

AIR WAR COLLEGE

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**THE THREAT OF BIOTERRORISM FROM
DOMESTIC U.S. TERRORIST GROUPS**

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A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty
In Partial Fulfillment of the Graduation Requirements

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Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

27 February 2003

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Chapter One

Introduction

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon jolted Americans into a new awareness of the devastating possibilities of massive loss of life and property from a terrorist attack in our homeland. Fear has grown as people question whether terrorists could launch a chemical, biological, or nuclear attack resulting in tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of deaths. Perhaps the most frightening prospect is an attack with a biological weapon, which could kill many people, and rapidly spread disease and death to many more. The anthrax attacks following September 11, 2001 may have been just a wake-up call to Americans of the danger from biological weapons. A September 2002 article in the *Association of Operating Room Nurses Journal* stated, “Bioterrorism attacks in the United States no longer are a matter of if, they are a matter of when.”¹

The *Journal of the American Medical Association* defines bioterrorism as “the intentional use of a pathogen or biological product to cause harm to a human, animal, plant or other living organism to influence the conduct of government or to intimidate or coerce a civilian population.”² “Biocrime”, the “threat or use of biological agents for individual objectives such as revenge or financial gain”³ is excluded from this definition. Biological weapons used by a terrorist could include: 1) bacteria such as anthrax, plague, or tularemia, 2) viruses such as encephalitis or hemorrhagic fevers (e.g., Ebola, Marburg, Lassa), 3) rickettsia such as Q-fever, 4) fungi such as pathogens to attack humans or plants, or 5) toxins, such as ricin from castor beans or saxitoxin from shellfish.⁴

There is no question that many nations currently possess biological weapons. During the Cold War years, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) produced massive quantities of

anthrax, smallpox, plague, and other biological weapons. The Soviet biological warfare program was documented in chilling fashion by Ken Alibek, the former chief of their “Biopreparat” in his book *Biohazard*.⁵ Many other nations, including Iraq and Korea, also have documented stores of biological weapons. There is little doubt that some international terrorist groups either already possess biological weapons or have ready access to biological weapons.

What about radical and extremist domestic groups in the United States? Is there a threat of bioterrorism from a domestic group? If so, what is the nature of the threat? What weapons might be used, and how might they be used? How likely is such a threat, and how extensive could the results of such an attack be? If the threat is likely, what domestic groups would be among the suspects as perpetrators of an attack?

A domestic group is defined as one which is based in and operates in the United States, with no direction from any foreign entity. In his *A Sourcebook on Domestic and International Terrorism* published in 1997, Charles Thomas identifies numerous domestic terrorist organizations. These organizations include 1) left-wing terrorists such as the Communist Party USA, Socialist Worker’s Party, El Rukns , and Omega 7, 2) 1960s groups such as the Black Panther Party, SDS, and M19CO, 3) at least six Puerto Rican left-wing organizations, 4) right wing terrorists such as Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, The Order, Christian Defense League, National Patriots, Posse Comitatus, Skinhead Movement, and The Militia Movement, and 5) special interests terrorists such as eco-terrorists, animal rights terrorists, and anti-abortion terrorists.⁶ Could any of these groups, or other domestic groups which have not yet been identified, constitute a risk for bioterrorism?

Chapter Two

The Nature of the Threat

What is the nature of the threat of biological terrorism? What specific pathogens might a domestic terrorist group use, and what are the characteristics of these pathogens? Figure One shows the characteristics of several potential biological weapons. Some of these pathogens would be very difficult for a terrorist group to obtain. Even if they could be obtained by a terrorist group, many pathogens would be difficult to use. However, the U. S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases (USAMRIID) identifies these as pathogens which could potentially be used as biological weapons.

Figure 1

Potential Biological Warfare Agent Characteristics⁷

Disease	Transmit Man to Man	Infective Dose (Aerosol)	Incubation Period	Duration of Illness	Lethality (approx. case fatality rates)	Persistence of Organism	Vaccine Efficacy (aerosol exposure)
Inhalation Anthrax	No	8,000-50,000 spores	1-6 days	3-5 days (usually fatal if untreated)	High	Very stable-spores remain viable for >40 years in soil	2 dose efficacy against up to 1,000 LD ₅₀ in monkeys
Brucellosis	No	10-100 organisms	5-60 days (usually 1-2 months)	Weeks to months	<5% untreated	Very stable	No vaccine
Cholera	Rare	10-500 organisms	4 hours-5 days (usually 2-3 days)	1 week or more	Low with treatment, high without	Unstable in aerosols & fresh water; stable in salt water	No data on aerosol
Glanders	Low	Assumed low	10-14 days via aerosol	Death in 7-10 days in septicemic form	>50%	Very stable	No vaccine
Pneumonic Plague	High	100-500 organisms	2-3 days	1-6 days (usually fatal)	High unless treated within 12-24 hours	For up to 1 year in soil; 270 days in live tissue	3 does not protective against 118 LD ₅₀ in monkeys

Tularemia	No	10-50 organisms	2-10 days (average 3-5 days)	2 weeks or more	Moderate if untreated	For months in moist soil or other media	80% protection against 1-10 LD ₅₀
Q Fever	Rare	1-10 organisms	10-40 days	2-14 days	Very low	For months on wood and sand	94% protection against 3,500 LD ₅₀ in guinea pigs
Smallpox	High	Assumed low -- 10-100 organisms	7-17 days (average 12)	4 weeks	High to moderate	Very stable	Vaccine protects against large doses in primates
Venezuelan Equine Encephalitis	Low	10-100 organisms	2-6 days	Days to weeks	Low	Relatively unstable	TC83 protects against 30-500 LD ₅₀ in hamsters
Viral hemorrhagic Fevers	Moderate	1-10 organisms	4-21 days	Death between 7-16 days	High for Zaire strain, moderate with Sudan	Relatively unstable—depends on agent	No vaccine
Botulism	No	0.001 µg/kg is LD ₅₀ for type A	1-5 days	Death in 24-72 hours; lasts months if not lethal	High without respiratory support	For weeks in nonmoving water and food	3 dose efficacy 100% against 25-250 LD ₅₀ in primates
Staph Enterotoxin B	No	0.03 µg/person incapacitation	3-12 hours after ingestion	Hours	<1%	Resistant to freezing	No vaccine
Ricin	No	3-5 µg/kg is LD ₅₀ in mice	18-24 hours	Days—death within 10-12 days for ingestion	High	Stable	No vaccine
T-2 Mycotoxins	No	Moderate	2-4 hours	Days to months	Moderate	For years at room temperature	No vaccine

(µg = micrometers)

(LD₅₀ is lethal dose for 50% of exposed population)

A 1999 document, “The Biological and Chemical Warfare Threat”, published by the U. S. Government Printing Office, gave a more detailed “core listing of organisms having

potential biological warfare applications.” This listing included twenty viruses such as ebola virus, yellow fever, and smallpox, four rickettsiae, thirteen bacteria such as anthrax, dysentery, and brucella, and ten toxins such as ricin and botulinum.⁸ Some of these numerous pathogens could be possibilities for biological weapons to be used by a domestic terrorist group.

Which biological weapon a domestic terrorist group would choose would depend on several factors. Obviously, the weapon would have to be obtainable. The terrorist group would have to be able to obtain at least a seed stock and would have to be able to culture or produce sufficient quantities for a weapon. The desired effect of the weapon would also dictate the choice—is the goal to kill thousands of people, to kill a few specific people, or to sicken various numbers of people? The ability to deploy the weapon would be a factor in the choice, as would the ability to safely handle the weapon.

Historically, anthrax has been one of the favorite weapons for terrorists. Anthrax is extremely deadly--a single gram of Anthrax can produce one trillion spores. According to the Institute for National Strategic Studies, this single gram would be enough agent for 100 million lethal doses. (It should be noted that actually separating and delivering this quantity to 100 million people would not be possible). The lethality of a small quantity of anthrax is typical for most biological weapons. Normally, only a very small quantity of a biological agent is needed to produce serious illness or death.⁹ Experts normally expect a mortality rate of over 90% for anthrax, unless it was diagnosed and treated immediately.

