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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN RIGHT WING  
AND LEFT WING EXTREMIST GROUPS  
IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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A THESIS

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## ABSTRACT

### A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN RIGHT-WING AND LEFT-WING EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

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Extremism is something that in all likelihood will be with us forever. It will be much easier to deal with extremist groups if we understand the makeup of the different groups, from the left and the right.

The paper analyzed right-wing and left-wing extremist groups in the United States, and determined if such groups are similar or dissimilar. A Historical/Comparative analysis was conducted using various forms of literature, with special emphasis placed on books and special reports. Characteristics were identified which represent domestic groups. The time period covered from the 1960's through the mid-1980's.

The characteristics of extremist groups which were identified included: the demographics of members, religious and political philosophy, objectives, issues, publications, linkage attempts, organizational structure, recruitment methods, enemies, financing, and use of front groups. Based on those characteristics and the resulting analysis, it was concluded that groups from the right and left are more similar than dissimilar.

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**Dedicated to  
mom and dad  
with all my love and admiration.**

**Not bad for someone who you were concerned  
about what he was going to do after high school.**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

When I started working on my Masters Degree two years ago, I did not realize the extent of the work involved. If it had not been for the help of many different people, the last two years would have been much more difficult and probably would have lasted much longer. Although, it is not possible to mention everyone, I would like to acknowledge a few people.

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To my sisters Jan, Suzie and Barbara and to my brothers Dave, Rick and Ron--for the last two years they have put up with my constant computer questions, they have given me support, they have given me advice, and they have helped me achieve my goal. Throughout my life they have always been there for me and they have always made me very happy that they were my brothers and sisters. I would like to thank them for their help and for being my relatives.

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

'EXTREMISTS' Who are they and why do they command so much of our attention? It seems everytime an extremist or an extremist group does something, whether it is a legal demonstration, a press conference or they cross the over line to terroristic behaviors, they receive news coverage. Through the use of modern media, Americans have become all too familiar with extremism and it's more famous stepchild, terrorism. This brings many questions to mind, which are directly interrelated. Some of the questions are-- how much do we, as Americans, really know about extremist or extremist groups? Do we understand what a particular group wants? Do we know where they come from and what types of people make up the different groups? Do we even know which groups are on the right end of the political spectrum or the left end? The question, which may be the most vital is--do we understand all these questions when they are posed about American extremists organizations, as opposed to international groups?

Although just about everyone knows about extremism, most people do not fully understand the very complex nature of extremism, particularly when we speak of the United States variety. A group may, in fact, have terrorist overtones, but to this point in time, they may not have been linked to an actual terrorist act. Therefore, are these groups extremist or terrorist groups? This paper will examine not only extremism, but also terrorism, since it is the most famous sub-set of extremism.



### Problem

No matter how active extremists have been in the last year or two, they can never be taken lightly or taken for granted. Although our Constitution allows extremist views to exist, these views should never infringe on the rights of others. When extremist views cross the line to terroristic behaviors, they infringe on the rights of others. No matter what has happened in recent history, there is a threat--a very real threat--of such behaviors occurring in the United States. For us to better prepare ourselves to deal with extremists and the possibility of terrorist acts, we must have a thorough understanding of every aspect of extremism and the sub-sets of extremism.

### Purpose of Study

There were two analyses undertaken. The first analysis was a general overview of extremism as a whole. It would be unrealistic to try to study one segment of extremism, such as right and left wing extremists in the United States, without having a general understanding of the very nature of extremism.

The second analysis was a comparative analysis between right wing and left wing extremism and extremist groups within the United States. A profile was developed for each end of the political spectrum and the two groups were analyzed, based on criteria which was developed. The resulting analysis gave a clear picture of where extremist groups are in the United States and what we can expect in the future from them.

### Research Question

One way of classifying extremist groups in the United States is by dividing them into two factions, left wing and right wing.<sup>1</sup> Although these groups come from different ends of the political spectrum, are they similar or dis-similar? Is the only difference between the two factions their political views or all aspects of their organizations?

### Theoretical Framework

There is a tendency, for not only law enforcement authorities but also government personnel and the general public, to treat different groups differently. People feel that, since groups are from different ends of the political spectrum, they must automatically have different motives, different philosophies, and attract different types of people. If it can be shown that groups are more similar than dis-similar, the methods for dealing with extremist groups do not need to be drastically different.

For local, state, or federal law enforcement agencies to prevent or effectively deal with a terrorist incident, they must first understand the group. The first requirement for understanding a situation is to understand the people and the groups involved. The following is an attempt to add to the understanding of this diverse problem, extremism.

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<sup>1</sup>For the definition of left wing and right wing see Chapter III.

### Theory and Supportive Research

Extremism is a subject that is receiving much attention not only in the United States, but also through-out the world. The attention is coming in the form of articles written in periodicals, complete books on the subject, national task forces, government committees, and international conferences. Unfortunately, most of the available information is concentrating on international extremism and terrorism. The reason for this could be two-fold. First, international extremism is much more 'popular' than the domestic variety. In most cases, people will write and study in areas that happen to be 'popular' at the time. Second, from what is written, people in the United States may be somewhat afraid to talk about extremism in the United States. It is as if people feel that if nothing is said, the problem will not exist.

As a result, most of the supportive research does not directly apply. Although some elements of domestic and international extremism are similar, most of the basic elements are dis-similar. This makes using the available research difficult. However, most of the theories that exist on extremist groups can be applied to both domestic and international extremism. They include:

A. Extremism affects all areas of society. One of the major characteristics of extremism is the effect it has on the general population. Extremists want to influence public opinion and, as such, force their will on society as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Francis M. Watson, Political Terrorism: The Threat and the Response, (Washington D.C., Robert B. Luce Co., 1976), p16.

B. Extremists take advantage of people when they are in a low state of mind, e.g. farmers and the farm crisis. This applies to both support and for recruiting purposes.<sup>3</sup> The average person, in a normal state of mind, will not willingly join an extremist group and participate in vicious criminal activity. However, when they feel all is lost, they are more susceptible to being taken in by others.

C. Regardless of the political party that controls the White House or Congress, some extremist organization(s) will try to take advantage of the their policies; e.g. with a conservative politician in the White House, left wing extremist groups try to use that conservatism to their advantage. And the opposite is true when a liberal politician occupies the White House. Then right wing extremist groups try to an make issue of the 'liberal' president's policy.

No matter what the ruling party members do, they will run into problems. They just cannot do everything right. An extremist group will try to use these problems as a way to portray the party as unfeeling and uncaring to the general public. Extremist groups try to exploit these problems to their advantage.

D. In many attacks, the stated objective may not be the primary objective. For example; when a group hijacks a plane, stating they want their leader released from prison, in fact, they know the United States government would never release the leader; the actual objective is to get media exposure for the group.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Douglas Hand, "The Blood of Patriots," Harrowsmith, (September/October 1986), p. 49.

<sup>4</sup>Jeffrey Z. Rubin and Nehemia Friedland, "Theater of Terror," Psychology Today, (March 1986), p. 26.

Extremist groups are impatient. They do not want to or cannot work within the existing political system; they feel our political system is slow and cumbersome. As in the example mentioned above, an extremist group cannot go to the major networks and request air time. Additionally, they do not want to spend the money to buy advertising. So, they come up with way to get media exposure, free of charge.

E. Extremists sometimes will use illegal means to fund their operations, i.e. bank robberies, drug trafficking, or armored car robberies.

Operating an extremist group is not an inexpensive proposition. It takes money to feed people, to purchase 'safe' houses, to travel, and to distribute literature. Unlike their European and Middle East counterparts, extremist groups in the United States do not have a source of funding from foreign governments. Governments, which in the past have provided funding for extremist groups, in other parts of the world, at this time, do not find it feasible to fund United States extremist groups.

### Overview

This paper is organized in the following manner: Chapter II, is a review of the literature. The first section of Chapter II, contains the different types of literature reviewed, followed by the common observations of extremism, both domestic and international.

Chapter III is the chapter on methodology. In this chapter, there is a description of how the study was undertaken, the population, the hypothesis, the characteristics used, and the definitions.

In Chapter IV, the findings from the literature are presented. The findings will be based on the characteristics described in Chapter III.

## Chapter II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The subject of extremism has become a very 'hot' topic in the last fifteen to twenty five years. Everyone seems to have an opinion on the subject, and literally thousands of articles and books have been written. Besides the articles and books, there are reports published by commissions and task forces organized to deal with the problem of extremism. With the enormous amount of material available, a problem arises trying to decide what to review and what not to review. Anyone working on the subject of extremism must also decide who is a true expert and who is just a 'so-called' expert. Unfortunately, even if you can identify the true experts, their articles and books may not deal with your particular focus of extremism.

Abstracts were found to be a very valuable tool for locating the appropriate source of information. Criminal justice, police science, sociology, political science, and psychology abstracts, just to mention a few, were invaluable in sorting through the vast amount of information. Abstracts were used to identify particular sections of research.

Educational research papers and special reports by private research organizations were used extensively. The following is a list of the different types of literature reviewed, with a brief summary of each.

### Types of Literature

- A. News Periodicals: Magazines such as Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report. These types of periodicals are a good source of information for basic facts. They give the 'nuts and bolts' on extremist incidents, identify the major players and groups, and provide some surface level analysis into extremist groups. Of this group, U.S. News and World Report has the best analysis.
- B. Editorial Periodicals: Magazines which include Harpers, Insight and Washington Quarterly. These magazine have much better in-depth analysis than the previous group of periodicals. They tend to refrain from giving the basic facts or reporting a particular incident. They concentrate more on analyzing why a group or groups use a certain method, how governments are dealing with the problem of extremism, or what can be expected in the future.
- C. Books: Two points should be made concerning books. First, since the number of books available on the subject of extremism and terrorism is immense, books were only used for specific sections of research. This is where the abstracts became very valuable. To try to review all the available books on extremism would be overwhelming. Second, books were used as a supplement to the other literature. Periodicals, special reports and research papers were found to be much more current and generally a better source of information. This was particularly

true in the case of right wing extremists, which are more active today, as opposed to left wing extremists, who are currently quiet.

D. Educational Research Papers: The major source of literature from this section came from the Center for Criminal Justice Research, Criminal Justice Administration Department at Central Missouri State University. The Center is concentrating on right wing extremist groups in the United States. These papers have a much more in-depth analysis than can be found in periodicals, and they are much more current than books.

E. Special Reports: Reports presented by private organizations which deal with the extremist issue. For the most part, publications by the Rand Corporation, Risk International and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith were helpful. These organizations are an excellent source of information on selected issues. They are also very good at in-depth analysis.

F. Security and Police Related Periodicals: Magazines such as Security Management and Police Chief. Periodicals in this category generally were not a good source for finding real in-depth analysis or reporting of incidents. They tend to concentrate more on preventative measures for state and local law enforcement departments or for private corporations.



G. Special Issue Periodicals: Magazines which generally do not deal with extremism, but occasionally will publish articles on extremists and terrorists. Such periodicals include 'Fortune', 'The Economist', 'Harrowsmith' (a farm related magazine), 'Management Review', and 'Travel and Holiday'. This category tends to be a good source of information from people who are not generally involved in the extremism issue. They give a different insight into the problem than criminal justice or psychology periodicals.

H. Psychology and Sociology Periodicals: With these periodicals the reader gets the reasons 'why', that is, what motivates extremists and why they select a particular target.

I. Government Publications: The author used 'The FBI Bulletin', 'Department of State Bulletin', and Congressional Records. With government records, the reader receives two forms of information. The first type is prevention methods on the national level. The second type is information from different political viewpoints.

## Typologies

While there are many writings on extremism, there are some common observations in the literature. The following is a list of some of the common observations on extremism and a sub-set of extremism, terrorism.

### Objectives of Extremists

So what is it that extremists or terrorists really want? Each group will have different objectives and goals, depending on what part of the world they come from, the type of extremists they are, who their leaders are at the present time, and what elements of society they are attacking. Specific goals of United States' groups will be discussed in Chapter IV.. In this section general objectives of extremist and terrorist groups will be discussed.

It is generally regarded that the primary aim to be achieved by a terrorist act is publicity.<sup>5</sup> This is the same sentiment expressed by the Israeli psychologist and terrorist expert, Ariel Merari. He states that the media is the main focus of much of the terrorist activity.<sup>6</sup>

The media is needed because extremists need to attract an audience and deliver a message.<sup>7</sup> As will be mentioned in the section on the difference between terrorism and guerrilla warfare, terrorism is a public relations activity. Extremists are very aware of what the mass media can do for them. Many times activities are planned to take advantage of the media. And to a

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<sup>5</sup>Liston, Terrorism, p. 146.

<sup>6</sup>Jeffrey Z. Rubin and Nehemia Friedland, "Theater of Terror," Psychology Today, (March 1986), p. 24.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

significant degree, extremism and terrorism are a product of mass media and might not survive without the mass media.<sup>8</sup>

This is why we probably will not have too many more Achille Lauros. It was nearly impossible for the mass media to provide extensive press coverage. With the ship miles out at sea, it was just not as convenient to cover as a plane on a tarmac. Since the first job of a terrorist is to get and hold an audience,<sup>9</sup> no immediate access to the media would be a major mistake.

Attracting publicity and the use of the media are major short term objectives. Extremists do have more long term goals. They try to show that the government is ineffective in dealing with terrorism. By doing this, the extremists hope the public will lose confidence in their government to provide safety and security. Extremists also hope to create a psychological impact on their society which is disproportionately larger than the group's actual political strength.<sup>10</sup> Extremists seek leverage over the organization they are attacking, but they know they do not have the strength, either politically or militarily, to achieve this.<sup>11</sup>

This can also be called The War of Nerves. As the deceased Brazilian terrorist Marighella stated:

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<sup>8</sup>Kaplan, "The Ethics of Terror," quoted in Burr Eichelman, David Soskis, William Reid, ed., Terrorism Interdisciplinary Perspective (Washington D.C., American Psychiatric Association, 1983), p. 15.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>10</sup>W. Ronald Olin, The Police Chief, (April 1986), p. 28.

<sup>11</sup>Rubin and Friedland, "Theater of Terror," p. 18.

The object of the war of nerves is to misinform, spreading lies among the authorities, in which everyone can participate, thus creating an air of nervousness, discredit, insecurity, uncertainty, and concern on the part of the government.<sup>12</sup>

A much larger objective is to destroy the social organization.<sup>13</sup> Most extremists are either some form of communists--followers of Mao, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, etc.-- or fascists--believers in Hitlerism. No matter what their belief, extremists are opposed to, and would like to destroy, democratic societies.

### Size of Extremist Groups

The old adage of "bigger is better" used to apply to extremist groups. Groups previously would try to attract as many members as they could. The belief was that the higher your membership roll, the stronger your organization. However, problems arose when more and more members were added. With a larger membership came the increased risk of infiltration by government and police agents. Extremist groups must maintain a very high level of security to remain effective. Many groups were infiltrated by police and federal agencies and effectively destroyed.

Because of this, extremist groups have developed a new strategy. Instead of one large group, many extremist groups are now dividing themselves into smaller cells, which operate semi-autonomously. This

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<sup>12</sup>As quoted in Disorder and Terrorism, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Olin, , p. 28.

greatly decreases the chance of infiltration.<sup>14</sup> The same type of networking was used in World War II by the European underground.<sup>15</sup>

Not only does dividing the organization into cells decrease the chance of infiltration, it minimizes the knowledge and contact between members of the organization.<sup>16</sup> With contact between members limited, few members will know the complete list of all other group members. Groups, however, have found terrorism to be their ultimate weapon, no matter how small and insignificant they are.<sup>17</sup>

### Elements of Terrorism

Terrorism is not simply the placing of a bomb or the high-jacking of an airplane. Committing a terrorist act is a risky undertaking, therefore, most acts are extremely well planned. To the casual observer, a terrorist act may seem to be just one violent act when, in fact, the actual "terrorist" act is just one small part of the overall plan. There are certain specific elements involved in nearly every terrorist action. As is reported in Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice, the elements of terrorism include the threat or use of violence, political motivation, and the creation of psychological pressure for some specific or generalized purpose.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Irwin Suall, "Propaganda of the Deed": The Far Right's Desperate Revolution," ADL Special Report, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, May 1985), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup>Damon D. Camp and H. Todd Locklear, Georgia State University, "Domestic Terror: Responding to Violent Extremism," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, St. Louis, MO, 18 March, 1987, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup>Friedlander, Terror-Violence, p. xx.

<sup>18</sup>A.F. and May T. Morrison, Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice Vol. 4 (London, England, Collier Macmillan Publishing, 1983), p.1530.

A better definition is presented by William P. Lineberry. The first element is a grievance, whether the grievance is real or imagined. This is followed by a vulnerable target. The next element is the fascination, on the part of mass media, with the terrorist action (the role of the media will be discussed in greater detail later in this section). The final element, which is the most critical, is the response to the terrorist act by authorities.<sup>19</sup>

Extremists like to make a big deal about the grievances they espouse. However, grievances actually have very little to do with terrorist acts. Grievances are used as an excuse to be extremists or to commit violent acts.

Although the elements of terrorism may be of vital importance, let us not forget one major feature of modern terrorism. At times, terrorists and extremists appear less concerned with the triumph of their cause than with the expression of it.<sup>20</sup> Causes may be so broad or vague that, at times, extremists may not really fully understand why they are fighting. Therefore, expression becomes a major element.

### Types of Extremism and Terrorism

To better understand the nature of extremism and terrorism we must first understand the different types of such people or groups. The groups fall under different categories and it would be impractical to try to place all groups together. Various writers have used different terms for the classification of extremist and terrorist.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>William P. Lineberry, ed., The Reference Shelf: The Struggle Against Terrorism (New York, New York, H. W. Wilson Co, 1977), p.13.

<sup>20</sup>Lineberry, Struggle Against Terrorism, p.55.

<sup>21</sup>For a complete definition of each type, see Appendix A.

Bruce Hoffman divides extremism and terrorism into three different categories:

- E. ethnic/emigre
- F. left-wing
- G. right-wing.<sup>22</sup>

Historian Bowyer Bell not only has placed extremism and terrorism in different categories, but also has used subdivisions:

- M. psychotic
- N. criminal
- O. endemic
- P. authorized
- Q. vigilante
- R. revolutionary, which is subdivided into:
  - S. organizational terror
  - T. allegiance terror
  - U. functional terror
  - V. provocative terror
  - W. manipulative terror
  - X. symbolic terror.<sup>23</sup>

Robert A. Liston listed terrorism in the following four distinct types:

- A. criminal terrorism
- B. terrorism for ethnic or national liberation
- C. state terrorism

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<sup>22</sup>Bruce Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities (Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation. January 1986), p.4.

<sup>23</sup>Robert A. Friedlander, Terror-Violence: Aspects of Social Control (New York. New York, Oceana Publications, 1983), p. 53-54.

D. revolutionary terrorism.<sup>24</sup>

In the Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism, there are several different types:

H. political terrorism

I. nonpolitical terrorism

J. quasi-terrorism

K. limited political terrorism

L. official or state terrorism.<sup>25</sup>

The point is not so much that everyone classifies extremism differently, the point is that extremism is not one all encompassing activity. Extremism and terrorism take many different forms, and each form is somewhat different. The different types of extremist and terrorist groups in the United States will be discussed in greater detail later in this paper.

### Differences Between Extremism/Terrorism and Guerrilla Warfare

Extremism and terrorism are often grouped in the same category as warfare. Some experts label our fight against terrorism as a war. Extremists and terrorists themselves very often say they are waging a war against some government or a group of people. It is felt, and is supported by some of the available literature, that equating terrorism with guerrilla warfare is a major misconception.

By placing extremism/terrorism and guerrilla warfare in the same categories, governments are faced with a problem. By placing the same label

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<sup>24</sup>Robert A. Liston, Terrorism (New York, New York: Thomas Nelson, Publishers. 1977), p. 44.

<sup>25</sup>National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Disorders and Terrorism, Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism, 1976, p.3-6.



on both, governments will deal with both forms of activities in the same manner. This can be a major mistake. Such was precisely the case with the French government in Algeria. The French treated the FLN terrorists in Algeria as if they were guerrillas. The FLN would plant bombs on public buses. The French reacted as if the FLN's objective was to destroy the busses. In reality, the FLN's main objective was to force the French to arrest all non-Europeans in the area as suspects in the bombings.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it was not the FLN's move that was vital to their success, but the French countermoves.

There is a major difference between extremism/terrorism and guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare is more operational and militarily oriented, while extremism/terrorism is more public relations oriented.<sup>27</sup>

The objectives of the two are totally different. Guerrilla targets are specific targets. Targets are usually installations or military personnel which, if destroyed, would help them in their war against the governing nation. They are specific targets. If a bomb is placed on an airplane, it is there to destroy that airplane. Extremist and terrorist targets are more indiscriminate. The victims of their attacks are normally innocent victims. This is done deliberately.<sup>28</sup> It is not the targets that are the primary concern, but the reaction to their actions and, more importantly, the attention the extremist will receive from the mass media.

As Abraham Kaplan writes,

It is moral blindness to give the name *guerilla* to those whose sphere of action is not military installations or locales

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<sup>26</sup>David Fromkin, "The Strategy of Terrorism," Foreign Affairs, July 1975, quoted in Lineberry, Struggle Against Terrorism, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup>David Farhi, The Limits to Dissent: Facing the Dilemmas Posed by Terrorism (New York, New York, Aspen Institute For Humanistic Studies, 1977), p. 2.

