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THE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR AND MOTIVATIONS BEHIND McVEIGH'S DECISION TO BOMB THE MURRAH FEDERAL BUILDING

A Project

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Criminal Justice

by

Mark Lawson Fetter

June 2002

THE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR AND MOTIVATIONS BEHIND McVEIGH'S DECISION TO BOMB THE MURRAH FEDERAL BUILDING

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bу

Mark Lawson Fetter

June 2002

Approved by:

Dr. Dale Sechrest, Chair, Criminal Justice

4-24-02

Date

Frances Coles

ABSTRACT

On April 19th, 1995, citizens of the United States were devastated by the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This act of terrorism claimed the lives of 168 people, including 19 children, and raised many serious questions about domestic security and why anyone, foreign or domestic, would commit such a nationally destructive and devastating act.

This researcher has found many factors which may have motivated McVeigh to the bombing. Child psychological trauma, obsession with military activities, dual personality, paranoia, drug use, negative associations, transference, misinformation from the hatemongering of the radical right, and arrogance, may have all ultimately contributed to his decision. McVeigh may have also been motivated by the show of overwhelming force used by the FBI during the tragedy at the Branch Davidian Compound in Waco, Texas, in 1993 and, more importantly, the government's unwillingness to admit to errors in judgment.

This researcher believes that by paying more attention to: (1) McVeigh's activity after his resignation from the U.S. Army in 1991; (2) the anti-

government rhetoric in his letters to the *Union-Sun & Journal* in 1992; (3) his conversations with Michael Fortier in 1993 after the Waco, Texas, tragedy in 1993; and (4) his actions and criminal psychological personality profile in the months leading up to April 19th, 1995, could have played key roles in the prevention of the bombing.

This researcher concludes that the Waco, Texas, tragedy in 1993, influences from *The Turner Diaries* (1978), and McVeigh's alleged use of crystal methamphetamine ultimately motivated him to the bombing. After ceasing his appeals in December of 2000, McVeigh was executed in Terre Haute, Indiana, on May 16th, 2001.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

On April 19th, 1995, citizens of the United States were devastated by the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This act of terrorism claimed the lives of 168 people, including 19 children, and raised many serious questions about domestic security and why anyone, foreign or domestic, would commit such a nationally destructive act (Davis, 1995; Sikora, 1991).

The Oklahoma City bombing injured 782 persons and caused property losses totaling \$652 million. The intense impact that this event has left on American citizens put to rest any thoughts of normalcy the heartland has been known for and has cast a shadow leaving many shocked, angry, and confused (Illman, 1993).

Less obvious losses included the long-term effects of trauma to the residents, a significant percentage of whom lost friends and family in the tragedy. More importantly, this bombing had a significant impact on the psyche of the American people, who up until recently, had assumed that

terrorism was a problem only in the Middle East and Third World Countries (Hinman and Hammond, 1997).

Early speculation from law enforcement personnel and the media focused on the belief that foreign terrorists were responsible for the mass fatality. Individuals of Middle Eastern descent were detained and questioned; and in one case, a suspect named Ibrahim Ahmad was taken into custody by British immigration authorities after arriving in London, England, from the United States.

Shortly after the bombing, former Oklahoma state congressman Dave McCurdy was interviewed and said that there was very clear evidence of the involvement of fundamentalist Islamic terrorist groups in the bombing (Hamm, 1997). Such accusations, however, would turn out to be wrong.

During the two days following the bombing, Timothy James McVeigh, an American, became the FBI's most wanted person for his role in bombing the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. McVeigh, a 26-year-old White male from Lockport, New York, who had earned distinction as a soldier in the Persian Gulf War, would become known to law enforcement as John Doe #1. McVeigh was tried and convicted for this crime in 1997.

While in prison, McVeigh concluded that he would no longer pursue his appeals.

In December of 2000, McVeigh requested that his appeals be dropped and an execution date be set. McVeigh was given until January 11th, 2001, to change his mind, after which he would let the U.S. Bureau of Prisons set a date for his death by lethal injection (Michel and Herbeck, 2001).

Finally, in 2001, six years after the bombing, McVeigh was executed on May 16th. Despite his role in the bombing however, his criminal behavior and motivations remain unclear.

Early literature addressing McVeigh and the Oklahoma City bombing included Union Sun & Journal reporter Brandon M. Stickney's 1996 work, All-American Monster. Stickney (1996) concluded that many factors may have motivated McVeigh in his decision. Stickney found that childhood psychological trauma, obsession with military activities, dual personality, paranoia, drug use, negative associations, transference, misinformation from the hatemongering of the radical right, and arrogance all contributed to McVeigh's decision. Stickney maintains

however, that the ultimate deterioration of McVeigh took about eight or more years to develop (Stickney, 1996).

Author Richard A. Serrano's 1998 work, One of Ours, further examined McVeigh's criminal behavior and motivations. Serrano (1998) asserts that McVeigh's resolve to save the country which he loves, at the expense of the government he hates, is what drove him to the bombing. Serrano further believes that McVeigh's abandonment by his mother as a child, combined with his perceived betrayal by the U. S. Army and the government's tactics at Waco, Texas, is what drove him to the bombing.

Serrano maintains that McVeigh sought to avenge what the far right sees as the undoing of America. Serrano concluded that while the militias and fanatics ranted of such governmental misdeeds, McVeigh decided to act.

Serrano further concluded that while McVeigh ultimately wanted to start a revolution, instead, galvanized a nation against the very hatred he himself espoused (Serrano, 1998).

The Waco Tragedy

Author Mark S. Hamm's 1997 work, Apocalypse in Oklahoma, concluded that the Waco, Texas, tragedy in 1993,

the death of right-wing martyr Richard Wayne Snell, the American Revolution, *The Turner Diaries* (1978), and the plot to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City are connected, by a drug named crystal methamphetamine, to the date of April 19th (Hamm, 1997).

Hamm (1997) believed that the forces used by the FBI during the siege at the *Branch Davidian Compound* in Waco, Texas, followed by an unwillingness to admit to errors in judgment, fueled the radical right's suspicion and hatred, of the federal government. These events may have provided the ultimate motive for McVeigh to bomb the Oklahoma City Murrah Building.

Author Andrew Macdonald's 1978 work, The Turner Diaries, perhaps represent the beginning of McVeigh's decline into governmental hatred and distrust. The Turner Diaries (1978) were written by former American Nazi Party official, William L. Pierce (under the pen name Andrew Macdonald), and had become a bible for a small movement of gun collectors, militia groups, and government protestors. Timothy McVeigh was an avid gun collector and was noted to have been reading The Turner Diaries as early as 1987 (Michel and Herbeck, 2001; Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997; Stickney, 1996).

The Turner Diaries (1978) discuss the life of a man named Earl Turner, a gun enthusiast, who reacted to tighter firearms laws by making a truck bomb and destroying the FBI headquarters building in Washington.

The Turner Diaries describe these gun laws as links in a chain. The links form slowly, one by one, until finally citizens find that their individual rights have been choked off. McVeigh, being an avid reader of such survivalist literature, thought that he saw the same thing happening in real-life America. McVeigh felt that most Americans were ignoring these warning signs (Michel and Herbeck, 2001).

In his work, Macdonald makes continuous references to governmental gun raids and the date of April 19th as a symbolic date in the history of patriot freedom against government repression. The Waco, Texas, tragedy happened on April 19th, 1993, and McVeigh was in attendance just weeks prior to this alleged gun raid. McVeigh made the decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building two years, to the day later, on April 19th, 1995 (Michel and Herbeck, 2001; Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997; Stickney, 1996).

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this research under investigation is to examine the criminal behavior and motivations behind McVeigh's decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building. Second, this research will investigate the relevance and application of criminal psychological personality profiling to McVeigh and will attempt to generalize him as a single-issue, domestic terrorist.

Lastly, this research will investigate the measures which have been taken by the United States government in order to prevent further and future acts of domestic terrorism from occurring.

Scope of the Study

This research and study will use a cluster sampling case study method regarding the actions and intent of four individuals: John Brown, Theodore Kaczynski, David Koresh, and Timothy McVeigh. A sample of 4 (n= 4) cases will be compared and analyzed. This limited sample size will focus this research and study to only single-issue, domestic terrorists, whom used terrorism as an agent of violence to gain attention to their individual beliefs and causes.

This research and study will attempt to evaluate the possible criminal behavior and motivations behind Timothy McVeigh's decision to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal

Building in order to help prevent such violent acts from reoccurring. Such information will prevent the unnecessary loss of innocent lives and ultimately help save the lives of many more in the future.

Limitations of the Study

There are limitations to this study. This study will focus on Timothy McVeigh's criminal behavior and motivations behind his decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building. Second, Timothy McVeigh, although convicted in a federal court of law and sentenced to death, maintained his innocence until April of 2001. Third, this researcher attempted to make contact, by mail and telephone, with Timothy McVeigh on three occasions for this research and study. McVeigh did not respond to any research request.

