was extradited from Jordan.[335]

12. Denmark Connection

In November of 1993, three Egyptians living in Denmark were arrested in connection with the bombing. Mohammed Abdel Halim Mohammed Fahim, Mohammed Shaaban Mohammed Hassainein, and Abdel-Hakem Mohammed Atia Soliman were accused of purchasing chemicals and materials to manufacture bombs. In their 1996 trial, Danish prosecutors brought forth evidence that included maps, plans of targets, and U.S. addresses and phone numbers linking them to the Jihad Organization in the U.S.[336] In statements made to the court, the defendants said that they were purchasing chemicals as

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[335] "Anti-Islam Jewish Judge Sentences Islam's Scholar for Life + 65 Years in Prison Along with Others," report, The American Islamic Group, San Diego, CA, January 18, 1996.

[336] "Danish Bomb Plot Trial to Climax on Thursday," Reuters, March 9, 1996. Also see "Egyptian Bombing Trial Underway in Denmark," Reuters, February 28, 1996.

part of an export business. Fingerprints of both Soliman and Hassanein were found on material carried by Ahmed Ajaj.[337] Despite what appeared to be a clear cut case, all three defendants were acquitted of the charges in spring of 1996.

13. Funding Sources: Osama ibn Laden and Mohammad Jamal Khalifah

Osama ibn Laden is best known for funding Arab volunteers to fight in Afghanistan during the 1980-1989 war against the Soviets. Western intelligence agencies have long suspected that Osama ibn Laden's large land holdings south of Khartoum are used as military training camps for Islamic fundamentalists, with the training at least partly supported by Iran.[338] In media reports he has been accused by Yemen, Egypt, and Algeria of financing terrorist subversion in those countries.[339]

Osama is one of twenty sons of Saudi construction magnate Muhammed ibn Laden. He joined the Afghan resistance movement following the December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Osama gained prominence by financing recruitment, transportation and training of Arabs who volunteered to fight alongside the Afghan Mujahideen. In 1985, Osama organized the Islamic Salvation Foundation (al-Qaida) specifically to facilitate support for the

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[337] Peg Tyre, "Sheik's Lawyers Rocked by Evidence," Newsday, March 13, 1995, A01.

[338] Peter Grier, "Evidence Linking Khartoum's Diplomats To New York Bombing Was Not Key Decision," The Christian Science Monitor, August 19, 1993.

[339] Pamela Mendels, "Arab Linked to Anti-US Terrorist Network," Newsday, March 17, 1995, A12.

Mujahideen. Drawing on his family's wealth, and through donations from businessman in the Gulf region, he set up recruitment centers and guest-houses in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and funded camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Of note, Ramzi Yousef is reported to have lived for three years in a Peshwar, Pakistan guest house funded by Osama.[340]

In a State Department report, Osama is said to have relocated to Sudan in 1991. He reportedly formed close ties with the Islamic government, becoming involved with business and civil infrastructure projects. This report also charges that:

- Islamic extremist responsible for the December 1992 attempted bombings against U.S. servicemen in Somalia claimed funding for their operations came from Osama ibn Laden.
- A joint Egyptian-Saudi investigation revealed in May of 1993 that Osama ibn Laden "business interests" helped funnel money to Egyptian extremists who used the cash to buy equipment, printing presses and weapons.
- Osama ibn Laden finances at least three terrorist training camps in northern Sudan.
- Is the key financier behind the "Kunar" camp in Afghanistan which provides paramilitary training to al-Jihad and al-Gama'a al-Islamiya members. *Note that Shaikh Omar Abdel Rahman is the spiritual guide for al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya.*

Osama's Saudi citizenship was stripped in 1994 for allegedly adopting attitudes and behavior "in contradiction to the interests of the Saudi kingdom."[341]

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[340] "US Lists Saudi Businessman As Extremist Sponsor," Reuters America Inc, August 14, 1996.

[341] Ibid.

According to a Reuters wire report, Osama left his Sudanese safe-haven in April of 1996, probably due to the increasing pressure negative World opinion has been placing on Sudan for supporting Islamic terrorist groups.[342] He has since re-emerged in Afghanistan where he is said to be under the protection of the radical Islamic Taliban militia.[343] In a Washington Times news report, Osama is lauded as having taken credit for the bombings of U.S. facilities in Saudi Arabia (November 1995, bombing in Riyad; the June 1996 bombing of Khobar Towers in Dharan).[344] He has been typecast as "the major potential threat to U.S. forces in the Arabian Gulf region" according to Kenneth Katzman of the Congressional Research Service.[345]

As an interesting side note, Osama's brother-in-law, Mohammad Jamal Khalifah, was known for funding Abu Sayyaf activities in the Philippines. Khalifah is also a wealthy Saudi businessman reported to own a rattan factory in the Philippines. He lists his permanent residence as Khartoum, Sudan. Like his billionaire brother-in-law, Osama ibn Laden, Kalifah also has a history of funding Islamic extremist movements around the world.[346] In 1994, Khalifah was

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[342] "Sudan Says Saudi-Born Islamist Left Five Weeks Ago," Reuters Ltd, June 18, 1996.

[343] Jim Wolf, " Saudi Dissident Suspected In Bombings," Reuters Ltd, October 24, 1996.

[344] Ibid,.

[345] Ibid,.

arrested by federal authorities in Morgan Hill, California on charges of falsifying his visa. He was last reported awaiting deportation proceedings because of his ties to terrorist groups and involvement in bombing attempts in Jordan.[347] In a classified Philippine intelligence report Khalifah is said to have orchestrated the international support for many Islamic extremist operating in Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, Russia, Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates, Romania, Lebanon, Syria, Pakistan, Albania, the Netherlands and Morocco.[348]

E. BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER: "THE ACT AND THE DEVICE"

Just past noon on 26 February, 1993, a massive explosion rocked the World Trade Center complex killing six people, injuring at least one thousand, and causing some $550 million dollars in damage. The investigation into the World Trade Center bombing, linked to the subsequent investigation of the greater Jihad Organization terrorist campaign conspiracy, revealed various levels of participation in the World Trade Center attack by all the individuals discussed. Reports concerning the conspirators suggest that the actual placement of the bomb/van in the World Trade Center basement parking lot was done by four men: Yousef, Salameh, Ismail, and Abouhalima. Manufacture of the bomb included at least Yousef, Yasin, Niyyad, Salameh, Abouhalima, and

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[346] Builta, 278; see also Prudencio R. Europa "Saudi Trader Held In California Jail Linked To Muslim Extremists," Filipino Reporter, March 27, 1995, PG.

[347] Europa, PG.

[348] Ibid., PG.

Siddig Ali.

The device was said to contain approximately 1200 lbs of ammonium nitrate and fuel oil making a potent explosive commonly referred to as ANFO. ANFO is categorized as a slow detonating explosive that creates a large volume of gas and pressure. It is typically used in quarry operations as it is well suited for displacing large amounts of dirt and rock. It requires a high energy initiator such as TNT or dynamite in order to detonate, otherwise it just burns. In this case nitroglycerin and compressed hydrogen were use to initiate and enhance the ANFO main charge.[349] According to Judge Duffy who presided over the World Trade Center trial, cyanide was said to have been packed into the bomb to poison the area.[350] Reports indicate that at least 500 grams (1 lb) of sodium cyanide was found in a locker used by the group to store bomb making materials.[351] Fortunately the fireball from the ANFO device consumed this deadly chemical instead of dispersing it. Commenting on this case in a recent conference, Senator Sam Nunn suggested that this might very well have been the first act of WMD terrorism committed on U.S. soil.[352]

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[349] Ron Scherer, "Verdict In N.Y. Bomb Trial Seen As Signal To Terrorists," The Christian Science Monitor, March 7, 1994.

[350] "Doomsday Cults: 'Only the Beginning,' Newsweek, April 3, 1995, 40.

[351] Ron Purver, "Chemical and Biological Terrorism: The Threat According to The Open Literature," report, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, (June, 1995), 86.

[352] Address by Senator Sam Nunn during WMD-Terrorism conference sponsored by Los Alamos National Laboratory and Harvard's Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA), Washington D.C., May 23, 1996.

F. ANALYSIS OF THE "JIHAD ORGANIZATION"

Information indicating sodium cyanide was added to the device used in the World Trade Center bombing is rather obscure. As mentioned earlier, Judge Duffy addressed the cyanide component during the sentencing of Shaikh Rahman. David Kaplan notes the use of cyanide by the Jihad Organization in his concluding remarks regarding the case of Aum Shinrikyo.[353] Ron Purver's report adds strong circumstantial evidence that the chemical may have been placed in the device. Ramzi Yousef's letters to the Philippine government concerning the threat to use poison against Philippine water supplies provides additional circumstantial weight to the assertion that cyanide was indeed placed in the World Trade Center bomb. At a minimum Yousef's letter implies a knowledge of how to employ this lethal substance in a terrorist attack.

Despite the circumstantial nature of the information concerning the inclusion of cyanide, the sheer size of the explosive device used (estimated at 1200 lbs net explosive weight) is indicative of the group's intent to cause an ultra-violent event resulting in mass casualties and mass disruption. An analysis of the Jihad Organization using both the Structural Realist and The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Models of *Effective Demand* indicates that a *ripeness* to threaten the use of WMD was evident prior to the bombing incident, though discerning this would have probably required

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[353] David Kaplan and Andrew Marshall, The Cult At The End Of The World, 292.

the penetration of the group by an agent provocateur.[354]

1. Structural Realist Model

Act of revenge perpetrated by Ramzi Yousef at the direction of Saddam Hussein?, or part of a rational strategy envisioned by Shaikh Omar Abdel-Rahman wherein the infidels of the West are rudely awakened to the power of radical Islam? Bombing the World Trade Center with this extremely large improvised explosive device could have been a logical choice in either event. Saddam Hussein had been humiliated and humbled by a multi-national coalition led by the U.S.. What better way to strike back (considering the weakness of Hussein's conventional capability) at the U.S. than through a terrorist attack using an improvised WMD, the use of Shaikh Rahman's "amateurs" providing the perfect cover for plausible denial!

On balance, what better way to perpetuate Jihad than through the use of an exceedingly lethal device that kills thousands of infidels while increasing the tension between the West and Islam. By causing more friction, Shaikh Rahman virtually guaranteed the perpetuation of a Western myth that holds Islam synonymous with violence. This may have been part of a planned strategy to

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[354] In fact there was an "agent" of sorts operating inside the Jihad Organization. Emad Salem, a retired Egyptian Army colonel, was said to have posed as Shaikh Rahman's security officer while operating as a paid informant by the FBI. Interestingly, Salem is said to have been "fired" by the FBI before the bombing of the World Trade Center occurred, then re-recruited in exchange for $1 million dollars. He is also reported to have been passing information on Shaikh Rahman and the FBI investigation to Egyptian military police. See Peg Tyre, "Sheik Sought Slaughter," Newsday, January 1, 1995, A04.

preclude efforts of Islamic moderates to "integrate" their faith and religious practice into a peaceful co-existence with the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, environment found here in the U.S.. This act may also have represented an attempt to encourage radicalization of those Muslim's on the fringe of adopting extremist views. In this regard, the use of an improvised WMD in a terrorist attack sends a message that radical Islam possesses a power great enough to balance against even the great Satan (U.S.), and that now is the time to join in Jihad.

Both Yousef and Ayyad appeared to have the requisite knowledge and skill needed to produce a low-tech WMD. Structural facilitators inherent to U.S. society allowed the group to easily purchase materials and avoid detection (operating under a religious veneer is a great way to avoid the intrusiveness of U.S. law enforcement officials as it backs right up against rights protected under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution). Financial resources and material access obviously were not a problem as evidenced by the group's ability to purchase the materials, chemicals, and hydrogen gas used to build the bomb.

Viewed through the framework of the Structural Realist Model of *Effective Demand,* the Jihad Organization adopted a rational approach to overcome (internally balance) their inherent political and military weakness vis-a-vis the U.S. e.g., they pursued the development and use of the power afforded by WMD, see Table 5-2. Though Structural Realism Theory certainly provides an answer regarding why the Jihad Organization would want WMD, it does not

explain how the Jihad Organization overcame those traditional constraints that have precluded other non-state groups from pursuing this course. As in the case of Aum, The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process seems to clarify the reasons behind the Jihad Organization's pursuit of a WMD capability.

Attribute Set for Structural Realist Model of Effective Demand: Jihad Organization			
Demand Indicator	**Score .0 or 1.0**	**Supply Indicator**	**Score .0 or 1.0**
Desire for power great enough to balance against the "nation-state"	1.0	Group membership knowledgeable of WMD technical requirements	1.0
		Group possesses financial resources to fund a WMD program	1.0
		Group has access to materials and technology required to manufacture and disperse WMD	1.0
Structural Realist Model			
Desire for Power x (Knowledgeable Membership x Funding x Access to Materials) = *Effective Demand* **1. x (1. x 1. x 1.) = 1.0 ~ no negative external influences= *Effective Demand for WMD***			

Table 5-2: Analysis of Jihad Organization: Structural Realist Model

2. The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process Model

How is it that a non-state group (of amateurs no less) can choose to use WMD while other more competent and professional non-state groups refrain from even threatening the use of such weapons? The addition of cyanide to the bomb used in the World Trade center attack speaks for itself. However, it is conceivable that this may have been more of an "afterthought" as evidenced by the inept manner in which the cyanide was included. A better cyanide dispersal system could have been easily constructed, strategically located, and activated in concert with the explosive device. At a minimum, this system would have resulted in a large number of casualties all on its own.[355] In any event, examination of the Jihad Organization through the framework of the Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process crystallizes the understanding of why this group chose to engage in WMD (albeit "lo-tech") terrorism.

a. Power to Balance Against the State

Radical Islam, by its very nature, desires not just power to balance against it's enemies, but power to conquer them. As stated by Shaikh Hassan al-Banna:

It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its

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[355] I will not describe the specifics concerning the exact construct of such a device for obvious reasons.

law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet.[356]

In this regard, Hans Morgenthau's theories of classical Realism(ultimate power) might be more appropriately applied to this case than the neo-Realism (power enough to balance) exposited by Kenneth Waltz. Indeed, the World Trade Center bombing surely represents an attempt by radical Islam to show the world it possessed a power great enough to compel, deter, or destroy an adversary.

b. Leadership of the "Authoritarian Sociopath"

Who was providing firm direction for the Jihad Organization? If one accepts the New York State prosecutors office position, Shaikh Omar Abdel-Rahman was the man-in-charge. If one believes Laurie Mylroie's contentions, Ramzi Yousef was the master-mind behind the group's terrorist campaign plans, tactical strategy and decision to use WMD. Not having the benefit of Dr. Post's assessment on these two individuals, I will provide an educated guess as to the nature of their personalities based on: (1) what is understood about this type of personality as addressed in Chapter II of this study; (2) what has been written about these two individuals. Hopefully this assessment will be accepted as something more than "lay psycho-analysis."

Charismatic is not the typical first impression one thinks of when first exposed to Shaikh Rahman, authoritarian yes, charismatic no. However, an in-depth look at the man elucidates a radical, authoritarian, Islamic cleric that indeed commands a loyal following stretching from Egypt to Afghanistan, the

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[356] Taheri, 1.

Philippines to the U.S.. Shaikh Rahman's appeal ostensibly flows not so much from what he initially projects, but from what he has done through his career as a radical, Sunni, cleric. From early on, he has vociferously opposed the secular government of Egypt, often inciting others to violence with his fiery, rhetorical calls for an Islamic theocracy to replace, first Sadat, and then Mubarak. Shaikh Rahman was also very much involved in mobilizing young Islamic militants to join the Mujahideen insurgency against the Soviets in Afghanistan. For his opposition to the Egyptian government and alleged involvement in the assassination of Sadat, Shaikh Rahman spent time residing in Egyptian prisons or under house arrest. For these things, he gained the respect and admiration of a rather robust following that includes members of the al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya in Egypt, Gihad al-Gadid in Afghanistan, Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, and the American Islamic Society located in San Diego, California.

Capitalizing on this "appeal," Rahman aggressively influenced others to commit ultra-violent acts by legitimizing terrorist actions through religious rhetoric, e.g., God not only sanctions these acts, he demands them! Followers of the Shaikh perceive him as a "holy man," complying with his directives and providing him with their unqualified support. Additionally, it is convincingly evident that he perceives the world from an us-against-them mentality, regularly exhorting his "closed cell constituency" to destroy the out group "others" (those not of Islam, to include the secular politicians residing in many Muslim states). Based on this observation, it appears that Shaikh Rahman

manifests the traits of the authoritarian-sociopathic personality capable of directing the use of WMD in a terrorist attack.

Ramzi Yousef seems to fit Dr. Post's profile of the self-centered, narcissistic, deluded, "mirror-hungry," personality of a sociopathic nature. In his own words, Yousef's criticism of his co-conspirators in the World Trade Center attack is telling, as he suggests to Federal agents that the twin towers would not be standing if he had been able to garner "better help." Motivated by a rage that may have developed as a fall-out of being raised the son of a "guest-worker" in Kuwait, Yousef seems to have grown in to his terrorist role as a function of a deep seated need to satisfy his narcissistic self e.g., do something that appeared "very important." Participating in the Mujahideen insurgency in Afghanistan, collaborating with Iraqi intelligence during the Gulf War, allegedly setting up an international terrorist network, and directing the tactical part of a large scope terrorist campaign against the U.S., were all acts that would enhance and enlarge Yousef's image to his peers, others and most importantly, to himself. Certainly this personality type, as discussed by Dr. Post, is more than capable of engaging in unconscionable acts of ultra-violence.

Regardless of whether it was Yousef or Shaikh Rahman who commanded the Jihad Organization, both appear to manifest personality traits that lend themselves to directing and committing acts of a horrific nature. The Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for having an authoritarian-sociopathic leadership.

c. *Ideology*

The militant, redemptive rhetoric used by Shaikh Omar Abdel Rahman ran rich with suggestions that the use of violence, sanctioned by fatwa, was a legitimate means to perpetuate the vision of an Islamic world. This should have been noted as the warning sign of an impending storm, particularly since his calls for the use of violence to overthrow the secular government in Egypt had been well documented.

Furthermore, once Shaikh Rahman arrived in the U.S., he took advantage of the rights (afforded people in this country) concerning freedom of speech and religion as evidenced by his radical sermons. These sermons became increasingly more inflammatory, openly exhorting followers to violence in the name of Islam. In a statement made following Shaikh Rahman's arrest, Ezzat al-Sheemy, a founder of the Brooklyn Abu Bakr Mosque, said that the Shaikh was using the mosque school to "brainwash the children...and turn them into militants."[357] Al-Sheemy further stated that in 1992 he was warned by the Shaikh's followers that the Shaikh had approved the use of violence against both him and certain teachers unless he ceded control of the mosque's educational programs.

