

**DOMESTIC TERRORISM
AND
INCIDENT MANAGEMENT**

DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND INCIDENT MANAGEMENT

Issues and Tactics

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*Most especially to my husband, Boldini and our sons, Erin and Ben,
whose love and support is always there
To my parents, Frank and Mary Vohryzek, who inspired the quest for knowledge and
a life of learning
To my community of friends who have shown their support
in innumerable ways*

MIKI VOHRYZEK-BOLDEN

*This book is dedicated to the students who have taken my various courses on terrorism
over the eight years at Humboldt State
University, as well as the many law enforcement officers who have endured an historical
approach to terrorism at the Law Enforcement Management Institute at Texas
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never have been able to teach international and domestic terrorism, much less write
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intellectual challenges, astute observations, and regular input
about content and sources. They have been—and will continue
to be—a source of inspiration to me.*

GAYLE OLSON-RAYMER

To EVB for being my guiding light

JEFFREY O. WHAMOND

PREFACE

The subject of terrorism consumes our public interest and fascination. For Americans, it has taken on a particularly strong personal interest because of the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City in February 1993 and the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in April 1995. What many viewed as impossible has now become a reality—Americans are becoming victims of terrorism on American soil, and in greater numbers than we have seen in the past. The unpredictability of terrorism and apparent randomness make it virtually impossible for our government to protect all potential sites and all potential victims.

To fully understand the nature of domestic terrorism, we need a clear understanding of the basics. These basics include reviewing the complex history that spans thousands of years, grappling with definitions of a controversial and emotionally-explosive topic, acquiring a clear understanding of contemporary domestic terrorism, and examining intelligence gathering, threat analysis, and emergency responses to terrorism incident management. Such knowledge should enhance the public's understanding of domestic terrorism and law enforcement's ability to prevent and respond to its acts.

Because our book seeks to achieve a greater understanding of contemporary terrorism, it focuses almost exclusively on right-wing domestic terrorism for three primary reasons:

1. strong presence in the last twenty years;
2. projections of experts that right-wing terrorism will prevail well into the 21st century; and
3. reports of local law enforcers across the nation who are dealing with an increasing number of right-wing extremists and terrorists in their jurisdiction, as well as the prevalence of special-interest extremist and terrorist groups—ecological resistance movements, anti-environmental movements, animal rights and anti-abortion activists.

Our examination of intelligence gathering and incident management build on both the historical and descriptive portions of the text by adding a practical dimension.

MIKI VOHRYZEK-BOLDEN
GAYLE OLSON-RAYMER
JEFFREY O. WHAMOND

INTRODUCTION

Those interested in the study of terrorism and terrorists recognize the need to view these subjects in an historical and contemporary context. Our book is designed to take the reader on a journey through the historical antecedents of contemporary terrorism, to introduce ideologies and activities of right-wing and special-interest extremists and terrorists, and to describe criminal intelligence gathering policies and practices and discuss terrorism incident management strategies.

As such, we believe this book is unique in several ways because it:

- Blends a strong academic component dealing with definitional and historical issues with a strong practical element dealing with contemporary issues relevant to both postsecondary students and law enforcement practitioners.
- Draws on the expertise of three professionals who come from differing, but complementary, academic and criminal justice backgrounds.
- Includes an in-depth discussion of special-interest extremists and terrorists, intelligence gathering, and emergency responses to terrorism incident management.
- Weaves case studies into the textual discussion of domestic terrorism.
- Encourages use as both a text in an undergraduate course and as a training manual for police and fire personnel.
- Contains discussion questions to which students can respond, as well as study questions that students can research outside the classroom setting.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One, *The Definitional and Historical Dimensions of Terrorism*, written by Gayle Olson-Raymer, deals with the issue of terrorism in a broad definitional context. The authors feel that for the student of terrorism to understand both the evolution and current status of domestic terrorism, it is first necessary to discuss it within a wider, global context. Thus, the first three chapters deal with definitional problems associated with policymaker's and law enforcement's handling of terrorism, an historical overview of terrorism and terrorist incidents in the global community, and an historical examination of terrorism from below in the United States.

