

EDITED BY Robin Maria Valeri And Kevin Borgeson



"A comprehensive and insightful look into the threat of domestic terrorism. The authors remind us to lead the fight rather than simply react to one of the most dangerous conflicts our nation faces. Highly recommended!"

- **Bob Paudert**, Police Chief, Retired, for West Memphis, Arkansas

"This compendium accomplishes the vital goal of summarizing, examining, analyzing, and explaining terrorism in America in a way that is as seamless and succinct as its title might suggest. As an analyst, researcher, writer, and instructor on terrorism, I keep this book on my desk for frequent consultation. It is logically presented, digestible, and above all, useful."

- Captain Christopher Ward, Intelligence & Policy Analyst, FDNY Center for Terrorism & Disaster Preparedness; Instructor, Wilmington University

"This book provides a comprehensive examination of theoretical explanations, motivating factors, recruitment strategies, and the role of cyberspace in fueling terrorism both in the United States and abroad—[and] a thought-provoking discussion on ending terrorism...in our national and global landscapes."

- Claudia San Miguel, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice/Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences, Texas A&M International University



# **Terrorism in America**

Offering a fresh perspective on the changing face of terror attacks, *Terrorism in America* focuses on domestic groups, examining the beliefs, actions, and impacts of American-based terrorists and terror organizations. Editors Robin Maria Valeri and Kevin Borgeson and their contributors draw on theories from criminology, psychology, and sociology to explore the ideologies of right-wing, left-wing, and religious-extremist groups—how and why they convert followers, recruit financially, and take extreme action against others. No competing text offers such in-depth and nuanced coverage of the radical ideologies behind these attacks, or the ensuing fear domestic terrorism creates, as well as the strategies to combat violent extremism.

A core text for domestic terrorism courses and an excellent supplement for any counterterrorism or homeland security course, *Terrorism in America* brings its singular focus to the growth and evolution of terrorism in the United States. Interviews, case studies from the field, and chapter themes make this a highly readable text for criminal justice, psychology, sociology, and homeland security students, professors, or practitioners.

**Robin Maria Valeri**, PhD, Professor of Psychology, St. Bonaventure University and Volunteer Fire Fighter, earned her BA from Cornell University and her MA and PhD from Syracuse University.

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Together they have co-edited *Hate Crimes: Victims, Motivations and Typologies* and are the co-authors of *Skinhead History, Identity and Culture* as well as several chapters and articles, including "Sticks and Stones: When the Words of Hatred Become Weapons" in *Global Perspectives on Youth Gang Behavior, Violence, and Weapons* and "Masculine Identities within the Skinhead Movement" in *Advances in Sociology Research*.



# Terrorism in America

Edited by Robin Maria Valeri and Kevin Borgeson



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This book is dedicated to all past and current first responders. In an emergency, you are the first on scene and you rush in, often at great risk to yourself, to save the lives of others. Thank you for the selfless, life-saving services you provide to your communities. And, to my husband, for your love and support.

-Robin

This book is dedicated to my wife Pam and Stephen Angelo. Without their support and feedback, this project would never have got off the ground. I would also like to dedicate this book to Michael E. Brown, an incredible mentor, and friend.



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Mark Hamm is a former prison warden from Arizona and currently a professor of Criminology at Indiana State University and a Senior Research Fellow at the Center on Terrorism, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York. In the 1980s and 1990s, he wrote widely about right-wing extremists in the United States and on subjects as diverse as apocalyptic violence, cop killer rap, and ethnography and terror. His books include *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* (2017), *The Spectacular Few: Prisoner Radicalization and the Evolving Terrorist Threat* (2013), *Terrorism as Crime: From Oklahoma City to Al-Qaeda and Beyond* (2007), *In Bad Company: America's Terrorist Underground* (2002), *Apocalypse in Oklahoma: Waco and Ruby Ridge Revenged* (1997), and *American Skinheads: The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime* (1993). Professor Hamm received three major grants from the National Institute of Justice: one to study crimes committed by terrorist groups, one to study terrorist recruitment in American correctional institutions, and the other to study lone wolf terrorism in America.

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Christopher J. Wright teaches terrorism-related courses in the Criminal Justice Department's Homeland Security Concentration at Austin Peay State University. His research has looked at the ways in which radical Islamists use the Internet, and he has trained FBI recruits on the subject. He has also researched extensively on the effect of foreign fighter returnees on domestic terrorism. He has a PhD from the University of Southern California, has been married for 25 years to his lovely wife, Kim, and is the father of four.

# Introduction

# Robin Maria Valeri and Kevin Borgeson

The current book examines terrorism in the United States of America. In this book, we go beyond a discussion of domestic terrorism, which the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI, September 7, 2009) has described as "Americans attacking Americans based on U.S.-based extremist ideologies," to include terrorist attacks by Americans that are motivated by extremists or extremist ideologies whose roots stem from individuals or ideologies outside the United States. Therefore, how Americans have been impacted by terrorist groups, including Islamic extremists based outside the United States, is discussed.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I examines theories of terrorism and the major right-wing and left-wing terrorist groups. In Chapter 1, O'Connor discusses the major political, criminological, sociological, and psychological theories of terrorism. In Chapter 2, Borgeson discusses right-wing terrorist groups with a focus on white nationalists and militia groups. The chapter includes a discussion regarding why people join these groups. Loadenthal, in Chapter 3, traces the history of Leftist political violence occurring in the United States over the past century before turning to a discussion of militant underground networks fighting for environmental and animal liberation and the rise of the anti-globalization movement. Loadenthal closes the part with a compelling discussion of the government's efforts to derail these groups following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Part II explores three of the major ideologies that have motivated terrorist activities in the United States. Borgeson, in Chapter 4 explains the beliefs underlying Christian Identity and how these beliefs have been used to justify the actions of white supremacists. In Chapter 5, Wright explores Salafi jihadism, which represents a minority view within Islam but has been used to justify violent Islamism around the world, including inspiring Americans to take up arms and engage in terrorism. In Chapter 6, Valeri discusses the Sovereign Citizens Movement, an anti-government movement that encourages adherents to take back their sovereign status through unlawful and sometimes violent actions.

In Part III, the authors examine the recruitment tactics of terrorist organizations and analyze their effectiveness. In Chapter 7, Valeri examines terrorist propaganda, with an emphasis on the crucial role cyberspace plays in spreading terrorist ideologies. Valeri applies psychological theories to understanding how and why terrorists are able to recruit new members and then discusses

#### **2** Introduction

alternative to banning hate speech. In Chapter 8, Capellan draws on research from the work-performance literature to explore the reasons why an individual becomes a lone wolf terrorist. Hamm, in Chapter 9, explores the role prison can play in the recruitment of terrorists.

Part IV examines the fall-out from terrorism. In Chapter 10, Monahan and Valeri discuss the resulting fear caused by acts of terrorism and how that fear influences the decisions of individuals, businesses, and governments. Finally, in Chapter 11, an End to Terrorism, the book closes with some thoughts on the role of cyberspace in the proliferation of terrorism and strategies for ending terrorism.

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### Conclusion

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