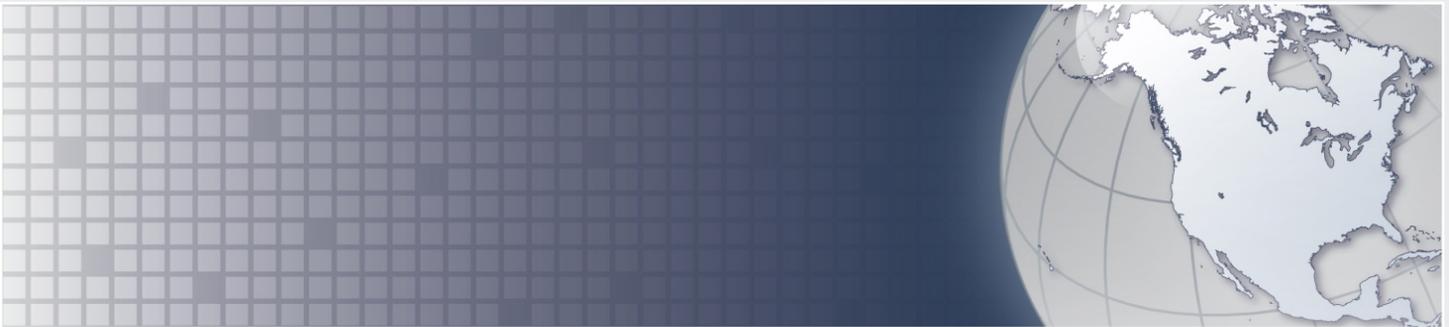


INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT



(U//FOUO) Baseline Comparison of US and Foreign Anarchist Extremist Movements

4 April 2016



**Homeland
Security**



**Federal Bureau
of Investigation**

Office of Intelligence and Analysis

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Homeland Security
Office of Intelligence & Analysis



Federal Bureau of Investigation

INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT



4 April 2016

(U//FOUO) Baseline Comparison of US and Foreign Anarchist Extremist Movements

(U//FOUO) Prepared by DHS's Office of Intelligence and Analysis (I&A) and the FBI's Counterterrorism Division. Coordinated with CIA, DIA, NCTC, and DoD.

(U) Scope

(U//FOUO) This joint DHS and FBI *Assessment* examines the possible reasons why anarchist extremist attacks in certain countries abroad and in the United States differ in the frequency of incidents and degree of lethality employed in order to determine ways US anarchist extremists actions might become more lethal in the future.* This *Assessment* is intended to establish a baseline comparison of the US and foreign anarchist extremist movements and create new lines of research; follow-on assessments will update the findings identified in the paper, to include the breadth of data after the end of the reporting period (as warranted by new information), and identify new areas for DHS and FBI collaboration on the topic. This *Assessment* is also produced in anticipation of a heightened threat of anarchist extremist violence in 2016 related to the upcoming Democratic and Republican National Conventions—events historically associated with violence from the movement.† By comparing violence in the United States with Greece, Italy, and Mexico—countries historically exhibiting anarchist extremist violence targeting persons—from January 2010–July 2014, we identified factors that could explain differences in targeting and tactics by selected foreign anarchist extremists and United States. The study examines 110 anarchist extremist incidents occurring within the United States and these selected foreign countries.‡ Only those incidents determined to be violent (i.e., involving threats of bodily harm) were included in the dataset. Our ability to analyze relevant details of attacks depended heavily on the quality of sourcing for these incidents—which almost solely derived from the media. Additionally, although US anarchist extremist attacks noted in this study occurred in multiple states, the majority of incidents occurred in the Pacific Northwest region.

