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Pass Em' Right: Assessing the Threat of WMD Terrorism from America's Christian Patriots

Paul D. Brister and Nina A. Kollars

ABSTRACT: *Within the field of terrorism studies, great effort has been devoted to the topic of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their potential usage in the hands of terrorist organizations. This paper deepens the discussion of WMD terrorism by focusing upon an oft-overlooked movement that resides within American borders. The Christian Patriot Movement – which rightfully claims the likes of Timothy McVeigh – is a phenomenon that has gone largely unnoticed as American counterterrorism efforts focus largely upon Islamist terrorist organizations. This paper aims to bring the Patriots back into discussions of terrorist threats by assessing their potential to use weapons of mass destruction. The paper concludes that although the Patriots have demonstrated intent to employ such weapons, they lack the overall capability to design, acquire, or employ a WMD of significant lethality. The paper closes by analyzing pathways which the Patriots are currently exploring which may narrow the divide between intent and capability.*

As students and scholars of terrorism studies, we may be doing a disservice to analysis. For far too long, we have crowded around our single-lens telescopes, jotting down notes and hypothesizing about what terrorist threats will originate from across the seas. From these studies, we have convinced ourselves that homegrown terrorist threats largely resemble the images found in our telescopes. In doing so we may have confused the specific for the general, the narrowly construed for the full range of possible cases. It is time we step back from these telescopes, open both eyes, and look out our own windows.

Alongside well-studied Islamist terrorists, the United States is threatened by a loose affiliation of armed groups linked by a belief that the federal government has intentionally undermined the founding principles of liberty, democracy, and Christianity. This amorphous network, commonly referred to as the Christian Patriot movement, is an eclectic blend of white supremacists, neo-Nazis, survivalists, militia members, and Christian Identity adherents. The aim of the network is, at its most basic level, marginalization or destruction of its “enemies” – immigrants, Jews, African Americans, or the American government at large – and the establishment of a governmental system favoring a select elite. To the chagrin of many, the movement has witnessed a dramatic upsurge in both strength and size in recent years.¹ These trends are more troubling when coupled with indicators of Patriot willingness to use weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in future attacks. This paper aims to understand and assess the actual scope of that threat.

WMD threat assessments are generally a synthesis of three factors; the first, a terrorist group's intent to use a WMD; the second, a group's capability to either acquire or develop WMD; and third, the vulnerability of the intended target. Target vulnerability being beyond the scope of this paper, our focus is leveled primarily on Christian Patriot intent and capability. Because WMD is often a broad term, for the purposes of this paper, it will be defined as any chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear device employed with the purpose to inflict harm upon either humans or physical structures.² Lethality or economic impacts – often measured by body count or overall economic loss – will not be included in the definition, as it is possible to employ a WMD which may fall short of some apocalyptic effect. Take, for instance, Aum Shinrikyo's 1995 sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway. Although sarin is universally considered a lethal chemical weapon, the attack resulted in twelve deaths. The attack was regrettable, but far less lethal than either the non-CBRN terrorist attack in Oklahoma City (168 dead) or the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center (over 2,700 dead). If a measure of lethality was used here, Aum's employment of sarin gas may not make the cut as a WMD example – although it clearly is. Therefore,

this paper looks only at the physical characteristics of the weapon being developed or acquired, not at the potential outcomes of its use.

Definitions established, the paper will proceed in four parts. As the Christian Patriot Movement is an oft overlooked phenomenon in the world of Islamist-focused modern terrorism studies, a historical overview of the Christian Patriot Movement is provided to clarify its unique ideology and highlight the paths which led to its current highly atomized organizational manifestation. Historical grounds established, we move forward with the assessment in three moves. We first establish Patriot intent by tracing the key texts considered central to the ideology and its call to action. We emphasize the fact that Patriot groups have continually expressed a desire to acquire, develop, and employ WMD. To buttress words we look at the patterns of acquisition since, on multiple occasions, Patriots have achieved a measurable degree of success in acquisition. Secondly, we turn attention to what is understood to be the Achilles heel of the movement – its capability. We assess the limited capabilities of the Patriots, drilling down into the material and intellectual resources at their disposal, their organizational structure, and the extremely limited operational freedom of maneuver given legal initiatives used against them. It is here that we offer an attenuated moment of reprieve for the reader. Intent without capability is a reason for concern but not intervention, and since a veritable chasm exists between intent and capabilities of the Patriots, it is not yet time to sound alarms. Having said this, the paper concludes by tracing the outlines of a series of disturbing new trends that signal a potential bridging of the gap between Patriot intent and capabilities; potentialities which dramatically increase the potential for a WMD attack from the Patriot camp through an alliance with more capable groups.

Origins of Christian Patriotism

When scholars and political leaders speak of terrorist threats emanating from the American radical right, they most commonly refer to the Christian Patriot movement. As described by David Neiwert, the Patriot Movement is “an American political ideology based on an ultranationalistic and selective populism which seeks to return the nation to its ‘constitutional’ roots – that is, a system based on white Christian male rule.”³ Debates rage over what organizations should be included or excluded when discussing Christian Patriot membership. We find little value in parsing the ambiguous borders of overly-specified organizational labeling since members can easily occupy positions in one or all organizations simultaneously. Rather, this paper sees the Patriot Movement as a loose umbrella ideology that houses – not necessarily in their entirety – at least three distinct and often competing sub-movements.⁴ The first of these is the Militia movement, a fairly recent right-wing phenomenon that is home to several anti-government armed paramilitary groups. The second is the Sovereign Citizen movement, made of Americans that formally renounce their American citizenship and refuse to pay taxes, citing it a violation of the parameters originally laid down by the Constitution. Lastly, a portion of the White Nationalist movement falls under the ideological tent of Christian Patriotism. True to name, White Nationalism is a biologically-racist belief system that seeks the establishment of an Aryan-controlled nation and – contingent upon the level of racism present in the particular organization – the subjugation, transfer, or violent elimination of “lesser” races.⁵

While traces of all three beliefs can be found from the beginnings of American history, their merging into a greater Christian Patriot narrative can be traced to the 1958 founding of the John Birch Society. Although its primary aim was to eliminate communist influence within the United States, the Birch Society took aim against Martin Luther King and the civil-rights movement, claiming it to be the handiwork of communist infiltrators seeking to destabilize the country. The racist undertones prevalent in the Birch Society attracted the likes of men like William Potter Gale, former aide to General MacArthur and self-proclaimed World War II guerilla strategist.⁶ Soon, a small faction within the John Birch Society, led by Gale, grew tired of political rhetoric and split with the organization. This group called for the establishment of paramilitary units and supported a more violent means with which to crush “America’s enemy.” This enemy, according to Gale, was communism propagated by the “international Jewish conspiracy.”⁷ To further clarify – or more accurately, obfuscate – who should be targeted, Gale

proclaimed “you got your nigger Jews, your Asiatic Jews, and you got your white Jews...they’re all Jews, and they’re all the offspring of the devil.”⁸ The turn to a more violent form of “resistance” appealed to many, and Gale’s prior history and connections within the John Birch Society proved a recruiting boon.