Part Two, Contemporary Domestic Terrorism, written by Miki Vohryzek-Bolden, addresses the American Hate Movement and patriot–militia activities. It also discusses the emergence of special-interest extremist and terrorist groups that advocate violence based on an ideology or belief, which may include the desire for political and social change. They include ecological resistance groups, anti-environmental movements, animal rights and anti-abortion activists. Chapter 6 presents selected case studies designed to illustrate the range of political-extremist and terrorist events in the United States during contemporary times. Chapter 7 describes the changing character of domestic terrorism in terms of the groups involved and the terrorists' use of specific tools and tactics.

Part Three, Intelligence Gathering and Emergency Response Incident Management to Terrorism, written by Jeffrey Whamond, focuses on effective criminal intelligence gathering techniques and the implementation of terrorism incident management strategies. Chapter 8 develops an understanding of the complex and interrelated system of collecting criminal intelligence information on terrorist enterprises while reinforcing the concepts of due process and privacy rights. Chapter 9 focuses on terrorism incident management strategies for prevention, threat assessment, domestic preparedness, and tactics for a unified national response to a conventional or a weapon of mass destruction incident.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MIKI VOHRYZEK-BOLDEN

As the lead author, and perhaps instigator of this venture, I know that this book would not have been completed without the commitment and dedication of my two coauthors, Gayle Olson-Raymer and Jeff Whamond. While at times I assumed the role of taskmaster and nudge, my colleagues maintained a good perspective on this behavior and showed me understanding when I became frustrated with the inevitable delays that surround a collaborative project of this magnitude.

I was introduced to the subject of violence and terrorism when Dr. Tom Johnson, then Chair of the Criminal Justice Division at California State University, Sacramento (CSUS) asked me to teach our upper-division course on violence and terrorism. I was fortunate to meet Gayle who was also teaching this course at CSUS. We developed a strong friendship and professional relationship as we worked cooperatively to develop the curriculum for the course. Gayle has been my “academic inspiration” as she maintains a strong scholarly focus on all that she does in the classroom, in her scholarship, and in her training seminars for law enforcement personnel.

Jeff Whamond, our other coauthor, was perhaps more directly involved in my decision to write a textbook on this subject (in other words, he planted the seed!). Jeff and I conduct training seminars for law enforcement–investigation personnel. In his quest to expand our “business,” he casually mentioned one day that there was potentially a huge market for training specialists in the area of domestic terrorism, with a focus on right-wing terrorists. This occurred at the same time I was applying for a sabbatical leave from CSUS. Thus, timing and circumstances were perfect! And as they say, “the rest is history.”

The writing of a textbook is an incredibly difficult task. It takes a considerable amount of commitment, focus, and, especially, understanding from those around you who must endure your idiosyncrasies during the writing process. My husband Steve Bolden, also known as the famous Boldini, gives me the greatest gift of all, his unconditional love, for which I will forever be appreciative. Our sons, Erin and Ben, are probably too young to understand what this book writing is all about. Yet, they are the “heart of my soul” and are

ever present in my thoughts, and for their very presence in my life I feel very blessed and am most thankful.

Several students of mine were helpful at different points in the process and I want to extend my thanks to them: Tim Croisdale, Amber Ferry, Jody Burgess, and Judy Ruskus. Very heartfelt thanks are extended to Ann Boynton, who gave freely and fully of her time and expertise in the preparation of this book for publication. There are scores of other friends and colleagues who supported me throughout the writing of this book. The words escape even this writer! You all know who you are and you have my profound thanks for your love and support.

