

The Structure(s) of Terrorism

Introduction

Before we discuss the structure of terrorist groups, we should first focus on their goals. Of course, different groups have different objectives and reasons for turning to terrorism. In spite of this, a certain amount of consistency emerges. In the previous chapter, we noted that individuals join terrorist movements for both instrumental and psychological reasons. In this chapter, we will presume that rational choice guides their decision-making. In other words, when Osama bin Laden claims that his motive for the 9-11 attacks was to defend Islam, we will accept that and not attempt to ascribe psychological reasons for his behavior (although it probably exists).

In this way, we will attempt to understand why terrorist groups organize themselves the way that they do. In fact, successful terrorists are remarkably adaptive creatures. They often have to blend into a society they loathe in order to plan and carry out attacks. In this way, their lives are not too different from undercover agents involved in long-term operations. And like spies or undercover personnel, they need structures to support them logistically and psychologically. In this chapter, we will discuss some of the structures that groups employ. As mentioned in the last chapter, understanding these structures and the behavior of groups will likely provide at least as much insight into their activities as a knowledge of terrorists= individual personalities.

Why Choose Terrorism?

Perhaps the easiest answer to the above question is that terrorists have a desire to accomplish goals, yet lack the necessary resources. For example, when early Zionists wanted to create the state of Israel, they did not have a formal army. In order to carry out military-like

missions, they created the Ergun, a clandestine organization that carried out attacks against British and Arab targets.

Although it may at times seem an ad hoc affair, there has actually been a great deal of discussion among terrorists as to how they should accomplish their missions. In the 1960s, South American revolutionary Carlos Marighella published The Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerilla, a how-to treatise on the manner in which guerilla warfare should be carried out. Marighella's work served as an inspiration to various groups, such as the Symbionese Liberation Army, which attempted to emulate his tactics in the 1970s.

In one of the best-known portions of Marighella's text, he describes under what conditions terrorism will be successful. According to him, most members of a population will remain compliant with even the harshest and most oppressive of regimes, unless something happens to disturb their ennui; it is the job of the urban guerilla to make that happen. The first goal of the guerilla is to act B to carry out some attack. When this happens, governments can follow one of two courses of action: they can either capitulate (which almost never happens) or they can become even more oppressive. When the latter happens, outraged citizens become increasingly drawn to the cause of the guerillas. For governments, it becomes a vicious circle -- increasing attacks lead to increasing oppression, and, in turn, increasing popularity for the guerillas. What began as a small revolution has become a mass popular movement.

More recently, groups like al Qaeda have been quite explicit in teaching members how they should train, carry out attacks, and behave in foreign lands. In 2000, as the Manchester(England) Metropolitan Police was conducting a search of the apartment of a suspected al Qaeda member, they discovered a lengthy document in a computer file described as

"the military series" related to the "Declaration of Jihad." More commonly referred to as the AAl Qaeda Training Manual,⁸ a summarized version of this document appears on the U.S. Department of Justice website (see <http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/trainingmanual.htm>). It is included on the CD-ROM accompanying this volume as well. The chapter headings of this manual give a very comprehensive indication of what al Qaeda believe is fundamental to becoming a successful terrorist. Some of the topics covered include: the necessary qualifications for a jihadist, training, security, gathering information through open and closed means, how to behave in prison or with authorities, and how to assure member safety.

Why Does Terrorism Work?

How can it be that small groups are often able to wreak such havoc and capture the imagination of a population? Consider the effects the 9-11 attacks have had on the United States. As of this writing, the War on Terrorism has resulted in the invasion of two countries, the total restructuring of the United States government, and the passage of hundreds of pages of new, unprecedented legislation. When the actual costs needed to carry out the 9-11 mission are considered, the resulting impact has been enormous.

It must first be remembered that terrorism is a primarily a psychological tactic.