(U//FOUO) This *Assessment* was produced to assist federal, state, local, and tribal government agencies and private sector infrastructure and security officers in the deterrence, prevention, preemption of, or response to terrorist attacks against the United States conducted by anarchist extremists. Some of the activities described in the study may involve activities that are, by themselves, lawful or constitutionally protected, and the study's findings should be considered within the existing framework of laws, regulations, and operating procedures that govern a particular enforcement entity. Additionally, conduct deemed potentially suspicious and indicative of terrorist activity should be taken in conjunction with other indicators and possible preoperational activity.

(U) Key Judgments

(U//FOUO) Our examination of anarchist extremist violence in the United States and in Greece, Italy, and Mexico revealed several prominent features that may inform strategies to counter domestic terrorism:

- » **(U//FOUO) DHS and FBI assess the primary factor explaining the difference in targets between foreign and US anarchist extremists is foreign anarchist extremists' focus on specific economic and governance issues relative to their geographic area, while US anarchist extremists tend to focus on**

* *(U//FOUO)* DHS and FBI define anarchist extremists as individuals who seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, to further their opposition to all forms of capitalism, corporate globalization, and governing institutions, which they perceive as harmful to society. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may not constitute extremism, and may be constitutionally protected.

† *(U//FOUO)* US political conventions such as the Democratic and Republican National Conventions are often targets of pre-planned anarchist extremist rioting; however, we have not yet seen credible reporting indicating planned violence associated with these summer 2016 events.

‡ *(U//FOUO)* All graphics throughout the paper are based on our analysis of these 110 incidents.

symbols of capitalism.*† We assess the likely primary factor explaining foreign anarchist extremists' greater willingness to use more violent tactics than their US counterparts is that these foreign anarchist extremist movements are often more organized—allowing for more complex attacks—and have a well-established tradition of lethal violence not currently seen in the United States.

- » **(U//FOUO)** The vast majority of US anarchist extremist attacks targeted property likely due to the location's accessibility and as a symbol of capitalism and globalization. Most foreign anarchist extremist attacks targeted persons likely because of the cohesiveness of the movement and greater emphasis on issues that can be blamed on local, individual targets. US anarchist extremists targeted the banking/finance sector most often, as these perceived soft targets of capitalism are possible to attack with tactics that are non-lethal yet cause significant economic damage and pose significant public safety risks. Foreign anarchist extremists most often targeted government entities, likely due to the emphasis placed on local domestic issues by foreign anarchist extremists and their capabilities to commit attacks against hardened targets.
- » **(U//FOUO)** Arson was the most common violent tactic used by US anarchist extremists—approximately 70 percent (19 of 27) of attacks—while foreign anarchist extremists used arson in only a third of their attacks. US anarchist extremists likely use this tactic based on their intention to cause economic and property damage, which can be accomplished by arson with relatively limited resources and specialized skills. Unlike US anarchist extremists, foreign anarchist extremists frequently used explosives, likely due to their capability to develop more advanced explosive devices as a result of their more organized structure, having a history of using such tactics, and because their targets are hardened.

(U) Key Concepts Used in Study

(U) Drivers: Factors that appear to have motivated incidents of anarchist extremist violence. Categories include social justice issues, economic issues, capitalism, governance, technology, and others.

(U) Tactics: Methods utilized by anarchist extremists to attack their adversaries. Categories include property destruction, acts of intimidation, assault, armed assault, arson, sabotage bombings, and others.

(U) Targets: Entities violently attacked by anarchist extremists. Categories include government targets, banking/finance industry, transportation sector, judicial sector, law enforcement, media, major corporations, residential targets, political opponents, education/research, and others.

(U) Violent Incidents: Anarchist extremist incidents or planned for a criminal incidents in which a threat of bodily harm can be clearly discerned.