On a final note, I want to acknowledge my aunt, Eileen Pearson. On July 25, 1977, a week before my doctoral defense, she sent me a card with the saying: *Follow your dreams, for as you dream so shall you become*. In the card she said, “thoughts are things—and things happen! See yourself with your Ph.D. tucked into your foxy pocket as you set off north to set the world on fire.” I kept the card with me all these years because I was empowered by those words. Thank you Eileen, from the bottom of my heart.

GAYLE OLSON-RAYMER

I continue to owe my greatest debt as an educator to my doctoral mentor at University of California at Santa Barbara, Dr. Alexander B. Callow. Not a day goes by when I do not repeat his parting advice to me: “When you think you know all the answers, it’s time to get out of the teaching profession.”

I owe my enthusiasm for teaching about the history of terrorism from my mentor at Texas Woman’s University, Dr. Jim Alexander, who is the Chairperson of the Political Science Department and one of the most nurturing educators I have ever met.

I owe my interest in and commitment to the themes emphasized in this book to my friend and colleague, Dr. Miki Vohryzek-Bolden. No matter how behind we were, how frustrated we became, how overworked we felt—Miki was always there with a smile and positive word of encouragement. I can think of no one with whom I would rather coauthor a book!

I owe my diversions and sanity to my husband, Terry Raymer, my children, Miles and Michaela, and our beautiful home and spiritual retreat within the redwoods.

JEFFREY O. WHAMOND

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my coauthors Professors Miki Vohryzek-Bolden and Gayle Olson-Raymer for their willingness to

blend an academic and “street cop” approach to the topic of domestic terrorism. I would also like to thank Dr. Vohryzek-Bolden for taking the responsibility of acting as the project manager for this book. Her professional approach to setting time lines kept me on track. I would like to particularly thank Paul Knox for his thoughtful editorial work on Chapters 8 and 9. His dedication and insight are an invaluable addition to this portion of the text.

My intentions for Chapter 8 were to present the material on criminal intelligence gathering from within the framework of nationally accepted standards and practices. I would like to thank David E. Struve in consultation with Ted Prime, Matthew Anderson and Michael Roland who created the manual on “Criminal Intelligence File Guidelines.” From the Simi Valley Police Department, in conjunction with Jack Morris (retired), California Attorney General’s Office, Department of Justice, I would like to thank Capt. Dick Wright for his expertise in developing the “Guidelines for the Criminal Intelligence Function.” From the California Peace Officers Association, Criminal Intelligence Committee, I would like to thank Robert J. Luca. Mr. Luca and the members of his committee researched and presented the materials contained in the manual “Criminal Intelligence Program for the Smaller Agency.” Their manual was an invaluable reference for this project. I would also like to thank Joseph F. Barbara, Attorney, State of California Department of Corrections, for his scholarly approach in assisting me with constitutional and case-law issues. These law enforcement professionals have set the national training standards for law enforcement officers in this topical area.

In addressing Chapter 9, I wanted to present the material in a manner that included the viewpoint of our nation’s counterterrorism leaders from the federal, state, and local levels. To this end, I would like to thank Professor Yonah Alexander and Mr. Donald J. Musch for the selection and presentation of public records and documents contained in Volumes 14 through 19 of *Terrorism: Documents of International and Local Control*. From Hazardous Management Associates in conjunction with the National Fire Academy, I would like to thank David M. Lesak for the GEDAPER process.

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**DOMESTIC TERRORISM
AND
INCIDENT MANAGEMENT**

Part One

THE DEFINITIONAL AND HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS OF TERRORISM

GAYLE OLSON-RAYMER

It seems that for the instructors of terrorism, there is always a “teachable moment.” If we wait for a month or so, something will pop up in the domestic or international arena that will demand our immediate attention and revitalize the interest of students in our classes. Before we can really immerse ourselves in the tragic circumstances of each emerging incident of terrorism, however, we must have a clear understanding of the basics. In the case of terrorism, that means grappling with definitions of a very controversial and emotionally-explosive topic, as well as reviewing a complex history that spans thousands of years. These, then, are the two primary goals of Part One:

- to discuss the many controversies about how to define terrorism and develop a rationale for the broad definition used throughout the book; and
- to examine the history of international and domestic terrorism, with a particular emphasis on case studies.