Religious ideologies, Christian, Islamic or otherwise, can obviously be manipulated to suggest that violent, unconstrained acts, sanctioned by God, are legitimate. This certainly appears to be the case as elucidated by

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[357] 1993 ADL report.

the terror campaign planned by the Jihad Organization. The danger of this phenomenon is self evident. The Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for maintaining an ideology that advocates ultra-violence.

d. Extremist Use of Ultra-Violence

Shaikh Omar Abdel Rahman supported the use of ultra-violent extremism to punish the enemies of Islam and he expressed these ideas in his fiery sermons. Facilitated by these ideas, Islamic militants assassinated Anwar Sadat, El-Sayyed Nosair assassinated rabbi Meir Kahane, and members of the Jihad Organization bombed the World Trade Center. Even from the confines of a prison cell, Shaikh Rahman's ideas continue to influence Islamic militants as evidenced by members of al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya who continue in their attempts to kill Hosni Mubarak.

At a minimum, El-Sayyed Nosair, Shaikh Rahman, and Ramzi Yousef all had an "ax to grind" with some part of society. To violently strike back at a world or specific individuals they perceived as illegitimate or unfair was truly the only way to right wrongs done to the world of Islam in general, and to themselves in particular. The Jihad Organization's attack against the World Trade Center complex and plans for a large scale terrorist campaign, ostensibly under the spiritual guidance of Shaikh Rahman and the operational direction of Ramzi Yousef, arguably shows that extreme use of violence was to be the group's modus operandi. They came together as a group specifically to "strike" out at the perceived enemies of Islam using methods that would assure mass

casualties and destruction. The Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for use of ultra-violence.

e. The Closed Constituency and Group Cohesiveness

The Jihad Organization represents a small part of a very large closed cell system, "radical Islam." Within this group the world is seen as divided into two mutually exclusive camps, the City of War and the City of Faith:

> The City of War and the City of Faith lies at the heart of Islam's traditional view of existence. Places where Islam rules supreme and its laws are strictly obeyed are known as Dar al-Iman or the City of Faith. The rest of the world is signified under the title of Dar al-Harb or the City of War.[358]

As a result of this dichotomous view of the world, the Jihad Organization operated under the siege mentality that has "infected" radical Islamists since Shaikh Hassan al-Banna suggested in the 1930s that the nature of Islam is to dominate the entire planet. Extreme acts of terroristic violence are conducted to benefit those who belong to this "large cell," e.g., other radical Islamist and God. There is little concern for the rest of the population that resides in "Dar al-Harb", or the City of War. The Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator.

f. Lack of Concern over Public or Government Backlash

Since non-Islamic populations and governments represent Dar-al Harb (City of War), little concern was given to the possible backlash effects that would result from the Jihad Organizations terrorist acts. To the members of the

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[358] Taheri., 20.

group, backlash posed a threat of either capture or death. In either event their fate would be viewed as a self-sacrificing gesture that would ensure entry to paradise in the life hereafter. As in the case of Aum and the Japanese government of 1941, the Jihad Organization perceived the use of WMD as not threatening its survival, but enhancing its possibility. The Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for their disregard of "backlash."

g. A Willingness to Take Risks

Extreme risk taking is an attribute that is evident in any individual that would resort to the use of violence, certainly in those who would suggest murder as a legitimate method to press an agenda. For the Jihad Organization members the perceived pay-off of gaining access to paradise was worth any risk involved. For sanctioning the use of murder as a legitimate means to ends, the Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator.

h. A Demonstration of a Certain Degree of Sophistication in Weaponry or Tactics

Only certain members of the Jihad Organization possessed an advanced knowledge of the construction of improvised explosive devices, timers, and the like. Ramzi Yousef was one of them. As reported during his trial, Yousef understood how to modify Casio digital wristwatches that they might be used as timing devices for the bombs he intended to place. He also knew how to mix various chemical compounds into potent explosives. Letters found on his person threatening to commit terrorist acts against the Philippine

people also suggest he knew something about the use of chemicals as poison. Other knowledgeable members included Nidal Ayyad who was educated as a chemical engineer. His undergraduate work in areas of chemistry and physics alone would have been enough to give the Jihad Organization the ability to produce chemical agents.

Evaluation of information gleaned from analysis of evidence taken during the investigation of the Jihad Organization is indicative of their ability to at least plan a large scale terrorist campaign. Had they not been compromised by an inside informant, the group may very well have caused a tremendous amount of damage to critical highway infrastructure leading into New York City. The Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator.

I. Membership Knowledgeable of WMD Technical Requirements

The educational backgrounds of both Yousef and Ayyad suggest that there might have been some understanding of how to construct, minimally, a low-tech WMD using lethal chemicals. As court records suggest, cyanide was placed in the explosive device detonated under the World Trade Center complex. That this was not a viable method to disperse cyanide is indicative of some mis-understanding on the part of those that constructed the bomb. For membership that includes personnel knowledgeable of WMD technical requirements, the Jihad Organization receives a score of .6.

j. Financial Resources to Fund a WMD Capability

It is not truly clear how much money the Jihad Organization had access too. The body of circumstantial evidence available suggests that Shaikh Rahman was well funded through a conduit that included the Alkifah Refugee Center, donations from mosques, sources from Iran and possible Osama ibn Laden. When the Shaikh was arrested, he reportedly was in possession of at least $60,000.00 in cash.[359] Court testimony taken from Salameh indicates that money used to purchase materials for the World Trade Center bomb came from Yousef. Yousef's alleged ties to Osama ibn Laden, a man known to generously support radical Islamists, suggest that a substantial amount of money may have indeed come from him. The information arguably indicates that the Jihad Organization possessed the funds to construct a lo-tech WMD. The Jihad Organization receives a score of 1.0 for financial resources.

k. Intervening Processes and Summary of the Analysis

The primary Intervening Process seen as enhancing *Effective Demand* for the Jihad Organization are centered around the "priori rights" and freedoms enjoyed by those that live in the U.S. These freedoms, coupled with our overarching concern for human rights facilitated Shaikh Rahman's and Ramzi Yousef's ability to enter the U.S. . The inability of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to closely monitor the movement of non-resident aliens also facilitated the ability of the group to plan and engage in terrorist acts.

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[359] Tyre, "Sheik Called Backer in U.S. Terror."

Muhammad Salameh would have probably been deported had the INS been staffed and better equipped to maintain visibility on non-resident aliens. Ramzi Yousef might not have so easily entered this country had our policies to welcome the oppressed been even marginally restrictive.

Accessibility to materials needed to construct even a low-tech WMD in the U.S. is only inhibited by the efforts of those that would want to build such a device. As one individual suggested to me at a recent conference, "the U.S. leaves itself wide open for these events to occur. It is the price you pay for maintaining a relatively free society." Table 5-3 provides a visual summary of the Jihad Organization analysis.

G. SUMMARY OF THE JIHAD ORGANIZATION CASE

The Jihad Organization certainly possessed *Effective Demand* as shown through analysis using both theoretical frameworks. **However, as in the Aum case, even though the Theory of Structural Realism suggests greater strength in expressing Effective Demand, it is only through the framework of The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process that the more finite understanding emerges**, one that elucidates this group's ability to to transcend those previously identified traditional constraints that have precluded other terrorist groups from using WMD. Again, key variables such as the personality of leadership, group ideology, and group behavioral history say much in helping us to understand the motivations and intentions of such non-state groups.

The analysis of this case brings up many interesting questions. The most glaring has to do with how far our government should go to accommodate those individuals who on one hand seem to be of some assistance to U.S. agenda's e.g., Shaikh Rahman facilitating the recruitment of volunteers to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan, but on the other use our open society and protected

Attribute Set for The Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process: "The Jihad Organization"			
Demand Indicators	**Score .0-1.0**	**Supply Indicators**	**Score .0-1.0**
Groups desires power to balance against the nation-state	1.0	Group exhibits sophisticated use of weapons or tactics	1.0
Group leader manifests the "authoritarian-sociopathic" personality	1.0	Group includes individuals knowledgeable of WMD technology	.6
Ideology advocates use of ultra-violence	1.0	Group possesses financial resources to fund WMD program	1.0
Group engages in extremes of violence	1.0	Group has access to WMD materials and technology	1.0
Group is cohesive and closed cell	1.0		
Group disregards backlash	1.0		
Group willing to take high risks	1.0		
Product of Demand Indicators 1.0		Product of Supply Indicators 0.6	
DI(r) x SI(r) = Effective Demand(r) ~ Intervening Processes = Effective Demand for WMD **1.0 x .6 = .6 ~ enhancing Intervening Processes = Effective Demand for "lo-tech" WMD possessed by the Jihad Organization**			

Table 5-3 Analysis of Jihad Organization: Synthetic Model

"rights" as a weapon against us. The case also elucidates some glaring holes that exist within the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Specifically, these holes seem to be present in areas related to screening and tracking non-residents, clearly illustrated by the fact that several members of the Jihad Organization seemed to have no trouble residing illegally in the U.S.. At a minimum, Yousef's method of entrance into the U.S. should be flagged by all nations that maintain relatively liberal laws regarding the manner in which political refugees are admitted. No doubt this method will continue to be exploited by those that desire to commit nefarious and deadly acts within our borders. Those claiming a desire for asylum from states known to be hostile to the U.S. should be viewed with great suspicion and investigated accordingly.[360] As of this writing, the United Nations is examining options and methods that might be used to preclude terrorists from using laws designed to protect legitimate "seekers" of political asylum e.g., if the asylum candidate is known to have engaged in certain violent activities, he or she would not be granted political asylum in one country, to avoid prosecution in another.

In conclusion, if law enforcement and intelligence agencies had been

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[360] Representative Bill McCollum (R) of Florida introduced the Exclusion and Asylum Reform Amendments of 1993 which would grant federal officials immediate authority to expel aliens who enter the U.S. without proper documents. This proposal was not well received, though many agree that the asylum laws are so lenient that they, in the words of Joseph Churba, president of the International Security Council think tank in Washington D.C., "...invite terrorism..." In 1993, INS processed 22,674 cases, while the backlog exceeded 135,000. See John Dillin, "Terrorist Incidents in the US Raise Immigration Concerns," The Christian Science Monitor, March 19, 1993.

keyed to monitor the development of this non-state group using something similar to the frameworks discussed herein, they might have at least noticed that the Jihad Organization possessed a penchant to commit ultra-violent acts.

VI. ETHNIC RACIST HATE GROUP: COVENANT, SWORD AND ARM OF THE LORD (CSAL)

A. INTRODUCTION

The case of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSAL) is interesting for several reasons. First, it exposits a trend unique to U.S. right wing extremist groups e.g., an ideology that blends a combination of anti-government, and racist sentiments with a religious underpinning known as the Christian Identity Movement or Identity Movement. Second, it elucidates the subtle danger these groups pose to the safety of the American public, as can be seen in the case of the Oklahoma City federal building bombing of April 19, 1995.[361] Several of these organizations cloak themselves in a veneer of ultra-nationalism, referring to their groups as "Patriot Movements" or "Militias." To be fair, not all of these groups maintain racist or violent tendencies. Many individuals that join such groups claim that these organizations provide them with a legitimate way to express their anger and frustration at a government that

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[361] Timothy McVeigh is alleged to have had more than a passing association with the Identity movement through residents of Robert Millar's "Elohim City compound in Oklahoma. Millar is the founding father and patriarch of "Elohim City." Elohim City is actually a 400 acre well armed and fortified compound located in eastern Oklahoma. It is home for a group of Identity adherents and white supremacists. Millar's followers have included members of several right wing terrorist groups: The Order; The Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord; the Posse Comitatus; and the Aryan Republican Army. See "False Patriots: The Threat Of Antigovernment Extremists," report, Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, Al, (1996), 54. Also interview with Bob Sands, investigative journalist engaged in writing a book concerning the Oklahoma City bombing, November 16, 1996.

seems distant and unconcerned, in some cases even hostile.[362] One balance, of the 441 active Militias and 368 allied Patriot groups identified by Morris Dees (Southern Poverty Law Center), 137 of these groups have ties to racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, and the Neo-Nazi movement, groups that certainly advocate the use of violence to obtain desired ends.[363]

Third, among this amalgamation of white supremacists and Identity believers, there has been at least five incidents involving the planned use of chemical or biological agents, four having occurred in the last decade. In chronological order they include:

- Late 1960s, early 1970s: A plot by the Minutemen Organization to introduce hydrogen cyanide gas into the air conditioning system of the United Nations building in New York City. This group also threatened to release a virus developed by its leader, Robert De Pugh, on the floors of major airline terminals. De Pugh owned a veterinary drug firm known as the Biolab Corporation in Norborne, Missouri. De Pugh served four years in federal prison. Released in 1973, he has recently been convicted again, this time for firearms violations which could result in a twenty year prison term.[364]

- 1972: Members of the Neo-Nazi group "Order of the Rising Sun" were arrested in Chicago, Illinois, for plotting to contaminate city

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[362] Morris Dees and James Corcoran, "Still A Recipe For Disaster," USA Weekend, April 12, 1996, 4.

[363] Ibid., 4.

[364] Builta, 920. Also see Purver, 34, 85; John George and Laird Wilcox, American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansman, Communists, & Others, (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1996), 242.

water supplies with 80 lbs of typhoid bacillus.[365]

- 1985: Justice Department raid on the "heavily armed compound" of the Covenant, Sword, Arm of the Lord (CSAL), nets a large weapons cache, large quantities of potassium cyanide, and plans to use the chemical to poison the water supplies of several U.S. cities.[366]

- 1995: Four members of the Minnesota Patriots Council were convicted in federal court for conspiracy to use the deadly toxin ricin, to kill federal agents and law enforcement officers.[367]

- 1995: Patriot Larry W. Harris arrested for buying bubonic plague bacteria by mail from the food test lab where he worked.[368]

These acts, combined with the recent proliferation of right wing survivalist literature focusing on the use of chemical and biological agents, may be the harbinger of horrific events that could make the Aum gassing of the Tokyo subway pale in comparison.[369]

This chapter specifically addresses the WMD threat posed by one segment of extremism in American society, white extremism empowered by the

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[365] Richard C. Clark, Technological Terrorism, (Old Greenwich, CT: Devin-Adair Company, 1980), 111. Also see Purver, 37. Of note, members of "The Order of The Rising Sun" planned to be inoculated against typhoid prior to handling and disseminating this disease.

[366] Purver, 86. Also see J. Coats, 140.

[367] Dees, "False Patriots," 31.

[368] Ibid., 32.

[369] Survivalist literature that caters to the extreme right typically carries articles discussing Chem-Bio personal protective measures, and advertisements selling gas masks and protective suits. See American Survival Guide, v. 18, n. 10, (October, 1996), 56.

Identity movement. It begins with a brief, historical overview of the development of the white supremacist movement in the U.S., and the subsequent integration of Identity ideology into that movement. A narrative of the events leading to the federal raid on the CSAL compound follows. The discussion concludes with an analysis of the CSAL using the now familiar models of *Effective Demand.*

B. THE GENESIS OF THE WHITE SUPREMACY MOVEMENT AND IDENTITY CHRISTIAN IDEOLOGY

The white supremacist/Identity movement is a sub-set of a greater concept referred to as right wing extremism. For purposes of discussion, right wing extremism in the U.S. is generally divided into several categories: anti-government/anti-tax groups commonly referred to as Posse's, Patriots or Militias; racists/white supremacist groups such as the Neo-Nazi Aryan Nations or National Alliance; and Identity Christians. The difficulty in trying to "typecast" a group as "Supremacist," "Patriot" or "Identity" lies in the fact that despite their articulated differences, many of these groups share commonly held assumptions based on: (1) an overarching mistrust of the government; (2) anti-Semitic, anti-black, and anti-Catholic views; (3) and a religious orientation that supports notions of white supremacy. Discerning the motivations and intentions of these right wing, religiously oriented racists, truly requires a robust understanding of their ideology and behavior. Lacking an understanding of the right wing racists' underpinning ideology, cultural variance, and personal nuances, leads to tragedies such as Waco and Ruby Ridge, cases arguably suggesting that

Federal agents responding to these events, mis-understood, minimally, what they were dealing with.

This case study hopefully provides an understanding of the underpinning foundation of Identity, and its influence on the extreme right in America. Additionally, it makes a case for why some of these groups should be monitored with measured caution. On balance, though many groups such as: (1) the Issue-oriented Patriots comprising the Christian Coalition, (2) Home Schoolers, (3) Moral Majority etc., manifest extreme right attributes, they certainly do not pose a threat the likes of their distant cousins, The Order, Phinehas Priesthood, Aryan Republican Army, the National Alliance, or the Aryan Nations.[370]

1. The Beginning of Hate in America

In his study of the survivalist right in America, Coats provides a comprehensive overview of the genesis of racial/ethnic hate in America. For the sake of brevity, only the salient points of this overview are presented.

English colonists that settled the New World brought with them an anti-Catholic tradition as part of their English heritage. This "tradition" developed under King Henry VIII, who had departed from the Church of Rome.[371] In colonial times, conspiracy theories addressing the causes of regional calamities were most often pinned on the "Papist" instead of the Jews. Many nascent laws

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[370] Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg, Encounters With The Contemporary Radical Right, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 192-193. Also see Builta, 862, 872.

[371] Coats, 22.

passed by the new states following the Revolutionary War were designed to marginalize the influence of Catholics and preclude them from holding state office. In New Jersey, North Carolina, Georgia, and Vermont, only Protestants were allowed to hold state political positions. This distinctly American, anti-Catholic, movement was commonly referred to as the "nativist movement."

The nativist movement insisted that the Pope was planning to take over the New World by infiltrating large numbers of armed Catholics into the newly established U.S., who would in turn destroy their Protestant brothers. From 1812-1844, much Protestant terrorist violence was focused at Catholic priests, nuns and churches.[372] In 1844, when the Irish potato blight resulted in a huge influx of Irish Catholics emigres to the U.S., the native Protestant groups became a political force of some influence. Called the "Know-Nothings" (their doings were "secretive, members encouraged to "know nothing" about party workings) the group's strong anti-Catholic platform, and harsh criteria for U.S. citizenship resulted in seventy five of their members being elected to Congress (1850's), others gaining majority control of several states legislative bodies.[373] The height of their appeal came in 1856 when their American Party candidate for president, Millard Fillmore, received 21 percent of the electoral vote. That year the American Party also won congressional races in New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland

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[372] Ibid., 23-26.

[373] Ibid., 28.

and California.

By the start of the Civil War in 1860, the Know Nothings were a politically impotent force, the nation focusing on more pressing issues. Following the South's loss, a new "hate group" emerged under the tutelage and guidance of the Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forest. This group came to be known as the "Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan." Their major political objective was ostensibly focused on subverting "Northern Oppression" of the South. From this objective emerged a strategy of actions designed to prevent newly emancipated blacks from voting for Northern political agendas and laws, these things being viewed as harmful to the viability of the Southern way of life. In this vein, the Klan was also anti-Catholic because much of the political power in the North was held by Catholics. As the fundamentalist Baptist South permeated Klan membership, the Klan also claimed itself as a white Christian movement, replete with secret code-words, and rule books.[374]

By the 1920's the Ku Klux Klan had flourished, claiming a membership of some 4-5 million.[375] Much of this membership growth was attributed to the leadership of William Simmons, who wisely hired two top-notch publicists to assist in marketing the Klan movement, Edward Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler. Clarke and Tyler are said to have increased Klan membership by creating a new target group for members to hate, the Jews. Additionally they recommended the

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[374] Ibid., 29.