Delimitations of the Study

There are delimitations to this study. First, this study uses a small sample size of four (n=4). Second, this study represents an all male sample. Third, this study highlights a homogenous group using Caucasion samples. Fourth, all individuals were born in the United States, which categorizes them as domestically born. Last, all samples were American citizens at the time of their

terrorist acts. No terrorists from other countries outside the United States will be examined in this study.

Definitions of Terms

The following terms are used in describing these events:

- <u>Abolitionist</u>: one who opposed the institution of slavery during the Civil War Era.
- <u>Anarchist</u>: one who believes that no government is better than established government.
- <u>BATF</u>: initials for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.
- Branch Davidians: followers of David Koresh, leader of the Branch Davidians.
- Critical Infrastructure Working Group (CIWG): created to assist the Attorney General in reviewing the vulnerability to terrorism of...critical national infrastructure and making recommendations to the President and the appropriate Cabinet or Agency head (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996, p. 19).
- <u>Crystal Methamphetamine</u>: mind altering drug which played a role in McVeigh's decision (Hamm, 1997).

- Domestic Terrorism: involving groups or individuals who are based and operate entirely within the United

 States and Puerto Rico without foreign direction and Whose acts are directed at elements of the U.S.

 Government or population (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995, p. ii).
- FBI: initials for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF): organization used to combat terrorism on the domestic front sponsored by the FBI (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996, p. 21).
- Levi Guidelines: adopted on April 5, 1976, and identified the standards by which an internal security investigation could be initiated along with the length guidelines (Smith, 1994, p.18).
- Radical: one whose actions defy established social norms.
- Terrorism: the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social goals (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995, p. 6).

The Turner Diaries (1978): a fictional novel written by

Andrew Macdonald that discusses gun rights, antigovernmentalism, and racism.

<u>Waco</u>: city in Texas where a 51 day standoff with federal officials ended in tragedy.

Remainder of the Chapters

Chapter II will provide a review of the literature on domestic terrorism in the United States involving single-issue, domestic terrorists whom used terrorism as an agent of violence to gain attention to their individual beliefs or causes. Chapter III will include a research methodology which will examine how this research and study will be conducted. Chapter IV will report the research findings through an analysis of the data collected. Chapter V will discuss the use of criminal psychological personality profiling, research findings through a cluster sampling case study method, recommend some suggestions for further and future research, and close with this researcher's conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this investigation is to examine the criminal behavior and motivations behind Timothy McVeigh's decision to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, on April 19th, 1995. Second, this research will evaluate the use of criminal psychological personality profiling as it relates to McVeigh and his criminal act. Lastly, this investigation will explore the history of domestic terrorism and discuss what counterterrorist measures have been taken by the United States government.

In order to show a relationship between The Turner Diaries (1978), the Waco, Texas, tragedy, and McVeigh's alleged drug use with crystal methamphetamine, primary sources of information will include: (1) two letters written by McVeigh to his local newspaper the Union Sun & Journal in Lockport, New York, on February 11th and March 10th of 1992; (2) a letter written to his congressman, John LaFalce, regarding The Loss of Freedoms on February 16th, 1992; (3) 31 documents and letters found in McVeigh's possession at the time of his arrest; and, (4) official trial transcripts from his conviction (1997). Secondary

source information will come from various authors, other literature, media, and newspaper clippings.

Acknowledging Terrorism

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (1995), from 1980 to 1989 the FBI officially recognized 219 crimes as acts of domestic terrorism. The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) maintained that terrorist acts steadily increased in the United States during the early part of the 1980s. The number of incidents grew from twenty-nine in 1980 to forty-two the following year, and, in 1982, the number peaked to fifty-one.

Furthermore, in 1982, the largest number of Americans were killed or injured by terrorist acts on American soil. During that year, seven persons were killed and an additional twenty-six were injured due to terrorist bombings and assassinations (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995).

American Terrorism

The United States has had a lengthy history of domestic, indigenous terrorism. Dating back to the American Civil War (1861-1865) and the terrorist actions of abolitionist, John Brown, to more contemporary criminal acts such as David Koresh and the 1993 Waco, Texas, tragedy, to the actions of convicted Unabomber suspect,

Theodore Kaczynski, to Timothy McVeigh and his decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma; the United States has experienced it's own terrorist acts.

Such opponents to law enforcement have openly espoused a philosophy of anti-social, revolutionary violence. This commitment to the destruction of established power has certainly increased in more recent years. It was, however, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, that terrorism had reached new levels of frequency and destruction (Bell and Gurr, 1979).

Bell and Gurr (1979) found that during the late 1960s and early 70s, the character of American terrorism began to change. Both authors found that domestic terrorism became rooted in radical politics, nationalism, and the international community's experience with terrorism. The authors also noted that the use of terror to maintain social order was forgotten in a more contemporary setting and domestic terrorism was defined as an ever changing, radical phenomenon.

Similarly, in Laqueur's 1987 work, The Age of
Terrorism, he found that a new, more destructive form of
protest has evolved and existed. Laqueur found that the
1960s and 70s witnessed a completely new form of violence
in the United States-- social uprisings directed at the

overthrowing of the government and/or changing the American political system.

In addition to Bell and Gurr (1979) and Laqueur (1987), Smith (1994) has found that the 1980s represented a period in which the federal government solidified it's position on responses to terror by developing new strategies for law enforcement, and by implemented new prosecutorial approaches to stopping such terror from reoccurring. Smith further found that the actions of law enforcers, as well as law violators, continued to shape domestic terrorism (Smith, 1994).

Counter-Terrorism Efforts

The increase in terrorism on American soil during the early 1980s was the primary catalyst for the FBI's counter-terrorism program. As a result of this increase in domestic terrorist activity and subsequent reprisal, legal responses, such as the *Levi Guidelines*, were restructured in March of 1983 (Smith, 1994). These guidelines were adopted on April 5th, 1976, and identify the standards by which an internal security investigation could be initiated along with the length of the guidelines therein.

The Levi Guidelines changed the requirements for the investigation of terrorism to more closely resemble those of traditional crime investigations. For the first time in

United States history, terrorism was being addressed as a more common crime due to the frequency, intent, and motivation of each individual criminal act.

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (1995), the number of terrorist incidents dropped 40% in 1983 from that of the previous year. As a result, decreases in subsequent years strongly suggest that increased FBI expenditures on counter-terrorism programs, in addition to a relaxation of the Levi Guidelines and the expansion of domestic security investigations begun that year, had a substantial adverse effect on terrorism in this country (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995). In a three year period Smith (1994) noted, the number of acts of terrorism fell from a record fifty-one in 1982 to only seven in 1985.

In addition, White (1991) found that by 1987 federal indictments began to have a major effect on the leadership and organizational management of domestic terrorists in the United States. The leaders of terrorist groups, splinter groups, as well as individuals acting alone, were either in prison or awaiting trial as a result of FBI operations and federal indictments.

Statistics from the U.S. Department of Justice (1995) maintain that the number of terrorist incidents dropped

from twenty-five in 1986 to only nine in 1987 and eventually to a decade low of four in 1989. These decreasing trends in domestic terrorist activity were severely shaken by Theodore Kaczynski, David Koresh, and ultimately, Timothy McVeigh in 1995.

On April 24th, 1996, just over a year after the
Oklahoma City bombing, President Bill Clinton signed The
Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996.
The significance of this legislation was to bolster
federal powers in order to fight terrorism and deter
further potential terrorist threats. This House-Senate
agreement bans fund-raising activities in the United
States by terrorist-connected organizations and expedites
deportation of aliens convicted of felonies. The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 was
passed in response to the deadliest terrorist bombing in
the history of the United States: the Oklahoma City
bombing (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

The Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 further strengthens the power of the federal government to anticipate and respond to both international and domestic terrorism. This law provides for the death penalty in cases of international terrorism and for

killing any federal employee because of the employee's association with the federal government. The law also allows for the deportation of alien terrorists without the need to disclose classified evidence against them and it authorizes expenditures of up to \$1 billion on state and local anti-terrorism efforts (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

Despite these measures taken by the U.S. government, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and National Rifle Association (NRA) continue to oppose portions of the legislation that they claim provides the federal government with too much power, including an enhanced ability to wiretap and in other ways encroach upon the rights of citizens (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

In addition to the passage of this policy, there are two specific programs the U.S. government has initiated in order to combat terrorism. The first is through a program called the Critical Infrastructure Working Group (CIWG) and the second is the FBI's involvement in the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF).

The FBI has been a participant in CIWG since January of 1996, by request of Attorney General Janet Reno. The CIWG was created to assist the Attorney General in

reviewing the vulnerability to terrorism...critical national infrastructure and making recommendations to the President and the appropriate Cabinet member or Agency head as required by a presidential mandate (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996, p. 19).

Infrastructure is the system of independent networks which is made up of identifiable industries and institutions that provide a continual flow of goods and services essential to the security and welfare of the United States. The critical infrastructures include: electrical power, gas and oil, transportation, telecommunications, banking and finance, continuity of government, water supply systems, and emergency services (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

The second example of federal law enforcement efforts in combating the terrorist threat is the FBI's involvement in the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF). The first JTTF was initiated in 1980 in New York. By 1996, there were 14 JTTF's operating in FBI field divisions throughout the country. According to the U.S. Department of Justice (1996), the formation of several additional JTTF's are in the process of being established.