Smallpox is another disease that many experts believe bioterrorists would use. The Soviet Union, Iraq, and other nations are known or suspected to have mass produced smallpox to be used as a weapon. The possibility that some quantities of these weapons could reach the hands of terrorists is high. Unlike anthrax, smallpox would spread rapidly from person to person

unless contained. The fatality rate would exceed 30%, depending on the strain of the disease and the nature of the exposed population.¹⁰ The U.S. government says that there are adequate stocks of vaccine to inoculate all “at-risk” Americans and has already begun vaccination of government officials, first responders, and military personnel.

One frightening aspect of a contagious disease such as smallpox is the potential that a person could become a “suicide” biological bomb, being infected with the disease in order to spread it to others. At the contagious stage, the infected person would still be able to walk around and spread the disease by coughing or sneezing out saliva. Walking around in a crowded mall or at a ball game, a person infected with smallpox could spread the disease to dozens or even hundreds of people.¹¹ An airport would also be a good target, since people would be exposed, then fly out to all parts of the country, rapidly spreading the disease.

In addition to the lethality of biological weapons, other characteristics make them very frightening. There is no vaccine or cure for many of the pathogens. Many of the agents are not detectable prior to infection of a victim. Symptoms of a disease caused by a biological weapon may be difficult for medical personnel to recognize. Many of the pathogens are already present in nature, and are therefore difficult to monitor. Most pathogens are being legitimately researched in laboratories across the United States. Leaks of agents from such legitimate sources could well be possible. Jessica Stern of Harvard University said, “Bioterrorism is invisible, provokes dread, and is poorly understood by science.”¹²

The types of biological weapons which have potential for use by a domestic terrorist group are numerous. The nature of the threat, as demonstrated by the characteristics of these potential biological weapons, is certainly frightening. With an effective deployment of a biological weapon, thousands of Americans could be sickened or killed. For a domestic group

seeking the objective of spreading terror among American citizens, a biological weapon could well become the weapon of choice.

Chapter Three

History of Bioterrorism by Domestic Groups

The number of known incidents involving use, or attempted use, of biological weapons by domestic terrorist groups is very limited. Most attempts to obtain biological pathogens to be developed for terrorist attacks have been unsuccessful. Hoaxes involving biological weapons, such as simulated anthrax attacks, have been far more numerous than actual attacks. However, terrorists may have accomplished some measure of success in the goal of spreading terror even with the hoaxes.

The most recent case of bioterrorism in America was the anthrax attacks in September and October of 2001. A sixty-three year old man was hospitalized on October 4, 2001 with inhalation anthrax. According to the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, this was the first such case since 1976, and the first anthrax infection ever resulting from a deliberate attack in the United States. By November 7, 2001, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention had documented ten cases of inhalation anthrax and seven cases of cutaneous anthrax. All but one case could be tracked to the U.S. postal system and were related to letters mailed to U.S. Senators and news organizations. Over 30,000 people received antibiotics because of potential exposure to the anthrax spores.¹³

Another incident occurred in 1995. Douglas Baker and Leroy Wheeler, members of the Minnesota Patriots Council (a right wing militia group) were able to produce ricin from castor beans. Their plan was to use the ricin to kill government officials. The plot was foiled by FBI agents who had infiltrated the group. Using the Biological Weapons and Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989, prosecutors secured a conviction of Baker and Wheeler.¹⁴

Still another widely documented successful terrorist use of a biological pathogen was the case of the cult Shree Rajneesh's in The Dalles, Oregon. In September and October 1984, members of the cult contaminated salad bars in several restaurants with Salmonella virus. The *salmonella typhimurium* virus infected 751 people who ate from the salad bars. The objective was to sicken people so that they would be unable to vote in the upcoming election, thereby letting candidates supported by the cult win the election. It was over a year before the cause of the salmonella virus was attributed to the cult.¹⁵

Other groups have obtained or attempted to obtain biological weapons. In 1972, the Order of the Rising Sun, a white supremacist group, used a college laboratory to create an estimated 40 kilograms of typhoid bacteria. They planned to contaminate water supplies of major midwestern cities, killing “inferior” people. Two members panicked and told police about the plot.¹⁶

Another notorious figure in the history of biological terrorism in the United States is Larry Wayne Harris. In 1995, Harris was arrested in Ohio with three vials of frozen *Yersinia Pestis*, which causes bubonic plague. Harris purchased the vials for \$240 from American Type Culture Collection lab in Maryland and had them in the glove box of his car when he was arrested. Harris is registered as a microbiologist but had no lab license. He used fake laboratory stationary to order the samples saying he needed them for his book, *Biological Warfare: A Major Threat to North America*. Based on a plea bargain, Harris was given eighteen months probation. Apparently, this incident did not dissuade Harris. He was again arrested in February 1998, allegedly possessing enough anthrax to kill the entire city of Las Vegas.¹⁷

According to the FBI, Harris told a group in mid-1997 that he planned to “place a globe of bubonic plague toxins in a New York subway station, where it would be broken by a passing

subway train, causing hundreds of thousands of deaths.” Harris has been a member of, or closely affiliated with, Aryan Nations, the Christian Identity Church, and other white supremacist groups.¹⁸ Harris contends that his book is only intended to prepare Americans to survive a biological attack. However, “Intelligence Report” (published by the Southern Poverty Law Center, which monitors right wing groups) says that “the scope and depth of information in the book also make it an effective do-it-yourself manual for mass destruction through biological terrorism.”¹⁹

Threats of use of biological weapons have been a tactic of other domestic extremist groups. In most cases those threats never materialized. For example, in 1972, a right wing group, the Minutemen threatened to spread a virus to passengers at airports. The threat had some credibility because Robert DePugh, the owner of Biolab Corporation, a veterinary drug firm in Missouri, ran the group.²⁰ In October 2001, the Army of God, an anti-abortion group, sent hoax anthrax letters to Planned Parenthood offices throughout the U.S. More than 200 abortion clinics and pro-abortion organizations received Federal Express envelopes containing white powder, with letters signed, “The Army of God.” None of the powder tested positive for Anthrax. The threat was considered credible because of the group’s history of sniper and bombing attacks against abortion clinics and advocates.²¹

The anthrax hoax by the Army of God may have been inspired by the real anthrax attacks following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Letters containing a high grade of anthrax were mailed to Senator Majority Leader Tom Daschle, NBC News offices in New York, and the New York Post. As a result of these attacks, eleven cases of inhalation anthrax and seven cases of cutaneous (skin) anthrax were confirmed, with an additional four suspected cutaneous cases. Five of the eleven people with inhalation anthrax

died; none of the cutaneous cases were fatal.²² President Bush considered these incidents grave enough to devote his radio address to the American people to this subject on November 3, 2001. The President acknowledged that the government had not determined who was responsible, but said “anyone who would try to infect other people with anthrax is guilty of an act of terror.”

These and other incidents demonstrate that biological weapons have been contemplated by domestic terrorists for several years, and have even been used with some very minimal success. The number of deaths has been very limited, and few long-term results have been achieved. Although domestic terrorist groups have demonstrated interest in biological weapons for many years, it appears that the interest is growing. With the publicity received from the anthrax scares in late 2001, extremist organizations may see biological weapons as a way to generate a great deal of terror, and to draw attention to their extremist causes.

