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**POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES: APOCALYPTIC
TYPOLOGIES OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING POLITICAL GROUPS
AND THEIR VIOLENCE THROUGH THE PERIOD 1990–1997**

by

Gordon Daniel Green

**A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of Political Science**

**Western Michigan University
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1999

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Gordon Daniel Green

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Gordon Daniel Green, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1999

Historically the study of apocalyptic groups has occupied the “exotic fringe” of political science (Flanagan 1996). With the use of textual analysis, historical description, and participant observation as its main research methods, there has been little progress made in the study of these groups. By using data analysis of incidents of violence to compare the violent actions of apocalyptic groups, a better understanding of reasons for the use of violence by these groups can be found.

Six apocalyptic groups are studied and categorized into a typology of apocalypticism. The Rescue Movement and End-Times Religious occupy the Supernatural type, Militia/Patriot and Anti-Industrial/Technology occupy the Unnatural, and the Radical Environmental and Animal Rights occupy the Natural.

Data on violence are then examined to find relations across and between groups. What emerges from this examination is support for the concept of imminence as a possible factor in determining violence. This imminence is not that of salvation (Cohn 1970) or attainment (Taylor 1991) but of the apocalypse itself.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a comparative examination of violent acts of a diverse grouping of apocalyptic/millenarian political groups in the United States from 1990–1997. Catherine Wessinger suggests that “apocalypticism is a readily recognizable and useful synonym for the millennialism that expects catastrophe” (1997, 50). It is for this reason that *apocalyptic* will be used throughout the rest of this text, rather than the broad *millenarian* or *millennial*, to describe these groups.

Since the April 19, 1995 Oklahoma City bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, there has been a tremendous growth in the attention paid to right-wing groups and their violence. The renewed activities of the Unabomber and the resulting publication of his manifesto gave us some insight into the anti-industrial left. The sniper attack of abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian on October 23, 1998 has brought abortion protesters continued attention. The October 18, 1998 arson of the Two Elk Lodge and other ski facilities, claimed by the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), brought the radical environmental movement into the spotlight. What is little discussed in the media, and even in academic research, are the similarities between the apocalyptic belief systems of these groups and individuals. These similarities will be examined within a typology of apocalypticism. Some have gone so far as to openly call for the need of examining “the remarkable similarity of Earth First! (an apocalyptic Radical Environmental group) to other, particularly right-wing radical movements, and more thorough discussion of Earth First!’s use of violence” (Kaplan

1996a, 182). This piece will expand on that concern by creating a typology of apocalypticism and collecting data on violent acts committed by these groups to determine if there is any correlation between this typology and levels, or types of violence used.

There has been much research examining the violence of one apocalyptic group or another (Barkun 1996, 1997b; Durham 1996; Gallagher 1997; Hall and Schuyler 1997; Kaplan 1995; M. Mullins 1997; Nice 1988). There has also been research focused on the apocalyptic beliefs of groups with minimal focus on violence (Lamy 1997; Lee 1995, 1997). There has been research comparing apocalyptic groups on the same side of the political spectrum (Kaplan 1997b). Research comparing the whole spectrum of Left and Right-wing violence, without any discussion of apocalyptic beliefs, was done by L. Brent Smith in *Terrorism in America: Pipe Bombs and Pipe Dreams* (1994). This strictly criminological approach left out many of the violent incidents of these groups. Smith deliberately excluded acts not classified as domestic terrorism by the federal government. This examination will attempt to put together all of the above approaches in an effort to categorize and document the extent of violence committed by these various apocalyptic political groups, and determine any relation between the nature of their apocalypticism and violence.

The six groups examined in this paper represent a unique cross-section of New Social Movements (NSM). Each of these NSMs has an apocalyptic component to their belief system. All of these groups, in their broader context, have tried to influence the three areas of public policy, the policy process and social values seen as necessary to succeed as a social movement (Rochar and Marmanian 1993). The particular groups examined in this work have now resorted to violence in an attempt

to change social values. Rochar and Marmanian write that these NSMs attempt to “redefine the political agenda” (1993, 77) through their targeting society rather than the government for change. These six groups work in this fashion by using violence to garner attention for their apocalyptic messages. Herbert Kitshelt (1993) identifies the rise of NSMs from aggrieved groups unable work in the political process. NSMs challenge the social order on (a) the ideological level, (b) unconventional political action, and (c) organizational structure (decentralized participatory decision-making) (Dalton, Kuechler, and Burklin 1990). For apocalyptic groups this occurs by (a) apocalyptic worldview, (b) direct violent actions, and (c) small group organization (cell structure, “Leaderless Resistance”). These apocalyptic groups, rather than working within the political system, seek to change the social values of society through providing information and gaining attention through violence.

Dalton et al. (1990) explain how different approaches interpret the creation of these NSMs. The relative deprivation approach, in which one’s economic situation leads to violence, is not right for these apocalyptic groups. While the Militia/Patriot groups focus on the international bankers behind the scenes of a vast conspiracy, they do not focus on economic hardship as a reason to strike back. Their focus is more on a loss of Constitutional freedom or national sovereignty. The rational choice perspective is even less promising in that there is little private gain to be had from engaging in violence. All of these groups see a higher cause for their actions, not for their personal benefit. One useful concept that can be borrowed from the rational choice approach is the idea of zero-sum conflict.

The idea of conflict resulting from a *zero-sum game* fits these groups ideally. Because these groups have a Manichaen worldview, in which there is only good and evil, they see everything as a zero-sum game. Because they see themselves as

representing good, any time those they oppose “win” they see that as a “loss” for them. There is no possible scenario for a non-zero sum game in a Manichaen worldview. This leads to head-to-head conflict between the forces of good (the apocalyptic) and evil (those opposed to them; government, business, mainstream culture, interest groups, etc.).

Anthony Oberschall (1973), in the relation between social conflict and social movements, discussed how this process works. Oberschall stated, “conflict is going to be more bitter, more intense, and more difficult to regulate and settle in situations with outcomes corresponding to zero-sum games” (1973, 53). This conflict is intensified by the use of symbols and principles and is less easily settled (Oberschall 1973). These groups have principles that are set in stone and due to their Manichaen nature do not allow any room for compromise. To compromise is to go from being on the side of good to the side of evil.

While these groups do not represent the typical groups of focus for political science, they are important in the effect they have. Dalton et al. (1990) note that these types of groups are able to transform society in a short period of time. This ability to rapidly change society is something that should be considered when it comes to the political process and how one is able to influence it either directly (public policy process) or indirectly (changing social values). Ted Daniels (1999) argues these groups are political because “[s]tories of the millennium are political, in the sense that they are concerned with relations of power” Among the concepts of politics “[t]here is no doubt that power holds a significant place” (Isaak 1985, 93), making apocalyptic groups worthy of study in relation to this concept. In addition, apocalyptic groups are ideal examples of how conflict can occur, and become violent, when that conflict is perceived as zero-sum.

Thomas Flanagan (1996) gives a broader reason for the examination of millenarian groups by political scientists. Flanagan identifies the monistic and dualistic natures of millenarians. Monistic in the sense that they look to a future when society will not involve any conflicts, dualistic in the sense that they see the present society as conflict between good and evil. These two characteristics are in direct conflict with pluralism, which in a broad sense, is used to describe group activity by political scientists (Flanagan 1996, 172). Flanagan notes that political scientists take for granted that (a) all societies are divided by interests and ideology, (b) coalition building is part of the struggle for political power, and (c) there is no end to the political process as these coalitions dissolve and re-form (1996, 173). Flanagan states that:

[f]rom this perspective, millenarian movements are not exotic fringe phenomena but an intrinsic aspect of politics in complex societies . . . they stress the interests of the whole and interpret the unifying conflicts of pluralism as a temporary disorder to be wished away or overcome once and for all. (1996, 173–74)

For Flanagan, millenarian groups are “equally rooted in the nature of politics” (1996, 174) because of their monistic and dualistic natures.

For those who study millenarian/apocalyptic groups, this study provides that which is lacking in other studies. Flanagan identifies the main research methods of apocalyptic studies as “historical description, and textual analysis, occasionally supplemented by participant observation” (1996, 164). My approach is an examination of contemporary groups with a focus on textual analysis of primary source material of apocalyptic groups. This textual analysis is done in the attempt to create a typology of apocalypticism. By creating this typology, I will then attempt to see if this typology offers any insight into why apocalyptic groups engage in violent actions. Using data on violence, an approach previously lacking in millenarian/

apocalyptic studies, some insight into these groups and their violence will be gained. With these data, the possibility arises to see if there are similarities between groups in their approaches to violence. Through textual analysis and data analysis we will see differences and similarities of these six apocalyptic groups.

I must briefly explain how this approach will differ from what may initially seem to be a reassessment of Smith's work, described on page 2, above. This approach will look at far more incidents of violence than Smith. Smith intentionally limited his research to those acts "officially designated" as terrorism by the FBI. This was done by Smith in order to avoid "adopt[ing] a definition . . . that reflect[s] the ideological beliefs of the researcher" (Smith 1994, 3). This is a worthy reason to exclude numerous incidents, but it may not necessarily give one the entire scope of the problem caused by some of these groups, or others related to them, not defined as "terrorism" by the FBI. It is important to examine all incidents of violence from these groups, in order to understand the violent nature of apocalyptic groups. It is hypothesized that this typology may help in understanding why these groups engage in violence.

Description of the Typology

The typology of the apocalyptic beliefs of these groups is based on the nature of the apocalypse these groups focus on. This typology is based on three possible apocalypses, as seen by these groups. These three types are Supernatural, Unnatural and Natural. A Supernatural apocalypse involves a catastrophe that, due to groups involved in this research, is a direct result of an intervention from the Judeo-Christian God. The Branch Davidians and the Rescue Movement are examples of these Supernatural groups. These groups see a direct destruction of the world, from God,

unless ways are changed. Often these groups may overlap with those of an Unnatural nature (Barkun 1996; Gallagher 1997).

An Unnatural apocalypse would involve a social, political, or economic catastrophe. This can be a loss of political freedom or influence, religious freedom, national identity, or “Constitutional Rights.” Phillip Lamy (1997) describes these as the “secular” millennialists. These “secular” millennialists believe the “Apocalypse will most likely be man-made—brought about by social, economic, or industrial collapse, environmental degradation, race war, civil war, or nuclear war” (Lamy 1997, 94). However, not all of these “man-made” disasters will necessarily fit into the Unnatural type for this research. Environmental degradation would be under Natural, and race war is not considered, as will be discussed later.

A Natural Apocalypse involves a naturally occurring catastrophe. This catastrophe could be an earthquake, volcanic eruption, comet/asteroid, loss of natural land, global warming or extinction of species. As with the previous two typologies, there is some overlap from the Natural to the Supernatural (Arnold 1997; Lee 1995; Taylor 1999). Despite this circular appearance, Chapter III will refine these distinctions more clearly. Examination of primary source material, journalist research, watchdog research, and academic research will be used to refine these distinctions.

Within each of these typologies are groups and individuals that attempt to work within the political system for change. However, these apocalyptic beliefs also can lead to an affinity for violence for some. Some may come to their violence as a result of their frustration with the progress of mainstream political activist groups, such as Radical Environmental groups (Lee 1995). Others engage in it because of a sense of necessity (Defensive Action Statement 1993; Second Defensive Action Statement 1994) or because their actions are “right” and carry out “justice” (*The*

Final Nail #2 1998). For every apocalyptic group that just watches because “watching is what millenarians do best” (Kaplan 1997b, 168), there are those that choose not to wait and act out their apocalyptic beliefs violently (Wessinger 1994).

Description of Data

The expression of the groups’ apocalyptic beliefs is essential to the acts of violence to be examined. Acts of violence included in the data set are homicides, assaults, bombings, arson, thefts (robbery/burglary), vandalism (sabotage), weapons charges, or any attempts of these. These acts are defined in Appendix A. The expression of a group’s political beliefs, through violence, is determined if one of the following criteria is met:

1. An activist group takes credit for an act.
2. An individual(s) takes credit for an act as an expression of their political agenda, e.g., the Unabomber and his Manifesto.
3. An individual(s) is involved actively in one of these political activist groups when committing an act of violence.
4. The target of an incident is perceived as a political entity or opposes the individual’s/group’s agenda, such as the IRS (political entity) or animal research lab or lumber company (act to oppose the agenda of animal rights or environmental groups).

Acts of violence, committed by selected apocalyptic groups, that fit within these four categories will be included in the statistical analysis. This definition would exclude, for example, Robert Brinson’s humorous miscalculation. Mr. Brinson was charged in Halifax in May of 1995 with attempting to use a fertilizer bomb to blow up his ex-girlfriend and her family. Mr. Brinson was confused and used potting soil

instead of fertilizer for his bomb (Stern 1996, 209). This incident would reflect a domestic dispute, not a violent expression of his political beliefs.

The statistical data for these acts will not only rely on those individuals convicted of crimes, but also those that take credit for specific acts. Sources for these data will include some governmental sources, right-wing and left-wing watchdog groups, those on the left and right that openly take responsibility for acts, and news media accounts of acts committed. These data will be broken down into the following categories: (a) date of incident; (b) location of incident (state, city if available); (c) organization affiliation (Earth Liberation Front, Michigan Militia, etc.); (d) type of incident (from the violent acts in Appendix A), which may include multiple types of violence in one incident, such as an arson and theft at one location; and (e) miscellaneous detailed information of the incident.

Although many groups overlap in their messages, and individuals may belong to or follow the beliefs of more than one group, an attempt will be made to place each act within one of the following groups. The groups on the left to be examined will include: (a) Animal Rights groups, (b) Radical Environmental groups, and (c) Anti-Industrial/Technology groups. The groups on the right are: (a) Militia/Patriot groups, (b) the Rescue Movement, and (c) End-times Religious groups. Definitions for these groups and how they are working against the political system can be found in Appendix B. Table 1 reflects where these groups fit into the apocalyptic typology.

These groups represent the current extremes of the right (End-Times, Rescue Movement, and Militia/Patriot) and left (Anti-Industrial, Radical Environmental, and Animal Rights) wings of the political spectrum. These groups also have, to one degree or another, beliefs in an imminent apocalypse that can only be stopped, or for some helped along, as a result of their violent actions. These groups are not all-

Table 1

Division of Political Groups Into Their Apocalyptic Type

	Type of Apocalypse		
	Supernatural	Unnatural	Natural
Groups	End-Times Religious	Militia/Patriot Groups	Radical Environmental Groups
	Rescue Movement	Anti-Industrial/Technology	Animal Rights Groups

encompassing of apocalyptic political groups in the United States. There are some groups not included in this research for various reasons.

Racist/anti-Semitic groups will not be included in this examination. Racist/anti-Semitic groups; such as Christian Identity, Aryan Nations, or the KKK, differ from the above groups in the desired outcome of their actions. These groups, although believing in a coming apocalyptic Race War (Barkun 1997a, 1997b; Whitsel 1995), do not seek to change the beliefs, ideology or actions of the rest of society. They seek only to change those of white or “Aryan” members of society. The above groups are not as discriminating in who they are trying to influence, or if they are, it is by choice. Racist/anti-Semitic groups cannot accomplish this change of politics because there is no way to change the characteristics of those they target. A racist cannot change a black man to white, nor change a Jew into a Gentile. Christian Identity sees the Jewish conspiracy, to take over the United States, as “genetic” (Kaplan 1997b, 5). This belief does not allow for the same types of changes desired by the groups considered in this work.

This is not to say that racist/anti-Semites may not be involved in some of the observations in these data. The Oklahoma City bombing is one incident not included in these data. There is significant evidence that Timothy McVeigh was in contact with a white separatist compound, Elohim City, shortly before the attack (Evans-Pritchard 1997). The bombing of an abortion clinic in Atlanta January 16, 1997, linked to Eric Rudolph, charged with the 1996 Olympic Park bombings, is another example. Rudolph was raised within the Christian Identity movement. The abortion clinic bombing will not be included in the data because of this connection to Christian Identity. The Olympic Park bombing will not be included for the same reason. For many of these racist/anti-Semitic groups their hatred of government is based on their belief that the government is taken over by Jews, and those who do their bidding. For these groups the federal government is known as ZOG or Zionist Occupational Government (Dees and Corcoran 1996; Barkun 1997a). Where possible these individuals will not be included in the data. Incidents such as the widely seen video of Cheyne and Chevie Kehoe shootout with law enforcement in Ohio, and the string of bank robberies in the Midwest by the Aryan Republican Army (*Vigilante Justice* 1997), will not be included. This paper will attempt to remove this element where possible, because they do not adequately meet the requirements for attempting to influence the “political process,” but rather a desire that which cannot be had in this society, an “Aryan Nation.” An “Aryan Nation” does not fit into the definition of politics given, i.e., influencing beliefs, actions or ideology of members of society.

Research Questions, Limitations and Assumptions

Despite the difficulty presented when these racist/anti-Semitic groups crossover into groups to be examined, there are several questions that are answered by this research.

1. Does the type of apocalypse foreseen by a group correlate with the level of violence?
2. Does the type of apocalypse correlate with the same types of violence, i.e., do those who foresee a natural apocalypse engage in similar types of violence?
3. Are the quantity of incidents increasing or decreasing for any of these groups?
4. Do these groups concentrate in certain areas of the country, e.g., higher incidents of violence correlated with higher state population?

The answers to these questions will provide some insight into these apocalyptic political groups and their use of violence to change the political system of the United States.

The answer to these questions depends on a few assumptions. One assumption is that separating out racist/anti-Semitic groups from Militia/Patriot groups will not have a detrimental effect on the results of the research. Much of the literature combines these groups to one extent or another (Abanes 1996; Barkun 1997a, 1997b; Durham 1996; Scheinberg 1997). This problem will, hopefully, be overcome by looking at the individual incidents and determining if the action was done because of any racial/anti-Semitic meaning to it. Another assumption is that by taking a more thorough approach in examining incidents of violence, as opposed to Smith's restrictive criminology approach, the high level of the violence can be seen in

these apocalyptic political groups. It is essential, from a political science perspective, to see the entire scope of the problem these groups could have on the political structure of the United States, particularly as we approach the millennium.

While these assumptions are required, by choice, the limitations of this research are not necessarily by choice. Access to data on all possible incidents is nearly impossible. Radical Environmental violence is often underreported (Arnold 1997) as well as Animal Rights Violence (Report to Congress on the Extent and Effects of Domestic and International Terrorism on Animal Enterprises 1993). Another limitation is that various factions within groups may not adhere to the same apocalyptic mindset. Some in the Militia/Patriot movement strictly see the workings of the world, in regards to the undermining of the nation, as the direct hand of God at work (Barkun 1996b; Gallagher 1997). This research will rely on the visible machinations of the religious as reflecting an "Unnatural Apocalypse," distinguishing it from the Supernatural which would be a more direct "Hand of God" apocalypse, i.e., the Passover in ancient Egypt (New Open Bible 1990, Exodus 12:3–28).

Further research would be able to differentiate between these two factions and determine how these two influence each other in regards to violence, and distinguishing between the two typologies. This is the biggest limitation of the research. The possible crossover of groups among typologies is likely and may bias the results systematically. Individuals engaging in violence not necessarily because of any apocalyptic beliefs, rather because they are prone to violence and this is how they express this tendency, is another limitation of this expansive approach. These limitations should not impact the results of this paper due to the size of the data.

In order to understand these groups, I will first examine their apocalyptic beliefs. Chapter II will examine current academic literature, watchdog/investigative

literature and primary source material to understand their apocalyptic nature. Chapter III will examine these apocalyptic beliefs in more detail. Similarities of groups will be noted within the defining of the typology in Chapter III. Chapter IV will look into the data of violent incidents for these groups from 1990–1997. Results of the data will be presented and discussed. Any correlation between groups and data will be examined. Similarities and differences in types of incidents, within or across typologies will be discussed. Implications of the results will be examined in Chapter V. Research questions will be answered and discussed. Effectiveness of the typology in identifying types of incidents, growth of types over time and area as well as any other explanatory variables for patterns of violence observed. Possible impact of these groups in the future will be considered. Where this research can go from this point on will be considered. The conclusion offers an assessment of what further research needs to be done, what problems arose, and what new was learned.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are two different approaches to the study of apocalyptic groups in the literature. One set, academic, is tightly focused, for the most part, on one group and their beliefs and/or violent nature. The other set is general and self-serving, reflecting the political agenda of its author(s). All too often it is this second set of writings, and its authors, that are relied on to inform the public.¹ The need has arisen for academia to become the source for information on apocalyptic political groups, especially with the arrival of the millenium. The public needs to know that the violent threat posed by these apocalyptic groups is not just from one or the other, but from all of them. As Catherine Wessinger states, “[educating the public] cannot be left to the many ‘highly respected cult experts’ who leap to the task to further their own anti-cult agenda” (1994, 60). Wessinger is referring to the result of the Branch Davidian tragedy in Waco incident, in which the FBI followed the advice of these “experts.” Wessinger (1998) describes that academia is better equipped to advise law enforcement and the public on these groups because of the lack of an agenda. Wessinger points to the successful end of the Freeman standoff in 1997 as proof for the success of academic advisement.