Researchers George Everly and Cherie Castellano note:

Terrorism is a toxin. Death and destruction are a means to an end, not an end in themselves. Terrorism exerts its toxic effect by creating Apsychological casualties,⁹ i.e., individuals who become impaired as a result of the terrorism, anticipated or realized. The adverse impact of terrorism may, therefore be estimated not just in terms of physical destruction but in terms of psychological Atoxicity.¹⁰ (Everly & Castellano, 2005: 39).

Every terrorist attack has at least three targets: the target of the attack, the target of influence, and the target of _____. In reality, the primary target of any terrorist attack is not the

target that was attacked : it is the audience that the terrorists are trying to reach. For example, while the 9-11 hijackers destroyed the World Trade Centers and damaged the Pentagon, their actual goal was to send a message to the citizens of America: AYou are not safe anywhere, at anytime. We are so dedicated to our cause that we will willingly sacrifice our lives to achieve our mission.@ Osama bin Laden=s belief may well be that, in the face of a challenge like al Qaeda, the American government, under pressure from the citizenry, will at some point capitulate (he has used the examples of the American experience in Somalia and Vietnam on several occasions to underscore his belief that Americans are both greedy and cowardly).

It is not enough, however, that terrorists merely carry out an act. In fact, it is essential that the act receive the greatest amount of media attention as possible. As far back as the 19th century, spectacular acts of violence intended to rouse the citizenry were referred to as Apropaganda of the deed,@ using one=s actions to send a message. Consider the world of today, with 24/7 news channels and the Internet bringing unrelenting images of carnage on a real-time basis. Indeed, the terrorist has a far better chance today of sending his message than at any time in history.

Psychologist Phil Zimbardo explains the efficacy of terrorism this way:

The terrorists= omnipresent weapon is exaggerated fear that spreads into action-crippling anxieties, especially when delivered repeatedly by television and print media (Zimbardo, 2002: 19)

Hardiness & Resilience: The Role of Psychological Counterterrorism

Since it is primarily a psychological construct, terrorism succeeds when a society allows it to. In past wars, citizens have been called upon to support the war effort. During World War II, for example, gasoline and food was rationed and civilians willingly grew victory gardens and collected metal to help the troops. The war on terrorism requires a different civilian commitment.

It will be won not only on battlefields and in the courts, but in the collective mind of the populace as well.

Everly and Castellano define Apsychological counterterrorism as:

(E)fforts to prevent or counteract the adverse psychological effects of terrorism (2005: 113).

It is their contention that regardless of how many battles we may win or terrorists we may kill, we will not prevail against terrorism unless we successfully counteract its psychological Atotoxicity.® Everyone has a role in this: public health officials and psychologists can use their skills to prepare a population for terrorism and ameliorate its effects after an attack has occurred, police and governmental officials can help the public understand the true rather than perceived probability of a terrorist event, and public figures can lead and inspire the citizenry, much like Winston Churchill did in World War II.

But a significant share of the responsibility for psychological counterterrorism lies with the citizens themselves. To that end, Everly and Castellano lay out particular strategies for enhancing the hardiness and resilience of a population, to include increasing levels of self-efficacy, fostering group cohesion, providing accurate and supportive communications, and leading in an inspirational and courageous manner.

The Special Case of Religion

Terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead.
Brian Jenkins (Jenkins, 1975:15)

Brian Jenkins was probably correct when he made that pronouncement in 1975. Most terrorist groups in the 1970s were secular, political constructions.¹ They followed Crenshaw=s

¹While some groups, such as the Irish Republican Army, had religious links, their goals and motivations were primarily secular.

(1988, 1992) model of the rational actor, seeking to find the most effective and efficient means of accomplishing their goals. That included a constraint on bloodshed: enough to be noticed, but not enough to alienate the population. Yet today, there is little doubt that if al Qaeda were able to get its hands on a nuclear weapon, it would use it without a moment's hesitation. What has changed? One crucial factor is today's groups increasingly use religion to justify their activities.