The JTTF's focus is on increasing the effectiveness and productivity of hard to find personnel and logistical resources, to avoid repeating investigative efforts, and to enhance cooperation between federal, state, and local law enforcement. JTTF's are made up of Special Agents of

the FBI, other federal agencies, and state and local law enforcement personnel. Management is shared by the involved agencies with the FBI maintaining overall responsibility for the operation of JTTF's.

Last, JTTF's have the mission of gathering intelligence with regard to domestic and international terrorist organizations, conducting investigations related to planned terrorist acts, preventing such acts, if possible, and investigating the facts and collecting evidence should a terrorist act occur in their territorial responsibility. Furthermore, JTTF's attempt to neutralize terrorist groups, and where needed, pursue the effective prosecution of identified offenders (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

Methods for Identifying Terrorists

Davis (1996) identified several aspects of criminal psychological personality profiling. This literature proves useful when examining individuals whom use terrorism as a method of violence. Davis (1996), Holmes (1989), and Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988) examine several variables involved in profiling the personalities of potential terrorists. For the purpose of this research, four specific variables will be discussed. They are:

- criminal psychological personality profiling
- · variables in developing a criminal personality profile
- criminal investigative analysis
- mass homicide/multicide

By addressing these variables, this research can generalize that John Brown, Theodore Kaczynski, David Koresh and Timothy McVeigh can be categorized into the same criminal psychological personality profile group. This criminal psychological personality profile group consists of single-issue, domestic terrorists whom acted on their strong beliefs and causes by using various forms of violence.

According to Ressler et al. (1988), one of the most important goals of criminal psychological personality profiling is to classify the offender from the general population. John Brown, Theodore Kaczynski, David Koresh and Timothy McVeigh have all been classified from the general population through their violent, terrorist actions.

At the time of this study, John Brown and David
Koresh are deceased and Theodore Kaczynski and Timothy
McVeigh are in prison. John Brown was hung in 1859 for
treason and murder and David Koresh was killed during the
Waco, Texas, tragedy in 1993. Theodore Kaczynski is

serving life without parole and Timothy McVeigh was executed on May $16^{\rm th}$, 2001.

Davis (1996) believes that criminal psychological personality profiling can be defined as a short, vivid biography outlining the most outstanding behavioral characteristics of an unknown subject based on an analysis of both critical physical and psychological data along with crime scene evidence. The ultimate goal of criminal psychological personality profiling is to provide information to law enforcement investigators. Furthermore, Davis (1996) maintains that criminal psychological personality profiling also helps law enforcement reinitiate, enable, focus, direct or limit an investigation and also produce a viable potential suspect for interrogation and hopeful prosecution.

According to Davis (1996), Holmes (1989), Ressler et al. (1988), and Geberth (1983), a social, psychological, and criminal assessment of the offender must be obtained through this same criminal psychological personality profile. Ultimately, this information provides what is necessary for a complete criminal investigative analysis. Geberth (1983) asserts that this criminal investigative analysis must contain a profile definition, or a collection of leads as an educated attempt to provide specific information about an unknown suspect.

There are further variables involved when developing a criminal psychological personality profile. Some of these variables include: age, sex, race, lifestyle, marital status, scholastic achievement, rearing environment and socioeconomic status. Other variables may include sexual adjustment, prior arrest history, and motive and intent for the commission of a crime (Davis, 1996).

When assessing violent crime, Ressler et al. (1988) noted that the identification and interpretation of certain items of evidence must also be examined in order to establish the personality type of the individual committing the crime.

Similarly, Holmes (1989) states that criminal psychological personality profiling provides law enforcement with a valuable method for limiting a specific criminal search. This method may include a composite description of the unknown subject in order to help in the apprehension of that subject. This was the process used in the capture of Unabomber (Un=university; A=airlines; Bomber=bomb) suspect Theodore Kaczynski. In the Kaczynski case, a complete criminal psychological personality profile process established the lack of mental, emotional, and personality stability that he had leading up to and during the execution of his specific crimes (Davis, 1996).

Davis (1996) further defined this criminal psychological personality profile process as a technique to identify the major personality and behavioral characteristics of an individual based upon a thorough analysis of the crime scene data and type of crime committed. This criminal psychological personality profile process proved most valuable in the apprehension and conviction of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh (Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997). The Oklahoma City bombing represented the highest death toll of any mass homicide/multicide case in United States history.

Davis (1995) and Hickey (1991) define mass homicide/multicide as the killing of a multiple number of persons (3 or more) at one time, during one event and at one place without a cooling off period in between. In this research and study, three of the four case studies meet this criterion. Although Theodore Kaczynski killed three people, these murders were not at the same time, not during one event, and not in one place. A mass homicide/multicide offender typically commits suicide at the scene or places oneself in a situation where police must use lethal force (Holmes, 1989), such as in the case of the Waco, Texas, tragedy and death of David Koresh.

Davis (1996) asserts that there are more variables to consider when examining mass homicide/multicide cases. These variables may include: the number of victims, location of murders, time of the killings, motivation for the multiple murders, selection of victims, method of murder, anticipated intent, and resources. The author also found that such specific acts of demographic criminal psychological personality profiling may consist of white males, who are approximately 35-45 years of age, high school educated, and typically not psychotic.

Davis (1995), as well as Holmes (1989), further found that the number of victims, victim characteristics, motivation, spatial mobility, the lifestyle of a mass murderer, offender relation to victims, and the physical or mental health of the offender can serve as important variables as well. All remain important considerations and are discussed in more detail during the individual case studies.

Criminal Psychological Personality Profiling

Due to the extension of research and use of criminal psychological personality profiling by the Federal Bureau of Investigation Behavioral Science Unit (BSU), local law enforcement is using criminal psychological personality profiling as one of many tools available to it (U.S.

Department of Justice, 1996). Douglas and Burgess (1988) further assert that while profiling does not provide the identity of the offender, it does indicate the type of person most likely to have committed a crime as having certain unique characteristics.

The use of criminal psychological personality profiling in order to identify the criminal behavior and motivations behind specific acts of terrorism has also apprehended criminals guilty of other crimes. In addition to John Brown, Theodore Kaczynski, David Koresh, and Timothy McVeigh, criminal psychological personality profiling has helped put such people as—stalker, Robert John Bardo; attempted murderer, John H. Hinckley, Jr.; and child rapist and killer, Richard Trenton Chase—in prison. By identifying specific criminal psychological personality profiles, law enforcement personnel can be much more proficient in detaining such threats to society.

The constant development of new strategies and detection, as well as geographic mapping, tracing, and defusing techniques are constantly being updated along with new information technology. Although criminal psychological personality profiling will never take the place of a thorough and well-planned investigation or the knowledge of a specialized field agent, criminal psychological personality profiling has developed itself

to a level where law enforcement has another investigative weapon available to aid in solving, and perhaps preventing violent crimes.

McVeigh's Motivation and Intent

In order to thoroughly analyze McVeighs's criminal behavior and motivations leading up to the bombing, one must investigate and evaluate literature written by McVeigh himself between 1992 and 1995. McVeigh's thinking, after his resignation from the Army in 1991, is demonstrated by three letters. Two letters were sent to the *Union-Sun & Journal* in Lockport, New York, on February 11th and March 10th, 1992, and one was sent to his Congressman John LaFalce's office in Buffalo, New York, dated February 16th, 1992.

McVeigh's first letter, dated February 11th, 1992, read in part:

Crime is out of control. Criminals have no fear of punishment. Prisons are overcrowded... This breeds more crime, in an escalating cyclic pattern... Taxes are a joke. Regardless of what a political candidate 'promises,' they will increase. More taxes are always the answer to government mismanagement. They mess up, we suffer. Taxes are reaching cataclysmic levels, with no slowdown in sight... What is it going to take to open up the eyes of our elected officials? America is in serious decline! We have no proverbial tea to dump; should we instead sink a ship full of Japanese imports? Is Civil War imminent? Do we have to shed blood to reform the current system? I hope it doesn't come to that! But it might (p. 4).

The second letter McVeigh wrote was to Congressman John LaFalce (D) of Buffalo, New York. This letter, entitled *The Loss of Freedoms* was dated February 16th, 1992, and read:

I strongly believe in a God-given right to self-defense. Should any other person or a governing body be able to tell another person that he/she cannot save their own life, because it would be a violation of a law? In this case, which is more important faced with a rapist/murderer, would you pick to a) die a law-abiding citizen; or b) live and go to jail? It is a lie if we tell ourselves that the police can protect us everywhere, at all times. I am in shock that a law exists which denies a woman's right to self defense. Firearms restrictions are bad enough, but now a woman can't even carry mace in her purse?!?!