To show why the term *apocalyptic* is used, rather than the more common *millenarian* or *millennial*, we must first examine the meaning of these words. The word *millenarian* is derived from the Latin “millênârius, from millêni, a thousand each” (Microsoft 1994). This refers to a thousand years time span or a “doctrine of

the millenium” (Microsoft 1994). *Millenarianism* and *millennialism* are used interchangeably throughout the literature, and will be here. *Apocalyptic*, or *apocalypticism*, on the other hand comes from the Greek *apokalupsis* meaning revelation. This revelation, particularly as it refers to the Biblical Apocalypse (Revelation) of John, is defined as one of “great or total devastation; doom” (Microsoft 1994). The original Greek meaning is little used; rather the second meaning has become the norm. This second meaning of *apocalypse*, or *apocalypticism*, is what will be used, because of its distinguishing specificity from *millenarian* or *millennial*.

Academic Literature

One of the problem areas in the studies of apocalyptic groups, and millennial or millenarian, is the multitude of terms used to describe these groups. Catherine Wessinger suggests that “scholars need to abandon the obscure terms premillennialism and postmillennialism” (1997, 48) and replace these with *catastrophic millennialism* and *progressive millennialism*. She suggests this needs to be done in order for scholars to “communicate with the general public about millennialism” (1997, 48). Premillennialism refers to a “pessimistic expectation” that a “catastrophe caused by divine intervention” will destroy the world in order to bring about the “millennial salvation” (Wessinger 1997, 49). *Postmillennialism* refers to an “optimistic expectation” that humans working “according to a divine plan” will bring this millennial salvation (Wessinger 1997, 49).. Wessinger suggests that these references to religion do not fit in with the various millennial groups that exist today.

In order to overcome this problem, Wessinger (1997) suggests using *catastrophic millennialism* and *progressive millennialism* to help in educating the

public. This education of the public is particularly important because of “[r]ecent violent events involving millennial groups and the approach of the year 2000” (1997, 55). Wessinger identifies catastrophic millennialism as the predominant form. This form sees evil as being “rampant and things are getting worse all the time” (1997, 49). Within her discussion of this form she states the current use of apocalypticism (my usage) is a “recognizable and useful synonym” (1997, 50) for catastrophic millennialism. Wessinger contrasts this with progressive millennialism, which is a “belief in progress” (1997, 50). This belief involves “human cooperation with divine (or superhuman) will” to bring about the millenium “noncatastrophically” (Wessinger 1997, 50–51). Wessinger suggests the use of the terms in place of the confusing, and religious based, premillennialism and postmillennialism. Since some of these groups are non-religious oriented, the use of *apocalyptic* to describe them will, hopefully, result in less confusion than some of the other terminology.

The use of *apocalyptic*, in discussion of violent tendencies, is seen in Martha Lee’s (1995) examination of the environmental group Earth First!. Lee distinguishes between two factions of Earth First!: the apocalyptic and the millenarian or social justice faction. Millenarian, in her use, is a specific identifier. What would be more helpful would be fitting it into the progressive millennial category, designated by Wessinger. Both the apocalyptic and social justice factions see an eventual environmental catastrophe. The difference drawn by these groups is what happens after the catastrophe: the creation of a better world.

The better world for the social justice faction involves the educating of people to insure that those that survive the catastrophe will not let this happen again. The apocalypics, representing a biocentric view of the world in which humans are not the center but nature is, are concerned with the “events and earthly conditions leading up

to the apocalypse” (Lee 1995, 18). They are not concerned with human life surviving, but may even be intent on “ensuring particular conditions are met . . . [for] the apocalypse to occur” (Lee 1995, 19). Both groups agree on the catastrophe bringing the possibility of a better world, but only one sees humans as a part of it.

This better world or “radically different” “new order,” as Maxwell Taylor (1991, 133) would call it, is essential to a millenarian belief. Taylor applies this aspect of millenarianism to his study of fanaticism. Taylor identifies five qualities of millenarianism: (1) “An analysis of the world in terms of a real or impending catastrophe”; (2) “A revelation that explains this state of affairs, and which offers some form of salvation”; (3) “Special knowledge that the disastrous state is a result of the action of malevolent forces (spiritual or secular) which conspire to corrupt and subject the normal organs of society and State”; (4) “A sense of timeliness or action”; and (5) “These forces can be defeated . . . [and] will result in the ushering in of a new and better world” (Taylor, 1991, 121). Taylor identifies that the “concept of imminence of attainment” is essential to a millenarian becoming violent (Taylor 1991, 127). This imminence in the modern day can be said to be magnified by the arrival of the year 2000, not just from millenarian groups (Barkun 1994, 48) but from what Michael Barkun calls “eclectic millenarianism” (1996b, 8). One need only listen to the Art Bell radio show *Coast to Coast* to see how this eclectic millenarianism operates. The year 2000 is a drawing point for apocalyptic groups (Thompson 1996) regardless of the religious or secular nature of the group.

Phillip Lamy (1997) notes the dichotomous nature of millenarian groups in his division of “secular” and “religious” millenarian groups. Lamy identifies the “secular” Apocalypse as being one that is “man-made” (1997, 94). While noting that it includes such things as “social, economic, or industrial collapse” and “race war, civil war, or

nuclear war,” Lamy includes “environmental degradation” among those that are man-made (1997, 94). I would argue that the focus of millenarian groups is on the apocalypse itself and any concerns about the environment would place a group in the Natural category. This allows the differentiation of groups that would fall in the secular category but are not necessarily related. As Lee puts it, “[a]pocalypics are concerned only with the events and earthly conditions leading up to the apocalypse, the climactic and dramatic event that they believe will soon bring about the end of human history” (Lee 1995, 18–19). These “events and earthly conditions,” I would argue, are the actual “physical” signs of the environmental degradation, not necessarily the “human” causes of it. This is partly due to the environment having as big an impact on itself as human actions, e.g., volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, hurricanes, tsunamis, etc. Rather than focusing on the human interactions with the apocalypse or human causes of the apocalypse, the nature of the apocalypse is essential when it comes to determining violence. It is the catastrophe that is imminent, not the physical machinations causing the catastrophe.

The concept of imminence, in academic works, is seen as important for apocalyptic groups (Barkun 1997a; Bromley 1997; Cohn 1990; Durham 1996; Lee 1995; Robbins and Palmer 1997; Wessinger 1997) as well as primary source material (Baker 1993; James 1998; Jeffrey 1994; Lindsey 1995; Earth First! Direct Action Philosophy; Operation Vampire Killer 2000). Imminence, as previously pointed out by Taylor, is an essential characteristic of violence in millenarian groups. But what appears to be little focused on is the nature of *what* is imminent.

Norman Cohn (1990) in his seminal work *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, describes the importance of imminence in terms of the salvation that is to come. This is not necessarily the ideal approach when we consider that the catastrophic

millennialists or apocalyptics are not concerned with salvation but rather the apocalypse itself. The catastrophe, whether it be “ecocide” (Scarce 1990, 10), the New World Order (Epperson 1990), or Armageddon (Breese 1996), is what is imminent, and would seem to impact the use of violence. For this study it is not possible to categorically determine that imminence explains decisions to use violence, but imminence of the catastrophe in primary source material could show that it is an important part of these groups’ violent nature.

Imminence in this sense could be seen as a “motivating factor” for the violence. Frank Hagan notes, “[I]t is not the crimes themselves that distinguish political criminals but rather their motivations” (1997, 2), contrasting with Smith’s strict criminological approach. The imminence of the catastrophe can be said to motivate the violence, whether it be to avoid the catastrophe (Animal Rights Groups) or to bring on the catastrophe (apocalyptic faction of Earth First!). We will see in Chapter IV how this concept of imminence may be a determining factor in the frequency of violence attributed to the apocalyptic groups examined. The imminence of the apocalyptic belief system is reinforced by the conspiratorial worldview attributed to these contemporary apocalyptic groups examined in this work.

Martin Durham, in his discussion of the Militia/Patriot movement, describes how incidents such as Ruby Ridge, Waco, the 1993 Brady Bill, and the 1994 ban on assault weapons “fit into a larger conspiratorial picture” (Durham 1996, 69). This picture includes foreign troops in the U.S., concentration camps built for “American prisoners” (Koernke 1993; L. Thompson 1994). All of these actions have occurred in order to bring about the takeover of a “one-world government, the New World Order.” In “Common Features of Extremism’s Ugly Face,” H. Clayton Waddell (1972) states that one of the five features of an extremist is that any opposition is

seen as a conspiracy. The use of conspiracies is prevalent throughout all of the groups examined in this work, although the Right has a longer history of this (Hofstadter [1965] 1996). Conspiracies in a sense reinforce the imminence of the catastrophe. For every item or incident that is added to the puzzle of the conspiracy, the catastrophe can be made to appear nearer and nearer. One need only look at any of the newsgroups or discussion forums on the Internet to see this occurring on an almost daily basis.

Michael Barkun goes further into this aspect of conspiracies in his examination of militias. These conspiracies may have a secular cover to them but often cover up “close and direct religious associations” (Barkun 1996b, 50). Barkun goes as far as to say there are two intersecting visions of conspiracy for militias: “One secular, with its apparatus of black helicopters and detention camps, the other religious, with its fixation upon the beast and its mark. Each reinforces the other” (Barkun 1996b, 58). This use of conspiracies is part of what Lamy (1997) referred to as the “millennial myth” (1997, 103). This myth allows for “adaptation to change and its ability to mirror the experiences of many different groups” (Lamy 1997, 114). This millennial myth can be used for any purpose. It can be used to “justify or legitimate a cause” whether that cause be “ideological and social control” or “social and political revolt” (Lamy 1997, 114). Conspiracies, as they are used to explain government “oppression,” is not the sole property of the right.

Much of the literature written about Right-wing groups, and their conspiracies, have come from those in journalism (Dyer 1997) or from those that oppose the Right (Berlet and Lyons 1998; Coates 1987; de Armond 1998; Dees and Corcoran 1996; Stern 1996). All, for one reason or another, tie modern Militia/Patriot conspiracies in with those from racist/anti-Semitic groups past and

present, or into the mainstream conservative and/or religious movement. All too often, and unnecessarily, these writings attempt a “connect the dots” strategy to attack right-wing groups. It is this valuable, but agenda driven, literature that we will examine next.

Literature With an Agenda

Jeffrey Kaplan criticizes agenda-driven “watchdog” groups in *Radical Religion in America: Millenarian Movements from the Far Right to the Children of Noah* (1997b). Kaplan refers to “Political” anti-cult groups which act to further their political agenda. This approach to cults works similarly for many of the political groups that “monitor” these violent groups. This agenda driven literature is occupied, for this review, by works of those that oppose the actions of these apocalyptic groups. Members of “watchdog” organizations or journalists often create these works. These works present some problems in the current literature on these groups.

The “connect the dots” strategy is typified by Frank Rich of *The New York Times* in his April 30, 1995 article “Connect the Dots.” Rich tried to connect various factions of the Right together, from Mainstream Christian Right groups via the Rescue Movement to Militias to Racist groups (Rich 1995). Tom Bethell of *American Spectator* likened this to “attempts by the John Birch Society to connect up the left-wing dots” (Bethell 1995, 25). Morris Dees, chief trial counsel for the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), has made a living out of pursuing Racist groups. He has expanded into Militias and now even into the violent factions of the Rescue Movement via this strategy. The “connecting the dots” strategy is not solely for groups opposing the Right, those opposing the Left also resort to it.

Kathleen Marquardt (1993), in her work *Animal Scam: The Beastly Abuse of Human Rights*, devotes a full chapter to tying in current animal rights ideology to Nazi atrocities during their reign in Germany. Marquardt is the Vice President of American Policy Center, a Property Rights organization opposing the environmental and animal rights movements, as well as founder and chairman of Putting People First. Ron Arnold (1997), in *Ecoterror: The Violent Agenda to Save Nature, The World of the Unabomber*, ties the Unabomber in to the Radical Environmental movements such as Earth First!. Arnold is Executive Vice President of the Center for Defense of Free Enterprise, also a Property Rights or “Wise Use” organization that opposes activities of the Radical Environmental and Animal Rights movements. Although these works provide much needed information into each of these movements, their “political” nature presents problems with their conclusions.

Joel Dyer’s (1997) work *Harvest of Rage* takes us from the beginnings of the modern “anti-government” movement (Militia/Patriot) to the present. Dyer links the modern movement to the farm crisis of the early 1980s. Dyer identifies how racist/anti-Semitic groups such as the Posse Comitatus were able to turn farmers against the government, by using elaborate conspiracy theories and more importantly the Bible. Dyer notes that the “[h]ard-core evangelists of the antigovernment message” turned to the Bible to turn “the ‘economic’ war that can’t be fought . . . into the ‘holy’ war that must be” (1997, 78). These conspiracy theories did have “at their core, a distorted explanation of some sort of real occurrence” making it all the more easy for these groups to spread and gain membership (1997, 77). This “flexibility” of the conspiracy theory allowed it to be transformed from Jewish bankers to the not so anti-Semitic international bankers. Dyer overemphasizes the “real reason” for these conspiracy theories however. Dyer sees them as “a more

culturally acceptable excuse for rebellion than the real reason, which is largely economic” (1997, 107), and then goes on to blame the Federal Reserve, more specifically Paul Volcker, for the “nation’s greatest threat since the Civil War—the anti-government movement” (1997, 138). This mirrors much of the thinking of the conspiracies surrounding the Federal Reserve System put forth by the Militia/Patriot movement (Baker 1993).

Some authors go farther in their “connect the dots” approach to studying these groups. Dees and Corcoran tie in everybody from

radio talk shows, respectable lobbying organizations, and even members of Congress that compete[s] in viciousness, mean-spiritedness, and hatefulness with anything said or written by members of the extremist movement. It has helped to create a climate and culture of hate, a climate and culture in which invective and irresponsible rhetoric is routinely used to demonize an opponent, legitimize insensitive stereotypes, and promote prejudice. (1996, 5)

Dees and Corcoran go on to “connect the dots” from the Republican win in 1994 to the Oklahoma City Bombing. Dees, in a moment of personal reflection writes “[t]he election was bad enough, I thought, but what effect would it have on the militia movement?” (1996, 128), and answers it on the next page: “I felt something awful could happen that might injure a lot of innocent people” (1996, 129).

Richard Abanes (1996) continues the linking of Militia/Patriot groups to racist groups through Louis Beam’s “Leaderless Resistance” teachings. Leaderless Resistance is a cellular or small group organizational strategy, used by right wing groups over the last 30 years (Kaplan 1997a). Many of the groups in this work operate in the same “cellular” model of organization. The leaderless strategy is used by Earth First!, the ALF and the ELF also (Foreman and Haywood 1987; ALF Primer 1998; *Underground #8* 1997). This similarity is one that will be examined briefly in Chapter III. Abanes, without pointing out the fact that this organizational

strategy has been, and continues to be used by violent movements, attempts to use this to “connect the dots” between the Militia/Patriot movement and racist groups.

Not only have Militia/Patriot groups been linked to racist/anti-Semitic groups by those that “monitor” these groups, but they have also been linked to the Rescue Movement. James L. Risen and Judy L. Thomas have linked “anti-abortion extremism and anti-government hate” to a series of bombings in Atlanta in 1996 and 1997 (1998, 374). This “connection” is one that is exploited by many pro-choice supporters (Burghardt 1988; Clarkson 1998b; Flanders 1995). These groups primarily through John Burt, a former member of the KKK, make further connections between the Rescue Movement and Racists (Clarkson 1998b; NARAL Factsheet 1, 1998). This connection is also made through Eric Rudolph and his connection to Christian Identity (Clarkson 1998b; Whitlock 1998). Rudolph is used to connect the anti-government extremism (Centennial Park bombing 1996) of the Right to Pro-life groups (abortion clinic bombings 1997–1998) and homophobic factions of Right (lesbian bar bombing 1997). This “full circle” connection is seen in examinations of left-wing groups by their “watchdogs” also.

The Unabomber has been tied to many different groups and individuals in the literature. Ron Arnold presents “evidence” that the Unabomber attended a November 1994 meeting of the Native Forest Network, in which the *Earth First! Journal* was distributed (1997, 73–74). The Native Forest Network works in much the same way as Earth First!. Reportedly “top Earth First! members” attended this meeting giving support to the Unabomber-Earth First! connection. It is purported that Unabomber got the names of his last two victims, Thomas Mosser and Gil Murray, from an environmental “hit-list” published in the magazine “Live Wild or Die,” operated by prominent Earth First!ers.² Arnold notes that he does not want to “blame radical

environmentalists as a whole for the Unabomber. This is to show that the apocalyptic beliefs shared by the Unabomber and radical environmentalists can be used to justify desperate acts by anyone” (1997, 92). Arnold does seem to stretch the connection from the Unabomber to the radical environmentalist when he discusses a column written by Detroit News columnist Tony Snow. In his column Snow compares the Unabomber Manifesto to Vice President Al Gore’s book *Earth in the Balance*, and finds similarities in “their literary works” (Snow 1995). This connecting of dots unfortunately doesn’t provide any information into the reasons behind why one engages in violence.

This review of the agenda-driven literature is not intended to minimize its importance to the knowledge of apocalyptic groups. This literature represents an invaluable resource to the scholar attempting to learn first-hand accounts of not only the belief systems of these groups, but also reactions of those victimized by their violence. Without this literature and in some of the authors of this literature (mentioned in the Acknowledgments), this piece would have been nearly impossible. The information that is provided in this literature is invaluable to learning about the belief systems, actions and statements of members of these apocalyptic groups. Nevertheless scholars need to take a more active role in providing objective information to the public and media regarding apocalyptic groups.

CHAPTER III

TYPOLOGY OF APOCALYPTIC GROUPS

Some of groups are readily identifiable as apocalyptic groups and have been done so by previous research. End-Times (Anthony and Robbins 1997; Shupe 1997), Militia/Patriot (Barkun 1996b; Durham 1996; Lamy 1997), Anti-Industrial/Technology (Unabomber) (Lamy 1997), Rescue Movement (Kaplan 1996b), and Radical Environmental groups (Lee 1995) have all been identified as apocalyptic/millenarian. Animal Rights groups have not enjoyed the focus of discussion that these other groups have. This chapter should not only add to the knowledge of the previous five but also shed some light on the apocalyptic nature of the Animal Rights movement.

In order to understand the violent nature, or potential for violence, of the groups examined in this work, their apocalyptic visions must be examined. In this chapter we will examine primary source as well as academic and non-academic literature related to the groups in this study. This examination will note what apocalyptic visions these groups have and how they fit into the typology that group has been placed in. Similarities with other groups and/or types will be noted and discussed. Some of these similarities occur across all groups; others occur only between two groups. Along with these characteristic similarities, what I call cross-type similarities also occur.

Cross-type similarities occur where the beliefs of one group cross over from one category of the typology to another. Looking at Figure 1, each group should fit

neatly into its own type. The Rescue Movement and End-Times groups should fit within the boundaries of the Supernatural type. Militia/Patriot and Anti-Industrial/Technology groups should confine themselves within the Unnatural type. Radical Environmental and Animal Rights groups should be bound by concerns over a Natural apocalypse. As the discussion in this chapter will show there are some that express concern or discuss catastrophes that would fall within another type. The cross-typing and where it occurs will be pointed out within the discussions of each of these groups and at the end of the chapter. We will see that Figure 1 is not necessarily an accurate representation of how these groups fit into our typology.

SUPERNATURAL	UNNATURAL	NATURAL
RESCUE MOVEMENT	MILITIA/PATRIOT	RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL
END-TIMES	ANTI-TECHNOLOGY	ANIMAL RIGHTS

Figure 1. Apocalyptic Typology.