When one thinks of the modern religiously-motivated terrorist, the image that emerges is probably that of Osama bin Laden, the wealthy son of a Saudi businessman who eschewed a comfortable, secular lifestyle to first join the Afghan resistance against the Soviet Union in the late 1970s and subsequently went on to found al Qaeda. While that is not incorrect, it is certainly incomplete. In the first place, religious terrorism has been around for some time. The word "zealot" comes from a Jewish sect that fought against the Romans in the first century, A.D. As well, an "assassin" in the 12th century A.D. was one who ingested hashish before engaging in religiously motivated murder (Hoffman, 1999).

As well, those who practice radical Islam are not the only ones engaged in religiously-motivated violence. Indeed, the Ku Klux Klan has historically viewed itself as a Christian organization (see Inset 2) and Tim McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, may have had ties to a group that views white supremacy as biblically-inspired. Many well-publicized recent extremist events, such as the release of sarin nerve gas in the Tokyo subway system by the Aum Shinrikyo sect and the standoff/suicide of Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, both of which occurred in 1995, had strong religious components as well.

How is it that religion can be such a strong motivator to violence? After all, most think of religion as promoting peace and harmony (and, indeed, most religions do). There are those

individuals, however, who interpret religious tracts differently, in a way that not only allows, but commands, violence.

The Millennial Connection

Many religions incorporate a millennial component, that is, one that speaks to the transformation and purification of society (Jensen and Hsieh, 1999). Oftentimes, this takes the form of an apocalyptic battle between good and evil (see Inset 1). When one sees himself as an extension of a divine force, several factors come into play: a) The normal constraints society imposes on individuals to refrain from deviant or violent behavior no longer apply; indeed, in some cases violence is commanded if one wishes to work himself/herself into heaven; b) Political goals are less important than being a good soldier. Since one's reward will be in heaven (and, presumably, not on Earth), achieving a particular political outcome no longer matters and Jenkin's admonition doesn't apply. Since God has already ordained the battle, killing as many of the enemy as possible is one's mission; c) Martyrdom becomes not only understandable, it becomes desirable. Whether one straps on a suicide belt, drinks poison-laced Kool Aid, or restrains one's children as the fires of a religious compound rage, giving one's life for his/her religion is the ultimate form of devotion. While many of us have trouble understanding the motivations of the 9-11 hijackers, far fewer would question the dedication, devotion, and even saintliness of Joan of Arc.

Given that as background, consider the words of Hassan Salame, who orchestrated a series of suicide bombings in Israel in 1996:

A suicide bombing is the highest level of jihad, and highlights the depth of our faith. The bombers are holy fighters who carry out one of the more important articles of faith

(Salame, quoted in Post, 2003: 19).

Law Enforcement and Religious Groups

There are two general categories of religious groups that may employ violence or criminality in the pursuit of goals. The first is the political group that utilizes religion to justify political action. Both al Qaeda and the Ku Klux Klan are examples of this type. The second is what is popularly referred to as a *Acult*.⁶ At times, it may be quite difficult to differentiate these two types of groups, although many cults generally pursue strictly religious rather than political goals.

When dealing with religious groups, law enforcement needs to keep several factors in mind. First, in the United States, individuals are free to worship (or not) however they please. Regardless of whether one considers himself a Christian, Jew, Moslem, Satanist, or atheist, his belief system is not a matter for law enforcement, until and unless it crosses the line into criminal behavior. While few would disagree with this concept in principle, in practice biases can color our judgment if we're not careful. For example, would an officer be more likely to ascribe sinister motives to those practicing Wicca rather than to a Christian community? Prejudices are not only unfair, they can also negatively affect the manner in which we police our communities or conduct investigations.