Gale put in place an ideology, loosely defined, that gave him the utmost flexibility to alter his recruitment pitches in way which resonated with the societal concerns of any given time period. The underlying ideology promoted by Gale lacked logical consistency, but its amorphous nature ultimately proved beneficial. When Americans sought to pinpoint and place blame for the ills of society, Gale provided easy answers. By adopting a diverse set of enemies – all bound in a complex conspiracy to create a New World Order – Gale offered common ground upon which all right wing extremist organizations could rally. Although their reasons varied, multiple right wing organizations came together and agreed upon three core concepts; a re-dedication to individual gun rights, a fear of a one-world government (especially a Jewish-controlled one), and a recognition that a vanguard party should be established to defend American ideals. The paramount of the vanguard party was Gale’s most dangerous manifestation, an organization known as Posse Comitatus (Latin for “strength of the county”).

Alongside the like-minded competitor Henry Beach, Gale constructed the philosophical foundations of Posse Comitatus, a belief system which asserted an evil global conspiracy could be defeated only by returning legal power to its lowest level. Posse ideology emphasized “that the only legitimate government is at the county level.”⁹ To this end, Gale demanded the creation of “common law courts” to be staffed and run by members of the local community. These courts, according to Gale, had the authority to organize “volunteer Christian posses” to arrest and indict government officials that were deemed to oppose American values.¹⁰ As could be expected, government workers were soon threatened and in some instances found themselves victims of vicious attacks.¹¹ At the time, Posse Comitatus was only one organization amongst a stew of right wing extremist groups. Fortunately for Gale and members, not only was the Posse low on the domestic threat list, but the actions of other groups drew the more immediate attention of law enforcement. As the leaders of other groups were arrested or put under legal pressure, Gale rounded up the now-leaderless organizations, merged them into a more united front, and indoctrinated them into Posse ideology.

Despite the tacit help afforded by law enforcement’s blind eye, the organization grew in fits and starts. This changed dramatically in the turbulence of the 1970s tax protest movement. Seeing the potential to fish from a particularly abundant pool of potential recruits, Gale immediately altered Posse recruitment pitches. The new rhetoric emphasized the evils of the taxation system and identified the IRS as an unconstitutional entity that should be resisted by all means. The pitch rang true to citizens desperate for an outlet. Angry, disillusioned citizens flocked to Gale’s decree to “get ready for a declaration of war... if you don’t have a gun, bring some rope...because there’s going to be one tax collector removed from office!”¹² By 1975, the Posse was described as “the newest – and fastest growing – of a seemingly never-ending stream of militant right-wing organizations.”¹³

Although Posse was expanding, the lack of strategic vision combined with ineffective leadership and tactical ineptitude resulted in little more than boisterous talk. Despite its violent rhetoric, so unthreatening was the Posse at the time, a sheriff once jokingly commented “our feeling was that if they armed themselves, they’d probably severely injure themselves before they got out of the room.” A colleague added “if brains was gunpowder they couldn’t blow their noses.”¹⁴ What little actionable leadership they were able to muster was quickly destroyed. During the late 1970s, successful tax-evasion prosecutions decimated Posse leadership ranks. Talk of revenge followed, but little violence materialized. The following decade would change the scope of Patriot operations. If the 1970s were an era of boisterous but peaceful expansion, the 1980s would prove its opposite. Turning talk into action, the 1980s Posse would form an alliance with a seemingly unlikely – but very capable – segment of the U.S. citizenry.

The farm crisis of the 1980s injected a host of fresh recruits into Posse ranks. Unlike the tax-protestors of the 1970s, farmers joining Posse Comitatus possessed both demolitions and the technological knowhow to employ them. The early 80s were particularly harsh on the American family owned farm. For a myriad of political and economic reasons, farmers were forced to sell their land to large corporations or suffer the humiliation of foreclosure. Pride and self-sufficiency, key components of small farm identity, were wiped out. Farmers – whose identity was tied to their land and line of work – could not bear the humiliation. A wave of self-inflicted violence followed. According to one study, the suicide rate among Oklahoma farmers jumped to three-hundred percent above the rest of the population.¹⁵ Government studies revealed similar trends throughout the American heartland...mainly that “people in farm families were dying at an incredible rate by their own hands.”¹⁶

As the 1980s progressed, farm foreclosures continued to soar among mid-level farmers. The effects were felt not only in the fields, but also in the towns that depended on their daily business. Small, family-owned feed stores, restaurants, grocery stores, and salons felt the impact of the farm crisis. Among the crowds at foreclosure and repossession auctions, a clear and confident voice asserted that the farmers’ problems were a result of a Jewish conspiracy to establish a “New World Order.” The voice revealed that the Zionist Occupied Government was working to destroy the freedoms and ideals laid forth by the Constitution of the United States. The pitch resonated well with the desperate and destitute farmers who had no other way to explain their loss. The Posse recruited from among these souls and easily convinced farmers that they should turn their “inner anger” outward and to punish those responsible for their pain.

Although racism, anti-Semitism, and a pseudo-Christian belief system lie at the core of its ideology, the Posse hid its true agenda and, instead, offered solutions to the farmers’ foreclosure and social problems.¹⁷ The Posse travelled the countryside telling farmers that it was possible to save their lands if they attended Posse-led “constitutional law seminars.”¹⁸ The Posse taught farmers how to create and file lawsuits – chock full of legal nonsense – against their lenders. They convinced eager audiences that their mortgage payments were a ruse. Mortgages were simply a government conspiracy to take land in exchange for paper stacks of dollars. Dollars, they argued, that were worth nothing given the separation from the gold standard in 1971. The technique worked, of course, but only for a limited timeframe. After the dismissal of the false legal claims in courtrooms throughout the nation, the Posse re-framed both the problem and the solution for farmers. According to the Posse, farmers couldn’t find justice in courts because the legal system was controlled by a Jewish supra-national entity that wanted to strip America of its last honest and independent form of work. To free themselves from this puppet-like state of affairs, the Posse recommended that farmers return their driver’s licenses, social security cards, license plates, and all other forms of “Jew control,” to the state in order to renounce their American citizenship. The farmers complied, often sending local offices an accompanying letter declaring themselves “sovereign citizens” and thereby free from governmental jurisdiction higher than the county level.