What we will see is the three Right-wing groups, End-Times, the Rescue Movement, and Militia/Patriot cross-typing between Supernatural and Unnatural, and the three Left-wing groups, Radical Environmental, Animal Rights, and Anti-Industrial/Technology, cross-typing between Unnatural and Natural. This similarity notwithstanding there is a discernible pattern of progression across the types. This progression gives us a direction in which to examine these groups. First we will examine the Supernatural groups: the Rescue Movement and End-Times Religious. Second we will examine the Unnatural groups: Militia/Patriot and Anti-Industrial/Technology. Last will be the Natural groups: Radical Environmental

groups and Animal Rights. The pattern of progression that occurs, due to cross-groups similarities, will be discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

Supernatural Apocalyptic Groups

Rescue Movement

The Rescue Movement, or Pro-Life Movement (as they are self described), represent the starting point for an examination of the three Right-wing groups. The Rescue Movement is a primarily Christian-based apocalyptic movement (Kaplan 1996b). Their political goal is the overturning of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision. Historically, this was to be accomplished through peaceful protest, lobbying and other more acceptable political means. James Risen and Judy Thomas (1998) describe how the progression occurred from (a) mainstream political attempts to (b) the direct rescue movement and (c) the use of violence. Frustration with the administration of Ronald Reagan in overturning *Roe v. Wade* led to more unorthodox tactics in stopping abortions from taking place (Blanchard 1994; Risen and Thomas 1998). Occupations of offices evolved into destruction of property with Joan Andrews's arrest for unplugging a suction machine.³ This progressed into targeted violence towards equipment and buildings and eventually direct actions against abortion providers and supporters.

Jeffrey Kaplan's (1996b) scholarly work "Absolute Rescue" provides support for the placing of the Rescue Movement into the Supernatural type. Kaplan describes how this movement progressed from its initial "rescue" work to violence. Kaplan describes how the initial movement went from a modern incarnation of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement to identifying abortion with the Holocaust in Nazi Germany.

The identification of the “American Holocaust” led to imagery of war in the writings and beliefs of the Rescuers, and then to the use of force. Kaplan identifies that around late 1989 or early 1990 rescue literature began to talk about a cleansing of the land from God. The apocalyptic voices began to get louder. No longer was the movement simply about the ridding of abortion through political or legal matters, but now talk of more direct action was occurring. Kaplan identifies this as the point in which the Pro-Life movement and the Rescue movement parted ways.

This bitter break continues to divide the Rescue Movement today. The Church (Christianity in general) is indicted for not being aggressive enough in its attempts to stop abortion. Kaplan identifies this issue as the “genesis of the apocalyptic view of American culture” (1996b, 132) by this movement. John Brockhoeft, convicted of bombing an abortion clinic, began writing *The Brockhoeft Report* while incarcerated. In this report he expresses his shame for being “part of a lukewarm church” and not acting against abortion sooner (Brockhoeft 1994). Brockhoeft also describes the apocalyptic visions for America in this report, blaming not only the church but also “leftists” (Brockhoeft 1993b), “Satanists” (Brockhoeft 1993a), and even the “New World Order” (Brockhoeft 1993b, 1994).

Brockhoeft states much in these reports that support the placement of Abortion protesters in the Supernatural typology. Brockhoeft ponders as to why Dr. David Gunn, killed by Michael Griffin, performed abortions. Brockhoeft’s answers are “money” or “that he was in league with the devil, whether deliberately or ‘merely’ in fulfillment of left-wing ideology” (Brockhoeft 1994a). Kaplan (1996b) describes how confrontations with “deathscorts” (the term used to describe pro-abortion volunteers, by rescuers) and the anti-Christian nature of their attacks led to the identification of them with Satan. Brockhoeft states in the opening installment of his

report “[I]t is a well-known fact that some people who deliberately and knowingly worship Satan take jobs in abortion chambers” (Brockhoeft 1993a). He continues to report the discovery of requiring women to have abortions in order to join “satanic covens” (Brockhoeft 1993a).

Paul Hill, sentenced to death for killing Dr. John Britton (Dr. Gunn’s replacement) and his escort James Barrett, in a letter to the editors of *Credenda Agenda* continues the Satanic theme: “The cutting edge of Satan’s attack is the abortionist’s knife” (Hill 1997a). Fr. Norm Weslin of the Lambs of Christ when asked what the biggest problem facing his organization was, answered “Satan” (Clarkson 1998b). By bringing in the belief that Satan is behind the abortion industry we move from a Natural or Unnatural apocalyptic vision to the Supernatural.

The abortion protesters do not just concentrate on the “dark” side of the Supernatural spectrum. The apocalyptic view is evident in the discussion of what God’s role will be to the abortion issue. Many in the Rescue Movement, such as Paul Hill, see the direct role of God in their taking of violent actions. Hill stated the killing of Dr. Britton “was His Project; I trusted Him to complete it” (Hill 1997b). Shelley Shannon states that “God accomplished it, I just was willing” in regards to her first arson attack on an abortion center (Shaggy West 1998). Still others bring God into their actions through the use of a moniker: The Army of God (AOG).

Starting with Don Anderson’s kidnapping of an abortionist and his wife in 1982, the name AOG was used in relation to an Abortion Protester’s illegal action (Clarkson 1998a).⁴ Michael Bray left a sign with AOG on it, at the scene of one of his bombings (Clarkson 1998a).⁵ Justice Harry Blackmun, the author of the *Roe v. Wade* decision, was sent a threatening letter from the AOG in 1984 (Clarkson 1998a). Eventually a manual on how to engage in “Termite tactic[s]” against abortion

providers was created called the Army of God Manual (Army of God 1998). This manual advocates “Operation B.R.I.C.K.” or “Babies Rescued Through Increased Cost of Killing” (Army of God 1998). By increasing the cost to operate, through loss of business or repairing damage done in property destruction actions, it will become unprofitable to be in the abortion business (a tactic also used by Radical Environmental and Animal Rights groups). What is helpful for this thesis is the addition of a “Declaration” of war in the Epilogue of the third edition of the manual. This “Declaration” is breaking with the previous “no harm” stance of the manual and the movement in general. This “Declaration” states:

No longer! All of the options have expired. Our Most Dread Sovereign Lord God requires that whosoever sheds man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Not out of hatred of you, but out of love for the persons you exterminate, we are forced to take arms against you (emphasis in original). (Army of God 1998)

Shelley Shannon, serving prison time for attempting to kill abortionist Dr. George Tiller, had copies of this manual buried in her backyard (Bower 1995b). The AOG reappeared in connection with the double bombing in Atlanta January 16, 1997, the lesbian bar bombing on February 19, 1997 and the Birmingham bombing on January 29, 1998 (*Anti-Abortion Violence Watch #7*, 1998). God’s direct role is also seen in a more apocalyptic light.

The AOG Manual describes how others have been moved by the “Holy Spirit” because they know “there is a limit to how long our land can be allowed to run red with the blood of God’s children crying out to heaven for vengeance” (Army of God 1998). Neal Horsley (1998) of the Creator’s Rights Party, during the Hale-Bopp Comet frenzy, stated, “If we had our wits about us, instead of worrying about UFO’s hidden behind the Hale-Bopp Comet, we’d be worrying about God pointing that projectile at the USA and bringing justice swift and sure crashing down.”⁶

Brockhoeft (1994b) also provides the need for abortion to be stopped by Christians or “by the Lord’s Hand, it will be accompanied by a devastating, punishing cataclysm (perhaps the Great Tribulation).” Jay Rogers, editor of the rescue magazine *Forerunner*, states, “The question of God’s judgment is rhetorical: ‘Will God not judge a people such as this?’ The question rather should be: ‘Will God’s judgment bring us to redemption or annihilation?’” (Rogers 1989). There is a strong belief, particularly among the violent fringe of the Pro-Life Movement that unless Christians stop the continued slaughter of God’s children, “God’s Wrath” will come upon the land.

Even the less violent faction of the Rescue Movement sees a coming destruction of society. Joseph Scheidler, of the Pro-Life Action League, in his book *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion* states, “The abortion industry will ultimately destroy itself. But since it is destroying society along with itself, we must speed up the process of destruction, in the hope that our society will survive” (1993, 368). This view represents the less violent and more Unnatural apocalyptic view of the Abortion Protest movement.

Brockhoeft (1994a) continues the doomsday thinking in one of his indictments of Christians:

Take it thirty years from now, to 2024 AD. Abortion will be history then, having been vanquished and forbidden either by Christians’ wrath and intervention or by the Lord’s wrath and intervention. You are free to choose either one; but you cannot choose neither one; because if you do not choose the one, then the other will come automatically through your acquiescence. So, if you want to sort of “help” the Lord usher in the apocalypse and millennium . . . if you want to sort of “hasten” these events . . . go ahead! Simply do nothing! . . . Who knows? — you might, thus, help me get out of prison sooner (i.e., at the Lord’s second coming)! Who knows? — if you, thus, “urge” Jesus’ return to occur suddenly enough, you might even prevent Hillary and Janet from chopping my head off! Who knows? — if you “help” bring the Great Tribulation in suddenly enough you might, thus, even cause

them to chop my head off and send me to an eternity of joy! And I'll have you to thank for it!

The apocalyptic belief that the supernatural force of God is working in support of the Rescue Movement is a key aspect of this movement. For this study it is essential in the determination of the Rescue Movement in the Supernatural category, regardless of the results of the apocalyptic catastrophe. Some in the Rescue Movement such as Michael Bray advocate the view of "the pattern of History that God destroys nations and rebuilds or replaces them. We can look to the opportunity that destruction brings; reconstruction" (Bray 1994). Others discuss the "Great Tribulation" in which for some Christ will "rapture" them to heaven. This will be followed by the "Rise of the Anti-Christ" and then the "Second Coming" (Walvoord 1998).

This Supernatural focus may not necessarily have as much of an impact on the violence of the Rescue Movement as we will see in Chapter IV when we compare the frequency of violence to the other Supernatural groups, End-Times Religious. The more important and easily defined apocalypse is the actual death of the babies from abortions. Kaplan (1996b) points out that many of the prisoners of the Rescue Movement have a strong attachment to the fetuses. This strong attachment makes the apocalypse (death of the fetus) imminent and assured. As we saw in Chapter II, imminence plays an important role in the violence of the millenarian/apocalyptic (Taylor 1991). We will discuss this idea of imminence and its role in violence further at the end of this chapter and in Chapter IV.

Lastly, there is some cross-typing of the Rescue Movement into the Unnatural realm. Some of the features of the Rescue Movement show this cross-typing. For example Matthew Trehwella, leader of the Missionaries to the Preborn, advocates the

forming of Militias (Burghardt 1998; Durham 1996; Flanders 1995). Many in the Rescue Movement identify with the attempts to stop Hitler and the Holocaust by Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Brockhoeft talks about Boenhoffer in Chapter 4 of his report (1993c). Kaplan (1996b) also identifies this as a strong theme for the Rescue Movement. Brockhoeft also talks about The New World Order (a favorite of the Militia/Patriot groups) in Chapter 14 of his report (1994d). John Salvi, who murdered two and wounded five at abortion clinics, identifies the FreeMasons of the Masonic Temple as being behind his perceived persecution of Catholics, and himself, during a psychiatric interview (Frontline 1996). The FreeMasons play a role in the conspiracy theories of the End-Times Religious and the Militia/Patriot groups, as we will see in the examinations of them. This cross-typing into the Unnatural is not for this Supernatural group alone. The End-Times Religious groups experience more of this cross-typing, but still occupy primary residence in the Supernatural.

End-Times Religious

End-Times Religious groups are, by definition, apocalyptic. Regardless of what type they are (postmillennial-premillennial, pretribulation-midtribulation-posttribulation, or using Wessinger's distinction catastrophic-progressive), they still believe in a supernatural change in the world. These groups see God's Hand coming with a harsh and final judgement for the world. Despite this belief, they are still encouraged to engage in the political process.

End-Times author Ed Hindson answers the question "What can we do now?" by stating that "we must continue to remain active in the political process"(1996, 183). Hindson states, "It is better to be able to work *with* the political system than *against* it" (1996, 183). This is reflected in the lack of incidents of violence from

these groups. The Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas are one of the few incidents in which violence occurred from an End-Times Group. The Heaven's Gate group is another apocalyptic religious group that engaged in violence. They are not included here because their violence was self-directed and they do not fit the political criteria established in Chapter I. Despite this lack of violence, End-Times beliefs have a historical potentiality for radical or unorthodox behavior.

Reinaldo L. Román's (1996) examination of pre-modern Christian millenarian groups bears this out. Rejection of mainstream Christianity was within "a frame of reference" of the mainstream (1996, 51). Presenting their messages "chiliasts redefined, distorted, and even revitalized the original tradition and its symbols" (1996, 51). This redefining the mainstream resulted in violent movements such as the Circumcellions, Taborites, or Montanists. This redefining is a common occurrence in the writings of modern day "prophets."

Phillip Lamy's (1997) discussion of how secular and religious millenarians derive their beliefs from the "millennial myth" of America shows how the potential exists for violence from those who secularize the beliefs of modern End-Times groups. Some of the common themes that are secularized will be shown in the discussion here and the following discussion of Militia/Patriot groups. Regardless of the secularization of these beliefs, the End-Times groups clearly belong to a Supernatural type of apocalypse.

Within the differing denominations of Christianity there are differing apocalyptic beliefs. Catholic apocalypics focus on the earthly visitations of the Virgin Mary, especially the Fatima prophecies attributed to a vision of her in Fatima, Portugal in 1917 (Cuneo 1997).⁷ The third secret of Fatima is seen as the key in which the Virgin Mary describes the coming end of the world and the focus of much

of the apocalyptic movement within Catholicism. Massimo Introvigne (1997) discusses the Latter-Day Saints Church and its history of millenarian movements. The Seventh-day Adventist Church has seen its share of apocalypics with the Branch Davidians the most notable (Bromley and Silver 1995; Lawson 1997). Ronald Lawson identifies five categories of apocalyptic beliefs within the Adventist denomination: (1) “The 6,000 year umbrella time prophecy,” (2) “The Jubilee Cycle,” (3) “Applications of the timeline prophecies of Daniel and Revelation taken to the present,” (4) “The status of Jerusalem,” and (5) “Those who ‘sigh and cry’ over the apostasy of the Adventist Church” (1997, 219–221). Some of these themes also show up in other End-Times writings.

The apostasy of their respective church and other churches is a common theme in End-times writings. End-times writer Grant Jeffrey (1997) describes the apostasy of the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church along with the building of a worldwide church around the Catholic Church and the Church of England. Jeffrey puts a lot of the focus on Pope John Paul II, particularly the Pope’s discussions with the Church of England, the Dalai Lama and “false” religious leaders. Jeffrey also discusses the Fatima visions and the writings of St. Malachi. St. Malachi, a Bishop in Ireland in the 1100s, described all of the Popes from Celestine II on. Pope John Paul II is prophesied, by St. Malachi, to be the next to last Pope, not by name but by the fact that he is the 110th Pope since Celestine II. The last Pope, Pope Peter II of Rome (111th), will reside over the last persecution of the Church.

The status of Jerusalem and to an even greater extent the role of Israel (Hindson 1996; James 1996; Jeffrey 1996; Levitt 1997, 1998; Lindsey 1995) is even more common in the belief that the end is near. Zola Levitt, end-times expert on Israel, describes Jerusalem as the “millennial house of the Lord” (1997, 178). William

T. James describes the dispute over Israel as “So bitter . . . and so deep . . . that the antagonism has to be *supernaturally* inspired and perpetuated” (1996, 129; emphasis added). Along with the importance of Jerusalem is the rebuilding of the Temple (of Solomon) and recent attempts to lay a cornerstone for the Temple by the Temple Mount Faithful group in 1997 (Underwood 1997) and 1998 (Western Journalism Center 1998). These signs point to Armageddon, the great battle that ends the reign of the Antichrist (a common theme in end-times writings; see Fuller 1995 for a historical account of the history of identifying the Antichrist). The Tribulation (the Antichrist’s seven-year reign) results in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ (Breese 1996; Feinberg 1997; Walvoord 1998). It is the events leading up to the Tribulation that these End-Times writers focus on and which can be further examined by a Natural or Unnatural catastrophe under Supernatural influence.

This Supernatural influence is the key in distinguishing the End-Times groups from the Militia/Patriot groups discussed next. The End-Times writers describe the coming of many Natural catastrophes. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, storms, diseases, famine, plagues, and cosmic events are some of the “naturally” occurring catastrophes seen by End-Times writers as signs of the coming Tribulation (Church 1997; Hindson 1996; Jeffrey 1994; Lindsey 1995, 1997, Van Impe 1996). Revelation 6:13 reads in part, “And the stars of heaven fell to the Earth” as the Sixth Seal is opened (The New Open Bible 1990, 1524). Best-selling end-times author Hal Lindsey (1995, 1997) acknowledges this could be a meteor or asteroid falling, but states that it is more likely incoming nuclear missiles. Lindsey does write that these celestial objects are possibly the “power of heaven . . . shaken” that Jesus described in Matthew 24:25 (Lindsey 1995, 109–110). The likelihood of Nuclear Armageddon is prominent in other writings also (Hindson 1996; James 1996; Breese 1998).

Regardless of the causes of these events, they are interpreted as being signs from God that his judgment is about to come on the world. Any increase in the numbers of these events or severity (e.g., earthquakes, hurricanes, diseases, famines, etc) is seen as “proof” that the End-Times are imminent. Events in the Unnatural realm play an even more significant role in the “proof” of these imminent times.

The events in Israel/Jerusalem as previously discussed are an example of these unnatural events focused on by End-Times writers. This area is the one in which the most cross-typing occur with the Militia/Patriot groups. Much is discussed of the “New World Order” (NWO), the Illuminati, the Bilderbergers, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Trilateral Commission, National Identification systems, Bill Clinton, the European Union, Iraq, China and Russia for example. The difference is that the End-Timers see the actions of these ideologies/groups/countries/leaders falling in line with the imminent Supernatural apocalypse. Table 2 shows how each of these fit into a Supernatural interpretation of the imminent End-Times.

It is clear that all of these modern individuals, countries, and groups operate within the “unnatural” or secular realm. When they are seen through the End-Times interpretations of Biblical prophecy they move into the supernatural. It is the interpretation of unfolding events that sets them apart from the Militia/Patriot groups that have the same concerns but see them within the context of the creation of an unnatural catastrophe. The Branch Davidians expressed how these Supernatural interpretations of events differ from the Unnatural interpretations of the Militia/Patriot groups. The Branch Davidians offer a transition into the Militia/Patriot groups that follow.

The basis for the Davidians’ apocalyptic views is their focus on unlocking the secrets of the Seven Seals (Bromley and Silver 1995). Some of the Natural

Table 2

End-Times Interpretations of Organizations/Ideas/People/Countries

Organization/Idea/ Individual/Country	End-Times Supernatural Explanation
The New World Order	The NWO is seen as the world government that the Antichrist will use to gain power in the world (Jeffrey 1997). This attempt to unite the world under one world government will be brought about through the other organizations and individuals below. The NWO plays a prominent place in the theology of Christian Coalition founder Pat Robertson (Thompson 1996, George and Wilcox 1996). Robertson's book <i>The New World Order</i> is a favorite reference for evangelicals that follow this apocalyptic view of the present times. Ralph Epperson refers to "Lucifer" as the "god of the New World Order" (1990, 286).
The Illuminati The FreeMasons	Adam Weishaupt began the Illuminati in the late 1700s. It is seen as one of the initial groups designed to bring about the NWO (Epperson 1990). Texe Marrs describes the "Inner Circle" of the Illuminati as "Luciferian" in their conspiracy (1995, 275). The rituals of the FreeMasons are seen as being an apostasy to Christianity (Epperson 1990, Marrs 1995).
The Bilderbergers, The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), The Trilateral Commission (TLC)	The Bilderbergers are a secret group that is influential in promoting junior members into positions of power in governments (Jeffrey 1994). The CFR and the TLC work in the same way. Numerous government officials are said to come from the ranks of these groups. The goal is to create a world government, which again allows the rise of the Antichrist. Marrs (1995) lists the members of these groups that are in places of power.

Table 2—Continued

Organization/Idea/ Individual/Country	End-Times Supernatural Explanation
National Identification Systems	Any type of National ID is seen as representing the “mark or name of the beast” in Revelation 13:16–18 (The New Open Bible 1990). Grant Jeffrey (1997, 327) points out how technology is approaching the point at which the “666/Mark of the Beast” system can be put in place. Others point to biochip technology as the possible “mark” (Van Impe 1996, Cook 1998).
Bill Clinton	Belongs to the CFR/Bilderberger/TLC/ Masons and is seen as a key player in the push for a global government (Marrs 1995, Corbett 1997, Kah 1995).
The European Union	This is seen as the revival of the Roman Empire prophesied in Daniel 7:23, 24 (Jeffrey 1994, James 1998, Froese 1997, Breese 1996, Missler 1995b) as well as in Revelation (James 1998). This revival allows for the Antichrist to rise to his initial power before control of the world.
Iraq	Iraq is the land on which Babylon originally was located. The rise of Babylon is seen as another sign of the End-Times (Hindson 1996) because it has not been destroyed as the Bible describes it (Missler 1995a).
China	China is seen as leading the army of 200 million released by the sixth trumpet in Revelation 8:13–16 (Lindsey 1995, Missler 1997).
Russia	Russia is seen as being the force which comes from the North to attack Israel (Breese 1997). The Magog forces that attack Israel are identified as being the land that now is Russia (Missler 1995c).

catastrophes discussed earlier are found within in the Seven Seals of Revelation 6.