[375] Builta, 911.

adoption of a nationalistic veneer that advertised the Klan as:

> "100 percent American, 100 percent Christian, 100 percent Protestant, and 100 percent against niggers, Catholics, Jews and others who would disdain the (Klan)."[376]

The Klan's strategy, as developed by the team of Clarke and Tyler, was exposed in the media in 1919, however it would take the combination of the Great Depression of the 1930's and WWII to reduce the Klan to playing bit parts in local politics. Coats notes that in an attempt to revitalize the movement in 1940, Klan leadership collaborated with the German-American Bund, an arm of Hitler's Nazi party. Coats further notes that since that time, the Klan, in its various contemporary iterations, has maintained a close connection with the American Neo-Nazi movement. In fact many individuals that start out as Klan members are known to have gravitated to Identity oriented Hitlerite groups such as Aryan Nations, Posse Comitatus and The Covenant, Sword, the Arm of the Lord.[377] Since WWII, the Klan has been a marginal force in U.S. domestic politics, however, they remain the archetypical reminder of the powerful forces that can be marshaled under the rubric of racist hate.

2. The Christian Identity Movement

> The "theology of hate...(provides) the framework (based) on a bizarre religion that unites numerous segments of the Survivalist Right that in the past had been so inclined toward internecine squabbling that the prospect of joint action was remote. Further, the doctrine of hatred preached from Identity pulpits transforms the sort of violence advocated by the fringes of

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[376] Coats, 33.

[377] Ibid., 36.

> the Survival Right from furtive sin to virtue praised by one's congregation... And they to fear an uncertain future even as they dream of a shining city on a hill. But for them it will be a city without blacks. A city free of Jews. A city of like-minded white Christian right-wingers, a bastion of bigotry.[378]

Before the Identity ideology infiltrated the extreme right in the U.S., Coats argues that most of these groups could rarely collaborate effectively with one another, each having its own agenda. He suggest that Identity's message of white supremacy, rationalized by a religious myth, has played a significant role acting as the "great unifier of the radical right."[379]

Coats refers to Identity Christianity as a "mixture of pseudo-science and theology," wherein God's chosen people are the white, Aryan descendants, of the ten lost tribes of northern Israel, part of which settled the United States.[380] All non-whites are said to be God's "pre-Adamite" mistakes. Jews are explained as the off-spring of the union of Satan and Eve (Eve having been fooled by the duplicity of the Devil whilst living in the Garden of Eden). Identity argues that the ultimate goal of non-whites and Jews is the complete destruction of the white race; this objective to be accomplished through a process of interracial mixing and economic strategies designed to cause the collapse of the U.S. economy. Identity further suggests that the real "Jews" of the Bible left the Holy Land in the days before Christ and settled Western Europe and Great Britain. One tribe of

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[378] Ibid., 18, 80.

[379] Ibid., 81.

[380] Ibid., 14.

"true Jews" (tribe of Manasseh) is said to have crossed the Atlantic and settled the America's becoming the founding fathers of the United States.[381]

Other parts of the Identity myth suggest that the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution (inclusive of only the first ten amendments) were given to the tribe of Manasseh by the hand of God, these documents becoming corrupt by the "satanic Jewish Khazars" (off-spring of the Eve/Satan union) who masquerade as God's chosen ones. Typical examples used by Identity to elucidate the "corruption of the Constitution" include article XV which guarantees voting rights for women and blacks, the establishment of a federal income tax, and accusations that the Federal Reserve Bank is really a Jewish Khazar conspiracy to destroy the U.S. economy.

3. The Creation of the Myth

In 1871, Edward Hine wrote a book entitled *Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel,* which drew on the teachings of the Irish lecturer John Wilson.[382] Wilson published a series of lectures known as *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin* in which he argues that:[383]

- Jews came from the biblical southern kingdom of Judah, whereas the British and other Europeans came from the northern kingdom

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[381] Ibid., 14.

[382] Ibid., 81. Also see Michael Barkun, Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 6-7.

[383] Major Larry Curtain, "White Extremism in the U.S. Military," thesis, (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 1996), 12.

of Israel.

- The Jewish claim of undiluted descent from biblical ancestors was false e.g., they intermarried with Gentiles as did their Anglo-Israeli brethren.

- That the Jews could only be saved by accepting Jesus.

Hine's book eventually sold 250,000 copies, for its day becoming a best seller. The core thesis argued by Hine suggested that the true Jews, (descendants of Moses, Abraham and Jesus e.g., God's chosen people) are the people of the British Isles; and that the Jews, as they are known today, are actually Mongolian-Turkish Khazars (who are of the lineage of Cain, born of Eve and Satan).[384] Hine's book also suggested that Cain's offspring were responsible for having crucified Jesus.[385]

This "literary" myth was brought to the U.S. in the late nineteenth century by two subscribers to this tale, G.W. Greenwood (a New York publisher), and Reverend W.H. Poole of Detroit, Michigan. Over the years this myth developed into several different versions. The more popular ones suggests that the twelve tribes of Israel (each led by one of the twelve sons of Isaac, son of Abraham) eventually aligned into northern and southern branches following the great Exodus from Egypt. In the south, known as Judah, settled the Levites, Judaist,

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[384] Arquilla points out that Arthur Koestlar, writing in his book, "The Thirteenth Tribe," makes the scholarly case for modern Jews as Khazars. His point, ironically, is that this connection to a transcaucasion people makes the Jews far more Aryan than those who persecute them.

[385] Coats, 82.

and Benjaminites; the other ten tribes settled the north known as Israel). In 721 B.C. the Assyrian army captured the ten northern tribes, who literally "disappear" never to be again mentioned in scripture.[386] To paraphrase the more popular Identity historical account of what transpired, the following excerpts from Coats' writing are helpful:

> Soon after they were formed, all twelve tribes were placed in bondage by the rulers of Egypt, where they remained for 430 years, until two members of the tribe of Levi-Moses and his brother Aaron (neither one a Jew)-led the Exodus...Once the tribes were in the Promised land, God parceled out the ground to each of the twelve. But the tribe of Levi was named to a priesthood and assigned to service each of the other tribes instead of being given land of its own. God then gave the twelfth parcel of land that the Levites would have received to the descendants of Joseph's son, Manasseh, creating the legendary thirteenth tribe of Israel...Identity...teaches that this Manasseh tribe ultimately moved into Europe, then across the Atlantic on the Mayflower to America, where God gave them such sacred documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights. Subsequent amendments, holds much of the Identity movement, are blasphemous additions dictated by Satan's Jewish forces and designed to bring down the white race...the tribes of Israel (eventually migrated across) the Caucasus Mountains...Manasseh...became the United States; the tribe of Zebulun became France; Ephraim become Great Britain; Issachar became Finland; Asher was Sweden; the tribe of Gad; became Italy; Simeon's descendants became Spain; the people of Naphtali became Norway; the tribe of Reuben settled Holland; the people of Dan settled Denmark...In 586 B.C....the Babylonian tyrant Nebuchadnezzar seized the tribe of Judah, killed most of the Jews, sacked the temple at Jerusalem and took the survivors into captivity. It was during the years of Babylonian captivity that the tribe of Judah became the evil force in global affairs known as Jewry. Babylon, according to Identity, was the kingdom of Cain, who after killing Abel, fled eastward to reign under the name of Sargon the Great. In Babylon, the tribe of Judah was introduced to the black magic of Satan...In Babylon, the whole character of Judaism was changed, for when they left Babylon they no longer had priests but in their place rabbis, and rabbis were never ordained of God...In place of the

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[386] Ibid., 84.

> temple and tabernacle they instituted the synagogue...In place of the Old Testament teachings they came out with the Babylonian Talmud, which became the new religion of Judaism from that day...No other civilized religious teaching underwrites superstition and black magic (and)...vulgar...(practices).[387]

Identity scholars argue that it was the Babylonian Jews that crucified Christ, caused Nero to slaughter the Christians in the Colosseum, brought Black Plague to Europe, undermined Napoleon's drive for a world French empire, inspired a Jew named Karl Marx to bring communism to the world, promoted the Bolshevik Revolution, and formed the hated Federal Reserve banking system in the United States.[388] It is these themes that underpin the Identity ideology, providing a myth that creates a visible enemy that can be blamed for all manner of perceived social, moral, and economic ills in U.S. society.

4. Formation of the Identity Movement

In the late 1940s, Westly Swift popularized Identity Christian ideology within right-wing circles by combining tenants of British Israelism (the myth concerning the development of satanic Judaism under Babylon) and political extremism.[389] He founded the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation, later to be known as the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. Significant voices credited with influencing the emergence of the Identity myth during the 1940s and 1950s included Howard B. Rand of Massachusetts. His group elevated Hitler to the

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[387] Ibid., 82-85.

[388] Ibid., 86.

[389] Barkun, 52.

level of prophet, circulating the manuscript *The Holy Book of Adolph Hitler,* (written by James Larratt Battersby of England in 1951). This work argues that white women have a duty to bear children, and that white males (having a responsibility to ensure the proliferation of the white race) should be accorded sexual freedom.[390] Preservation of the "white seed" has always been a singularly important theme in much of Swift's Identity teachings says Coats, Swift having integrated Hine's Anglo-Israel myth with the teachings of Gerald L.K. Smith, leader of the post WWII anti-Semitic/racist Christian Defense League.[391]

In the late 1950s, Swift joined with Smith's former attorney, Bertrand Comparet of Louisiana, and started the aforementioned Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation. It was through this organization that Swift fused British Israelism and Hitlerite Identity, providing his congregation with a powerful argument to support notions of white supremacy.[392] Eventually Swift took his movement to Lancaster, California, renaming it the Church of Jesus Christ Christian.[393]

Two disciples of Swift's, Richard Girnt Butler and William Potter Gale, have also played a major role in spreading the Identity message to the extreme right. Gale eventually founded his Christian Defense League (a paramilitary, anti-Semitic, white supremacist group located in Baton Rouge, Louisiana) and

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[390] Coats, 93.

[391] Ibid., 94. Note that Swift worked for Smith as his chauffeur.

[392] Ibid., 95.

[393] Curtain, 20.

the more notorious anti-tax/anti-government Identity group Posse Comitatus.[394] Eventually Richard Butler migrated to Coeur d'Alene, Idaho (1973) and established the Aryan Nations at Haden Lake, Idaho. Michael Barkan, who has done extensive research on the extreme right in America, suggests that Butler's Aryan Nations has become the most visible manifestation of the Identity movement. Other "infamous" Identity oriented groups include; (1) "The Order," also known as the "Bruders Schweigen" (extremely violent group consisting of former members of Aryan Nations, Ku Klux Klan, National Alliance, and the John Birch Society, put out of business in 1985); (2) The National Alliance, led by William Pierce (former physicist and author of the Turner Diaries); (3) Jim Ellison's The Covenant, Sword, Arm of the Lord; and (4) Robert Millar's "Elohim City."[395]

In summary, Christian Identity is built around three concepts: (1) that white "Aryans" are descendants of the biblical tribes of Israel; (2) that today's "Jews" are the product of Satan; (3) that the world is on the verge of the final apocalyptic struggle between good and evil. The evil is represented by the U.S. government which is said to have been unduly influenced and totally undermined by the Khazer Jews and their allies the non-white, "pre-Adamite

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[394] Curtain, 21. Also see Builta, 871,923; and Barkun, 221. Note that two Posse Comitatus organizations emerged circa 1969. One was a non-Identity Posse founded by Henry L. Beach, the other being formed in southern California by Gale. Gale died in 1988; Beach's organization moved to Michigan in 1972.

[395] Curtain, 23-28. Also see Dees, "False Patriots," 54.

mud people."[396]

Thus the Christian Identity myth seamlessly blends with the dogma of many U.S. right wing extremist groups, in some cases becoming the foundation on which they base their confused ideology. The true danger of this movement lay in its religious orientation which argues that God demands the purifying of his chosen people, the white race. This argument is frequently used by Identity adherents to justify their racial bigotry, criminal activity and terrorist violence against "out-group" others.

C. JIM ELLISON AND THE COVENANT, SWORD, AND ARM OF THE LORD (CSAL)

1. Introduction

James Ellison, formerly a Protestant fundamentalist preacher from San Antonio, Texas, was drawn to the Identity movement through the influence of Wesley Swift.[397] In 1971, Ellison moved from San Antonio to northwest Arkansas where he purchased a 224 acre tract of land located in a remote, heavily timbered corner of the state, near the Arkansas-Missouri border.[398] Of note, it seems to be a common practice of Identity oriented groups to purchase large tracts of land near multi-state border areas. This practice seems to be done to: (1) facilitate criminal activity of group members who ostensibly would

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[396] Curtain, 21.

[397] Builta, 879. Also see Coats, 138.

[398] Brent L. Smith, Terrorism in America: Pipe Bombs and Pipe Dreams, (NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 62.

commit crimes in one state, and then seek sanctuary in another (outside the jurisdictional boundaries of law enforcement in the case of the former); (2) provide tracts of land large enough to allow paramilitary and weapons training to be conducted outside the visible eye of the public and law enforcement.

Ellison original purpose was to develop a religiously oriented haven for ex-cons and drug addicts. With this in mind, he named his acreage Zarepath-Horeb, Mount Horeb being the place that Moses is said to have received the ark of the covenant from the Lord; Zarepath being a Phoenician City where soldiers went for rest and relaxation.[399] He reportedly took four wives (Identity ideology supporting polygamous behavior as a way to propagate the white race), and subjected male residents to harsh discipline. In a 1981 interview, Ellison is quoted as saying that his followers:

> ...are appointed by God to prepare for the coming doom...and survive it by killing, if necessary, to protect themselves.[400]

Zarepath-Horeb was a self contained community having its own water supply, electrical system, and dormitories. By the mid-eighties the property was home to one-hundred men, woman and children who resided in one of three separate compounds. A building in one of the compounds was used to manufacture weapons and explosives. Smith writes;

The main compound consisted of approximately twenty five-buildings, five

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[399] Coats, 136; Smith, 63.

[400] Robert M. Press, "They Play War Games in U.S. Countryside," The Christian Science Monitor, March 23, 1981.

> of which were strictly organized as bunker-style fighting positions. The church, six residences, and assorted storage buildings were also located at this compound. The other two smaller compounds were referred to as the 'plateau compound' and the 'valley compound.'[401]

The arms manufacturing facilities boasted a capability to make hand grenades, silencers, and convert weapons to incorporate a select fire (fully auto) capability. *The compound also had a cyanide manufacturing plant, at least thirty gallons of cyanide; Ellison is alleged to have made plans to poison the water supplies of several major U.S. cities.* As reported by several sources, these things were discovered during a raid of the compound by Federal Agents conducted in April of 1985.[402]

In the early years of Zaropeth-Horab's existence, Ellison and his compound dwellers were reported to be quiet folks, on good terms with their neighbors. This changed in 1977 with the arrival of Kerry Noble and Randall Radar. Shortly after their arrival, Ellison ordained these two radicals as elders in the community.[403] Radar started the "militarization" of the compound by establishing a training facility for teaching urban warfare. Called the "Endtime Over-comer Survival Training School," Radar charged $500 for a weekend-seminar that taught marksmanship, and tactics in a "Silhouette City" were

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[401] Smith, 63.

[402] Builta, 880. Also see Coats, 140; Purver, 86; Douglass et al., America The Vulnerable, 183-187.

[403] Smith, 64.

aspiring survivalist could shoot and train in a realistic, urban setting.[404] Both Radar and Noble were weapon enthusiasts and they frequently attended gun shows, purchasing large quantities of semi-automatic weapons that could be converted to fire in either a semi or fully automatic mode. They also began to manufacture their own silencers and other weapons.[405] In 1982, linkages between the CSAL and Butler's Aryan Nations were established. Smith reports that weapons used by Robert Mathew's Aryan Nations splinter, "The Order," were provided by CSAL through Radar.[406]

2. Significant Affiliations and Financial Support

Following a 1983 shootout between Posse Comitatus member Gordon Kahl and Federal agents, Ellison enjoined with a coalition of supremacist leaders to plot a strategy against the U.S. government.[407] These leaders included Richard Butler, Louis Beam, Robert Miles, and Robert Mathews. Ellison's CSAL compound was to be used as an arms depot and paramilitary

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[404] Smith, 64; Coats 137. Gordon Kahl was a former Mormon Bishop turned Identity minister. He was wanted by the IRS for income tax evasion, and by the FBI for killing three law enforcement officer and wounding four. He was killed in a shoot out with Federal Agents in 1983, gaining the distinction of becoming the first real "martyr" for the Identity cause.

[405] Coats, 136-138; Also see Press, "They Play War Games in U.S. Countryside."

[406] Smith, 64. The Order might be defined as a paramilitary wing of the movement whose mission was: (1) to develop cash reserves through hitting banks and the like, and (2) to carry out acts against the enemies of the movement e.g., whoever Mathew's picked.

[407] Ibid., 64.

training facility to prepare white, male members for the great battle of Armageddon, see Table 6-1.

Kahl's death is alleged to have had a dramatic effect on Ellison who immediately directed several terrorist actions against the U.S. government or "Zionist Occupation Government" (ZOG) as it is known to members of the Identity movement. These acts, outlined in Smith's book, included:[408]

- August 9, 1983: CSAL members burn down the Metropolitan Church in Springfield, Missouri for supporting gay-rights.
- Mid August, 1983: CSAL members burn down the Jewish Community Center in Bloomington, Indiana.
- November 2, 1983: CSAL members including Richard Wayne Snell, attack a major natural gas pipeline near Fulton, Arkansas. Following this attack, Snell robs and murders a Jewish pawnshop proprietor.
- December, 1984: Ellison proclaims a new motto for CSAL, "War in '84."
- October-November, 1984: Robert Smalley, a CSAL member and gun dealer begins buying large quantities of 5.56mm, semi-automatic, AR-15 assault rifles. These weapons were transferred to Radar, who had joined Robert Mathews' The Order. December, 1984: Robert Mathews is killed during a shoot out with Federal agents at his home in Whidbey Island, Washington.

It is clear that CSAL developed strong linkages with Identity oriented groups, most notably William Butler's "Aryan Nations;" John Harrell's "Christian-Patriots Defense League;" Robert DePugh's "Minutemen;" associates of Larry Humphreys' "Survival Right;" Robert Jay Mathews' "The Order," and Robert

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[408] Ibid., 65-66.

Millar's "Elohim City."[409] This is significant for two reasons: (1) it is indicative of the existence of a loose affiliation between these groups that arguably has been firming up through the adoption of a mutually agreeable, theological underpinning, Identity Christian; (2) Harrel, and Humphreys are reported to be moderately wealthy (millionaires). No doubt they have facilitated various racist/Identity movements and organizations with substantial sums of money. Ellison's known affiliation with these two gentlemen suggest that CSAL was probably a beneficiary of their "philanthropic" nature. Though Mathews is dead, (having been killed in a shoot-out with Federal agents on December 7, 1984 at his Whidbey Island, Washington hide out), members of his gang are said to have funneled large sums of cash (total take in 1984 reported to be $4 million) from their various robberies to the CSAL.[410]

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[409] Builta, 874; Also see Press, "They Play War Games in U.S. Countryside;" Coats, 140. Jim Ellison has been in Elohim City since his release from prison in 1995.