As expected, the government was forced to act. Unfortunately, enforcement often meant triggering tense standoffs. When farmers were confronted, Posse founder William Potter Gale offered a clarification on what he expected from them; “Yes, we are going to cleanse our land. We’re going to do it with a sword. And were going to do it with violence...it’s about time somebody is telling you to get violent, whitey.”¹⁹ The radicals preached hatred to a receptive audience that listened and positioned themselves to act upon those sermons. Soon, as Joel Dyer notes in *Harvest of Rage*, Patriot actions went “from paper to pipe bombs.”²⁰

Influenced by Posse rhetoric and operating under Aryan Nation guidance, a group known as The Order initiated a wave of extremist violence that swept the country. Based loosely on the secret revolutionary organization portrayed in William Pierce’s *The Turner Diaries*, the Order was responsible for a string of bank robberies that spanned over two years.²¹ Their biggest heist occurred in 1984 when members successfully held up an armored vehicle and made off with \$3.8 million.²² The Order’s most notorious crime, however, was the murder of conservative Jewish talk show host Alan Berg in June 1984.

Others followed suit, and a string of robberies, bombings, and assaults followed in the wake of The Order's violent example. Groups such as the Covenant, the Arm, and the Sword of the Lord (CSA) backed violent talk with capability, raising legal concern and spurring government intervention. On April 19th 1985, the FBI began a raid on a CSA compound which recovered a startling cache of weapons. The arsenal included anti-tank rockets, bombs, land mines, grenades, and cyanide canisters destined to be used in the water supply of several large cities.²³ Even more disturbing was the discovery of CSA plans to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah building in Oklahoma City.

The mastermind behind the Murrah bombing plan was CSA leader Richard Wayne Snell. Snell drew inspiration from a description of the bomb used to destroy an FBI building in the book *The Turner Diaries* – a narrative that called for the use of a 5,000-pound Ammonium Nitrate/Fuel Oil (ANFO) weapon. A victim of IRS property seizures himself, Snell held a deep hatred of the U.S. government and planned to attack the IRS agents that impounded his home. These agents, of course, worked in downtown Oklahoma City. Fortunately, in 1993, a premature detonation occurred as Snell and accomplices tried to build the bomb, severely disabling the “weapons expert.” The resultant disability effectively put the brakes on the attack.²⁴ Snell was arrested the following year after killing an African-American Arkansas state trooper in a vicious gun battle. Arkansas governor Bill Clinton signed an executive order for his execution and set the date of his death – April 19th, 1995.

Under increased attention from law enforcement agencies, Posse leaders were forced to change their identity and recruitment tactics.²⁵ By the late 1980s, the label Posse Comitatus was officially linked to violence and terror, a branding that hindered recruitment and, in turn, the existence of the organization. In order to survive, a shift was in order. The term Posse Comitatus was discarded in favor of a new label. Although fundamental Posse beliefs and ideology were altered little, “Christian Patriots” became the accepted label for former Posse members. Christian Patriots, in line with Posse beliefs, still harbored a distrust of the American government, a devotion to gun rights, and a belief that Constitutional power lay only at the county level. Although the title “Christian Patriot” resonated well, the underlying Posse ideology was too difficult for many on the outside fringes of the organization to swallow. People found it hard to believe that the U.S. government was actively planning covert warfare against its citizens. The governmental missteps that unfolded at Ruby Ridge and Waco would offer Posse ideology an air of truth and help convince the skeptics.

The 1992 fiasco at Ruby Ridge began to solidify the Christian Patriot movement in a manner which exceeded Patriot leaders' wildest expectations. It was here, at a small cabin in northern Idaho, that the Patriots began to merge into a more united front. After Randy Weaver, a former Army Green Beret and Christian Identity adherent, failed to show in court to address weapons sales charges (two sawed off shotguns), federal Marshals staked out Weaver's compound, bringing in the FBI Hostage Rescue Team to serve as sharpshooters if needed. Although narratives differ over what triggered the incident, most describe an FBI agent throwing a rock to test the reaction of Stryker, the Weaver's dog. Stryker barked in alarm, as any dog would, and the results were disastrous. Weaver's son, Sam, emerged from the cabin to investigate the noise. He laid eyes upon Stryker just in time to see the dog run up onto the FBI position and get shot by an agent. Sam Weaver, witnessing his dog killed, shot back at the agents. The FBI returned fire and killed both Sam Weaver and a family friend that had been walking with him. After retrieving the body of his son, Randy Weaver refused to come out or talk with the government task force. Operating under revised rules of engagement, the following day an FBI sniper attempted to kill Weaver as he left the cabin to visit his son's body in a nearby barn. The shot missed Randy, but hit his wife squarely in the head, killing her instantly as she held her baby girl Elishiba. As the story leaked into mainstream media, the radical right saw an opportunity to rally. Following the eventual surrender of Weaver, a special meeting was called in Estes Park, Colorado, bringing together one of the most diverse collections of right wing extremists ever. The overall tone of the meeting urged solidarity, a point hammered home in Louis Beam's proclamation:

*We are viewed by the government as the same, enemies of the state. When they come for you, the federals will not ask if you are a Constitutionalist, a Baptist, Church of Christ, Identity Covenant believer, Klansman, Nazi, home schooler, Freeman, New Testament believer or a feast keeper, nor will they ask whether you believe in the rapture or think it is poppycock. Those who wear badges, black boots and carry automatic weapons and kick in doors already know all they need to know about you. You are enemies of the state!*²⁶

Less than six months after the Estes Park gathering – with men like Timothy McVeigh looking on – the U.S. government once again solidified the Patriot Movement and bolstered Beam's rhetoric. The scene played out on the outskirts of Waco, Texas in an isolated compound run by David Koresh and the cult organization known as the Branch Davidians. Once again, the U.S. government –the ATF and FBI in particular – executed a poorly designed weapons raid that took a tragic turn. On April 19th, 1993, in a cloud of CS gas, tanks approached the Waco compound as the task force raided the compound. The result was the destruction of the compound, resulting in the fiery deaths of over seventy compound residents – a death toll which included twenty children.²⁷ Exactly two years later, the Patriot movement – through the acts of Timothy McVeigh – would remind the world of the Waco incident.

The most devastating domestic terrorist attack in United States history took place on April 19th, 1995 – not coincidentally the anniversary of the CSA compound raid in 1985, the same date of the beginning of the surveillance of Ruby Ridge in 1992, anniversary of the 1993 Waco raid, and most notably, the exact date of Patriot-hero Richard Wayne Snell's execution. The attack was perpetrated by a former Klansman with strong ties to the Christian Patriot movement. Timothy McVeigh, rumored to sleep with a copy of *The Turner Diaries* near his bed, interacted heavily with like-minded Patriots on gun show circuits and was known to have ties with the Aryan Republican Army. It was in the name of Patriot goals that McVeigh carried out Snell's plan to bomb the Murrah building. With this single act, the Christian Patriot movement reached its peak of violence and seemed primed to unleash a wave of terrorism across the country. What actually occurred, however, leads us to the atomized state of the current movement.