A second major problem can occur when investigators attempt to evaluate the intelligence, capability, or commitment of members based upon their view of the group's belief system. For example, the Heaven's Gate group which committed mass suicide in San Diego in 1997 had what most would consider to be a fantastic and highly implausible view of the world. Combining elements of Christianity, government conspiracy theories, and science fiction, they

believed that they were in fact highly evolved beings from a distant dimension, temporarily occupying earthly bodies (Avehicles@) in order to serve as teachers to the population of Earth. As the Hale Bop comet approached Earth, they believed it was being trailed by a spaceship; when this spaceship reached its closest approach, members believed they had to Abeam aboard.@ Their method for accomplishing this was through the ingestion of lethal amounts of drugs and alcohol and suffocation. As amazing as this scenario sounds to most individuals, two points deserve mention: many of the members of Heaven=s Gate were quite bright, raising money through software development and computer programming. In addition, even though the Heavens Gate doctrine may appear unbelievable and even childish, members of the group were totally devoted to it, to the extent that they willingly gave up their lives. So while it may be easy to question the motives of religious groups, or dismiss them as con games or worse, we underestimate the commitment of members at our own risk.

In summary, religion brings a new dimension to terrorism -- it can remove constraints to the use of violence or even demand it in the name of God. To that end, religious groups like al Qaeda are the most likely to use weapons of mass destruction. As well, authorities must place their biases on hold if they wish to understand and effectively deal with religiously-based groups.

Hierarchies and Networks

Just as there is no single Aprofile@ of a terrorist, there is no single profile of a Atypical@ terrorist group. Each tries in its own way to adapt to the world around it and remain one step ahead of its adversary.

Historically, many terrorist organizations have tried to emulate small armies, with a well-defined chain-of-command and a **hierarchical** structure. With the leader sitting atop the

pyramid, she could manage those under her and provide orders which she expected to be carried out. Like any bureaucracy, this sort of structure provides each individual within the organization with well-defined roles and responsibilities. As in a factory, this sort of organization can be quite efficient; it also encourages accountability.

In fact, many terrorist organizations, even small ones, have adhered to this model. For example, the early Ku Klux Klan was made up of many former members of the Confederate Army, who understood the importance of chain-of-command and appreciated military trappings. To that end, they established a strong hierarchy, with titles such as *AKleagle* denoting ranks within the organization.

While hierarchies can be efficient, they also have vulnerabilities, especially with regard to secrecy. While transparency may promote efficiency, it does not promote security. When everyone knows the roles and responsibilities of everyone else, even one compromise can prove catastrophic. In fact, in the 1960s and 1970s, the white supremacist movement in the United States was compromised on several occasions by law enforcement. This occurred through the recruitment of informants, who could provide a great deal of information, as well as through the introduction of undercover agents, who quickly came to know the ins-and-outs of the organizations. As a result, many arrests were made and organizations were, for all intents and purposes, rendered ineffective.

In response to this, groups began to abandon the hierarchy model and construct themselves more along the line of **networks**. Unlike a hierarchy, a network has a very loose chain of command. Individuals are organized into small cells, with members of one cell unaware of the membership of other cells. Unlike hierarchies, which can be slow and ponderous, networks are agile and flexible. As opposed to taking orders from a central command, they may

look to a leader for spiritual or operational guidance, but will generally choose targets and coordinate their missions autonomously. Both the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) have been very successful in exploiting this technique. Small ALF or ELF cells choose a target and carry out an action. Once this happens, they anonymously relay a message to a nationally known individual who releases a "communiqué" claiming responsibility on their behalf.

In 1992, Vietnam veteran and former Grand Dragon of the Texas Ku Klux Klan Louis Beam wrote of the need for groups to engage in "Leaderless Resistance" in which autonomous cells act when "the time is right" (see inset three). Beam, who successfully defended himself against charges of sedition brought by the federal government in 1987, indicated that leaderless resistance afforded the best opportunity for movements to avoid law enforcement scrutiny in an age of increasing government surveillance.

In our increasingly networked world, the move from hierarchies is perhaps inevitable. The Internet provides both an anonymous and secure form of communication to members. In fact, no direct means of communication is even necessary -- a leader can speak to members by placing a message on a website. Today, al Qaeda takes great advantage of this by placing messages from Osama bin Laden and others on jihadist websites, knowing that in a short period of time, they will be picked up and broadcast by media outlets worldwide.