Because this book is designed for use in a wide array of interdisciplinary classrooms

and law enforcement training experiences, it is important to note that these first three chapters rely heavily on the history of terrorism. Indeed, it is premised on the belief that local law enforcers and those who study terrorism must be educated about extremists and terrorists, as well as become more open to proactive and preventive anti-terrorist strategies. Fortunately, this particular belief is supported by a growing number of law enforcement personnel.

In his book, *Terrorism and Local Law Enforcement*, twenty-year veteran from the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Office Philip McVey argues that officers must be educated about the political agenda of domestic and international extremists and terrorists, as well as the history of political violence in America. Specifically, he argues for creating educated police forces where officers take specialized courses, improve their intelligence gathering on potential and actual extremist groups and individuals, and learn target-hardening techniques. An educated local law enforcement agency can then, in the words of McVey (1998), “reduce the need to

enter into the paramilitary mode of operations . . .” and can instead take more “proactive approaches” (p. 153). Echoing this belief is Scott McHugh, retired Special Agent with the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Diplomatic Security, who has commented that: “The future effectiveness of U.S. counter-terrorist operations can be improved upon by discarding the current reactive approach to terrorism and replacing it with the means to prevent terrorist operations” (as quoted in Ward and Moors 1998: 57–58).

In keeping with such beliefs, Part One is designed to be an educational journey for those who wish to learn more about the historical and contemporary contexts of terrorism. Consequently, its chapters deal with the issue of terror in a far broader context than Parts Two and Three, which exclusively discuss aspects of terrorism from below within the United States. However, to understand both the evolution and current status of domestic American terrorism, it is first necessary to discuss it within a wider context. Consequently, the first two chapters in Part One will differ in both content and theme from the remaining two-thirds of this book in at least two ways:

1. The inclusion of a broad discussion of terrorism within a *global* rather than an exclusively *domestic* context. Terrorism did not begin in the United States—thus, it does not make sense to begin our discussion with the settlement of the first American colonies. Instead, Chapter 1, “Terrorism and Terrorists: A Definitional Perspective,” provides a definitional dialogue about terrorism and terrorists, while Chapter 2, “Terrorism in the Global Arena: An Historical Perspective,” includes an historical overview of the evolution of international terrorism.
2. The inclusion of a series of case studies about incidents of terrorism committed both from above and below. Terrorism has never been the exclusive tool of the empowered operating from above—thus, it does not make sense to exclude an historical discussion of the use of terror in the hands of the empowered.

The third and final chapter in Part One, “Terrorism in the United States: A Relationship as ‘American as Apple Pie,’” sets the tone for the remainder of the book by focusing exclusively on the history of terrorism from below in the United States.

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- Ward, Richard H., and Moors, Cindy S. Intelligence, terrorism, and the new world order. In Ward, Richard H., and Moors, Cindy S. (Eds.), *Terrorism and the New World Order*. Washington, D.C., Office of International Criminal Justice, 1998, pp. 45–65.

Chapter 1

TERRORISM AND TERRORISTS: A DEFINITIONAL PERSPECTIVE¹

The death of 168 men, women, and children in the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah building in Oklahoma City marked the end of public naïveté about the possibility of experiencing a horrific terrorist incident on American soil. Indeed, prior to 1995, most Americans believed terroristic violence was something that happened in the *international* community—not within the *domestic* borders of America. In the wake of Oklahoma City, communities, local law enforcement agencies, educational institutions, and the media began a sincere dialogue about how to respond to the terrorist threat. However, it soon became clear that no one was really clear about what terrorism was and was not.