Chapter Four

Likelihood of a Biological Attack by a Domestic Terror Group

History has shown that domestic terrorists are very interested in biological weapons. Given the limited success of past attempts, is a future biological attack likely from a domestic terrorist group? In order for a biological attack to be likely, the terrorist group must possess three things: means to produce, method of delivery, and motivation to use the weapon. If there are domestic terrorist groups which have these three things, then a biological attack is very likely at some time in the future. Several experts contend that right-wing extremists appear to be the greatest risk for bioterrorism. In 1997, FBI Director Louis Freeh told Congress that militia organizations and right-wing groups were working to obtain biological weapons. According to Jessica Stern, former National Security Council staff member, “right-wing extremists are obsessed with biological agents and have been trying to perfect their use for years.”²³

Means to Produce

In order for a bioterrorism attack to be likely, the terrorist group must first have the means to produce a biological weapon. Is it likely that domestic groups have the expertise to produce a biological weapon? The answer is a strong yes. Scientists with training in microbiology, infectious diseases, and genetics are widely accessible throughout the United States. It is also possible that domestic groups could purchase information from scientists previously engaged in biowarfare efforts in other nations. Recipes for creating biological weapons are readily available to the general public. One of the classic books is *Silent Death* by “Uncle Fester”, who claims to sell thousands of copies annually. Examples of the information included in *Silent Death* are directions for extracting saxitoxin from shellfish, advice for using

botulinum in small and “large scale mass destructive attacks”, and a discussion of “ricin: kitchen improvised devastation.”²⁴

Another excellent source of information for a prospective biological terrorist would be the previously mentioned book by Larry Wayne Harris, *Bacteriological Warfare: A Major Threat to North America*. The Southern Poverty Law Center’s *Intelligence Report* says that the book is “a solidly researched—if sometimes bizarre—guide to the cultivation, retention, and deployment of biological agents.” The book includes detailed information about many biological agents which could be used in terrorists attacks, including anthrax, brucellosis, cholera, bacillary dysentery, and bubonic plague. Instructions for making terramycin, an antibiotic which could help protect the terrorist from the agents, are also included. The book is readily available for \$28.50 over the internet and is also advertised on radio broadcasts by Jeff Baker, an anti-abortion activist.²⁵

The internet is a very effective tool for gaining expertise on creation of biological agents. Chat rooms and e-mail, as well as web pages and publications, can be sources of information. The sheer volume of information passing every minute over the internet makes significant or threatening information difficult to isolate and track. The fact that this knowledge (and the associated technology) can be used for both legal and illegal purposes makes it even more difficult to track those with terrorist intent.²⁶

Can domestic groups obtain the raw materials needed for biological weapons? The answer is a strong yes. Raw materials for various agents can be readily purchased or even grown by a group. Natural strains of disease agents like brucellosis and anthrax are found in animals and can be easily isolated. Supply houses worldwide also sell biological disease materials—normally to anyone who wants to buy them. John F. Sopko, a counsel to the Senate Permanent

Subcommittee on Investigations, said, “Approximately one million patients per year...receive botulinum toxin injections as therapy for a variety of diseases. These deadly toxins...can be easily accessed by would-be...terrorists without attracting the attention of most intelligence sources.”²⁷

The Biological Weapons Act of 1989 forbids Americans from manufacturing, buying, selling, or possessing biological weapons. In addition, in 1991, Congress barred U. S. companies from trading with countries that likely had biowarfare programs. These laws have not proven very successful in denying biological agent to determined individuals and groups. For example, in 1995, American Type Culture Collection sold four vials of freeze-dried bubonic plague agent to Larry Wayne Harris, who is linked to Aryan Nation.²⁸

Even with the new laws aimed at controlling access to biological pathogens, a determined terrorist could obtain dangerous agents. One likely source would be from research laboratories that have legitimate use for the agents in order to try to develop vaccines or treatments. A Texas Tech University professor was arrested and held without bond on January 15, 2003 after he reported that thirty vials of plague bacteria were missing. The vials had been obtained from tissue samples from east Africa. The University had a total of 180 samples which it was using to try to develop a treatment for the plague. The professor was arrested after claiming that he had destroyed the samples and reported them missing to cover up his action.²⁹ However, it is a credible threat that a terrorist group could buy or steal vials of a biological agent in just such a scenario as this.

A terrorist group could also obtain weapon grade biological agents from a foreign entity. U. S. intelligence sources say that up to nine countries already possess or are working on biological weapons. Nations such as North Korea, Iraq, Syria, and Iran would certainly be likely

sources for purchase of a biological weapon by a terrorist group in the United States.³⁰ The most probable source would be individuals with access to the weapons in these countries, including members of the military or a terrorist organization operating in one of these countries. Another possible source would be the huge stashes of biological weapons produced by the former Soviet Union. It is very unlikely that all these weapons have been destroyed, and an enterprising person might be able to arrange the sale of some of these weapons to a domestic American terrorist group.

Another aspect of the means to produce is money. Do domestic groups have sufficient funding to produce a biological weapon? Again, the answer is a strong yes. In 1999, the Department of Defense found that a domestic team with some biological training could produce two pounds of aerosolized anthrax for about 1.6 million dollars. The necessary fermenters, grinders, and other laboratory equipment could be easily obtained.³¹ In fact, a terrorist group would not need much money to produce a biological weapon. After interviewing academic experts and pharmaceutical companies, Kathleen Bailey of the National Institute for Public Policy determined that large amounts of biological weapons could be produced with just \$10,000 worth of equipment in a small room.³² For less than \$2,500, the U. S. Department of Justice Center for Domestic Preparedness in Anniston, Alabama built a simulated laboratory which could produce biological weapons. Some researchers have concluded that affecting a square kilometer with a biological weapon would cost only \$1.00, compared to \$200 for chemical, \$800 for nuclear, and \$2,000 for conventional weapons.³³ Money is certainly no obstacle to a domestic terrorist group wishing to produce a biological weapon.

History has demonstrated that terrorist groups do have the means to produce bioweapons. In 1995, two members of the Minnesota Patriots Council successfully produced ricin from castor

beans, with the intention of assassinating government officials. The plot was foiled by FBI infiltrators, and the two terrorists were the first people convicted under the Biological Weapons and Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989.³⁴

Ricin continues to be a weapon which could be easily obtained or produced by domestic terrorists. In early January, 2003, terrorists in England were arrested with ricin in their possession, prompting the U.S. FBI to warn American law enforcement agencies to be on the lookout for ricin. The FBI warned that ricin could be used to “contaminate closed ventilation systems...drinking water, lakes, rivers, and food supplies.”³⁵ Malcolm Davis of King’s College in London, said that producing ricin is a simple, easy process, and a person can “make a substantial quantity of ricin from easily available precursor materials and then use that poison however you see fit.”³⁶ Andy Oppenheimer of Jane’s Terrorism and Security Monitor said that ricin could be aerosolized to be used as a weapon of mass destruction.³⁷

The fact that domestic terrorists have the means to produce biological weapons was underscored by Ken Alibek, former director of Biopreparat, the Soviet biological weapons program. Speaking to a group of Air War College students on September 13th, 2002, Alibek indicated that there were very few Soviet scientists who had the overall knowledge of the sophisticated biological warfare program. However, he said that this does not really matter, because biological agents can easily be produced on the scale desired by a terrorist. The expertise, materials, and equipment are widely available and relatively inexpensive.³⁸

Method to deliver

The second major element needed for a bioterrorist attack to be likely is a method to deliver. Potential means of delivery could include contamination of food products or water,

spreading of air-borne pathogens in a public place, infecting vectors such as rodents or insects, or injection of a disease into victims. A group member acting as a biological suicide “bomb”—infected with a contagious disease could spread the disease through contact with the intended victims.

Historically, terrorists groups have found it far more complicated to deliver a biological weapon than to obtain or produce it. For example, the Japanese terrorist group Aum Shinrikyo, with large funding and technical resources (including a Ph.D. microbiologist), tried more than 12 times to use agents such as botulinum and anthrax. After all these attacks failed, Aum Shrinrikyo turned to a chemical agent to find success.³⁹

Certainly, there are delivery methods which can readily be used by terrorists. The Anthrax attacks of late 2001 were spread through letters in the U.S. postal service. In 1984, the Rajneeshees, a religious cult, used small vials of liquid containing *salmonella* to contaminate restaurant salad bars in The Dalles, Oregon. At least 751 citizens of this small town became ill with *salmonella* after eating the contaminated food.⁴⁰

The *British Medical Journal* said that dissemination in food and water would be effective for localized attacks.⁴¹ Restaurant owners, especially those with open salad bars or buffets, fear an incident such as the Rajneeshee attack. Ruth Kava, an expert with the American Council on Science & Health, warned, “There’s no federal regulation...that could prevent something like that Oregon case from happening again... A restaurant with four or five salad bars, a soup bar, maybe a dessert station—that’s a lot of exposure.”⁴² Even a limited number of casualties could still accomplish the terrorists' purpose of spreading panic, since confidence in our food or water supplies could be undermined.⁴³

Contamination of food with a biological agent might be more likely than contamination of water. Senator (Dr.) Bill Frist says, “we are woefully unprotected in this area. The Food and Drug Administration has fewer than 800 inspectors to oversee food imports at more than 300 ports of entry and to investigate 57,000 sites across the country.” Many manufacturers are only inspected once a decade. Ninety-nine percent of imported food receives no proper inspection.⁴⁴ While the number of people who might be infected could be limited, use of food as a delivery method is certainly feasible for a domestic terrorist group.