(U) Overview of Anarchist Extremist Incidents in the United States and Abroad

(U//FOUO) DHS and FBI assess anarchist extremists in the United States commit violent crimes against different targets and with different tactics due to different motivations than anarchist extremists in Greece, Italy, and Mexico. This Assessment is based upon our analysis of anarchist extremism motivated violent incidents in the United States and three countries exhibiting anarchist extremist violence targeting persons over an approximate four year period. We identified three factors that likely contribute to the difference in the amount and type of violent acts by anarchist extremists in the United States and abroad—targets, tactics, and drivers. These three factors, separately and together, contribute to the level of criminal activity needed to conduct a successful attack and accomplish the anarchist extremists' intended goal, based upon our review of the captured data set. US-based anarchist extremist incidents in our study tended to target soft, often symbolic, targets and involved less violent and non-lethal tactics to accomplish their general goal of economic damage, as opposed to the hardened targets motivated by specific issues in the studied foreign countries—which required violent, lethal tactics to be a successful attack.

(U//FOUO) Within the United States, criminal acts by anarchist extremists—as well as the larger anarchist movement—tend to be low-level, non-violent incidents, such as vandalisms—and when US-based anarchist extremists commit violent acts they are generally aimed at property, based on the reviewed incidents. Over the studied four-year period, US

* (U//FOUO) The phrases “foreign anarchist extremists” and “overseas anarchist extremists” refer to only the anarchist extremists in Greece, Mexico, and Italy.

† (U//FOUO) Additionally, we assess, based on discussions with CIA, this disparity could largely be the result of a reporting gap.

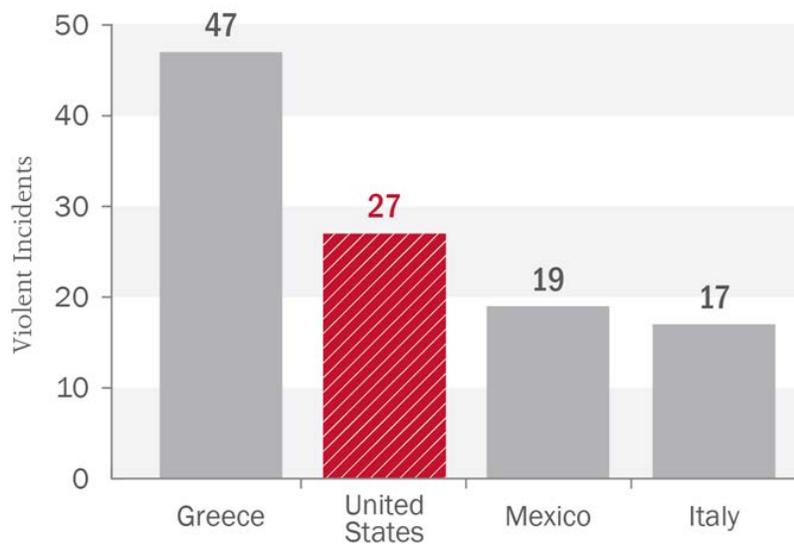
anarchist extremists either committed or are suspected of having committed at least 27 violent attacks, according to open source and law enforcement reporting. In the United States, anarchist extremists tended to commit more violent incidents during May Day, an international day honoring workers' rights, and after arrests or deaths of fellow anarchist extremists. During the studied time-period, violent acts peaked in 2012 with 11 incidents. Although most of the violent incidents were not directly related to the 2012 Presidential election, there remains a possibility the election was a motivating factor, as high-profile political activity generally motivates anarchist extremists. Spikes in anarchist extremist violence frequently occur during election years as anarchist extremists often target political events such as the Democratic and Republican National Conventions with rioting.

(U//FOUO) Anarchist extremists in Greece, Italy, and Mexico committed a total of 83 violent incidents over the same time period, according to open source reporting. Greece-based anarchist extremists committed the most attacks with 47 incidents, followed by Mexican anarchist extremists who conducted 19 incidents, and Italy-based extremists who committed 17 incidents.* The amount of less-violent, criminal activity by anarchist extremists in these countries is unknown over the study period based on data collection limitations and is a reporting gap. The timing of anarchist extremist violent activity in Greece, Italy, and Mexico was relatively consistent from month-to-month during the reporting period.