“The Seven Seals were the core of Branch Davidian theology” according to David B. Kopel and Paul H. Blackman (1997, 188). David Koresh believed that the “FBI siege was related” to the opening of this Sixth Seal (Kopel and Blackman 1997, 188).

Koresh believed that he had gone through the other Seals already starting in 1985 and that he was the “Lamb” who could understand what they meant (Kopel and Blackman 1997, 150–151). This date 1985 was important because Koresh’s timetable for the End-Times was 10 years from this point, 1995 (Thompson 1996, 294). This timetable was moved up to 1992 when child welfare workers were set to investigate the Davidians for child abuse (Thompson 1996, 294–295).

Dr. James Yabor and Dr. J. Phillip Arnold believed that the Davidians saw the initial raid as the opening of the Fifth Seal, in the Davidians’ interpretation (Thompson 1996). This Seal is fulfilled when the “remaining faithful at Mount Carmel were killed, after which God would intervene in apocalyptic fury” (Thompson 1996, 297). Koresh saw the events of the siege through the Supernatural view of the coming apocalypse with him occupying a special role in the events surrounding the end-times.

Supernatural interpretations of events differ from the Unnatural interpretations of the Militia/Patriot groups. The Branch Davidians offer a transition into the Militia/Patriot groups that have the same concerns but see them within the context of the creation of an unnatural catastrophe. Those in the Militia/Patriot movement have a different interpretation of this incident. They interpret it within their own Unnatural apocalyptic vision. Not as a supernatural force destroying the Davidians, but rather part of a large international conspiracy, the New World Order.

Unnatural Apocalyptic Groups

Militia/Patriot Groups

The Militia/Patriot groups present the most difficult of the six groups to place within one typology. The cross-typing of the Militia/Patriot and End-Times groups is numerous (Abanes 1998, Gallagher 1997). Michael Barkun (1996b) discusses a similar cross-typing of the religious and the secular. Barkun states “the militias operate at the point where secular and religious conspiracy theories intersect” and these are “regarded as complementary, not competing, approaches” (1996a, 59). This cross-typing occurs in the common conspiratorial beliefs of End-Times groups and Militia/Patriot groups. Table 2 can be reinterpreted by the Militia/Patriot to fit into the secular nature of their particular apocalyptic conspiracy. Table 3 shows how this reinterpretation occurs. The difference between the two is more a matter of degree of focus than of underlying beliefs. The focus for Militia/Patriot groups are more concerned with prevention or protection from the coming Unnatural apocalypse, whereas End-Times groups look forward to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

The Militia/Patriot movement is recognized as growing out of events surrounding the Randy Weaver incident (Ruby Ridge) in 1992 and boosted after the Waco incident in 1993 (Dees and Corcoran 1996; Durham 1996; George and Wilcox 1996; Junas 1998). The genesis of militias is identified as a speech given by Louis Beam, a white supremacist, during a gathering in Estes Park, Colorado, two months after the Weaver standoff ended (Stern 1996, 36). “Leaderless Resistance” was identified by Beam as the ideal organization to resist the “federal tyranny [that] represents a threat to everyone” (Beam 1992). Leaderless Resistance involves the

Table 3

Militia/Patriot Interpretations of Organizations/Ideas/People/Countries

Organization/Idea/ Individual/Country	Militia/Patriot Explanation
The New World Order	“[A]n oligarchy of the world’s richest families to place 1/2 the masses of the earth in servitude . . . from behind the false front of the United Nations . . . the plan calls for the elimination of the other 2.5 billion people through war, disease, abortion and famine by the year 2000” (McLamb 1998). This is a good example of the statements behind the idea of the New World Order one-world government.
The Illuminati The Freemasons The Bilderbergers, The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), The Trilateral Commission (TLC)	Members of these “secret” organizations are all working towards the establishment of the New World Order (George and Wilcox 1996; Kah 1991; McAlvany 1994; McLamb 1998). Particularly useful to this belief are the writings of Carroll Quigley, professor of history at Georgetown University while Bill Clinton was a student, in <i>Tragedy and Hope</i> (1966). Quigley identifies these groups and others as the “Round Table Groups” (1966, 950). “The chief aims of this elaborate, semisecret organization were largely commendable: to coordinate the international activities and outlooks of all the English-speaking world into one . . . to work to maintain the peace” (1966, 954). “To coordinate . . . into one” is often taken as coordinating into a One-world government, to fit into their conspiracy theories.
National Identification Systems	The national ID card will be used to keep track of all information pertaining to individuals. Initial concern over the Clinton healthcare card, then regarding Illegal Immigration control. Also concern about gun registration databases. ⁸
Bill Clinton	Belongs to all three of the previous groups, is seen as a key player in the push for a global government (Kah 1995, McLamb 1998). Clinton was a student of Quigley’s at Georgetown and it is believed that this is where Clinton was “influenced” into the globalist fold.

Table 3—Continued

Organization/Idea/ Individual/Country	Militia/Patriot Explanation
The European Union	Seen as a first step in globalization process. Starting with the introduction of the European currency.
Iraq	Desert Storm is seen as the dry run for the global police force of the NWO (Koernke 1993) Bible describes it (Missler 1995a).
China	Concern over China's role has ranged from reports of Chinese troops in the United States preparing for the takeover by the UN to the recent scandal involving Chinese influence within the Clinton administration and reelection campaign.
Russia	The Fall of Communism is often seen as a ruse and that Communism is still alive and well.

formation of a small “phantom cell” (Beam 1992) in which resistance to the tyranny of government can be fought. Jeffrey Kaplan (1997a) examines in more detail the recent history of Leaderless Resistance from the Minuteman of the 1960s to the Odinist “Wotan” or individual berserker to Timothy McVeigh. Kaplan also notes how the Communist Cell organization operated in the same way. It is also worthy to note that the ALF, ELF, and the Rescue Movement operate in the same manner of small independent organizations to insulate the mainstream organizations from culpability. Beam’s (1992) focus is on an unnatural catastrophe, i.e., a coming “federal tyranny” of oppression. Other leaders in the Militia/Patriot movement also reflect this belief in an Unnatural apocalypse about to befall the United States.

John Trochmann, the head of the Militia of Montana, echoes Beam’s concerns. Trochmann also focuses on a loss of “our own land” (Neiwert 1996). Trochmann blames “Internationalists” for “altering our way of life” (Neiwert 1996). The NWO have “Force 2000,” a mixture of law enforcement and military that are “working hard on their house to house search and seizure” (Neiwert 1996). Trochmann also states “we’re damn near out of time” in regards to information contained in one of the Militia of Montana informational brochures (Neiwert 1996). Trochmann identifies his activities as “trying to show people what’s really going on in America. Because if we don’t change things, this’ll be the end of our nation.”¹⁰ The end of the nation occurs through a variety of conspiracy theories.

Along with the conspiratorial interpretations presented in Table 3 there are other various incidents, legislation and actions that are construed by Militia/Patriot followers as representing movements towards a loss of national sovereignty. As was briefly touched on earlier, the incidents at Ruby Ridge and Waco are often cited as proof that “Patriots” are under attack by the federal government (Dees and Corcoran

1996; Durham 1996; George and Wilcox 1996; Junas 1998; L. Thompson 1994, *Paranoia as Patriotism* 1996; Stern 1996). Other forms of the apocalyptic conspiracies of the Militia/Patriot movement involve:

1. Loss of Second Amendment Rights, through the Brady Bill and Assault Weapons Ban (Abanes 1998; Duffy and Brantley 1997; Durham 1996; Halpern and Rosenberg 1996; Koernke 1993; Pratt 1997).

2. Collapse of the economic system. Often this occurs through the Unconstitutional Federal Reserve System (Biehl 1998; George and Wilcox 1996; Neiwert 1996) or International Bankers (Durham 1996).

3. NWO/Internationalists taking over U.S. sovereignty (Abanes 1996; Marks 1996; McAlvany 1994; McLamb 1998).

4. Unconstitutional Executive Orders (Blair 1994b; Boortz 1998; White 1997).

5. Foreign Combat Vehicles/Forces in the United States (Abanes 1998; Blair 1994a; Koernke 1993; Ross 1995). Used for takeover of the United States and for transporting and maintaining the “detention centers”/“concentration camps” or crematoriums set up throughout the United States (Koernke 1993; L. Thompson 1994).¹¹

6. The “concentration camps” are operated by the “shadow government,” or the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) (Barkun 1996b, 1997a; Goldstein 1998; Koernke 1993; Williams and Winokur 1995). FEMA was given this power through Executive Order.¹² FEMA is often given credit for the infamous “Black Helicopters” seen throughout the United States (Barkun 1996b, 1997; L. Thompson 1994).

7. GATT/NAFTA represent another loss of United States sovereignty and a move towards globalization (Durham 1996; Dyer 1996; McAlvany 1994).

8. Militarization of federal law enforcement agencies such as Multi-Jurisdictional Task Force (MJTF), Financial Crimes Enforcement (FINCEN), FBI Hostage Rescue Team (HRT), BATF causes concern over loss of freedoms from an oppressive police state (Koernke 1993; Neiwert 1996).

9. Oklahoma City Bombing (OKC) is often seen as the equivalent of the Reichstag fire that brought Hitler to power. The government is often seen as either having prior knowledge of the bombing (Evans-Pritchard 1997) or of direct involvement (Dees and Corcoran 1996; Durham 1996; Stein 1996). The May 13, 1996 issue of *The New American* magazine (published by the John Birch Society) goes into greater detail of the "Cover-Up" of the OKC Bombing. Information is presented that promotes the theory that there were bombs placed inside the building (two seismic events measured, hence two explosions), or that there was previous knowledge of the bombing such as no ATF officers in the building that day (Jasper 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d).

These are just a sample of some of the popular apocalyptic conspiracies that circulate within the Militia/Patriot movement. As John George and Laird Wilcox report, "The range of conspiracy theories may be almost encyclopedic, but they all have one thing in common: some kind of diabolical plot by the dark forces to do in the champions of righteousness and freedom" (1996, 266). There are far too many conspiracy theories to be discussed in any great detail in this work. Most of them do involve an action or incident, which when put into the larger conspiratorial belief system, reinforces this apocalyptic grand conspiracy.

The grand conspiracy theory involves the loss of freedom in the United States and/or sovereignty. The main concern of the Militia/Patriot movement is the loss of Constitutional freedoms through any of the above mentioned scenarios. Although the end of the world apocalyptic scenarios of the End-Times groups is part of the belief system of some in the Militia/Patriot movement, the apocalyptic visions of Militia/Patriots are narrower. Concern over the survival of "Patriots" is an apocalyptic element, as seen in the concentration camp/crematorium/detention centers belief. This and other smaller conspiracy beliefs all are used to reinforce the apocalyptic nature of the Militia/Patriot movement. The Militia/Patriot movement, particularly within the "Survivalist" faction, has some cross-typing with the Anti-Industrial/Technology groups. This is especially prevalent in the increasing concern regarding the Y2K computer problem and distrust in technology as it exists. The difference lies in the desired result of any fight against the industrial system. The Militia/Patriot movement seeks to get the Capital/Industrial system back to what it "should be" (back into a Free Market or a populist support of the U.S. market) whereas the Anti-Industrial/Technology followers seek to destroy it.

Anti-Industrial/Technology

Much like the End-Times group, this group has few incidents of violence in the 1990s. The violent edge of the Left has moved from this typology into the Radical Environmental movement, as we will see later. It is the Unabomber's Manifesto, "Industrial Society and its Future," which will be the focus of the examination of this group's apocalyptic beliefs.¹³

In many ways the Anti-Industrial/Technology groups mirrors the End-Times Religious groups. The End-Times groups have one representative group associated

with them, while the Unabomber is the sole representative of Anti-Industrial/Technology. The End-Times groups are strongly related to another typology group (Militia/Patriot), while the Radical Environmental groups employ much of the Anti-Technology rhetoric that the Unabomber uses in his Manifesto. There is the belief by some that the Unabomber has more in common with the Radical Environmental movement than his writings might let on.

Ron Arnold's (1997) book, *Ecoterror: The Violent Agenda to Save Nature: The World of the Unabomber*, besides being a source of information on the violent factions of the Radical Environmental movement, is written around the premise that the Unabomber may have been heavily influenced by radical environmental writings, especially as it pertains to the selection of some of his targets (see Chapter II of this thesis). Regardless of Arnold's argument, it is difficult to state that the Anti-Industrial/Technology groups, as represented by the Unabomber, would fit in the Natural, or the Radical Environmental groups would fit more into the Unnatural on this association alone. Much as the Militia/Patriot groups intersect with the End-Times groups they each occupy their own distinct type with a difference in degree of focus. The Unabomber focuses more on the inevitability of an Unnatural apocalypse, the fall of the Industrial/Technological system, than on the prevention of any Natural apocalypse.

Another significant factor in the difference between the Radical Environmental groups and the Unabomber is that the Radical Environmental groups focus on the downfall of the Industrial system as a positive for nature. Radical Environmentalists believed that the industrial system would destroy itself (Lee 1997) much as the Unabomber foresees the possibility that the "industrial-technological system may survive or it may break down" (1995, para. 2). The Unabomber does not

foresee this as just a positive for nature but more as a positive for man. Much like the Militia/Patriot concerns over loss of freedom, the Unabomber is concerned with the loss of freedom for mankind as a result of technology.

This loss of freedom is the loss of the “power process”¹⁴ and is the reason that the industrial system must be destroyed. The Unabomber argues that “industrial-technological society cannot be reformed in such a way as to prevent it from progressively narrowing the sphere of human freedom” (1995, para. 93) and to get this “message before the public with some chance of making a lasting impression, we’ve had to kill people” (1995, para. 96). The Unabomber only sees a revolution as the easiest way to overcome the inevitable loss of freedom associated with technology. He goes into more detail about this in his section titled “Revolution is Easier Than Reform.”

In paragraphs 140 and 141 the Unabomber (1995) identifies why a revolution is needed in order to avoid the apocalyptic inevitability of loss of freedom:

140. We hope we have convinced the reader that the system cannot be reformed in such a way as to reconcile freedom with technology. The only way out is to dispense with the industrial-technological system altogether. This implies revolution, not necessarily an armed uprising, but certainly a radical and fundamental change in the nature of society.

141. People tend to assume that because a revolution involves a much greater change than reform does, it is more difficult to bring about than reform is. Actually, under certain circumstances revolution is much easier than reform. The reason is that a revolutionary movement can inspire an intensity of commitment that a reform movement cannot inspire. A reform movement merely offers to solve a particular social problem. A revolutionary movement offers to solve all problems at one stroke and create a whole new world; . . . For this reason it would be much easier to overthrow the whole technological system than to put effective, permanent restraints on the development or application of any one segment of technology, such as genetic engineering, for example.

The Unabomber believes that “technology will eventually acquire something approaching complete control over behavior” (1995, para. 157) unless this revolution

takes place. This concern over the consequences towards humans of the industrial-technological society differentiates him from the Radical Environmental groups.

The loss of freedom for humans is what makes the Unabomber an apocalyptic. Phillip Lamy refers to the Unabomber's ideas as "the mass culture critique" and "can be viewed as an apocalyptic idea that continues to inform theories about our modern society and its way of life" (1997, 108). Despite his contention that the revolution "will not be a POLITICAL revolution" (emphasis in original) (Unabomber 1995, para. 193), he fits into our definition of political for this paper. The Unabomber, while not referencing other modern day "Luddites" or anti-technology writers, if taken at his written word is most definitely concerned with an Unnatural apocalypse (loss of human freedom). It is the inevitability of this apocalypse which drove the Unabomber to act as he did. His answer for preventing this apocalypse was the destruction of the industrial-technological system. This goal is shared by the Radical Environmental groups, but for the prevention of a far different apocalyptic belief than that written by the Unabomber.

Natural Apocalyptic Groups

Radical Environmental Groups

Radical Environmental groups have the same disregard for Industrial society as the Unabomber. In fact Kirkpatrick Sale, a prominent neo-Luddite, wrote in the Eostar (March-April) 1997 issue of the *Earth First! Journal* about the need for a modern day "Luddism." Sale (1997) suggests an ideology which would contain the following beliefs:

Industrialism is the culture that is endangering economic, social and environmental systems around the world and must be opposed by an

organicism based on the integrity, stability and harmony of the biotic world. Anthropocentrism is the dangerous mind-set of the industrial culture and must be opposed by a biocentrism that teaches a spiritual identification of the human with all living species and the living earth. Globalism is the economic and military strategy of the industrial system and must be opposed by an assertion of localism and an empowerment of the coherent bioregion and the human-scale community. And capitalism is the means of exploitation and unjust distribution underlying that system and must be opposed by an ecological economy built upon harmony with the earth and cooperation among humans.

This Radical Environmentalist's apocalyptic vision of industrial society sees a future collapse of society as a desirable outcome, not as a way to human freedom, but as a way of preventing a "biological meltdown" (Manes 1990, 25–26). The difference between these two, and the basis for the division in typology is that the Unabomber takes an anthropocentric and the Radical Environmental groups have a biocentric or ecocentric (Taylor 1999) approach. This biocentric approach comes from the beliefs of Deep Ecology (Lee 1995; Manes 1990). Martha Lee states that Earth First!'s "apocalyptic and its millenarian belief systems developed from the fertile ground of deep ecology" (Lee 1995, 19). Deep Ecology is a "movement" that rejects an anthropocentric approach to the world (Lee 1995). Deep Ecology is based on eight points (see Appendix C) to which Arne Naess states, "those who solidly reject one or more of these points should not be viewed as supporters of deep ecology" (Naess 1995, 67–68). Martha Lee identifies the founding of Earth First! (EF!) as coming from this Deep Ecology movement with the focus on a biocentric look at the world. These founders also had an apocalyptic view within this biocentric belief system (Lee 1995, 1996, 1997).

The beginnings of EF! came together as a result of the founder's common "belief that modern society's destruction of the natural environment would end in an apocalyptic crisis" (Lee 1996, 113). Ron Arnold calls the founders of EF!'s "belief

that modern society and its destruction of the natural world could only end in apocalyptic crisis” the Apocalypse Creed (Arnold 1997, 219). This Radical Environmental group became the basis for much of the acts of Radical Environmental “single-issue terrorism” (Smith 1994; W. Mullins 1997) that occurred in the 1980s. These incidents were often not done in the name of EF!. Dave Foreman chastised a group of “monkeywrenchers” for leaving an Earth First! banner at the scene of an attack (Lee 1995, 90). The resulting negative publicity was harmful to the movement. The use of “new” groups comprised of Earth First!ers allowed for the “decoupling” (Arnold 1997, 75) of the larger movement from responsibility for the violence.

This mirrors the “Leaderless Resistance” strategy of the Militia/Patriot groups, small group or individual attacks of those in the Rescue Movement, and the cellular structure of the Animal Rights groups. Groups such as EMETIC (Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy), Stumps Suck, Redwood Action Team (Arnold 1997, 76), Raging Bull Avengers (Scarce 1990, 75) and Earth Liberation Front provide deniability to the larger movement. Earth First! still provides insight into the Radical Environmental movement and its apocalyptic visions of a Natural catastrophe.

This Natural catastrophe or “biological meltdown” is what Christopher Manes sees as the “cataclysmic backdrop against which a militant ecological sensibility took shape” (Manes 1990, 24). This “biological meltdown” involves “the greatest planetary extinction since the dinosaurs disappeared” (1990, 24) which is partly a result of “plant and animal populations . . . forced onto dwindling islands of habitat in a sea of human industrial and agricultural development” (1990, 25). This mass extinction differs in two ways from past ones: (1) “the present crisis is sweeping away entire habitats” (1990, 26), and (2) “it is in no sense natural. It is driven by

human cultures and their values” (1990, 27). Manes continues this apocalyptic view regarding “the technological culture that now dominates much of the globe—regrettably set off on its own wayward path, the terminus of which seems to be our termination” (1990, 28). Manes identifies radical environmentalism “as one more chance, perhaps the last chance to turn from the path of environmental imperialism and reconsider our place in the biosphere” (1990, 247). It is views such as this that give the Radical Environmental movement their apocalyptic tendencies.