The third letter McVeigh wrote, dated March 10th, 1992, and entitled *Meat Insured Survival* read in part:

Since the beginning of his existence, man has been a hunter, a predator. He has hunted and eaten meat to insure his survival. To deny this is to deny your past, your religion, even your existence... Since we have now established that about every human being on this planet consumes meat, we in America are left with two choices, buy your meat from a supermarket, or harvest it yourself.... To buy your meat in a store seems so innocent, but have you ever seen or thought how it comes to be wrapped up so neatly in cellophane? First, cattle live their entire lives penned up in cramped quarters, never allowed to roam freely, bred for one purpose when their time has come. The technique that I have personally seen is to take cattle, line them up side by side with their heads and necks protruding over a low fence, and walk from one end to the other, slitting their throats with either a machete or power saw. Unable to run or

move, they are left there until they bleed to death, standing up... Would you rather die while living happy or die while leading a miserable life? You tell me which is more 'humane'? Does a 'growing percentage of the public' have any pity or respect for the animals which are butchered and then sold in the store? Or is it just so conveniently 'clean' that a double standard is allowed? (p. 4).

From these three letters, McVeigh clearly believed that there was no accountability for governmental actions. McVeigh may have believed that this was a double standard, or that the federal government— the United States Congress in this case— can raise taxes and pass legislation without consent from the people. McVeigh could have believed this enabled elected officials to do as they please and serve personal interests. This perceived lack of governmental accountability may have served as at least one of McVeigh's motivations to the bombing.

Stickney (1996), while working for the *Union Sun & Journal* in Lockport, New York, said of McVeigh:

His letters were not unlike the other anti-government letters we received. Except for the fact that McVeigh mused in one letter whether acts of terrorism or bloodshed were needed to effect change in the U.S. government. McVeigh stood out in the crowd.

Although Timothy McVeigh did not write any additional letters to the *Union-Sun & Journal* or his congressman in 1992, this did not mean that he stopped feeling betrayal by the U.S. government. It is clear as of February 11th, 1992, just forty-two days after leaving the U.S. Army,

that McVeigh was not happy with the U.S. government. It is also clear that McVeigh had preconceived thoughts about governmental misdeeds, most likely originating from before his enlistment (Michel and Herbeck, 2001; Stickney, 1996).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the questions related to this research and study, four individuals will be investigated through a cluster sampling case study method. One individual will be Civil War abolitionist John Brown. John Brown was tried for treason and murder and was hung in 1859 for his role in seven deaths caused at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The second individual will be the Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski. Theodore Kaczynski was tried and convicted of killing at least three people by sending bombs through the mail. The third individual will be David Koresh. David Koresh was killed during the Waco, Texas, tragedy in 1993 after he killed four government agents and was responsible for the deaths of 76 of his followers. The fourth individual will be Timothy McVeigh. Timothy McVeigh was tried and convicted for his role in bombing the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This act of domestic terrorism killed 168 people, including 19 children.

To gather information from these individuals, three sources of data collection will be used. Of particular interest will be the use of criminal psychological personality profiling. Criminal psychological personality

profiling examines such questions as the following: Who is the potential suspect? What gender is the suspect? What ethnicity is the suspect? Was the suspect born in the United States? Did the suspect commit his/her terrorist act(s) while a citizen of the United States?

Various authors, other terrorist literature, media, newspaper clippings, and Oklahoma City bombing trial transcripts will be another significant way of gathering data. Researchers and scholars will make their observations in written form while producing literature pertinent to this field of study.

The third and final method for data collection will be the use of primary source documents. These primary source documents were found in McVeigh's possession at the time of his arrest and were sealed in an envelope on the driver's seat of the car he was driving. Specifically, these primary source documents will examine Timothy McVeigh's criminal behavior and motivations behind his decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building.

In addition, this researcher attempted to make contact, by mail and telephone, with Timothy McVeigh on three occasions for this research and study. This statement can be verified by United States Marshal, Larry

Homenick, who assured this researcher that Timothy McVeigh received all three letters.

On one occasion, the United States Department of
Justice Federal Bureau of Prisons sent a return letter
back to this researcher because a stamp had been enclosed
on a return envelope. This researcher was told that it was
contraband and not acceptable for McVeigh to receive.
McVeigh did not respond to any research request.

In order to analyze the data collected, this researcher will thoroughly read and examine all information presented. This researcher will be searching for any common themes that exist amongst the four individuals and also for perceptions that may be different. It will be important for this researcher to review the information presented through criminal psychological personality profiles, various author's work, other literature, media, newspaper clippings, Oklahoma City bombing trial transcripts, and primary source documents found in McVeigh's possession at the time of his arrest. A thorough examination of the literature will be necessary in order to determine if there is a correlation between these four single-issue, domestic terrorists.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Case Study One: John Brown

John Brown (1800-1859) was an American abolitionist whose attempt to end slavery by force greatly increased tension between the North and South in the period before the American Civil War. Brown was born in Connecticut, a northern state. Early in his life, Brown developed a hatred for slavery that changed his career. Brown's father was actively hostile to the institution of slavery which may have played a key role in leading up to Brown's criminal psychological personality profile. While living in Pennsylvania in 1834, Brown initiated a project among sympathetic abolitionists to educate young blacks. The next 20 years of his life were largely dedicated to this and similar abolitionist acts.

The United States' westward expansion raised many questions about what laws and customs should be followed in the West. Since the beginning of this nation's early days, the northern and southern parts of the United States had followed different ways of life. Each section wanted to extend its own way of life to the new territories and

states in the West (Bailey and Kennedy, 1987). The territory known as Kansas was no exception to this belief.

In 1855, Brown decided, along with his sons, to go to the Kansas Territory, then a point of struggle between anti-slavery and pro-slavery adherents. Under Brown's leadership, his sons became active participants in the fight against pro-slavery adherents from Missouri, whose activities led to the murder of a number of abolitionists in Lawrence, Kansas. Brown and his sons avenged this crime on May 24th, 1856, at Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas, by killing five pro-slavery loyalists. This act made him nationally known as an enemy to the institution of slavery. At this time, a criminal psychological personality profile was established (Davis, 1996; Bailey and Kennedy, 1987).

Aided by increased financial support from abolitionists in the northeastern states, Brown began to formulate a plan to free the slaves by armed force. He secretly recruited a small band of abolitionists to help him in his venture. After various challenges, Brown launched his biggest attack on October 16th, 1859. With a force of 18 men, including several of his sons, Brown seized the United States arsenal and armory at Harper's

Ferry, Virginia. Shortly after winning control of the town however, his force was surrounded by the local militia.

Ten of Brown's men, including two of his sons, were killed in the ensuing standoff. Brown himself was injured and forced to surrender. Brown was arrested and charged with various crimes, including treason and murder. John Brown was convicted of these charges and hung in Charleston, now West Virginia, in December of 1859 (Bailey and Kennedy, 1987).

In order to assess Brown, one must substantiate that his personality type was that of an abolitionist who did care for the treatment and general welfare of slaves. In this specific case, Brown was influenced by his father as he grew up in two northern, anti-slavery states:

Connecticut and Ohio. After Brown's clash with and killing of five pro-slavery loyalists in 1856, he became nationally known.

Brown was noted by Bailey and Kennedy (1987) as possessing a deranged mind and to have been a mentally unstable person. Brown can be classified as a single-issue, domestic terrorist who acted on his beliefs and used terrorism as an agent of violence (Holmes, 1989).

John Brown's seizure at Harper's Ferry, in 1859, resulted

in the killing of seven innocent people and the wounding of ten more. The deaths of seven innocent people classify this tragedy as a mass homicide/multicide case (Davis, 1996; Holmes, 1989).

Brown's goal of having the slaves rise up against their masters and free themselves failed. As Brown was convicted of murder and treason, his presumed insanity was supported by affidavits from seventeen close friends and relatives. Bailey and Kennedy (1987) maintain that thirteen of the seventeen people who wrote the affidavits were regarded as insane also, including his mother and grandmother.

John Brown was one of four individuals chosen through a cluster sampling case study method for this research and study. John Brown was Caucasion. John Brown was a male.

John Brown was born in Connecticut, a northern state in 1800. John Brown committed his crime(s) in the United States, most notably at Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas, in 1856 and Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. John Brown was 59 years-old and a United States citizen at the time of his death. He was hung in Charleston, now West Virginia, on December 2, 1859.

Case Study Two: Theodore Kaczynski

Theodore Kaczynski is a mass homicide, domestic terrorist and anarchist whose homemade bombs killed three people and wounded 23 others in 16 separate incidents in the United States from 1978 to 1995 (Davis, 1996). During this period, Theodore Kaczynski (Unabomber) received extensive attention in the news media for his explosive devices, extreme statements of opposition to science, industry, technology, and success in eluding detection and capture.

In 1995, the Unabomber decided that he would stop committing acts of terrorism if the New York Times and Washington Post agreed to publish a long statement of his single-issue, anti-technological principles. Believing that the publication might save lives, the Washington Post printed the Unabomber's 35,000 word manifesto in September of 1995.

In April of 1996, federal agents arrested a suspect they thought to be the Unabomber. Theodore John Kaczynski, a 53 year old Harvard University graduate and former mathematics professor at the University of California at Berkeley, was detained for his role as the Unabomber.