(U//FOUO) To best provide the results of the examined data, the study has been divided into three separate sections focusing on the three factors identified in the reviewed incidents. Section I focuses on the targets of anarchist extremism violence in the United States and in the three foreign countries, to include actions directed against persons and property, with property crimes often targeting multi-national corporations, financial institutions, and government and law enforcement. Section II covers the tactics used to commit anarchist extremist violence in the countries examined for this study including acts of arson and bombings. Section III discusses the various identified drivers of violence in furtherance of anarchist extremism in the United States, Greece, Italy, and Mexico to include capitalism, government and law enforcement, and social justice issues.

Anarchist Extremist Violence by Country

January 2010–July 2014



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* (U//FOUO) According to DoD, other violent incidents occurred in Greece during the period of this study which were not all reported in open source. However, due to investigative sensitivities, we have not included these incidents in the paper.

† (U//FOUO) Significant violent incidents have occurred in the studied countries in the remaining months of 2014 following the conclusion of the study that are not addressed in this paper. Based on a cursory review, violent incidents in Mexico during this period were motivated by anger over the arrest of comrades, the most commonly utilized tactic was arson, and the primary target was the education and research sector. Violent incidents in Greece during this period tended to be motivated by opposition to capitalism and to show solidarity with local imprisoned anarchist extremists, the most commonly utilized tactics were arson, property destruction and bombings, and primary targets were banks and law enforcement. Anarchist extremist

(U//FOUO) Section I: US Anarchist Extremists Principally Target Property, Foreign Adherents Focus on People

(U//FOUO) Anarchist extremists in the United States overwhelmingly target property rather than people when committing criminal activity, likely because property is a symbolic target of capitalism and globalization with many easily accessible soft targets. This Assessment is based on anarchist extremist statements and communiqués claiming criminal acts and our judgment about their targeting preferences. Although the acts are categorized as violent, some anarchist extremists may consider their criminal acts against these types of targets to be “non-violent” because no physical harm is caused to persons. Despite their characterization of these incidents as “non-violent,” we assess these acts could have posed significant public safety risks.^{2,3,4,5} US anarchist extremists—and the broader non-violent anarchist movement—tend to be fractious and lack organization, which may make US anarchist extremists less likely to engage in more complex—and potentially lethal—attacks. Furthermore, although US anarchist extremists may express solidarity with their foreign counterparts, calls to emulate their tactics in the United States are rare—indicating an apparent lack of ideological support for targeted violence in the homeland. During the studied time period, the majority of documented US anarchist extremist incidents of violence (96 percent or 26 of 27 incidents) targeted property, to include incidents against the banking and finance industry, transportation, construction sites, and law enforcement property.

- » (U//FOUO) US anarchist extremists targeted the banking and finance industry including automated teller machines (ATMs) in 26 percent (7 of 27) of documented incidents. US anarchist extremists frequently used improvised incendiary devices (IIDs) against this target possibly because the outdoor ATMs are easily accessible and IIDs require less skill and sophistication to develop compared to more lethal attacks. Other targets of US anarchist extremists include the transportation sector, residential construction—to include gentrification sites in perceived economically depressed areas—and law enforcement property, which each accounted for approximately 19 percent (5 of 27) of attacks.* US anarchist extremists used various methods to attack these targets, depending on the target. The transportation sector was targeted mainly with attempts to disrupt rail traffic using tactics posing a threat to public safety, while gentrification sites and law enforcement property were targeted with arson.
- » (U//FOUO) Incidents against gentrification projects have mostly occurred in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States and appear to have increased in that region during the study’s time frame. While one anti-gentrification-related incident reportedly occurred in Michigan in 2011, four incidents against gentrification projects occurred in the Pacific Northwest from 2013 to 2014 and no known incidents occurred from 2010 to 2012. A total of five incidents against gentrifying residential properties occurred during the study’s time frame, all arsons, and 80 percent (4 of 5) of these occurred in the last two years of the study time period.

violence in Italy during this period tended to be driven by opposition to high-speed rail construction, the most common tactic was arson, and the preferred target was the transportation industry. The single additional US violent incident that occurred during this period was motivated by anger over police actions, the tactic used was property destruction and arson, and the target was a government entity. Police action as a motivator of US anarchist extremist violence, in particular, is a possible topic worthy of study in a future assessment.