Others also reveal this apocalyptic notion of an imminent biological meltdown. Rik Scarce calls this biological meltdown “ecocide” or “the annihilation of our fellow passengers on Earth” (Scarce 1990, 10). “Todd” of South Florida Earth First! (consisting of him and his computer) states, “the evidence is in: the environment of the planet is coming undone” (Todd 1998). “Todd” identifies radical environmentalism as “a semi-organized attempt to stem the tide of industrial society’s seemingly relentless destruction of the environment” (Todd 1998). Mike Roselle (1995), one of the cofounders of EF! writes, regarding his long held belief that “the world would probably end in my lifetime”:

this helped prepare me for a career as an environmental activist in which the end of the world is the subject of every press release, every video, and every policy statement. But the addition of irrefutable scientific proof of the coming apocalypse, be it the quick and dirty Nuclear War, or the relatively time-consuming Deforestation/Greenhouse/Ozone Depletion scenario did not change the essential theme that it was all happening because we had been bad, and we would be punished for it in a firestorm.

Darryl Cherney, prominent EF! activist injured by a pipe bomb in 1990, also describes the imminent future in apocalyptic terms:

50% of the global rain forests, 50% of the U.S. forests, vast amounts of mountains that have had their tops ripped off and been filled with garbage from the cities. We’re losing clean water - 90% of America’s water is polluted. We’ve lost thousands and thousands of critters to extinction. We’ve lost the ability to take life for granted. We’ve lost the innocence that you can

be born on this planet and be assured of enough resources to carry you through. This is really the first generation that has lived on the planet that cannot be assured that it will have a planet to live on. By the same token, we are also the last generation to have the honor and privilege of fighting for the life of the planet itself. (Rizzo 1998)

These words come from the millenarian faction of EF!, as Martha Lee would call them, as opposed to the apocalyptic faction.

Ron Arnold identifies the millenarian faction as lying on a more pacifist end of a scale of violence, while “the most devoted deep ecology ideologists and the criminal element lie at the other, grim, humorless and hate-ridden” (1997, 292). It is this end which represents for Martha Lee the apocalypics of EF! and the violent Radical Environmental groups in general. In the “Statement of Principles” for EF! (reprinted by Lee) Dave Foreman identifies this apocalyptic belief system. The fourth principle states that

Humankind, through overpopulation, anthropocentrism, industrialization, excessive energy consumption/resource extraction, state capitalism, father-figure hierarchies, imperialism, pollution, and natural area destruction, threatens the basic life processes of EARTH.¹⁵

Foreman went so far with his desire to stop the destruction of the wilderness that he wrote a book, *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, that discussed numerous ways to damage the tools of industrialism. This served as a field guide for how to destroy equipment, spike trees, cut down powerlines, destroy billboards, destroy traps, make stink bombs, and other various forms of vandalism and destruction of property.

The *EF! Journal* editor Peter Dustrud went even farther than Foreman by stating in his first editorial, “The heart and soul of EARTH FIRST! philosophy is that the human race resembles a cancer, which is rapidly devastating the Earth and Her community of life, and leading toward a massive ecological breakdown” (Dustrud

1982). It is not surprising to find that part of the inspiration for Foreman comes from Edward Abbey and his book *The Monkeywrench Gang* (Lee 1995). Martha Lee identifies some of Abbey's writing, in an *Earth First!* article, as apocalyptic in nature. Abbey states that the military-industrial state would end within fifty years and a very different society would result from this (Lee 1995, 99). Although Abbey's views in this article differ from that of Foreman's, in regards to concern over what society will survive the catastrophe, they still represent the apocalyptic beliefs of the Radical Environmental groups.

It is the actions of the apocalyptic faction, after they left EF!, which give Martha Lee the most concern. She believes that the apocalyptics

left the movement to pursue their goals independently; they still hope for an imminent apocalypse, and they still believe that their function is to preserve as much wilderness as possible before that event using whatever tactics they deem necessary . . . The belief system of these individuals is also much more extreme: it gives no special status to human life. (1995, 149)

Indeed they may have moved on to other groups such as the Earth Liberation Front or, in a crossover to Animal Rights groups, the Animal Liberation Front. Ron Arnold, in testimony before Congress, stated, "I have been able to determine that certain criminal Earth Firsters, Earth Liberation Front (ELF) members and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) members are the same people" (Arnold 1998). Barry Clausen, an investigator who infiltrated EF!, echoes this crossover idea in the same Congressional hearing describing the work of his organization, North American Research (Clausen 1998). It is within this crossover into more violent groups in which we begin to see the crossover into the Animal Rights groups and their violence. In the words of an ELF member, "I can't just sit back and watch as woodland areas are destroyed, as animals are terrorized and abused, as ecological

destruction takes place and the human race turns planet Earth into a rubbish heap” (*Underground* #8 1997).

The ELF and ALF have helped to blur the lines between these two groups; Radical Environmental and Animal Rights. Rik Scarce (1990) sees these as merely part of three divisions of the same movement with “its land-based emphasis represented by EF!; the sea-going aspect found in the Sea Shepherds; and a third branch, Animal Liberation” (1990, 10). Rich Bernardi, an EF! and Animal Liberation protester, does not “see that there is any difference really between EF! and Animal Rights” (Scarce 1990, 117). This cooperation can be seen in actions that occurred in 1998 in which both organizations claimed joint responsibility. This does not necessarily mean that they are one in the same as far as Animal Rights being a division of Radical Environmentalism, as Scarce argues they are. Christopher Manes takes the opposite view. Manes sees the Animal Rights movement as only: “willing to extend the circle of ethical and moral standing . . . to animals . . . It does not include nonsentient beings such as plants or rivers or mountains, which have to seek protection from other than the animal rights movement” (Manes 1990, 146). Despite the difference in philosophy that may or may not exist, they are linked by their apocalyptic beliefs—the belief that there is an imminent catastrophe, “biological meltdown” for the Radical Environmental groups, and as we shall see the exploitation and deaths of millions of animals every year for Animal Rights groups.

Animal Rights Groups

Modern Animal Rights groups derive their identity from Peter Singer’s *Animal Liberation* and from the works of Tom Regan (Monaghan 1997). Rachel Monaghan identifies Singer’s “supreme principle is that of equality” for animals and

humans (1997, 107). This rising up of identifying animals as equal to humans sets the stage for the apocalyptic beliefs of Animal Rights groups. The idea of anthropomorphism, in which human characteristics are given to animals, began to make its way into the movement (Luther and Simon 1992). Much like the Rescue Movement identifying fetuses as human and therefore abortion was a large-scale destruction of human life; the anthropomorphism of Animal Rights allowed the killing and exploitation of animals to be viewed in a similar light.

Paul Watson, founder of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society states that that we are “living in an age of mass extinction” (Watson 1998). Watson goes on to give us an idea about the importance of this mass extinction:

To be responsible for extinction is to commit blasphemy against the divine. It is the greatest of all possible crimes, more evil than murder, more appalling than genocide, more monstrous than even the apparent unlimited perversities of the human mind. To be responsible for the complete and utter destruction of a unique and sacred life form is arrogance that seethes with evil, for the very opposite of evil is live. It is no accident that these two words spell out each other in reverse.

Watson’s concern of animals over humans is also reflected in David Morris’ book, *Earth Warrior*, in which Morris traveled with Watson aboard the boat *Sea Shepherd II*:

“Well John” (an individual that confronted Watson), Paul said, “when we planned this campaign, we didn’t sit around and ask ourselves, ‘I wonder what John’s gonna think if we sink these ships, or maybe we should ask John what his opinion is.’ Frankly, John, we don’t give a damn what you or anybody else on this planet thinks. We didn’t sink those ships for you. We did it for the whales. It’s the whales we care about, John. Not you.” (1995, 184)

Morris provides some of his own apocalyptic thinking in regards to “overfishing,” “incidental bycatch” and other harm done to the oceans, saying that the “self-delusive con job or cover-up, concealing an onslaught so ruinous that we now threaten to reduce three-quarters of the globe to a biological wasteland” (1995, 92). In the same

line of thought Morris sees the “so-called solutions . . . often just disguise or delay the catastrophe” (1995, 11).

ALF activist Rodney Coronado, jailed for aiding and abetting arson at Michigan State University in 1992, echoes this:

But when we are talking about the preservation of our life-support system, the earth, and prevention of the extinction of literally thousands of species which play an integral role in a healthy environment, then allowing that to happen is what has gone too far. To stop it whatever we are forced to now may seem extreme, but will be appreciated by future generations who will be able to live and survive thanks to this generation’s actions on behalf of earth and animals.

The question is whether we’ve already gone too far by allowing governments and corporations to play Russian roulette with the fate of this planet and our future without taking greater personal responsibility to stop it at all costs. We, as citizens of earth, and as the guardians of the planet for future, [sic] generations can never go too far in preserving earth and the many Nations of Life upon it. Such is our obligation. (Satya 1998)

These beliefs, while discussing environmental catastrophes, for the most part focus on the “mass extinction” of the animals thus setting them apart from the Radical Environmental groups. Mass extinction is not the only catastrophic focus of the Animal Rights groups.

The apocalyptic focus of other Animal Rights groups is based on the more immediate loss of life or exploitation of animal life that occurs in society. These groups are the most active when it comes to violence. These groups are represented by the ALF (and its various cells), Paint Panthers, Crustacean Liberation Front, and other various groups. These groups are based on the Band of Mercy founded by Ronnie Lee in England in 1972 (Arnold 1997; Monaghan 1997). After being released from jail in 1976, Ronnie Lee started the Animal Liberation Front to continue actions against animal abusers (Arnold 1997; Monaghan 1997). The ALF guidelines, as posted on *the Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service (ALFIS) website*,

identify one of the reasons behind its existence: “To reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors.”¹⁶ It is these “atrocities,” which include death, abuse and exploitation, that give this segment of the Animal Rights movement their apocalyptic beliefs.

As was noted in the first paragraph of this section, the abuse, exploitation, or even death of any animal is likened to the apocalyptic visions of the Rescue Movement. These two groups have very similar apocalyptic notions in that the catastrophe of their apocalypticism is as simple as the loss of an individual life, be it human or animal. The *A.L.F. Primer* (1998), which all prospective participants are encouraged to read, states in its “Legal Disclaimer” that:

We would never dream of encouraging someone to use the proven-effective methods presented within to free innocent beings from the depths of hell, or to destroy the tools used to torture, mutilate, and murder them. We’d much prefer you sit at home watching TV and remain apathetic.

The *A.L.F. Primer* goes on to give the guidelines, descriptions of the ALF, other information on not only how to get started in “direct action” but also how to do it. The Primer also quotes an ALF member on his view of the ALF, giving more insight into the apocalyptic beliefs of the ALF: “We feel a sense of urgency for the animals whose pain and imminent death is absolutely real to them today” (1998). Others in the movement echo this sense of imminent deaths.

ALF activist, and co-founder of the New Jersey Animal Defense League, Darius Fullmer thought it necessary for him to become an ALF activist because “it’s something I feel in my heart. Turning my back on anyone as they are suffering and dying is just not an option. The animals deserve nothing less” (Fullmer 1998). J. P. Goodwin, national director of the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade, goes into more graphic detail: “I think *violent* would be piling mink into a gas chamber where they

choke to death. And having the skin peeled off their backs to make frivolous luxury products” (Williams 1996). Communiqués received from various ALF actions also reflect this sense of suffering and dying of the animals.

The ALF will often send communiqués to the media or through People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) or the North American ALF Support Group (NAALFSG). One communiqué after an October 5, 1997 raid on an Illinois fur farm stated, “Millions of animals are slaughtered each year at the hands of the fur industry and by their support from callous and selfish humans. This is the season of blood. Fur farmers and animal murderers beware!”¹⁷ Much like the Rescue Movement an ALF group in New Jersey stated in its communiqué, “This is just the beginning. We have declared war on all those who profit off of death.”¹⁸ The Justice Department (a more radical Animal Rights group) in a poisoning hoax before Thanksgiving 1997 on the East coast gets very graphic in their reasons for their “attack”:

Every year more than 2 hundred million turkeys are killed for human consumption. At birth they are de-beaked caus [sic] severe pain and spend 13 (to) 24 weeks living in crowded amonia [sic] filled dusty windowless sheds never seeing daylight until they are shipped off to be killed. In these death camps each bird has as little as half a square foot of space to live in.

THIS HOLOCAUST WILL NO LONGER BE TOLERATED.¹⁹

Another ALF communiqué regarding two fur farm raids in Canada in October 1995 was just as damning of animal exploitation in the fur industry:

We can think of few things crueller [sic] in this world than the confinement of a living, feeling, intelligent and wild animal to one or two cubic feet of life so that they can be murdered and mutilated to further the hedonistic pleasures of some thoughtless man wishing to decorate his woman. There is no logical justification for the slaughter of these animals. Nobody needs a mink coat except those mink.²⁰

These communiqués are just a sample of the many found on the ALFIS website.

Most give one version or another of the catastrophe that is the animal industries; be it

fur farms or the fur shops that profit from them, restaurants serving meat, or other industries that exploit animals. While not involving the grand apocalypse of a “biological meltdown,” End-Times scenarios, or industrial society’s destruction of itself, the Animal Rights groups’ anthropomorphism raises this catastrophe to the level of others in their minds.

Rachel Monaghan, while not talking about anthropomorphism specifically, identifies the “belief in animal rights contends that animals have ‘rights’ parallel and equal to those of humans” (1997, 114). By taking this belief a step farther, Animal Rights activists justify their engagement in direct actions and use of violence (Monaghan 1997). This strong identification with the animals, through the anthropomorphic beliefs, creates an apocalyptic atmosphere where the death of or extinction of animals is, in the words of Paul Watson (1998), “more appalling than genocide.” Some go as far as to identify more with the animals than with humans. Rod Coronado, from inside his prison cell, talks about what he thinks when he hears coyotes singing:

I know my animal relations know why I’m here, and are blessing me with their friendship and brother-and sisterhood. Hopefully I’ve proven to them that I’m more like them than I am like the two-leggeds who wage war upon them. (Satya 1998)

The similarity between the Rescue Movement and Animal Rights groups when it comes to the identification of themselves with the victims is very interesting. It is this identification which gives the imminent and assured destruction/abuse of the animals such strength for this group. As we saw in the discussion of the Rescue Movement this assured apocalypse makes imminence a more powerful variable than for the other groups. This insured (in the sense of knowing when the apocalypse will occur) imminence gives Animal Rights and the Rescue Movement something the other

groups do not have: foreknowledge of the apocalypse they are focused on. Chapter IV will show us how important this variable will have on the violence related to these groups. This similarity and others across groups will be briefly discussed in the conclusion of this section.

Similarities of the Apocalyptic Groups

There are numerous similarities amongst these groups. These groups have several characteristics, regardless of typologies, that are important to keep in mind when discussing the apocalyptic nature of them. John George and Laird Wilcox (1996) lay out twenty-two traits of extremists in *American Extremists*. Of these twenty-two, four are particularly applicable to the examined apocalyptic groups. These four are: (1) "Tendency to view opponents and critics as essentially evil," (2) "Manichaen worldview" (absolute good or evil), (3) "Doomsday thinking," and (4) "Belief that it's okay to do bad things in the service of a 'good' cause" (George and Wilcox 1996, 56–61). We have seen each present in the groups discussed above. Along with these similarities there are some that are more specific between groups.

The Rescue Movement, Animal Rights groups and to some extent the Radical Environmental groups have a strong identification with the "victims" of the catastrophes they seek to stop. For Animal Rights and Radical Environmental groups, this is a result of their biocentric or ecocentric beliefs. For the Rescue Movement, it is based on their religious beliefs in that all human life is sacred. This identification ties in with the idea of imminence discussed in Chapter II. The imminent and insured destruction of the fetus/animal/tree/mountain gives these groups some insight into the apocalypse not seen in the other groups. This insurance is because those in the Rescue Movement know "x" number of fetuses will die on "y" day. Animal Rights

groups know “x” number of animals will be slaughtered or abused on “y” day. Radical Environmental groups know that “x” trees will be cut down on “y” day. This “appointment with the apocalypse” is not evident in other groups for the most part. The Branch Davidians had this insurance when they learned of the BATF raid beforehand, which fit into one of the Seven Seals (Kopel and Blackman 1997, 84). The other groups, for the most part, have a sense of imminence in the coming of the apocalypse they are concerned with, but not with the certainty of the Animal Rights/ Abortions Protesters/Radical Environmental groups or the Branch Davidians. This idea of imminence will be discussed in Chapter IV as it may play an important role in determining the frequency of violence.

Another similarity amongst these groups is that all of them except the End-Times groups engage in an individual, cellular or “Leaderless Resistance” form of organization. The Branch Davidians merely separated themselves from society, albeit in a larger group. The Rescue Movement, Radical Environmental, and Animal Rights groups all have “field guides” on how to perform actions. The Rescue Movement has the AOG Manual; Radical Environmental have *Ecodefense*; and Animal Rights have *The Final Nail #1 and #2*, *The A.L.F. Primer*, and *Arson Around with Auntie ALF*. Militia/Patriot groups have catalogs available to them to purchase how-to books from bomb making to survival food to book and videotape purchasing. All believe the government unfairly persecutes them (Koernke 1993; Velluci 1998). They all have strong communications systems in place. All have a presence on the Internet. As we have seen, there is much cross-typing among the first three groups examined and among the last three groups examined.

Overcoming the Cross-typing Problem

The first three groups show a pattern of strong cross-typing between Militia/Patriot and End-Times groups with smaller, but possibly growing, crossover with the Rescue Movement. As was noted the distinction drawn between the Militia/Patriots and End-Timers is a matter of focus. The Militia/Patriot groups focus on the loss of Constitutional freedoms and less so on the Second Coming. The End-Timers focus more on the signs of the Second Coming while pointing to happenings in the secular world as proof of this. Often these two can cross paths or, as Michael Barkun (1996b) stated, “intersect.” Those in the Rescue Movement do have their “eyes to the heavens,” so to speak, believing the Second Coming may soon arrive, but their focus is on the loss of human life. Human life is supernaturally given by God, not just created by man. This distinction between the loss of a human created life, shared by with other groups, and the loss of God given life is what separates them from the Unnatural apocalyptic types.

The Rescue Movement and the End-Times Religious groups thus occupy the Supernatural apocalyptic type because of the Supernatural focus they place on their respective apocalypse. The killing of a divinely created being during an abortion and the blame placed on Satanic forces responsible for it, sets the Rescue Movement squarely into this type. The belief that any and all coming catastrophes, regardless of whether they are Natural or Unnatural, are divinely inspired, and prophesied in the Bible, sets the End-Times groups also into this type. Militia/Patriot groups are not so easily placed in their respective type.

Militia/Patriot groups do have End-Times beliefs which may come about in their writings, but for the most part focus on the loss of freedoms, Constitutional and

otherwise. This focus is what narrowly sets them apart from the End-Times groups and the Supernatural type. The Anti-Industrial/Technology groups are more easily typed. This group sees the coming and inevitable collapse of the industrial society due to technology's runaway progress. This progress, as the Unabomber points out, results in a loss of freedom for humans. There is nothing Supernatural about this. There is, however, a belief that there may be a Natural catastrophe as a result of the runaway of industrial society. Like the differentiation between Militia/Patriot groups and End-Times groups we must look at the focus. Because the focus is placed on the loss of human freedom (an anthropocentric viewpoint) as opposed to the loss of the environment (a biocentric viewpoint) this group is placed in the Unnatural type.

The Radical Environmental groups also talk about the negative impact of the industrial society, technology and capitalism on the world. But, as discussed above, since their biocentric views focus on the catastrophe of a "biological meltdown," this separates them from the Unnatural type of the Anti-Technology/Capitalists. This crossover is not as big a problem for the Animal Rights groups. Animal Rights groups also focus on the negative impacts of industrial society and capitalism (or consumerism) on the killing of animals and whole species. The difference drawn again is due to their biocentric beliefs and the anthropomorphism attributed to them. The characteristics and beliefs of these groups are what set them into their respective types.