Following the Oklahoma City bombing and the public outrage over the deaths of 168 people (including 19 children playing in a day care center), the unraveling of the Christian Patriot movement began. Many within the movement deplored the attack, while others supported it and urged American citizens to prepare for civil war. As law enforcement agencies began to focus attention on right wing extremist groups, many went to ground – severing communications, tempering rhetoric, and attempting to distance themselves from any association with the McVeigh attack. The once unified movement had atomized to become different strands of constantly bickering individual organizations. A huge shift occurred as groups began to drop their “Christian Patriot” labels and adopt more pure White Nationalistic identities.²⁸ From the Oklahoma City bombing to the early 2000s, the Christian Patriot movement could best be described as a very loose network of anti-government groups that fought more often than they cooperated. The path towards complete atomization has undermined every attempt to generate surges of support or unified action. Unfortunately, the trend of atomization and bickering may be coming to an end.

As indicated by the recently “leaked” Department of Homeland Security report, the current political and economic climate may once again help re-unify the Christian Patriot movement.²⁹ The coalescence of various right wing groups alarms many, as it portends the potential for attacks with greater destructive power than Oklahoma City. Political leaders and scholars alike are deeply concerned at the possibility of Christian Patriot reunification and even more disturbed at the possibility of Patriot attacks which employ weapons of mass destruction. It is to this subject that the paper now turns.

Patriot Intent

Judging Patriot intent to use WMD is one part rhetoric and four parts action. Intent is generally hard to determine since we cannot be inside the minds of others let alone determine a singular clear

refrain from the hums and whistles of an entire movement. Words alone establish nothing and are easily dismissed or over-dramatized. Therefore we split the difference and suggest that the best we can do is to take words and examine them in terms of prior action. That is to say, rhetoric alone does very little to establish intent, rhetoric plus an established history of violence at least establishes credibility. This said, we move from rhetoric to action by delving first into the literature by which the Patriots most closely identify themselves.

To establish intent in literature, one needs simply thumb through the pages of *The Turner Diaries* – commonly referred to as the Bible of the racist right. One excerpt from the book paints a clear picture with regards to Patriot aims:

*As I watched, the gigantic fireball continued to expand and rise, and a dark column, like the stem of an immense toadstool, became visible beneath it. Bright, electric blue tongues of fire could be seen flickering and dancing over the surface of the column. They were huge lightning bolts, but at a distance no thunder could be heard from them. When the noise finally came, it was a dull, muffled sound, yet still overwhelming: the sort of sound one might expect to hear if an inconceivably powerful earthquake rocked a huge city and caused a thousand 100-story skyscrapers to crumble into ruins simultaneously.*³⁰

This apocalyptic narrative describes the nuclear annihilation of Baltimore. The carnage continues. Within the final 25 pages of the novel, the entire California coastline, Detroit, and New York – a victim of 18 separate nuclear explosions – had been wiped off the face of the Earth. In addition, Israel and the Soviet Union were on the receiving end of a salvo of nuclear strikes. The penultimate climax of the story involves the story's "hero" piloting a small plane over the Pentagon for a final nuclear detonation, a blast which triggers nationwide racial war. Keeping in mind that McVeigh built the Oklahoma City bomb to the near-exact specifications portrayed in *The Turner Diaries*, and Robert Matthews creation of *The Order* during the 1980s, the willingness of Patriots to follow the narrative with regards to nuclear weapons should be taken seriously.

The foundational literature showing support for WMD usage, we turn to actions. Christian Patriot groups have taken steps to acquire and use chemical variants of WMD on multiple different occasions. In an aforementioned example, during a 1985 raid of the CSA compound in northern Arkansas, FBI agents unearthed an arsenal of weapons. Amongst these weapons were over 30 gallons of cyanide.³¹ It was found out that CSA members intended to use the cyanide to poison the water supplies of New York, Chicago, and Washington to initiate end times and the second coming of Christ. When informed that the amount of cyanide they possessed could not have killed anyone, a CSA member confidently asserted, "God would...make sure the poison got to the town."³²

In 1991, another Patriot-affiliated group attempted to use biological toxins to assassinate law enforcement officials. The Minnesota Patriots Council – an anti-government organization founded by retired Air Force colonel Frank Nelson – attained the instructions to create ricin from a right-wing publication focused on constructing chemical and biological weapons from home laboratories.³³ The group eventually produced 0.7 grams of ricin, enough, according to federal prosecutors to "kill hundreds of people."³⁴ Despite claims that the defendants had already been exonerated by a "common law court," and thereby making a federal prosecution illegal, the perpetrators were the first to be convicted under the 1989 Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act.

In 1998, a third Patriot attempt to acquire WMD is noted. Larry Wayne Harris, a delusional paranoid that propagated tales of his secret employment with the CIA, was arrested for possessing a biological agent for use as a weapon. After telling an FBI informant that he possessed enough military-grade anthrax to "wipe out" all of Las Vegas, law enforcement agents seized Harris' car and found eight flight bags full of chemicals labeled "biological."³⁵ The chemicals were later discovered to be a harmless strain of anthrax, but Harris' history – which included a 1995 arrest for the illegal acquisition of bacteria

that causes bubonic plague – clearly indicates the willingness of some Patriots to use WMD in a terrorist attack.

According to a 2008 FBI/DHS report, there were at least five other instances “in which individuals attempted to acquire or manufacture CBRN materials but were unsuccessful or were disrupted before they could complete the process.”³⁶ Of the five known attempts, four are rightfully understood through the lens of Patriot ideology. In 2004, the ATF found the precursors to ricin and abrin in the apartment of an anti-government extremist. Two Texas antigovernment extremists were also arrested and convicted for purchasing the precursors to hydrogen cyanide gas, which was intended for use through a building’s ventilation system. In 2006, a neo-Nazi attempted to buy a canister of sarin from an undercover FBI agent. Later that year, a survivalist was sentenced for attempting to produce ricin as a weapon. Clearly, the intent to acquire and employ WMD has been demonstrated by members of the Patriot movement.

Also troubling are the overly-high ambitions in the operational realm derived from their belief in a pervasive Jewish international conspiracy theory. If we are to take Christian Patriot rhetoric at face value, this is indeed problematic as it hints at a desire for weaponry beyond the conventional. Patriot ideology is based on the belief that an international Jewish cabal is well on its way to establishing a One-World Government. Patriots believe, to varying degrees, that the American government has been infiltrated and being steered to promote Zionism and accommodate Jewish needs. The only remedy to combat this Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG) is to destroy it. According to one expert of Patriot ideology, “Virtually anyone who disagrees with them is the enemy, and thus becomes essentially disposable...for many in this alternative universe, this also includes (and focuses upon) homosexuals, minorities, immigrants, and Jews.”³⁷ Needless to say, the elimination of all these groups should highlight an overly-high ambition in the operational realm and, in turn, suggest a Patriot predisposition to WMD.