[410] Coats, 140-144; Smith 71. In a November 3, 1996 interview with freelance journalist/private investigator living in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Bob Sands said that seventy-five percent of "The Order" membership came out of William Pierce's National Alliance. The other twenty-five percent coming from the Aryan Nations. Sands further suggests that Mathews' operations were conducted to mirror events written in Pierce's fictional work "The Turner Diaries."

Significant Members of Radical Identity Movement
Richard Butler: Founder of Aryan Nations, Hayden Lake, Idaho
Louis Beam: Once head of the Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan until a mid-1980s law suit brought by Southern Poverty Law Center effectively shut him down. Author of the "Leaderless Resistance" doctrine he presently works as an Ambassador-at-Large for the Aryan Nations.
William Pierce: Leader of The National Alliance (W. Virginia), former physicist and author of "The Turner Diaries." The "Turner Diaries" is lauded as the blueprint behind operations conducted by "The Order," and Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal building on April 19, 1995.
Robert Millar: Founder and patriarch of Elohim City, Oklahoma. Prophet and spiritual guide for many Identity adherents including Jim Ellison of CSAL.
Jim Ellison: Former Texas Protestant Fundamentalist preacher turned Identity minister. Head of Covenant, Sword, the Arm of the Lord extremist group. Jailed in 1985 for (among several charges) his role in assisting members of "The Order" execute their terrorist campaign of murder and robbery. Released in 1995, now living in Elohim City, Oklahoma.
Mark Thomas: Neo-Nazi leader affiliated with Aryan Nations and his own Pennsylvania Patriot group. Alleged ties to supremacist bank robbing cell known as "The Aryan Republican Army."
Andrew Strassmeir: Son of a German politician; former German Army officer in the Panzer Grenadiers. Arriving in the U.S. circa 1990, Strassmeir allegedly became head of security and para-military training in Elohim City. Some suggest that he was a German agent sent to keep tabs on U.S. Neo-Nazi's who were inciting a resurgence of neo-fascism in Germany. He is also alleged to have had foreknowledge of McVeigh's intentions to bomb the McMurray building in Oklahoma City, ***and to have passed this information to members of the Justice Department prior to the bombing. Information recently obtained from Bob Sands suggests that Strassmeir may in fact be an international terrorist. In a January 1997 interview with Sands, he stated that a mercenary operating in Latin America indicated that (in the late 80's) he sold Strassmeir a consignment of explosives that were then transferred to the Beider Meinhoff gang (also known as the Red Army Faction). Sands also stated that Strassmeir may have been providing training to international terrorists at Elohim City during the time he is alleged to have lived there. Whatever role Strassmeir did or did not play in Elohim City, he has reportedly moved back to Germany were he remains an interesting, albeit, untouchable figure as an adjunct to his alleged activities with the white supremacist movement in the U.S.***
Richard Guthrie: Leader of bank robbing cell known as the "Aryan Republican Army." Captured in January of 1996, Guthrie committed suicide shortly after agreeing to assist Federal prosecutors unravel his two-year, twenty-two bank, bank robbing campaign. Money from his bank robberies is alleged to have gone to Aryan Nations and Elohim City. Tim McViegh is alleged to have been a member of this cell, using the name "SGT Mack," (information derived from Bob Sands).

Table 6-1: Significant Members of Radical Identity

As mentioned, CSAL was also in the business of selling and modifying weapons, hate literature, and conducting paramilitary training "seminars" throughout the Midwest and the South. In short, Jim Ellison's CSAL was a well funded organization.

3. The Raid of 1985

Interestingly enough, the 1985 raid on the CSAL compound did not occur as a result of Jim Ellison having visibly broken any laws. Agents of the Justice Department raided the compound when it became apparent that members of "The Order" had sought safe haven there following a Brinks armored car heist that took place in Ukiah, California. 19 July, 1984. [411] As mentioned, "The Order" was an extremely radical off-shoot of several supremacist organizations. Led by Robert Mathews, the group netted $3.6 million dollars from their Brinks armored car operation. Following this robbery, members of "The Order" split up and fanned out across the country, several working their way to Jim Ellison's CSAL compound in Arkansas.

In April of 1985, a Missouri state trooper pulled over a brown van driven by "Order" member David Tate of Athol, Idaho. Tate had been part of the Brinks armored car hit. Coats writes that as the trooper approached the car,

> Tate opened the door and smoothly rolled to the ground, clutching a submachine-gun to his hip. As the startled trooper reached for his weapon, Tate let loose with a withering burst of submachine-gun fire that sent several slugs slamming into Linegar's (state trooper) bullet-proof

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[411] Ibid., 71.

vest, and several others into his unprotected side.[412]

Arkansas authorities, augmented with assistance of FBI SWAT teams, deputies, and armed Cobra helicopter gun ships of the Missouri National Guard, searched six days for Tate. Tate was arrested when he finally emerged from hiding.

Between the evidence garnered from Tate's brown Chevrolet van (stocked full of weapons), and other leads, the FBI was able to secure warrants from the Arkansas court to search Jim Ellison's Zarepath-Horeb compound.[413] However, Ellison and his followers were not inclined to entertain a visit from "the Feds." Armed to the teeth, Ellison and his followers were not overly interested in capitulating to agents of a government they did not recognize. Confrontation between the two parties was inevitable.

In the initial assault, members of the FBI SWAT team stormed the gate and occupied several outbuildings. In Smith's account of the raid, CSAL had planted at least one remote controlled mine near the main gate.[414] Once inside the compound the FBI began a terse forty eight hour negotiation process in which the patriarch of Elohim City, Robert Millar (spiritual guide to Jim Ellison) was flown from his compound in Oklahoma to help authorities talk Ellison into

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[412] Ibid., 141.

[413] Ibid.,142.

[414] Smith, 63.

giving up.[415] Subsequent to Ellison's surrender, two indicted members of "The Order" hiding out on the CSAL compound, Randall Evans and Thomas Bentley, were immediately arrested. A search of compound facilities netted a large assortment of munitions and explosives. Confiscated items included: fifty pounds of dynamite, 146 rifles, thirty machine guns, nine silencers, three mines, two antiaircraft rockets, and other equipment[416] *to include the cyanide and plans to contaminate the water supplies of an unidentified city.*

In 1985, Ellison and others (including Richard Wayne Snell) were convicted and sentenced for violating a number of federal statutes. Radar turned states evidence and was given a six year suspended sentence for the role he played.[417] Ellison received a twenty-year sentence on weapons and racketeering charges.[418] He was released from prison in 1995 and is reported to have moved to Robert Millar's Elohim City compound located in a secluded, and rugged section of Oklahoma, near the Arkansas border.[419] He is also reported to

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[415] Donna Hales, "A Look At One Wilderness Compound, Gannet New Service, March 29, 1995.

[416] Warren Richey, "U.S. A Safe Haven For Paramilitary Groups That Provide Legal Mercenary Training," The Christian Science Monitor, October 8, 1985.

[417] Smith, 74.

[418] Ibid.

[419] Doug Ferguson, "Okla. Leader Says Community Anti-Government, Anti-Violence," The New York Beacon, June 7, 1995, PG.

have married one of Millar's granddaughters in a June, 1995 wedding.[420]

Of note, in Ft. Smith, Arkansas 1987, Federal prosecutors brought a number of charges against thirteen individuals, many of whom were leaders in the white supremacist movement. Accused of sedition, planning to poison urban water supplies, and counterfeiting, those charged included William Butler, leader of the Aryan Nations; Louis Beam, author of the "Leaderless Resistance Doctrine," and Aryan Nations Ambassador-at-Large; Robert Miles, former Grand Dragon of the Michigan Ku Klux Klan; Richard Scutari, member of The Order hit team that killed Denver talk show host, Alan Berg, in 1984; and Richard Wayne Snell, a member of CSAL. Jim Ellison was a key witness against his former comrades in these proceedings.[421] All thirteen individuals were, minimally, acquitted of the sedition charges by a jury of their peers in 1988.

On April 19, 1995, Richard Wayne Snell was executed by the State of Arkansas, for the murder of the Jewish pawnshop owner.[422] Ellison, testifying on behalf of the prosecutors, said that Snell had described the pawnshop owner as "...an evil man, and that he just needed to die."[423] Several hours preceding Snell's execution, a team of individuals bombed the Oklahoma Federal building

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[420] Ibid.

[421] Coats, 56-57, 140; also see Dees, "False Patriots," 40-41.

[422] Dees, "False Patriots," 41; Also see Kelly P. Kessel, " White Supremacist Said Grateful for NAACP Assistance," The New York Beacon, May, 3, 1995, PG.

[423] Kissel, PG.

using a large ANFO type, improvised explosive device. In what has become known as an infamous moment in American history, Timothy James McVeigh, Terry Nichols, and unidentified co-conspirators, are alleged to have bombed the Alfred P. McMurray Federal building, resulting in a tremendous loss of life and injury. McVeigh is known to have had contacts with individuals living in Millar's Elohim City before this attack occurred.[424] Snell's body was buried in a remote area of the Elohim City compound on April 20th, the day following his execution.[425]

4. Summary of the CSAL Case Study

From the perspective of an outsider, the underpinning belief of CSAL members appears to be grounded in the irrational fantasy-myth of Identity, this myth giving their otherwise mediocre lives meaning and purpose. In and of itself, living out a fantasy-myth on an isolated compound does not pose a major threat to the American public at large. However, CSAL members and those like them, were (are) truly not interested in living apart from the mainstream of society. This is clearly shown in their ideology, literature, and behavior which has included criminal and terrorist violence. As stated in numerous orations by radical Identity leaders, the desired end state for the movement will only be achieved once God's law is re-established on earth. This post-millennial

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[424] Janice Bullard, "Bombing Investigators Looking At Reclusive Oklahoma Cult," Gannet News Service, May 23, 1995.

[425] Donna Hales, "A Look At One Wilderness Compound," Gannet News Service, March 29, 1995.

doctrine demands nothing short of the complete destruction of the "satanic beast" (the U.S. government as it is known by the movement) before the second coming will occur.[426] By design, this goal "begs" a violent strategy focused at attacking and destroying the Federal infrastructure, and those non-white, out-group "others" (and those aligned with them) who are viewed as having caused the ills of the world. What better reason to acquire and employ WMD, the perfect tool to compel, deter, or eradicate the "enemy."

At a recent conference on terrorism, Dr. Post and I discussed what appears to be a causal reason behind much of the bigotry and extreme prejudice found in many terrorist groups: the almost institutionalization of racist, ethnic and religious hate, where ideas and myths are passed down from one generation to the next, ensuring the survival of the same. This strategy virtually guarantees a pool of future recruits for the "ethnic/racist" terrorist group. Examples Post uses includes the recent Palestinian Intifadeh, the Balkans, and the Identity movement. In these situations, Post says, a framework exists that clearly identifies and defines the enemy to the children. These young minds, in the prime moment of developing their psycho-social identities, are exposed to an egregious form of "socialization." This results in the development of a deep-seated "us against them" mentality that so often typifies the psycho-social

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[426] Dees, "False Patriots," 11.

orientation of the ethnic/racist terrorist group.[427]

The real danger (for society), comes from trying to second guess the Identity movement through the use of mirror-imaging rationality. Assumptions concerning these types of groups cannot be made based on normative perceptions of reality, for it is a reality not shared by those involved with the Identity movement. As such, a typical response to these groups by the Justice Department is to ignore them until they do something illegal e.g., crises response vice pre-emption. Even when the authorities do respond to illegal acts perpetrated by members of the Identity movement, they see them as atomistic events, not as part of a grand strategy being executed under the Louis Beams' doctrine of "Leaderless Resistance." This doctrine calls for the development of numerous disconnected, horizontally aligned "cells" consisting of no more then twelve individuals. These cells supposedly represent the para-military arm of the movement and are encouraged to locate themselves away from the movement's political headquarters. [428] Members all understand the "Grand Strategy" wherein individual cells execute attacks against "out-group others" when they feel ready. Once a cell exceeds twelve members and has developed a robust arms cache and financial reserves, it is supposed to divide and

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[427] Dr. Jerrold Post, "Psychological Profiles of Terrorists," presentation, Association of Former Intelligence Officers 1996 Conference, Washington D.C., 25 October, 1996.

[428] Perhaps making it less likely that these "cells" would operate out of the Hayden Lakes or Elohim City compounds, organizations that claim to be politically extreme, but otherwise harmless to society.

spread...elsewhere, see Appendix. An elucidating example of this is seen in the case of CSAL and Jim Ellison. As a result of the 1985 raid on Zarepath-Horab, many would agree that the days of CSAL were finished. Weapons were confiscated, cash reserves were no doubt taken, and members not incarcerated melted away into the Arkansas landscape (though some stayed on at the compound).[429] But did they really "melt away," or just regroup to carry on the grand strategy (Leaderless Resistance) of the movement another day?

In the spring of 1996, two individuals claiming membership to the "Aryan Republican Army" were arrested in connection with a number of bank robberies. Cash taken during these robberies is said to have exceeded $500,000 dollars.[430] Richard Lee Guthrie Jr. and Peter Kevin Langan are said to have diverted at least $250,000 of their ill gotten gains to the Aryan Nations and *the CSAL in Elohim City.* As told by Bob Sands (freelance journalist and private investigator), Guthrie, Langan and two other members of the "Aryan Republican Army," Kevin McCarthy and Scott Stedeford, all had ties to Elohim City and the Aryan Nations. Recounted by Robert Millar:

> (Andy) Strassmeir and (Mike) Brecia spent time with them (reference to McCarthy and Stededford) while they were here (in Elohim City) ...prior to

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[429] November 3, 1996 interview with Bob Sands.

[430] Judy Pasternak, "Did Bandits Bankroll Extremists?," Los Angeles Times, March 30, 1996, A1. The name "Aryan Republican Resistance" is probably a throw-away name, used to divert attention away from groups that may have benefitted from Guthrie and Langan's robbery exploits. This fits in well with Louis Beams doctrine of *Leaderless Resistance.*

the Oklahoma City bombing.[431]

The following is an abstract of a telephone interview with Sands concerning Guthrie's Aryan Republican Army:

> Mark Thomas, head of a Posse Comitatus/Identity group near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and also affiliated with Butler's Aryan Nations, sent his son, McCarthy, and Stedeford to Elohim City to receive para-military training. In news media interviews, Thomas admits to having introduced the later two to Guthrie and Langan. He also admits to having been at Elohim City several days prior to the Oklahoma City bombing. All four of these young men reportedly received training in weapons and tactics from Andy Strassmeir, Mike Brescia and possibly Timothy McVeigh. Following his arrest, Guthrie admitted that the gang's purpose was to finance the white supremacist movement.[432]

In my interview with Sands, I spoke to him concerning the fact that McVeigh was employed by an armored car company prior to showing up in Elohim City circa 1993. We both agreed that he probably provided useful information to his "students" on how to take down an armored car - if in fact he was involved with their training. In a March, 1996 report by the Los Angeles Times, Guthrie was reported to have joined the Navy and attempted to qualify as one of the Navy's elite Sea-Air-Land (SEAL) commandos. He never made it and was in fact court martialed in 1983.[433]

Langan is reported to be the son of a CIA employee. His trouble with the

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[431] J.D. Cash, "Agents Probe OKC Bombing Links To Bank Robberies," McCurtain Daily Gazette, July 16, 1996.

[432] Interview with Bob Sands of November 3, 1996. In 1993, McVeigh received a ticket from an Arkansas state trooper on a back-road highway that goes past Elohim City.

[433] Pasternak, "Did Bandits Bankroll Extremists?"

law started at age 16, when he ran away from home and was shot while engaged in a robbery. Langan had been a close friend of Guthrie's since they lived together in Wheaton, MD (1979). By order of the Secret Service, he was released from prison in 1993 with the understanding that he would help them track down Guthrie. Guthrie had allegedly been making threats against the President since 1991.[434] Instead of cooperating with the Secret Service, Langan went underground when he caught up with Guthrie. Guthrie, Langan, McCarthy, and Stedeford, were arrested in Winter of 1996. Guthrie is alleged to have committed suicide in his jail cell soon after his arrest. As of this writing, Kevin McCarthy has turned states evidence and is now testifying to: (1) the intent of the heists e.g., to develop cash reserves for Aryan Nations and Elohim City, (2) the involvement of Mark Thomas and Mike Brescia.[435] In a case that appears to be a repeat of Robert Mathew's "The Order," McCarthy has thus far stated that:[436]

- The gang "hit 22 banks" in a two year period.
- Fake identities were developed using the names of dead people to apply for social security numbers. These social security numbers's were then used to apply for driver's licenses that could further be used to purchase cars, though sometimes a bogus company name was used. Police checking the registration of such vehicles would

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[434] Ibid.

[435] Robert Ruth, "Conspiracy Is Focus Of Case In East," The Columbus Dispatch, November 17, 1996.

[436] Robert Ruth, "Robbers laid Plans Carefully," The Columbus Dispatch, November 18, 1996.

then see that these cars belonged to a "company" vice an individual, and be less inclined to "stop them."

- Tactics used by the group included using two vehicles to exfiltrate from the scene of a heist. Usually a bank would be surveilled for at least a week before it was "hit." Banks with guards were avoided. On the day of the robbery, team members would use two-way radios to stay in touch with each other. One member always had a police scanner so the team could monitor law enforcement activity. Team members always wore masks, bullet-proof vests and at times, left unarmed pipe-bombs at the scene to divert law enforcement.

In a recently published article concerning the group, Ambrose-Evans Pritchard writes:

> ...The FBI captured a shoulder-fired rocket launcher, semtex explosives, hand-grenade canisters, (eleven) pipe-bombs, and an arsenal of guns. "These people had a support system. They had safe-houses and very good false documents...They were clearly preparing for something beyond bank robberies"...What makes this Aryan Army cell so menacing is the growing body of evidence that its members were in contact with Tim McVeigh (alleged to be "Sgt. Mack", the prime suspect in the bombing of the Oklahoma federal building in April of 1995). Two of the bank robbers were residents of...Elohim City. McVeigh telephoned Elohim City minutes after reserving the truck allegedly used in the bombing. Michael Brescia is believed to be the fifth member of the Aryan Army cell. He also lived at Elohim City. Five women at a night club in Tulsa have identified Brescia as the man they saw sitting with Tim McVeigh - and paying for drinks - on April 8, 1995, 11 days before the bombing. A mother and daughter in Kansas have told the FBI that they met Brescia in the company of McVeigh several times...one thing is clear: ***the Aryan Republican Army is intent on mass violence. The recruitment video (made circa December 1995) ends with Commander Pedro (Langan), in a chemical warfare mask, discussing plans to build an Aryan super-bomb made with "yellow cake" plutonium residue... .***[437]
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> The similarities between the Aryan Republican Army and "The Order" are

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[437] Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "America's 'Aryan' Hard Men Take Lead from the IRA," London Telegraph, December 8, 1996.

unsettling to say the least, particularly with Langan's having made reference to the existence of plans to construct a radiological device. In another recent case involving the Identity movement, three individuals belonging to the shadowy supremacist group "Phinehas Priesthood" were arrested in connection with several bank robberies in the Pacific Northwest, robberies that netted them $100K.[438] This radical splinter group takes its name from a biblical story concerning a Jew named Phinehas. As told, Phinehas kills a Midonite woman and her Jewish male lover for "mixing seed."[439] Entry into this radical splinter apparently requires that the "acolyte" kill an individual (Jew, Black, Catholic, government employee). In my discussion with Sands, he stated that one of the members arrested possesses both a nuclear power background, and a high level security clearance, having been assigned to the U.S. Navy's nuclear submarine fleet while "serving his country." Reflecting on this information one cannot help recall the story of the mythical "Phoenix," a great bird which rises from the ashes of its funeral pyre, to live yet another day. Though Jim Ellison's CSAL was effectively put out of business in 1985, radical individuals of the movement continue their efforts in other groups, in other locations. As mentioned, Jim Ellison was recently released from prison (1995) and is now a resident of Elohim City.