<sup>28</sup>Fromkin, "The Strategy of Terrorism," quoted in Lineberry, Struggle Against Terrorism, p. 30.

of even indirect military significance . . . but rather civilian airports, markets, city streets, bus stops, and bathing beaches . . . The act of terror displays only cowardice; seldom do these "heroes" attack anyone other than unarmed civilians.<sup>29</sup>

Even practitioners of guerrilla warfare recognized the difference between terrorism and guerrilla warfare. Theoretician Che Guevara warned against the strategy of terrorism, arguing that it hinders

. . . contact with the masses and makes impossible unification for actions that will be necessary at a critical moment.<sup>30</sup>

Also, Marxist theory considered terrorist acts counterproductive except as part of the final mass attack on the old structure; they absorbed time and effort that should be used in other ways, provided a false sense of progress, and led to police crackdowns on efforts to organize the proletariat.<sup>31</sup>

### High Technology Weapons

As we progress through the years, all elements of our society become more and more sophisticated. Such is the case with the weapons of today. Weapons that are available to people today are much more powerful and deadly than weapons of just twenty years ago. This is particularly true of weapons that are available on the black market. No longer are simple shootings and the bombings of buildings the only options available to

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<sup>29</sup>Abraham Kaplan, "The Ethics of Terror," quoted in Eichelman, Soskis, and Reid, Terrorism, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>31</sup>A.F. and May T. Morrison, Encyclopedia of Crime, p. 1531.

extremists. Much of modern terrorism depends on technological advances.<sup>32</sup> It does not take much imagination for an extremist to come up with extremely deadly ways to use weapons of today. Such weapons of destruction could include the spreading of nuclear waste, the placing of bacteria, the spread of nerve gas, and the placing of other biological waste in such a manner to infect a large city.<sup>33</sup>

There is growing concern that terrorists or extremists will someday obtain a nuclear weapon and either detonate it in a heavily populated area or use it as a blackmail device. The concern is such that the Department of Energy commissioned the Rand Corporation to prepare a study on the potential threat.<sup>34</sup> However, the threat of nuclear terrorism may not be as great as is believed by some experts. Because of the extensive measures that are taken to protect nuclear weapons and nuclear facilities, it may be much more practical for extremists to use other methods for destruction.

As Professor Bernard L. Cohen suggested,

. . . the nuclear threat by terrorists is exaggerated because there are simpler and easier methods of mass destruction available to terrorists . . . .<sup>35</sup>

Some of the methods can include releasing a poisonous gas, discharging a load of gasoline or napalm on spectators in a football stadium,<sup>36</sup> blasting open a dam, poisoning a city water or food supply, or attacking a tanker carrying liquefied natural gas as it passes near a large city.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Brian Jenkins, "Research in Terrorism: Areas of Consensus, Areas of Ignorance," quoted in Eichelman, Soskis, Reid, Terrorism Interdisciplinary Perspective, p. 170.

<sup>33</sup>Farhi, The Limits to Dissent, p. iv.

<sup>34</sup>Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. iii.

<sup>35</sup>Liston, Terrorism, p. 37.

<sup>36</sup>A form if this type of terrorism was suggested in the movie "Black Sunday."

<sup>37</sup>Liston, Terrorism, p. 37.

Chemical and biological devices are potentially awesome weapons. They can be very inexpensive to manufacture which, in turn, makes it very cheap to kill large groups of people. Chemical and biological weapons have been called the "poor man's atomic bomb."<sup>38</sup>

It is further stated that terrorism is a phenomenon that feeds on advanced technology.<sup>39</sup> The more sophisticated we become, the more violent the terrorist incidents become. Perhaps this is what Rousseau meant in saying that every civilization carries within itself the causes of its own destruction.<sup>40</sup> This leads to the conclusion that terrorism will continue to grow and get more deadly as our technology advances.

#### Misconception of Extremists as Madmen

It is generally regarded that extremists are madmen and psychopaths. People witness savage terrorist acts, such as, the machine gunning of innocent people in an airport, the bombing of a school bus, the assault on a crowded shopping center, and they believe only an insane person could commit such an act. But are extremists really true psychopaths or are they putting on a "show" for society?

Generally, extremists and terrorists are not the "crazies" they appear to be. This is not to say that there are no psychopaths within an extremist or terrorist group, because there are. But the psychopaths, who are brought into organizations, are there for one reason and one reason only. They are used as the group's "foot soldiers". They are the people who do the dirty work and

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<sup>38</sup>Alvin H. Buckelew, "Security Without Constraints," Security Management, June 1987, p. 49.

<sup>39</sup>Lineberry, Struggle Against Terrorism, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

take most of the risks. However, it should be noted that the true psychopaths are not the true believers of the cause. They are there for the violence.

The true believers are not psychopaths. Extremists and terrorists like to present this image as people who are out of control and are so crazy that they could do anything to get their way. As Jeffrey A. Tannenbaum writes, most terrorists are coolly rational, even conventional people, who see their terrorist duties "as an avocation."<sup>41</sup>

In fact, terrorist acts are often the product of sane and rational minds.<sup>42</sup> The brutality and the senseless nature of terrorist acts are actually designed to further enhance the image of terrorist groups. Terrorist and extremist groups want the public to believe that they can do whatever they want and wherever they want, that no government can stop them and everyone is a potential victim.

### Violence and Terror

We live in a violent society and this violence seems to be increasing. People are afraid to leave their homes at night and sometimes during the day. As black activist Rap Brown once remarked, "violence is as American as cherry pie."<sup>43</sup>

This is not to say that we, as Americans, invented or have the exclusive use of violence. Some countries have fewer problems with violence

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<sup>41</sup>Jeffrey A. Tannenbaum, "For World's Alienated, Violence Often Reaps Political Recognition," Wall Street Journal, January 4, 1977, quoted in Lineberry, Struggle Against Terrorism, p. 102.

<sup>42</sup>Fredrick Hacker, Crusaders, Criminals, Crazies: Terror and Terrorism In Our Time, quoted in Friedlander, Terror-Violence, p.60.

<sup>43</sup>Albert Parry, Terrorism: From Robespierre to Arafat, (New York, New York. Vanguard Press, 1976), p. 92.

than the United States, but there are also other countries that have a much greater problem. Violence is very much a standard of contemporary national and international life.<sup>44</sup>

The following is an excerpt of a story appearing in a newspaper:

Hardly a day now passes without robberies, bombings, murders, riots and prison revolts. . . . The turmoil is complicated by the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between political terrorism and common crime. . . .<sup>45</sup>

This excerpt is not from an American newspaper, but from an Italian paper. However, the article could apply to any number of countries.

As mentioned above, it is very difficult to distinguish between terrorism and crime.<sup>46</sup> All crime is not terrorism, but all terrorism is crime. The same distinction can be drawn between terrorism and violence. That is, all violence is not terrorism, but all terrorism is violence. Terrorism is a form or mode of violence.<sup>47</sup>

Extremist and terrorist organizations recognize that violence and terror are critical elements of their operation and they must be used. The Irish Republican Army has two laws, the very first being: The use of violence is obligatory in order to induce fear and chaos.<sup>48</sup>

One of the most notable black revolutionaries in Africa was also a strong proponent of terrorist violence. He argued that

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<sup>44</sup>Farhi, Limits to Dissent, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. iv.

<sup>46</sup>The definition of "terrorism" will be presented in Chapter III.

<sup>47</sup>Paul Willinson, "The Laws of War and Terrorism," quoted in David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander, ed., The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications, (New York, New York, Pergamon Press, 1982), p. 309.

<sup>48</sup>Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne, Terrorists: Their Weapons, Leaders and Tactics, (New York, New York, Facts on File, 1982), p. 179.

... violence against the colonizer binds colonized people together as a group and has a cleansing effect on the individual . . . Violence has these beneficial effects even if it is only symbolic, that is, even if it is not required in the political and military conflict for decolonization.<sup>49</sup>

We must also be careful to recognize the fact that there is a difference between violence and terror. There is a fine line between the two, but there is a line. Extremists and terrorists do not simply want violence. They must have the element of terror to be successful.

General terror is an act based on violence.<sup>50</sup> There are three basic principles of general terror, which are:

- A. The entire population must be subjected to terror in order to establish the conditions for destruction of one part of the population.
- B. Whoever is not with the extremist or terrorist group is either an actual or potential opponent.
- C. If a group contains one single enemy, but cannot be identified, the entire group must be wiped out.<sup>51</sup>

Since a major element of extremism is publicity, the murdering of one or even two people would not draw the attention of the national press. As a consequence, they must resort to not only a violent act, but also an outrageous act. Outrageous actions receive more attention than those that are simply violent.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>A.F. and May T. Morrison, Encyclopedia of Crime, p. 1531.

<sup>50</sup>Rapoport and Alexander, The Morality of Terrorism, p. 187.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>52</sup>Rapoport and Alexander, The Morality of Terrorism, p. xvi.

A very clear and concise definition between violence and terror is put forth by Dr. Abraham Kaplan. He states:

Violence constitutes an act of terror when its victims are distinct from its target-those being coerced.<sup>53</sup>

#### Low Incident Rate in the United States

Through the use of mass media, citizens of the United States are becoming more aware and more concerned with the ever growing problem of terrorism. As mentioned previously, fear is a major ingredient of terrorism. The more people observe the effects of a well placed bomb, the more concerned they become and, hence, the greater their worry and fear.

This can very easily turn into a cycle that feeds on itself. As people become more concerned, they become more aware. This leads to more fear, which leads to more concern, which leads to better awareness, which leads to more fear.

As fear increases, peoples' perceptions can become distorted. This sometimes happens with Americans. When there is an increase in terrorism in Europe, Americans are less likely to travel in Europe. Yet, when we look at terrorist incidents, we can see that Americans are rarely the victims of terrorist attacks. Additionally, when we look at terrorist attacks within the borders of the United States, we see there are very few attacks, particularly when compared to terrorist incidents of other countries.

In 1985, there were 3,010 terrorist incidents worldwide and in 1986, there were 2,830 incidents. When those numbers are compared to incidents in

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<sup>53</sup>Kaplan, "The Ethics of Terror," quoted in Eichelman, Soskis, and Reid, Terrorism, p. 8.



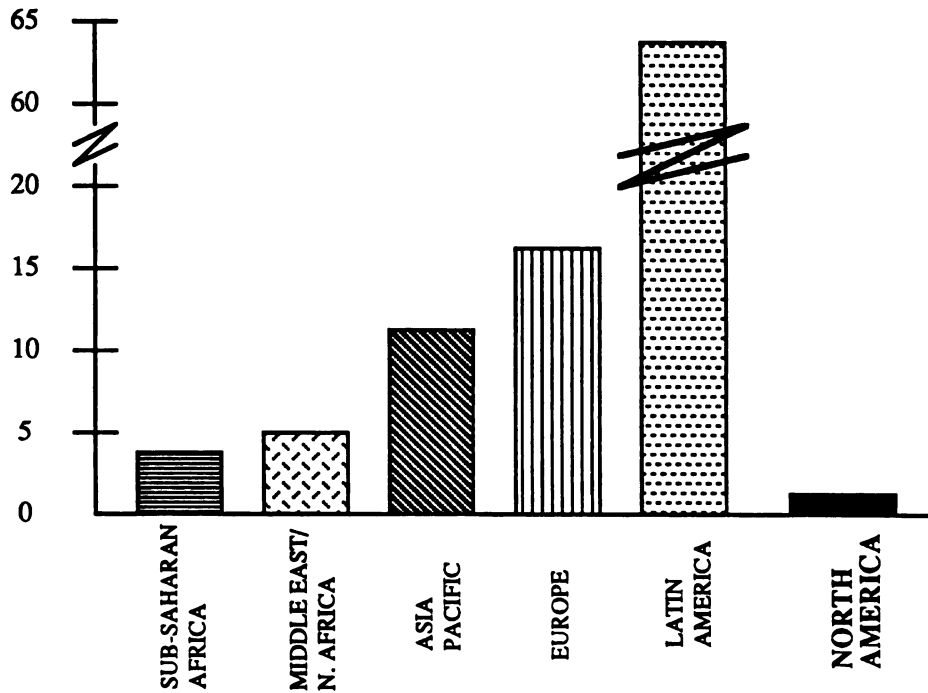
the United States, it become obvious that Americans are not the primary target of terrorists. There were only 7 terrorist incidents in the United States in 1985 and 9 in 1986.<sup>54</sup> When the percentage of incidents, by region, is graphed (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2), it is shown that Americans have very little to fear from terrorist attacks. More in depth figures on terrorist incidents can be found in Appendix B.

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<sup>54</sup>Virginia Harris, "Terrorism", ASIS Information Packet, Arlington, Virginia, March 1987. (Mimeographed), p. 6-11.

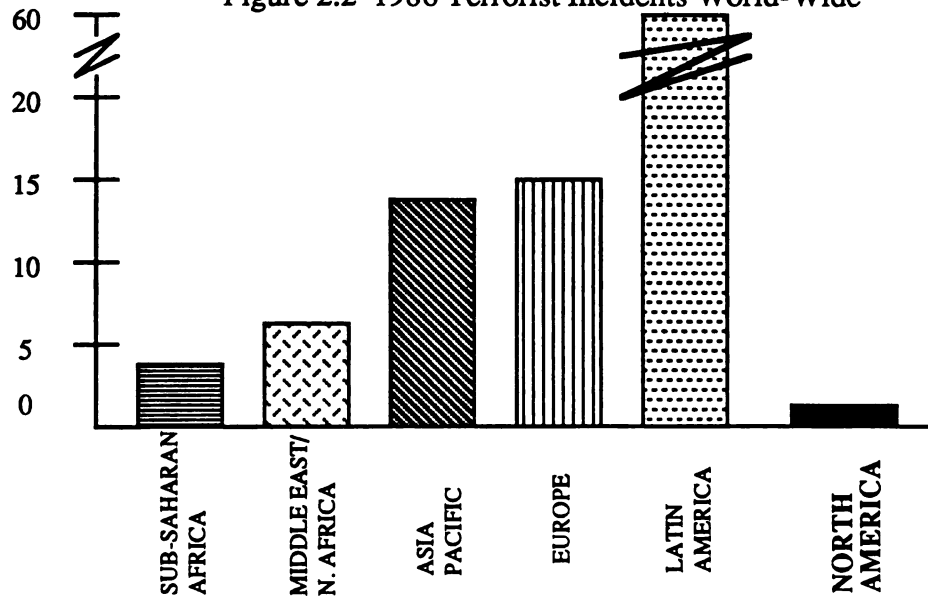
PERCENTAGE

Figure 2.1 1985 Terrorist Incidents World-Wide



PERCENTAGE

Figure 2.2 1986 Terrorist Incidents World-Wide

Source: Virginia Harris, Terrorism, ASIS Information Packet

## Victims

The last and most critical element of any action taken by an extremist, is the victim. It is not so much the actual victim, but the intended victim(s) of a extremist action that is critical. At no time will extremist groups take any action until they determine what the effect will be on their intended victims.

It is often reported that the victims of an extremist attack were innocent bystanders. They are innocent bystanders not by accident, but by design. It is vital for the extremist to include innocent people in their list of victims.

For it is not the victim that is the ultimate target. The real intent of an extremist group, as mentioned in the section on objectives, is the destabilization of governments and a demoralization, or even panic, among the public-at-large.<sup>55</sup>

Generally, the victim is neither the soldier nor the government official, but innocent civilian third parties, whose injuries and deaths are meant to harm the entire body politic.<sup>56</sup> Extremists want the general public to live in fear. The greater the degree of fear the extremists can cause for the population, the greater the control the extremists will have on the government involved.

Extremists and terrorists also want to leave the impression that no one is safe from an attack. As is stated by Robert A. Friedlander:

The horror of modern terrorism, and the source of its strength, is that everyone is a potential victim.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Friedlander, Terror-Violence, p. 158.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

Of course, extremists do not view victims in the same light as the general, law abiding public. They regard victims in one of two ways. First, they do not consider anyone as an innocent victim. You are either for the extremist or you are against them. There is no middle ground.<sup>58</sup> So in the extremist's mind there can be no innocent victims. Everyone, who is hurt or killed in a terrorist attack, falls into two categories. One, they are supporters, which make them "soldiers" that died for the "cause." Two, they are the enemy, so they deserved to die.

The second view, which is the most common among extremists, is that there are innocent victims. However, extremists feel it is justified to kill innocent people if the end goal is accomplished. As was very clearly stated by Yassir Arafat,

... the end always justifies the means, and the means often becomes the end.<sup>59</sup>

The Moluccan terrorists, who hijacked a Dutch train in 1975, openly justified their shooting of one of the hostages. A statement released by the terrorists explained:

We want to show the world and the Dutch government that we will fight for our country (the South Moluccan islands in the Pacific) even if innocent people are hurt.<sup>60</sup>

Dr. Kaplan further states that terrorists believe:

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>59</sup>As quoted in Friedlander, Terror-Violence, p. 64.

<sup>60</sup>Washington Post, December 10, 1975, p. A19, as cited in Watson, Political Terrorism, p. 27.

. . . that victimizing the innocent is justified if, through the victimization, the guilty are made to suffer.<sup>61</sup>

So many extremists believe that if they kill or injure enough innocent people, ultimately their target will fall.

This very clearly explains the quote from Noble Laureate Albert Camus. He called terrorism, "the death of the innocent."<sup>62</sup>

### Crimes to Finance Operations

Perhaps the best know extremist groups in the world are the groups which operate in the name of the Palistinian people, particularly those under the direction or sanction of the PLO, or groups of the radical left in Europe, such as the Baader-Meinhof Gang. Since these groups are the best known, they are also the best financed.

Groups under the PLO are probably the best financed terrorist groups in the world. Not only do they receive direct or indirect financial support from governments, they also receive considerable support from the main body of the PLO.

The PLO is much more than a simple extremist organization. It is essentially a multi-national corporation. It is generally regarded that it has an operating budget that reaches into the billions.

This, however, is not the case for most extremist groups, particularly those in the United States. They do not have a parent organization that is willing to donate millions to support their causes. Foreign governments, to

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<sup>61</sup>Kaplan, "The Ethics of Terror," quoted in Eichelman, Soskis, and Reid, Terrorism, p. 8.

<sup>62</sup>As quoted in Friedlander, Terror-Violence, p. 158.

this date, have not been willing to help finance their operations. Extremist groups, that do not have the luxury of a major financial backer, must come up with other ways to spread their violent message.

Extremist groups have turned to committing conventional crimes. Crimes which are used by extremist groups include, armed robbery, murder, kidnappings, tax fraud, counterfeiting, and extortion, just to mention a few.<sup>63</sup>

The Order<sup>64</sup>, a right wing terrorist group in the United States, has used conventional crimes as a form of initiation for new recruits. New members must gain "points" to remain members. Points are awarded to members who kill blacks and Jews, or engage in counterfeiting and robbery.<sup>65</sup>

Not only are extremist groups dealing in conventional crimes, they are also getting into the field of drug trafficking. This is now being referred to as narco-terror or narco-terrorism. Groups in all areas of the world are now, in some way, connected to the drug world. Groups such as the Irish Republican Army of Ireland, the M-19 group of Columbia, and the Red Brigade of Italy are just a few of the groups that have found the drug trade to be extremely lucrative.<sup>66</sup>

Extremists have turned to drug trafficking for many reasons. The most obvious, of course, is the money involved. The drug usage in the United States has become at least a \$30 billion a year industry (and possibly

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<sup>63</sup>Camp and Locklear, "Domestic Terror," p. 7.

<sup>64</sup>The Order is also known under the names Bruders Schweigen (German for Silent Brotherhood), the White American Bastion and the Aryan Resistance Movement.

<sup>65</sup>Michael E. Wiggins, "An Extremist Right-Wing Group and Domestic Terrorism," (Center for Criminal Justice Research, Central Missouri State University, March 1986), p. 3.

<sup>66</sup>Michael Satchell, "Narcotics: Terror's New Ally," U.S. News & World Report, (May 4, 1987) : 30-37.

three times that).<sup>67</sup> With that much money available, groups can finance their whole operation strictly from drug money. States Mark Dion of the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters,

A drug-deal profit of \$20 million, not large by current international standards, can buy an election or finance major arms purchases.<sup>68</sup>

Drug use world-wide has increased dramatically. The increase is so dramatic, that a recent United Nations report noted that drug use has become so pervasive as to threaten the very security of some countries.<sup>69</sup> Because of this very large increase, extremists are provided with the opportunity to make fast easy money.

Another primary reason for narco-terrorism is that extremists see drug trafficking as a way to fight back at their enemies, the United States in particular. Extremists like to feel they are bringing America down by smuggling drugs into the country. They feel the more people in America whom they can get hooked on drugs, the easier it will be to defeat the United States (and other countries that are considered enemies of terrorists).

One of the major Columbian drug lords, Carlos Lehder, explained the ties between drugs and revolutionary terrorism. He declared that drugs are the Third World's "atomic bomb," and

Coca has been transformed into a revolutionary weapon for the struggle against American imperialism. The Achilles' heel of imperialism are the *estimulantes* (drugs) of Columbia.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid, p. 32.

<sup>69</sup>Mark S. Steinitz, "Insurgents, Terrorists and the Drug Trade," Washington Quarterly, (Fall 1985), p. 141, "citing" Washington Post, January 18, 1985.

<sup>70</sup>Satchell, "Terror's New Ally," p. 30.

Narco-terrorism is best summed up by Secretary of State George Shultz. He states that:

Money from drug smuggling supports terrorists. Terrorists provide assistance to drug traffickers. It's the modern version of piracy.<sup>71</sup>

### Summary

The amount of literature available on extremism is extensive. Nearly every type of periodical, at some time, will publish an article about extremism or terrorism. This includes such periodicals as farm related and travel magazines. It was found to be best to concentrate on certain types of literature when addressing the different elements of the study. Books were used for an historical perspective. News periodicals were used for current facts. For the bulk of the research, efforts were concentrated on papers and reports produced by colleges and universities and reports developed by private organizations. The remaining literature, particularly police and security periodicals and psychology and sociology periodicals, were used to supplement the main body of the paper.

It is impractical to try to do a research study on one segment of extremism, without first having a basic knowledge of extremism as a whole. Eleven common observations on extremism were identified and related to the United States scene.

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid, p. 32.