Patriot Capability

As mentioned before, threat assessments are derived by coupling a group’s intent to their actual capability. As one would expect, capability holds greater weight than intent. Countless numbers of terrorist organizations have expressed intent to acquire WMD, but only a rare few have actually possessed the capability to do so. This is a decidedly good thing with regards to potential WMD use from a Patriot organization. Although possessing intent in spades, the Patriots have a significant capabilities problem. Capabilities are more than just access to WMD materials. Rather, any capabilities assessment must include considerations of at least four factors: a permissive environment in which to operate, an organizational structure that can capitalize on that permissive environment; accessibility of physical resources from which to actually construct a weapon, and the intellectual resources necessary to make use of those materials without causing inadvertent harm to itself. If this weren’t challenge enough, the factors themselves are each necessary but not individually sufficient. Rather, these factors are mutually reinforcing and interdependent, and for an organization to possess true capability, each of these factors must be present during WMD development. With this in mind, the Patriots demonstrate little to no actual capability to acquire, develop, or employ truly lethal amounts of WMD. Of the factors that make up capabilities, the Patriots lack in every category.

The Patriot movement, hamstrung by internal dissention and constant bickering, has, to this point, demonstrated no determined and unified commitment to produce anything beyond the most basic of CBRN weaponry. A prevailing hypothesis concerning organizational structure and WMD innovations states “highly structured and highly cohesive groups led by an undisputed leader are likely to demonstrate a higher capability to innovate successfully than loosely knit or heavily factionalized groups that experience strong internal pressures.”³⁸ Turning to Aum Shinrikyo as the ideal type, we find a very hierarchical – totalitarian being more appropriate – form of leadership and operational decisionmaking. Shoko Asahara’s position atop the organization is best described as god-like, an undisputed entity whose wildest, most insane visions and orders would be reacted upon with complete loyalty and unrivaled zeal.

This undying devotion to their leader, as noted by Adam Dolnik, “only underscores Asahara’s absolute and undisputable position within the group;” when Asahara demanded something, his followers “responded with an absolute commitment to that project.”³⁹ This degree of loyalty, hierarchy, and internal unity present in Aum Shinrikyo, thankfully, are entirely absent from Patriot organizations.

As mentioned earlier, the Patriots are a mixture of several sub-movements, many of which differ in their interpretation of a utopian future world. Militias, which allow membership from minority groups, often disagree with the racist rants of the White Nationalists. Many groups advocate offensive operations against their enemies, while others promote a defensive posture. Additionally, a huge rift exists between “intellectuals” and “blue collar” members of the movement. This distrust has generated intolerance of the other camp, preventing cooperation on even the most mundane issue. A recent example of this internal turmoil can be found on the White Nationalist website *Stormfront* in the discussion section labeled *Problems with our Movement – The Class Divide*, and best exemplified by the comment “when I hear the word intellectual, I reach for my pistol.”⁴⁰ There are no Shoko Asaharas within the Patriots capable of emphasizing and directing work towards a single project. In fact, when reviewing the notes from any Patriot meeting or website, it is difficult to find a united expressive emphasis to anything other than conspiracy theories.⁴¹ If anything, the Patriot movement has demonstrated almost complete operational stagnation during the past decade and a half.

If one accepts the argument that the path to WMD employment requires either coordination or the presence of empowered leadership capable of overseeing the process and pushing it to its conclusion, then we find a major obstacle for Patriot WMD usage. Multiple terms have been used to describe the Patriots, but the labels “hierarchy” or “organized” have never been among them. In fact, it is extremely difficult to define exactly what the Patriot movement is, due to its amoeba-like ability to merge and dissociate with organizations on a near-constant basis. The Patriots simply lack a true leader or empowered governing body with which to direct or oversee any innovative process. Instead, the movement is “inspired” – steered or directed being too indicative of actual control – by different personalities that reside in different ideological milieus. As hinted before, the overwhelming theme of Patriot leadership is the inability to agree upon strategy, operations, or underlying ideology, a factor which impedes WMD acquisition or development.

A second factor which promotes WMD acquisition or development is the presence of a “safe haven” from which a terrorist group may operate. Such a haven affords the organization the space needed experiment with various forms or weaponry, conduct tests, and engage in “trial runs.” Again, the case of Aum Shinrikyo proves elucidating. Following the nuclear conclusion of World War II, Allied nations began to reconstruct Japanese society in a manner which prevented a backslide into authoritative savagery. The victors put into place a set of laws that severely curtailed the intelligence gathering and enforcement capabilities of law enforcement entities. One such law prevented police from gathering preventative intelligence against “religious organizations,” as it would violate codes against religious persecution. Aum, which went to great lengths to be officially labeled a “religious organization,” used this legal loophole and was able to build – in plain sight – huge factories from which to develop a range of biological and chemical weapons.⁴² Additionally, Aum was able to use a sheep ranch in Australia to test the lethality of its sarin gas weapons. Where Aum had a virtual free hand to develop CBRN weapons, the Patriots have little breathing room.

Stifling the prospects for Patriot WMD acquisition is the complete absence of a “safe haven” from which to organize and operate. This lack of a safe can be attributed to the deep penetration of Patriot groups by FBI and local law enforcement agencies as well as the persistent efforts of right wing watchdog groups like the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League. The combined efforts of these entities keeps constant pressure on various Patriot affiliated organizations and gives Patriot leaders little room to recruit, merge resources, or to coordinate efforts. The constant pressure compels the Patriots to adopt a form of “leaderless resistance,” a strategy which makes terrorist organizations difficult to penetrate, but exceedingly difficult for terrorist leaders to control.⁴³ Without a

“safe haven,” Patriot organizations busy themselves with the task of sheer survival, preventing them from using that time to develop new theories or technologies for future attacks. But there is a more pressing problem which confronts the Patriots.

Perhaps the biggest contributing factor to Aum Shinrikyo’s successful WMD development was the tremendous amount of financial and intellectual resources it could bring to bear on weapons development. Considered the most “materially resourceful terrorist group in history,” Aum commanded a budget of over one *billion* dollars. With ventures ranging from fitness clubs, to illegal drugs, to donut shops, to dating services, it is an understatement to say Aum’s coffers were overflowing. Additionally, Aum drew upon local universities and laboratories to bolster the organization’s intellectual resources. Aum was able to recruit and employ “26 university trained scientists, including medical doctors, veterinarians, microbiologists, and chemists.”⁴⁴ This in mind, Aum’s production of sarin should come as no real suprise, as the organization possessed both the physical resources and the technological know-how to develop and employ a WMD. The Patriots, in contrast, lack both.