Figure 2 provides a more accurate representation of how these groups fit into our typology. This figure represents the fact that a continuum exists upon which these groups can be placed rather than the delineated representation of Figure 1. The extent to which these groups cross-type into one type or another is shown by the left/right arrows next to the groups. The vertical broken lines represent that lack of a

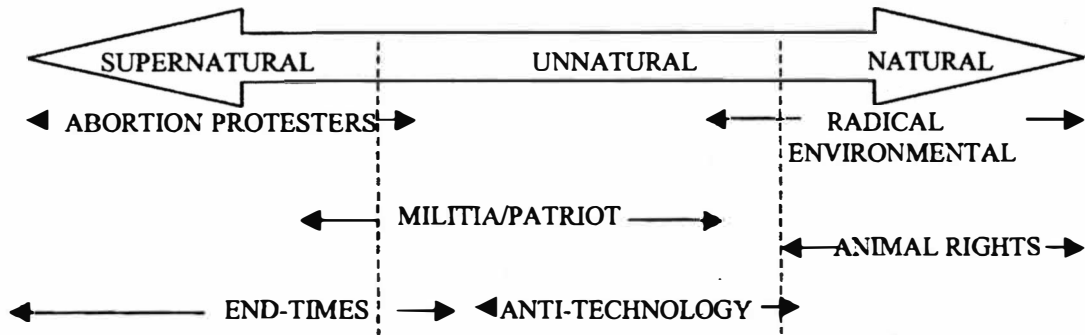


Figure 2. Apocalyptic Typology Revised.

solid border that was present in Figure 1. The Rescue Movement occupy the Supernatural with some identification with the Unnatural. The End-Times groups have some cross-typing into concern over an Unnatural apocalypse. Militia/Patriot groups occupy the Unnatural for the most part with some cross-typing into the Supernatural. The Anti-Technology groups fit almost wholly within the Unnatural type with some cross-typing into the Natural. Radical Environmental groups range from partly into the Unnatural to the full extent of the Natural. And finally the Animal Rights groups occupy a small presence in the Unnatural while extending all the way to the edge of the Natural.

The small extent of cross-typing which occurs is to be expected. It is not expected that this will negatively impact the data on violence since the groups involved (Rescue Movement, Animal Rights, etc.) are distinguishable by their acts of violence and targets chosen; this will be apparent in the examination of the data in the Chapter IV. The creation of this typology, while being a fresh look at apocalyptic groups, will allow us to view the violence of these groups in a new light. Similarities and differences in targets, tactics, locations, etc., will allow us to see how the typology created works in categorizing these groups. If we can look at the apocalyptic makeup of a group in the future, can we, by using this typology, predict

what types of violence they will engage in or what types of target or tactics they will use? This will be the test for the typology put forth by the analysis of the data presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

VIOLENT INCIDENTS FOR APOCALYPTIC GROUPS

Methods

Data for this thesis were gathered from numerous sources. Publications and Internet sites of watchdog groups were particularly helpful in gathering data on incidents. For Animal Rights groups, the Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service (ALFIS) website gives detailed information and archived news articles of incidents of Animal Rights groups, actions they support. Information from these sources allowed for a creation of a detailed database of over 1,200 incidents of violence for the time period 1990–1997.

Data for Militia/Patriot groups were gathered from various books regarding the Militia/Patriot groups (Dees and Corcoran 1996; Stern 1996). Publications of groups such as the Anti-Defamation League (*Beyond the Bombing* 1995; *Vigilante Justice* 1997) and websites such as The Militia Watchdog (Militia Follies 1996, Calendar of Conspiracy 1997) and the Southern Poverty Law Center (Patriot Crimes 1996) also provide data on violent incidents. J. Gordon Melton (1999) provided reinforcement of my findings that the Branch Davidians are the only American violent End-Times groups that fit the criteria established in Chapter I. Data for the Unabomber were gathered from Lemonick (1995). Data from Radical Environmental groups were gathered from the ALFIS and Arnold (1997). Animal Rights groups

data were gathered predominantly from the ALFIS website and also Arnold (1997). These sources provided the bulk of the data obtained for the database.

However, data gathered for the Rescue Movement varied greatly from those provided by the National Abortion Federation (NAF). This discrepancy necessitated the use of some more general data regarding the Rescue Movement groups. This discrepancy was evident in incidents of vandalism, thefts, arson, and assaults. By incorporating these data into the database, there are 1886 incidents with which to work with. Despite the lack of detailed information to go along with the NAF data the exclusion of over 600 incidents in one group made it necessary to use these numbers. Problems posed by using this data will be seen, and pointed out below.

The data were entered into the various categories described in Chapter I: Date (month/day/year), City (if known), State, Name of Organization (if known), Type of Group (from the six listed in Appendix A), Type of Incident (from the seven listed in Appendix B) and any other miscellaneous information (names of people and/or places, detailed description of attack, etc.). For the data analysis provided in this chapter, only the Year, State, Group, and Incident are necessary.

Results

Table 4 displays the types of violence used by each group. The two extremes of our typology (as expressed in Figure 2)—Rescue Movement and Animal Rights groups—represent 92.3 percent of the total incidents of violence. End-Times and Anti-Industrial/Technology are the least represented. Militia/Patriot and Radical Environmental groups are nearly identical in terms of the quantity of incidents, but differ in the types of incidents committed.

Table 4

Incidents of Violence for Apocalyptic Groups

	Rescue Movement	End-Times	Militia/ Patriot	Anti-Industrial	Radical Environmental	Animal Rights	Total
Homicides/ Attempts	10 (32.3, 1.4)	1 (3.2, 50.0)	15 (48.4, 21.7)	2 (6.5, 33.3)	1 (3.2, 1.5)	2 (6.5, 0.2)	29 (1.6)
Bombings/ Attempts	13 (26.0, 1.8)	—	13 (26.0, 18.8)	4 (8.0, 66.7)	5 (10.0, 7.4)	15 (30.0, 1.5)	50 (2.7)
Assaults	50 (84.8, 7.1)	—	7 (11.9, 10.1)	—	2 (3.4, 2.9)	—	59 (3.1)
Arson	93 (54.1, 13.2)	—	1 (.6, 1.5)	—	13 (7.6, 19.1)	65 (37.8, 6.3)	172 (9.1)
Weapons Charges	—	1 (3.3, 50.0)	29 (96.7, 42.0)	—	—	—	30 (1.6)
Thefts	31 (28.7, 4.4)	—	3 (2.8, 4.4)	—	—	74 (68.5, 7.2)	108 (5.7)
Vandalism	509 (35.5, 72.1)	—	1 (0.1, 1.5)	—	47 (3.3, 69.1)	879 (61.2, 84.9)	1436 (76.2)
Totals	706 (37.4)	2 (0.1)	69 (3.7)	6 (0.3)	68 (3.6)	1035 (54.9)	1886

Note: Percentages are represented in parentheses. The first number represents percentage of the total incidents committed by the respective group. The second number represents the percentage of the groups total incidents of violence are in that category of violence. For the totals of the incidents (last column) the percentage represents percentage of total incidents are in that category of violence. For the totals of the groups (last row) the percentage represents percentage of total incidents are attributed to that group.

Despite the representation given in Figure 2, the two extremes (Rescue Movement and Animal Rights) are similar in their methods of operation (m.o.), in terms of types of acts committed. The two groups with the most crossover, Militia/Patriot and Radical Environmental, differ in their m.o. but not in level of violence. The least violent groups appear to be those at the center of the apocalyptic thinking of the other groups. End-Times groups seem to be the center of the Rescue Movement and Militia/Patriot movement and the Anti-Industrial/Technology ideology is the center for the Animal Rights and Radical Environmental groups.

Figure 3 shows the progression over time in terms of overall incidents of violence. The general trend is an increase across the decade with a drop-off in 1995 followed by a large increase in 1996 and again into 1997. It is perhaps easy to say that following the Oklahoma City bombing there was a period of “shock” in which even the apocalyptic groups stopped to ponder the scope of what had occurred. In fact to look at 1995 (Figure 4) in detail, after the OKC bombing, on April 19, there is a small spike and then a drop-off over the rest of the year. Note the high level of incidents in the beginning of the year for Figures 4, 5, and 6 is due to the NAF data being dated as 1/1/9*). When compared to the data from the years previous and following, 1994 (Figure 5) and 1996 (Figure 6), there is no such pattern of lesser numbers of incidents in towards the end of the year. In fact for these years there is a steady amount of incidents in 1994 and in 1996 a spikes occurring during the end of the year. A different picture than what is seen in 1995.

The drop-off in 1995 cannot be associated with a drop-off in incidents of Militia/Patriot groups, often associated with the bombing. The Militia/Patriot groups in fact show a large increase in acts from 1994 to 1995, and steady increases through 1996 (Figure 7). What is shown instead is a large drop of over 100 incidents of

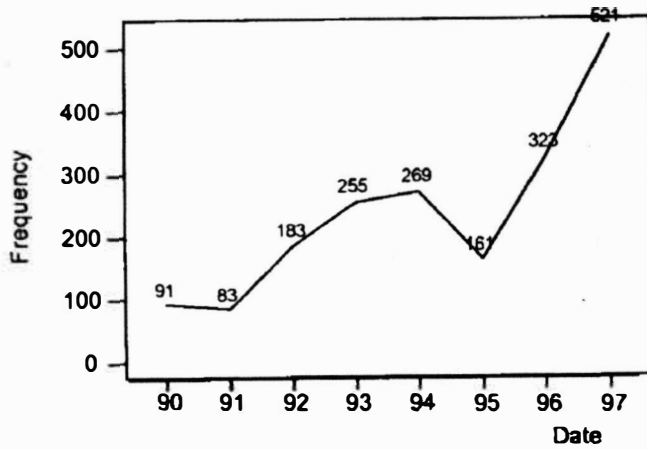


Figure 3. Total Incidents by Year.

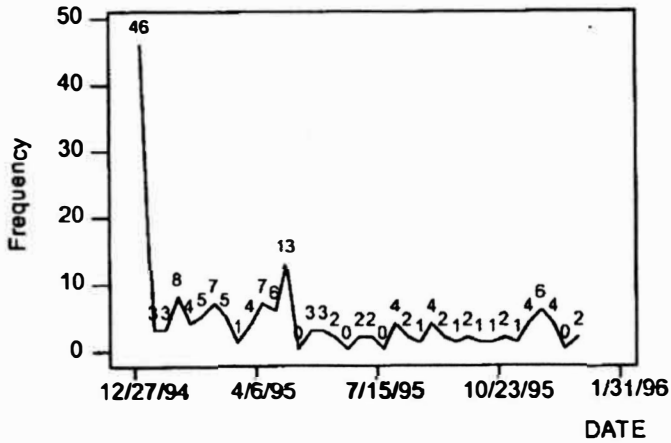


Figure 4. 1995 Total Incidents.

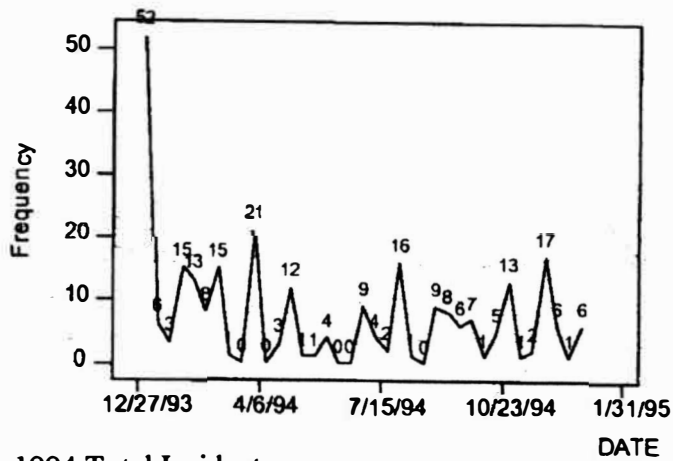


Figure 5. 1994 Total Incidents.

Animal Rights groups violence. Looking at Figure 8, the drop-off occurs in early 1995 and rises dramatically in 1996. It is likely not a coincidence that a major figure in the Animal Rights movement, Rod Coronado, pleaded guilty in March of 1995 to aiding and abetting the 1992 arson at Michigan State University. With the large impact the Animal Rights movement's actions have in the total of number of incidents (55 percent in Table 4), it is likely that this one group is responsible for the drop-off in incidents seen in 1995, not because of any effect from the OKC bombing.

Just as incidents vary over time, they also vary across the states. Table 5 shows us the states with the number of incidents committed over the 1990–1997 time period. These states are ranked by frequency of incidents and then their ranking in population. A Pearson correlation of 0.67 leads us to believe that population of the state has some bearing on the frequency of violence. This may have to do with the availability of targets for attacks. Since the Animal Rights groups weigh so heavily in the data this may be a likely explanation. The higher the population the more “animal abusing” businesses are likely to be found, e.g., fur stores, research facilities private and public, and restaurants. What is interesting is that despite the high correlation, some of the most violent states are not so high on the population ranking.

The anomalous states such as Minnesota, Oregon, Utah, and Washington D.C. (not a state, but a valid territory for the examination in this work, especially in light of the violence to population difference) are interesting to note in that despite their low population ranking, they are high on the incidents of violence. In the opposite direction are Massachusetts, Georgia, Missouri, Virginia, Illinois, and even Florida. These states are higher in population but rank lower on the frequency of violence ranking. There does not appear to be any reason why these high population states rank low on the violence scale.

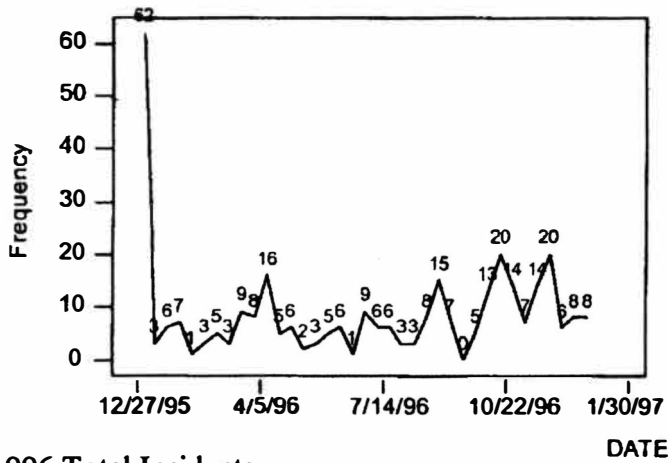


Figure 6. 1996 Total Incidents.

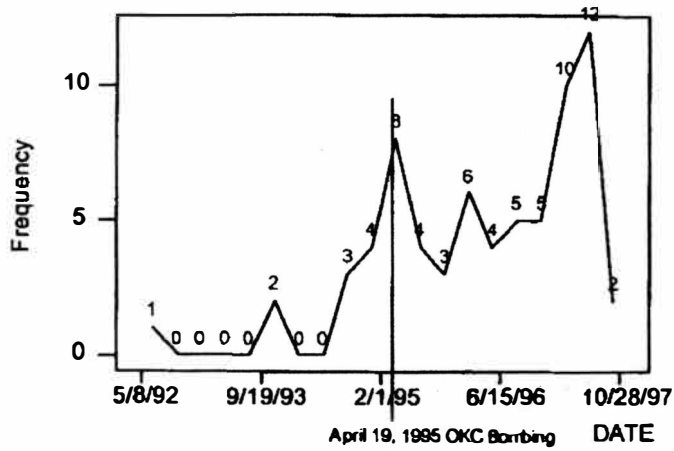


Figure 7. Militia/Patriot Incidents.

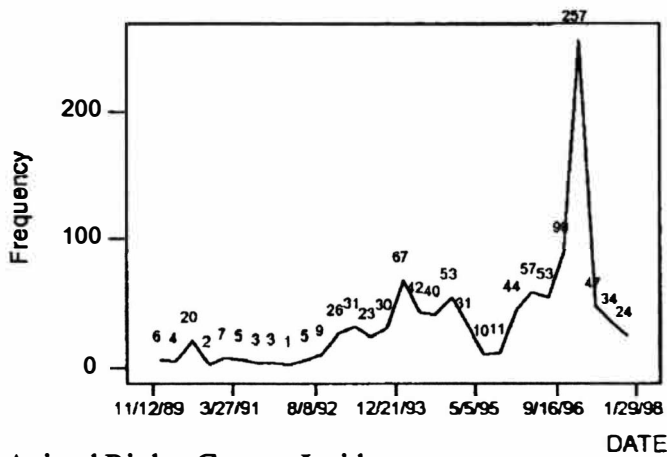


Figure 8. Animal Rights Groups Incidents.

Table 5
State Rankings by Incident and Population

State	Incidents Rank	Population Rank	State	Incidents Rank	Population Rank
California	1	1	Maine	25	39
New York	2	3	Massachusetts	26	13
Ohio	3	7	Georgia	27	10
Minnesota	4	20	Missouri	28	16
Washington	5	15	Idaho	29	40
Oregon	6	28	Nevada	30	36
Tennessee	7	17	Oklahoma	31	27
Utah	8	34	Alabama	32	23
New Jersey	9	9	New Mexico	33	37
Maryland	10	19	Louisiana	34	22
Texas	11	2	New Hampshire	35	42
North Carolina	12	11	South Dakota	36	46
Indiana	13	14	Arkansas	37	33
D.C.	14	50	Kansas	38	32
Pennsylvania	15	6	North Dakota	39	47
Michigan	16	8	Vermont	40	49
Wisconsin	17	18	Iowa	41	30
Florida	18	4	Kentucky	42	25
Montana	19	44	Mississippi	43	31
Illinois	20	5	Nebraska	44	38
Colorado	21	24	South Carolina	45	26
Connecticut	22	29	West Virginia	46	35
Virginia	23	12	Wyoming	47	51
Arizona	24	21			

Correlation of Incidents Rank and Population Rank = 0.671 (Pearson), p value = 0.000

Table 6 presents the low population/high frequency states of Oregon, Utah, and D.C., with a breakdown by year and by groups. The low population states of Utah, Minnesota, and Washington D.C. are influenced almost exclusively by Animal Rights incidents. Utah has had a near doubling of incidents every year since 1994, all Animal Rights related. This is likely due to the influence of the Straightedge youth movement that has entered Salt Lake City. This movement will be discussed briefly during the examination of Animal Rights groups. Washington D.C. has a steady amount of incidents, again almost exclusively Animal Rights. Minnesota has a dramatic increase in 1995 and another increase in 1996 with a substantial drop-off in 1997. This is likely due to the \$2 million arson at Alaska Fur Co. in Bloomington on November 12, 1996 and the arson at Haertel Co. in Eden Prairie on December 26, 1996.

These two incidents are likely to have caused an increase in law enforcement focus on the activities of these groups. This would make it more likely that fewer incidents would occur in the future. If this is true, one can expect to see a decrease in future incidents in Utah after the arrest of Animal Rights activists there. In Oregon there is a more balanced number of incidents. The even breakdown between Animal Rights and Radical Environmental is not seen in any of the other states, especially when one considers that nearly one-third of the Radical Environmental incidents occurred in Oregon. The dispersion of population (relation of population to size of state) amongst these states, excluding D.C., does not support the "more population equals more targets" hypothesis above. Therefore other variables must be present that can explain this. This is something which is not within the scope of this paper to answer and for which further research needs to be done.

Table 6

Low Population\High Frequency Breakdown

Washington D.C.									
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
RM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
M/P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
RE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AR	5	0	5	4	6	3	0	4	27
Total	5	0	5	4	6	3	0	5	29
Minnesota									
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
RM	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
M/P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
RE	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
AR	0	7	4	1	2	24	31	2	71
Total	1	7	4	1	3	24	31	2	74
Oregon									
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
RM	1	0	3	1	0	1	0	2	8
M/P	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	4
RE	2	1	0	0	0	2	14	1	20
AR	0	3	0	0	2	3	15	8	31
Total	3	4	3	1	2	7	31	12	63
Utah									
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
RM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M/P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AR	0	2	4	0	4	8	13	23	54
Total	0	2	4	0	4	8	13	23	54

RM = Rescue Movement, M/P = Militia/Patriot, RE = Radical Environmental,
AR = Animal Rights

There appear to be explanations behind patterns in the overall violence of groups. There are possible explanations for the dramatic decrease in violence from 1994–1995 and then the increase into 1996. The Oklahoma City bombing may not have had as much impact on overall violence as the arrest of an Animal Rights leader. The bombing did have an impact on the increase in Militia/Patriot incidents (reflected in the weapons charges incidents) as law enforcement focused on this group, resulting in numerous arrests preventing possible violence. There is a strong correlation between population and frequency of violence related to these apocalyptic groups. Explanations for why this occurs were briefly explored but cannot be adequately tested in the scope of this work. This is left for further research. There is an upward trend in violence that should be of concern to not only the government but also the citizens of the United States. The upcoming Millenium and possible Y2K “crisis” may only cause further increases to occur. The next step is to look to see if there are any specific patterns that may cause the most concern and why. Due to the lack of violent incidents by the End-Times groups and Anti-Industrial/Technology groups they will be only briefly discussed within the other groups.