Very recently, however, former FBI Special Agent Mike German, who spent many years successfully infiltrating criminal white supremacist organizations, questioned whether Beam's model of the totally autonomous terrorist could actually exist in the real world. German used what has been widely touted as the ultimate example of leaderless resistance -- the Oklahoma

City bombings B to show that, in fact, Timothy McVeigh appeared to have a wide-ranging network of compatriots whom he seemed to be able to find wherever he traveled (see insert four).

In reality, even as individuals attempt to engage in totally autonomous behavior, they require support systems for financial, logistical, and psychological needs. Certainly, individuals can be self-financing and they can use the Internet to obtain a Acyber-sense of group.@ However, most will be unable to remain completely separate from others as they go about their lives and attempt to achieve their missions. Ours is a very information-driven world, with Aleakage@ occurring all the time. Consider, for example, the number of times that the 9-11 hijackers encountered the police in traffic violations and the like.

One of the goals for law enforcement must be to remain vigilant for Aleakage@ -- if one is attuned to the nature of the adversary, to include his habits, goals, background, method of operations, and intentions, it is likely that a small, but all-important clue may make itself known. The next section will deal with the manner in which groups morph into violent terrorist entities, based on Strentz=s terrorist organizational profile.

Putting It All Together: The Terrorist Organizational Profile

Some years ago, Tom Strentz of the FBI=s Special Operations and Research Unit, formulated an organizational model of the Atypical@ terrorist organization. Strentz based his model on studies he conducted involving the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), a left-wing radical group that kidnaped heiress Patty Hearst in 1974.² Strentz=s approach at the time was

²Strentz also considered other groups, including radical elements of the American Indian Movement and white supremacist groups.

unique: he put together a terrorist group model based upon the roles that individuals played within that group. Rather than looking at individual psychology, Strentz argued that there are certain functions and roles that are common to all groups. These roles require certain personality attributes if the group is to succeed. As such, those individuals who initially possess these attributes are naturally drawn to the corresponding role within the group. Alternatively, those who find themselves filling a particular role either possess or begin to develop the necessary attributes (or they vacate the role). In spite of its age, the Strentz model still provides a useful means to examine and understand a particular group (Strentz, 1981).

According to the model, there are 3 primary roles or functions that exist in every terrorist organization: leader, activist-operator, and idealist. The role of **leader** is, of course, a crucial one. It is he or she who sets the entire tone of the organization and is ultimately responsible for its operations. If there is any single characteristic that seems to hold true across different types of groups, it is the notion on the part of the leader of the rightness of the cause, and by extension, the rightness of the leader. Indeed, most leaders are either by temperament or training loathe to compromise or back away from a position. This all-consuming sense of *rightness* causes the leader, and hence the group, to see the world in a very black-and-white manner. Often, this is articulated in very apocalyptic terms. It is not uncommon to hear groups from al Qaeda to the Aryan Nations describe the *final battle* between good and evil that is usually just around the corner. Of course, the group is on the side of ultimate good while the enemy is cast in the most demonic terms possible. It is important to stress that the thinking here is of *absolute* good versus *absolute* evil. The enemy can do no good, the group can do no wrong. For example, some criminal white supremacist gangs refer to Jewish people not just as the enemy, but as the *Spawn*

of Satan.®

Along with this sense of rightness there usually follows a good dose of paranoia (although not generally at the level of delusion). While a certain amount of paranoia makes sense in a group that is likely being investigated or hunted, the level that exists is often beyond what one would expect. Indeed, while often fatal in the long run, paranoia can provide benefit to the group, at least in the short term. For example, members can Aproject® their feelings of inadequacy and failure onto the enemy, explaining away shortcomings as the result of the Aconspiracy® that is working against them.