### Chapter III

## METHODOLOGY

This paper analyzes the characteristics of extremist groups in the United States. The analysis was done by reviewing various forms of literature. The methodology used to review the literature was Historical/Comparative Analysis.

#### Historical/Comparative Analysis

Historical/comparative analysis is a method of social science research used to examine the development of a issue over time. The analysis covers various periods of time and can compare the development process across cultures.<sup>72</sup>

The intent of the analysis was to identify and categorize characteristics which are common among the extremist groups, not merely to list all characteristics of all extremist groups in the United States. As such, a composite of left wing and right wing groups in the United States was developed.

The reseacher collected data on right-wing and left-wing extremist groups in the United States. From the the data the researcher identified all the different characteristics which could help describe an extremist in the United States. From the characteristics identified and selected the researcher drew the conclusion as to whether right-wing and left-wing extremists were similar or dis-similar.

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<sup>72</sup>Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, (Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1986), p. 290.

The analysis covered many different forms of literature. The different forms of literature were examined in Chapter II, the Review of Literature. A cross-section of written material was selected because the accuracy of historical/comparative analysis lies in replication of information among different sources of written material. The strength of historical/comparative lies in obtaining data from a variety of sources, which represent different points of view. The literature was not sub-divided into primary and secondary literature, since the major focus of historical/comparative analysis is finding corroboration between all forms of literature, whether they are primary or secondary.

### Groups

Groups used in the study were groups that were mentioned two times or more in the literature reviewed. There were a few groups used, that were mentioned only once, however those groups are front groups for more well known extremist groups. There was not one group, either on the left or the right, that possessed all of the characteristics found. As a result two or more groups were identified for each characteristic.

On the right, the Identity Church Movement and the Aryan Nations were the groups analyzed most frequently. Of course the Identity Church Movement is a collection of groups, and as such a particular characteristic may not apply to a particular group within the Identity Church Movement or to the Aryan Nations.

The Weathermen was the left-wing group analyzed most often. This applied to the Weathermen of the late 1960's, the early 1970's and the Weathermen of the early 1980's.

Effort was made to stay away from ethnic and emigre organizations, such as the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and the FALN. Although they may be mentioned at one time or another in this study, they were not the main focus. There are two reasons for not concentrating on these types of groups. Groups such as the JDL are not a clear cut left-wing or right-wing group. Some people may consider the JDL a left-wing group and other people consider them a right-wing group. The intent is to concentrate on groups that are readily identified as a left-wing or right-wing group. As a result groups that are not clearly left-wing or right-wing were not included.

### Population

The following is a list of all the extremist groups covered in the body of literature studied.

TABLE 3.1  
EXTREMIST GROUPS STUDIED IN THE UNITED STATES

RIGHT-WING	LEFT-WING
Ku Klux Klan <sup>73</sup>	Nation of Islam
Church of Jesus Christ Christian	Weathermen <sup>74</sup>
Posse Comitatus	Students for a Democratic Institute
for Historical Review	Society
Aryan Nations	Progressive Labor Party
American Nazi Party	United States Communist Party
National Socialist White People's Party	May 19th Coalition
The Order	United Freedom Fighters
neo-Nazi National Alliance	Guerrilla Resistance
The Heritage Library	United Freedom Front
The National Agricultural Press	El-Rukn
Association	Schiller Institute
Christian Defense League	Black Panthers
Covenant, the Sword and the	New Afrikan People's
Arm of the Lord	Organization
New Year's Gang	Socialist Workers Party
Euro-American Alliance, Inc.	Symbionese Liberation Army
National Alliance	Revolutionary Armed Task Force
National Socialists Movement	Black Liberation Army
White Confederacy	Revolutionary Youth Movement
United White Peoples Party	Prairie Fire Organizing
National States Rights Party	Committee
United Racist Front	Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson
	Unit
National Socialist White Workers	The Black Guerilla [sic] Family
Party	Committee to Fight Repression
	John Brown Anti-Klan Committe

<sup>73</sup>The Ku Klux Klan is not one large organization but many different smaller groups all referring to themselves as Klans. Unless a specific group is mentioned the term Ku Klux Klan can refer to one or more of the smaller groups and the overall Klan philosophy.

<sup>74</sup>The Weathermen were also call the Weatherpeople and the Weather Underground.

### Characteristics

Not every characteristic identified in the literature review was used in the analysis. The researcher determined that only characteristics that were found in two or more pieces of literature would be utilized. The following characteristics identified were:

A. Political Philosophy--What philosophy does the group (and in turn society) use to characterize themselves? Do they have Marxist overtones or are they Neo-Nazis?

B. Issues--What are the current events which extremist groups try to exploit to their advantage? What is the "Vietnam War" of today?

C. Financing--As already discussed in Chapter II, extremist and terrorist groups use "ordinary" crimes to help finance their operations. In Chapter IV a more in-depth look will be taken at which crimes are committed by which American groups.

D. Use of Front Groups--Extremist organizations have a tendency to organize groups, that on the surface appear perfectly legitimate and above board. The front groups are used for favorable public opinion. Some of the front groups used by American extremist groups will be identified.

E. Recruitment--Where these groups get their members was analyzed. What areas of our society are most likely to produce

extremists? The author also studied how members are recruited. Are they recruited right into the extremist group or do they start in a less-violent group then work their way up the violence ladder.

F. Stated Goals and Objectives--What does the group want to accomplish? Do they want to overthrow the United States government or do they want to eliminate a certain segment of our society?

G. Types of People--Who are the different types of people extremist groups attract? Are they vastly different from the general public or are they basically the same as the rest of the American people?

H. Enemies--Most, if not all, extremist groups have one specific organization, government, or group of people that they feel is their primary enemy. The various enemies of the different extremist groups will be identified and compared.

I. Organizational Structure--Extremist and terrorist organizations may appear to be a collection of crazies, with no sense of direction or organization. However, they tend to form very structured organizations. How groups structure themselves was examined.

J. Linkage Attempts--Attempts by both right-wing and left-wing organizations to form an alliance were examined.

K. Publications and Communications--The different forms of communications extremist groups use to get their message of hate to the general public were reviewed. The different forms include newspapers, newsletters, magazines, television shows, and radio programs.

### Definitions

**Extremism:** Extremism is a measure of deviance from the political norm. It means going to the political limit or the tendency to go to the poles of the ideological scale. In terms of the democratic political process, it means going beyond the limit of the normative procedures. However, the democratic political process is constantly being redefined and is a "state of mind." The main ingredient is the repression of difference and dissent or ideas.

Extremism is accompanied by one or more of the following:

1. the presence of a significant number of people who regard themselves as economically deprived or threatened (until recently, the case of the left--hence it's traditional interest in labor and civil rights).
2. the sense, or the threat, among a significant number of people of status deprivation (usually the case of the right--hence it's disproportionate attachment to established institutions, e.g. the church).
3. the feeling among numerous people of general cultural alienation.

Three-part criterion to define extremism and to classify groups as extremists:

1. the antipluralistic nature of the group. They will try to close the democratic political process to opposing forces and they do not recognize or accept the legitimacy of dissent and are unwilling to compromise that position.
2. the methods they employ. They refuse to carry on social and economic conflicts within the normal political channels or institutions.
3. their ideology as viewed by the larger society. Does society view the group as extreme? Extremism is a relative, not an absolute, condition. First, it depends on the mainstream of society and who is making the judgement. Secondly, society itself can define extremism differently.

Extremists: people whose ideas and conduct go beyond the bounds of recognized behavior.<sup>75</sup>

Terrorism: The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.<sup>76</sup>

(The Federal Bureau of Investigation's definition of terrorism, because there is not one common or agreed upon definition of terrorism, for means of comparison. Other definitions of terrorism have been provided in Appendix C.)

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<sup>75</sup>Extremist Groups in the United States: A Curriculum Guide, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York), p. 190.

<sup>76</sup>"Charting Terrorism's Course," Security Management, June, 1987, p. 66.



**Terrorist Incident:** A violent act or an act dangerous to human life in violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state done to intimidate or coerce a government, civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.<sup>77</sup>

**International Terrorism:** terrorism conducted with the support of a foreign government or organization or directed against foreign nationals, institutions, or governments.<sup>78</sup>

**Right Wing:** protection of the traditional positions of the old elites. Right-wingers stand for the old establishment values. They are primarily against the displacement of power and status accompanying change. They tend to be skeptical as to whether human nature can be improved by political agency.<sup>79</sup> They view the world in a nationalistic point of view. In actuality, extremism of the right hopes for the destruction of democracy and the imposition of a dictatorship on the model of Nazi Germany.<sup>80</sup> In short, right wing means preservation or the maintaining or narrowing lines of power and privilege.

**Left Wing:** appeal in populist fashion to the anti-elitist sentiments of the underprivileged. Left-wingers favor impelling social change and the complete destruction of the present social, political, and economic systems, claiming that they will substitute for it a utopian society. They believe man can be

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<sup>77</sup>"Danger On Our Doorsteps," Security Management, (December 1986), p. 49.

<sup>78</sup>Sanford H. Kadish, ed., Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice, (Collier Macmillan, London, 1983), p. 1530.

<sup>79</sup>Vernon Bogdanor, ed., The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Institutions (New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1987), p. 324.

<sup>80</sup>Extremist Groups in the United States, p. 252.

made better by government intervention. The 'Left' is associated with an ideology which affirms the superiority of reason and science over tradition and religious dogma.<sup>81</sup> They favor internationalism as opposed to nationalism.<sup>82</sup> They hope to establish a totalitarian dictatorship, a system of government where there is one party, one authority, one way of life, and one ideology, modeled after a form of Communism. Left wing can be said to be innovation. The stated purpose is the broadening of power and privilege.

Racism: the belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race.<sup>83</sup>

Communism: a system of government of one party, in which the state owns the means of production and controls all aspects of society.<sup>84</sup>

Marxism-Leninism: Communism formulated by Marx and Lenin. It is a belief in the inevitability of class conflict and the resolution of that conflict in a revolutionary struggle.<sup>85</sup>

Maoists: ideology based on a peasant rather than proletarian movement as a means of achieving power in underdeveloped, non-industrialized countries.<sup>86</sup>

Totalitarian: a political system where all aspects of life are politicized: work, culture, sports, science, and religion. The purpose is to assure that people are

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<sup>81</sup>Bogdanor, Encyclopaedia of Political Institutions, p. 324.

<sup>82</sup>Jozef Wilczynski, An Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Marxism, Socialism and Communism, (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1981), p. 311.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 35

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

conditioned in all their activities and contacts to think and behave as the "new man" should.<sup>87</sup>

United States: any part of the fifty states, the District of Columbia and the territory of Puerto Rico.

Socialism: a theory of social organization which advocates the vesting of the ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, etc., in the community as a whole.<sup>88</sup>

Trotskyists: followers of Leon Trotsky. These are Marxists-Leninists who insist that revolution must be world-wide and constant. They believe Communism cannot exist in one country alone.<sup>89</sup>

Law Enforcement Authorities: Any members of any municipal, county, state, or federal police department.

Criminal Activity: Any incident or act which is in violation of any city, county, state or federal law of the United States.

Political Party: pertaining to one of the two major parties of the United States; Republican and Democratic.

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>88</sup>Random House Dictionary of the English Language, (1967), s.v. "socialism."

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

**Characteristics:** the qualities which the author has determined to be representative of United States extremist organizations.

## **Chapter IV**

### **FINDINGS**

In the following chapter the major findings from the literature review and analysis will be presented. The findings will be based on the characteristics discussed in Chapter III. There will be a discussion of each characteristic, followed by particular findings of right-wing groups and then left-wing groups as they apply.

#### **Presentation of Findings**

##### **Political and Religious Philosophy**

Nearly all extremists in the United States have some form of religious or political philosophy which they follow. Some groups may even adhere to both a religious and political philosophy.

By saying an extremist group has some form of philosophy is not the same as stating a mainstream group has a philosophy. There are many non-extremist groups in society today, which are governed by their philosophy. Whether they are a political, or an educational, or a medical, or whatever type of organization they happen to be, they have certain rules and by-laws by which they live. In some cases, they may change the scope of things, but their basic philosophy will remain the same. This is not the case with extremist groups. These groups will use a philosophy as long as it can be of some benefit to them. Once a philosophy becomes of no use to them, they

discard it and pick up another. Additionally, it can be said that it is not the philosophy of the overall group that is important, but the philosophy of the individual leaders that governs the organization. Extremist groups, more than any other groups, are not democratically oriented. They operate under a totalitarian style of hierarchy, where all the power is in the hands of a few people or even one person. This helps explain two traits of extremist groups.

The first is the high number of organizations that change their ideology. If the people in control change the way they view the world or new leaders take over, they just change the philosophy of their extremist group, to match their new philosophy. This can be very easy to do if only one person or a small group governs the organization. Such was the case with the Students for a Democratic Society when the pro-Peking Communists took control. They simply changed the direction of the group.<sup>90</sup>

This leads to the second characteristic, which is the frequent occurrence of splinter groups. Whenever members, whether they are part of the control group or "soldiers", become dissatisfied with the way the organization is being run or with the philosophy of the group, they frequently will break off and form their own group. Subsequently, when someone in the second group becomes dissatisfied, they break off to form their own group. The reasons can be many or few, but the reasons are not the issue. The issue is that there is constant friction in extremist groups and, as a result, constant splintering. Such is the case with the Ku Klux Klan organization. The KKK is not one large group, but is made up of numerous smaller groups each with a

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<sup>90</sup>Parry, Terrorism, p. 333.

different leader and a different view of how the world should be.<sup>91</sup> There will be an indepth discussion of splintering later in this chapter.

Right-Wing: On the right end of extremism, we generally find that there are about the same number of groups adhering to a religious philosophy, as to a political philosophy. Also, there are a number of groups that combine the two philosophies.

Most right-wing groups that have some form of religious philosophy, such as Richard Butler's "Church of Jesus Christ Christian", which adheres to the theology called the "Identity" movement. The "Church of Jesus Christ Christian" was started in 1946, in California, by the notorious racist Wesley Swift.<sup>92</sup>

The Identity movement can also be described as Christian Conservatism. Historically, it is derived from Anglo-Israelism, which was developed in Great Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. It basically comes from an ultra-literal view of the King James version of the Old Testament. This belief is that England and its former American colony is, in reality, Israel.<sup>93</sup>

Followers of the Identity movement believe that the Anglo-Saxon and other European nationalities are the direct descendents of the ten lost tribes of Israel.<sup>94</sup> There are two other basic tenets of the Identity movement.

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<sup>91</sup>Extremism on the Right: A Handbook, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, 1983), p. 22.

<sup>92</sup>William E. Barker, "Linkages and Co-Participation in Right-Wing Groups," (Center for Criminal Justice Research, Central Missouri State University, 1985), p. 6.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>94</sup>Alan Schwartz, "The "Identity Churches": A Theology of Hate," ADL Facts, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, Spring 1983), p. 5.

The first is the inherent superiority of the white race. The doctrine holds that blacks and other non-whites are on the same spiritual level as animals and therefore have no souls.<sup>95</sup>

The second tenet deals with Jesus Christ. Many believers feel that the second coming of Jesus Christ is at hand and that American cities will go up in flames, before Christ arrives.<sup>96</sup>

Politically, most right-wing groups can be identified with extreme political conservatism. The first issue associated with extreme political conservatism is that they take exception to nearly every aspect of daily life associated with government control.<sup>97</sup> Issues include such matters as taxing authority, school issues (prayer and integration), the printing of money, and many others.

This belief is taken to the very extreme by the terrorist group, Posse Comitatus. The Posse is a loosely affiliated band of armed vigilantes and survivalists, formed in 1969. They recognize no government above the level of the county government.<sup>98</sup> They do not recognize any state government or the Federal government of the United States.

Additionally, most right-wing groups, particularly the Aryan Nations, believe that the government of the United States is actually controlled by the Nation of Israel. They refer to the leadership of the United States as the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG).<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Barker, "Linkage and Co-Participation," p. 10.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>98</sup>Extremism on the Right: A Handbook, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, 1983), p. 43.

<sup>99</sup>Barker, "Linkage and Co-Participation," p. 12.



Internationally, the Aryan Nations believes that Communism is a Jewish conspiracy.<sup>100</sup> They feel that not only is Communism controlled by Jews, but most of the financial and political establishments.<sup>101</sup>

Generally, right-wing groups are associated with Nazism or Hitler style Socialism. They adhere to some form or parts of the Nazi philosophy of Adolph Hitler. This belief was expressed by the late George Lincoln Rockwell, who founded the American Nazi Party in 1959, later renamed the National Socialist White People's Party.

We believe that Adolph Hitler was the gift of an inscrutable Providence to a world on the brink of a Jewish-Bolshevik catastrophe, and that only the blazing spirit of this heroic man can give us the strength and inspiration. . . to bring the world a new birth of radiant idealism, realistic peace, international order, and social justice for all men.<sup>102</sup>

Mr. Rockwell is certainly not alone in this view of Hitler. Most, if not all members of neo-Nazi groups or Socialist groups, feel much the same.

Left-Wing: Left-wing extremist organizations in the United States, as a group, do not adhere to a religious philosophy. Instead, they subscribe to political orientations. There are a few exceptions and the exceptions can be found with black, left-wing extremist groups. One such exception is the Black Muslim group, the Nation of Islam and their leader, Louis Farrakhan.

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

<sup>101</sup>"Extremism on the Right: A Handbook, p. 43.

<sup>102</sup>"Hate Groups in America: A Record of Bigotry and Violence," (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, 1982), p. 25.

The best known left-wing group in the United States is the Weathermen or Weather Underground. The name for the group comes from the anti-Establishment song by Bob Dylan, "Subterranean Homesick Blues."<sup>103</sup> One line from the song is: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind is blowing." Officially the name Weathermen was dropped and replaced by Weatherpeople and later Weather Underground after one of the original leaders, Mark Rudd, was demoted from his leadership role. He was replaced by Bernadine Dohrn who felt that Weathermen was too much of a sexist title for the group.<sup>104</sup> However, Weathermen is the term most commonly used.

The Weathermen was a splinter group formed from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The faction broke from the SDS at the SDS's ninth annual convention, held in June 1969, in Chicago. The original members of the Weathermen, about a dozen, signed a document which proclaimed, "the necessity to engage in immediate and drastic militancy."<sup>105</sup>

Although many of the leaders and members of the SDS were socialists, the group itself was nominally nonpartisan in the organization's early days.<sup>106</sup> In the mid 1960's the group began attracting Communists; first the pro-Moscow Communists joined, then the more radical pro-Peking Communists. It was these Maoists who slowly began to take control of the SDS. The Maoists came from the Progressive Labor Party, whose leaders were purged or quit the pro-Moscow United States Communist Party, in 1961-1962.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 325.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 339.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p.324.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

When the Weathermen were formed in 1969, the term that best describes their political philosophy would be revolutionary, as opposed to Communist or Nazism. What was foremost in the group's philosophy was the initiation of a civil war in the United States. In late 1969, several nationwide polls on American campuses indicated that about one million students considered themselves to be revolutionaries. The Weathermen believed that they were the vanguard of these masses.<sup>108</sup>

It is very clear that the Weathermen had a definite leftist, Communist slant to their philosophy. They considered themselves followers of the guerrilla, Che Guevara, and believed that Che's One More Vietnam would be in America, a fight which they would lead.<sup>109</sup> Members also traveled to Cuba and North Vietnam during the war. In Cuba the members attended a revolutionary gathering in Havana and received training in all forms of revolutionary tactics. There are even reports that the Cuban government helped finance the trips by appropriating a half a million dollars.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 330

<sup>110</sup>Watson, Political Terrorism, p. 82-84.

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TABLE 4.1  
RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY  
OF EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

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RIGHT-WING

Religious:

Christian "Identity" movement  
Christian "Conservatism"

Political:

Extreme conservatism  
Hitler style Socialism  
Nazism

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LEFT-WING

Religious:

Muslim

Political:

Communist style Socialism  
Revolutionary  
Communist--followers of:  
    Lenin  
    Marx  
    Trotsky  
    Mao

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Many times extremist groups will organize because of an event or occurrence, or they will try to use a particular event to their advantage. The most common and recognizable example is the Vietnam War. Many groups were formed as a way to oppose the war. Most groups were operated by law abiding citizens. Others, however, started off as extremist or terrorist groups. Still others, such as the Weathermen, were formed when they splintered off from a legitimate group.

Both types of extremists look to history and dream of the day they can repeat what their ideological ancestors accomplished or tried to accomplish. Both Hitler and the Bolsheviks rode to power on the backs of crises, so extremist groups are also hoping to find that one crisis or issue which they can ride to power.<sup>111</sup>

Right-Wing: What are the overriding concerns of the extremist groups on the right? There remains the classic issues of the right, the superiority of the white race and the religious bigotry directed first at Catholics and now at Jews. However, these issues are not attention grabbers and they do not help to bring in large numbers of recruits. Additionally, they are not issues of a current nature.

There are two issues that are current and are of concern to vast numbers of people in the United States, which the right-wing extremists are trying to exploit. They are the farm crises and the Nation of Israel.

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<sup>111</sup>Extremist Groups in the United States, p. 252.

The American farmers, particularly the mid-sized family farmers, are in a state of change--a change that is so drastic it is changing the very nature of farming in this country. Family farmers are finding it very difficult to compete with the large scale farms. Their profit margin, if they have any profit at all, is very small, and they are just not as efficient as the larger operations. Additionally, mid-sized family farmers historically have not been as financially successful, as larger farmers. They have become over extended in terms of land and credit.

This is particularly true in the mid-west, where there are farm foreclosures every week. For the farmers, these actions have a tremendous impact on their lives. Not only are they losing the only life they have ever known--and possibly losing a farm that has been in the family for generations--they are being "told", and many times they feel, they are a failure. This has a devastating effect on a person's morale and ego. This is the point where the right-wing extremists step in and try to use the farmers for their own purposes.