Bomb attacks associated with the Unabomber date back to 1978, when a package bomb exploded on the campus of Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. Similar bombs persisted to explode around the greater Chicago area for the next few years. Kaczynski's successful use of untraceable scraps of wood, lamp cords, and metal earned him the name Junkyard Bomber (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996). It was only in 1985 that the FBI began calling him by Unabomber, due in large part for focusing his efforts around objects associated with universities and airlines. At this time, a definite criminal psychological personality profile was established (Davis, 1996; Holmes, 1989).

The Unabomber targeted university professors with research specializations in computer science, genetics, engineering, and psychology. Bombs tied to the Unabomber also exploded in the home of the president of United Airlines and on an American Airlines flight from Chicago. Federal agents safely disarmed another bomb mailed to a Boeing manufacturing facility in Auburn, Washington.

In 1985, a bomb placed by the Unabomber maimed an engineering graduate student, John Hauser, at the University of California at Berkeley. Shortly after this

incident, the San Francisco Examiner received a letter that claimed responsibility for the bombing on behalf of the Freedom Club, a terrorist organization opposed to all forms of science and technology. The FBI discovered engravings of the initials FC on fragments of later bombs. The FBI believed that the bombs were all from one individual (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

In December of 1985, the owner of a computer store in Sacramento, California, Hugh Scrutton, was killed when a bomb hidden in a paper bag exploded. In 1987, an employee at another computer store in Salt Lake City, Utah, saw a man place a sack under the wheel of her car in the store's parking lot. A bomb inside the sack exploded, injuring another employee who had tried to move the sack. This specific sighting provided the basis for a widely circulated sketch of the alleged Unabomber. In that sketch, the Unabomber appeared as a middle-aged, white male with a mustache, wearing sunglasses and a hooded sweatshirt. As a result of this physical description, a more precise criminal psychological personality profile for the Unabomber had been established (Davis, 1996).

During the 1990s, the Unabomber developed more sophisticated and lethal devices for his terrorist acts.

In December 1994, a package bomb killed advertising executive Thomas Mosser while he stood in his kitchen in New Jersey. Mosser had worked for an agency that represented Exxon, a major oil company. In a letter to the New York Times following this bombing, the Unabomber claimed a loyalty to anarchists and radical environmentalists opposed to the industrial-technological system. In April of 1995, another package bomb killed Gilbert Murray, president of the California Forestry Association (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

The publication of the Unabomber's 1995 manifesto, entitled Industrial Society and Its Future further developed ideas associated with his acts of violence. In this document, the Unabomber declared the industrial—technological system to be a disaster for the human race, primarily because it requires people to live under conditions radically different from those under which the human race evolved (Kaczynski, 1995-excerpted from the Washington Post). Kaczynski's manifesto further read:

This revolution may or may not make use of violence: it may be sudden or it may be a relatively gradual process spanning a few decades. We can't predict any of that...[and] its object will be to overthrow not governments but the economic and technological basis of the present society....

By 1995, the Federal Bureau of Investigation had spent more than \$50 million in what had become the longest and most extensive search in the history of the agency (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996). As leads continued to present themselves to the FBI, a breakthrough came in the case. Finally, through the use of criminal psychological personality profiling and writing samples provided to the FBI by Kaczynski's brother, David Kaczynski, Theodore Kaczynski was apprehended from his one-room, plywood shack in the mountains of western Montana.

In April of 1996, a federal court indicted Theodore Kaczynski on 10 counts of illegally transporting, mailing, and using bombs. He was also charged with the two slayings in California of Hugh Scrutton and Gilbert Murray and faced charges in New Jersey in the third bombing death of Thomas Mosser. At trial, Kaczynski accepted a plea bargain in order to spare his life.

According to Dr. Sally Johnson, the individual who performed Kaczynski's psychological report:

Kaczynski was a highly intelligent but socially withdrawn young man who went into rapid decline due to paranoid schizophrenia.

Dr. Johnson concluded that Theodore Kaczynski was competent to stand trial.

Theodore Kaczynski was one of four individuals chosen through a cluster sampling case study method for this research and study. Theodore Kaczynski is Caucasion.

Theodore Kaczynski is a male. Theodore Kaczynski was born in Illinois and is 58 years-old. Theodore Kaczynski committed his crime(s) in the United States, most notably in California and New Jersey between 1978 and 1995.

Theodore Kaczynski is a United States citizen and is currently serving life in prison without the possibility of parole.

Case Study Three: David Koresh

David Koresh, a single-issue, domestic terrorist and separatist leader of an American religious movement, became widely known in 1993 when most of his followers were killed in a fire that destroyed their headquarters near Waco, Texas. The fire marked the end of a 51 day siege by United States federal agents (Reavis, 1995).

Koresh's followers, also known as the Branch
Davidians, trace their origins to the Davidian Movement, a
splinter group of Seventh-Day Adventists founded by
Adventist leader Victor Houteff in Los Angeles,
California, in 1934. Houteff retained the traditional
Adventist belief that the apocalypse (the end of the
world), and the second coming of Christ were imminent and

would be preceded by catastrophes and war. Houteff also taught that the kingdom of ancient Israelite monarch David would be re-established in Palestine. After splinting from the Adventists, Houteff led his followers from Los Angeles to Waco, Texas, where they established the Mount Carmel Center. Houteff died in 1955, and the Branch Davidian movement splintered again (Hamm, 1997; Reavis, 1995).

In the mid-1980s, Vernon Howell, a recent convert to the Branch Davidian faith, became leader of the Davidian movement and adopted the name David Koresh. Koresh emphasized the apocalyptic element in Davidian theology, teaching that the Davidians at the Mount Carmel Center would be assaulted by forces of evil. The communal life Koresh had established at the Mount Carmel Center focused on the recruiting of new members, studying the bible, and preparing for the coming cataclysmic events by stockpiling food, weapons, and fuel.

In the late 1980s, Koresh began practicing polygamy, which he characterized as the taking of spiritual wives. The taking of spiritual wives, in addition to the stockpiling of illegal weapons and fuel, were what drew the FBI into closer surveillance of the Branch Davidian Compound (Reavis, 1995).

By 1993, accusations of various kinds of abuses, specifically child abuse, were being leveled at the group

by anti-cult activists, including some former members. At this time, the United States federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) decided to search the complex for illegal weapons. The BATF raid of February 28th, 1993, quickly became a firefight between federal agents, David Koresh, and many misinformed Branch Davidians.

The Branch Davidians were prepared for this firefight because they were influenced by Koresh and interpreted the attack as an episode in their end of the world beliefs. The result of this firefight between Koresh and the BATF was four dead BATF agents (Hamm, 1997; Davis, 1996; Reavis, 1995). The standoff ended on April 19th, 1993, when government agents shot tear gas into the Mount Carmel Compound in an attempt to force the Davidians out. Perhaps the most compelling aspect to the entire Waco, Texas, tragedy was the fact that it was televised to a national viewing audience (Hamm, 1997).

As controversial as this standoff was, the fact that David Koresh killed four government agents and led 76 Branch Davidians to their deaths classifies him as a mass homicide/multicide terrorist (Davis, 1996). David Koresh was never tried for murder or conspiracy due to his death during the tragedy. As noted by Holmes and Holmes (1992), a mass murderer typically commits suicide at the scene or

places oneself in a situation where police must use lethal force. (Davis, 1996; Holmes and Holmes, 1992).

David Koresh was one of four individuals chosen through a cluster sampling case study method for this research and study. David Koresh was Caucasion. David Koresh was a male. David Koresh was born in Texas and was 34 at the time of his death. David Koresh committed his crime(s) in the United States, most notably in Waco, Texas, in 1993. David Koresh was a United States citizen and died on April 19th, 1993.

Case Study Four: Timothy McVeigh

At 9:02 A.M. CST on April 19th, 1995, two years to the day after the Waco, Texas, tragedy Oklahoma City became the site of the most deadly terrorist bombing in the history of the United States. On this date, a massive truck bomb exploded in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, killing 168 people and destroying much of the building by collapsing it's nine floors. The explosion also damaged many surrounding structures. The most commonly asked question immediately after such a tragedy was Why? No one knew why anyone, foreign or domestic, would commit such a horrible crime.

In order to take a closer look at McVeigh's criminal psychological personality profile, we must delve deeper

behind his criminal behavior and motivations to bomb the Murrah Federal Building. The Turner Diaries (1978), Waco, and McVeigh's alleged use of crystal methamphetamine provide valuable insight here.

The Turner Diaries (1978)

This researcher has found that *The Turner Diaries'* (1978) author, Andrew Macdonald, may have ultimately specified the timeline for McVeigh's act of terrorism. In Macdonald's work, <u>The Order</u>, a fictional, right-wing extremist group, carries out the bombing of FBI headquarters two years after the date of the gun raids (Macdonald, 1978). These gun raids were possibly perceived by McVeigh to have been the model for the Waco, Texas, tragedy on April 19th, 1993. The Oklahoma City bombing took place April 19th, 1995. Perhaps the most influential excerpt from *The Turner Diaries* is found on page 42:

It is a heavy burden of responsibility for us to bear, since most of the victims of our bomb were only pawns... But there is no way we can destroy the System without hurting many thousands of innocent people-no way.