What about a large scale attack? For example, would spreading a biological agent from a small private plane over a crowded stadium be effective? Weather conditions, including temperature, humidity, wind velocity, and sunshine, would all have to be suitable for the biological attack to succeed. If the wind is too strong, the agent will be blown away. If it is too calm, the agent will not be spread over a wide area. Thermal conditions can cause the agent to rise, instead of falling. Factors such as these make a large scale air-borne biological attack in an open area less likely to succeed.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding these difficulties, the government takes the massive aerosolization threat seriously. Aircraft such as crop dusters were grounded in late September 2001 because of this threat.⁴⁶

Experts agree that an aerosolized agent could be spread most effectively in an enclosed area, such as a subway. With thousands of people walking around, along with the air currents created by motion of the trains, the agent could be disseminated effectively to thousands of people.⁴⁷ Kristina Stillsmoking warns that anthrax, smallpox, plague, and even botulism could be effective through aerosolization.⁴⁸ On a small scale, terrorists could spread an aerosolized agent by direct delivery into air handling or ventilation systems in a building.⁴⁹

What about contamination of a city's water supply? Most experts agree that significant contamination would be extremely difficult. Even a very large amount of a biological weapon would rapidly be diluted in the millions of gallons of water in a reservoir. Drinking water is continually monitored. In addition, chlorine would kill most biological agents.⁵⁰ However, the American government is taking contamination of the water supply very seriously. The Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act of 2002 requires every water system serving more than 3,300 people to assess and determine its vulnerability to terrorist attack. Systems must also develop an emergency response plan to deal with potential attacks.⁵¹

W. Seth Carus, a bioweapons expert at the Office of Homeland Security, warns that "the technological sophistication of terrorist groups is growing and there are countless potential delivery systems." A domed stadium would be an attractive target for an aerosolized agent, as would prepackaged food or water supplies. Even simpler delivery methods for bioterrorism could include infecting livestock or using pathogens to infect crops. Even without causing human casualties, these methods could easily accomplish terrorist goals of economic devastation.⁵²

The Southern Poverty Law Center's *Intelligence Report* argues that "biological agents can be delivered to a target in a variety of ways, some requiring minimal technical skills." Agents could be dispersed into a building's ventilation system using aerosol cans or insecticide sprayers. An explosive device could be used to spread bacterium spores. A biological weapon aboard a small airplane such as the one that crashed into the White House in 1995 could be used as a weapon of mass destruction. Larry Wayne Harris's book on biological warfare specifically identifies the Cessna 150 as the perfect vehicle for a biological attack. Michael Reynolds, an analyst at the Law Center, said, "If one crazed amateur can violate the airspace of what is

supposed to be the most secure building in America and leave his plane piled up a few feet below the President's bedroom, a dedicated terrorist can manage a successful airborne biochemical attack on any major city in the country.”⁵³

Another aspect of the means to deliver is availability of a suitable target. Very few terrorist groups would want to employ a biological weapon indiscriminately; rather, the terrorists would want to select a target which would tie to the group's goals. For example, anti-abortionist would likely select an abortion clinic or a Planned Parenthood office as a suitable target.

Numerous hoax anthrax letters have already been sent to Planned Parenthood and abortion offices around the United States. A right-wing militia group might target a government building for a biological attack, patterned after the Oklahoma federal building bombing. A Neo-Nazi or white supremacist group might attack a synagogue or a black church.

The target would have to be accessible. For example, a terrorist group member might gain access to a building by posing as a custodian or a repairman. The terrorist could then pour a vial of a biological agent into a large container of water which was waiting to be placed on a water dispenser. A time bomb containing an aerosolized agent could be hidden in the building's ventilation system. Anthrax or another biological agent in powder form could be put in a sugar bowl or any number of other locations where people would be exposed to the agent.

The target would also have to be meaningful. Making a few people sick for a short time might not inspire the level of terror a group would seek. Killing even a few people could accomplish the terrorist's goal, as was demonstrated by the anthrax deaths in September and October 2001. A large number of sick people or several deaths would certainly bring the attention the terrorist group would seek. High-level government officials would be prime targets

for a terrorist, since public attention would quickly focus on such an attack. Again, the anthrax attacks on Congress resulted in widespread terror throughout the United States.

Motivation to Use

The third major element needed for a bioterrorist attack to be likely is the motivation to use such a weapon combined with the lack of motivation not to use it. By definition, the aim of the terrorist is to create terror—fear and panic among his victims. Wayman C. Mullins identifies several factors that must be present in order to create terror. The terrorist must convince the public that he is willing and able to use violence unless his demands are met. He must create the knowledge that he will use any means, including his own death, to gain his objective. The public must recognize that every member of the group is committed to gaining the objective, so that no one member is critical. The terrorists must be willing to face opponents who are far superior in power and numbers. To be defined as terrorists, a group must be ready to use violence and illegal methods to gain their ends. Finally, Mullins says that “rationality has no place in the terrorist’s agenda nor in the selection of targets...The terrorist purposely selects innocents as victims of violence.”⁵⁴

A biological attack would certainly fulfill the criteria for creating terror. For example, Americans were almost universally terrorized by the anthrax attacks of late 2001, despite the fact that only a very few Americans were in danger of exposure to the instant attacks. The terror is compounded by information such as the Department of Defense statement that “ten kilograms of anthrax could cause more casualties than a ten kiloton nuclear weapon.” The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment said that an anthrax attack would cause 30,000 to 100,000 deaths per square kilometer, a nuclear attack would cause 23,000 to 80,000 deaths per square

kilometer, and a chemical attack using sarin would cause 60 to 200 deaths per square kilometer.⁵⁵ For a group whose motivation is to create terror, biological weapons have great utility. As an added benefit to the terrorist, spreading a highly contagious disease such as smallpox or plague could have the effect of turning Americans against one another, since every person's neighbor would be a risk of potential infection.⁵⁶

Historically, the primary motivations or objectives of domestic terrorist groups have been limited. Some groups have sought to make political statements. Others have sought to spread their religious or idealist principles. Still others have sought to pressure government into new policies or direction. In the past, terrorists have used limited violence to gain attention for their cause.⁵⁷ They feared that causing mass casualties would "delegitimize their cause." Today, there are domestic terrorists groups, such as the neo-Nazis, who do not care what the public thinks.⁵⁸ Jessica Stern also sees religious and idealistic groups as potential threats, since they could be motivated by the perception that they are dispensing a Biblical punishment on unbelievers or sinners.⁵⁹

The pattern of limited violence may continue with most domestic terrorist groups. However, there may be groups who are more inclined to use biological weapons resulting in mass casualties. Jessica Stern of Harvard cited five reasons for this shift: 1) many groups are motivated by ethnic or religious ideas, rather than a desire for power, 2) current groups have shown tendencies toward more extreme violence, 3) there is a black market for biological materials and expertise from the former Soviet Union, 4) biological weapons are more widespread and available, especially from states who sponsor terrorism, and 5) advances in technology facilitate use of bioweapons. The tremendous success of the September 11th, 2001

attacks in creating terror is a great object lesson to all terrorists, demonstrating that a small group of well-organized, determined terrorists can accomplish great destruction in America.⁶⁰

Is there motivation for terrorists groups not to use biological weapons? The answer is, very little. Biological weapons are difficult to detect, using agents that are relatively small and transportable. With little risk of detection, travelers can use public transportation such as subways, trains, or planes, to carry the agents or even production or delivery equipment.⁶¹ Since most biological agents require time to work, the terrorists can deliver the agent and then travel far away long before anyone knows the attack has taken place. He has limited personal risk of being caught.