The leader can also possess some engaging qualities. For example, he may be charismatic and charming. When dealing with authority figures, while he will likely try to not reveal information of value, he may be more than willing to talk about his beliefs, in the hope of recruiting the interviewer. The leader will often have the ability to manipulate: after all, she is responsible in some cases for convincing individuals to engage in dangerous or even suicidal behavior.

The next role that Strentz says occurs in groups is that of the **activist-operator**. In some ways, this is the most significant individual in the group from the perspective of law enforcement, because it is he who is generally responsible for planning and carrying out criminal activity. This is the Amuscle® of the group, the one who is called upon to handle the group=s Aheavy-duty® assignments. Strentz also termed this individual the Aopportunist,® because when examining the SLA, he noted that many of the individuals who held this position were former prison inmates. According to him, these actors showed little actual loyalty to the group B in fact, they were too self-interested to offer loyalty to anyone but themselves. That being the case, the

opportunist may be in an ideal position to assist law enforcement. His role and personality allow him to turn on former comrades with little hesitation when it serves his purpose.

While Strentz was likely correct with regard to the SLA, it is unclear that the role of activist-operator necessarily goes to someone who possesses sociopathic impulses. For example, Mohammed Atta, who was the ground commander for the September 11th terror strikes, filled the role of activist-operator. And yet, he willingly sacrificed his life in furtherance of the cause, something that a true sociopath would likely never do.

Finally, Strentz characterizes the rank-and-file as **idealists**, individuals who are drawn to the group and willingly serve as its cannon fodder.⁶ While not generally held in the same high esteem as the activist-operator, the idealist is nevertheless absolutely crucial to the goals of the group. In many cases, she is a true believer,⁷ one who accepts the goals of the group and the rules of the leader without question. In fact, the leader - idealist relationship is completely symbiotic; while the idealist provides the leader with the adoration she craves, the leader gives the idealist the meaning and direction he needs.

As with any model, the neat distinctions that Strentz lays out may not apply quite so nicely in the real world. For example, he notes that the activist-operator is an opportunist.⁸ While that may have been true for the SLA and other 70s groups, many of the activist-operators of today do not necessarily display the sociopathic attributes that Strentz noted. For example, martyrdom is not a characteristic generally associated with opportunism.

To date, the Strentz model has not undergone rigorous empirical testing, so its efficacy is as yet unknown. Nevertheless, it offers an organizing structure that analysts and law enforcement officers may find quite useful when examining terrorist groups.

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THE APOCALYPTIC MODEL

Based either on a religious or secular model, apocalyptic belief systems contain certain universal characteristics. At the core of each, a fundamental struggle exists between good and evil. In Christianity, this struggle occurs between God and Satan. For many extremists, the evil forces of the New World Order constantly struggle with those patriotic Americans who believe that the democratic principles of this country have almost disappeared. This perspective contains little gray area: those defined as evil remain unremittingly sinister, while those defined as good stay unerringly righteous and pure.

To this end, even those apocalyptic belief systems that are primarily secular often contain religious or supernatural rhetoric and ideas. For example, many who deplore the New World Order make liberal use of religious imagery: those parts of the U.S. Constitution with which they

agree are Asacred@ and Aholy@ while those that run counter to their beliefs (e.g., the 14th Amendment, which granted citizenship to former slaves) are cast in demonic terms.

The battle between the forces of good and evil generally represents the final chapter in an ongoing struggle. For example, the conflict between God and Satan began in the Book of Genesis, while many who believe in the New World Order trace the roots of this grand conspiracy to the Knights Templars and the Crusades.

Another common apocalyptic theme concerns the grand and horrific nature of the final battle between good and evil. Some predict that many individuals will perish on both sides of the conflict. In certain Christian denominations, the chosen ones will proceed to heaven and miss the battle, while those not chosen will suffer horrible plagues and consequences on earth. Other religious and secular groups believe they will participate in the struggle and play a pivotal role in allowing good to triumph. For example, these groups purport that loyal patriots who have managed to save their weapons from confiscation will defeat the forces of the New World Order.