The absence of deep intellectual resources able to develop and/or procure the most deadly forms of WMD proves another trait which stifles Patriot WMD development. Although classifying Patriot members as “uneducated hillbillies” is largely inaccurate, so too would be any attempt to classify them as deep thinkers. The radical right is characterized by members coming from intermediate and disadvantaged backgrounds. According to Chris Hewitt, 74% of Klansmen and 57% of the “New Right” extremists are drawn from disadvantaged social classes.⁴⁵ Accordingly, few of these extremists possess education levels beyond what is required in state school systems. This said, it is unlikely that a poorly educated extremist would possess the intellectual skills needed to craft a formidable WMD or the means to disperse it if created. This was evident in the 2009 case of neo-Nazi James Cummings and his amateurish quest to craft a “dirty bomb.”⁴⁶ The fact that so many Patriots come from a “disadvantaged social class” also curtails the financial resources any Patriot group can mobilize. In general, the ability of the Patriots to craft a WMD of significant lethality remains a distant prospect. It is likely that Patriot groups will continue to dabble in relatively low-lethal CBRN production – small amounts of ricin, poisons, or caustic materials – but too many factors work against the creation of a truly lethal WMD. For the time being, Patriots are better served by employing conventional weapons.

Bridging the Intent/Capability Divide?

The enemy of our enemy is, for now at least, our friends. We may not want them marrying our daughter, just as they would not want us marrying theirs. We may not want them in our societies, just as they would not want us in theirs.

But anyone willing to drive a plane into a building to kill Jews is all right by me. I wish our members had half as much testicular fortitude. - Billy Roper, National Alliance⁴⁷

In the U.S. there are 300,000 white militia members who are calling to attack the federal government in Washington and to banish the Arabs, the Jews, and the negroes from the U.S. These are racist people. They are called “rednecks.” The Ku Klux Klan, they are racists. These militias even think about bombing nuclear plants within the U.S. May Allah grant them success! Even though we are not white or even close to it...may Allah grant them success..I believe we should devote part of our prayers to him.- Unidentified Kuwaiti Professor⁴⁸

While the prospect of a Christian Patriot WMD attack should be considered low, a troubling wildcard factor has resurfaced that warrants both scrutiny and concern. Given the vast array of capability problems addressed in the previous section, the most immediately effective path to WMD acquisition is to bootstrap capability and marry it to intent through an alliance with a group already in possession of WMD but lacks access to the target. As discussed in George Michael’s 2006 book *The Enemy of My Enemy*, there are disturbing indications of a temporary alliance being made between Patriot-affiliated groups and militant Islamic organizations.⁴⁹ If we lend credence to the idea that Islamist organizations are indeed, “close to making ‘workable and efficient biological and chemical weapons’ capable of killing thousands of people” – as a report by the Investigative Project on Terrorism submits – then the Patriots have found a capable organization with which to ally.⁵⁰ This right wing/Jihadi cooperation would not necessarily be a new phenomenon – as indicated by tales of mutual admiration and operational cooperation between Adolf

Hitler and the Islamic militant Haj Amin al-Husseini during World War II.⁵¹ A modern variant of this right wing/Jihadi cooperation could add the missing capability to Patriot intent, greatly increasing the likelihood of a WMD attack on American soil.

Many Patriot groups view Islamist terrorists as – although not necessarily on the “same team” – at least working for the same cause. Patriots appreciate the Jihadi aims of eradicating Jewish influence while Islamists are willing to wish the Patriots the best on their attempt to bring down a Western government. Should we allow ourselves to delve into a Tom Clancy-like narrative and give voice to the idea that cheerleading could translate into operational ties, the Patriots have a role to play in WMD terrorism on American soil.

According to the 2008 Commission on the Prevention of WMD Proliferation and Terrorism the most likely source of WMD acquisition is Pakistan – the “intersection of Nuclear Weapons and Terrorism.”⁵² According to the commission’s report, 74% of the terrorism experts surveyed “consider Pakistan the country most likely to transfer nuclear technology to terrorists in the next three to five years.”⁵³ The concern over Pakistani nuclear weapon proliferation – especially to terrorist organizations – has been recently expressed in numerous diplomatic cables attained in the recent Wikileaks disclosures.⁵⁴ Further credence to Jihadi intent and capability was provided as recently as February 2011.⁵⁵

The concern – a theoretical one at this point – is that militant Islamists are able to acquire such a weapon through black markets in the Federally Administered Tribal Area region of Pakistan and smuggle them near the United States border. Unable to cross American borders due to concerns of being caught through security profiling, the Islamists may require a more “Americanized” group to get their weapon through. To cross U.S. borders, it would be theoretically easier for a Patriot to blend in, smuggle the weapon into the United States and carry out an attack. From the perspective of the allied terrorist groups, this type of approach completely blurs the lines of responsibility and puts the U.S. government in a tremendous predicament with regards to response options; a win-win for both groups.

Thankfully, this scenario is currently more fiction than fact. While unsettling, current prospects of cooperation between Patriots and Jihadis remain fairly bleak. Steven Barry, the former leader of right-wing Special Forces Underground sums it up fairly well:

What does the ‘extreme right’ have to offer Militant Islam? Militant Islam possesses every quality absent in the “extreme right.” Militant Islam, on the whole, has (i) organization (ii) hierarchy (iii) autonomy (iv) money and logistics (v) media (vi) liaison and (vii) covert support...the extreme right is (i) disorganized and chaotic (ii) leaderless, fractionalized, and defiant of subordination (iii) anti-authoritarian, more often than not to the point of anarchic (iv) bankrupt and lacking anything remotely resembling logistics (v) voiceless (vi) uncooperative and more often than not hostile in their mutual relations (vii) utterly bereft of popular support – indeed “the People” are hostile toward them, and (viii) without the least sympathy in any government at any level.⁵⁶

Steven Emerson, the director of the Investigative Project on Terrorism is another doubter of significant operational alliances being developed. His skepticism rests largely on the unsubstantiated operational backgrounds of most Patriots. On this, Emerson notes “operationally, I don’t know how extensive there will be an alliance, because at least from the Islamic militant community, to really have access to the high level operators, you have to have a pedigree that these guys [right wing extremists] would not have.”⁵⁷ From this perspective, it is the sub-par operational record of the Patriots that serve as an obstacle to operational collaboration. It is an argument that carries weight.