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[438] "3 Suspected White Supremacists Charged with Robberies," Associated Press, October 10, 1996.

[439] "Numbers 25:1-18," The Bible, 233-234.

Elohim City is a 400-acre complex located near the Arkansas border.[440] It boasts homes, a sawmill, church, and a one room school house. Men frequently carry holstered guns and patrol the perimeter of the property. Though the compound "patriarch," Robert Millar, insists that Elohim residents have not engaged in seditious or illegal activities, the fact remains that: (1) linkages exist between Elohim City and the Ray Lampley, who, as leader of the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia, planned to destroy the Southern Poverty Law Center and Anti-Defamation League's Houston, Texas, office in 1995; the Oklahoma Posse Comitatus, another Identity anti-government/anti-tax group; Dennis Mahan, leader of the Oklahoma chapter of the White Aryan Resistance (Tom Metzger's WAR headquarters is located in Southern California. In an Oklahoma newspaper interview, Mahan sayed that ever since he had staged a protest against U.S. involvement in the Gulf War (Chicago, 1991), he has been receiving money from a location in Washington D.C. which he believes to be an office occupied by Iraqi diplomats); and Richard Butler's Aryan Nations;[441] (2) Strassmeir was believed to be operating a large scale-paramilitary training operation in Elohim City. As reported, every few weeks fifteen to thirty

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[440] Janice Bullard, "Bombing Investigators Looking At Reclusive Oklahoma Cult," Gannet News Service, May, 23, 1995. Sands says the compound may actually be inclusive of 1000 acres, additional property allegedly being added under names not easily affiliated with Robert Millar.

[441] Ferguson, "Okla. Leader Says Community Anti-Government, Anti-Violence," PG; also see Bullard, "Bombing Investigators Looking At Reclusive Oklahoma Cult;" Hales, "A Look At One Wilderness Compound;" and "False Patriots,"report, 52, 54. Also interview with Bob Sands of November 3, 1996.

individuals from around the U.S. would show up for military training. Most of these "recruits" were said to be primarily members of the Aryan nations.[442]

Millar is lauded as being the spiritual guide to many Identity factions throughout the U.S., a position that in some respects mirrors that of another spiritual guide addressed earlier in this study, Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman. Jim Ellison is also living in Elohim City these days, a situation that begs the rhetorical posit "where there's smoke, there's probably fire." This observation takes on greater importance if one considers that Millar is, as of this writing, seventy-two years old. Depending on his health, he may be preparing to "retire" from the active ministry. In his wake lies the heir apparent, Jim Ellison, or even Louis Beam. In either event a dangerous potential exists when men, with guns and hate on their minds, "talk to God."

D. ANALYSIS OF CSAL

1. Structural Realist Model

Justice Department agents must have been extremely surprised at the existence of CSAL's robust arsenal cache and weapons manufacturing capabilities; they were probably mortified upon discovering CSAL's lo-tech WMD capability and nefarious plans to use this ability upon the unsuspecting population of a large U.S. city. After an extensive review of the radical side of the Identity movement, it appears that their main goal is to segregate themselves from the multi-ethnic, multi-religious culture that is distinctly

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[442] J.D. Cash, "Agents Probe OKC Bombing Links To Bank Robberies."

"America." However, being "left alone" to the movement means that members object to paying income taxes, registering their vehicles, or following the laws and authority of anyone higher than the elected county sheriff. Certainly the discovery of cyanide is indicative of CSAL's desire to develop a potent weapon, one that could be used to "balance" against the power of the U.S. government. Equipped with WMD, leadership of radical Identity elements appear to believe that they can successfully create "white-only-enclaves" and Balkanize America.

As shown in the narrative, CSAL possessed the finances and knowledge to modify and manufacture weapons and explosives. It is a foregone conclusion that the necessary materials and equipment to develop a "lo-tech" WMD were available to them. As the logistics and weapons supply stock-point for the loosely connected movement, CSAL association with the Aryan Nations and National Alliance suggests that these groups see some utility in development of alliances as a method to externally balance against their perceived enemies. Viewed through the framework of the Structural Realist Model of *Effective Demand* quickly elucidates CSAL's deadly potential, see Table 6-2. However, it is still glaringly evident that Structural Realist Theory provides little in the way of explaining how CSAL came so close to transcending the "traditional constraints" that have held back other non-state groups from developing WMD. Again the analysis turns to the Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process to find these answers.

2. The Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process

If one is truly immersed in the culture and ideology of Identity beliefs, then the acquisition of a powerful weapon becomes a logical objective. Following Gordon Kahl's death and the 1983 summit held at Aryan Nations (Hayden Lakes, Idaho), Jim Ellison must certainly have been experiencing a heightened sense of a "security dilemma," a dilemma that ultimately led CSAL to manufacture and stockpile the deadly chemical agent cyanide. Of greater interest is why? Why, did CSAL choose to develop a WMD program when other non-state terrorist groups (groups that probably have more legitimate reasons to be engaging in "terrorist violence") have eschewed such things? The Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process helps to provide answers to this perplexing question.

Attribute Set for Structural Realist Model of Effective Demand: CSAL			
Demand Indicator	**Score .0 or 1.0**	**Supply Indicator**	**Score .0 or 1.0**
Desire for power great enough to balance against the state	1.0	Group membership knowledgeable of WMD technical requirements	1.0
		Group possesses financial resources to fund a WMD program	1.0
		Group has access to materials and technology required to manufacture and disperse WMD.	1.0
Structural Realist Model			
Desire for Power to "balance" x (Knowledge x Funding x Access) = *Effective Demand*: **1. x (1. x 1. x 1.) = 1.0 ~ no negative external influences = CSAL *Effective Demand* for WMD**			

Table 6-2: Analysis of CSAL: Structural Realist Model

a. Power to Balance Against the State

The argument for CSAL's desire to acquire the power afforded by WMD was thoroughly addressed in the proceeding section. CSAL receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator

b. Leadership of the "Authoritarian Sociopath" Personality

Jim Ellison was obviously an individual concerned with his fellow man. Originally his compound of Zarepath-Horeb was created to provide social-

misfits a religiously oriented haven where they could come and sort out their lives. Unfortunately, somewhere along the line, this former Protestant fundamentalist preacher from Texas became enthralled with the power and image he must have portrayed to the former cons and drug abusers, mis-fits who came to him looking for answers. This situation is a prime example of Dr. Post's "lock and key" relationship discussed in Chapter II of this study. Here, powerful forces are at work wherein Jim Ellison, representing the "mirror-hungry" personality, finds those poor lost souls representing the "mirror-ideal" personality. The sum of this dynamic resulted in Jim Ellison becoming a practicing polygamist and an authoritarian leader who allegedly ruled CSAL members with a heavy hand. CSAL receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator.

c. Ideology

The underpinning belief of the Identity "religion" is one of paranoia, mistrust, ethnic and racist hate, religious prejudice and white supremacy. This belief system automatically blames a "large" percentage of the world population for the problems they perceive as existing in U.S. society. In this situation, the only alternative for such individuals is to isolate themselves or destroy the offending population. Acts committed by those affiliated with this ideology provide ample evidence of their predisposition to use ultra-violent means in an attempt to "Balkanize" America.

Though the Identity movement's Jim Ellison's, Richard Butler's, or Timothy McVeigh's may presently represent something less than a major security threat

to the citizens of the U.S. is irrelevant. Events such as Oklahoma City, the World Trade Center, or the Tokyo subway gassing will pale in comparison to what might occur when these "home-grown" American groups start to execute their strategy of "Leaderless Resistance," using WMD.[443] To date the facts surrounding radical, Identity groups suggest they possess a "ripeness" to develop and use WMD in their version of Identity "Jihad" in America. For expositing an ideology that supports ultra-violent means to ends, CSAL receives a score of 1.0.

d. Extremist Use of Ultra-Violence

> *The reason the Second Amendment was put into the United States Constitution...(was) so that when officials of the federal and state and local government get out of hand, you can shoot them...eventually people like Janet Reno will be...summarily executed.*
>
> - *Mark Reynolds, Unorganized Militia*
> Stevens County, Washington

Following the death of Gordon Kahl, Jim Ellison directed a campaign of terrorist acts that gradually escalated. This included the bombing of a major natural gas pipeline in Fulton, Arkansas. The facts suggest that CSAL's primary mission, within the coalition of the Aryan Nations, National Alliance, and Ku Klux Klan, was to provide training, weapons, and logistic support to the para-military "cells" of this loosely connected alliance. Part of that support included

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[443] William Pierce's fictional novel "The Turner Diaries" is often referred to as the "bible" of the extreme right. This novel calls for white America to mount an insurgency against the Federal government, an insurgency that culminates in the detonation of a nuclear device (set off by the "Patriots") in Washington D.C.

the manufacture and stockpiling of cyanide, to eventually be used in an attack against several large metropolitan cities. CSAL receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator.

e. The Closed Constituency and Group Cohesiveness

This attribute is truly self-evident. CSAL and the Identity movement represent a small part of a "size yet to be determined" closed cell system of anti-government, racist, white supremacists. In fact CSALs group dynamics parallel much of what is seen in the cells of radical Islamic groups with one exception, Islam is supplanted by radical Christian Identity. CSAL receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator.

f. Lack of Concern over Public or Government Backlash

This study has established that closed cell groups typically do not concern themselves with the effects negative public opinion may have on the group. Ellison did not purport to represent the masses, only that part of "white America" that chose to follow him. On balance, when members of the radical right are arrested by the authorities, they seem more than willing to "turn" on the movement. Jim Ellison testified on behalf of the prosecution in the 1988 trial of Richard Butler, Louis Beam and Robert Miles. In this particular case, these individuals were accused (and acquitted) of inspiring the crime spree played out by members of "The Order."

Despite this "proclivity to roll over" once caught, members of these groups seemed unconcerned with the efforts of the Justice Department to

eradicate them. Indeed, as discussed in this Chapter, members of "The Order," and other such groups, seem to prefer standing their ground and "shooting it out with the Feds" over surrendering to a government they do not recognize as legitimate! Surrender, under these circumstances, is viewed as giving into the Devil. As Pierce writes in his fictional account of Earl Turner:

> With the other initiates he is given a necklace with a pendant bearing a cyanide capsule. He then reiterates the sacrad compact: 'I offer you my life. Do You accept it?' To this the priest replies: 'Brother! We accept your life. In return we offer you everlasting life in us. Your deed shall not be in vain, nor shall it be forgotten, until the end of time.' 'Even though you die,' the priest promises, 'you will continue to live in us.' 'Only in the moment of my death,' Turner repeats the words, 'will I achieve full membership in the Order.'[444]

How distinctly familiar this position is. As in the case of the Sicarrii Jews; the Japanese government of 1941; Aum Shinrikyo; and the Jihad Organization; survival becomes dependant on the ability to strike a blow severe enough to cause the opposition to capitulate or negotiate terms favorable to the attacker, thus the utility of WMD use. If an attempt to strike out using WMD results in their eradication, so be it, as death is better than life under the tyranny of the Zionist Occupation Government. For this indicator CSAL receives a score of 1.0.

g. A Willingness to Take Risks

Jim Ellison made a decision to participate in a campaign of terror following Gordon Kahl's death. To Ellison, his followers and associates he was

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[444] James A. Aho, The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism, (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1990), 64.

allied with (specifically the Aryan Nations and National Alliance), the risks involved with their plan to attack their enemies (Jews and the Federal government) were worth the pay-off they perceived as reachable. For this indicator CSAL receives a score of 1.0.

h. A Demonstration of a Certain Degree of Sophistication in Weaponry or Tactics

Ellison's follower's included those who knew and understood how to wage a guerrilla war, manufacture explosive devices, modify weapons, and produce deadly chemical agents. For this indicator CSAL receives a score of 1.0.

i. Membership Knowledgeable of WMD Technical Requirements

The educational background of those involved with CSAL is assumed to be high enough to at least have enabled the development and weaponization of a "lo-tech" WMD (cyanide) and dispersal system. For this indicator CSAL receives a score of .7.

j. Financial Resources to Fund a WMD Capability

CSAL is known to have generated financial reserves by: teaching para-military seminars; weapons sales; donations from supporters; illegal activities of a varied nature. The existence of the group's robust arms cache and cyanide stockpile indicate that they possessed an adequate financial base to support a "lo-tech" WMD capability. CSAL receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator.

k. Intervening Processes and Summary of the Analysis

The primary Intervening Processes seen as enhancing Effective Demand for the CSAL are the same as those noted in the case of the Jihad Organization. In essence they include the rights, freedoms, and protection afforded citizens of the U.S.; and the ability to access a plethora of materials needed to construct a lo-tech WMD. Table 5-3 provides a visual summary of the CSAL analysis.

E. SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS

The analysis of CSAL through both theoretical frameworks indicates the group possessed *Effective Demand* for WMD. As in the previous two cases, structural realism seems to provide the stronger theoretical explanation concerning CSAL's desires for WMD, though it again fails to address important questions concerning the group's ability to overcome traditional constraints that have precluded others from developing a WMD potential. In this regard, the utility of the synthetic model is reconfirmed. Indeed, it truly elucidates why CSAL was able to ignore these constraints to produce cyanide poison for the purpose of causing a mass casualty event.

Attribute Set for The Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process: "Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord"			
Demand Indicator	**Score .0-1.0**	**Supply Indicators**	**Score .0-1.0**
Group desires power to balance against the state or regime	1.0	Group exhibits sophisticated use of weapons or tactics	1.0
Group leader manifests the "authoritarian-sociopathic" personality	1.0	Group includes individuals knowledgeable of WMD technology	0.7
Ideology advocates use of ultra-violence	1.0	Group possesses financial resources to fund WMD program	1.0
Group engages in extremes of violence	1.0	Group has access to WMD materials and technology	1.0
Group is closed cell and cohesive	1.0		
Group disregards backlash	1.0		
Group willing to take high risks	1.0		
Product of Demand Indicators = 1.0		Product of Supply Indicators = 0.6	
DI x SI =Effective Demand(r) ~ Intervening Process =Effective Demand for WMD **1.0 x .7 = .7~enhancing Intervening Process= Effective Demand for "lo-tech" WMD**			

Table 6-3 Summary of CSAL Analysis: Synthetic Model

VII. THE CASE OF THE PROVISIONAL WING OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA)

A. INTRODUCTION

The conflict in Northern Ireland, often referred to as "The Troubles," possesses several unique attributes that make it an ideal candidate for inclusion in this study. First, the struggle of the IRA represents the "oldest"' active revolutionary movement still in existence. J. Bowyer Bell writes that the genesis of the movement dates back to the Society of United Irishmen and the rebellion of 1798.[442] The "Rising" of 1798 has since been followed by other "risings," that to this day have, for the most part, failed.[443] Second, the foundations of this movement are enmeshed with issues of ethnicity and religion, wherein generations of Irish Catholics have been at odds with the English and their Irish Protestant brethren, particularly in the northern areas of Ireland known as the six counties. Third, the violence that has characterized "The Troubles" has typically been modulated and focused as each side attempts to force their agenda for resolution on the other. In summary, this case represents two-hundred years of continuous violence, violence that has included terrorism, insurgency, and civil war.

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[442] J.Bowyer Bell, The Gun in Politics, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1987), 136.

[443] Ibid, 136.

1. A History of Conflict

It is said in Ireland that when you reach the point were you think you understand the underpinning issues and events driving the violence, you understand nothing. Despite this truism, a short chronology of Ireland's difficult past and historic conflicts brings some retrospective insight as to why the conflict persists and festers:[444]

- 1155: King Henry II of England obtains a document from Pope Adrian IV, authorizing him to take possession of the island in return for paying the papal treasury an annual revenue. Despite possession of this holy decree, King Henry II made no attempt to act on this 'decree.'

- 1169: Dermot MacMurrough, deposed Irish king of Leinster, gains the assistance of King Henry II's court. Returning to Ireland with an army of foreign mercenaries, he recovers part of his lost domain to include Dublin and towns on the east-coast of Ireland.

- 1172: King Henry II visits Ireland to establish a presence of the crown. Several minor Irish chieftains and Norman leaders pay homage to him. In return they receive charters to take possession of several portions of the Island. Violent fighting ensued as the Norman leaders encountered stiff resistance to their plans to conquer, divide, and rule the Island. Those areas falling under Norman control become subject to England and English law.

- 1185: Prince John of England is sent to Ireland by King Henry II. His despotic conduct results in civil disturbances and he is recalled to England. In 1210 he returns to deflate the power base of his Norman barons who have since made strong alliances with the Irish.

- 1314: Edward Bruce of Scotland, invades Ireland in an attempt to overthrow English hegemony there. At the insistence of the English court, the Pope excommunicates Bruce and his Irish allies.

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[444] This brief chronology is synthesized from "Ireland," Microsoft Encarta , Microsoft Corporation, (1993).

Though Bruce's invasion failed, he is credited with reducing British power in Ireland.

- The descendants of the most powerful Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland gradually adopt the Irish culture, language, and laws. To counter-act their pro-Irish sympathies, the Anglo-Irish Parliament passes the Statute of Kilkenny (circa 1366), which threatened excommunication and other penalties for those that adopted Irish custom and culture. However, by the end of the fourteenth century the power of the native Irish was great enough to restrict the English influence to a small area near Dublin and the port city of Drogheda, this area being referred to as the English Pale. During England's War of the Roses (struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster), the Irish supported the losing house of York.

- 1494: Henry VII places Sir Edward Poynings in the position of Viceroy of Ireland. Poynings first act is to reduce the power of the Anglo-Irish Lords by forbidding them to oppress their underlings, exact tribute from tenant farmers, or to assemble their armed retainers. He also enacts laws that prohibit Irish law and culture from being practiced in Pale; and also prohibits the Irish and English from living together (early form of 'Balkanization'). All political offices are filled by appointments made by the English King. Additionally, all legislation proposed by Irish Parliament must first be approved by the King, who then issues a license authorizing a session of Parliament to be held.

- 1537: Henry VIII attempts to introduce the Reformation to Ireland. Once dissolution of the monasteries, relics, and symbols of Catholicism is complete, the King grants cooperative Irish chieftains a share of the spoils. King Henry VIII's strategy involved conciliating the Irish by giving them English titles and land grants under the authority of the English crown. Courts were run by English commission, however Henry the VIII's policies were designed to respect the culture of the Irish. In 1541 he receives the title King of Ireland from a consortium of native chieftains and lords of the Pale.