These select words from *The Turner Diaries* perhaps explain three things. First, that McVeigh has been found by Michel and Herbeck (2001); Serrano (1998); Hamm, (1997); Oklahoma

City bombing Trial Transcripts, (1997); Dees, (1996); and Stickney, (1996) to have been strongly influenced by The Turner Diaries. Secondly, that McVeigh knew innocent people would die in the blast. Numerous passages from the documents and letters written and/or found in McVeigh's possession at the time of his arrest substantiate this. And third, that McVeigh followed through on his plan. A jury conviction and death sentence by American people in a court of law prove this (Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997).

Through Government Exhibits 14, 15, 16b and 17

(Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997), it is noted that Timothy McVeigh still had a very close relationship with his sister, Jennifer McVeigh. Before McVeigh had committed the crime of bombing the Murrah Federal Building, he had written to her several times while traveling throughout the United States. It is clear that McVeigh, who often frequented gun shows, perhaps had more violent ideas on his mind (Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997).

Government Exhibit 14 (1997), presented by the prosecution at McVeigh's trial, reveals a letter written by McVeigh to his sister:

Here's the originals back (yellow-highlights) plus 2 new add-ons. Re-read the yellow-highlighted (double-sided) stuff, in page order... Pics enc. of Turbo Boo-hoo; I loved that car. (It still runs-the warrior!) Won't be back for--ever. Keep an eye out for P.I. (Private Investigators) - they will more likely be looking for me than cops-and remember-they could be anybody, and they don't follow the rules. Be especially careful at bars, etc., where they will try to get you to talk. (A female friend was caught by one at a bar-another female who 'confided' in her, and got a lot of info in return). Tell dad hi. Seeya, Tim

Although The Turner Diaries (1978) have been identified as a fictional novel, Timothy McVeigh made several references to them after his resignation from the United States Army on December 31th, 1991. Among the 31 documents and letters that were found in the possession of McVeigh at the time of his arrest, several had The Turner Diaries referenced in them. For example, in another letter written to his sister, Jennifer, in Lockport, New York, and admitted as Government Exhibit 15 (1997), McVeigh closed by saying:

Use a pay phone, and take a roll of quarters with you! They will, w/out a doubt, be watching you and tapping the phone-use a pay phone!

Note: Read back cover of <u>Turner Diaries</u> before you begin c. 1978 and he saw.

Similarly, Government Exhibit 16b (1997) read:

Jennifer,

Go ahead and read all the paperwork that is in the 'Priority Envelope' here on top. It's not

'priority reading,' so go then and read it whenever you have time. Save it, along with everything else in this box.

McVeigh authored at least one more letter to Jennifer before the bombing. This letter, which was dated March 25th, 1995, and used as Government Exhibit 17 (1997), read:

Jenny,

Still waiting on your letter as to whether you rec'd my last letter. (About being a 'rock.') That's what 'confirmation of receipt' means. That had a lot of sensitive material in it, so it's important to know if you received it, or it was intercepted (either by G-men or Dad)... Also, did you get VHS tapes and did you get Vampire Killer 2000??? Please respond ASAP, only one letter... If one is already en route, Don't send another. Send no more after 01APR, and then, even if it's an emergency-watch what you say, because I may not get it in time, and the G-men might get it out of my box, incriminating you... Enjoy your vacation, T

Such letters were written by McVeigh leading up to the bombing. The G-men, which McVeigh refers to in this last letter, represent government agents.

Waco, Texas (1993)

David Koresh, leader of the Branch Davidians at Mount Carmel near Waco, Texas, was under surveillance for ten months because of the fact that he was stockpiling illegal weapons. There were also concerns that he was abusing children and contemplating leading his followers into a mass suicide (Rainie, 1993).

The Waco, Texas, tragedy began on February 28th, 1993, with the worst loss of life of federal law enforcement personnel in this century. During this incident, four Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents died in a shootout with David Koresh and many of his misinformed followers.

At fifty-seven minutes until dawn on April 19th, 1993, the government action at Waco began after Steve Schneider, Koresh's top lieutenant, received a phone call at the Branch Davidian Compound and listened to a BATF official at the other end of the phone-line state, In a few minutes we're going to gas the compound. It is not an assault. Please instruct everyone to exit the compound and surrender (p. 25). Schneider, furiously upset, destroyed the phone. Ironically, Government Exhibit 458 (1997), which was later used to convict Timothy McVeigh at his trial, made reference to this Waco tragedy. This letter, found in McVeigh's possession at the time of his arrest, read: ...while sifting the foul ashes of Waco, where power gone mad backed Lady Liberty into a corner and shot her in the head.... In this cartoon-fashioned piece of evidence, it also states;

THIS IS THE FBI! WE ARE CURRENTLY POKING HOLES IN YOUR HOUSE TO INJECT CS GAS! DO NOT PANIC! SEND OUT YOUR CHILDREN! WE KNOW YOU'RE IN THERE AND WE KNOW YOU HAVE BIBLES AND A COPY OF THE CONSTITUTION!

Timothy McVeigh deemed the actions by David Koresh as self-defense. McVeigh may have felt that the U.S. government had no right to invade the compound and seize items that the Constitution, in McVeigh's mind, encouraged. Government Exhibit 8 (1997) at Timothy McVeigh's trial read:

Constitutional Defenders

We members of the citizen's militias do not bear our arms to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow those who PERVERT the Constitution; if and when they once again, draw first blood) many believe the WACI incident was 'first blood')... Many of our members are veterans who still hold true to their sworn oath to defend the Constitution against ALL enemies, foreign and DOMESTIC. As John Locke once wrote 'I have no reason to suppose that he who would take away my liberty, would not, when he had me in his power, take away everything else; and therefore, it is lawful for me to treat him as one who has put himself into a 'state of war' against me, and kill him if I can, for to that hazard does he justly expose himself, however introduces a state of war, and is aggressor in it.' The BATF are one such fascist federal group who are infamous for depriving Americans of their liberties, as well as other Constitutionally guaranteed and INALIENABLE rights, such as one's right to self defense and very LIFE. One need only look at such incidences as Randy Weaver, Gordon Kahl, WACO, Donald Scott, (et ILL), to see that not only are the ATF a bunch of fascist tyrants, but their counterparts at the USMS, FBI, and DEA (to name a few), are, as well... Citizen's militias will hopefully ensure that violations of the Constitution by these power-hungry stormtroopers of

the federal government will not succeed again. After all, who else would come to the rescue of those innocent women and children at WACO?!? Surely not the local sheriff or the state police! Nor the army-whom are used overseas to 'restore democracy,' while at home, are used to DESTROY it (in full violation of the Posse Comitatus Act), at places like WACO. One last question that every American should ask themselves: Did not the British also keep track of the locations of munitions stored by the colonists; just as the ATF has admitted to doing? Why???.... Does anyone even STUDY history anymore???

Shortly after Schneider destroyed the phone, a fifty-eight ton converted M-60 tank entered the Branch Davidian Compound. At 6:05 a.m., the first jolt of the tank's battering ram destroyed the doors of the compound. After entering, the tank fired non-lethal CS tear gas in fifteen second bursts into a hallway. As the forty-five minutes of destruction ensued, the Branch Davidian Complex, one block long was destroyed and 76 people lay dead (Rainie, 1993).

It is imperative to repeat here that the entire Waco tragedy was televised to a national viewing audience.

Timothy McVeigh was actually at Waco, Texas, during the 51 day standoff but left before the actual tragedy took place (Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997). McVeigh did however watch the tragedy from his friend, James Nichols,' house in Michigan and was deeply bothered by what he had seen the U.S. government, the same one he had worked for two years earlier, do at Waco (Hamm, 1997).

In order to examine the criminal behavior and motivations behind McVeigh's decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building, this researcher must now present what McVeigh may have been thinking as the Waco tragedy unfolded on national television.

Many Americans, excluding McVeigh, are quick to point out that David Koresh may not have been totally at fault for the tragedy. For example, the government *Blue Book* (1993), a five hundred page Treasury Department Report, arrived at the same conclusion Waco investigators Tabor and Gallagher (1993) did: Waco was an inexcusable disaster. The report further recognized:

disturbing evidence of flawed decision-making, inadequate intelligence gathering, miscommunication, supervisory failures, and deliberately misleading post-raid statements about the raid and the raid plan by certain BATF supervisors (Summary).

Likewise, in Dick Reavis' 1995 work, The Ashes of Waco: An Investigation, the author found that the government lied to the public about most of what happened. In his investigation, the author also posed questions about child abuse, drug allegations and who fired the first shots. The author found that the FBI was negligent in gassing Mt. Carmel and that alone could have started the fire that killed 76 people. Reavis maintained that the press exacerbated the situation by rushing to conclusions and not reporting the facts.

The author also found that federal agents said that Koresh and his cult held dangerous beliefs along with lethal gas and that the press passed on the charge without criticism or independent judgment. Such controversy stemming from the Waco tragedy may have motivated McVeigh to the bombing (Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997; Stickney, 1996).

Similarly, Ingrassia (1993) found that the FBI's handling of the evidence, bullets never recovered from the shootout, and transcripts of FBI interviews that were late, added to the FBI's unpopular image. Furthermore, the author found that these lapses in responsibility lead one to seriously question if maximum government force was being used with minimal judgment.