* (U//FOUO) We understand anarchist extremists’ use of the term “gentrification” to mean the buying and renovation of houses and stores in deteriorated urban neighborhoods by upper- or middle-income persons, thus improving property values but often displacing low-income families and small businesses, based on the *Dictionary.com* definition of the term “gentrification.” According to *Theanarchistlibrary.org*’s article “Oakland is Burning: Beyond a Critique of Gentrification,” anarchist extremists oppose gentrification because they believe it is oppressive and part of a greater class war led by the privileged in society against lower-income and working-class persons.

US vs. Foreign: Focus of Violence

Property



US: 96%

Foreign: 66%

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Person



Foreign: 34%

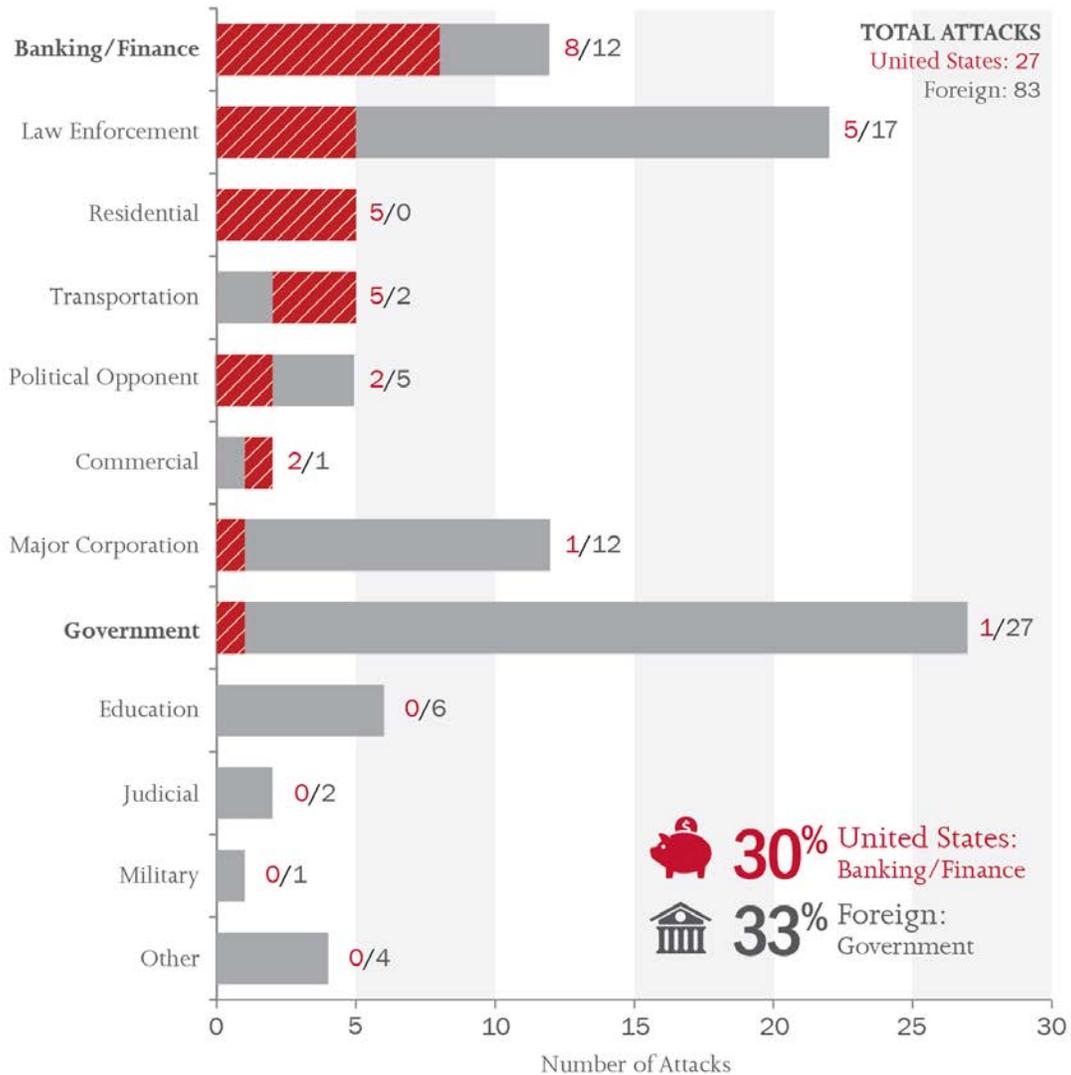
US: 4%

(U//FOUO) Overall, Greek, Italian, and Mexican anarchist extremists' targeted property more frequently than people, but targeted people more frequently than their US counterparts, based on analysis of known anarchist extremists incidents in those locations. Of the documented incidents during the study's time period, 34 percent were against people (as opposed to only 4 percent in the US) and 66 percent were crimes against property, although the total number of foreign attacks against property may be underestimated due to reporting gaps. Most attacks by foreign anarchist extremists in the studied locations targeted law enforcement, those associated with government, and government entities, suggesting that foreign anarchist extremists' animosity towards police and the government may have been higher in those locations than in the United States during the reporting period. We assess, based on our judgments of the motivations for attacks, that the higher numbers of foreign targeting of persons compared to the United States is likely the result the presence of stronger, more cohesive anarchist extremist movements in these countries—who often have an institutional history of targeting persons, in combination with a greater emphasis in these countries on local economic and governance issues, such as austerity measures, transportation construction, and police and government corruption, because these issues can be directly blamed on local, individual targets. Many of the attacks or attempted attacks included the use of bombs, such as parcel bombs, assaults, and shootings.