- In the latter half of the sixteenth century, Queen Elizabeth I divides Ireland into counties as a response to a seditious uprising led by the rebellious Ulster chieftain Shane O'Neill. Counties are put under the stewardship of a commissioner of justice, each commissioner being vested with military powers which are used in

an arbitrary and often cruel fashion. Elizabeth's reign is punctuated by rebellions of the Irish Roman Catholics. In order to stop Irish rebellion, the English turned to using a tactic that still possesses great efficacy today; they devastated Irish villages, crops, cattle, and the Irish. Many died not from the ensuing conflict, but from starvation.

Under Elizabeth and James I, the power of the Angelican Church of England extends throughout Ireland. As such the Church of England obtains the assets of the Church of Pale and that of the Celtic Church. The two later churches have a history of feuding and the negative relationship continues, particularly as the Church of Pale comes under the influence of the Reformation. The Celtic Church takes up the mantle of Roman Catholicism and with it the majority of the Celtic population of Ireland. The Pale Church comes to represent the political will of the English. Under James I, English law became "the law" in Ireland. Under his rule, the Irish Parliament loses the last vestiges of autonomy from English influence.

- 1641: Under the leadership of Irish Chieftain Rory O'More, a conspiracy is formed to seize Dublin and expel the British. The Irish succeed in driving English settlers out of Ulster, the violence used against them being reported as "extreme." The insurgents join with the Roman Catholic Lords of the Pale and eventually make an accommodation with Charles I of England.

- 1649: Lord Cromwell (of the English Parliamentary Army which successfully beat the Kings Royalist troops) lands at Dublin, seizes the city (which the Pale Lords had been unable to do), storms Drogheda castle and kills the 2000 man garrison. He repeats this success at Wexford. This war concludes with the English rewarding themselves by dividing up the spoils (in this case Ulster) amongst the soldiers of the parliamentary army. Roman Catholic and English Royalist "losers" in this conflict have their land seized and are banished. Later, under King Charles II, some of this land is restored, but nearly two-thirds of it stays in the hands of the Protestants.

- Under King James II, Roman Catholics regain access to positions of state and control of the militia. Subsequently the entire Roman Catholic population sides with James II during the English revolution of 1688. Protestants are forced from their homes.

- 1691: Forces of King William III defeat the Irish. Under the terms of the Treaty of Limrick, Roman Catholics are allowed to retain their faith and lands they possessed under Charles II. The Parliament of England does not agree with this mandate and they force William to break the treaty. Subsequent to this the Parliament of Ireland withdraws laws of religious freedom and enacts the Penal Laws which seriously affect Irish commerce and trade. Under these laws, no Irish goods may be exported save linen. These measures are lauded as causing the economic decline of Ireland and the migration of significant numbers of Irish folk, Catholics going to Spain, Protestants to America.

- 1778: Irish Parliament passes the Relief Act, removing many of the constraints imposed by the Penal Laws. Under a pretense of defending Ireland from encroachment of the French (who had allied with the Colonial Army of the Americans), the Irish Protestants put together an 80,000 man militia. Using this force as a lever, the Irish Protestants demand legislative autonomy from the British. Through the motions of British statesman James Fox, Ireland is granted relief from the Poynings Laws and much of the anti-Catholic legislation. However, the Irish Parliament, chaired by Protestants, is unwilling to extend suffrage to Roman Catholics.

- 1798: The Catholic peasantry of Wexford rise under the banner of the Society of United Irishmen to meet the cruelties imposed under Protestant rule. These 'insurgents" are defeated. In an attempt to satisfice both Protestants and Catholics, Prime Minister William Pitt forces the enactment of a union between England and Ireland. Known as the Act of Union, its passage in January of 1801 does not preclude the continuance of sporadic violence and rebellion.

- 1803: Irish patriot Robert Emmet leads an armed uprising which is quickly suppressed.

- 1823: The Catholic Association is founded and successfully lobbies for the complete Roman Catholic emancipation in Ireland. Emancipation is granted in 1828. In 1829 Catholics are permitted to hold public office and seats in Parliament. Conflict between Catholics and Protestants erupts again as Roman Catholics balk at paying tithes to the Angelican Church. This conflict is referred to as "The Tithe Wars." It is exacerbated by strong anti-Union Act sentiments.

- 1838: A bill is passed in Parliament that converts tithes to rent charges, reducing the sectarian agitation for a time. By the later part of the nineteenth century many concessions are made by the English to reform sectarian and agrarian related inequities amongst the Irish. These things do little to supplant Irish nationalism and desire for home rule. Many secret societies working for the establishment of an Irish republic emerge, some engaging in political assassination and terrorism.

- 1882: British Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Fredrick Charles Cavendish and the undersecretary, Thomas Henry Burke, are murdered as a protest against the establishment of the Coercion Act of 1881. This act give the English sponsored authorities the power to arrest people under the mere suspicion of treason.

- 1886: English Prime Minister William Gladstone introduces an Irish Home Rule bill. The bill is opposed by the both the British House of Commons and in Ulster. Gladstone attempts to pass an Irish Home Rule Bill again in 1893, this attempt also fails.

- In the later part of the nineteenth century-early part of the twentieth century, two organizations emerge to improve Irish economic and intellectual resources. One is the Irish Agricultural Organization Society (1894), the other being the Gaelic League (1903). About the same time, a conceptual aggregate of these two organizations emerges. Known as Sinn Fein, this group's focus is to promote Irish economic welfare and political independence from England.

As shown through this brief narrative, the conflict in Ireland has truly been a convoluted web of difficulties that has pitted the Irish against the English; and the Irish against themselves.

2. Irish Republican Myths Fuel the Fire

Republican history has, to a great extent, been mythicized, romanticized and embellished. This history, coupled with the persistent socio-economic-religious differences that characterize the relationship between Irish Catholics

and Irish Protestants, has been the "fuel" that tends the fire of political violence in Ireland. Scholars who address the Irish "Troubles" are very cognizant of the influence Irish history has on contemporary events. Bell states:

> In Ireland, each death somehow becomes magnified; martyrs and patriots have names; each ambush or assassination, every hunger strike, most boycotts or pogroms, every small war is exaggerated, echoing through the island and out on the world stage, filmed, transmuted into poems and plays, added to scholarly agenda - a special case for use by all.[445]

Robert Kee, in a discussion of Irish history refers to it as a folk-trauma, likening it to Jewish history.[446] Kee and Bell provide specific and insightful examples of republican myths, myths that serve two functions: (1) to memorialize Irish republican heroes, (2) to perpetuate divisive attitudes that exist between Republican Catholics and Loyalist Protestants.

The first myth addresses the Gaelic Chief Shane O'Neill, typically lauded as one of the great heros of Ireland for having fought the English under a nationalistic banner cry. Kee discusses this in a narrative covering O'Neill and the Battle of Kinsale (1601). The Battle of Kinsale marked the defeat of O'Neill by the Tudor King James I. O'Neill, who was also the Earl of Tyrone, then lost all his land (two thirds of the Ulster counties) to English-Scottish Protestant settlers. Kee described the Gaelic tribal society of this era as a loose association of tribal kingdoms that shared common laws, customs, and a language. Because of its individualistic organization, this tribal society truly had

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[445] Bell, 60.

[446] Robert Kee, The Green Flag, (N.Y.: Delacorte Press, 1972), 8.

no hope of becoming a nation. He asserts that Gaelic chiefs had no patriotic objections to submitting to an English king and states that O'Neill, who was raised as an Elizabethan gentleman in London, acknowledged the sovereignty of the English monarchy. O'Neill's opposition to English rule had more to do with Tudor efforts to turn nominal feudal ties into centralized administrative ones. Kee concludes that the Battle of Kinsale and the saga of O'Neill does not fit into the heritage of the Irish nationalist/separatist movement because O'Neill was only fighting for his local self-interest and ambition.[447]

In a second example, Kee addresses the Battle of the Boyne (1690) which is steeped in both Unionist and Republican history. In this battle, James II (a Catholic king) is defeated by William of Orange (of the Protestant Parliament). Keep argues that this was a battle over religion and not nationality. He further suggests that in this battle the Irish supported their English king in the fight. This particular point is used to debunk assertions that "The Troubles" historic roots are vested solely in a nationalistic sentiment. Other myths Kee rebukes are those that suggest Irish Catholics have been oppressed by the English and that Ireland was held by English force. Here, Kee points out that from 1845-1919 (a time when this "myth" was being spread by Irish nationalists), Ireland was in fact "held" by 12,000 Catholic Irishmen of the Royal Irish Constabulary, drawn largely from the younger sons of suffering Irish peasants.[448]

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[447] Kee, 18, 12-14.

[448] Kee, 6.

It is notable that myths and heroes have been effectively used by Irish Nationalist to raise the spirit and emotion of Irish Catholics. A prime example is seen in the aftermath of the Dublin rebellion (or Easter Rising) of 1916. According to Bell, the rebels expected to be defeated but they also hoped to awaken another generation with their blood sacrifice. Their gamble apparently paid off, for within a year of the failed rising: (1) those killed became martyred patriots, (2) those detained became living heroes, (3) actions of the rebels mobilized the Irish population to support the Republican cause resulting in the Tan War, 1918-1921.[449] Kee tends to differ with Bell regarding the underpinning reasons why the Irish population supported the Republican cause and fought the Tan War. He suggests that it had more to do with provisions of the Home Rule Act of 1914 which would have granted Ireland self-rule, but excluded the six Ulster provinces (the northern counties). This, Kee argues, is what truly infuriated a large segment of the Irish population causing them to rise up in the Republican cause to fight the British.[450] Lastly, the power of Irish myths can be seen in the 1970s Irish civil rights movement and the emergence of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. Again, Bell succinctly sets the stage for this event by noting that:

> Ireland has not always been a very practical country, has often preferred the old myths to the new realities, and still can be touched by the old

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[449] Bell, 64-65.

[450] Kee, 591.

dreams made manifest in the old ways.[451]

During this civil rights movement, Bell argues that the PIRA exploited three factors to their advantage: (1) the living historical rituals that grant legitimacy to a long tradition of fighting for freedom, (2) the reluctance of the population to betray those who advocated the old ideals of the people, (3) they represented themselves as defenders of the northern Catholics.[452]

Irish schools in general are said to teach the heroes-and-martyrs-history. For those PIRA volunteers, this is typically where they develop a strong sense of Irish nationalism, a nationalism born of a highly emotional, troubled, history.

B. "THE TROUBLES" IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The settlement to the Tan War was codified in the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. This treaty partitioned Ireland into two parts. The lower part included twenty-six predominately Catholic counties that became a dominion of the United Kingdom. The six northern counties remained a British province, the majority of the population being descendent of Protestant settlers. Despite being born of Ireland, many Irish Protestants considered themselves "British" and truly feared complete independence because they would become a minority in a united Ireland. In Ulster, the Protestant population enjoyed a two to one majority over Catholics to include dominance in areas of politics and business. The twenty-six southern counties operated within the Commonwealth as the

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[451] Bell, 179.

[452] Ibid., 179.

Free State until becoming the Irish Republic in 1949.

Since 1921, Ireland has seen the development of various "groups." There are the Loyalist and Unionist who consider themselves British and who desire to keep the six northern counties as part of the United Kingdom. Loyalist/Unionist parties gave rise to the development of the Ulster Defense Force and the Ulster Defence Association. These paramilitary groups were formed to protect Protestant citizens from violence perpetrated by Republican (Catholic) terrorists. Then there are the Nationalists who desire a settlement that will unite Northern Ireland and the Republic through the use of non-violent means. They are represented by the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) presently headed by John Hume. Republicans are those that want both a united Ireland and a complete withdrawal of British forces from the northern counties. They advocate the use of force to accomplish this objective. The Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army is Republican. PIRA's political arm is the Sinn Fein party headed by Gerry Adams.

As mentioned, the IRA has its roots in the rise of various secret societies that emerged in Ireland during the late 1700s. The IRA appeared following the failure of the 1916 Easter Uprising in Dublin. Since that time, the IRA membership has vacillated according to trends in the political and social environment of Ireland In 1969, the IRA received a major boost when authorities used unprecedented violence to quell a rather pacifistic civil rights protest being staged in Derry. This crackdown convinced IRA members that the organization,

as chartered, could do little to protect Catholics from physical violence, let alone protect their civil rights. Young members anxious to accelerate their plan for a united Ireland splintered off from the IRA and formed the Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army (PIRA).[453] PIRA's goal is the same as that of the IRA, however their doctrine and strategy calls for the use of violence to achieve their objectives.[454]

In 1977 the Provisionals conceded that their struggle to drive the British from Ulster would take decades. As a result, they underwent an organizational and philosophical reorganization. The Provisional's adopted a two tiered approach for realizing their objective of a united Ireland and British expulsion - a "long way" and an "open way." Within this doctrine were two underpinning sub-objectives: (1) to make the northern counties ungovernable by sapping the will of the British government and public; and (2) to provoke extreme countermeasures by alienating the Catholic community from existing institutions, making them more dependant on the PIRA.

The "long way" approach centered around preparing for years of insurgency and called for restructuring the PIRA army of brigades and battalions

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[453] Builta, 513.

[454] The spirit of the PIRA is stated in point three of its constitution under the heading of Means: "To wage revolutionary armed struggle." see Martin Dillon, The Dirty War, (London: Arrow Books Limited, 1990), 483. Note also that though IRA officials were not adverse to the use of the gun, they were concerned that the use of physical force as the sole method for forcing their agenda would lead to sectarian war and would never unite the whole of Ireland. See J. Bowyer Bell, The Secret Army: The IRA 1916-1979, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1979), 37.

to a less vulnerable "revolutionary cell"structure. These cells are made up of clandestine groups of Active Service Units (ASU). ASU's carry out the terrorist actions of the PIRA. Each ASU is comprised of five to twelve members and possesses a particular expertise, e.g., bomb-making, intelligence gathering, bank robbery, assassination. Four to five cells are loosely connected to a local brigade or area commander. The local commander takes his orders from a seven-man Army Council which meets monthly to discuss strategy and authorize various operations. Every six months the Army Executive meets to evaluate the actions of the Army Council and elects Council members. The entire structure is under the leadership of the General Army Convention, which meets every two years.[455] Moving to a cellular structure of well trained members is reported to have increased the efficiency of the PIRA which is said to possess a hard corps cadre of 400-500 supported by several thousand sympathizers.[456] They are also noted for their ability to execute terrorist operations and their ability to avoid being caught.[457]

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[455] Builta, 513.

[456] Ibid., 513.

[457] The increased efficiency and effectiveness of the (P)IRA has been noticed by British military members stationed in Ulster. One retired brigadier general noted that "Evidence...does not support the view that they are mindless hooligans drawn from the unemployed and the unemployable. The Provisional IRA now trains and uses its members with some care. The ASUs are for the most part manned by terrorist tempered by up to ten years operational service." See Tom F. Baldy, Battle for Ulster: A Study of Internal Security, (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1987), 69.

The "open way" strategy centered on assisting the IRA's political struggle. through the political efforts of the Sinn Fein party, efforts designed specifically to afford conflicting parties a non-violent alternative method (negotiation) for resolving the problems. In fact, Sinn Fein gained dramatic electoral support at the expense of the more moderate SDLP, following the republican hunger strikes in the late 1970s.[458]

1. (P)IRA Campaign 1970-1996

The (P)IRA spent most of 1970 training and equipping a cadre of hard-core members.[459] Intense sweeps by security forces resulted in the capture of many weapons caches forcing the (P)IRA to produce their own weapons...and they did. They developed a top notch capability to produce quality improvised explosive devices. In 1970 they began a bombing campaign to drive the security forces from IRA strongholds and to destroy commercial property. The 1970s are said to have been the bloodiest years of "The Troubles." Civilian deaths were high, sectarian tit-for-tat killings occurring on a frequent basis. The egregious acts committed by the (P)IRA resulted in a backlash effect e.g., they started to lose the support of their communities. In response to this the (P)IRA established a "priority of targets." First on the list are off-duty security force personnel

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[458] Point four of "Means" in the IRA constitution states an aim "to encourage popular resistance, political mobilization and political action..." See Dillon, 483; also Bell, 33, 240, 255.

[459] The "parenthetic P" is herein indicated to show that the PIRA and IRA share a mutual agenda.

(British forces, members of the Ulster Defence Regiment and Royal Ulster Constabulary); the second target of choice includes on-duty security force personnel; third on the list are prominent government officials, primarily British; fourth are targets that when hit, disrupt the daily routine and commercial enterprises (include Protestant businesses and British homeland).

In August of 1994, the (P)IRA declared a unilateral cessation of military operations when it appeared that the political circumstances had emerged wherein negotiated settlements (with the British Government) could take place.[460] Sinn Fein, representing Republican interests, desired these talks to address three areas: (1) political and constitutional changes; (2) democratization of the situation; (3) a demilitarization of the north of Ireland. However, before any productive discussions could be enjoined, the British Government insisted that the (P)IRA surrender its vast arsenal of weapons and explosives. In the words of Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams, this precondition to negotiation:

> ...not only denies Sinn Fein and our voters the right to negotiate the future of our island, but by extension denies that right to the rest of the Irish people also.[461]

In a January 1996 statement, Gerry Adams suggested that the British precondition was untenable unless it applied to British forces and the Irish Protestant paramilitary organizations of Ulster. Both sides deadlocked and on

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[460] "Building a Permanent Peace in Ireland: Sinn Fein's Submission to the International Body," document, Sinn Fein January 10, 1996.

[461] Ibid.

February 2, 1996, the (P)IRA detonated a large explosive device in the heart of London's financial district.[462] One hundred people were injured in the blast. In rapid succession, the (P)IRA launched a series of terrorist attacks against the British homeland. Bomb and mortar attacks were conducted against targets in London, Manchester; and the British Army barracks in Osnabruck, Germany.[463] On August 7, 1996, two car bombs were reportedly driven into the heart of the British Army's headquarters in Northern Ireland and exploded. Casualties included twenty soldiers and thirteen civilians (two children). British military authorities estimate that the device contained 500kg of high explosives.[464] Until an accommodation concerning the demilitarization of both Catholic and Protestant paramilitary forces (to include the status of British force presence in Northern Ireland) is reached, peace talks between the IRA and British government will likely remain at an impasse. The violence continues.

C. FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND AFFILIATIONS

British intelligence estimates that PARA's annual financial requirements exceed $12.5 million to keep up operations.[465] Sources of income include tax

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[462] "Huge Bomb Wounds More Than 100 In London," Reuters Ltd, January 2, 1996.

[463] "Chronology of IRA Attacks and Major Bomb Finds," Reuters Ltd, September, 23, 1996.

[464] "Twin Car bombs Explode at N. Ireland Base," Emergency Net News Service, October 7, 1996.