Right-wing groups use two tactics to exploit the farm crisis. The first is the use of the conspiracy theory. The second is the religious angle. At times they will use both tactics.

Leaders of right-wing groups will tell the family farmer, who has lost his farm or is about to lose his farm, that it is not his fault he is losing his farm. He is told he is not a failure, that there is nothing he could have done to save his farm. He lost his farm because the Federal Reserve Board and international bankers have conspired to drive farmers off their land, so they can buy all the farm land in the United States. "International bankers" is a

standard anti-Semitic euphemism, most commonly used by right-wing groups.<sup>112</sup>

The second tactic is for right-wing groups to use religion as a tool to gain acceptance from the farmers. They claim to be representing a church, such as Butler's "Church of Jesus Christ Christian". People in the mid-west, particularly farmers, are extremely religious. Under normal conditions, they would not accept the message of hate. However, when the message is coming from a "man of the cloth", some begin to believe it is permissible to hate.

There are many right-wing groups active in the farm belt, both extremist and terrorist. The major extremist group trying to exploit the farm crisis is the Populist Party.<sup>113</sup>

The second issue is the Nation of Israel. Right-wing groups have traditionally been, and are, anti-Semitic. Therefore, it stands to reason that they would oppose the Jewish State of Israel. As mentioned in the previous section on political and religious philosophy, many groups believe that the government of the United States is controlled by the Nation of Israel, and refer to our government as ZOG.

They also believe that Jews are the children of Satan. As a consequence, Israel is a nation controlled by Satan.

Left-Wing: Extremists, on the left, lost their major rallying theme when the Vietnam War ended. Not only was the war the major issue of the day, it helped to bring new members to extremist groups. It also provided extremist

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<sup>112</sup>Irwin Suall, "The American Farmer and the Extremist," An ADL Special Report, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, January, 1986), p. 1.

<sup>113</sup>"Extremist Group Outreach to Rural Americans," ADL Special Edition, (Anti-Defamation League, New York, New York, June 1986), p.1.

groups with a ready source of potential new members. During the Vietnam War, most members of extremist groups started as members of legal anti-war organizations. It was from the legal anti-war organizations that extremist groups actively recruited.

An additional issue, which proved quite useful to extremists during the Vietnam War, was the invasion of Cambodia by American troops in the spring of 1970.<sup>114</sup> This led to new riots and demonstrations in the United States. Many of the demonstrations were started by extremist groups or, at least, they were the guiding force behind the demonstrations. Some demonstrations were used as a way to show the increasing power the extremist groups had in controlling events. They were also used as a tool to embarrass the establishment. Finally, they were used as a means for recruitment.

Since there is no longer a Vietnam War being waged, what are the current events which left-wing groups will try to exploit? It can be said that left-wing groups, to a much greater extent than right-wing groups, use the activities or policies of the United States government as a basis for their causes. This was shown during the Vietnam War and it can be seen in the issues of today.

South Africa and their policy of apartheid is a major issue of left-wing groups. Although apartheid is an issue that probably the majority of Americans are opposed to in principle, extremist groups use the issue as a justification for violence. In October 1981, a violent demonstration took place at New York's JFK Airport upon the arrival of the South African rugby team.<sup>115</sup> The demonstration was organized by a member of the May 19th

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<sup>114</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 337.

<sup>115</sup>Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. 31.



Coalition.<sup>116</sup> Bombings also occurred, to protest the rugby tour, at the offices of American Rugby Union in upstate New York and in Indiana.<sup>117</sup> In December 1981, a group called the United Freedom Fighters,<sup>118</sup> claimed responsibility for bombings at the South African Airways freight offices at JFK and an IBM office in Harrison, New York.<sup>119</sup> Another group, calling itself the Guerrilla Resistance, bombed the South African consulate in New York City, in December 1984.<sup>120</sup>

Unfortunately for extremist groups, the United States government has taken action against the government of South Africa in the forms of sanctions and embargoes. This diminishes the effectiveness of using South Africa and apartheid as an issue.

In more recent years, extremist groups have turned their attention to the involvement of the United States in Central America. One such group, the United Freedom Front (UFF), was apparently formed specifically as a result of United States involvement in Central America.<sup>121</sup> UFF claimed responsibility for bombings at military installations in 1983. In 1984 they expanded their range of bombings to include corporate facilities.<sup>122</sup> Most of the attacks took place in the New York City and New York state areas.

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid. The name was chosen to commemorate the birth dates of North Vietnam's Communist leader and founder, Ho Chi Minh, and American Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, as cited in Hoffman, p. 29.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid, p.31.

<sup>118</sup>The name of the group may have been a cover for the the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF).

<sup>119</sup>Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. 31.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p.32.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.

The farm crisis in America is also an issue which the left-wing has tried to exploit. The left-wing blames the crisis on the nature of capitalism, to which they are violently opposed.<sup>123</sup>

There is one left-wing organization which is most actively involved in the farm crisis. The organization has many different names, but only one leader, self avowed leftist, Lyndon LaRouche. Through the Schiller Institute, LaRouche has attempted to sign up farmers to his organizations. He blames farm foreclosures on the international banking conspiracy. He also blames Reagan administration cutbacks in farm support on the "dope lobby".<sup>124</sup>

LaRouche uses many terms, which are generally regarded as right-wing terms, such as "international banking conspiracy". Although he has some links to right-wing groups, all of his organizations have been left-wing oriented. This began with his first group in the 1960's, the National Caucus of SDS Labor Committee, which was affiliated with the SDS.<sup>125</sup>

Left-wing extremists are also opposed to the Nation of Israel. However, they look at different issues than their right-wing counterparts. Left-wing extremists are supportive and, at times, affiliated with the PLO. Since the PLO has been, is and will probably continue to be, an enemy of Israel, left-wing organizations are also opposed to Israel. This, however, is not the only reason for the left's opposition to Israel.

Israel is America's closest ally in the Middle East. Since the left would like to see the 'capitalist' government of the United States fall, they are opposed to any nation which helps and supports our government.

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<sup>123</sup>Camp and Locklear, Domestic Terror, p. 18.

<sup>124</sup>Alan Schwartz, "The LaRouche Political Cult: Packaging Extremism," ADL Special Report, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, Spring, 1986), p. 19.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

Additionally, the left feels if they strike at Israel, it is a way of striking against Jews in general. This is an accepted goal, because Jews are viewed as part of the "affluent, smug, white capitalist class" that oppresses the racial minorities.<sup>126</sup>

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TABLE 4.2  
ISSUES OF EXTREMIST GROUPS  
IN THE UNITED STATES

RIGHT-WING	LEFT-WING
Superiority of the white race	South Africa--apartheid
American Farm Crisis	US involvement in Central America
Israel	Israel
	American Farm Crisis

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<sup>126</sup>Mark Blumberg, A Comparative Analysis of Violent Left- and Right-Wing Extremist Groups in the United States, (Center for Criminal Justice Research, Central Missouri State University, October, 1986), p. 7.

## Financing

As discussed in the "Typology" section of Chapter II, extremist groups are using conventional crimes as a way to finance their operations. This is particularly true of American groups that do not have major fundings from foreign governments. Before American groups started using crimes as a means for financing, their only sources of income were membership dues, the sale of books and publications and contributions from supporters. Although this was enough to keep the organization functioning, it was not enough money to finance the type of operations that their leaders envision, and today it is definitely a secondary form of financing.

The revolution, or the takeover of the United States government, cannot become reality without a great deal of money. For such an operation to take place, groups need money for a wide variety of items. Included are such things as: weapons, not only guns but explosives and ammunition; safe houses; clothing; food; medical supplies; money for heat and electricity; communication equipment; printing presses to print literature which needs to be distributed to the "masses"; transportation; and the list can go on and on. There is no way groups could possibly finance such operations from membership dues and selling literature. It should be noted that even with the money received from criminal activity, groups still do not have enough money to finance a successful revolution in the United States. However, extremist organizations are collecting enough money, so they have the potential to purchase sophisticated weaponry, to cause major disruptions, to stay underground for longer periods of time, and to distribute very sophisticated literature.

Right-Wing: Right-wing extremist groups in the United States are using conventional crimes to help finance their operations. As mentioned in Chapter II, The Order is the major right-wing extremist group, in the United States, involved in criminal activity.<sup>127</sup> Not only do they use crimes as a way to finance their operations, they also use crimes as a way to initiate new recruits. New members must gain "points" to remain members. Points are awarded to members who kill blacks and Jews, and participate in counterfeiting and robbery.<sup>128</sup>

The inspiration for the criminal activities of The Order apparently came from the book, The Turner Diaries. The Turner Diaries was written by fictional author Andrew Macdonald. However, it is generally believed that the author is really William L. Pierce, the leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and editor of the National Vanguard.<sup>129</sup>

The Turner Diaries was a fictional account of revolution undertaken by a white supremacist organization, that eventually overthrows the United States government.<sup>130</sup> The book not only describes how the revolution was carried out, but it also details the methods of financing a revolution and how murders are to be committed.<sup>131</sup> Much of what is presented in the book has been copied by members of The Order.

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<sup>127</sup>Wiggins, "Extremist Right-Wing Group," p.3.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid.

<sup>129</sup>Michael E. Wiggins, "A Descriptive Profile of Criminal Activities of A Right-Wing Extremist Group," (Center for Criminal Justice Research, Central Missouri State University, October 1985), p. 2.

<sup>130</sup>Allen D. Sapp, "A Philosophy of Terrorism as Expressed in The Turner Diaries, (Center for Criminal Justice Research, Central Missouri State University, October, 1986), p. 1.

<sup>131</sup>Wiggins, "A Descriptive Profile," p. 2.

The crimes, committed by members of The Order, range from receiving stolen property to murder. However, most members of the group have been arrested or killed in shoot-outs with federal authorities. The federal indictments clearly indicate the purpose of The Order:

A purpose of the enterprise was to obtain money and other things of value for the enterprise and the defendants, through acts indictable as bank robbery, robbery, interfering with interstate commerce, counterfeiting, and interstate transportation of stolen property, in violation of the laws of the United States.

A purpose of the enterprise was to murder federal law authorities and Federal Government officials . . .

A purpose of the enterprise was to murder persons viewed as hostile to the aims and purpose of the enterprise, and persons viewed as threats to the enterprise . . . 132

The Order is thought to have collected more than \$4 million through their various bank and armored car robberies.<sup>133</sup> A complete listing of the crimes that Order members were charged with can be found in Appendix D.

Left-Wing: In the 1960's and 1970's some leftist organizations received support from people who would not be considered extremists. These people did, however, sympathize with some of the causes, which the left-wing groups had targeted. Clearly, the best example is the Vietnam War. There were literally millions of people in the United States who were opposed to the war. Many people felt that by contributing and supporting groups, that opposed to the war, they could help bring the war to an end. It was the "popular" and "fashionable" thing to do. The group of people included well

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<sup>132</sup>Indictment, United States of America v. Pierce as cited in Wiggins, "A Descriptive Profile, " p. 3-4.

<sup>133</sup>"William Pierce & The Neo-Nazi Church," ADL Special Edition, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, February 1987), p. 2.

known actors and actresses, doctors, lawyers, and other professional people. However, some of the anti-war groups were in fact extremist groups. Most people had no idea they were supporting or contributing to an extremist group. However, some people did know and went so far as to join the extremist groups or continued to support them.

As Senate investigators found in June 1969, the Black Panthers received "large donations from members of an advisory committee."<sup>134</sup> The advisory committee "consists of many people who are in positions where they are well known either locally or nationally . . . they became members because they are sympathetic to the causes. . . (they) are actors and actresses, doctors, and political figures."<sup>135</sup>

The same type of support was provided to Karleton Armstrong, a member of the New Year's Gang. He was charged with the murder of a graduate student, who was killed when Armstrong bombed the Army Mathematics Research Center at the University of Wisconsin. After Armstrong was allowed to plead guilty to second degree murder, more than forty people testified at his sentencing hearing. A Congressional Committee on Internal Security reported in 1974:

More than forty witnesses, many of them prominent scientists, historians and political activists, came to Madison to testify on Armstrong's behalf and sound the core of his defense: The war in Vietnam was "immoral and illegal" and all resistance to that was justified.<sup>136</sup>

Also, in the early 1970's Cuba, and as such probably indirectly the Soviet Union, helped left-wing extremists in the United States. Cuba helped

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<sup>134</sup>Jerome Bakst, ed., "The Black Panthers," Facts, Vol. 19, No. 2, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, July 1970), p. 519.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid.

<sup>136</sup>Watson, Political Terrorism, p. 124.

with financing and training. This points out that clearly there was support for extremist groups in the 60' and 70's, both financial and otherwise.

However, although the support may have been what is considered extensive, it was not enough for the extremist groups. This forced left-wing groups to find other means of support.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's the two major extremist groups in the United States were the Weathermen and the Black Panthers. The Weathermen used bank robberies as a primary method for financing their operation.<sup>137</sup>

The Black Panthers primary source of income was a method that was very similar to extortion. Businesses that were located in the black neighborhoods were approached by the Panthers to "donate" (sometimes under pressure) money to the Panthers for their free breakfast programs for ghetto children, free medical services and other community programs. Stores that refused to donate were often the target of boycotts, organized by the Panthers. The president of Dairylea Milk Products was quoted as saying:

They didn't threaten, but they asked in such a way that we knew we might be opening the door to bad publicity if we didn't give. We run a lot of routes all over this area, and we don't want to make enemies.<sup>138</sup>

During 1972-73, the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) was born at Vacaville State Prison.<sup>139</sup> It was there that white students from the University of California ostensibly counseled black inmates. Some of these white students and black inmates--a rare combination at that time--were

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<sup>137</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>138</sup>Bakst, ed., "The Black Panthers," p. 519.

<sup>139</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 343.



original members of the SLA. It was on February 4, 1974, that the group kidnapped Patricia Hearst. The ransom demand for Hearst was a Robin Hood style giveaway to the poor, which turned out to be a disaster. It was in April 1974 that the SLA, with Patty Hearst participating, held their most famous bank robbery which netted the group \$10,600.<sup>140</sup>

It was in October 1981 that a co-operation between left-wing groups occurred. In Nyack, New York there was an abortive holdup of a Brinks truck, which resulted in the death of two policemen and a Brinks guard. The group, which attempted the robbery, was the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF). The RATF was an alliance between the largely white Weathermen and the exclusively black Black Liberation Army.<sup>141</sup>

There is also a group whose base of operation is in Chicago. The group, El-Rukn, is not generally regarded as a terrorist or extremist group. They are a very powerful and violent black crime syndicate. However, they are mentioned in this paper because they have very close ties to the Nation of Islam and their leader Louis Farrakhan.<sup>142</sup> Federal authorities also stated that leaders of El Rukn have offered their services to Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. They offered to commit political assassinations in the United States, for a price.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 356.

<sup>141</sup>Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. 28.

<sup>142</sup>"Extremism Targets the Prisons," ADL Special Edition, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, September, 1986), p.2.

<sup>143</sup>WKCQ, "Paul Harvey's News and Comments," October 5, 1987.

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TABLE 4.3  
CRIMES OF EXTREMIST GROUPS  
IN THE UNITED STATES

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RIGHT-WING

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LEFT-WING

Murder  
Counterfeiting  
Robbery  
Armored truck robberies  
Bank robberies  
Receiving stolen property

Murder  
Extortion  
Armored truck robberies  
Sale of narcotics  
Bank robberies

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## Front Groups and Splintering

Extremist groups have used, and are using, "front groups" to try to hide the true intentions of their message of hate. There are four advantages of using such groups.

First, extremist groups will use front groups, which have acceptable sounding names, to gain positive public opinions. People will read and acknowledge literature if it is from a group with a positive name. People have a tendency to believe that if the name of the group is acceptable, then the group's intentions are probably honorable. A parallel can be drawn between these reactions and reactions to criminals. It is much easier to believe someone is a mass murderer or a serial rapist if that person looks like a criminal. If the person is dirty, shabby, tough looking, and is un-educated, people have no trouble believing he or she is guilty. However, if the person is clean cut, smiles a lot, well dressed, and is well educated, people will find it hard to believe that the person could commit such a horrible crime.

The second advantage is, that by using a front group, extremists can gain access to areas that would normally not be open to them. It helps in fund raising, recruitment, support, and availability to the media. There are many people who would be willing to donate money to The Heritage Library, with the belief that it is a conventional library. But The Heritage Library is, in fact, a paramilitary organization, run by Lawrence L. Humpherys, and it adheres to the philosophy of the "Identity" movement.<sup>144</sup>

The third advantage of using a front group deals directly with law enforcement personnel. It is much harder for police departments and federal

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<sup>144</sup>Ibid.

authorities to build a case against an extremist if there are numerous front groups for extremists to hide behind.

The final advantage is that, often, the extremists appear to be more numerous than they really are. One group of twenty people does not seem as forceful as three groups with twenty people. Many times the same twenty people will be in all three groups, but it sounds more intimidating with three groups.

Right-Wing: The National Agricultural Press Association (NAPA). is a right-wing front group which is using an acceptable sounding name. It sounds like it is an organization that deals in farm issues, much the same as the County Co-operative Extension Office. In fact the NAPA, which is headed by Colorado resident Roderick Elliot, has published several periodicals that combine articles on agriculture with articles containing thinly-veiled religious bigotry. The group has also promoted quasi-legal, self-help responses to farm foreclosures, which, the vast majority of the time, are of no use to farmers in financial trouble. In addition, NAPA and Mr. Elliot have been, and are being investigated, by federal and several state authorities.<sup>145</sup>

Left-Wing: Left-wing extremists often have a much greater awareness of how favorable public opinions and impressions can be of benefit to their organizations. Left-wing extremists have many more front groups and splinter groups than their right-wing counterparts. At times, it is by design to make the tracking of group members more difficult for law enforcement authorities. In other instances, it is because of in-fighting. Whatever the

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<sup>145</sup>"Extremist Group Outreach," ADL Special Edition, p. 1.

reasons, it can be very difficult to track left-wing extremists and left-wing groups.

The best way to understand the complexity of front groups and splintering of groups is to look at the example of the Weathermen. As is shown in Figure 4.1, the Weathermen were born when they broke from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). But first, they were known as the Revolutionary Youth Movement I. The SDS was actually a new name for the Student League for Industrial Democracy which had affiliations with the Socialist Party.<sup>146</sup> The SDS included members of both the pro-Peking and pro-Moscow Communists. The pro-Peking Communists, who also belonged to the Progressive Labor Party, originally were part of the Communist Party USA, which was controlled by the Pro-Moscow Communists. However, in 1961 or 1962 they were purged from the Communist Party USA and went on to form the Progressive Labor Movement, later changed to the Progressive Labor Party. In 1969 and 1970, the SDS began to splinter because of an internal power struggle brought on by the pro-Peking faction. The SDS splintered off into four groups: the Weathermen, the New American Movement (NAM), the Revolutionary Union (RU), and the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II).

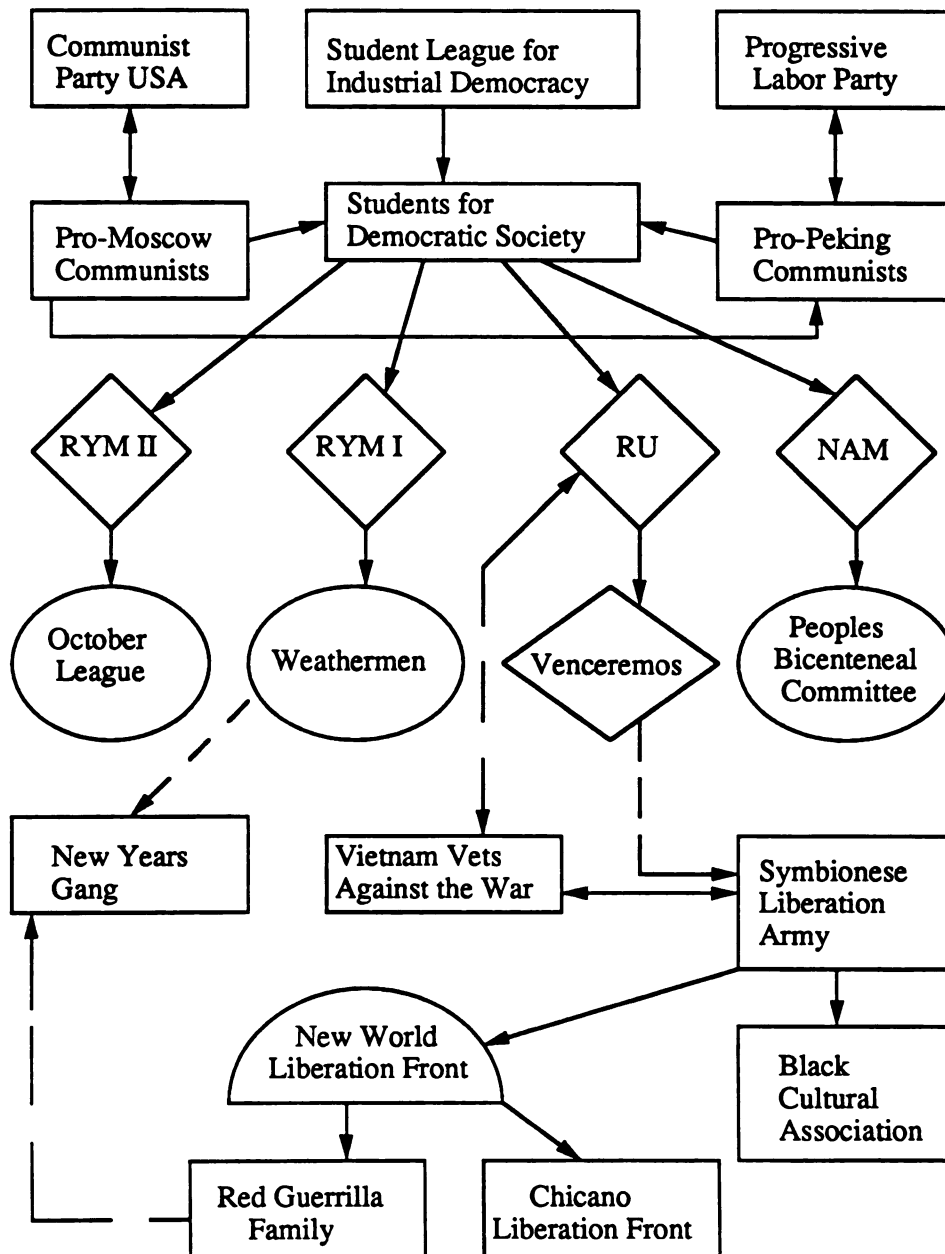
The RYM I later became the October League. The Peoples Bicentennial Commission, which is a very acceptable sounding name, was an offshoot of the NAM. The two name changes were very straight forward, simple changes. The issues become confusing when the Weathermen and the Revolutionary Union are examined.