One of the most difficult issues related to any discussion of terrorism is related to this definitional dilemma. For decades, academic experts, criminal justice practitioners, governmental officials, and even the terrorists themselves have disagreed on a definition of terrorism. Scores of definitions began appearing in the 1980s. Schmid's (1984) comparative analysis of more than 100 definitions

of terrorism used between 1936 and 1981 concluded that it was not possible to provide one correct definition of terrorism because it is different things to different people. Such a conclusion gained further credence throughout the 1980s as experts continued to debate definitional components. White's (1991) survey of these various definitions found that they generally fell into one of five categories:

1. Simple definitions broadly defining terrorism as the use of force to bring about political change that do not limit terrorism to specific actions (Jenkins 1985; Laqueur 1987).
2. Legal definitions suggesting that terrorism is a form of criminal violence that violates legal codes and is therefore punishable by the state (Grosscup 1987).
3. Analytical definitions seeking to identify the problem through specific factors, such as the use of unacceptable violence aimed at innocent targets (Crenshaw 1983).
4. State-sponsored definitions maintaining that small states, especially those states

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was published in Gayle Olson-Raymer: *Terrorism: A Historical and Contemporary Perspective*. New York, American Heritage Custom Publishing, 1996. This chapter has, however, been substantially revised from the earlier version.

backed by members of the former Communist bloc, use terrorism to attack Western political viewpoints and interests (Livingstone and Arnold 1986; Netanyahu 1986).

5. State definitions holding that various Western states, especially the United States, have supported terrorist regimes that use repression and terror to maintain their power (Chomsky 1986; George 1991; Herman 1982; Perdue 1989; Stohl 1983).

White (1991) concluded that all five definitions were “viable,” that there is “no standard definition of terror,” and that each definition was based upon “political biases” (p. 7). In the second edition of his book, White (1998) explained several reasons why defining terrorism is so confusing and difficult:

- Terrorism’s pejorative connotation ensures that a person is politically and socially degraded if they are labeled a terrorist.
- Governments, which can increase their power when they call their opponents terrorists, encourage citizens to accept abuses of governmental power in the name of a counterterrorist campaign.
- The intertwined usage of the terms *terror* and *terrorism* suggests that anything that creates terror, including military conflicts and force, is terrorism.
- Many scholars and experts insist that repressive governments that rule through terror be included in any definition of terrorism.
- The use of the term has changed from its historical use as applied to official governmental actions of terrorism, to its more contemporary usage as applied to the ac-

tivities of domestic enemies of the government (pp. 5–6).

Laqueur (1999) adds his own opinion to the definitional dilemma by concluding that “There has been no ‘terrorism’ per se, only different terrorisms” (p. 46).

Given such definitional latitude, policy-makers, educators, and experts have had to grapple with their own personal and professional perspectives and biases about terrorism. Thus, my personal definitional struggle began in 1983 when trying to find the appropriate descriptive words for students taking a course in “International Terrorism” within the Criminal Justice Department at Sacramento State University. Most of my students were undergraduates preparing to enter the criminal justice system, military police from the neighboring bases, and local law enforcement officers working on their master’s degrees. Each semester I introduced students to the way in which the emerging literature defined terrorism, most of which relied heavily upon the FBI’s legalistic definition of terrorism: *Terrorism* is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives (U.S. Department of Justice 1997: i).

While the FBI’s definition was fairly broad, throughout the 1970s and until 1995, the agency narrowly interpreted terrorists to be primarily people of left-wing orientation.² *Left-wing terrorists* are those who profess views to reform or overthrow the established governmental order in the name of the greater freedom or well-being of the common man. Theirs is considered to be a *radical* political

² After the Oklahoma City bombing, the FBI no longer relied exclusively on its left-wing interpretation of terrorism. Instead, it began to encompass a broader interpretation of its definition, one that included terrorists of many political, social, religious, and ideological persuasions.