The limited risk of capture may invalidate the historical U. S. strategy for preventing use of weapons of mass destruction. Historical strategy has been the threat of retaliation. This threat has very limited utility as a method of demotivating terrorists. The target group may be very small, very secret, and may be willing to die for their cause. With a high probability of escaping detection, there will be limited deterrence.⁶² Indeed, more than a year and a half after the anthrax attacks in the Fall of 2001, the attacker or attackers still have not been identified or arrested.

Summary

It is reasonable to conclude that there are domestic terrorist groups which have the means to produce biological weapons, available methods to carry out a biological attack, and sufficient motivation to use such weapons. Given the high probability of the presence of these three elements, it is logical to conclude that a bioterrorism attack from a domestic terrorist group is likely at some time in the future. An attack on a limited scale is very likely, even probable, because it would be relatively inexpensive, easy to accomplish, and would meet the limited

objectives of many domestic terrorist groups. An attack resulting in massive casualties is also somewhat likely, but less probable because it would be much more difficult to produce and deliver a “mass casualty” weapon and because there are fewer groups who would be motivated to use such a weapon.

Chapter 5

Case Studies

Are there specific domestic terrorist groups that would be likely suspects in the event of a terrorist attack using biological weapons? Wayman C. Mullins, in his *A Sourcebook on Domestic and International Terrorism*, suggests that there might be as many as 3,500 terrorist organizations in the United States. Most of them have only a small number of people who are closely linked for a limited time before being arrested or disbanding. Not all of the organizations represent a threat for violence. However, according to Mullins, domestic terrorists are the greatest terrorist threat for American citizens. Mullins says, “More citizens are terrorized, wounded or killed, and more property destroyed per year within the U.S. by domestic terrorists than by all foreign-based terrorism directed against U.S. targets combined.”⁶³

Mullins broadly groups domestic terrorists groups into left wing, right wing, or special interest groups. Characteristics of the left wing include abolishing capitalism and democracy and instituting some form of Marxist-Leninist social order. Often, these groups advocate socialism, equality, and elimination of the existing power structure. In reality, the group’s members are seeking power for themselves, according to Mullins. The left wing groups include groups such as the Communist Party, Socialist Worker’s Party, Black Panther Party, and Puerto-Rican left wing terrorist organizations.⁶⁴

Mullins describes Right Wing groups as those with ideals of racial superiority. They distrust government, and generally hate Jews and blacks. Right Wing group members are typically older, more rural, and more religious than left wing group members. Right Wing groups include groups such as Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, The Order, American Nazi Party, Posse Comitatus, Arizona Patriots, Skinhead Movement, and the Militia Movement.⁶⁵ Special

interest groups are defined as those that want to change only a specific set of laws, not the entire government. These groups have grown significantly, both in number and in total membership during the past twenty to thirty years. Special interest groups include eco-terrorists such as Greenpeace and Earth First, animal rights terrorists such as Animal Liberation Front and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, and anti-abortion terrorists.⁶⁶

Figures 2, 3, and 4 below provide a summary of information concerning domestic terrorist groups as discussed in Mullin’s *A Sourcebook on Domestic and International Terrorism*.

Figure 2
Left Wing Domestic Organizations with Potential for Terrorism⁶⁷

Name	Philosophy/ Cause	Violent History?
Communist Party USA	Oppose Capitalism. Oppose democratic government	Very limited. 1970—suspected member killed a judge.
Socialist Worker’s Party	Split from Communist Party USA. Same basic philosophy.	History of various criminal and terrorist activities
Other left-wing communists: Progressive Labor Party, Communist Worker’s Party, etc.	Oppose Capitalism and democratic government. Power to the people	Some—primarily robberies
El Rukns	Pro-Islam, anti- government	Yes, gang warfare, drugs, assassination plots, plans for attacks on businesses and federal buildings
Irish Republican Army and Provisional Irish Republican Army	Support of Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Ireland	Obtaining weapons for IRA, drug trafficking
Omega 7	Anti-Castro Cuban-Americans	Over 50 bombings and assassinations against pro-Cuban interests, including Venezuelan Consulate in New York, bombing a TWA flight
Black Panther Party	“Liberation of blacks”	Arming black Americans, killed police officers, skyjacking
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	Promote socialism, overthrow government	Extreme. Riots, campus takeovers
Weather Underground/ Weathermen	Offshoot of SDS	Extreme. Rioting, attacking police, damaging property, bombings. In 1969-1970, about 800 bombings and 20,000 bomb threats
May 19 th Communist Organization (M19CO)	Rebellion against government	Extreme. Bank robberies, bombings, murder of police officers.

Puerto-Rican Left-Wing Terrorist Organizations	Independence for Puerto Rico	Attacks and murder of policemen, plotting to overthrow government, bombings, assassinations.
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***Figure 3
Right Wing Domestic Organizations with Potential for Terrorism⁶⁸***

Name	Philosophy/ Cause	Violent History?
Ku Klux Klan (actually numerous groups under this label)	Preserve the pure white race, eliminate blacks, Jews, and other minorities. Anti-Catholic, anti-foreigner.	Numerous killings of blacks. Terrorism against blacks & others. Bombings
Aryan Nations	White race is supreme. Anti-Jewish, anti-black. Support overthrow of government.	Extreme. Target FBI agents, federal marshals, journalists, local politicians, judges, and other politicians
The Order/The Order II	Offshoot of Aryan nations. Advocate overthrow of government. Racist.	Robberies, murders, planned assassinations, etc.
Christian Defense League	Racism	Hate propaganda against Jews, blacks
The Covenant, The Sword, and the Arm of the Lord	Teaches survivalist and paramilitary skills. Anti-Jew, anti-black, anti-government	Propoganda, bombings, church burnings, stockpiling of illegal weapons
National Alliance	White supremacism, anti-Zionism	Hate literature, including <i>The Turner Diaries</i> which provided the pattern for the Oklahoma City Federal building bombing
American Nazi Party	Anti-Jewish	Violent demonstrations
Posse Comitatus	Elimination of all taxes, overthrow of the Jewish federal government, return to Anglo-Saxon origins, elimination of all federal, state, and local law enforcement, hate campaigns against minorities and Jews	Murder of federal marshals & other law enforcement personnel, illegal weapon caches, paramilitary/survivalist training, stockpiling of weapons, creating of armed compounds around the nation.
Arizona Patriots	Similar to Posse Comitatus	Robberies, planned attacks on Jewish synagogues, federal buildings, hydroelectric plants
Skinhead Movement	Neo-fascism, anti-Jew, anti-black	Public demonstrations, Vandalism, assaults, murders
The Militia Movement	Anti-government	Stockpiling weapons, attacks on federal officers, plots to destroy federal buildings and assassinate officials.

***Figure 4
Special Interest Domestic Organizations with Potential for Terrorism⁶⁹***

Name	Philosophy/ Cause	Violent History?
Eco-Terrorists: Greenpeace, Earth	Preservation of the environment	Protests, sit-ins, attempts to disrupt industry or other commercial

First!		operations, sabotage of nuclear tests, etc.
Animal Rights Terrorists: Animal Liberation Front (ALF), Band of Mercy, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), etc.	Better treatment of animals. Protection of animals against humans	Burning of research laboratories, vandalism, assassination and murder attempts, bombings
Anti-Abortion Terrorists	Fight against abortion	Bombings, murders, vandalism, burnings, violent protests.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) in Montgomery, Alabama maintains one of the most active watches on terrorism in the United States. The SPLC *Intelligence Project* listed 676 hate groups which were known to be active in the U.S. in 2001. This total represented a 12% increase from 2000. SPLC classifies the hate groups as Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Neo-Confederate, Black Separatist, and other. The groups are classified as hate groups because they have “beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics.” Activities of these groups may include “criminal acts, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, or publishing.” If the activity is the work of a single individual, it is not included in the list.⁷⁰ A group could be classified as a “hate group” by SPLC even if it did not fit the definition of a terrorist group. Simply making speeches or holding meetings and rallies would not qualify a group as terrorist, unless those meetings espoused violent actions.