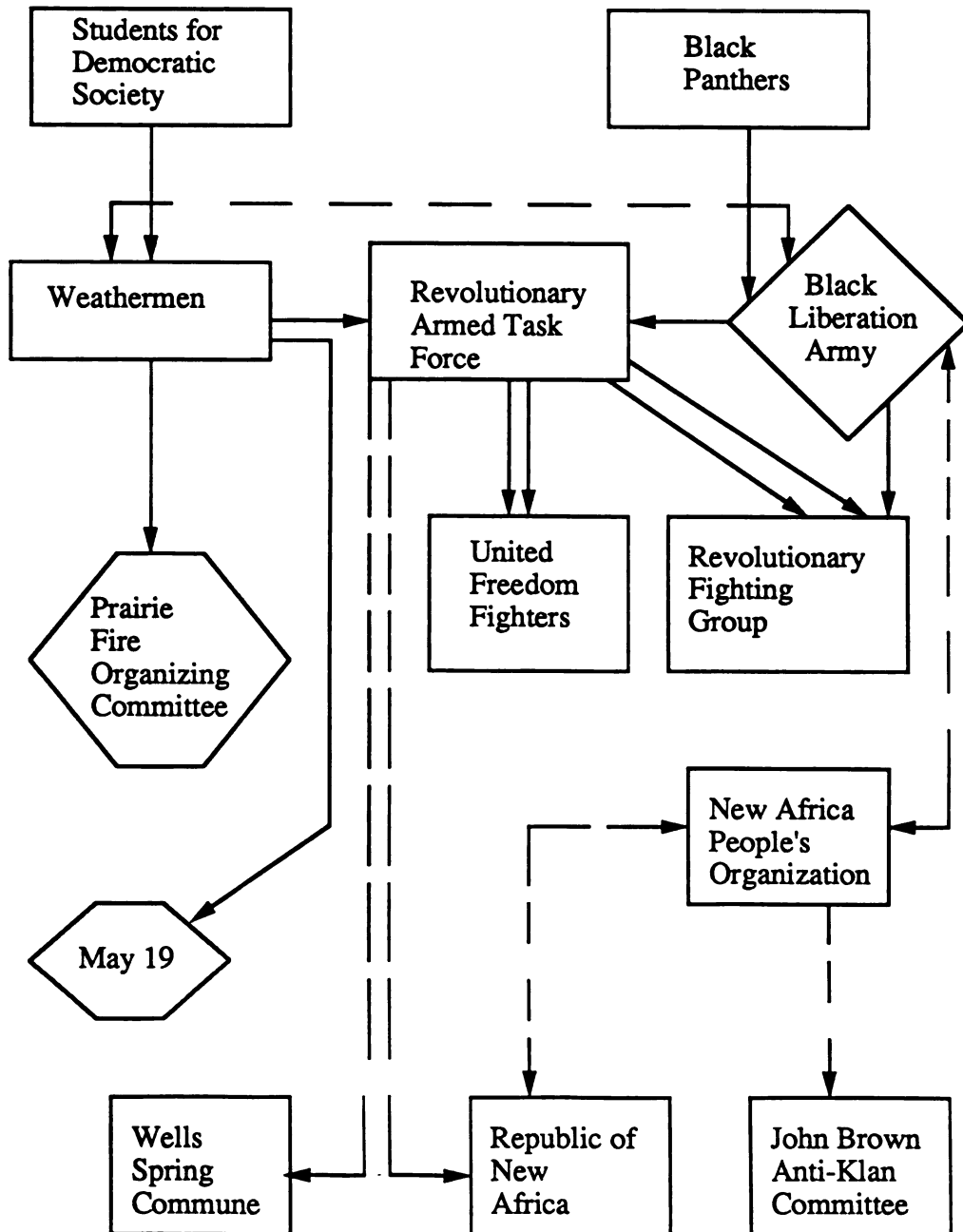
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<sup>146</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 322.

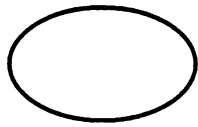
The RU had ties with the Vietnam Vets Against the War (VVAW), which in turn had ties with the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). The more radical members of the RU broke from the group and formed the Venceremos. The Venceremos was also affiliated with the SLA. The SLA had ties to the Black Cultural Association (BCA) and to the New World Liberation Front (NWLF). The NWLF was a group that acted as a front group for the Red Guerrilla Family (RGF). Some members of the RGF were also members of the News Year Gang, which was very closely affiliated with the Weathermen.

Figure 4.1 1960's &amp; 1970's Left-Wing Groups

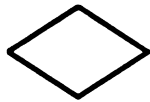




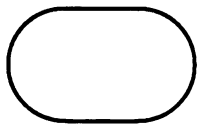


**Key to Figures 4.1 and 4.2:**

New Group--Mostly same members



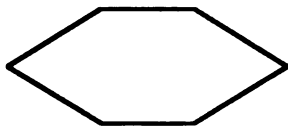
Break from original group



Youth Group



Umbrella Group



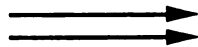
Above ground support apparatus



Members to



Mutual support--same ideology



Front Groups

RYM--Revolutionary Youth Movement

RU--Revolutionary Union

NAM--New America Movement

With extremists belonging to more than one group, the interconnecting ties and affiliations, the use of front groups, and the constant splintering of groups, the structure can be very confusing. This confusion, at times, can be of definite help to the extremists.

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TABLE 4.4  
FRONT GROUPS OF EXTREMIST GROUPS  
IN THE UNITED STATES<sup>147</sup>

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RIGHT-WING

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LEFT-WING

Church of Jesus Christ Christian  
The Heritage Library  
NAPA

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee  
Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit  
United Freedom Fighters  
United Freedom Front

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<sup>147</sup>Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. 22-43.

## Recruitment

As is the case with any organization, membership will fluctuate. This is particularly true of extremist organizations. In extremist organizations members are more likely to tire of the extreme positions they must always take. So where do extremist organizations find new members?

Right-Wing: At the present time, right-wing organizations have four different groups of people whom they are actively recruiting. The first can be described as second generation extremists. This group is made up of people who are children of extremists. This is particularly true of some of the Klan organizations. Some Klan groups have been in existence for decades and are more established than some of the new organizations.

These children grow up in the environment of extremism. They receive their indoctrination early in life, and it is something that is constantly with them. Their parents live the life of an extremist and the children must also live that life. Some children even belong to youth groups that are affiliated with adult extremist groups.

The second group of people, which was discussed previously, are farmers. Right-wing groups are using the farm crisis as a means to recruit new members. Groups present themselves as an alternative to the present system of government in the United States.

The third group of possible recruits are prisoners. Again, right-wing groups are using religion as a means of access. As a general rule, prison administrations do not allow prisoners to receive or possess any materials that would threaten prison security.

Extremist groups hope to be allowed into prisons by declaring they are a religion. If they were to be declared a religion, their literature could be distributed in prisons and their "pastors" would have to be allowed into prisons and allowed to hold "services". This affords extremist groups the perfect opportunity to recruit prisoners.

By claiming to be a religion, prisoners are provided with a powerful incentive to join an extremist group. The reason is because prisoners, who belong to a religious denomination, are allowed extra privileges that other non-religious prisoners are not allowed.<sup>148</sup>

Right-wing extremists are initiating law suits against prison authorities, as a means to gain access to so-called religious literature from extremist groups, operating outside of prisons. The prisoners are claiming they are being denied their First Amendment rights of free speech and free exercise of religion.<sup>149</sup> In *Murphy v. Missouri Department of Corrections*, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri ruled against the inmates on the free speech claim, holding that the prison's literature ban was justified by a substantial government interest: safeguarding prison security.<sup>150</sup>

In a second case, *McCabe v. Arave*, the U.S. District Court in Idaho ruled that the prison could prohibit members of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian from holding group study meetings because of the potential for escalating racial tensions in the prison.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>148</sup>Suall, "Extremism Targets the Prisons," p.1.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>150</sup>*Murphy v. Missouri Department of Corrections*, No. N84-38-C (E.D. MO. Dec 19, 1985), appeal filed, no. 86-1155-EM (8th Cir.), as cited in Suall, "Extremists Targets the Prisons," p. 19.

<sup>151</sup>*McCabe v. Arave*, 626 F.Supp. 1199 (D. Idaho 1986), as cited in Ibid., p.20.

The final group of recruits are students. They are not college students, like left-wing extremist recruit, but high school students. High school students are generally only recruited in the south.

Left-Wing: Left-wing groups like to use public oriented issues, such as Vietnam, South Africa and Central America. As such, left-wing groups tend to have a broader base for recruitment than right-wing groups. There is a group of people in America which left-wing extremists, in the past, have used to their advantage. These are the people who like to consider themselves the *avant-garde* of all liberal movements in this country and overseas. They like to feel they champion the causes of all the oppressed people in the world. The group of people can be used by extremists because of their notoriety, influence, popularity or financial standing.<sup>152</sup> It is this group that left-wing extremists have learned how to cultivate. The value to the extremists from this group comes in three forms.

The first is the influx of money the group brings. Most of the members are professionals and they have money to donate.

The group is also very valuable to extremists, in terms of public relations. If a group has "known" or famous people as members, they have a much better chance to generate media time or media attention. The national networks will not cover a press conference held by a few young radicals who

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<sup>152</sup>It is not meant to imply that members of this group are criminal or extremists themselves. And it is also not meant to imply that they were not committed to the cause(s) they supported, particularly the Vietnam War. Some people in this group were simply naive and did not understand that they were being used by others, some of which happened to be extremists. They blindly followed others who supported the same cause(s) as they did and they did not know or they did not want to know what their bedfellows actually stood for. Additionally, right-wing extremists generally are not as sophisticated when it comes to public relations and they are not as skilled at using people in this manner.

are unknown; but, that same press conference will be covered if a famous actress or actor is present.

The final reason, the group is so valuable is that on paper they increase the membership roles of extremist groups. A group sounds much more influential if it can say it has 1000 prominent members, as opposed to 100 unknown members.

This group of people, however, is a very fashionable group. They will only remain members as long as it is the "in" thing to do. Once the cause or causes are obsolete, they will lose interest in the extremist group.

Where do left-wing extremists recruit their hard core and more permanent members? They are the second and third generation American Communist and Socialist. They grow up in the world of leftist causes and many of them migrate to the world of the extremists.<sup>153</sup>

Colleges and universities are a favorite place for extremists to recruit. The original Weathermen were all students or ex-students and the Weathermen organizers spoke tirelessly at colleges. They also tried to recruit young militant workers.<sup>154</sup>

Although groups today still try to recruit on campuses, they are much more likely to add new members from people who have been, or are now, in prisons. There are many extremist groups and many front groups that actively recruit in prisons. Extremist groups are aligning themselves with prison gangs, which provides them with a ready source of new members when gang members are released from prison. One such group is the Black Guerrilla Family. From the unpublished 1984 California Department of Corrections report entitled "California Prison Gangs":

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<sup>153</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 324.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., p. 330.

The Black Guerilla [sic] Family is involved in a major effort to strengthen its organization within the California prisons and affiliate itself with non-prison based revolutionary organizations. They promote and support terrorist and other aligned criminal groups . . . has many members who previously belonged to the Black Liberation Army . . . a 50-page document (which appeared to be a national operations manual for the Black Liberation Army) which describes ambushes, armored car robberies, kidnappings and snipings, was confiscated from a California imprisoned Black Guerilla [sic] Family gang member.<sup>155</sup>

Two left-wing front groups, which are active in prisons are the Committee to Fight Repression and The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).<sup>156</sup> The Committee is a New York-based group which promotes a range of views from violent leftist organizations. They also publish news of members who have been indicted or are in prison.<sup>157</sup> The group is made up of white revolutionaries identified with other groups. The groups include: the Revolutionary Fighting Group, the Armed Resistance, the United Freedom Front, and the Red Guerrilla Resistance.<sup>158</sup>

The NAARPR is a Communist Party USA front group.<sup>159</sup> They concentrate their energies on "political prisoners" and prison conditions. The NAARPR was conceived to offer "organized systemized resistance to counter-organized, systematized repression."<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>155</sup>Suall, "Extremist Targets the Prisons," p. 13.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., p. 11 & 16.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., p.12.

<sup>159</sup>"Extremist Targets the Prisons", ADL Special Edition, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, September, 1986), p. 2.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

Some of the extremist groups which use the prisons as recruiting grounds include: the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO), which grew out of support for the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) and the Black Liberation Army; the African People's Socialist Party (APSP), which is a far-left, pro-Soviet black nationalist organization; and The Revolutionary Communist Party, a Marxist-Leninist group.<sup>161</sup> El-Rukn is also active in prisons.

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TABLE 4.5  
GROUPS TARGETED FOR RECRUITMENT  
BY EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

RIGHT-WING	LEFT-WING
Second/Third generation Klan	Second/Third generation Communists
Farmers	University students
Prisoners	Prisoners
High school students	Militant workers
	<i>avant-garde</i> liberals

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<sup>161</sup>Ibid., p. 12-16.



## Objectives

Every group or organization in society today has some function which it hopes to carry out. The purpose can be as simple as providing support for a high school sports team or as complex as trying to find the cure for the common cold. In this instance, extremist organizations, are no different than other groups. They, too, have a purpose in life, a reason for being. Here too, it can be a simple or complex purpose, depending on the organization.

Right-Wing: There are some right-wing groups that are very blunt and do not try to sugar-coat their beliefs or objectives. One such example is a group already mentioned, The Order. On November 25, 1984, thirteen extremists issued a "Declaration of War". In their declaration they wrote:

We, from this day forward declare that we no longer consider the regime in Washington to be valid and lawful representative of all Aryans who refuse to submit to the coercion and subtle tyranny placed upon us by Tel Aviv and their lackeys in Washington . . . Let friend and foe be made aware. This is war!<sup>162</sup>

The statement went on to designate whom they considered to be "combatants" and suitable for killing. The "combatants" included federal agents, local police officers, state patrolmen, members of the armed forces, bankers, journalists, judges and business representatives.<sup>163</sup>

It is very clear that the first objective of The Order was to destroy the government of the United States, a monumental and unrealistic goal. See Table 4.5 for listing of different right-wing groups and their objectives.

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<sup>162</sup>Irwin Suall, "Propaganda of the Deed," p. 1.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid.

Left-Wing: Many left-wing groups followed the words and teachings of the black revolutionary, Frantz Fanon. This is particularly true of the original Black Panthers. The one point Fanon always stressed was the use of violence. He stated:

. . . violence would be the just answer of the trodden to the exploitation, atrocities, and other violence perpetrated upon them by their enslavers . . . that violence provided the oppressed with a salutary release, with a means of affirming themselves.<sup>164</sup>

The Black Panthers issued a "Ten-Point Program"<sup>165</sup>, with one point being the most important. The purpose of the founders was to defend blacks against police brutality. However, it is clear the Panthers were more offensive than defensive.<sup>166</sup> (See Table 4.6 for a listing of the varying objectives of the different extremist groups. The list is not a complete list of all left-wing groups in the United States and their objectives. It is presented to give a sampling of the different objectives.)

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<sup>164</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 302-303.

<sup>165</sup>The complete ten-point list can be found in Appendix E.

<sup>166</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 304.

TABLE 4.6  
OBJECTIVES OF EXTREMIST GROUPS  
IN THE UNITED STATES

RIGHT-WING GROUP	OBJECTIVES
Posse Comitatus	Seeks the return of vigilante "justice"
Christian Defense League	To organize the White Christian majority
Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord	To build an Ark for God's people during the coming tribulations on earth
Euro-American Alliance, Inc.	Segregation and Holocaust revisionism
National Alliance	To liquidate the enemies of the American people
National Socialists Movement	Advocates violence by Nazi groups against blacks and Jews
LEFT-WING GROUP	OBJECTIVES
Black Panthers	Civil War
Weathermen	Armed struggle against the state
Black Liberation Army	To kill police
United Freedom Front	Protest US involvement in Central America
New Afrikan People's Organization	Seeks a sovereign socialist Black nation
John Brown Anti-Klan Committee	Supports radical revolution
FALN	Independence for Puerto Rico
Spartacus League	World Revolution
Socialist Workers Party	Supports Third World revolution

## Types of People

Who are extremists and where do they come from? Are they educated or do they have little schooling? Do they come from the city or are they from the country? Are they white or black? Are they male or female? Are they young people or older? In this section, the different demographic characteristics will be reviewed and the types of people that are associated with right-wing groups and left-wing groups will be compared.

Right-Wing: Members of right-wing groups have a very short list of personal characteristics. The most common characteristics among right-wing extremists is that they are all white. There are no blacks, no Puerto Ricans, no Vietnamese, no Mexicans, or other non-whites.

There are very few women members. A review of the prominent leaders of right-wing extremist groups reveals only one woman leader, Rose Mokry.<sup>167</sup> Only about one-fourth of today's Klan members are women.<sup>168</sup>

Right-wing extremists generally are employed in blue-collar jobs. Typical occupations are: truck drivers, machinists, repairmen, and gas station attendants.<sup>169</sup> Most right-wing members are from country or rural areas and generally are from the south or midwest.<sup>170</sup>

Right-wing extremists feel they are very religious. They are all of the Christian faith.<sup>171</sup> Finally, right-wing extremists are from the middle to lower economic class.

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<sup>167</sup>Extremism on the Right: A Handbook, p. 51- 158.

<sup>168</sup>Hate Groups in America: A Record of Bigotry and Violence, p. 16.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid.

<sup>170</sup>Blumberg, A Comparative Analysis, p. 9.

<sup>171</sup>Ibid.

Left-Wing: Left-wing extremists are markedly different from right-wing extremists. Almost all left-wing extremists come from the city or have urban backgrounds.<sup>172</sup>

Left-wing groups are much more integrated. Their membership includes people of different races, of different sexes and of different religions.

The white members tend to be young, college-educated and from middle to upper class backgrounds.<sup>173</sup> Some white members have even been described as highly educated and highly gifted.<sup>174</sup> Black members are less educated and come from lower class backgrounds.

Left-wing groups have a much more balanced mix between female and male members. This is so much so, that at one point, women were virtually in control of the Weathermen, hence the name change to Weather People and Weather Underground.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>172</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>173</sup>Watson, Political Terrorism, p. 79.

<sup>174</sup>Edmund Demaitre as cited in Blumberg, A Comparative Analysis, p. 8.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

TABLE 4.7  
TYPES OF PEOPLE BELONGING TO  
EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

RIGHT-WING	LEFT-WING
White	Multi-racial
Mostly males	Both males and females
Christian	From all religious faiths,including Muslim, Christian and Jewish
Young	Young
Blue-collar	Professional
From rural areas	From urban areas
Little education	Highly educated
Middle to lower class	White members-middle to upper class Blacks members-lower class

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## Enemies

The very nature of being members of an extremist group means they are opposed to some group or people. Hate is such a vital element of being a extremist that they must have someone or something to direct that hate towards. Generally the enemies of extremist groups can be placed in one of two categories. The two categories are governments, usually national as opposed to state or city, and groups of people or organizations. This does not mean that every government or organization is an enemy. It is very clear that some governments and groups of people are much more likely to be enemies of American extremists.

Right-Wing: Historically, extremists on the right have always targeted two groups of people which they consider their enemies. The first group consists of all "minorities" in general and blacks in particular. The extremists define minorities as anyone who is not from the Aryan race. The second group is religious in nature. Right-wing groups consider anyone of the Jewish faith to be their enemy. It used to be the Catholic faith that extremists hated, but today, right-wingers are more concerned with Jews than Catholics.

Today, extremists on the right still consider blacks and Jews to be their enemies, but they have also added the United States government, "Zionism" and the State of Israel, and Communism to their list of enemies. William Pierce, leader of the racist and anti-Semitic National Alliance, is an advocate of a Nazi takeover of the United States.<sup>176</sup> Extremists blame blacks, Jews, the United States government, the State of Israel, and

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<sup>176</sup>"William Pierce & The Neo-Nazi Church," p. 1.

Communists for all the problems of the United States and the world. As a consequence, right-wing organizations consider all of these groups "to be their enemies and must be eliminated."

Left-Wing: With the wide variety of left-wing groups, the results are a wide variety of enemies. Although the individual enemies may be different, most represent the same thing, which is authority. Leftist groups are "uniformly anti-U.S., anti-imperialist organizations that believe that the root causes of the world's ills lie in America's exploitation of the non-White Third World peoples."<sup>177</sup> Groups are also very anti-democratic. As John Jacobs, a radical of the 60's who had close ties to the Weathermen, was quoted:

We're against everything that's 'good and decent' in honky America. We will burn and loot and destroy. We are the incubation of your mother's nightmare.<sup>178</sup>

Both the Black Panthers and the Black Liberation Army targeted police as a major enemy. A favorite expression of the Panthers was, "Off the pigs."<sup>179</sup> "Pigs", of course, being the derogatory name for police, used mainly in the 60's and 70's. As already mentioned, the BLA was organized specifically to kill police.