Although currently minimal, the potential for cooperation across ideological milieus carries enough significance to warrant further study. Fortunately, focused work on the issue is underway. Under the Department of Homeland Security’s Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) program, renowned terrorism scholars Jeffrey Bale and Gary Ackerman have tracked and documented ties

between Western extremists and Islamist groups. European extremist organizations being more sophisticated than their American brethren, Bale and Ackerman's preliminary findings suggest cooperation exists, but European extremist/Jihadi interaction is predominately relegated to various forms of rhetorical support and, to a lesser degree, assisting detained Islamist terrorists procure legal representation.⁵⁸ Cooperation beyond this, especially in the operational realm, is largely speculative or wholly undocumented.

A Patriot/Islamist operational alliance is unlikely at the current time, owing mainly to Islamist ideological barriers and the overall lack of Patriot operational bona fides.⁵⁹ Should this alliance ever materialize, it would likely be initiated by an Islamist terrorist organization lacking more attractive options. Although rhetorical and low-level logistical support is likely to continue and intensify, a true operational alliance should be considered a last-ditch option for Islamist groups with the means to acquire truly lethal WMD capability. Should it come to pass, however, Patriot groups appear willing to do their part. The Patriot-affiliated white supremacist group Aryan Nations, as one example, has already established a Ministry of Islamic Liaison which expresses public support for Osama bin Laden and his near-term aspirations.⁶⁰ With this in mind, those studying this phenomenon should raise flags as they see Islamist rhetoric become more accepting of Patriot groups or fatwas issued that provide religious justification for such cooperation.

Conclusion

The face of domestic terrorism is older than we often think. From the Anti-Masons and Know-Nothings of the early 1800s, the birth of the Ku Klux Klan in 1866, to the rise of militias and neo-Nazi groups in modern times, there has never been a period of American history devoid of right wing violence. Right wing terrorism, to put it bluntly, has existed and is virtually guaranteed to exist for the duration of the future of the United States. While it will remain a problem, the point of inquiry for this paper is not whether right wing terrorism persists, but in what form and to what degree these acts impact society. More pointedly, the paper asks: Will the United States be a victim of WMD terrorism employed via Patriot organizations? In response, this paper argued that prospects for WMD employment from the Christian Patriot movement are low owing primarily to a lack of capability moreso than intent. The low probability of WMD terrorism is decidedly a good thing, but this assessment is transient and should not spur celebration.

Continued, relentless pressure on this movement is required to ensure it never has the safe haven, the opportunity to restructure the organization, or the opportunity to effectively recruit from a disaffected segment of society. Should the movement ever coalesce and have the operational freedom needed to plan, organize support, train, and openly communicate with their various branches, the Christian Patriot movement definitely has the ideological drive to commit a WMD attack. The ability to create and maintain a safe haven is, in the near-term at least, a distant possibility. Groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, Anti-Defamation League and other watchdog organizations perform a tremendously valuable role in keeping pressure on the Patriots at no cost to the U.S. government. While it would be wrong for the government to openly support such organizations (it would only lend weight to the Patriots conspiracy theories), it is worthwhile to publicly highlight the efforts of these groups through media outlets to ensure their continued existence.

WMD use being improbable, we should expect to see the continuation of Patriot efforts to expand their capabilities with conventional munitions. Although use of a weapon of mass destruction is unlikely, the prospect of an attack generating mass effects and high lethality is considerable. The Patriots have the tools necessary to carry out a high casualty attack, as reflected by the 2007 raid of multiple Alabama Free Militia compounds. This particular raid netted "130 grenades, a grenade launcher, approximately 70 hand grenades rigged to be fired from a rifle, a machine gun, a short-barrel shotgun, explosives parts, two silencers, numerous other firearms, commercial fireworks and 2,500 rounds of ammunition."⁶¹ Clearly, the resources are available to carry out a conventional attack, and given the relative paucity of Patriot

nuclear or biological scientists, it is probable that Patriots would employ these weapons rather than developing, acquiring, or employing a WMD of equal lethality. We can also expect to see the continued development and sporadic employment of limited-lethality WMD. Chemical and biological weapons such as ricin and cyanide are definite possibilities for Patriot arsenals, but issues with dispersion hamper the overall lethality of such weapons. Barring a forged alliance with a Jihadi group – a remote but not entirely unfeasible prospect – we should not expect to see a significant radiological or nuclear device employed by a Patriot group.

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¹ Mark Potok, "The Year in Hate & Extremism," *SPLC Intelligence Report* Spring 2011, no. 141 (2011), <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2011/spring/the-year-in-hate-extremism-2010>; SPLC, "Southern Poverty Law Center News," *U.S. Hate Groups Top 1000*(2011), <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/us-hate-groups-top-1000>.

² This definition is consistent with the general use of the term. For one example, see Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "Wmd Terrorism and Pakistan: Counterterrorism," *Defence Against Terrorism Review* 1, no. 2 (2006).

³ David A. Neiwert, *In God's Country : The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest* (Pullman, Wash.: Washington State University Press, 1999), 4.

⁴ Rather than identify these groups by a single set of characteristics under which all fall as in a typology, it is more useful to think about these groups as having a family resemblance, also known as a the fuzzy set, for which there are no necessary and sufficient characteristics, but that are nevertheless understood as part of the same group. For more see Charles C. Ragin and Howard S. Becker, eds., *What Is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press,1992).

⁵ For additional background and group-specific data see the Anti-Defamation League's Website on "Extremism in America"http://www.adl.org/learn/ext_us/Christian_Identity.asp?

⁶ Morris Dees and James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm : America's Militia Threat*, 1st ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996), 16.

Gale was known to greatly exaggerate the role he played on General MacArthur's staff as well as his training of Filipino soldiers.

⁷ Michael Newton, *The Ku Klux Klan : History, Organization, Language, Influence and Activities of America's Most Notorious Secret Society* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2007), 152.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ John George and Laird M. Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen, and Others on the Fringe : Political Extremism in America* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1992), 344.