Even a brief discussion of all known terrorist groups in America would consume many pages. For illustrative purposes, the following pages present case studies of one group from each of Mullins’ three categories. The Christian Identity Movement represents the right wing groups. The New Black Panthers represent the left wing groups. Finally, Animal Liberation Front (ALF) will represent the special interest groups.

Christian Identity

The Christian Identity movement is essentially a white supremacist organization which teaches that the white race is the “seed of Adam”, the new Biblical Israel chosen of God to be his special people. Christian Identity also teaches that Jews are actually descended biologically from Satan. Other non-whites are “beasts of the field”, soulless “mud people.”⁷¹ Christian identity followers believe that, ultimately, a race war will result in defeat of the blacks and restoration of the white race to supreme power.⁷²

Some writers consider the Christian Identity movement to be an umbrella for many white supremacist groups such as Aryan Nation, Montana Freeman, and even some Ku Klux Klan groups. Based on this umbrella concept, the Christian Identity Movement was estimated to include 474 sub-groups in 1997, with members in every state.⁷³ The Christian Identity movement is considered by many experts to be the “cornerstone of American white supremacy.” Although the movement lacks a central hierarchy or leadership, it has experienced tremendous growth during the past twenty years, with some estimates of membership topping 50,000.⁷⁴

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is more limited in its definition of the Christian Identity Movement, counting only 31 total Christian Identity groups in 2001. SPLC attributes this decline in membership to “deep doctrinal disputes, the lack of a central church structure, and a shift among white supremacists towards agnosticism and racist variations of neo-paganism.”⁷⁵

Christian Identity members have been particularly active with hate rhetoric over the Internet. In 2000, the Southern Poverty Law Center identified at least 24 Christian Identity websites. These sites include sites of Christian Identity units such as the Christian Separatist Church Society, the Gospel Ministries, the Kingdom Identity Ministries, the Sheriffs Posse

Comitatus, the Scriptures for America, and the 11th Hour Remnant Messenger. These web sites are particularly dangerous sources of hate rhetoric because the message is often cloaked in an aura of Christianity. Scripture and traditional Christian theology is woven into the Christian Identity white supremacist doctrine.

For example, Pastor V.S. Herrell, in a brief on the Christian Separatist Church Society web page states, “It is by the Word of God that we are nourished and refreshed unto maturing growth, for it is by the Word of God that God's Separated People live and are separated unto the full and saving knowledge of His truth.” Later in the article, the author begins to enlighten the reader on who he considers to be God’s Separated People. The author states, “Western society has placed the Jew above the Scriptures that Christ recognized...the Jew, whose Father the Devil was a liar from the beginning... is not interested in truth.”⁷⁶

Pastor Herrell writes in another brief that, “AIDS/HIV is primarily infecting blacks, Hispanics, Jews, homosexuals, drug-users, and white trash. Because of the predisposition of blacks for promiscuous sexual activity, the deadly disease is spreading through the blacks and homosexuals at a disproportional rate.”⁷⁷ Pastor Herrell believes that the Centers for Disease Control, the news media, and the medical community have conspired to keep the truth about AIDS/HIV from the American public. He sees the intermixing of the races as the cause for spread of AIDS to whites. The article goes on to condemn the Jews who control Congress and the American banking system, and to preach against blacks, homosexuals, and intermarriage of the races.⁷⁷

Rhetoric such as this demonstrates one motivation Christian Identity followers would have for biological attacks. A person who carried out a biological attack on Jews, blacks, or their supporters would be fulfilling the will of God in inflicting punishment on these satanic people.

God has already shown that such judgment is His will by sending the AIDS plague upon these same people. Killing blacks and Jews with a biological weapon would be nothing more than a battle in the race war that is to come.

The Christian Identity movement has been blamed for either acts or terrorism, or, at the least, for providing the inspiration for acts of terrorism. Acts attributed to followers of the Christian Identity philosophy include the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, mail bombs directed at federal judges and NAACP leaders, acts of violence against homosexuals, Jews, blacks, hispanics, and asians, and burning of black churches across the country. While most of these acts may be the actions of radical individuals rather than an organized group, the Christian Identity movement may have inspired many of the acts.⁷⁸

To spread its philosophy, Christian Identity uses various media such as its leading periodical, "The Jubilee". Periodicals, books, tracts, tapes, and the internet are all tools of Christian Identity. Violence and terrorism are frequently espoused in these materials as proper ways to correct injustice to the white race. *The Turner Diaries*, written by a white supremacist, is a novel which has provided the inspiration for terrorists like Timothy McVeigh, who bombed the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995.⁷⁹

Violence is also espoused by Louis Beam, another Christian Identity adherent and a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. Since the 1980s, Beam has advocated overthrow of the federal government by "leaderless" white resistance groups. His strategy in his newsletter, "The Seditonist" calls for small underground phantom cells to fight the government by destroying federal buildings or railroads. Beam developed a point system for revolutionaries who kill federal officials, civil rights leaders, blacks, Jews, gays, and other targeted individuals, making murder a "symbol of honor."⁸⁰

Eric Rudolph has also been alleged to have Christian Identity ties. Rudolph bombed an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Alabama. Bombing of abortion clinics or killing abortion doctors fits with the Christian Identity philosophy since stopping abortion saves the lives of many white babies. White women are more likely to seek abortions than minorities. Rudolph is also blamed for the bombing at the Atlanta Olympics and at a gay nightclub in Atlanta. These two targets are also consistent with Christian Identity philosophy of combating multiculturalism and homosexuals.⁸¹

Another very violent Christian Identity group is the Phineas Priesthood. This group takes its name from Numbers 28:1-18, where God praises a man for killing an Israelite who intermarried with a Midianite woman. The Priesthood has used pipe bombs as weapons in bank robberies and has also bombed a newspaper office in Spokane, Washington. One of the criteria for membership in the Priesthood is to take some kind of action toward restoring the White man to his proper position of dominance.⁸²

Aryan Nations, considered by many to be part of the Christian Identity movement, is also a very violent group. The 84 year old founder, Richard Butler, regularly attacks minorities with statements such as, "We are in a state of war! The time is going to come when if you are not ready to fight and kill for your children, you might as well kill yourselves!"⁸³ In late 2000, Butler was bankrupted by a \$6.3 million verdict in a lawsuit filed against him because guards at his Idaho compound harassed Victoria Keenan, a local resident, and her son. As a result of this verdict, Keenan was given possession of Butler's compound and is turning it into a human rights retreat.⁸⁴ Butler continues to preach his Christian Identity philosophy. In a speech at a hate rally at the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama on January 25, 2003, Butler said, "Victory is in Jesus Christ. We will be a sovereign nation again to rule the earth."⁸⁵

Is Christian Identity likely to use a biological weapon for terrorism? First of all, the Christian Identity movement, including the other white supremacist groups under its umbrella, has the means to produce a biological weapon. With estimates of over 50,000 members, adequate funding is certainly available. International connections for expertise are unlikely; however, domestic extremists such as Larry Wayne Harris, who is a microbiologist, could provide expertise in concocting a biological weapon.

Christian Identity also has methods to deliver a biological weapon. Prime targets for a mass attack would include black churches, Jewish synagogues, federal buildings, abortion clinics, Southern Poverty Law Center or ACLU offices, or gay bars. Method of delivery could include contamination of the building's water supply or an aerosolized intrusion into a building's ventilation system. Individuals such as government officials, law enforcement agencies, and black or Jewish leaders would be good targets for biological attacks by Christian Identity adherents. Method of delivery to individuals could include biological mail "bombs", such as the anthrax attacks of 2001.