The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (JBAKC), also has targeted police officers. They advocate organized violence and proclaim law enforcement to be their enemy.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), "Terrorist Trends," as cited in Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. 26.

<sup>178</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 335.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., p. 304

<sup>180</sup>"The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee," ADL Special Edition, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, October 1986), p.1.



Other groups, through their actions, have demonstrated who they consider their enemies to be. The United Freedom Front claimed responsibility for bombings of United States military installations in 1983 and 1984. The Armed Resistance Unit, also in 1983 and 1984, claimed to be responsible for bombings of United States government and military facilities.<sup>181</sup> It should be noted that the FBI believes the two groups may in fact be one group.

Although it is generally regarded as a characteristic of right-wing groups, left-wing groups are also anti-Semitic. This is particularly true when the left speaks of Israel.

### Organizational Structure

As mentioned in the review of the literature, extremist groups are becoming much smaller. Although they may claim to have thousands of members, numbers are usually much less. Some groups may have several hundred, but most groups will have fewer than a hundred members.

With the down-sizing of the groups, a more businesslike approach to the organizational structure of extremist groups has come on the scene. Today, extremist groups tend to emulate the administrative structures of corporations. Their top administrative people are located at corporate headquarters, with branch offices or factories scattered throughout the country. At these locations there are also administrative staff and the workers. Extremist groups operate in the same manner. They have the primary group

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<sup>181</sup>Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. 32-33.

of leaders at "corporate headquarters." Instead of branch offices or factories, they have outside cells or factions. At the outside cells they have an "administrator" in charge, supported by the rank and file extremists or terrorists.

In Figure 4.3 Dr. Billy Turner has presented a hypothetical chart of a terrorist organization.<sup>182</sup> This is a simple organization chart. There are more complex organizations; however, the chart is intended to give the reader a feel for how a group may be organized.

The *headquarters* refers to the leaders of the organization. The *regional directorate*, is the secondary level of authority; they receive their direction directly from the headquarters. This level could be called the "executive staff" and, in most cases, is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the organization. The *action team* is the individual or group which performs the actual assault. They tend to be selected and controlled by the regional directorate; however, the action team may or may not know who actually controls them. The final element of our hypothetical terrorist organization are the *support teams*. There is a myriad of support teams of which terrorist organizations take advantage. The teams can be both underground and aboveground. They may include individuals who buy equipment, provide information and intelligence, or documentation, such as false ID's and passports. The aboveground individuals can include doctors, lawyers, or any sympathetic follower. One support team may or may not know the identity of other support teams.

A second organizational structure is presented by Damon Camp and H. Todd Locklear in Figure 4.4. A much clearer indication of how cells are

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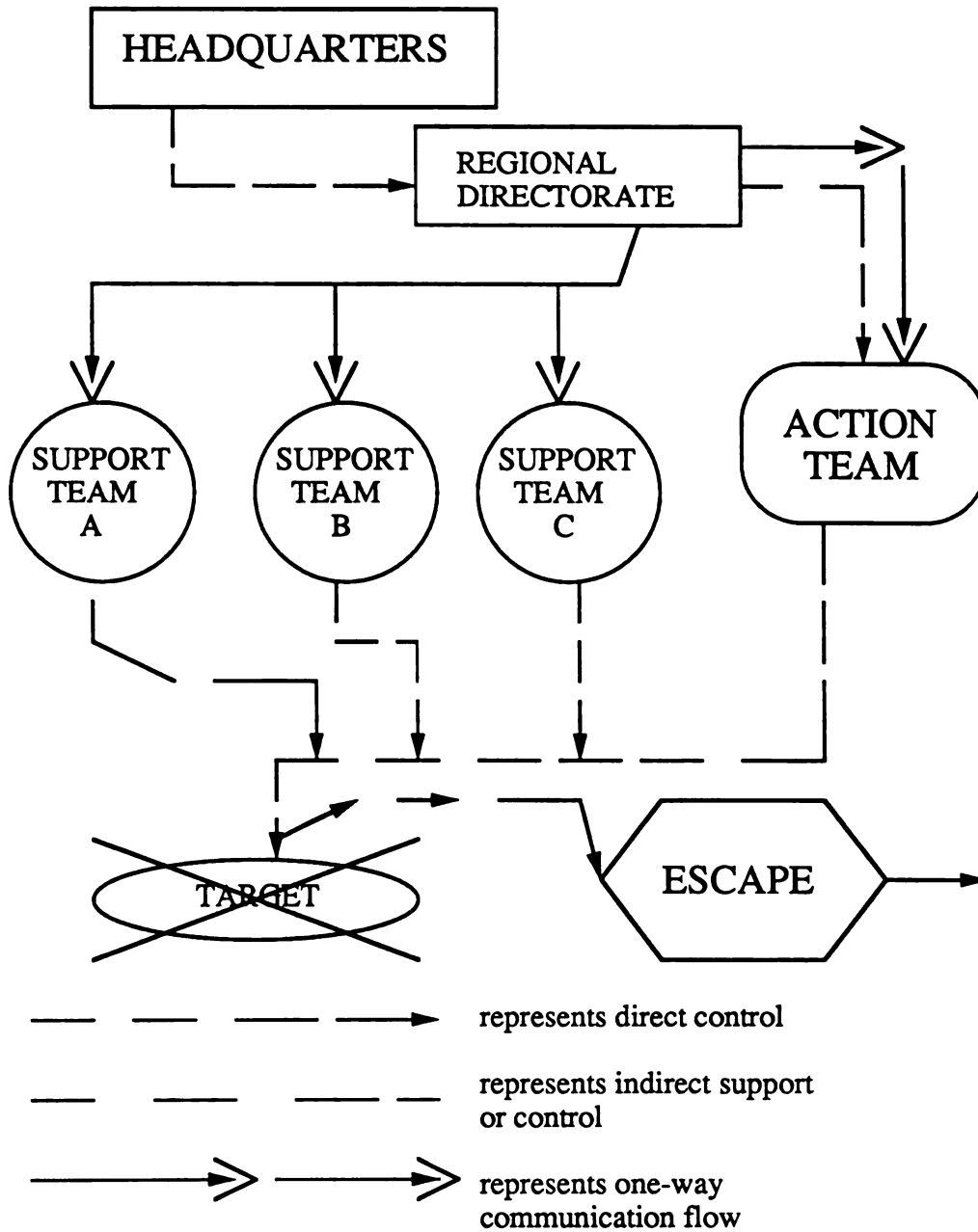
<sup>182</sup>Billy M. Turner, "Demystifying the Terrorist Network," Security Management, February 1985, p. 28.

divided and yet, connected is presented. Cells are assigned a specific, often specialized, task. The lower level cells, although operating in the same area, generally will not have contact with another lower level cell. For Cell 7 to contact Cell 8, they must go through Cell 3 to Cell 1 then to Cell 2 and finally through Cell 4. This is a sophisticated example of an organization and works very well at protecting the organization from compromising links.<sup>183</sup>

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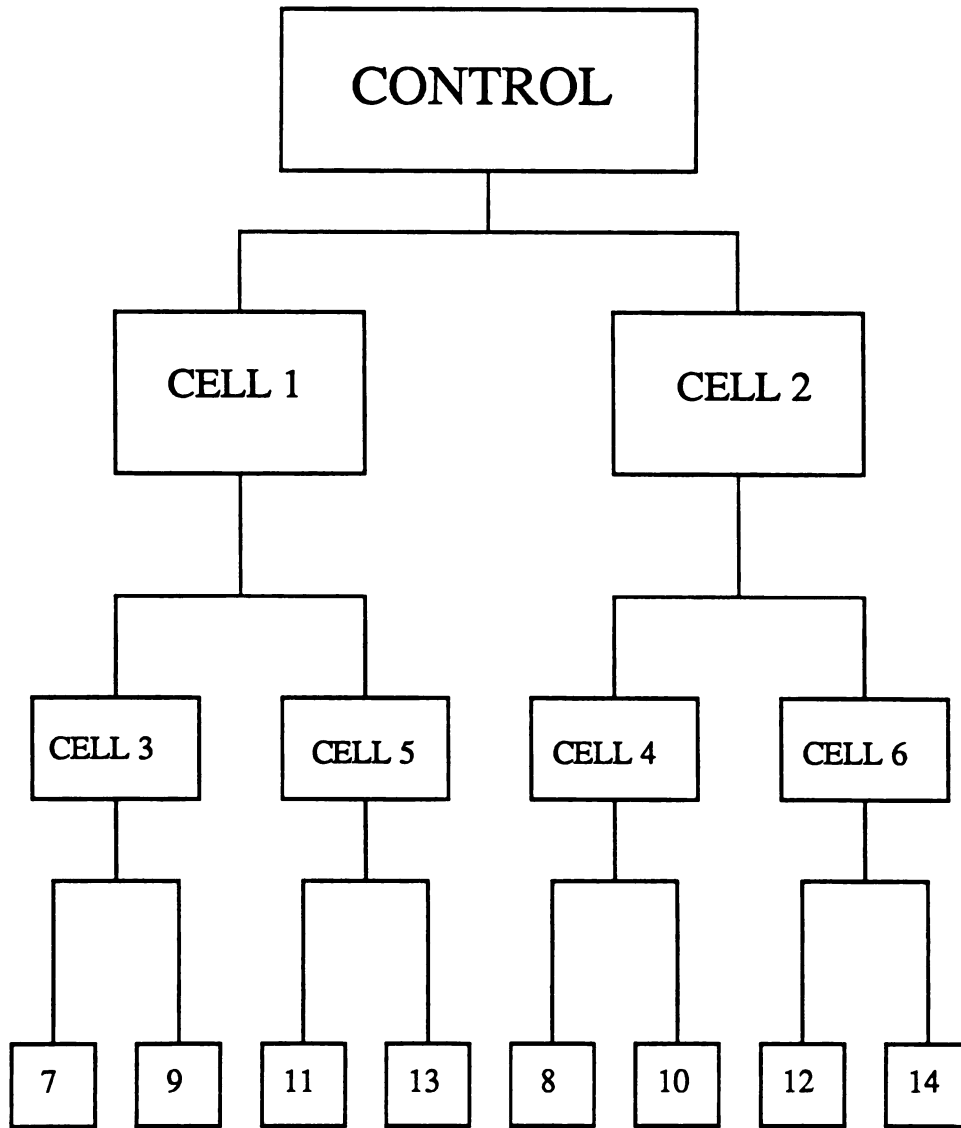
<sup>183</sup>Camp and Locklear, "Domestic Terror," p. 6.

Figure 4.3: Hypothetical Chart of a Terrorist Organization



Source:  
Security Management  
 February 1985

Figure 4.4  
Typical Terrorist Networking



One of the reasons for the businesslike approach was probably the SDS breakup. The SDS was a very large organization with many chapters. However, the group was not well organized, and the leaders, particularly Tom Hayden and Al Haber, were ineffective administrators. There was almost no control over the various chapters, and there was very limited leadership from the top. This made the SDS a very inviting target for a takeover attempt. When that happened, it led to the breakup. Extremists have learned that if you have poor leadership, your organization will go nowhere.

Right-Wing: Extremists on the right generally are not as sophisticated as their left-wing counterparts. One result of this is that most right-wing groups are very small. It makes no sense to try to organize cells when there are only ten to fifteen members in the entire organization. The right wing extremist group the Ku Klux Klan has the public perception of being one very large group. In fact, the KKK is not one large organization but is made up of numerous small groups with many of the groups having only a handful of members. More about the organization of the KKK will be discussed in the section "Linkage Attempts." Another reason is that right-wing extremists are less educated than left-wing extremists. It takes a great deal of sophistication and intelligence to organize and maintain a cellular network. Without at least a basic knowledge of organizations and organizational structures, it would be nearly impossible to continue to operate under this type of system. At the present time, right-wing extremists do not have this organizational knowledge. The final reason is that right-wing extremists do not have access to the support systems that would allow them to maintain a large underground cellular network for extended periods of time.

One exception was The Order. Members of The Order were given instructions on how to establish cells, which would be semi-autonomous. The cells would be operated in a manner that would reduce their visibility and thereby lessen the potential for infiltration, investigation, and prosecution.<sup>184</sup>

Communication centers were established by The Order to transmit information between cells. The Order established cells, each with a different function. One cell was responsible for obtaining money for the enterprise through various criminal operations. Another cell was established to assassinate enemies of The Order. Another cell was responsible for recruiting, another for paramilitary training and another for security.

Left-Wing: The Weathermen is a classic example of an organization which operated under a sophisticated organizational structure and support system. The Weathermen had planned to build a Red Army, which was to support anti-imperialist struggles abroad by opening up a front in the United States.<sup>185</sup>

The support groups were called "affinity groups." They tended to be small (five to twenty-five members), with all groups sharing three goals: deepening the knowledge of and trust among individuals in the group; learning various medical, legal, self-defense and propaganda skills; and engaging in internal political education.<sup>186</sup> Some of the various functions of the different groups included: providing cadre for mass organizing projects; acting as street-fighting units in militant demonstrations; coordination and communication.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>184</sup>Michael Wiggins, "Extremist Right-Wing Group," p. 14-15.

<sup>185</sup>Harold Jacobs, ed., Weathermen, (Ramparts Press, 1970), p. 302.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid., p. 301

<sup>187</sup>Ibid., p. 302

The Weathermen referred to the entire infrastructure as the "Weather Machine."<sup>188</sup> The leaders of the Weathermen operated within a unit called the "Weather Bureau." The Weather Bureau had control over all political policy and the newspaper, Fire. Underneath the Weather Bureau were the "collectives." Although the collectives operated under the political parameters set by the Bureau, there were continual power and ideological struggles. The struggles went on within collectives, between collectives and between certain collectives and the Bureau. There were tiers of leadership within the collectives, with the leadership established through an informally structured "merit" system. Those acting the bravest, fighting the hardest and pushing out their politics the best, were chosen for leadership positions by the Bureau. However, leaders were replaced by others if they could not keep up with the fierce competition to excel.<sup>189</sup>

For all their idealistic views, the Weathermen acted very much like a mainstream organization. With the political infighting, the groups within the group based on friendship, and the struggles for power, the Weathermen resembled many other organizations in society. The key difference, of course, was their use and support of violence.

In 1970, to improve security, the Weathermen disbanded the collectives and formed smaller groups, with a few terrorists in each group. They also dropped the term "cells", for it was a translation of the Soviet Communist *yacheika*. Instead they called their underground teams by the Spanish word *foco*, in honor of the revolutionary, Che Guevara. It was a

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<sup>188</sup>Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid., p. 302



term he liked and used. They also called the groups "families" and "tribes."<sup>190</sup>

### Linkage Attempts

All groups in society are continually vying for vital resources. Resources can include people to expand the membership of the organization, donations from supporters and sympathizers, and media availability. The media only has so much print space or air time. As a result, every organization must battle with every other organization to get their name before the general public.

Extremist organizations are no different. They must also compete with all other extremist groups for vital resources. In an attempt to try to eliminate the competition for the public's attention, and for other reasons, extremist organizations are forever trying to form alliances with similar minded organizations. By joining forces with one or more other organizations, extremists are hoping to become a more powerful force in American society.

By forming a union with other groups, organizations hope to take advantage of their larger membership in a variety of ways. With more members they can initiate more and larger public demonstrations. Larger groups are more likely to receive attention from the general public and from the media. Finally, groups that form a successful alliance are much more likely to absorb other groups or attract members from other groups.

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<sup>190</sup>Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 338.

Although extremist groups are continually forming alliances, the alliances almost never last. The different objectives of the various groups, the continuous infighting for power, the fragile egos of the different leaders, are just a few of the many problems groups encounter when they try to form alliances.

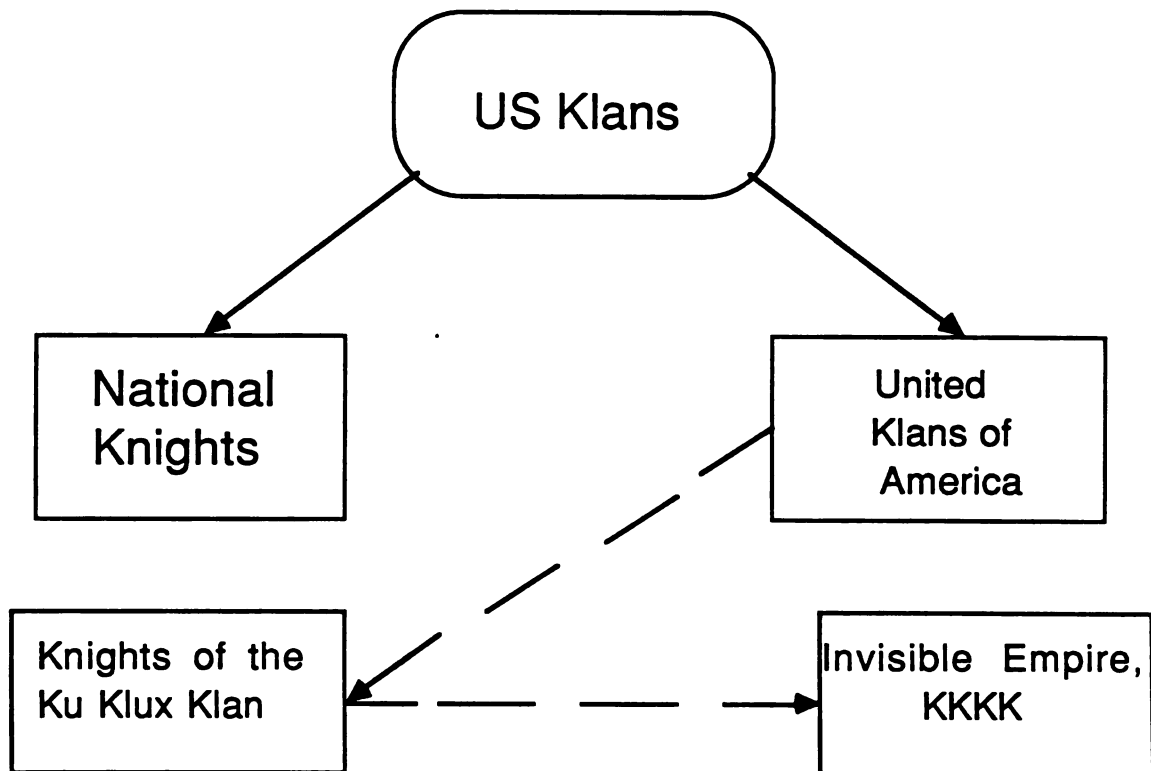
Right-Wing: The most famous right-wing group in the United States is the Ku Klux Klan. However, the Ku Klux Klan is not one distinct organization. There are three main Klan groups and many other smaller Klan organizations.

There are numerous local Klan chapters throughout the United States. These Klan chapters are constantly shifting alliances between different organizations. One of the main Klan organizations, the United Klans of America (UKA), has chapters in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, and Indiana.<sup>191</sup> The other two main Klan organizations, the Invisible Empire and the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan (KKKK), have most of their chapters in the south, although the KKKK does have affiliated chapters in California. There are nearly twenty smaller Klan groups that form and break alliances with other Klan groups with surprising regularity. The relationships between the Klan organizations can be seen in Figure 4.5.

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<sup>191</sup>Extremism on the Right: A Handbook, p. 22.

Figure 4.5  
Ku Klux Klan Groups



The many different larger and smaller Klan groups point out how fragile relationships can be when extremist groups try to form alliances. There have been other attempts by right-wing groups to form alliances, some of which included some Klan chapters.

The first major organized attempt to form a right-wing union was in 1975. A group known as the "White Confederacy" was formed to provide a united front against communists, radical leftists and black militants. Groups involved with the White Confederacy were the United White Peoples Party, the Western Guard of Canada and the American White Nationalist Party. Although no Klan groups were officially linked to the White Confederacy, many Klan members did belong to the organization. The group disbanded in 1979 due to struggles over ideology, leadership and actions.<sup>192</sup>

The right-wing unification group, which gained much notoriety, was, in fact, in existence for less than four months. The "United Racist Front" (URF) was formed in 1979, with groups including National States Rights Party and several smaller Klan groups. The unification fell apart in late 1979 when several members were charged with murdering Communist Party members. The murders took place at a rally in Greensboro, North Carolina.<sup>193</sup> It should be noted that although the URF advocated violence, it was the Communist Party that initiated the confrontation.

In the 1980's, the major unification attempt was led by Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations. Butler has held annual Aryan Nations Congresses at the Aryan Nation's compound in Idaho. The Congresses have attracted leaders from many different right-wing extremist groups. Although the

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<sup>192</sup>Allen Sapp, Organizational Linkage of Right Wing Extremist Groups, (Center for Criminal Justice Research, Central Missouri State University, March, 1987), p. 4.

<sup>193</sup>Ibid.

Congresses have been well attended, they have not led to major lasting alliances among right-wing groups. Today, alliances deal not so much with groups, but with members. Affiliations lie in interlocking and overlapping memberships of individuals.<sup>194</sup>

Left-Wing: The groups on the left have not attempted to form a national alliance, as their counterparts on the right. Their alliances have concentrated on joining two or three groups into one organization.

The major two group alliance was the "Revolutionary Armed Task Force" (RATF). The RATF joined together the Weatherman and the Black Liberation Army. The significance of the RATF was that it joined together a mostly white terrorist group and an all black terrorist group. This was the first time this had happened.<sup>195</sup>

There have been other alliance attempts on the left. Some of the other alliances can be seen in the left-wing charts, Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

### Publications and Communications

A characteristic that is common among extremist groups in the United States is the use of publications. It is not a trait that is unique to American groups; however, they use it much more effectively than groups overseas.

United States is the most sophisticated country in the world. It is this sophistication that enables extremist groups to write, publish, produce, and distribute their message. The publications are not limited to the print media.

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<sup>194</sup>Ibid., p.7.

<sup>195</sup>Hoffman, Terrorism in the United States, p. 28.