Michel and Herbeck (2001), Serrano (1998), Hamm (1997), and Stickney (1996) concluded that the tragedy at Waco, Texas, in 1993 has become a rallying symbol of excessive government intervention. Likewise, Dees (1996) found that hard core racists and Neo-Nazis have used the Branch Davidian tragedy at Waco to convince thousands of people that our government was preparing for war against it's own citizens. The Waco tragedy may explain a significant portion of the criminal behavior and motivations behind McVeigh's decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building.

After the Waco tragedy, FBI Deputy Director Larry Potts, suddenly and uncomfortably, found himself in the spotlight. Ranking Republicans in Congress questioned his handling of operations that proved to be the FBI's biggest fiasco: Waco. According to many sources this researcher has uncovered, Waco was the key factor in McVeigh's decision to bomb the Murrah Federal Building (Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997; Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997; Dees, 1996; Stickney, 1996; Junas, 1995; Reavis, 1995).

Crystal Methamphetamine

In May of 1993, shortly after the Waco, Texas, tragedy McVeigh found himself in Kingman, Arizona, visiting former Army buddy Michael Fortier. While McVeigh was in Kingman, he had verbally exchanged with Michael Fortier how negatively he felt about the government actions at Waco, Texas (Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997). It was at this time that McVeigh may have decided to seek revenge for the unnecessary loss of life suffered at Waco (Michael and Herbeck, 2001; Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997; Stickney, 1996).

As McVeigh revealed his feelings regarding the tragedy at Waco, Fortier may have introduced McVeigh to crystal methamphetamine, a hallucinative, mind altering drug. Through the months of June, July, and August 1993,

McVeigh, allegedly now a drug-addicted lost soldier, was on the road; perhaps thinking about what he was going to do to avenge the Waco, Texas, tragedy (Stickney, 1996, p. 129).

In the Fall of 1993, McVeigh was in Michigan with Michigan militia members Terry and James Nichols. McVeigh had served briefly with Terry Nichols in the U.S. Army before the Persian Gulf War and developed a friendship with him. During this time, Hamm (1997) believes McVeigh may have suffered from severe paranoia and, in one instance, told James Nichols that the government had planted a microchip in his buttocks while serving in the Gulf War. Such examples of paranoia may have been a direct result of McVeigh's alleged drug use (Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997; Stickney, 1996).

Hamm (1997) presents, through his research, a scene that is most enlightening. He found that one day, in the Fall of 1993, while McVeigh was visiting the Nichols' ranch in Michigan, James Nichols emerged from a toolshed with a yellowed newspaper. This yellowed newspaper contained a clipping about Richard Wayne Snell, a martyr of the extreme right, The Turner Diaries, and Snell's plot to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Hamm, 1997). From this point, the idea to

bomb a federal building, specifically the one in Oklahoma City, may have entered McVeigh's mind.

In early 1994, McVeigh was back in Kingman, Arizona, with friend Michael Fortier (Hamm, 1997). At this time, Michael Fortier helped McVeigh get a job at the True Value Hardware Store at which Fortier was working. While settling down with Fortier in Kingman for a few months, McVeigh may have began getting more into terrorist literature and perhaps, planning out his objective (Serrano, 1998; Hamm, 1997; Stickney, 1996).

Ironically, McVeigh's alleged drug use with crystal methamphetamine was never admitted into evidence or presented at trial. The prosecution believed that they had enough evidence to convict McVeigh without getting involved in an insanity plea or expensive and time consuming drug evaluation programs. The prosecution clearly wanted and sought the death penalty. The defense, on the other hand, wanted to present McVeigh as a strong minded war hero and constitution respecting citizen. Thus, a drug-user would not present a consistent, criminal psychological personality profile to McVeigh's case (Davis, 1996).

McVeigh's Arrest

Timothy McVeigh was arrested on April 19th, 1995, shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing. However, he was arrested for vehicle and weapons violations just outside Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, not for his involvement in the bombing. Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts (1997) later revealed that when McVeigh was taken into custody by federal law enforcement officials he was wearing a shirt that read, The Tree of Liberty Must Be Refreshed From Time to Time with the Blood of Patriots (Jennings, 1998, p. 561). Such a clue was instrumental in finding the criminal behavior and motivations behind McVeigh's decision to the bombing and ultimately, in establishing McVeigh's criminal psychological personality profile (Davis, 1996).

On April 21st, 1995, McVeigh was charged with violating Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 844 {f} and 2, Maliciously Damaging and Destroying a Building by Means of Explosives (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995, p. 9). McVeigh's trial took place in Denver, Colorado, beginning in April of 1997. In all, McVeigh was charged with 11 counts of conspiracy and murder by the federal government, found guilty, and sentenced to death.

The Envelope

To further review this literature, at the time of his arrest on April 19th, 1995, Timothy McVeigh left behind an envelope containing 31 documents and letters that were later used as evidence against him. Using only the highlighted portions given to this researcher by United States Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma, Patrick M. Ryan, a criminal psychological personality profile can be established as to what McVeigh may have been thinking at that time.

As McVeigh was detained, the previously mentioned envelope was found on the passenger seat of the vehicle he was driving. The envelope cover, later used as Government Exhibit 448a (1997) at McVeigh's trial read: Obey the Constitution of the United States and we won't shoot you.

Similarly, in McVeigh's backslash style writing, six more words appeared at the bottom of Government Exhibit 454 (1997). These words read, Maybe now, there will be liberty! According to Serrano (1998) and Hamm (1997), McVeigh assumed that the Americans of today, like their ancestors of revolutionary times before them, would rebel against their government. McVeigh, with a poor perception of his following, was wrong.

That same envelope, later found to be specifically left for the BATF and used as Government Exhibit 7 (1997) at McVeigh's trial, read:

All you tyrannical motherfuckers will swing in the wind one day, for your treasonous actions against the Constitution and the United States. Remember the Nuremburg War Trials But..but..but... I was only following orders!..... Die you spineless, cowardice bastards!

Similarly, Government Exhibit 12 (1997) revealed an article written by Dean Pleasant of the Arizona Republic (June 1993, p. 9). This article, entitled What Ever Happened to Liberty Day?, discusses the importance of the date April 19th and it's relationship to the Waco tragedy on the same day two years earlier. Part of this article found in McVeigh's possession at the time of his arrest read:

Therefore it is sad, sad irony that on April 19th, 1993, the now famous religious compound in Waco, Texas, finally fell to siege. Morality of the Davidian aside, one common thread links Waco and Lexington....

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (1995), from 1987-1992, individual domestic terrorism was dormant. Hamm (1997) maintains that the Waco tragedy changed this state of dormancy. After the FBI raid on the Branch Davidians, the date of April 19th became a rallying cry for anti-government advocates. Hamm (1997) further found that the selection of a calendar date as an ideological

justification for terrorism comes from a scene in Andrew Macdonald's *The Turner Diaries* (1978). For a group of hard-core potential terrorists in the post-Waco era, the date of April 19th became an ultimate symbol of reactive, individual terrorism (Hamm, 1997).

As previously prefaced, McVeigh may have picked the date of April 19th for that day's historical significance. Hamm (1997) found:

(1) April 19th, 1775: Lexington burned [marking the start of the American Revolutionary War]; (2) April 19th, 1943: Warsaw burned [as Nazi troops turned flamethrowers on apartment buildings and gunned down Jews as they poured from doorways]; (3) April 19th, 1992: the feds attempted to raid Randy Weaver's home; (4) April 19th, 1993: The Branch Davidian compound burned; (5) April 19th, 1995: Richard Snell, a leader of the extreme right, will be executed unless we act now!! (p. 31).

In February of 1995, two months before the bombing, McVeigh authored a letter to Gwenn, the aunt of Kevin Nicholas' wife in Michigan. Gwenn was a single-issue, like- minded individual who shared similar beliefs with McVeigh (Government Exhibit 26b, 1997; Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997). Kevin Nicholas was the Nichols' brothers' ranch hand on their farm in Michigan where McVeigh is noted of spending some time before the bombing (Oklahoma City bombing Trial Transcripts, 1997). This untitled letter, dated February 10th, 1995, read in part:

To sin by silence when they should protest makes Cowards of men.... If the founding fathers had been scared, we'd still be under the tyrannical rule of the crown... They knew, without a doubt, that by signing the Declaration of Independence, they would be sentenced to death, for high treason against the crown. But they realized something was more important than their soul or collective lives-the cause of liberty...Hell, you only live once, and I KNOW you know it's better to burn out, then ... rot away in some nursing home. My philosophy is the same-in only a short 1-2 years, my body will slowly start giving away-first maybe knee pains, or back pains, or whatever, but I won't be 'peaked' anymore. Might as well do some good while I can be 100% effective! Sorry I can't be of more help, but most of the people sent my way these days are of the direct action type, and my whole mindset has shifted, from intellectual to animal. Rip the bastards heads off and shit down their necks!, and I'll show you how with a simple pocket knife...etc.

According to Serrano (1998) and Hamm (1997),
Government Exhibit 26b (1997) proved to be one of the most
damaging documents presented at McVeigh's trial.