Finally, Christian Identity has motivation to use a biological weapon. Walter Elijah Thody, a leader of the Phineas Priesthood, says that bank robberies, killings, bombings, and other violent crimes are justified if committed to "avenge a transgression against God's law or the U.S. Constitution." Thody said, "We're having to fight to keep our country. Killing is normally murder...theft is theft. But if you're in warfare, then those same acts are acts of war. I'm at warfare against the enemies of my country." Thody says that his group has robbed twenty banks in order to finance assassinations of their enemies.⁸⁶

Mark Thomas, a Pennsylvania Christian Identity minister supports the Phineas Priesthood philosophy. Thomas says, "Tactically, because of the omnipotence of the government and its

technology, it has to be that...individual action taken for the glory of God would be best.” Thus, there is a parallel between the thinking of Christian Identity and radical Islamic terrorists. Violence and terrorism are justified in pursuit of the “holy cause”. In the case of the Christian Identity movement, this holy cause is restoration of the white race to its God-ordained superiority.⁸⁷

With such thinking, Christian Identity is a likely risk for terrorist attacks using biological weapons. Christian Identity adherents have the means to produce biological weapons, method to deliver to appropriate targets, and motivation to use such weapons. At the same time, Christian Identity adherents have little motivation not to use biological weapons. They are Christian in name only, without the constraints against violence taught by Christ himself. There is no Christian love in the Christian identity movement to prevent them from killing other humans with biological weapons.

Black Separatists

The Southern Poverty Law Center identifies a total of 51 groups as black separatist as of 2001. These groups are primarily New Black Panther Party, Nation of Islam, or House of David. Black separatists oppose integration and intermarriage between blacks and whites. They advocate separate institutions for blacks to the maximum degree possible, including a possible separate black nation. Generally, the black separatists are racist against both whites and Jews. Black separatist writings even contend that blacks, not Jews, are the Biblical chosen people of God.⁸⁸

The New Black Panther Party is the modern descendant of the original Black Panther Party, with no change in philosophy. In his *Sourcebook on Domestic and International*

Terrorism, Mullins identifies the Black Panther Party as a leftist terrorist organization. The Black Panther Party was started in 1966 by black extremists including Anthony Bryant, Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, H. Rap Brown, and Stokely Carmichael. Aims of the group included 1) release of all black “political” prisoners, 2) exemption from military service for blacks, 3) payments to blacks from the federal government, and 4) setting aside a portion of the west coast as a homeland and separate nation for blacks.⁸⁹

The Black Panthers have a history of violence and crime, including drug trafficking, robbery, and rioting. The Panthers have armed themselves for protection against “fascist” federal and state governments. Thirty Panthers once carried various unloaded weapons into the California State Assembly to protest a bill with criminal prohibitions on carrying weapons in urban areas. The Panthers argued that white Americans were planning this law to keep blacks in submission and oppression.⁹⁰

The leaders of the Black Panthers have demonstrated a history of violent behavior. In the mid-60s, Black Panther members killed several police officers in an ambush. Leader Huey Newton’s conviction for this crime was overturned on appeal. In 1974, after two juries were unable to reach a verdict in his trial for the murder of a prostitute, Newton exiled himself to Cuba for a decade. In 1989, he was killed in a drug deal in Oakland, California. Eldridge Cleaver fled to Cuba in 1968 to avoid arrest for a parole violation. Anthony Bryant spent twelve years in prison for skyjacking a plane to Cuba. Bobby Seale was tried and acquitted in the murder of a federal informant.⁹¹

Law enforcement officials thought the Black Panthers had dissolved by 1990, but *The Black Panther* newspaper appeared in Oakland, California in 1991. The newspaper is a redo of the earlier Black Panther philosophy, preaching that blacks should arm against fascist America.

According to *The Black Panther*, blacks can end oppression only by revolution and overthrow of the white, racist government.⁹²

Interestingly enough, members of the original Black Panther party now argue that there is no “New Black Panther Party”. An “open letter from the Huey P. Newton Foundation” on the Black Panther web site condemns the “so-called” New Black Panther Party. The letter argues that the New Black Panthers espouse violent principles which are in opposition to the principles taught by the original Black Panthers. In fact, the letter argues, the original Black Panthers were never a “group of angry young militants full of fury toward the ‘white establishment’”. The Party operated on love for black people, not hatred of white people.⁹³

Despite their current arguments, the original Black Panthers “struck terror into the hearts of white Americans” and were described by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover as “the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States.” These early leaders of the original Black Panthers based their philosophy on the teachings of Mao Tse-tung and Malcolm-X. However, with age, the original Black Panther leaders appear to have softened. Eldridge Cleaver says he voted for Republican conservative Ronald Reagan, and that “I’ve studied communism up close. Our form of government is better than any of the alternatives out there.”⁹⁴

The New Black Panthers are having none of this softening. Aaron Michaels, a thirty-five year old leader of a New Black Panther group has led several armed confrontations with Texas law enforcement authorities. He called on blacks to use rifles and shotguns in protest against a school board chairman who was taped making a racial slur against black students. He also led heavily armed Panthers to a burned down black church, where another leader urged them to kill any “cracker” caught lighting a torch to any black property or church.⁹⁵

The New Black Panthers were organized under the leadership of Khallid Muhammad, previously an assistant to Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam. After Muhammad died in February 2001, Malik Zulu Shabazz apparently assumed leadership of the group. Shabazz argued that the September 11th terrorism attacks were the work of Zionists to show Americans that, if Israel could not be secure, neither could America. Shabazz called the United States and Israel, “The number one and two terrorists right now on the planet.” Shabazz also said, “Zionism is racism, Zionism is terrorism...support for Zionism is the root of why so many were killed on September 11.”⁹⁶

Shabazz has said, “The actions of the United States government and its support of Israel are the root cause of why people abroad have a deep hatred for America today and for why almighty God's wrath is on America today. It is for her past sins and her current sins against the people of the earth, and for her bloody deeds.” While arguing that the New Black Panthers are not Marxist or Socialist, Shabazz says that the decadent American capitalist economic system must be replaced by a system that “will give to the masses according to their needs.”⁹⁷

Is the New Black Panther Party a likely risk for biological terrorism? Although the total membership numbers are not known, Southern Poverty Law Center has identified at least nine organized chapters across the country. With the attention the group has drawn in the media, it is likely that it could obtain the funding needed to produce or purchase a biological weapon. Purchase from an international source might be more likely than actual production by group members. No biological experts have drawn attention as members or supporters of the New Black Panther Party.

Does the New Black Panther Party have a method to deliver a biological weapon? There are targets which would be appropriate for the philosophy of the Panthers. A business such as

Denny's restaurant, which was alleged to discriminate against blacks, might make an attractive target. If customers could be sickened by going to a Denny's, the restaurant could be significantly hurt economically. Salad bars or food supplies could be contaminated with a biological pathogen. All-white country clubs or other organizations which systematically exclude blacks would also be an appropriate target. Jewish synagogues, or businesses would also be likely targets. The method of delivery could include contamination of water supplies or infiltration of ventilation systems. Finally, individuals such as white supremacists, legislators or officials who were perceived as racist, or law enforcement personnel could be targeted. The U.S. postal service could be used as the delivery method for a biological agent.

Does the New Black Panther Party have sufficient motivation to use a biological weapon? The New Black Panthers teach blacks to arm themselves and are willing to use violence such as rioting or robbery to further their cause. However, there appears to be little motivation to use biological terrorism to accomplish their goals. The New Black Panthers do not espouse any religious reason which would justify killing of large numbers of people. To maintain credibility, they need to be able to argue that they are non-violent unless forced into violence. Therefore, there is motivation for them not to use a biological weapon of terrorism. With little motivation, the New Black Panther Party is a low risk for biological terrorism which would result in many deaths. The risk of biological terrorism against a few targeted individuals, such as an anthrax attack, might be slightly more likely than a mass attack.