Focus on Destruction of Property

From Table 4 there are four numbers that stand out from the rest. These numbers are the percentage of total incident, per group, that are of one type of violence. For the Militia/Patriot movement this number is 42 percent of incidents related to weapons charges. For the Rescue Movement this number is 72 percent of their violence is vandalism. The Radical Environmental groups have 69 percent of their violence coming from vandalism. Animal Rights groups concentrate 85 percent

of their violence in acts of vandalism. These three groups can be examined together because of their focus on the use of the same type of violence.

Tables 7, 8 and 9 show the breakdown of incidents by year for the Rescue Movement, Radical Environmental and Animal Rights groups respectively. Consistently vandalism is the most pervasive with arson far behind as the second most frequent incident committed. These three groups have a focus on targeting property for their violence. The exception to this is the number of homicides/attempts by the Rescue Movement. This willingness to attack humans sets the Rescue Movement apart from Radical Environmental and Animal Rights groups.

The Rescue Movement (Table 7) has 89.5 percent of incidents coming from property crimes, arson, theft and vandalism. Radical Environmental groups (Table 8) have 88 percent of their violence coming from arson and vandalism. Animal Rights (Table 9) has 98.5 percent of their violence coming from not only arson and vandalism but also theft. Each group targets property for the same reason.

In Chapter III reasons behind the use of property focused violence was discussed for these groups. The data support this use of property focused violence by these groups to increase the costs for abortion providers, environmental abusers, and animal abusers. Increasing costs to the owners of these targets is the point of this violence from these groups. Patterns of violence for these groups help to show if this tactic is a successful one in the eyes of the respective groups.

Figure 9 shows the overall level of violence for the Rescue Movement, across the time period. The drop-off from 1993 to 1994 is explained, by Kaplan (1996b), as a result of the 1994 Freedom of Clinic Entrances Act (FACE). What is not explainable is the increase from 1996 to 1997. This year may be an anomaly, as NAF data show a drop of 111 incidents, down below the 1994, 1995 and 1996 levels.²¹

Table 7

Incidents of Violence by Year for Rescue Movement

	Homicides/ Attempts	Bombings/ Attempts	Assault	Arson	Theft	Vandalism	Total
1990	-	1 (2.2, 7.7)	6 (13.3, 12.0)	10 (22.2, 10.8)	2 (4.4, 6.5)	26 (57.8, 5.1)	45 (6.37)
1991	-	1 (1.7, 7.7)	6 (10.0, 12.0)	8 (13.3, 8.6)	1 (1.7, 3.2)	44 (73.3, 8.6)	60 (8.5)
1992	-	-	9 (6.1, 18.0)	18 (12.2, 19.4)	5 (3.4, 16.1)	116 (78.4, 22.8)	148 (21.0)
1993	2 (1.4, 20.0)	-	9 (6.4, 18.0)	13 (9.3, 14.0)	3 (2.1, 9.7)	113 (80.7, 22.2)	140 (19.8)
1994	4 (5.6, 40.0)	5 (6.9, 38.5)	7 (9.7, 14.0)	10 (13.9, 10.8)	4 (5.6, 12.9)	42 (58.3, 8.3)	72 (10.2)
1995	3 (5.4, 30.0)	1 (1.8, 7.7)	3 (5.4, 6.0)	15 (26.8, 16.1)	3 (5.4, 9.7)	31 (55.4, 6.1)	56 (7.9)
1996	1 (2.0, 10.0)	2 (3.9, 15.4)	1 (2.0, 2.0)	7 (13.7, 7.5)	7 (13.7, 22.6)	33 (64.7, 6.5)	51 (7.2)
1997	-	3 (2.24, 23.1)	9 (6.7, 18.0)	12 (9.0, 12.9)	6 (4.5, 19.4)	104 (77.6, 20.4)	134 (19.0)
Total	10 (1.4)	13 (1.8)	50 (7.1)	93 (13.2)	31 (4.4)	509 (72.1)	706

Note: Percentages are represented in parentheses. The first number represents percentage of the total incidents committed that year were of this nature. The second number represents the percentage of the incidents of this nature committed during that year. For the totals of the year (last column) the percentage represents percentage of total incidents occurred that year compared to the cumulative number. For the totals of the incidents (last row) the percentage represents percentage of cumulative incidents are of this nature.

Table 8

Incidents of Violence by Year for Radical Environmental Groups

	Homicides/ Attempts	Bombings/ Attempts	Assault	Arson	Vandalism	Total
1990	1 (7.1, 100.0)	—	1 (7.1, 50.0)	2 (14.3, 15.4)	10 (71.4, 21.3)	14 (20.6)
1991	—	—	1 (16.7, 50.0)	1 (16.7, 7.7)	4 (66.7, 8.5)	6 (8.8)
1992	—	—	—	—	5 (10.6, 7.4)	5 (7.4)
1993	—	1 (16.7, 20.0)	—	1 (16.7, 7.7)	4 (66.7, 8.5)	6 (8.8)
1994	—	—	—	5 (41.7, 38.5)	7 (58.3, 14.9)	12 (17.7)
1995	—	2 (25.0, 40.0)	—	—	6 (75.0, 12.8)	8 (11.8)
1996	—	2 (13.3, 40.0)	—	4 (26.7, 30.8)	9 (60.0, 19.2)	15 (22.1)
1997	—	—	—	—	2 (100.0, 4.3)	2 (2.94)
Total	1 (1.5)	5 (7.4)	2 (2.9)	13 (19.1)	47 (69.1)	68

Note: Percentages are represented in parentheses. The first number represents percentage of the total incidents committed that year were of this nature. The second number represents the percentage of the incidents of this nature committed during that year. For the totals of the year (last column) the percentage represents percentage of total incidents occurred that year compared to the cumulative number. For the totals of the incidents (last row) the percentage represents percentage of cumulative incidents are of this nature.

Table 9

Incidents of Violence by Year for Animal Rights Groups

	Homicides/ Attempts	Bombings/ Attempts	Arson	Theft	Vandalism	Total
1990	—	2 (6.3, 13.3)	3 (9.4, 4.6)	5 (15.6, 6.8)	22 (68.8, 2.5)	32 (3.1)
1991	—	—	5 (29.4, 7.7)	8 (47.1, 10.8)	4 (23.5, 0.5)	17 (1.6)
1992	—	—	3 (10.3, 4.6)	3 (10.3, 4.1)	23 (79.3, 2.6)	29 (2.8)
1993	1 (1.0, 50.0)	6 (5.8, 40.0)	10 (9.6, 15.4)	1 (1.0, 1.4)	86 (82.7, 9.8)	104 (10.1)
1994	—	3 (1.7, 20.0)	5 (2.8, 7.7)	4 (2.2, 5.4)	167 (93.3, 19.0)	179 (17.3)
1995	—	—	5 (6.6, 7.7)	4 (5.3, 5.4)	67 (88.2, 7.7)	76 (7.3)
1996	—	3 (1.3, 20.0)	10 (4.2, 15.4)	23 (9.6, 31.1)	203 (84.9, 23.1)	239 (23.1)
1997	1 (0.3, 50.0)	1 (0.3, 6.7)	24 (6.7, 36.9)	26 (7.2, 35.1)	307 (85.5, 34.9)	359 (34.7)
Total	2 (0.2)	15 (1.5)	65 (6.3)	74 (7.2)	879 (84.9)	1035

Note: Percentages are represented in parentheses. The first number represents percentage of the total incidents committed that year were of this nature. The second number represents the percentage of the incidents of this nature committed during that year. For the totals of the year (last column) the percentage represents percentage of total incidents occurred that year compared to the cumulative number. For the totals of the incidents (last row) the percentage represents percentage of cumulative incidents are of this nature.

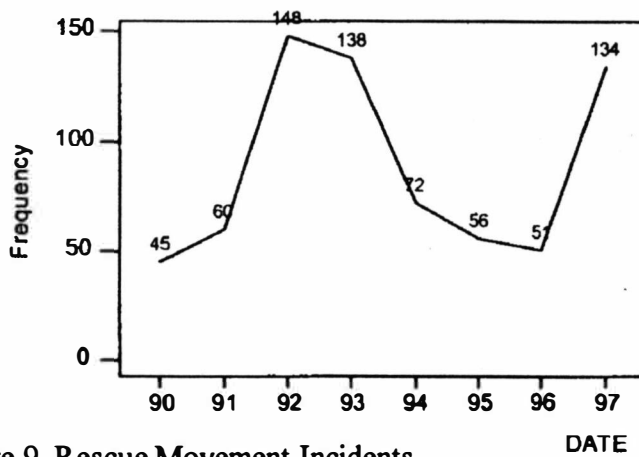


Figure 9. Rescue Movement Incidents.

Figure 10 shows the pattern for Radical Environmental groups across the time period. This group shows a downward trend early on, with a rise over the second half of the time period and a steep drop-off in 1997. Figure 11 shows the Radical Environmentalist violence in more detail. The large spike in incidents in late 1996 and drop-off in 1997 is explained by the actions of the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). The ELF began their actions in late 1996, and continued into 1997, but began to engage in incidents that were classified as Animal Rights incidents.

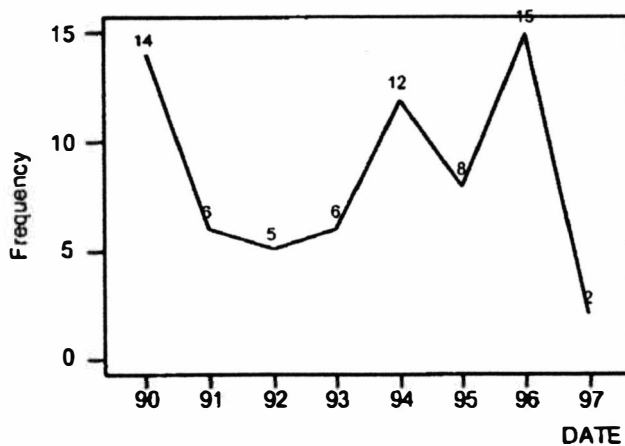


Figure 10. Radical Environmental Incidents.

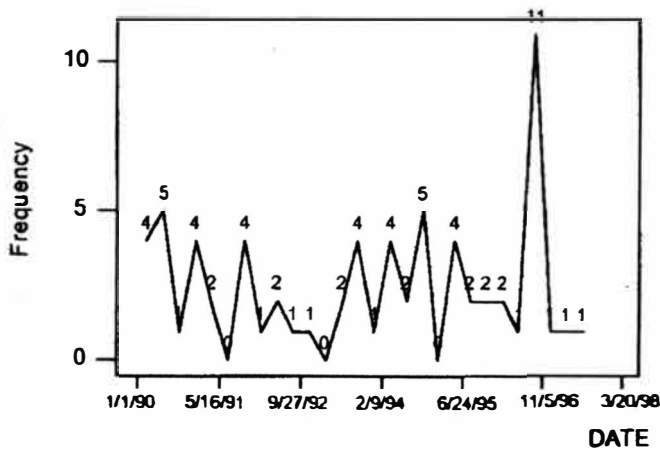


Figure 11. Radical Environmental Detailed Incidents.

Animal Rights groups are shown in Figure 12. This group has the most identifiable pattern. They show a steady increase across the time period (with the 1995-drop explained earlier). In fact 58 percent of Animal Rights violence occurs in 1996 and 1997. One possible explanation for this increase that needs to be examined is the increase of violence associated with the Straightedge punk youth movement.²² This movement may be a unique age-specific apocalyptic movement.

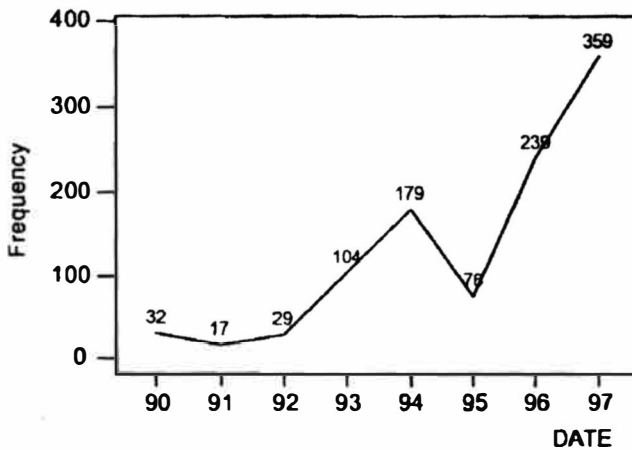


Figure 12. Animal Rights Incidents.

Some of these patterns of violence have been explained above (e.g., Coronado's arrest, FACE, ELF move to Animal Rights). One explanation for the increase in Animal Rights incidents include an increase in reporting of incidents to the ALFIS website. The RICO lawsuit of *NOW v. Scheidler*, or the manhunt for Eric Rudolph possibly contributing to the decrease from 1997 to 1998 discussed above. David Bromley (1997) offers an alternative explanation for the Rescue Movement's decrease, and possible future decreases for other groups.

Bromley (1997) sees apocalypticism as a "radical form of organization." Apocalypticism is "a moment in a group's history rather than a stable, long-term form of organization" (1997, 42). The apocalypticism of the movement may well have been temporary considering that the Rescue Movement is one of the longer lived of the groups examined in terms of violent histories. If we assume that the apocalypticism of the Rescue Movement is related to its violence, the move away from apocalypticism, as an organizing principle, may be why there is a decrease in violence occurring. The relatively new move to violence of Radical Environmental and Animal Rights groups allow for one to look to see if Bromley's hypothesis works for "secular" apocalypticism. The Militia/Patriot movement may also support this hypothesis, it is too soon to tell now.

Militia/Patriot Violence

The Militia/Patriot movement, despite popular opinion, is involved in a comparatively small number of violent incidents as reflected in Table 10. As was discussed earlier the trend in Militia/Patriot violence has increased since the Oklahoma City bombing. This trend is shown in Figure 13 for the time frame 1990–1997.

Table 10

Incidents of Violence by Year for Militia/Patriot Groups

	Homicides/ Attempts	Bombings/ Attempts	Assault	Arson	Weapons Charges	Theft	Vandalism	Total
1992	1 (100.0, 6.7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (1.5)
1993	1 (100.0, 6.7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (1.5)
1994	2 (50.0, 13.3)	—	1 (25.0, 14.3)	—	1 (25.0, 3.5)	—	—	4 (5.8)
1995	7 (36.8, 46.7)	4 (21.1, 30.8)	2 (10.5, 28.6)	—	5 (26.3, 17.2)	1 (5.3, 33.3)	—	19 (27.6)
1996	—	—	4 (22.2, 57.1)	—	13 (72.2, 44.8)	1 (5.6, 33.3)	—	18 (26.1)
1997	4 (15.4, 26.7)	9 (34.6, 69.2)	—	1 (3.9, 100.0)	10 (38.5, 34.5)	1 (3.9, 33.3)	1 (3.9, 100.0)	26 (37.7)
Total	15 (21.7)	13 (18.8)	7 (10.1)	1 (1.45)	29 (42.0)	3 (4.35)	1 (1.45)	69

Note: Percentages are represented in parentheses. The first number represents percentage of the total incidents committed that year were of this nature. The second number represents the percentage of the incidents of this nature committed during that year. For the totals of the year (last column) the percentage represents percentage of total incidents occurred that year compared to the cumulative number. For the totals of the incidents (last row) the percentage represents percentage of cumulative incidents are of this nature.

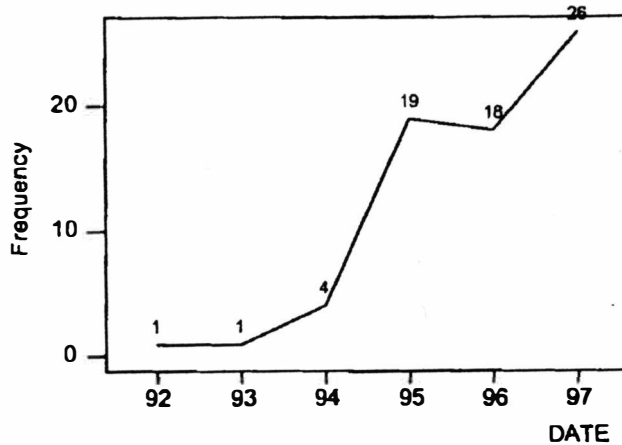


Figure 13. Militia/Patriot Incidents.

What is not reflected in Table 10 and Figure 13 is that the increase in incidents of violence has occurred because of a concerted effort on law enforcement targeting these groups. Many of these incidents are actually incidents in which violence was prevented by law enforcement, as we will point out below. These incidents are included because they are what the FBI refers to as a “prevention” of domestic terrorism (*Terrorism in the United States* 1996). While this work seeks to go beyond the FBI (and Smith’s work) it does not seek to exclude these incidents.

What is reflected in Table 10 is that these groups are particularly violent when they plan or engage in actions. Table 10 shows the three highest incidents of violence are homicides/attempts, bombings/attempts, and weapons charges. Unlike the Radical Environmental and Animal Rights groups, Militia/Patriot are less concerned with the possible loss of human life. The potential for violence is also reflected in the numbers of weapons charges attributed to the Militia/Patriot movement. Forty-two percent of the Militia/Patriot movement’s incidents involve weapons charges, and 97 percent of the weapons charges are attributed to the Militia/Patriot groups.

It is within these weapons charges that we find the potential for, but lack of completion of, violence. Of the 29 weapons charges, 25 occurred after the Oklahoma City bombing. Of those 25, 10 involved possession of explosives. Anything from pipe bombs, grenades, fuel and fertilizer were found, sometimes with plans for use on governmental buildings or other locations. This potential need not be minimized just because the Militia/Patriot movement lacks the quantity of incidents. This group is the most violent of the groups examined in terms of the potential for loss of human life. Looking back at Table 4 we see over 50 percent of the homicide/attempts attributed to the Militia/Patriot movement, nearly twice as much as the second highest group, Rescue Movement. The Militia/Patriot groups are second in bombings/attempts (tied with Rescue Movement) behind the Animal Rights groups. This statistic is misleading when we consider that several more incidents of potential bombings (reflected in weapons charges) were avoided due to law enforcement intervention, and the late start in the decade of Militia/Patriot incidents.

Overview of End-Times and Anti-Industrial Groups

Due to the lack of any significant amount of data for End-Times groups we shall briefly discuss them here. Despite the lack of the quantity of violence for End-Times groups, the spectacular nature of the violence at Waco shows the potential of violence capable of these groups that are convinced and prepared for an apocalyptic event. Looking at the People's Temple (Hall 1995; Wessinger 1998), Solar Temple (Hall and Schuyler 1997), Aum Shinrikyo (M. Mullins 1997) and Heaven's Gate (Abanes 1998) show that when these groups do engage in violence they do not hold back. It is the past acts of violence that causes concern for this group's potential and the focus of the media, government and academia.

This was evident in the recent events surrounding the Concerned Christians cult, which was deported from Israel for plotting violence to bring about the second coming of Jesus.²³ The reason for the violence seen in Waco should be seen in the light of the imminence of the apocalypse seen by the group. Much as with the Rescue Movement's focus on the imminent death of the child, the Animal Rights focus on the imminent death of the animal, the Branch Davidians saw the attack on them, by the BATF, as fulfilling the signs of the coming apocalypse (as seen in Chapter III). It is the imminence of the apocalypse that may have much to do with the violence of the groups examined. This will be further discussed at the end of this chapter. Regardless of this the End-Times groups do not display as violent a tendency as the next group we will look at, the Militia/Patriot groups.

During the time period under examination the Unabomber engaged in four bombings that resulted in the deaths of two individuals. The targets of these bombings were a geneticist, a computer scientist, an advertising executive (supposedly tied to the Exxon Valdez oil spill) and the president of a timber association. The last two of these incidents resulted in fatalities. The Unabomber represented a particularly deadly form of apocalyptic violence in that he intended to start the decline of industrial society so that human civilization could be rebuilt without the restraints of technology. This one man represented 8 percent of the total bombings examined in this paper.

These data allow us to answer the research questions addressed in Chapter I. Does the frequency and types of incidents relate to the typology? Is there any pattern to the frequency of incidents over the time period examined? Is there a relation between population of state and frequency of incidents? The results also allow the identification of the variable of imminence as a possible key to determining violence.

The validity of the typology in determining violence is answered above, but its effectiveness in distinguishing between the ideologies of the groups can be determined from Chapter III. It also provides further avenues to examine the reasons behind the violence related to these groups and other apocalyptic groups.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Results for Research Questions

From the data one is able to learn more about the differences and similarities of violence related to these groups. The results of this data analysis provide the answers to the research questions and also form the basis for further research on these groups. The first research question was: *Does the type of apocalypse (from the typology) correlate with the frequency of violence?* The answer to this is that the two extremes of the typology (Rescue Movement and Animal Rights) are the most violent. There is not one identifiable type of apocalypse that can be used to predict violence but the extremes are involved in the highest frequencies of violence.