Besides periodicals and newsletters, extremist groups have produced their own radio and television shows.

However, the mainstay of the extremists' communications remains their printed publications. Nearly every extremist group in the United States uses published material, in one form or another. The forms of printed communications include newsletters, newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books.

Extremists are using our advanced technology and the freedom granted our citizens to their advantage. With our freedom of the press, it is very easy for groups to get their message of hate to the American people.

Right-Wing: Extremists on the right are now using, or have at one time used all forms of the mass media. This includes radio, television, and the use of computers.

In 1981, there was a radio program which was produced by Liberty Lobby and claimed by them to be carried on 425 stations. It was a five-times-per-week program called "This is Liberty Lobby." They also produced the short-lived television program, "Spotlight on the News."<sup>196</sup>

Groups are also now known to be using the advanced technology of computers. There are now two computerized information networks set up by right-wing extremists in the United States. The best known network was started by Louis Beam, the Texas Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and leader of the Aryan Nations. The network is known as the

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<sup>196</sup>James Q. Purcell, "Liberty Lobby and the Carto Network of Hate," ADL Facts, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, Winter, 1982), p. 15.

"Aryan Nations Liberty Net." George Dietz, owner of the largest neo-Nazi publishing firm, operates the second computerized bulletin board.<sup>197</sup>

Although newspapers and magazines are still the primary method of publication for right-wing extremists, it is the book The Turner Diaries written by fictional author Andrew Macdonald, which can be considered the bible of right-wing extremism in the United States. As noted earlier, the book outlines how a right-wing revolution could occur in the United States.

It should be noted that there are many similarities between The Turner Diaries and Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla. The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla is a Marxist revolutionary text written by Carlos Marighella.<sup>198</sup> Mr. Macdonald even went so far as to recognize and praise leftist revolutions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America:

We have had the example of decades of guerrilla warfare in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to instruct us. In every case the guerrillas won by making the people fear them, not love them. By publicly torturing to death village leaders who opposed them and by carrying out brutal massacres of entire village populations which refused to feed them, they inspired such terror in neighboring villages that everyone was afraid to refuse them what they asked.<sup>199</sup>

Left-Wing: The major left-wing extremist organization was the Weathermen. The Weathermen's parent organization was the SDS. The SDS and the Weathermen learned how valuable publications can be to an organization.

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<sup>197</sup>David Lowe, "Computerized Networks of Hate," ADL Fact Finding Report, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York, January, 1985), p. 1.

<sup>198</sup>Richard N. Holden, "The Turner Diaries: The Influence of Carlos Marighella on Right Wing Extremism," (Center for Criminal Justice Research, Central Missouri State University, October, 1986), p. 2.

<sup>199</sup>Andrew Macdonald, The Turner Diaries, p. 102, as cited in *Ibid.*, P. 24.

They used different forms of publications and communications, and used them rather effectively.

The primary publication of the SDS was "The Port Huron Statement." "The Port Huron Statement" was an analysis of the ills of America and the world. It included a program for the New Left; however, the statement was primarily philosophical and abstract.<sup>200</sup> Although the statement was not a Communist text, it blamed most of the world's problems on the United States government, blamed very little on the Soviet Union and did not mention China at all.

Following the breakup of the SDS, the Weathermen was formed, they used many forms of communications to present their message. Before members of the Weathermen went underground, they published a periodical, called New Left Notes. From August of 1969 to the end of 1969, they published Fire, short for The Fire Next Time.<sup>201</sup>

In October of 1969, the Weathermen called for the "Days of Rage" in Chicago. It was a planned demonstration where thousands and thousands of young people would put the Establishment "up against the wall."<sup>202</sup> It was a complete failure. Instead of the thousands, only about 200 showed up. It was after the "Days of Rage" that the Weathermen went underground. Once they went underground, they stopped publishing the Fire. Most of the communications from underground, up to 1974, were in the forms of Communiques. In July 1974, the Weathermen published a book entitled Prairie Fire. The Prairie Fire was not for general sale. The authors vowed to continue to carry the Red flag. They also cited the "brave and bloody

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<sup>200</sup>Albert Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 321.

<sup>201</sup>Jacobs, Weathermen, p. 302.

<sup>202</sup>Ibid., p. 330.



exploits" of the SLA and the Black Liberation Army.<sup>203</sup> In March 1975, the Weathermen sent to the surface a magazine called the Osawatomie. In the magazine the Weathermen claimed credit for 25 terrorist incidents in the five years of their illegal existence. The final piece of communication from the Weathermen was a documentary film called *Underground*. It was a film of interviews with various members of the Weathermen.<sup>204</sup>

Left-wing groups of today have various publications. One publication that is not affiliated with a particular group is The Guardian. A partial list of publications can be found in the following table.

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<sup>203</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>204</sup>Ibid.

TABLE 4.8  
PUBLICATIONS OF  
EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

<b>RIGHT-WING</b>	<b>PUBLICATION</b>
Aryan Nations	Aryan Nations Newsletter
Christian Defense League	CDL Report
The Covenant, The Sword, and The Arm of the Lord	C.S.A. Journal
Institute for Historical Review	Journal of Historical Review: IHR Newsletter
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	The White Patriot
United Klans of America	The Fiery Cross
National Socialist White Workers Party	Stormer
<b>LEFT-WING</b>	<b>PUBLICATION</b>
New African People's Organization	By Any Means Necessary
Committee to Fight Repression	The Insurgent
African People's Socialist Party	Burning Spear
Revolutionary Communist Party	Revolutionary Worker
U.S. Communist Party	Jewish Affairs
Mobilization for Survival	The Mobilizer
Socialist Workers Party	The Militant
Workers World Party	Workers World

There was an extensive amount of data collected, which revealed many different characteristics of extremist groups in the United States. The characteristics ranged from the type of people who operate within this system, to what they think and what they do. Also, the characteristics were not uniform for all groups on the right or the left.

Every extremist group has some philosophy to which they adhere. The philosophy can be religious or political, or both. Religious philosophy is more readily identified with right-wing groups as opposed to left-wing groups. Right-wing groups adhere to the religious philosophy called the "Identity" movement. On the left, there are only a few organizations which have a religious orientation. The groups are primarily black and adhere to the Muslim religion.

Politically, groups on the right are extremely conservative and follow the teachings and ideas of Adolph Hitler and Nazism. Some right-wing groups call themselves Socialists; however, this is clearly Hitler style Socialism, as opposed to Communist style. There is not much difference between Socialism on the right and Socialism on the left. Groups on the left and the right simply view Socialism from a different perspective. But the results are the same--a dictatorial society. It is on the left where Communism or Communism/Socialism can be found. However, there is not one Communist philosophy which the left-wing groups follow. Each group will follow the teachings of one of the four main Communist leaders, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, or Mao.

There are two issues, which both sides are trying to take advantage of, the nation of Israel and the farm crisis in the United States. Groups on the

right because of their religious bigotry, are opposed to Israel . Left-wing groups are opposed to Israel because Israel is an enemy of the PLO, and left-wing groups are supporters of the PLO. Left-wing issues also include United States involvement in Central America and apartheid in South Africa. The major force on the right continues to be their belief in the superiority of the white race.

Nearly all extremist groups in the United States are using illegal activities to help finance their operations. The crimes extremist groups are using include robbery, selling narcotics, armored truck robberies, bank robberies, receiving stolen property, extortion, and others.

The use of front groups and the splintering of groups happens quite often in the United States. Front groups are used to hide the true intentions of the various groups and to gain favorable publicity. Groups splinter for a variety of reasons. Sometimes members will disagree with their leaders on different issues, some want to be more or less violent, while other members simply want to have their own group to lead.

The nature of extremist groups is such that members cannot be recruited from all segments of society. Most people in our society do not want to join an organization that advocates violence and hatred. As a result extremists are limited in the areas in which they can recruit.

Both right and left-wing extremists attract second and third generation extremists. These are people whose parents and grandparents were part of the extremist movement. These type of extremists on the left are sometimes referred to as "red diaper babies." Both sides also recruit quite heavily from our nation's prisons. It is a convenient place to recruit because so many extremists, at one time or another, have been in jail or prison, and there is no better place to find people willing to commit criminal acts. The left historically

has recruited quite well on university campuses. This is particularly true in times of a national crisis, such as the Vietnam War. At times they are also successful in recruiting militant workers.

Today right-wing extremists are making a very hard push to recruit farmers, particularly those in the mid-west. They are preying upon people who have, or are about to lose their livelihood. The left has also tried to recruit farmers.

There are almost no extremist groups in the United States which have only one objective. Most have two, three, five, even ten objectives, some very simple, some very complicated. Some objectives are unrealistic, such as the overthrow of the United States government or total world revolution. Although there are numerous objectives, it can be said that there is one general objective which most extremist groups in the United States, both right and left-wing, adhere to. The one general objective, is the destruction of American society as it is known today. Groups on the left would replace our democratic government with some form of a Communist government, while groups on the right would install a government similar to Hitler's Nazi government.

There are very different types of people who operate extremist groups on the left and the right. The characteristics of extremists on the right are very narrow as compared to those of the left. Right-wing extremists tend to be white, mostly male and of the Christian faith. They are generally young, from rural areas, tend to hold blue-collar jobs, have little education, and for the most part, are in the middle to lower class of society.

Left-wing extremists are more multi-racial and of both sexes. They are of many different religious beliefs, including atheism. They tend to be young, professional or former professional workers, are highly educated, and come from urban areas. Left-wing extremists, who are white, come from the

middle to upper classes, whereas black members come from the lower class of society.

As mentioned earlier, groups want to destroy the government of the United States. This clearly points out that our government is an enemy of extremists in general, and agents of the United States government are specific enemies of extremists. This includes all or most law enforcement personnel. Both right and left-wing extremists also consider the nation of Israel to be an enemy.

Groups on the right still consider blacks and Jews to be enemies. Today, they also include nearly everyone from other countries in their group of enemies. The left still feels that any representative of the United States government is an enemy. This includes military personnel, and particularly police officers.

Nearly all extremist organizations are highly structured. Although extremists are generally opposed to big businesses and corporations, extremist groups have copied the administrative structure of corporations. The leaders operate out of what can be called "corporate headquarters." They have outside cells with administrative leaders for each cell and their rank and file members at the cells.

Both right-wing and left-wing extremist groups in the United States have tried, and will probably continue to try, to form alliances with other similar minded groups. Extremist organizations will align with other organizations for a variety of reasons. The most common reason is that extremists like to feel they can present a more unified front to their opposition. They feel they can be a powerful political and military force if they can align all similar minded groups under one organization. For the most part, unification attempts do not last for extended periods of time. Problems arise with the

different egos of the various leaders, with the varying ideologies, and disparate objectives of the aligning groups.

Right-wing groups attempted two unifications in the 1970's. The first, in 1975, was called the White Confederacy. It disbanded in 1979 because of struggles over ideologies, leadership and actions. The second attempt, which lasted less than five months in 1979, was the United Racist Front. The group fell apart when six members were charged with murdering five Communist Party members. More recently, Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler has tried to bring all right wing groups under one organization. Butler has held annual Aryan Nations Congresses at the Aryan Nation's compound in Idaho. However, the Congresses have not led to meaningful alliances.

The major left-wing alliance was formed by the Weathermen and the Black Liberation Army. In the early 1980's, they joined forces to form the Revolutionary Armed Task Force. This was the first time a black and a white group had joined forces.

Nearly every extremist group in the United States has taken advantage of our freedom of the press to publish some form of literature. The literature includes magazines, newsletters, newspapers, pamphlets, and books. Some groups have also been involved in radio and television shows and even computerized networks. Both right-wing and left-wing organizations mastered the art of communication through the use of publications.

Figure 4.6  
Characteristics of Individual Right-Wing Groups

TYPES OF PEOPLE											
	PHILOSOPHY	ISSUES	CRIMES	RECRUITMENT	OBJECTIVES	ENEMIES	PUBLICATION	RACE	RELIGION	SEX	VOCATION
KLU KLUX KLAN	2	6,9,B	10,11 13,14	15,16 18	19,20	9,B	22,23	W		M,F	BC
ARYAN NATIONS	1,2	9,B	10,11	15,16	19,20	9,B	22,23	W	C	M,F	BC
POSSE COMMITATUS	1,2	6,24	10,11	6,15	19,20	9,24	22,23	W		M,F	BC
NEO-NAZI	2	9,24,B	11,14	15,16 18	19,20	9,24,B	22	W	C	M,F	BC
THE ORDER	2	9,B	10,11	15,16 18	19,20	9,24,B	22	W	C	M	BC

Note: The Aryan Nations also includes the Church of the Jesus Christ Christians  
The key can be found on Page 115



Figure 4.7 Characteristics of Individual Left-Wing Groups

Characteristics of Individual Left-Wing Groups										TYPES OF PEOPLE			
	PHILOSOPHY	ISSUES	CRIMES	RECRUITMENT	OBJECTIVES	ENEMIES	PUBLICATION	RACE	RELIGION	SEX	VOCATION		
WEATHERMEN	5	7,9,24	10,14	15,17 18	20,21	24	22,23	W		M,F	P		
US COMMUNIST PARTY	3a	7,9,24		15,17 18	21	9, 24	22			M,F	P		
UNITED FREEDOM FRONT	5	7,8,24	10,14	16,18	20	7,24	22	W		M,F			
BLACK PANTHERS	4,5	24,1E	10,11 12	15,B	19,20	W,1E	22	B	4	M	BC		
JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE	5	19	10,14	18,B	19,20 21	9,1E	22	B		M,F			
NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGAN.	5	19		15,B	19,20	W,1E	22	B		M,F			
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	3b	9,24		14,16 17	21	9,24	22	W		M,F	P		
REVOLUTIONARY ARMED TASK FORCE	5	7,24	10,14	15,17	20,21	9,24	22	W,B		M,F	BC,P		

Key for Figures 4.6 & 4.7

1--Identity Movement	22--Periodicals
2--Nazism/Neo-Nazi	23--Books
3--Communist	24--US Government Policies and Activities
a-Leninist	
b-Trotskyists	
4--Black Muslim	M--Males
5--Revolutionary	F--Females
6--Farmers/Farm Crisis	W--Whites
7--South Africa	B--Blacks
8--Central America	C--Christians
9--Israel/Jews/Zionism	P--Professional
10--Robbery	BC--Blue Collar
11--Murder	LE--Law Enforcement
12--Extortion	
13--Drug Sales	
14--Bombings	
15--2nd Generation	
16--Prisons/Prisoners	
17-- <i>avant-garde</i> liberals	
18--Segregation	
20--Civil War in the United States	
21--World or Third World Revolution	

**Figure 4.8**  
**Similar and Dis-Similar Characteristics**  
**Between Right-Wing and Left-Wing**  
**Extremist/Terrorists**

Characteristics	Similar	Dis-Similar
Philosophy	Totalitarianism a. Nazism b. Communism	Identity Movement
Issues	Farm Crisis Israel US Government Policies	South Africa Central America
Crimes	Robbery Murder	Extortion Counterfeiting
Recruitment	2nd Generation Extremists Prisoners Students	Farmers <i>"avant-garde"</i> Liberals
Enemies	US Government Israel Law Enforcement Personnel	Blacks Jews
Objectives	Civil War Segregation	World Revolution
Publications	Periodicals Books	
Types of People		All categories of "Types of People" are dis-similar between right-wing and left-wing groups.

## **Chapter V**

### **Summary and Conclusions**

#### **Summary**

This study was undertaken in an attempt to clarify the differences and similarities between the two major types of extremist groups in the United States. The two major types of extremists originate from the right and from the left ends of the political spectrum. The original research question asked whether right-wing and left-wing groups in the United States, are they similar or dis-similar? It was also asked if the only difference between the two factions was their political views or all aspects of their organizations?

The amount of literature available on extremism is extensive. The major problem in doing a study of this nature is deciding which is the appropriate literature to review. The author found that it was best to concentrate on certain types of literature when addressing the different elements of the study. Books were used for an historical perspective. News periodicals were used for current facts. For the bulk of the research, the author concentrated on papers and reports produced by colleges and universities and reports developed by private organizations. The remaining literature, particularly police and security periodicals and psychology and sociology periodicals, were used to supplement the main body of the paper.

The author feels it is impractical to attempt to do a research study on one segment of extremism, without first having a basic knowledge of extremism as a whole. The author identified some common observations in regard to extremism, whether it is international or domestic.

A. Extremism comes in many different forms or types. This is different from classifying groups, i.e. right-wing or left-wing. This is classifying the type of extremism a particular group or groups will utilize, examples are criminal, political, revolutionary, state, psychotic, etc.

B. Certain elements are associated with every extremist or terrorist act. These several elements vary from group to group and act to act. It can be said that there is no one specific element that is the most important for all groups and all acts. However, there is one element which can probably be identified as the least vital. The element is the grievance, whether the grievance is real or imagined. Grievances have very little to do with terrorist acts.

C. The one primary objective, which is common to nearly every action taken by an extremist, is publicity. Extremists need to attract an audience and deliver a message. This is why the media is so vital to every action. And, to a significant degree, extremism is a product of mass media and might not survive without the mass media. A much more long term goal is the destruction of democratic societies.

D. Differences between extremism/terrorism and guerrilla warfare were identified. One difference is that guerrilla warfare is more operational and militarily oriented, while extremism/terrorism is more public relations oriented. The second difference deals with the objectives of the two. Guerrilla warfare targets tend to be military in nature and specific. If a bomb is placed on a plane, it is there to destroy the plane. Extremist and terrorist

targets are much more indiscriminate. It is not the targets that are the primary concern, but the reaction to their actions and, more importantly, the attention the extremists will receive from the mass media. The differences are important, because law enforcement authorities must not deal with extremism/terrorism in the same manner in which they would deal with guerrilla warfare. It has been shown that to deal with extremism/terrorism as if it were guerrilla warfare can have devastating effects on the government in control.

E. Extremists are using, and will continue to use, high technology weapons. There is some fear that groups will acquire and use nuclear weapons. However, it is felt that because of the high security associated with nuclear facilities and nuclear weapons, there is a greater danger of extremists using other types of weapons. These weapons can be nearly as deadly and devastating and are more readily available to extremists. Such weapons include, biological weapons, attacks on a gas tanker near a large city, releasing of napalm on spectators in a sports arena, to mention a few.

F. In the past two or three decades, extremist groups have gone from large cumbersome organizations to much smaller, more efficient groups. The primary reason for the shift was, with the large number of members, security within an organization was compromised; it was then easier for law enforcement personnel to infiltrate the groups, and thus, became a major problem. As a result, groups went from one large organization to many smaller, interconnecting cells or chapters. This reduced the chance for infiltration and also minimized the knowledge and contact between members of the organization. With contact between members limited, few members knew the complete list of all other group members.

G. Extremists are not the psychopaths that the general public believes them to be. It is an image that extremists have presented in order to make the public believe that extremists are out of control. People will deal with psychopaths, mentally unbalanced individuals, or persons that they fear, in a much different manner than someone who is "normal." The general public is much more likely to succumb to the wishes of these types of individuals, assuming that by "giving in", the abnormal activities of the individuals will not be repeated. As a result, extremists want people to believe that they are crazy and are capable of doing anything to get their way. Extremists feel that if people believe this, there is a much better chance of having their demands

H. The use of violence and terror are very critical components of terrorism. As the Irish Republican Army has stated, the use of violence is obligatory in order to induce fear and chaos. But violence is not enough. There must be terror for extremists to be successful.

I. Although there has been much written about extremism in the United States and, as a result of the literature, a great deal of concern, the fact remains that there is very little terrorist activity within the United States. In 1985, there were 3,010 terrorist incidents worldwide; and in 1986, there were 2,830 incidents. However, in the same two years, the number of terrorist incidents in the United States totaled only 18. It is clear that Americans have very little to fear from terrorist attacks within the United States. This is not to say that the numbers will remain the same in the future. At any time, terrorist attacks may escalate within the United States.

J. Victims are very crucial to any extremist action. It is not so much the actual victim, but the intended victim(s) of an extremist action that is crucial. The real intent of an extremist act is the de-stabilization of governments and a demoralization, or even panic, among the public-at-large.

Individuals, who are physically injured in an attack, are generally of little consequence to extremists.

K. Groups are relying more and more on conventional crime to finance their operations. Crimes, which are used by extremist groups include armed robbery, murder, kidnappings, tax fraud, counterfeiting, and extortion. Extremist groups are also getting into the very lucrative field of drug trafficking, which is referred to as narco-terror or narco-terrorism. Not only are they using narco-terrorism as a way to finance operations, but as a way to fight back at the United States. The extremists feel the more people in America that they can get hooked on drugs, the easier it will be to defeat the United States (and other countries that are considered enemies of extremists).

Eleven characteristics of extremist groups in the United States were identified. The characteristics were not chosen simply because they were common to both right and left-wing groups. The characteristics were chosen because they appeared two times or more in the literature reviewed. This is not to imply that every group in the United States has all of the characteristics mentioned, or that this is a total list of all characteristics for all groups in America. There were other characteristics identified; however, they could only be assigned to one group. They did not accurately represent either right-wing or left-wing groups in the United States.

The following is a brief synopsis of each of the eleven characteristics. For each synopsis, there will be a conclusion as to whether there is common ground between right-wing and left-wing groups.

A. Religious and political philosophy--All extremist groups in the United States adhere to some form of religious or political philosophy. Some have both types of philosophy. Right-wing groups have more of a religious orientation, in the form of the "Identity" movement, than left-wing groups.



However, the "Identity" movement is not a typical religion, it is a religion based on hatred.

Politically, groups on the right and left appear to be dissimilar, with extremists on the right following Nazism and left-wing extremists normally Communists. However, when the two political systems are examined, it is clear that their basic elements are the same. Neither political system allows the personal freedoms that we enjoy in this country. The ruling party does not allow any form of political opposition. Both systems would like the destruction of all democratic countries, particularly the United States. And both systems would eliminate all forms of religions and worker unions. It is clear that politically right-wing and left-wing groups adhere to the same philosophy, which is totalitarianism.