Animal Liberation Front

In his *A Sourcebook on Domestic and International Terrorism*, Mullins identifies the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) as a special-interest domestic terrorist group. The three basic

beliefs of ALF and other animal rights activists are 1) better treatment of animals, 2) activism to protect animals against humans, and 3) legal and illegal protests against use of animals for human goals. Animal rights organizations oppose vivisection, animals being used in agriculture, hunting or trapping animals, or animals being used in the entertainment industry. In 1990 ALF was estimated to have some two million members in ten thousand local chapters. Donations to the group are estimated to bring in over fifty million dollars per year.⁹⁸

ALF members have been guilty of violence and criminal actions. In 1987, members burned a research laboratory and vandalized eight vehicles at the University of California. In 1989, a member of ALF, Fran Trutt tried to kill Leo Hirsch, the director of U.S. Surgical Corporation in Connecticut because the company used animals for research. ALF members also burned a research center and destroyed two laboratories at the University of Arizona in 1989. In 1993, ALF members bombed several buildings across the U.S., including a Texas Tech research laboratory which had over one million dollars in damage.⁹⁹

An FBI official testified to Congress in February 2002 that ALF and ELF (Earth Liberation Front) members had committed over six hundred criminal and terrorist actions since 1996, with over forty-three million dollars in damage. These included attacks on laboratories, meat companies, poultry distribution plants, mink farms, packing companies, leather companies, U.S. Forest Service vehicles and property, fur companies, and restaurant's such as McDonald's. Examples included the 1996 burning of the U.S. Forest Service Ranger Station in Oakridge, causing \$5.3 million in damage, and the burning down of a McDonald's in Utah in 1997, with \$400,000 in damage. One of the worst attacks was the burning of seven buildings at the Vail Associates ski facility, with more than \$12 million damage.¹⁰⁰

Some specific attacks by ALF demonstrate tactics similar to those which might be used in biological terrorism. For instance, in 1997, ALF members spread butyric acid, a foul-smelling chemical, in a MacDonald's in Troy Michigan, and painted obscenities including, "Mc****, McMurder, McDeath" on the bathroom wall. ALF and ELF destroyed an Oregon horse slaughtering plant using napalm, which they called "vegan Jell-O". The "Justice Department", an ALF group, sent eight threatening letters to animal researchers, hunting guides, and others in 1999. The envelopes contained razor blades positioned to cut the fingers of anyone opening the envelopes; the razor blades were coated in rat poison.¹⁰¹

Leaders of ALF justify violence as a necessary tactic in the battle for animal rights. Jerry Vlasak of ALF said that violence would have been appropriate in Nazi Germany to attack trains taking Jews to concentration camps and to kill the guards. He said the same principle applies here in America where "we are shipping tens of billions of animals to slaughter a year." Vlasak said, "every social justice movement has embraced violence and ...has utilized violent tactics to achieve their goals. I don't think it is possible without that. I think we have to quit waiting until everyone is behind us before we embrace new tactics."¹⁰²

The FBI is concerned about the evolution of groups like ALF toward more violence. Special Agent James F. Jarboe is the chief of the FBI's Domestic Terrorism Section in the Counterterrorism Division. In February 2002, Jarboe said, "At the inception of these groups there was a focus on legitimate lawful protest. Over the years splinter groups have continued to emerge which have been dissatisfied with more conventional protest methods and have escalated the intensity of their protests with ever increasing violence."¹⁰³

Is ALF a likely threat for terrorism using a biological weapon. With its large membership and huge budget, ALF definitely has the means to produce or purchase a biological weapon.

Ample funds are available to purchase seed stocks and build laboratories for production. Many of the members are bright college students or graduates who may have education and experience in the biological sciences. The know-how is likely to be available to produce a biological weapon.

ALF also has methods for delivering biological weapons. The group has shown a propensity for attacking restaurants such as McDonald's. Contamination of the food supplies at a restaurant so that customers were sickened would be relatively easy for ALF members to accomplish. Other likely large targets could include industries which process animals for food, businesses which harvest and trade furs, or U.S. forest service buildings. Method of delivery could include contamination of water supplies, or infiltration of a ventilation system. Individual targets would also be likely, including officers of companies engaging in meat processing, research scientists, furriers, government officials, and others who profit from the use of animals and animal products. Attacks on individuals could be through the mail, as shown with the poison razor blades, or even through throwing an infected substance at the person. ALF members have frequently thrown pies at individuals because of their perceived abuse of animals.

Does ALF have the motivation to launch a biological attack? Historically, leaders have contended that all animal life is sacred, including the human animal. However, because the less violent tactics have not accomplished their goals, ALF members are moving toward increasingly violent means. An official at Marsh USA, Inc. received a letter stating, "You have been targeted for a terrorist attack. If you bail out now, you, your business, and your family will be spared great hassle and humility." Marsh is guilty of providing insurance to Huntingdon Life Sciences, which uses 70,000 animals including dogs, rats, and monkeys for drug testing each year.

Employees of Huntingdon have had their homes vandalized and spray-painted with sayings such as “puppy killer” and “we’ll be back”.¹⁰⁴

ALF would still not be motivated to kill large numbers of people, since it would destroy all credibility of the organization. In fact, David Barbarash of ALF argued on National Public Radio in January, 2002, that, “There has never been a single case where any action has resulted in injury or death.” Yet, the level of rhetoric has continued to rise. ALF group “The Justice Department” says, “If the animals could fight back, there would be a lot of dead animal abusers already.” The Justice Department also said, “A separate idea was established that decided animal abusers had been warned long enough...the time has come for abusers to have but a taste of the fear and anguish their victims suffer on a daily basis.”¹⁰⁵ With such thinking, sickening a large number of meat-eaters would be well within ALF’s organizational philosophy and motivation. Biological attacks on a small scale such as anthrax mailings to meat industry officials would be a high probability.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Of the groups discussed in Chapter Four, right wing groups such as the Christian Identity Movement appear to pose the greatest threat of bioterrorism resulting in mass casualties. Left wing groups and special interest groups represent lower risk of mass casualty bioterrorism, but may represent moderate to high risk of isolated acts of bioterrorism. These isolated acts could include anthrax mailings or biological attacks intended to sicken rather than kill the targeted individuals. Perhaps the greatest risk is a biological attack by an unstable or particularly fanatical member or small group of members within one of the larger organizations.

The examples discussed in Chapter Four above are illustrative of the types of domestic terrorist groups representing a threat of bioterrorism. An exhaustive discussion could include dozens of other active domestic terrorist groups. It is clear that there are many groups which are willing to go to great lengths, including the use of violence and terrorist tactics, to further their causes. The level of terrorism, including burnings, bombings, robberies, riots, and other criminal and violent acts, appears to be growing. Hundreds of terrorist actions, particularly by special interest and right wing groups have occurred over the past few years. There is significant risk that one or more of these groups will eventually resort to biological weapons.

There are domestic terrorists groups with the means to produce biological weapons, method to deliver those weapons, and motivation to use biological weapons. Therefore, a biological attack on some scale is likely by a domestic terrorist group. Given the likelihood of bioterrorism and the devastation such an attack would cause, the United States government must continue to accelerate its ability to predict and prevent bioterrorism. The government must also

vastly improve its ability to minimize casualties during a bioterrorist attack and to rapidly handle the results of such an attack.

Discussing the anthrax attacks of 2001, *The Journal of the American Medical Association* said, “There is no reason to believe this will be an isolated act of bioterrorism. In fact, it is likely that additional attacks involving B anthracis and other pathogens will occur.” *The Journal* warned medical providers, who will be among the first responders, that they must be prepared to meet these challenges.¹⁰⁶ Medical providers, and other first responders such as policemen and firemen need to be informed about the nature of the threat and measures for containing the damage from a biological attack.

Stephen M. Brock, professor of biological sciences at Stanford University, wrote in January, 2001, “If anthrax were released haphazardly in a major U.S. city and produced only a handful of cases, the public fear and disruption that would ensure might alone bring about the intended effect...In my opinion, the terrorist threat is very real, and it’s about to get worse.” Mr. Brock said that the terrorists “don’t have to worry about being efficient. They don’t have to worry about living with the consequences. They don’t have to worry about delimiting the perimeter of the effect...”¹⁰⁷ Mr. Brock’s predictions were proven true by the anthrax attacks in late 2001.

The American government has recognized the threat of bioterrorism. Congress passed *The Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act of 2002*, which was signed by President Bush on June 12, 2002. This Act has language to accomplish the following purposes: 1) improve ability to detect and prevent bioterrorism, 2) increase communication between health care providers and public health authorities, 3) speed response and treatment of victims, and 4) develop more vaccines, medicines, and diagnostic tests. Upon

signing the bill, President Bush remarked, “On September the 11th, the world learned how evil men can use airplanes as weapons of terror. Shortly thereafter, we learned how evil people can use microscopic spores as weapons of terror. Bioterrorism is a real threat to our country.”¹⁰⁸

Notes

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