[465] Builta, 523.

fraud, legitimate business, drinking clubs, gaming machines, pirate videos and smuggling, protection and extortion.[466] Other sources of funds come from PIRA counterfeiting and bank robbery. External support reportedly comes from NORAID, a U.S. organization based in New York City; Cuba; Libya; Algeria; and the PLO.[467] NORAID support is said to have fallen somewhat following the PIRA assassination of Lord Mountbatten and members of his family in the 1970s. This event damaged PIRA's U.S. support network as many Irish-American became aware that NORAID was not a charitable organization but one designed to bankroll terrorists. In addition, Gerry Adams' Marxist politics turned off a number of anti-communist U.S. trade unions that historically had provided funds to their cause.[468]

Network contacts for paramilitary training and acquisition of weapons is reported to come from the African National Congress (ANC); Basque Separatist Movement (ETA); Cuba; PLO; and Libya's Colonel Muammar Qaddafi. RISCT reports that:

> It is estimated that the PIRA acquired some 1000 AK-47s from Libya in the mid-80s; a number of heavy machine guns capable of use against aircraft, 12 SAM-7 shoulder-launched ground-to-air missiles, and over a

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[466] Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (RISCT), Northern Ireland: Reappraising Republican Violence, (Great Britain: The Eastern Press Limited, 1991), 3; also see James Adams, The Financing of Terror, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), 156-184.

[467] Builta, 523.

[468] Adams, 140-143.

tonne of Semtex explosive.[469]

Prior to the Libyan connection it appears NORAID was the PIRA's main source of weapons. Colt-AR15s and AR-180 Armalites from the U.S. are very popular with PIRA gunmen.[470] The extent of NORAID's involvement in supplying weapons to PIRA is documented in various FBI investigations and sting operations.

In 1976 NORAID was implicated in two large gun and ammunition thefts. One involved the theft of 100 M-16s and eight M-60 machine guns from a National Guard Armory in Danvers, Massachusetts, and the other the theft of over one million rounds of ammunition and several guns from Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune, NC. The weapons stolen in Danvers were intercepted in Dublin; however, at least 600,000 rounds of the Camp Lejeune ammunition reached Northern Ireland.[471]

In the wake of these thefts the FBI conducted a couple of successful sting operations against U.S. gun runners. In 1981 "Operation Bushmill" exposed the 20 year NORAID operation run by George Harrison, a 66-year old Irish immigrant. During this period Harrison supplied the (P)IRA with more than 1000 weapons and 900,000 rounds of ammunition. Later that year "Operation Hit and Win" resulted in the arrest of Gabriel Megahey and two of his

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[469] RISCT, 15.

[470] Bell, 53.

[471] Adams, 145.

associates. Megahey, who formed a splinter group from NORAID, attempted to purchase weapons to include Redeye surface-to-air shoulder launched missiles from undercover FBI agents. Information received during this operation, led to a joint FBI, CIA, British intelligence, and Irish government operation. The following items were seized as a result of this joint venture: Korean-manufactured grenades, 100 West German automatic rifles, fifty-one handguns, shotguns and a .50 caliber machine gun.[472] Although relying almost exclusively on external arms support, the (P)IRA have developed sophisticated home-made weapons. Examples include improvised multi-barreled mortars mounted on trucks and a Semtex drogue grenade which is designed to be dropped on the top of armored vehicles. The (P)IRA have also been credited with possessing a highly sophisticated and skillful improvised explosive device design and manufacturing capability.[473]

The (P)IRA have reportedly used their RPG-7s, machine guns and at least one of their SAM-7s. They have had poor results with the RPG-7, which is an extremely difficult weapon to master.[474] Their use of machine guns and one reported SAM shot against British helicopters were lauded as unsuccessful. The PIRA's possible acquisition of a more lethal SAM capability has the security forces justifiably concerned. Besides Megahey's attempted Redeye purchase,

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[472] Adams, 147-147, 149-152.

[473] RISCT, 14-15.

[474] Bell, 53-54.

the FBI has reported PARA attempts to obtain Stinger missiles.[475]

D. SUMMARY OF (P)IRA CASE STUDY

From the perspective of Sinn Fein and the (P)IRA, British preconditions for all-party peace talks, the disarming of (P)IRA, is untenable. In their view, they have made it clear that they are willing to commit to the democratic process as evidenced by a joint Sinn Fein-SDLP statement (made August 28, 1995) wherein both parties agreed to work together to remove the underlying causes of conflict and instability; and the ceasefire that went in to effect in 1994.

From the perspective of the British and Loyalist/Unionists of the six northern counties, agreeing to negotiate with Sinn Fein and an the (P)IRA may be interpreted as providing an air of legitimacy to these groups. For the British in particular, this may be a very hard-pill to swallow indeed, as there appears to be a dominant element in the British government that remains locked in the victory/defeat mindset. Nevertheless it has been the international experience that inclusive dialogue is truly the only means by which seemingly intractable conflicts have been resolved. Recent examples of this are evident in countries such as South Africa, and the Balkans, and Israel (though conditions still remain tense in the latter two.)

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[475] RISCT, 15.

E. ANALYSIS OF (P)IRA

1. Structural Realist Model

For twenty five years, the goal of the (P)IRA and Sinn Fein has been to expel British influence from Northern Ireland. Surely they desire a power great enough to compel the British government to negotiate with them. This would certainly explain why two members of the IRA reportedly went to Japan to seek out Aum members in a quest to investigate the potentials of WMD.

In a meeting held between Gerry Adams (Sinn Fein) and John Hume (SDLP), a plan was drawn up and presented to John Majors calling for: (1) Sinn Fein participation in the Stormont talks following a new ceasefire; (2) establishment of a time-frame for these talks to take place; (3) de-arming only after significant progress is made in political negotiations; (4) introduce confidence building measures by releasing some terrorist prisoners and making reforms in the Royal Ulster Constabulary.[476] John Major's government rejected these demands paving the way for what will likely be renewed (P)IRA violence. In statements made by Sinn Fein, the (P)IRA will minimally renew its attacks on police and army barracks in Northern Ireland and attempt to assassinate members of the judiciary.[477]

Within its cadre of members, the (P)IRA possesses the capability to

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[476] Nicholas Watt, "IRA Threatens Renewed Violence Over Demands," The London Times, November 25, 1996.

[477] Ibid.

develop, minimally, a "low-tech" WMD capability. With access to substantial financial reserves, material (possibly even ready-made agents provided by rogue states such as Libya), and membership able to produce chemicals or biological toxins, the (P)IRA surely possesses a "ripeness" to develop and use WMD, see Table 7-2. In this case, as in the previous three, structural realist theory suggest that the PIRA does indeed possesses strong *Effective Demand* for WMD. However this is a "mis-prediction" for though the PIRA has had ample opportunity to develop such a powerful capability, they still rely mainly on the use of bombs, and guns to force their political agenda. An analysis of the (P)IRA through the framework of The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process explains: (1) why this is so; and (2) confirms the strength and validity of this frameworks usefulness to predict or disconfirm the existence of *Effective Demand*.

Attribute Set for Structural Realist Model of Effective Demand: (P)IRA			
Demand Indicator	**Score .0 or 1.0**	**Supply Indicator**	**Score .0 or 1.0**
Desire for power great enough to balance against the state	1.0	Group membership knowledgeable of WMD technical requirements	1.0
		Group possesses financial resources to fund a WMD program	1.0
		Group has access to materials and technology required to manufacture and disperse WMD.	1.0
Structural Realist Model			
Desire for Power to "balance" x (Knowledge x Funding x Access) = *Effective Demand* for WMD **1. x (1. x 1. x 1.) = 1.0 ~ no negative external influences = (P)IRA Effective Demand for WMD**			

Table 7-2: Analysis of (P)IRA: Structural Realist Model

2. The Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process

As mentioned, the goal of the (P)IRA and Sinn Fein has been to expel the British from Northern Ireland, but in a manner that would allow them a measure of legitimacy in the eyes of the global community, and the support of their Catholic constituents. Despite the news that the (P)IRA may be contemplating the development of a WMD capability, their use of such a weapon would more

than likely threaten vice facilitate their strategic objectives.

a. Power to Balance Against the State

Certainly Sinn Fein and the (P)IRA desire to acquire a power great enough to balance against the influence of the United Kingdom. However, rather then attempting to do this through internal methods involving the development and use of WMD, the have opted to engage in an approach that utilizes elements of legitimate politics and para-military (terrorist) operations. From the perspective of Gerry Adams and the (P)IRA, the British are truly not interested in suffering anymore casualties in this affair. Therefore intolerable damage can still be accomplished through the use of conventional means, a means that the (P)IRA has promised to use if negotiations are not resumed by Christmas of 1996.[478] In addition, Sinn Fein continues to cultivate external support for their cause, in particular from the U.S. administration of President Clinton, a relationship that no doubt irritates the government of John Major to say the least. For their attempt to balance against the British government using both political and terrorist means the (P)IRA receive a score of .7 for this indicator.

b. Leadership of the "Authoritarian Sociopath" Personality

Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinnes, Mitchell McLaughlin and other leaders in Sinn Fein and the (P)IRA can hardly be typecast as "authoritarian

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[478] Tony Harnden, "New Bombing Alert As IRA Proposals for Ceasefire are Rejected," London Daily Telegraph, November 27, 1996.

sociopaths," though it is recognized that a few members of the (P)IRA may actually enjoy engaging in "terrorist" acts of violence. Certain members of the British government may feel that the leadership of Sinn Fein and the (P)IRA fit this mold, however it appears that these men are truly no different (in their minds) from the American colonial revolutionary insurgents that fought the British in 1776. On balance, this leadership has directed and managed a terrorist campaign that over the course of twenty five years has seen the death of 3,200 people.[479] The (P)IRA receives a score of 0.5 for this attribute.

c. Ideology Supportive of Ultra-Violence

The underpinning ideology of Sinn Fein and the (P)IRA is reported to be grounded in socialism layered with a healthy dose of Catholicism. Members and supporters of these groups truly seek to rejoin Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic under a socialist-type government. As such, though terrorist violence is used, it has typically been focused and modulated in a fashion designed to compel the British government to the negotiating table. The (P)IRA receive a 0.5 for this attribute.

d. Extremist Use of Ultra-Violence

The "para-military" strategy used by the (P)IRA calls for attacks against British businesses in England, and military targets in the six counties. Though recent attacks in 1996 have incorporated rather large explosive devices, they have been set at times or in places where they would do minimal damage

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[479] Builta, 535.

to "civilians." Considering what the (P)IRA are capable of, there terrorist acts have not been out of control. For this indicator the (P)IRA receives a score of 0.5.

e. The Closed Constituency and Group Cohesiveness

The (P)IRA appears to be a fairly cohesive group, though the purport to represent the desires of the Catholic population of Ireland. For this indicator the (P)IRA receive a score of 0.3.

f. Lack of Concern over Public or Government Backlash

Sinn Fein and the (P)IRA are very much dependant on public support and in fact receive assistance from their main rival, the SDLP, in their attempts to reach a negotiated settlement with the British government. The legitimacy of Sinn Fein is an interesting paradox for as the political entity of the movement, they must keep themselves separate from the para-military operations (terrorism) conducted by the (P)IRA. On the contrary, both elements of this Republican effort rely on the support of the public, and the calculated risk that British counter-terrorist efforts can be absorbed. The (P)IRA can ill afford to totally alienate the Irish population, or "piss-off" the Brits. The (P)IRA receives a score of 0.3 for this attribute.

g. A Willingness to Take Risks

Truly a self evident attribute amongst the hard corps cadre of the (P)IRA. for this indicator (P)IRA receives a score of 1.0.

h. A Demonstration of a Certain degree of Sophistication in Weaponry or Tactics

Again, for the hard core cadre of the (P)IRA, this attribute is easily recognized. (P)IRA receives a score of 1.0 for this indicator

l. Membership Knowledgeable of WMD Technical Requirements

(P)IRA cadre maintain the capability to manufacture their own explosives, explosive timers and the like. Personnel with this type of knowledge are certainly capable of constructing a "low-tech" WMD of a chemical or biological nature. For this indicator, (P)IRA receives a 0.7.

j. Financial Resources to Fund a WMD Capability

Since (P)IRA's annual operating expenses typically exceed some $12.5 million dollars annually, it is almost an axiom that the group possesses the financial capacity to fund a WMD program. For this indicator, (P)IRA receives a score of 1.0.

k. Intervening Processes and Summary of the Analysis

The Primary Intervening Process seen as degrading *Effective Demand* for the (P)IRA is related to their desire to participate in Irish political processes, and to be recognized by the global community as a legitimate entity. Committing horrific acts using mass casualty causing chemical agents, pathogens, toxins, or radiological devices would totally negate this possibility, see Table 7-3. If Gerry Adams, his Sinn Fein staff, and constituency desire to find solutions to resolve the conflict in a manner that allows their participation in

the Irish political process, then the (P)IRA will constrain themselves from using WMD in terrorist attacks as world opinion and British retribution would surely negate this possibility. For the (P)IRA at least, it would seem that the traditional constraints for precluding use of WMD are applicable.

In this particular case note that the Synthetic Theory of Structural Realism and Organizational Process "gets the case right" by being able to identify, a non-state group that is less then likely to use WMD in a terrorist action. That said it has been reported in the London Daily Telegraph that two IRA activist travelled to Japan within the last year to research plans for conducting an Aum style raid on the London subway system. In response to this the British Transport Police are reported to have set up a consequence management capability in which a small team has been equipped with hand-held gas detectors and protective suits. Commenting on this issue a Ministry of Defense source said:

> Our intelligence on that visit lead us to believe that two IRA activists have travelled to Japan in the past year and were researching plans for such an attack on London. It seemed to us essential to speed up defence just in case any such attack was planned.[480]

Despite this news, Sinn Fein and its paramilitary counterpart (P)IRA, are ultimately desirous of maintaining a position that appears reflective of the desires and ambitions of the Catholic community in the Republic and the six counties. To engage in terroristic violence that includes the use of WMD

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[480] Jo Knowsley, "Railway Police Set Up Nerve Gas Task Force," London Daily Telegraph, June 3, 1996

would more than likely threaten that coveted position for the traditional reasons mentioned in this study.

Attribute Set for the Synthetic Theory of Realism and Organizational Process: "Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army"			
Demand Indicator	**Score .0-1.0**	**Supply Indicator**	**Score .0-1.0**
Group desires power to balance against the state of regime	.7	Group exhibits sophisticated use of weapons or tactics	1.0
Group leader manifests the "authoritarian sociopathic personality"	.3	Group includes individuals knowledgeable of WMD technology	1.0
Ideology advocates use of ultra-violence	.5	Group possesses financial resources to fund a WMD program	1.0
Group engages in extremist of violence	.5	Group has access to WMD materials and technology	1.0
Group is closed cell and cohesive	.3		
Group disregards backlash	.3		
Group willing to take high risks	1.0		
Product of Demand Indicators = .004		Product of Supply Indicators = 1.0	
DI x SI = Effective Demand(r) ~ Intervening Process = Effective Demand for WMD. **.004 x 1.0 = .004 ~ degrading Intervening Process = highly unlikely that (P)IRA possesses Effective Demand for WMD.**			

Table 7-3: Summary of (P)IRA Analysis: Synthetic Model

VIII. CONCLUSION

A. OBJECTIVE PURPOSE

The purpose of this study was to: (1) present an argument about whether terrorist groups with strong religious underpinnings represent the most likely type of non-state group to use weapons of mass destruction in a terrorist act specifically designed to kill or injure a large number of people; (2) to identify key indicators which would have to be present in a group desirous of a WMD potential; (3) "fuse" these indicators into an appropriate analytic framework which could be used to determine a terrorist group's potential to develop and threaten use of WMD.

1. Objective One

Did this study present a supportable argument to adequately test the hypothesis suggested?, e.g., that religiously oriented terrorist groups are the most likely candidates to threaten use of WMD in a terrorist action. Though the study was limited to four cases (one being of an antithetical nature), three of these showed similarities indicative of a predisposition to commit unmodulated or disproportionate violence against perceived "out-group others." In each case (as argued and supported) this violence was done to satisfy: (1) the goals of the group and (2) God. And it is truly the perception that their acts were approved (if not demanded) by God that seems to be the over-riding, legitimizing variable. This variable, buried within the ideology of: Aum; The Jihad Organization; and

Covenant, Sword, the Arm of the Lord, becomes the "great-unleasher" of constraints that have precluded secularly oriented terrorist groups from engaging in the threatened use of WMD. At a minimum these cases elucidate potential trends strongly supportive of the hypothesis. It is truly up to "others" interested in this subject to refute the findings through their own examinations and academic arguments.

2. Objective Two

This study found support for the notion that certain supply and demand variables need to be present for a non-state group to possess a "ripeness" to threaten use of WMD. However, noting the existence or presence of these variables does not automatically support the conclusion that the group under analysis will actually attempt a mass casualty causing event using WMD. Each variable or indicator needs to be closely examined and then "gauged" (numerically scaled) based on what is understood about group leadership, ideology, past behavior, group dynamics, and a host of other important "indicators." To effectively "gauge" a non-state group's WMD potential, the analyst must have a sound academic understanding of the underpinning ideology of the group being examined. Practical experience is also beneficial to this process. The study also addressed the importance of external-internal influences that may enhance or degrade a non-state group's ability or desire to develop a WMD capability.

3. Objective Three

Two theoretical models were constructed and used to test the hypothesis concerning WMD proliferation amongst religiously oriented groups. One, based on Structural Realism, suggested that terrorists suffer from weak relative power in relation to the nation-state. To offset this asymmetric situation, the non-state group makes a rational decision to pursues the development of a WMD capability. Armed with WMD, the non-state group (particularly if it is able to maintain its anonymity), negates the game of mutual vulnerability which has been the cornerstone of deterrence-compellence theory. Here the power afforded by WMD, coupled with the relatively invisible "cross section" such groups typically present, leads to proliferation when certain supply variables are also evident. Unfortunately, though Realism theory explains why WMD acquisition would be an attractive option for the non-state group, it does not explain why some groups have pursued WMD capabilities, while others have eschewed them.

Recognizing that a non-state group's decision to pursue a WMD program is the sum of complex motivations and dynamic interactions (dynamics that are truly a function of internal group variables such as leadership, individual and group psycho-social orientations, and the like), Organizational Process Theory was fused with those of Structural Realism in an effort to account for the influence of internal variables not considered by the latter. This "synthetic" model provides a more finite understanding that explains not only why certain

groups will choose to use WMD, but why certain groups will not. This is indeed exemplified through analysis of the Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army. Even though Theory of Structural Realism scored higher in cases where both theories predicted *Effective Demand*, Structural Realism "mispredicted" the PIRA case, a case that the synthetic theory predicted correctly. Minimally, this comparison shows that Structural Realist Theory tends to be more "deterministic" (rigid), while "Synthetic Theory" allows much more room for analytic nuance. In any event, each of these "models" provide those tasked with examining these issues a starting point with which to further investigate the phenomenon of WMD terrorism.

B. WHAT COMES NEXT?

An examination of statistics of those that die in the U.S. each year suggests that 38,000 of these deaths can be attributed to incidents involving hand guns, shotguns, and rifles. When compared to statistics detailing the number of annual deaths (of U.S. citizens) attributable to terrorist violence, the threat terrorist violence poses to U.S. citizens is truly minor. Unfortunately terrorist acts create within many people a superordinary sense of fear and vulnerability, the likes of which are not even generated by inner-city crime.