The final component of the apocalyptic vision includes the contention that in the end, good triumphs over evil. In addition, those who have persevered in the fight against evil will be rewarded with either everlasting life in heaven or the defeat of tyranny and the fulfillment of heaven on earth.

Inset Two: Portion of a Leaflet Circulated by the KKK in Mississippi in 1964

Here are Twenty Reasons WHY you should, if qualified, join, aid and support the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi:

1. Because it is a Christian, fraternal and benevolent organization.
2. Because it is a democratic organization, governed by its members.
3. Because it is a democratic and just organization.
4. Because it is a working organization which not only talks but ACTS.
5. Because it is a very secret organization and no one will know that you are a member.
6. Because it is a legal organization and no one can be prosecuted for being a member.
7. Because it is a politically independent organization, and is not pledged to any political party.
8. Because it is a Pro-American organization that opposes any thing, person or organization that is Un-American.
9. Because it is an organization that is sworn to uphold the lawful Constitution of the United States of America.
10. Because it is composed of native-born, white, gentile and protestant American citizens who are sound of mind and of good moral character.
11. Because the goals of the KKK are the total segregation of the races and the total destruction of communism in all its forms.
12. Because the KKK has twice saved this nation from destruction as history clearly records.
13. Because there comes a time in the life of every man when he has to choose between the right or wrong side of life.
14. Because there are today many alien forces entering the United States of America bent upon its destruction.
15. Because it informs its members, and an informed citizen is a good citizen.
16. Because a Christian-like brotherhood among men must be revived in America.
17. Because one of the goals of the KKK is States' Rights and complete State Sovereignty.

18. Because neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals will save our nation, for patriots always save a nation.
19. Because it is clear now that if communism is to be defeated in America, it will be done in the South and primarily in Mississippi.
20. Because the KKK needs you today to help fight America's battles.

The White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi is, of necessity, a SECRET organization. The administration of our National Government is now under the actual control of atheists who are Bolsheviks by nature. As dedicated agents of Satan, they are absolutely determined to destroy Christian Civilization and all Christians. We have nothing dishonorable to hide, but we must remain SECRET, for the protection of our lives and families.

We do not accept Jews, because they reject Christ, and, through the machinations of their International Banking Cartel, are at the root center of what we call "communism" today. We do not accept Papists, because they bow to a Roman dictator, in direct violation of the First Commandment, and the True American Spirit of Responsible, Individual Liberty.

If you are a Christian, American Anglo-Saxon who can understand the simple Truth of this Philosophy, you belong in the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi. We need your help right away. Get your Bible out and PRAY! You will hear from us.

Source: <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/price&bowers/Klan.html>

Inset Three: Excerpts from Louis Beam's essay "A Leaderless Resistance" which originally appeared in The Seditonist in 1992. Taken from URL

<http://www.crusader.net/texts/bt/bt04.html>, accessed 06/20/2005.

The concept of leaderless resistance is nothing less than a fundamental departure in theories of organization. The orthodox scheme of organization is diagrammatically represented by the pyramid, with the mass at the bottom and the leader at the top....This scheme of organization, the pyramid, is not only useless, but extremely dangerous for the participants when it is utilized in a resistance movement against state tyranny. Especially is this so in technologically advanced societies where electronic surveillance can often penetrate the structure, thus revealing its chain of command. Experience has revealed over and over again that anti-state political organizations utilizing this method of command and control are easy prey for government infiltration, entrapment, and destruction of the personnel involved. This has been seen repeatedly in the United States where pro-government infiltrators or agent provocateurs weasel their way into patriotic groups and destroy them from within....The Communists, in order to get around the obvious problems involved in pyramidal organization, developed to an art the cell system. They had numerous independent cells which operated completely isolated from one another and particularly with no knowledge of each other, but were orchestrated together by a central headquarters.