B. Issues--Groups try to take advantage of issues which are of concern to the general public. Both sides try to present the image of protectors of the oppressed and downtrodden. Left-wing groups are generally much better at presenting this image than right-wing groups. Left-wing extremists oppose most policies of the United States government which are controversial. Such is the case with the U.S. policies toward Central America and South Africa. It is generally not the policies which extremist groups are opposed to, but the government of the United States. The modern day issues, which are of concern to both sides, are the farm crisis and the Nation of Israel. Right-wing groups, which are generally anti-Semitic, portray the government of Israel as true rulers of the United States. Right-wing extremists call the government in America the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG). Extremists on the right also believe that people of the Jewish faith are the children of Satan and, as such, Israel is the nation of Satan. Left-wing groups

are opposed to Israel because Israel is an enemy of the PLO and left-wing groups are supporters of the PLO.

Although some issues are similar and some issues are dissimilar, it is the intent of both right-wing and left-wing groups that is the common element. Both sides want to use issues as a means to gain favorable public support and as a way to recruit new members.

C. Financing--With the exception of a few left-wing groups, most extremists in the United States do not receive funding from foreign governments. The most notable exception was the Weathermen of the 1960's and 1970's who received financial support from Cuba. Without outside financial funding, groups have turned to criminal activities to fund their operations.

As mentioned earlier, narco-terrorism is being used extensively worldwide as a means to finance extremist operations. However, the evidence does not support this general trend for groups in the United States. There are three possible reasons for this. The first is that domestic extremist groups may not have the international connections to penetrate the vast world of drug trafficking. The second reason may be that groups in the United States do not have the size nor the sophistication to run a large drug network. Finally, it is possible that groups in the United States are involved, but because they are so efficient at hiding their involvement from law enforcement, authorities do not know of their activities. This is not likely, but possible.

The criminal activity which is most often used by both right and left-wing organizations is bank robbery or armored car robbery. There are numerous incidents where extremists have been indicted, tried or convicted of some form of robbery. The most notable examples of robberies are the SLA bank hold-up, with Patty Hearst participating; the abortive holdup of a Brinks

truck in Nyack, New York, which was attempted by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF); and the various robberies by the members of The Order. There are other crimes which extremists commit, such as extortion by the Black Panthers and counterfeiting by The Order, but robberies are their primary means of financing their operations.

D. Use of Front Groups and Splintering--Although splintering is common among both right and left-wing groups, the use of front groups is much more common to left-wing groups than right-wing. Left-wing extremists have a much greater awareness of the positive benefits that can be gained from the use of front groups.

There are four advantages of using such groups. Extremists may gain positive public opinions by hiding their true feelings from the general public. Extremists can gain access into areas that would not normally be open to them. This includes such areas as fund raising, recruitment, support, and availability to the media. It is much harder for police departments and federal authorities to build a case against extremists if there are numerous front groups to hide behind. Finally, extremists can appear to be more numerous than they really are with many different groups.

Splintering occurs because of the many differences which exist between various members of extremist groups. The different objectives of the different members, the continuous infighting for power, the fragile egos of the different leaders, are just a few of the many problems which can cause groups to splinter.

E. Recruitment--The nature of extremist groups is such that recruitment is a critical element of every group's survival. The membership of extremist organizations is constantly fluctuating because members are arrested,

members tire of the extremist views, and members shift their alliance to other groups.

There are four groups recruited by both right and left-wing extremists. The first segment of the population is second and third generation extremists. These are people, who grew up in families whose parents or grandparents were extremists, such as Communists or Klan members. The second group are farmers. As mentioned earlier, the farm crisis is an issue that extremists are attempting to exploit. Extremists try to present themselves to farmers as a group which can solve all the farmers' problems. The third group of recruits are students. Left-wing extremists concentrate on university students; right-wing extremists recruit high school students. The fourth group of recruits are prisoners. Extremist and terrorist groups are aligning themselves with prison gangs, which provides a ready source of new members when gang members are released from prison.

F. Objectives--It should be mentioned that every group has at least one objective and generally, they will have many objectives. Although the language of the different objectives will vary and although there are numerous objectives, it can be said that there is one general objective adhered to by most right and left-wing extremist groups in the United States. The one general objective is the destruction of American society as it is known today. Groups on the left would replace our democratic government with some form of Communist government, while groups on the right would install a government similar to Hitler's Nazi government.

G. Types of People--This is where the major differences between the two political extremes can be seen. Right-wing extremists tend to be white, mostly male and of the Christian faith. They are generally young, from rural areas, tend to hold blue-collar jobs, have little education, and for the most

part, are in the middle to lower class of society. Left-wing extremists are more multi-racial and of both sexes. They are of many different religious beliefs, including atheism. They tend to be young, professional or former professional workers, are highly educated, and come from urban areas. Left-wing extremists, who are white, come from the middle to upper classes, whereas black members come from the lower class of society.

H. Enemies--Generally, the enemies of extremist groups can be placed in one of two categories. The two categories are governments and groups of people or organizations. The government of the United States is the primary target for destruction by extremist groups. This clearly points out that our government is an enemy of extremists in general and agents of the United States government are specific enemies of extremists. This includes all or most law enforcement personnel. Both right and left-wing extremists also consider the nation of Israel to be an enemy.

Right-wing extremists still considers blacks and Jews to be their enemies. Extremists on the left, such as the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, have specifically targeted police officers as their enemies.

I. Organizational Structure--A highly organized extremist group, which emulates the administrative structures of major corporations, is a trait that is much more common to left-wing groups than right-wing organizations. Left-wing groups have tended to organize with leaders operating out of "corporate headquarters." At outside cells they have an "administrator" in charge, supported by the rank and file extremists or terrorists.

J. Linkage Attempts--Both the right and the left are constantly trying to form alliances with other groups of similar political make-up. Right-wing groups have attempted three major alliances. The first two attempts were in the 1970's; the third attempt was in the 1980's and was lead by Richard Butler

of the Aryan Nations. Butler has organized annual Aryan Nations Congresses. None of the attempts to form alliances have lasted for significant lengths of time.

The "Revolutionary Armed Task Force" was the major left-wing linkage attempt of the 1980's. This was a union of the Black Liberation Army and the Weathermen. The significance of the RATF was that it was the first time a mostly white extremist group and an all black extremist group had attempted an alliance. However, most unification attempts do not last for extended periods of time. Problems arise with the different egos of the various leaders, with the varying ideologies, and diverse objectives of the aligning groups.

K. Publications and Communications--Nearly all extremist groups in the United States have used our freedom of the press to present their views. The most common method is through some form of a publication. The publications include magazines, newsletters, newspapers, pamphlets, and books.

### Conclusion

The original research question, as presented in Chapter III, asked whether right-wing and left-wing groups in the United States, are they similar or dis-similar, based on the characteristics developed? Based on the characteristics studied, there does not appear to be a significant difference between domestic extremist groups in the United States, whether they come from the right or the left.

Although there are differences, the differences are not extensive. The variations between the right and the left are mostly cosmetic. What is important is that the substances of the groups are similar.

The major differences between right-wing and left-wing groups are the types of people who belong to the various organizations, the words extremists use to deliver their message of hate, and the type of organizational structure they employ. Right-wing extremists use similar language to that which was used by Adolph Hitler. He spoke of racism, nationalism, the superiority of the white race, etc. Left-wing extremists speak against fascism and imperialism, against class conflict--the masses against the elite or ruling class and against the evils of capitalism. The same language is used by Communists. Extremists use that language deliberately. Right-wing extremists generally follow the teachings and beliefs of Adolph Hitler and Nazism. Left-wing extremists are generally Communists. The language may be different but the meaning is the same.

Probably the most important similarity between the two political systems is that both the right and left want to destroy our democratic nation. They want to do away with freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, etc--the very freedoms that extremists take advantage of to deliver

their message of hate. They want to destroy not only our democratic nation, but every democratic nation. For it is these nations that pose the greatest threat to extremists and extremist nations. People with personal freedom generally do not accept extremists and extremist views. They may be tolerated to a certain extent, but certainly not accepted.

Communists and Nazis, although coming from different ends of the political spectrum, have the same beliefs and moral values. As such, extremists in the United States who follow the teachings of Hitler, Lenin, Marx, Trotsky, or Mao, also have the same beliefs and moral values. These men taught certain concepts which are totally alien to our society. They preached the message of hate and of violence and of terror. They taught that lies are permissible. They believed that political opposition cannot be tolerated and must be destroyed, and people should not be allowed personal freedoms. They taught that religion was not permitted. They also believed that people must not be allowed to own property. When you take away personal property, you take away influence and power from the general public. With all of the property controlled by the governing body, all of the power and influence is also in the hands of the governing body.



The following quotes illustrate some of the beliefs.

We must be ready to employ trickery, deceit, law-breaking, withholding and concealing truth. We can and must write in the language which sows among the masses hate, revulsion, scorn, and the like, toward those who disagree with us. Lenin.

Any lie is permissible in order to attain the desired ends. Lenin.

One can only be right only within the party and through the party . . . Trotsky.

Terror as the demonstration of the will and strength of the working class, is historically justified . . . Trotsky.

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun . . . Mao.

The Communist Party enters such institutions not in order to do constructive work, but in order to direct the masses to destroy from within the whole bourgeois state machine and parliament itself. Lenin.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than power based upon force and limited by nothing-- by no law and absolutely no rule. Lenin.

Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression . . . Religion is the opium of the people. Lenin.

Communism is the hammer which we use to crush the enemy. Mao.

The one means that wins easiest over reason: terror and force. Adolph Hitler<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>205</sup>All quotes were taken from Extremist Groups in the United States, p. 39 and 192-199.

The intent is not to give a lesson on Communism and Nazism. The intent is to familiarize people with the teachings of the men whom extremists, in this country, pattern their organizations after and at times follow blindly. Very similar messages can be found in two quotes from two American extremists.

Under the dictatorship [of the proletariat] all the capitalist parties--Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc. - will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses. . . Likewise will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, Rotary Clubs, American Legions, . . . Masons, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc. William Z. Foster (former chairman of the U.S. Communist party).

. . . open declaration of our intention to gas the Jew traitors . . . I would make an end of this filthy silent treatment, for they could never ignore Nazis with swastika armbands and talk of gas chambers . . . . George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party.<sup>206</sup>

This clearly points out that extremists do not care about human life or the American way-of-life. They will do anything necessary to replace our democratic system with their authoritarian system. They, along with most Communists and Nazis, are the ultimate bigots. They neither like nor will tolerate any one that is not of their political thinking.

What does all this mean to the American public and law enforcement authorities? It is hoped that this paper will further the understanding of who extremists really are. They are people willing to kill, willing to destroy

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<sup>206</sup>Quotes were taken from Extremist Groups in the United States, p. 171-199.

property, and willing to do anything that they feel is necessary to accomplish their goals. Law enforcement authorities must realize that, although individuals are different, an extremist is an extremist. When a terrorist act has been committed, even though the particulars of each case will be different, the methods for handling all cases should be similar. As an example, the places police would look for right-wing terrorists would be different than places to look for a left-wing terrorist, i.e. right-wing in rural areas, left-wing in urban areas. However, there should not be separate regulations or procedures for right-wing and left-wing terrorists. Does it really matter whether the person, who is trying to blow up a building or a bus, or the group that is trying to overthrow our government, is a Communist or a Nazi, or a right-wing or left-wing terrorist? It is felt that the presented evidence supports the conclusion that it does not matter.

Four final points need to be made. As a country we value and cherish our individual freedoms. Our country is based on our Constitution and the Bill of Rights. We must not interrupt these rights simply because we are dealing with extremists or terrorists. As has been shown in the last few years, there are legal and effective ways to combat terrorism. Law enforcement officials have the capabilities and the technology to deal with extremists. We can not suspend the Bill of Rights for selected, individual cases. That would be a breakdown of our vital democratic process, which is exactly what terrorists want. There are such a myriad of legal ways to deal with extremists, illegal means are not necessary.

We must not overreact. Potentially, the problem of terrorism can be very serious. However, if we overreact we will only compound the problem. Terrorism can be dealt with effectively if there is thorough planning and well thought-out procedures to follow. Overreaction will happen when

people do not understand who they are dealing with and the exact extent of the problem. Law enforcement officials must realize they are dealing with human beings--human beings who are committing crimes. No matter how horrendous, the crimes are still crimes. And while the person committing the crime may be more vicious than the average person, they still have some of the same emotions as everyone else. It is commonly believed that terrorists are willing to die for their cause. Nothing could be further from the truth. The vast majority of terrorists are not willing to die. If terrorists were willing to die, there would be hundreds and thousands of innocent people dying every week from suicidal terrorist attacks. This simply is not happening and will not happen, as long as terrorists have the same fear of dying as most other human beings. Law enforcement officials must not be in awe of terrorists. They should realize that terrorists are dangerous and vicious, but they are not superhumans.

Although the actual number of extremists in the United States is small, they have literally thousands and thousands of sympathizers and supporters in this country. An example of this can be noted with the large number of Weathermen that went underground. When they went underground they still needed to eat, places to stay, money to travel, money to publish literature, etc. The Weathermen did not have the cash reserves to stay underground for an extended period of time. The point is that there were people willing to support thirty, forty, fifty Weathermen for an extended period. Some Weathermen stayed underground for over ten years. It resulted in an extensive amount of resources being spent on underground Weathermen. It should be noted that those supporters are still in the general population. Whether they are still willing to financially support and hide terrorists is debatable, but potentially, the supporters are still there.

The final point refers to the common practice of classifying left-wing extremists as liberals and right-wing extremists as conservative. This is a major misconception. Liberals and conservatives are very much a part of the American political system. They have been a vital part of the political system since the beginning of the United States, and they will always be a part of this political system. By labeling extremists as liberals and conservatives, we are inadvertently placing extremists in the mainstream political system. By doing that we elevate their status. They no longer are extremists, but members of the general political system. By doing this, we place left-wing extremists in the same category, liberal, with men such as Senator Robert Kennedy, and we place right-wing extremists in the same category, conservative, with men such as Senator Barry Goldwater. Extremists should never be labelled in the same manner as Senator Kennedy or Senator Goldwater or any other liberal or conservative.

Recommendations

There are several recommendations proposed for law enforcement authorities, government officials, business personnel, and the general public. The recommendations include:

A. As already mentioned, we must not overreact to extremism. There must be specific guidelines as to what extremism is and who extremists are. We must not make the mistake of labelling every violent act as a extremist act. We must deal with facts and not emotions.

B. Agencies involved in gathering intelligence must continue to accumulate information on known extremists and suspected extremists. The lack of extremist incidents in the United States does not mean there is not a threat. Intelligence is a crucial element for the detection and prevention of potential extremist attacks and for the apprehension of extremist after a terrorist act has occurred.

C. Preparation for extremist attacks is vital. There must be policies established and the policies must be understood by all concerned individuals. In addition to understanding policies, law enforcement authorities and government and business officials must understand terrorism. Education is critical to the understanding of any problem. Extremism is certainly no exception.

D. Finally, there should be cooperation and agreements between law enforcement personnel and the media. Media coverage of a extremist

incident can be a police department's worst enemy or the department's best friend. This is not to imply that the media should be restricted from covering terrorist attacks. However, since media coverage is a vital element of every terrorist incident, restraint is advised.

## APPENDICIES



## **Appendix A**

### **Types of Terrorism**

Appendix A

Types of Terrorism

Robert A. Liston:

A. Criminal--individuals, gangs, or criminal organizations preying on people for personal gain.

B. Terrorism for ethnic or national liberation--groups based on ethnic purposes or groups claiming to fight for the liberation of their country.

C. State terrorism--terrorism committed by a government against its own citizens or citizens of another country.

D. Revolutionary terrorism--terrorism committed by citizens against their own country or another country.

Bruce Hoffman:

A. Ethnic/Emigre--groups organized along ethnic causes or national liberation causes.

B. Left-wing--groups operating on the left end of the political spectrum.

C. Right-wing--groups operating on the right end of the political spectrum.

The Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism:

A. Political terrorism--violent, criminal behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or a substantial segment of it, for political purposes.

B. Nonpolitical terrorism--vast area of true terroristic activity that is not political in nature, notably that frequently ascribed to present-day operations of organized crime.

C. Quasi-terrorism--activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and methods to true terrorism but which nevertheless lack its essential ingredient.

D. Limited political terrorism--acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a concerted campaign to capture control of the State.

E. Official or state terrorism.--violent action or oppression by a government, against its own people.

Boyer Bell:

A & B. Psychotic and criminal which Bell links with air piracy and kidnapping

C. Endemic--characterized as blood feuds within primitive society or societal anarchy, typified by Uganda

D. Authorized--the use of state power, either directed against the citizenry of the state or its international enemies, including hostile leaders of other governments

E. Vigilante--partly communities attempting to defend themselves and partly the use of terrorists as surrogate warriors employed against foreign enemies

F. Revolutionary--is purely political, directed at an incumbent regime and utilized by individuals and small groups

1. Organizational--an instrument designed to maintain discipline within the revolutionary ranks

2. Allegiance--a method of intimidation of the general population designed to secure support for the revolutionary party and program

3. Functional--selective, discriminate terror-violence aimed at a designated class of victims who are mostly official, but sometimes civilians

4. Provocative--specific acts of terror-violence intended to provoke counter-terroristic measures by ruling government, thereby alienating the uncommitted population

5. Manipulative-- mainly hostage type situations in which the safety of the hostage provides a means of bargaining b/w the victimizers and those in legal authorities

6. Symbolic--an act of violence which has for its sole purpose a psychological impact upon a vast audience

**Appendix B**  
**Terrorist Incidents**

**Appendix B**  
**Terrorist Incidents by Type of Target**

Target	1985		1986	
	Within U.S.	World-Wide	Within U.S.	World-Wide
Business	0	1,086	3	934
Military/ Police	2	946	2	715
Diplomatic	0	52	0	65
Other Governmental	1	529	0	563
Others	4	397	4	553
Totals:	7	3,010	9	2,830

Source: Security Management, June 1987, p. 68.

## Appendix B

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### Terrorist Incidents by Casualties

	1985			1986		
	US Citizens		World-Wide	US Citizens		Within U.S.
	Total	World-Wide		Total	World-Wide	
Killed	7,166	54		5,035	11	1
Injured	5,181	160		5,504	104	19
Incidents	NA	NA		NA	NA	17
Dollar Damage (Million \$)	\$46.5	NA		NA	\$33.6	NA

Source: Security Management, June 1987, p. 68.

## **Appendix C**

### **Definitions of Terrorism**



## Appendix C

## Definitions of Terrorism

Central Intelligence Agency: The threat or use for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for, or in opposition to, established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims.<sup>207</sup>

Department of State: Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine stage agents, usually intended to influence an audience.objectives.<sup>208</sup>

National Criminal Justice Reference Service: A single incident or campaign waged outside accepted rules and procedures.<sup>209</sup>

The Rand Corporation: Violence or the threat of violence, often coupled with specific demands. Targets are civilians, motives are political and carried out in a way that will achieve maximum publicity.<sup>210</sup>

Damon Camp and H. Todd Locklear: The use of violence to intimidate or subjugate, to achieve political goals.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>207</sup>Kadish, Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice, p. 1530.

<sup>208</sup>"Charting Terrorism's Course," Security Management, June, 1987, p. 66.

<sup>209</sup>Ibid.

<sup>210</sup>Ibid.

<sup>211</sup>Camp and Locklear, "Domestic Terror," p. 1.

**Appendix D**  
**Indictments of Order Members**

## Appendix D

## Indictments of Members of "The Order"

<u>Person Indicted</u>	<u>Major Offenses Charged</u>
1. Bruce Carroll Pierce	Murder, Arson, Robbery,
Counterfeiting, Stolen Property	
2. Gary Lee Yarbrough	Arson, Robbery,
Counterfeiting, Stolen Property	
3. Randolph George Duey	Murder, Robbery,
Counterfeiting, Stolen Property,	Weapons Violations
4. Andrew Virgil Barnhill	Robbery, Stolen Property
5. Denver Daw Parmenter, II	Robbery, Stolen Property
6. Richard Harold Kemp	Murder, Stolen Property
7. Richard E. Scutari	Murder, Robbery, Stolen Property
8. David Eden Lane	Murder, Counterfeiting,
	Stolen Property
9. Randall Paul Evans	Robbery, Stolen Property
10. Robert E. Merki	Robbery, Stolen Property
	Counterfeiting, Weapons Violations
11. James Sherman Dye	Murder, Robbery, Stolen Property
12. Sharon K. Merki	Robbery, Stolen Property
	Counterfeiting, Weapons Violations
13. Frank Lee Silva	Stolen Property
14. Jean Margaret Craig	Murder, Stolen Property

(Appendix D continued)

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 15. Randall Eugene Radar    | Stolen Property                                  |
| 16. Kenneth Joseph Loff     | Stolen Property                                  |
| 17. Ronald Allen King       | Conspiracies to Commit Robberies                 |
| 18. Davis Tate              | Murder, Stolen Property<br>Counterfeiting        |
| 19. Thomas Bentley          | Murder, Robbery, Stolen Property                 |
| 20. Ardie McBrearty         | Conspiracy to Commit Robbery,<br>Stolen Property |
| 21. Jackie Lee Norton       | Stolen Property                                  |
| 22. George Franklin Zaengle | Counterfeiting, Stolen Property                  |
| 23. William Anthony Nash    | Stolen Property <sup>212</sup>                   |

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<sup>212</sup>Wiggins, Descriptive Profile of Criminal Activities, p. 5-6.

**Appendix E**  
**Black Panther's "Ten-Point Program"**

Appendix E

**Black Panther's "Ten-Point Program"**

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>213</sup>Bakst, ed., "The Black Panthers," p. 514.

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