The fact that this "security dilemma"exists in the face of statistical evidence that suggests a greater chance of dying on a metropolitan freeway does little to appease anyone. This "security dilemma" has been thoroughly enhanced by events that have occurred since 1993, events which include the

bombing of the World Trade Center; the nerve gas attack of the Tokyo subway; the murder of 168 Americans in the Oklahoma City bombing; the death of twenty four U.S. service personnel through two bombings conducted in Saudi Arabia; and what may very well turn out to be a terrorist act in the downing of TWA flight 800 (an event that touched me personally as I regularly took care of the children of one of the casualties when I was of high school age). With these things in mind, the Executive branch, the Congress, and the Department of Defense are, as of this writing, enjoined in a multitude of prescriptive measures that will hopefully minimize the occurrence of terrorism in general, and WMD terrorism in particular. These measures include a series of new anti-terrorism laws and policies that:[481]

- Make it a federal crime to commit an international terrorist attack in the U.S., punishable by execution of a death occurs adjunct to the terrorist act.
- Make using the U.S. as a base to plan a terrorist attack overseas a federal crime.
- Give the Executive Branch new authority to designate foreign terrorist groups, subject to congressional and judicial review, and lets the government freeze assets of foreign terrorists before the designation becomes public.
- Ban terrorist groups from engaging in fund raising activities in the U.S..
- Expedite deportation of alien terrorists.
- Bar members or representatives of foreign terrorist groups from entering the U.S..

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[481] "Terrorism Bill Glance," Associated Press, March 17, 1996.

- Provide $2 billion dollars for enhancing terrorism-fighting measures for federal and state authorities.

In addition, multilateral, mutually cooperative efforts are being fervently explored with our international allies and friends, efforts that should help mitigate potential threats posed by terrorist.

Because WMD terrorism poses some unique challenges to those involved with WMD terrorism crises response and consequence management, a whole range of programs are being developed that will hopefully provide our major metropolitan "first responders" with the equipment, training and coordinated interface that will allow them to effectively mitigate the damage caused in an attack should it occur. That said it is glaringly evident that anytime crises response-consequence management teams have to go to work, we are already playing a game of "catch up football," particularly in the WMD scenario.

Success in this area is truly dependent on the creation of extremely robust anti-terrorism capabilities, capabilities that will only be realized if new ideas are encouraged, and cooperative efforts are enjoined between local, state, federal and international entities, particularly in areas related to intelligence sharing. Note that I do not advocate an increase in legislative mandates that would further restrict, minimize, or otherwise intrude on the freedoms and protection we enjoy as U.S. citizens. Draconian methods are neither required or desired. What I do suggest is that a "Revolution in Anti-Terrorism/Counter-Terrorism Affairs" takes place that will specifically focus at how we are presently

doing business with the multitude of assets we presently possess to combat the terrorist phenomenon. If these things are done right, we minimize the potential of our "having to exchange business cards " at future disasters such as the bombing of New York City's World Trade Center, and Khobar Towers, Saudi Arabia. General Shalikashvili put this in context when he stated that:

> ...We are going to have to do things differently...If we miss the opportunity, nothing will happen and we will have to wait for the next Khobar Towers.[482]

As Leslie Rodrigues of the Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute notes:

> Chemical and biological terrorism can strike at any time in the heartland of America well out of the immediate reach of highly trained (military) strike units. The victims of such an attack wold assuredly meet a catastrophic demise as untrained and uncoordinated local and state emergence response teams attempted to ameliorate the horrible fate of these victims and quite possibly become victims themselves. Preparing first responders a, bolstering local, state, and federal coordination, and defining a national strategy to confront a domestic chemical and biological terrorist attack are (not) surmountable challenges so long as time, attention, and resources are devoted towards these ends. Doing so entails a major commitment by the Executive branch, Congress, and many others, but the costs of inaction are too horrible to contemplate.[483]

In conclusion, if there truly exists a terrorist threat to U.S. citizens, particularly one involving the threatened use of weapons of mass destruction, local and state law enforcement-emergency response agencies are going to have to rely on the Federal government for funds, training, and equipment. This

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[482] "Gen. Says Americans Need Cover," Associated Press, November 19, 1996.

[483] Leslie Rodrigues "The Emerging Threat of CHEMBIO Terrorism: Is the United States Prepared?" CBACI The Arena, n. 6, November 1996, 6

can certainly be accomplished without our having to go on a permanent war-time-footing. Most of those individuals who have recently attempted to characterize the nature of this threat are not suggesting that "the sky is falling." However, if we don't engage in a few sound precautionary measures, it just may.

APPENDIX. LOUIS BEAM'S "LEADERLESS RESISTANCE DOCTRINE"

This essay was written by Louis Beam in 1983 and published at that time. Republished for purposes of this study.

The concept of Leaderless Resistance was proposed by Col. Ulius Louis Amoss, who was the founder of International Service of Information Incorporated, located in Baltimore, Maryland. Col. Amoss died more than fifteen years ago, but during his life was a tireless opponent of communism, as well as a skilled Intelligence Officer. Col. Amoss first wrote of Leaderless Resistance on April 17, 1962. His theories of organization were primarily directed against the threat of eventual Communist take-over in the United States. The present writer, with the benefit of having lived many years beyond Col. Amoss, has taken his theories and expounded upon them. Col. Amoss feared the Communists. This author fears the federal government. Communism now represents a threat to no one in the United States, while federal tyranny represents a threat to everyone . The writer has joyfully lived long enough to see the dying breaths of communism, but may, unhappily, remain long enough to see the last grasps of freedom in America.

In the hope that, somehow, America can still produce the brave sons and daughters necessary to fight off ever increasing persecution and oppression, this essay is offered. Frankly, it is too close to call at this point. Those who love liberty, and believe in freedom enough to fight for it are rare today, but within the bosom of every once great nation, there remains secreted, the pearls of former greatness. They are there. I have looked into their sparking eyes; sharing a brief moment in time with them as I passed through this life. Relished their friendship, endured their pain, and they mine. We are a band of brothers, native to the soil gaining strength one from another as we have rushed head long into a battle that all the weaker, timid men, say we can not win. Perhaps...but then again, perhaps we can. It's not over till the last freedom fighter is buried or imprisoned, or the same happens to those who would destroy their liberty.

Barring any cataclysmic events, the struggle will yet go on for years. The passage of time will make it clear to even the more slow among us that the government is the foremost threat to the life, and liberty of the folk. The government will no doubt make today's oppressiveness look like grade school work compared to what they have planned in the future. Meanwhile, there are those of us who continue to hope that somehow the few can do what the many have not. We are cognizant that before things get better they will certainly get

worse as government shows a willingness to use ever more severe police state measures against dissidents. This changing situation makes it clear that those who oppose state repression must be prepared to alter, adapt, and modify their behavior, strategy, and tactics as circumstances warrant. Failure to consider new methods and implement them as necessary will make the government's efforts at suppression uncomplicated. It is the duty of every patriot to make the tyrant's life miserable. When one fails to do so he not only fails himself, but his people.

With this in mind, current methods of resistance to tyranny employed by those who love our race, culture, and heritage must pass a litmus test of soundness. Methods must be objectively measured as to their effectiveness, as well as to whether they make the government's intention of repression more possible or more difficult. Those not working to aid our objectives must be discarded or the government benefits from our failure to do so.

As honest men who have banded together into groups or associations of a political or religious nature are falsely labeled "domestic terrorists" or "cultists" and suppressed, it will become necessary to consider other methods of organization--or as the case may very well call for: non-organization. One should keep in mind that it is not in the government's interest to eliminate all groups. Some few must remain in order to perpetuate the smoke and mirrors vision for the masses that America is a "free democratic country" where dissent is allowed. Most organizations, however, that possess the potential for effective resistance will not be allowed to continue. Anyone who is so naive as to believe the most powerful government on earth will not crush any who pose a real threat to that power, should not be active, but rather, at home studying political history.

The question as to who is to be left alone and who is not, will be answered by how groups and individuals deal with several factors such as: avoidance of conspiracy plots, rejection of feeble minded malcontents, insistence upon quality of the participants, avoidance of all contact with the front men for the federals--the news media--and, finally, camouflage (which can be defined as the ability to blend in the public's eye the more committed groups of resistance with mainstream "kosher" associations that are generally seen as harmless.) Primarily though, whether any organization is allowed to continue in the future will be a matter of how big a threat a group represents. Not a threat in terms of armed might or political ability, for there is none of either for the present, but rather, threat in terms of potentiality. It is potential the federals fear most. Whether that potential exists in an individual or group is incidental. The federals measure potential threat in terms of what might happen given a situation conducive to action on the part of a restive organization or individual.

Accurate intelligence gathering allows them to assess the potential. Showing one's hand before the bets are made, is a sure way to loose.

The movement for freedom is rapidly approaching the point where for many people, the option of belonging to a group will be nonexistent. For others, group membership will be a viable option for only the immediate future. Eventually, and perhaps much sooner than most believe possible, the price paid for membership will exceed any perceived benefit. But for now, some of the groups that do exist often serve a useful purpose either for the newcomer who can be indoctrinated into the ideology of the struggle, or for generating positive propaganda to reach potential freedom fighters. It is sure that, for the most part, this struggle is rapidly becoming a matter of individual action, each of its participants making a private decision in the quietness of his heart to resist: to resist by any means necessary. It is hard to know what others will do, for no man truly knows another man's heart. It is enough to know what one himself will do. A great teacher once said "know thyself." Few men really do, but let each of us, promise ourselves, not to go quietly to the fate our would-be masters have planned.

The concept of Leaderless Resistance is nothing less than a fundamental departure in theories of organization. The orthodox scheme of organization is diagrammatically represented by the pyramid, with the mass at the bottom and the leader at the top. This fundamental of organization is to be seen not only in armies, which are of course, the best illustration of the pyramid structure, with the mass of soldiery, the privates, at the bottom responsible to corporals who are in turn responsible to sergeants, and so on up the entire chain of command to the generals at the top. But the same structure is seen in corporations, ladies' garden clubs and in our political system itself. This orthodox "pyramid" scheme of organization is to be seen basically in all existing political, social and religious structures in the world today from the Federal government to the Roman Catholic Church. The Constitution of the United States, in the wisdom of the Founders, tried to sublimate the essential dictatorial nature of pyramidal organization by dividing authority into three: executive, legislative and judicial. But the pyramid remains essentially untouched.

This scheme of organization, the pyramid, is however, not only useless, but extremely dangerous for the participants when it is utilized in a resistance movement against state tyranny. Especially is this so in technologically advanced societies where electronic surveillance can often penetrate the structure revealing its chain of command. Experience has revealed over and over again that anti-state, political organizations utilizing this method of command and control are easy prey for government infiltration, entrapment, and destruction of the personnel involved. This has been seen repeatedly in the

United States where pro-government infiltrators or agent provocateurs weasel their way into patriotic groups and destroy them from within.

In the pyramid type of organization, an infiltrator can destroy anything which is beneath his level of infiltration and often those above him as well. If the traitor has infiltrated at the top, then the entire organization from the top down is compromised and may be traduced at will. An alternative to the pyramid type of organization is the cell system. In the past, many political groups (both right and left) have used the cell system to further their objectives. Two examples will suffice. During the American Revolution "committees of correspondence" were formed throughout the Thirteen colonies.

Their purpose was to subvert the government and thereby aid the cause of independence. The "Sons of Liberty", who made a name for themselves dumping government taxed tea into the harbor at Boston, were the action arm of the committees of correspondence. Each committee was a secret cell that operated totally independently of the other cells. Information on the government was passed from committee to committee, from colony to colony, and then acted upon on a local basis. Yet even in these bygone days of poor communication, of weeks to months for a letter to be delivered, the committees without any central direction whatsoever, were remarkable similar in tactics employed to resist government tyranny. It was, as the first American patriots knew, totally unnecessary for anyone to give an order for anything. Information was made available to each committee, and each committee acted as it saw fit. A recent example of the cell system taken from the left wing of politics are the Communists. The Communist, in order to get around the obvious problems involved in pyramidal organization, developed to an art the cell system. They had numerous independent cells which operated completely isolated from one another and particularly with no knowledge of each other, but were orchestrated together by a central headquarters. For instance, during World War II, in Washington, it is known that there were at least six secret Communist cells operating at high levels in the United States government (plus all the open Communists who were protected and promoted by President Roosevelt), however, only one of the cells was rooted out and destroyed. How many more actually were operating no one can say for sure.

The Communist cells which operated in the U.S. until late 1991 under Soviet control could have at their command a leader, who held a social position which appeared to be very lowly. He could be, for example, a busboy in a restaurant, but in reality a colonel or a general in the Soviet Secret Service, the KGB. Under him could be a number of cells and a person active in one cell would almost never have knowledge of individuals who are active in another cell. The value of this is that while any one cell can be infiltrated,

exposed or destroyed, such action will have no effect on the other cells; in fact, the members of the other cells will be supporting that cell which is under attack and ordinarily would lend very strong support to it in many ways. This is at least part of the reason, no doubt, that whenever in the past Communists were attacked in this country, support for them sprang up in many unexpected places.

The efficient and effective operation of a cell system after the Communist model, is of course, dependent upon central direction, which means impressive organization, funding from the top, and outside support, all of which the Communists had. Obviously, American patriots have none of these things at the top or anywhere else, and so an effective cell organization based upon the Soviet system of operation is impossible.

Two things become clear from the above discussion. First, that the pyramid type of organization can be penetrated quite easily and it thus is not a sound method of organization in situations where the government has the resources and desire to penetrate the structure; which is the situation in this country. Secondly, that the normal qualifications for the cell structure based upon the Red model does not exist in the U.S. for patriots. This understood, the question arises "What method is left for those resisting state tyranny?" The answer comes from Col. Amoss who proposed the "Phantom Cell" mode of organization. Which he described as Leaderless Resistance. A system of organization that is based upon the cell organization, but does not have any central control or direction, that is in fact almost identical to the methods used by the Committees of Correspondence during the American Revolution. Utilizing the Leaderless Resistance concept, all individuals and groups operate independently of each other, and never report to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction, as would those who belong to a typical pyramid organization.

At first glance, such a type of organization seems unrealistic, primarily because there appears to be no organization. The natural question thus arises as to how are the "Phantom cells" and individuals to cooperate with each other when there is no intercommunication or central direction? The answer to this question is that participants in a program of Leaderless Resistance through phantom cell or individual action must know exactly what they are doing, and how to do it. It becomes the responsibility of the individual to acquire the necessary skills and information as to what is to be done. This is by no means as impractical as it appears, because it is certainly true that in any movement, all persons involved have the same general outlook, are acquainted with the same philosophy, and generally react to given situations in similar ways. The pervious history of the committees of correspondence during the American Revolution show this to be true.

Since the entire purpose of Leaderless Resistance is to defeat state tyranny (at least insofar as this essay is concerned), all members of phantom cells or individuals will tend to react to objective events in the same way through usual tactics of resistance. Organs of information distribution such as newspapers, leaflets, computers, etc., which are widely available to all, keep each person informed of events, allowing for a planned response that will take many variations. No one need issue an order to anyone. Those idealist truly committed to the cause of freedom will act when they feel the time is ripe, or will take their cue from others who precede them. While it is true that much could be said against this type of structure as a method of resistance, it must be kept in mind that Leaderless Resistance is a child of necessity. The alternatives to it have been show to be unworkable or impractical. Leaderless Resistance has worked before in the American Revolution, and if the truly committed put it to use for themselves, it will work now.

It goes almost without saying that Leaderless Resistance leads to very small or even one man cells of resistance. Those who join organizations to play "let's pretend" or who are "groupies" will quickly be weeded out. While for those who are serious about their opposition to federal despotism, this is exactly what is desired.

From the point of view of tyrants and would be potentates in the federal bureaucracy and police agencies, nothing is more desirable than that those who oppose them be UNIFIED in their command structure, and that every person who opposes them belong to a pyramid type group. Such groups and organizations are an easy kill. Especially in light of the fact that the Justice (sic) Department promised in 1987 that there would never be another group that opposed them that they did not have at least one informer in. These federal "friends of government" are intelligence agents. They gather information that can be used at the whim of a federal D.A. to prosecute. The line of battle has been drawn. Patriots are required therefore, to make a conscious decision to either aid the government in its illegal spying, by continuing with old methods of organization and resistance, or to make the enemies's job more difficult by implementing effective countermeasures.

Now there will, no doubt, be mentally handicapped people out there who, while standing at a podium with an American flag draped in the background, and a lone eagle soaring in the sky above, will state emphatically in their best sounding red, white, and blue voice, "So what if the government is spying? We are not violating any laws." Such crippled thinking by any serious person is the best example that there is a need for special education classes. The person making such a statement is totally out of contact with political reality

in this country, and unfit for leadership of any thing more than a dog sleigh in the Alaskan wilderness. The old "Born on the fourth of July" mentality that has influenced so much of the American patriot's thinking in the past will not save him from the government in the future. "Reeducation" for non-thinkers of this type will take place in the federal prison system where there are no flags or eagles, but abundance of men who were "not violating any law."

Most groups who "unify" their disparate associates into a single structure have short political lives. Therefore, those movement leaders constantly calling for unity of organization rather than the desirable unity of purpose, usually fall into one of three categories.

They may not be sound political tacticians, but rather, just committed men who feel unity would help their cause, while not realizing that the government would greatly benefit from such efforts. The Federal objective, to imprison or destroy all who oppose them, is made easier in pyramid organizations. Or perhaps, they do not fully understand the struggle they are involved in and that the government they oppose has declared a state of war against those fighting for faith, folk, freedom and constitutional liberty. Those in power will use any means to rid themselves of opposition. The third class calling for unity and let us hope this is the minority of the three, are men more desirous of the supposed power that a large organization would bestow, than of actually achieving their stated purpose.

Conversely, the last thing Federal snoops would have, if they had any choice in the matter, is a thousand different small phantom cells opposing them. It is easy to see why. Such a situation is an intelligence nightmare for a government intent upon knowing everything they possibly can about those who oppose them. The Federals, able to amass overwhelming strength of numbers, manpower, resources, intelligence gathering, and capability at any given time, need only a focal point to direct their anger. A single penetration of a pyramid type of organization can lead to the destruction of the whole. Whereas, Leaderless Resistance presents no single opportunity for the Federals to destroy a significant portion of the Resistance.

With the announcement by the Department of Justice (sic) that 300 FBI agents formerly assigned to watching Soviet spies in the US (domestic counter intelligence) are now to be used to "combat crime", the federal government is preparing the way for a major assault upon those persons opposed to their policies. Many anti-government groups dedicated to the preservation of the America of our forefathers can expect shortly to feel the brunt of a new federal assault upon liberty.

It is clear, therefore, that it is time to rethink traditional strategy and tactics when it comes to opposing a modern police state. America is quickly moving into a long dark night of police state tyranny, where the rights now accepted by most as being inalienable will disappear. Let the coming night be filled with a thousand points of resistance. Like the fog which forms when conditions are right and disappears when they are not, so must the resistance to tyranny be.

"If every person has the right to defend--even by force--his person, his liberty, and his property, then it follows that a group of men have the right to organize and support a common force to protect these rights constantly." ---The Law. Frederick Bastiat Paris, 1850.

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