...Two things become clear from the above discussion. First, that the pyramid form of

organization can be penetrated quite easily and it thus is not a sound method of organization in situations where the government has the resources and desire to penetrate the structure, which is the situation in this country. Secondly, that the normal qualifications for the cell structure based upon the Red model does not exist in the U.S. for patriots. This understood, the question arises "What method is left for those resisting state tyranny?" The answer comes from Col.

Amoss who proposed the "Phantom Cell" mode of organization which he described as Leaderless Resistance. A system of organization that is based upon the cell organization, but does not have any central control or direction, that is in fact almost identical to the methods used by the committees of correspondence during the American Revolution. Utilizing the Leaderless Resistance concept, all individuals and groups operate independently of each other, and never report to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction, as would those who belong to a typical pyramid organization.

At first glance, such a form of organization seems unrealistic, primarily because there appears to be no organization. The natural question thus arises as to how are the "Phantom Cells" and individuals to cooperate with each other when there is no inter-communication or central direction?

The answer to this question is that participants in a program of leaderless resistance through "Phantom Cell" or individual action must know exactly what they are doing and how to do it. It becomes the responsibility of the individual to acquire the necessary skills and information as to what is to be done. This is by no means as impractical as it appears, because it is certainly true that in any movement all persons involved have the same general outlook, are acquainted with the same philosophy, and generally react to given situations in similar ways. The previous history of the committees of correspondence during the American Revolution shows this to be true.

Since the entire purpose of leaderless resistance is to defeat state tyranny (at least in so far as this essay is concerned), all members of phantom cells or individuals will tend to react to objective events in the same way through usual tactics of resistance. Organs of information distribution such as newspapers, leaflets, computers, etc., which are widely available to all, keep each person informed of events, allowing for a planned response that will take many variations. No one need issue an order to anyone. Those idealists truly committed to the cause of freedom will act when they feel the time is ripe, or will take their cue from others who precede them.

Inset Four: ABehind the Lone Terrorist, A Pack Mentality@

Most people have never been to a Ku Klux Klan rally or a militia meeting; you don't stumble into one by walking through the wrong door at the dentist's office. Chances are, you wouldn't know how to find where a white supremacist group meets in your community. In fact, you'd probably be shocked to learn that there was one in your community...Tim McVeigh seemed able to find a militia meeting wherever he went. He was linked to militia groups in Arizona and Michigan, white supremacist groups in Oklahoma and Missouri, and at gun shows he sold copies of "The Turner Diaries," a racist novel written by the founder of a neo-Nazi organization. No one finds such groups by accident... The fact that these individuals, after being exposed to extremist ideology, each committed violent acts might lead a reasonable person to suspect the existence of a wider conspiracy. Imagine a very smart leader of an extremist movement, one who understands the First Amendment and criminal conspiracy laws, telling his followers not to depend on specific instructions. He might tell them to divorce

themselves from the group before they commit a violent act; to act individually or in small groups so that others in the movement could avoid criminal liability. This methodology creates a win-win situation for the extremist leader -- the violent goals of the group are met without the legal consequences.

Actually, there's no need to imagine this. Extremist group leaders produce a tremendous amount of literature, including training manuals on "leaderless resistance" and lone wolf terrorism techniques. These manuals have been around for years and now they're even available online. "Lone extremism" is not a phenomenon; it's a technique, a ruse designed to subvert the criminal justice system.

As an image takes shape, remember that these aren't the type of conspiracies cooked up by a few guys in a back room. But they are conspiracies nonetheless because they involve conscious discussions, decisions and encouragement for others to break the law by destroying property or taking lives.

Just six weeks ago self-avowed white supremacist Sean Gillespie was convicted of firebombing an Oklahoma City synagogue. According to a CNN report by Henry Schuster, "Gillespie said he once had been a member of the white supremacist group Aryan Nations, but later left the group. At the time of his arrest, he told authorities that he was a racist skinhead, acting on his own." But before the attack, he videotaped himself, stating, "I will film it for your viewing enjoyment, my kindred. White power!" If he's all alone, who are his kindred? (German, 2005 :B1).