The next research question was: *Does the type of apocalypse correlate with the same types of violence?* There is no direct correlation between the type of apocalypse and type of violence used. What is seen is that the most violent groups (Rescue Movement, Radical Environmental, and Animal Rights) engage mostly in property crimes (theft, arson, and vandalism). Next was a question regarding any *increases or decreases in the frequency of incidents for any of these groups.* The Rescue Movement shows a downward trend with an increase in 1997. The Militia/Patriot and Animal Rights groups show an increase during this time period. The Radical Environmental movement does not display any pattern except that 1997 shows a dramatic drop in incidents. The last research question was: *Is there any*

relation between the population of the state and the frequency of violence? There is a strong correlation between population and frequency of violence. These results allow for an evaluation of the typology's effectiveness in predicting violent behavior.

The results of this work show that the typology, in its current form, is not effective, as a possible variable, for use in predicting violence. The results show that population of state appears to be a variable worth pursuing further. There is another variable that could be placed in a predictive model for apocalyptic groups. This variable was discussed briefly above with the Rescue Movement, End-Times, and Animal Rights groups. This variable is the concept of imminence.

Importance of Imminence on Violence

Imminence of attainment (Taylor 1991) or salvation (Cohn 1970) as we saw in Chapter II was essential to a millenarian/apocalyptic engaging in violence. Rather than the imminence of the salvation the imminence of the apocalypse may be more important for determining violence. We see this imminence of the apocalypse in the three groups tagged as having this imminence quality (Rescue Movement, Branch Davidians, and Animal Rights). The Rescue Movement to some extent focuses on the fetuses that are about to be aborted. We saw this in Chapter II when Kaplan (1996b) discussed the identification with the babies by some of the rescuers in a resort to force. The focus on preventing the killing of babies is where imminence comes in for this group. Those in the Rescue Movement know that "x" number of babies will be killed on a certain day. The knowledge that the apocalyptic act will occur for certain and can be prevented by direct action leads to violence for this group. This differs from some other groups that say if we continue on this path we will "incur the wrath of God," experience a "biological meltdown," or be taken over by a "one world

government.” These apocalyptic events may or may not have dates on them but they all have signs leading up to them. The abortion appointment is “set in stone” so to speak as the apocalyptic date for that baby, providing the impetus for the Rescue Movement. This is similar to the imminence of the Animal Rights groups.

Animal Rights groups know, with a little less certainty as to specifics, that the animals on the fur farm will die during the pelt season or that the research animal will undergo some “inhumane” test soon. This knowledge lends itself to the imminence influence on the need to engage in violence. Radical Environmental groups may experience this by knowing that an area of a forest is to be cut down on a certain date. Yet they do not have the same number of violent incidents as the Animal Rights groups. This is possibly due to the access to the locations of the apocalypse. The middle of a forest is a little more difficult to get to than a research lab or fur farm. The area of the forest being so large that it is difficult to have the same impact that the Animal Rights groups are able to have by access. Another possible explanation is that the “life” being threatened is not really a “life,” despite environmentalists’ biocentric thinking, in the same terms as human or animal. It may very well be a combination of the two, which lead to the enormous gulf in terms of quantity of incidents by these groups. In the case of the Animal Rights groups, imminence does appear to be a factor in the violence attributed to these groups.

Imminence plays a factor in the incident involving the Branch Davidians. We know from the discussion in Chapter III that the Branch Davidians saw the BATF as the opening of the Fifth Seal (Thompson 1996) and the FBI raid related to the opening of the Sixth Seal (Kopel and Blackman 1997). The fulfillment of these seals involves the killing of the remaining members of Mount Carmel. Because the actions of the BATF fulfill Koresh’s timeline, starting in 1985 with the end-times coming 10

years later, the faithful knew the apocalypse was imminent. The forewarning of the raid allowed for the Davidians to prepare, knowing that the seals were being opened, and caused the episode to possibly become more dangerous than it should have been.

What we have for these three groups is the knowledge of the time of the apocalyptic event(s) and allows for them to engage in violent actions to attempt to prevent them from occurring. Any predictive model attempted for apocalyptic groups would have to involve an imminence variable. Imminence does not necessarily lead to violence from the apocalyptic group. This was witnessed in 1998 with the Chen Tao cult. This cult believed that God would land in Garland, Texas, in a UFO on March 31 and take the faithful to heaven. This did not result in any violence before or after the date. There are other variables that would need to be considered in any predictive apocalyptic model. This is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is necessary to point out that imminence, as part of any model, would appear to be strongly supported by the results of the data presented.

It is important to note that the concept of imminence as important to determining violence may be bolstered by the inclusion of racist/anti-Semitic groups in an examination of violence of all apocalyptic groups. If the perception is that the Race War is in progress now with the battle against ZOG, than the idea of the imminence of the apocalypse leading to violence may be further supported. The inclusion of these groups may also add to the strength of the typology.

Future Research and Broader Implications

Future research requires examining the possibility that other apocalyptic groups may strengthen the typology as it currently exists. The data show that one type of apocalypse is not “more” violent than any another type. This makes the

typology as a predictive model less than desirable. As Catherine Wessinger rightly states, “Obviously typologies are useful only to the extent that they accurately reflect and order the data” (1997, 56). The typology works better in ordering the ideological makeup of the groups, but not as well with the data on violence. The difficulty in ordering the ideology of the groups is the problem of cross-typing, as I call it. This is the most difficult problem to overcome. The instances outlined in Chapter III of beliefs of one group moving between two different types show how this occurs. The problem of the Militia/Patriot groups moving between the “secular” and the “religious” (Barkun 1996b; Lamy 1997), the Unabomber’s arguable move from concerns over the environment (Natural) to stated concerns about human freedom, and the pluralism (supernatural, natural and unnatural) of Radical Environmentalism (Taylor 1999) are examples of this. The typology may serve to distinguish between groups in regards to their primary, but not exclusive, apocalypse.

The typology is weak in regards to its usefulness as an identifier for violent tendencies of apocalyptic groups. The two extremes are the most violent, but the Militia/Patriot group’s violence in the “middle” of the continuum (Figure 2) does not allow for the generalization that the extremes will always be the most violent. If the racist/anti-Semitic groups were included it is likely they would fall along the same section of the continuum as the Militia/Patriot groups. The apparent high levels of violence attributable to the racist groups would give the continuum a different pattern. The continuum would see high levels of violence not only at the two extremes, but also in the middle. Each of the three sections of the typology (Supernatural, Unnatural, Natural) would have one of its respective groups with high levels of violence (Rescue Movement, Racist/Anti-Semitic, and Animal Rights). This requires further research that may help to strengthen the typology.

This paper shows that it is possible and productive to look at the apocalyptic beliefs of a wide range of groups. The call for an examination of similarities of these groups from Kaplan (1996a), while not the focus of this paper, was touched upon. The violence of the Rescue Movement, Animal Rights groups and the Branch Davidians, show that future examination of the imminence of the apocalypse, in determining violence, may prove fruitful. The patterns of violence in the Animal Rights groups and Rescue Movement require that further examination is required to determine if the respective increase/decrease continues. The implications of the millennial year 2000 and the unrelated Y2K computer problem also may prove to be important factors requiring further research.

This paper provides an expansion of the approach to apocalyptic studies. While relying on some textual analysis of these groups to provide the basis for the creation of a typology, its most important contribution is the use of data analysis to understand these groups. Much of the work on apocalyptic groups concentrates on the historical aspects of that particular group (Barkun 1997a; Lee 1995). The work done to compare groups has focused on the aspects that they have in common that lead to or prevent violence (Kaplan 1997b; Taylor 1991; Taylor 1999). This paper is an attempt to do both, but rather than a textual analysis to compare the groups directly, incidents of violence was used. This paper will hopefully show that it is possible to use data analysis to look at apocalyptic groups and their actions. Just as political science underwent its struggle to move from “traditional” political theory to a more empirical approach, it is possible that apocalyptic studies can do the same.

This research can easily be used to support the approach to conflict of game theory. More specifically the zero-sum game approach of conflict. The Manichaen nature of most of these groups lends to the creation of zero sum situations, real or

perceived. Bron Taylor (1999) argues that Radical Environmentalism's anti-dualistic nature does not lead it to demonize its opponents. He is correct in that this demonizing does not occur as it does for the other groups. This does not mean that Radical Environmentalism is not subject to violent conflict due to the perception of a zero-sum game. As was discussed in Chapter III, this group is convinced that any advance in "industrial and agricultural development" (Manes 1990, 25) is leading to decrease in habitats for animals. This belief that any advance in technology/industry is a loss for the environment is the basis for a zero-sum game. This supports the game theory approach to conflict, when applied to these particular political groups.

This paper provides a push for political science to examine its "exotic fringe." There is potential for political scientists to examine these groups in a systematic way. The actions of these groups are not to be taken lightly. The potential of violence to occur from the apocalyptic interpretations of legislative, law enforcement, or social actions requires care when determining such actions. This is seen in the approach to the Freemen standoff (Wessinger 1998) when compared to Waco only four years earlier. The FBI has actively tried to engage Militia/Patriot groups to avoid any misinterpretations of their actions (Duffy and Brantley 1997). The same should be considered by legislators when they debate laws related to National ID, the United Nations, foreign troops in the US, animal research, abortion laws, logging on public lands, and domestic terrorism laws. These laws are often interpreted as increasing the move towards a one-world government (national ID, Brady Bill), or working to destroy the environment for financial gain (logging on public lands).

This paper also shows the value of a broader approach to violence than that of L. Brent Smith. A more detailed examination of what types of violence can be attributed to groups allows us to see the scope of the problem and the effect it can

have across the nation. Not relying on what the federal government determines is domestic terrorism allows us to look at a broader range of actions of these groups. While the inclusion of vandalism as violent is arguable, the fact that this vandalism is done as a result of the perpetrator's political/apocalyptic beliefs made it necessary to include vandalism. The vandalism of these groups is an attempt, in a minor but cumulative manner, to change society to prevent their respective apocalypse. The Rescue Movement does it to drive abortion clinics out of business. Animal Rights groups engage in it for the same reasons. While not intended to violently cause harm to individuals these actions are a fundamental part of these two groups' attempts to stop what they each see as a modern Holocaust.

Political scientists need not only concern themselves with these groups' focus on power (Daniels 1999) or on their monistic/dualistic opposition to a pluralistic world (Flanagan 1996). That these groups are working to change society outside of the policy process holds future implications for the study of politics (Dalton et al. 1990). Particularly as was noted in Dalton et al., these groups can achieve change in a short period of time. The ability to change social values may eventually have an impact on the mainstream of society.

NOTES

¹ A cursory examination of the news stories surrounding the episodes listed in the first paragraph of this paper shows this. For the Oklahoma City Bombing the SPLC, Anti-Defamation League (ADL), American Jewish Committee and Montana Human Right Network were relied on as experts. The Slepian murder had groups such as National Abortion and Reproductive Rights League (NARAL), National Abortion Federation (NAF) and Planned Parenthood providing information. The ELF attack had Ron Arnold of the CDFE and Barry Clausen throughout the media as experts on environmental groups.

² The “Eco-Fucker Hit List” was in the premiere issue of *Live Wild or Die*. It contained information that suggested that Burson-Marsteller, where Thomas Mosser worked, helped Exxon with its image after the *Valdez* disaster (Arnold 1997). The list also had the Timber Association of California on it, name later changed to California Forestry Association, where Gil Murray worked. *Live Wild or Die* can be subscribed to by writing to the same address as the *Earth First! Journal*. Earth First! P.O. Box 1415, Eugene, OR 97440.

³ Kaplan (1996b) identifies Joan Andrews unplugging of a suction machine from the wall during a rescue (occupation of a clinic) as the innocuous beginning of the move towards destruction of property. Kaplan notes that the heavy legal price paid for this small act reinforced the manichaen beliefs of the Rescue Movement. This made further and more damaging acts easier because the consequence for these acts could be no worse than that for the simple unplugging of a machine.

⁴ Don Anderson initially claimed that the Army of God was responsible for this kidnapping.

⁵ Michael Bray, in 1984, bombed a clinic in Norfolk, Virginia. At the site he left a sign with the letters “AOG” on it.

⁶ Neal Horsley operates the Internet site Christian Gallery. This quote taken from Horsley’s writing on “Domestic Terrorism Today” located at <http://www.christiangallery.com/terror.html>.

This website was recently featured in the media as a result of the Slepian murder. One of the sections of the site, titled The Nuremberg Files, keeps the names of abortionists, supporters, workers, escorts and others related to the “pro-choice” aspect of the issue. On this list are names that are struck through, indicating dead or “greyed” indicating a wounding. The purpose is to gather names so that when abortion is treated as the “war crime” some see it as, these individuals can be brought to justice, like Nazi war criminals in Nuremberg after WWII. Kaplan (1996) discusses this identification with what happened to the Jews under Nazi control and what is happening to children under abortion.

⁷ In 1917 the Virgin Mary allegedly appeared to three children in Fatima, Portugal. She gave three secrets to them. As revealed by one of the three children, the first and second secrets involve a vision of hell and a request that Russia be consecrated to the Virgin Mary's Immaculate Heart (Cuneo 1997, 180). The third secret was only revealed to the Pope and has yet been revealed publicly. It apparently involves a horrific catastrophe of some sort. Father Malachi Martin, claiming he has seen the third secret, has appeared on the radio program *Coast to Coast with Art Bell* refusing to reveal the Third Secret but identifying it as a horrific disaster (Writer's memory of listening to broadcast, date unknown).

⁸ One particularly good place to find the views of Militia/Patriot members/sympathizers is at FreeRepublic.com (<http://www.freerepublic.com>). FreeRepublic is a conservative Internet forum site in which members post news articles or personal letters and essays, and respond with their own thoughts on the initial posting. On this site are three separate topics on the National ID system as well as two dedicated to the New World Order in general. Although many on this site shun or vehemently disagree with the conspiracy theories set forth, there are a identifiable group of individuals who post on this subject and respond. This author assumes, after reading hundreds of postings and corresponding over FreeRepublic with these individuals, that there are Militia/Patriot sympathizers, if not members, posting on this subject and others. Some proudly boast of being Patriots and support the Militias wholeheartedly.

⁹ Again FreeRepublic.com is a good reference involving reports of Chinese influence and even of reports of Chinese military in the United States. Posts such as *China's Peoples Liberation Army Troops Join U.S. Forces for Military Drills* from the Agence France Presse, located at <http://www.freerepublic.com/forum/a366814b246ab.htm> (1998) provide fire to these beliefs. Also see Jeff Head's website, at <http://www.nebonet.com/headhome/dadmisc/liberty.htm> for information regarding reports of other foreign troops on United States soil.

¹⁰ Patrick May, "Militia Movement Alive and Extreme as Ever." *Knight Rider Newspapers*, 08 August 1998.

¹¹ One particularly interesting part of the "detention center" belief, as well as the foreign troops belief, involves the use of "highway code markers" on the back of highway signs. Linda Thompson discusses these stickers in her video *America Under Siege* and how they are used for troop movement directions. The author lives about 100 yards away from one of these signs with a blue sticker on the back of it. According to a photocopy handout given to author by a supporter, this blue sticker represents "death" as in "code blue" in a hospital means death. It also points out that they are found near schools, one of which is directly behind the author's backyard. The handout states the schools may be used as "temporary holding facilities for condemned subjects."

¹² A particularly useful article regarding FEMA and the use of Executive Orders can be found on FreeRepublic.com at <http://www.freerepublic.com/forum/a364bffc03722.htm>. A listing of Executive Orders is given and what they mean.

¹³ For this thesis, Theodore Kaczynski, the confessed Unabomber, will be referred to as the Unabomber. This is done because of some of the controversy regarding Mr. Kaczynski's mental state at the time he was active as the Unabomber. By examining the Unabomber as an "ideology" rather than an individual enables allows for the apocalyptic worldview of his writings to be examined. As Bron Taylor writes, "Kaczynski almost certainly is mentally ill . . . Yet he articulates a complex worldview and social critique that includes thoughtful analyses . . . about how to overturn the industrial technocracy" (Taylor 1999, 32–33).

¹⁴ The power process is defined by the Unabomber in paragraph 33 and has four elements to it: "goal, effort and attainment of goal . . . The fourth element is more difficult to define and may not be necessary for everyone. We call it autonomy" (1995).

¹⁵ Dave Foreman, memorandum regarding Earth First Statement of Principles and Membership Brochure, Sept 1, 1980, 1. Reprinted in Lee (1995).

¹⁶ Taken from the *Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service* posting on ALF guidelines at <http://www.animal-liberation.net/about/media/alf.html>.

¹⁷ ALF communiqué dated October 5, 1997 taken from posting at *Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service* at <http://www.animal-liberation.net/news/97/971005c2.html>.

¹⁸ ALF communiqué dated November 8, 1997 taken from posting at *Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service* at <http://www.animal-liberation.net/news/97/971108c1.html>.

¹⁹ Justice Department communiqué dated November 23, 1997 taken from posting at *Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service* at <http://www.animal-liberation.net/news/97/971123c1.html>.

²⁰ ALF communiqué dated October 26, 1995 taken from posting at *Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service* at <http://www.animal-liberation.net/news/95/951100c1.html>.

²¹ NAF data was obtained from their website located at <http://www.prochoice.org>.

²² This was recently examined on the TV show *America's Most Wanted*, aired on February 6, 1999. This program identified two Straightedge youth, one wanted for murder and one for an animal liberation at a fur farm.

²³ Reuters. "Israel Deports Doomsday Cult Members to the U.S.," Reuters, 10 January 1999.

Appendix A
Definitions for Groups

1. *Animal Rights Groups*: Individuals who have one or more of the following characteristics: strict vegan lifestyle, belief in no harm to be done to any creature for any purpose, belief that all animals should be allowed to live where they desire.

2. *Anti-Industrial/Technology*: Individuals such as the Unabomber who have disdain for the industrial/technological system of the United States. These individuals often prefer a form of Socialism or Anarchy to the current economic state.

3. *Radical Environmental Groups*: Similar to Animal Rights Groups in that the Earth is often considered a living creature. These individuals see man and technology as harming or injuring the Earth. These individuals often fight against logging and road building.

4. *Militia/Patriot Groups*: These are individuals that see themselves as the sole protectors of the Constitution. They often liken themselves to the minutemen or founding fathers. Members often see the current government as going beyond what was intended by the Constitution.

5. *End-times Religious Groups*: See signs of the times pointing to a return to Earth of Jesus Christ as prophesied in Revelation. These individuals see the work of the Anti-Christ all around them pointing to the one-world government of the UN and secretive groups such as the Bilderbergers and the Trilateral Commission. These individuals often feel they need to prepare themselves for the tribulation if they are not the few involved in the Rapture of those called to heaven.

6. *Rescue Movement*: These individuals strongly disagree with the practice of abortion. Often religious in nature these individuals will see the taking of innocent lives as justification for taking the lives of those associated with these facilities.

Appendix B
Definitions for Violent Acts

1. *Bombing*: Use of any “explosive,” “blasting agent,” or “detonator” against a building, person or property (Federal Explosives Law 1970).

2. *Homicide*: Willful (nonnegligent) killing of one human being by another (FBI 1996).

3. *Assault*: Unlawful attack by one person upon another for the purpose of inflicting severe or aggravated bodily injury (FBI 1996).

4. *Theft*: Includes Burglary, unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft (FBI 1996); and Robbery, taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear (FBI 1996).

5. *Arson*: Willful or malicious burning or attempt to burn, with or without intent to defraud, a dwelling house, public housing, motor vehicle or aircraft, personal property of another, etc. (FBI 1996).

6. *Vandalism*: Willful or malicious destruction, injury, disfigurement, or defacement of any public or private property, real or personal, without consent of the owner or persons having custody or control (FBI 1996).

7. *Firearms charges*: Violations of regulations or statutes controlling the carrying, using possessing, furnishing, and manufacturing of deadly weapons or silencers. This includes possession of explosives.

Appendix C
Eight Points of Deep Ecology

1. The well-being and flourishing of human and non-human life on Earth have value in themselves (synonyms: intrinsic value, inherent worth). These values are independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes.

2. Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves.

3. Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.

4. The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantially smaller human population. The flourishing of non-human life *requires* a smaller human population.

5. Present human interference with the non-human world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening.

6. Policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present.

7. The ideological change will be mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent value) rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between bigness and greatness.

8. Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes (Naess 1995, 68).

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