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- ¹⁰ Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door : The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, 1st ed. (New York: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press, 2002), 108-12.
- ¹¹ Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65-68.
- ¹² Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door : The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, 113.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 137.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 153.
- ¹⁵ Pat Lewis, "Preventable Agricultural Deaths in Oklahoma 1983-1988: Self Inflicted or Suicides," *Unpublished thesis* (Oklahoma State Agricultural Department: Oklahoma State University, 1989).
- ¹⁶ Dyer, *Harvest of Rage*, p 33.
- ¹⁷ Here, we speak of the ideology known as Christian Identity (CI). CI preaches that non-white races are Pre-Adamic creations, and are therefore, sub-human. They also preach that Jews are the offspring of the Serpent/Eve copulation that produced Cain (the 'two-seed line theory'). For CI adherents, Jews are the literal spawn of Satan. See: Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right : The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*, Rev. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
- ¹⁸ Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest*, p 32.
- ¹⁹ Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest*, p. 31.
- ²⁰ Joel Dyer, *Harvest of Rage : Why Oklahoma City Is Only the Beginning* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 177.
- ²¹ William Pierce wrote under the surname Andrew Macdonald when publishing. See: Andrew Macdonald, *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1978).
- ²² David A. Neiwert, *In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1999) p. 59.
- ²³ Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door : The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, 207.
- ²⁴ Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate : Why They Bombed Oklahoma City*, 1st ed. (Prescott, Ont. Canada: Voyageur Pub., 1998).
- ²⁵ This "identity transformation" from Posse to Patriots is provided in: Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door : The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, 9-10.
- ²⁶ Transcription of white supremacist Louis Beam's 1992 speech in Estes Park provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center.
- ²⁷ A detailed narrative of the Waco account is provided in Chapter 5 of: Lane Crothers, *Rage on the Right : The American Militia Movement from Ruby Ridge to Homeland Security*, People, Passions, and Power (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
- ²⁸ An excellent portrayal of this trend is provided in: Stuart A. Wright, "Strategic Framing of Racial-Nationalism in North America and Europe: An Analysis of a Burgeoning Transnational Network," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21 (2009): 189-210. Additionally, an excellent (and far more detailed) history of the Patriot movement is provided in : Wright, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing*.
- ²⁹ DHS, "Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Refueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment," ed. Department of Homeland Security (Washington DC: Office of Intelligence and Analysis, 2009).
- ³⁰ Andrew Macdonald, *The Turner Diaries : A Novel*, 2nd ed. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1995), 188.
- ³¹ "The Covenant, The Sword and the Arm of the Lord." Federal Bureau of Investigation. <http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/covenantwordarmlaw.htm> (accessed November 11 2010)
- ³² Jonathan B. Tucker, *Toxic Terror : Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons*, Bcsia Studies in International Security (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), 151.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 160-61.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.
- ³⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Domestic Terrorist's Intent and Capability to Use Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Weapons," in *Joint Special Assessment*, ed. FBI Weapons of Mass Destruction Directorate (Washington DC 14 October 2008).
- ³⁷ :Neiwert, *In God's Country : The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest*, 36.

³⁸ Adam Dolnik, "Aum Shinrikyo's Path to Innovation," in *Terrorist Innovations In Weapons of Mass Effect: Preconditions, Causes, and Predictive Indicators—Workshop Report*, ed. Maria Rasmussen and Mohammed Hafez (Ft. Belvoir, VA: Defense Threat Reduction Agency, August 2010), 133. Report located at: <http://www.nps.edu/Academics/Centers/CCC/Research/2010%20019%20Terrorist%20Innovations%20in%20WME.pdf>

³⁹ Ibid., 134.

⁴⁰ <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t502133/>

⁴¹ For an example, see Chapter 1: Carolyn Gallaher, *On the Fault Line : Race, Class, and the American Patriot Movement* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

⁴² One such plant, Satian-7, was actually inspected by Japanese police at one point following complaints of chlorine leaks. Despite barrels clearly labeled caustic material and dangerous acid, the police did not follow up. Aum was able to manufacture weapons such as botulism, VX, ricin, and anthrax as well as experimenting with seismic weapons which Asahara requested to fulfill his plans to trigger massive earthquakes.

⁴³ Leaderless resistance was a concept promoted by white supremacist Richard Beam as early as 1984, and reiterated during the Estes Park meeting in 1992.

⁴⁴ Dolnik, "Aum Shinrikyo's Path to Innovation," 136.

⁴⁵ Christopher Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America : From the Klan to Al Qaeda*, Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy (London ; New York: Routledge, 2003), 72.

⁴⁶ Eric Russell, "Officials Verify Maine Dirty Bomb Probe Results," Bangor Daily News, <http://www.homeland1.com/homeland-security-news/455003-officials-verify-maine-dirty-bomb-probe-results/> accessed 10 January 2011.

⁴⁷ As quoted in: George Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy : The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 221.

⁴⁸ Transcript from "Kuwaiti Professor Dreams of Anthrax Attack on the U.S." http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zynS_Kg6hJY

⁴⁹ Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy : The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right*.

⁵⁰ Investigative Project on Terrorism, "Documents Show Jihadis Seek Mass Destruction Weapons," 11 February 2011. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/2608/documents-show-ts-seek-mass-destruction> accessed 04 March 2011.

Although several Islamist terrorist organizations have the same organizational problems as the Patriots, the likelihood that they are able to acquire WMD is greatly increased due to sponsorship of failing or under governed states sympathetic to their cause.

⁵¹ Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy : The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right*, 112-24.

⁵² Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism (U.S.) et al., *World at Risk : The Report of the Commission on the Prevention of Wmd Proliferation and Terrorism*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 2008).

⁵³ Ibid., 67.

⁵⁴ David E. Sanger Jane Perlez, and Eric Schmitt, "Nuclear Fuel Memos Expose Weary Dance with Pakistan," *New York Times* 2010. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/01/world/asia/01wikileaks-pakistan.html?_r=1 accessed 02 December 2010.

⁵⁵ Investigative Project on Terrorism, "Documents Show Jihadis Seek Mass Destruction Weapons," 11 February 2011. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/2608/documents-show-ts-seek-mass-destruction> accessed 04 March 2011.

⁵⁶ As quoted in: Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy : The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right*, 278-79.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 275.

⁵⁸ Jeffrey Bale and Gary Ackerman, "Where the Extremes (Might) Touch: The Potential for Collaboration between Islamist Terrorists and Western Right- or Left- Wing Extremists," (START research project, publication forthcoming, 2011) <http://www.start.umd.edu/start/research/projects/>

⁵⁹ As Bale and Ackerman note, some Quranic verse interpretations may prohibit Muslims from befriending non-Muslims. One such example is Quran 5:51, "O believers, do not take the Jews and the Christians as your friends and protectors, they are friends of each other. And whoever makes them a friend then he is from amongst them. Verily God

does not guide the unjust people.” See also Quran 5:57 “O you who believe! do not take for friends and protectors those who take your religion for a mockery and a joke.”

⁶⁰ Henry Schuster, “An Unholy Alliance: Aryan Nation Leader Reaches Out to Al Qaeda,” *CNN News*, March 29, 2005, US News Section. <http://www.cnn.com/2005/US/03/29/schuster.column/index.html> (accessed 05 March 2011)

⁶¹ Anti Defamation League, “Alabama Militia Raid Uncovers Massive Cache of Munitions – 6 Indicted” http://www.adl.org/learn/extremism_in_the_news/Anti_Government/militia5.07.htm?LEARN_Cat=Extremism&LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_the_News accessed 19 January 2011.