Government Exhibits 450-462 (1997) are also revealing and go more into McVeigh's criminal psychological personality profile and outline his mindset, specifically after the tragedy at Waco, Texas, in 1993.

Exhibit 450 (1997) is entitled HOW TO BEAT THE GOVERNMENT'S TERRORIST GOON SQUADS! Exhibit 450 quotes former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill as saying, ...it is better to perish than to live as slaves. This same exhibit also highlights a section saying, ... At what

exact point, then, <u>SHOULD ONE RESIST</u>?... McVeigh may have felt that one should have resisted after the Waco tragedy.

In Government Exhibit 451 (1997), Timothy McVeigh quoted John Locke and his Second Treatise of Government. It reads:

I have no reason to suppose that he who would take away my liberty, would not, when he had me in his power, take away everything else, and therefore, it isawful for me to treat him as one who has put himself into a 'state of war' against me; and kill him if I can, for to that hazard does he justly expose himself, whoever introduces a state of war and is aggressor in it.

Similarly, Government Exhibit 453 (1997) reads in part:

But the real value of our attacks today lies in the psychological impact, not in the immediate casualties... More important, though, is what we taught the politicians and bureaucrats. They learned this afternoon that not one of them is out of reach...They can huddle behind barbed wire and tanks in the city, or they can hide behind the concrete walls and alarm systems of their country estates, but we can still find them and kill them...That is a lesson they will not forget.

Government Exhibit 454 (1997), as previously mentioned, was a quote from Samuel Adams. It reads: When The Government Fears The People THERE IS LIBERTY. When The People Fear The Government THERE IS TYRANNY.

Further, Government Exhibit 456 (1997) is entitled The American Response To Tyranny. This Exhibit, which was also used to help convict McVeigh at his trial read: THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED OPEN WARFARE ON THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE. This Exhibit further quotes Thomas Jefferson as saying, What country can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance (Government Exhibit 456, 1997).

Government Exhibit 459 (1997), entitled U.S.

Government Initiates Open Warfare Against American People quotes Thomas Jefferson once again by saying, Government big enough to supply everything you need is big enough to take everything you have.

Government Exhibit 460 (1997) entitled Waco Shootout Evokes Memory of Warsaw '43 and Government Exhibits 461 (1997) and 462 (1997) both have sections from The Declaration of Independence referring to aspects compared to the violations incurred during the Waco tragedy. The last highlighted section of Government Exhibit 462 states: RIGHTS COME FROM GOD, NOT THE STATE. It is clear, through these highlighted portions of documents and letters used to convict McVeigh, that he was a single-issue, domestic terrorist willing to use violence as a means to gain attention to his cause.

Such Government Exhibits easily convicted McVeigh of murder and raised serious questions as to why no-one tried to stop him. McVeigh's thought process was clear. He wanted to avenge the Waco, Texas, tragedy and serve notice

that he, along with an inflated number of other patriots, were no longer going to accept self-perceived careless actions from the U.S. government. In fact, shortly before the guilty verdict was read in the Oklahoma City bombing trial (1997), the transcripts quoted Timothy McVeigh as saying:

Our government is the protector, the omnipresent teacher. For good or evil it teaches the whole people by it's example. That's all I have.

Timothy McVeigh was one of four individuals chosen through a cluster sampling case study method for this research and study. Timothy McVeigh is Caucasion. Timothy McVeigh is a male. Timothy McVeigh was born in New York and is 32 years-old. Timothy McVeigh committed his crime(s) in the United States, most notably in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, on April 19th, 1995. Timothy McVeigh is a United States citizen and was executed on May 16th, 2001.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH

FINDINGS

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the criminal behavior and motivations behind Timothy McVeigh's decision to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This research and study will now conclude by summarizing the use of criminal psychological personality profiling, re-examining the cluster sample case studies, recommending some suggestions for further and future research, and close with this researcher's conclusions.

Use of Criminal Psychological Personality Profiling

This researcher has examined criminal psychological personality profile characteristics through specific variables which may have led McVeigh to the bombing. This research and study has confirmed that single-issue, domestic terrorists are motivated by different moral and religious beliefs, events, ideologies, and governmental policies. By criminal psychological personality profiling single-issue, domestic terrorists, one can accurately generalize that Timothy McVeigh belongs in this same data group. One can also generalize, with reliability, that

such individuals who meet the classification of singleissue, domestic terrorists must be taken seriously at all times and places.

By maintaining a small sample size, examining only a male population, keeping the focus on Caucasion, or White individuals, making certain each sample was born in the United States, and by verifying each individual was a United States citizen during the commission of their crimes, this research and study has proven itself reliable and valid.

Case Studies

As these four case studies demonstrated, terrorists have different methods and belief systems. Surrette (1992) asserts that many terrorists reveal frontstage, or revealing behaviors. These behaviors are usually displayed in public and to others. Surrette maintains that this outward-directed behavior is noted through hatred, anger, and rage. All four case studies revealed these characteristics, in varying degrees, but were typically dismissed as a part of societal adjustment (Holmes and Holmes, 1992). Further, domestic terrorists can be individuals of any occupation or vocation and often times possess secretive behaviors only seen or witnessed by the offender (Davis, 1996; Surrette, 1992).

The victims of terrorist acts are usually the recipients of backstage behavior when the previously mentioned frontstage behavior has been dismissed or ignored (Surrette, 1992). The victims of mass murders are usually just people who are in the wrong place at the wrong time, such as Theodore Kaczynski's victims and the victims in the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, bombing.

The anticipated gains play an important role as well. What the person hopes to gain from performing such an act is, of course, attention to his beliefs or cause. All four individuals were successful in gaining attention to their beliefs and cause (Davis, 1996; Holmes 1989). Unfortunately, the fact remains: innocent people always die.

Davis (1996) identifies that there are several indicators and potential warning signs associated with such murders. The best predictor of future violence is a past history of violence. The cases of John Brown,

Theodore Kaczynski, David Koresh, and Timothy McVeigh are all relevant here. Verbal threats or plans to initiate violence or aggressive acts targeted at employment are also predictors. A history of disciplinary problems with a particular employee where a degree of dissatisfaction is unmet with the employee regarding employment must be

carefully monitored as well. The case studies of Theodore Kaczynski and Timothy McVeigh are relevant here (Davis, 1996).

This research has discussed, through the criminal psychological personality profiling of single-issue, domestic terrorists the criminal behavior and motivations behind each individual's actions. For John Brown, it was no doubt the fervor to abolish slavery. In the case of Theodore Kaczynski, it was the animosity and resentment held towards individuals associated with the advancement of industry and technology. David Koresh obsessed in the vanity of his own faith, which resulted in the deaths of four government agents and 76 of his followers. Last, Timothy McVeigh's self-perceived beliefs regarding the use and abuse of governmental power and the lack of accountability therein, combined with the influences of The Turner Diaries, Waco, and alleged use of crystal methamphetamine, ultimately led him to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.

Suggestions for Further and Future Research

It is this researcher's opinion that there is very little law enforcement can do against random acts of violence and terrorism. An individual's past history of mental problems and violence is as good as place as any to

start the criminal psychological personality profiling process. With so many idle threats being issued these days, one does not know who to take seriously and who not to take seriously. Certainly if one has the knowledge and ingredients to build a bomb and brags about the results of the bomb if detonated, law enforcement, as well as the community itself, must take that person seriously. It is the reality and seriousness of such threats, as well as environmental and family influences, that this researcher deems in need of further investigation.

It only takes a quick review of this literature to notice the similarities between the information presented in the four case studies. This researcher believes that if these individuals were not apprehended or killed, they all would have continued their bombings or acts of terrorism because of their previous histories, the quantities of their resources, the powerful emotional motive of revenge, and their overall unstable psychological state. These factors lead one to seriously question what may have been done to prevent such violent acts from occurring. Although it is always easier to identify the motivations of a crime after it has happened, such as in the case of Timothy McVeigh, how can the law enforcement community prevent such tragedies before they happen? Such a complex question is certainly in need of further investigation.

Researcher's Conclusions

This researcher believes that by paying more attention to: (1) McVeigh's activity after his resignation from the U.S. Army in 1991; (2) the anti-government rhetoric in his letters to the *Union-Sun & Journal* in 1992; (3) his conversations with Michael Fortier in 1993 after the Waco, Texas, tragedy in 1993; and (4) his actions and criminal psychological personality profile in the months leading up to April 19th, 1995, could have played key roles in the prevention of the bombing.

To conclude, most activity is verbal rhetoric and is protected by the First Amendment right of free speech. Adherents of extremist organizations or single-issues are generally law-abiding citizens who have become intolerant of what they perceive to be violations of their constitutional beliefs. However, this research focused on individuals who could not work within the existing structure of government or social order and violently acted on their beliefs or cause. It is the acting on these beliefs which cause the greatest damage to domestic security within the United States.

Indeed, the successful development, implementation, and constant feedback from American citizens is our most

effective tool in preventing such terrorist acts from taking place. It is the prevention of these terrorist acts that will continue to be the focus of federal, state, and local law enforcement in the twenty-first century.

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