(U//FOUO) Most foreign anarchist extremists' attacks targeted property, including government, banks, law enforcement, corporations, and universities—with government entities targeted most frequently. We assess, based on the communiqués claiming crimes against property, foreign anarchist extremists likely target government entities because local governance issues resonate within the movement in those studied locations. Additionally, within these locations, anarchist extremist groups maintain a tactical capability that allows for more sophisticated attacks, such as explosive bombings, which are more effective against hardened targets such as government entities, based on analysis and reporting.

(U//FOUO) When targeting property, government entities accounted for 33 percent of attacks, while foreign anarchist extremists targeted the banking/finance industry in only 14 percent of the incidents. Major banks are targets historically associated with capitalism and the lower number of attacks against them when compared to other attacks possibly indicating that foreign anarchist extremists focus more on local issues than on capitalism.

US vs. Foreign: Prime Targets



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(U//FOUO) Section II: Tactics Used in the United States and Abroad Differ

(U//FOUO) Target differences between US and foreign anarchist extremists lead to differences in the tactics used as there may be varying levels of complexity required for a successful attack. We assess, based on our review of incidents during the period of this study, foreign anarchist extremists likely use more lethal tactics than US anarchist extremists, such as bombings, because the “hardened”—and human—targets of foreign extremists require more inherently deadly tactics to inflict damage. Additionally, foreign anarchist extremists are often part of more cohesive, organized groups, allowing them to plan these more complex and damaging attacks such as coordinated bombing campaigns; these groups often have a long history of using lethal violence and some members may have an institutional knowledge of how to carry out more lethal attacks—such as how to build and effectively deploy explosive devices.* US anarchist extremists tend to target less hardened targets, such as banks after business hours, ATMs, and financial institutions, buildings under construction, and

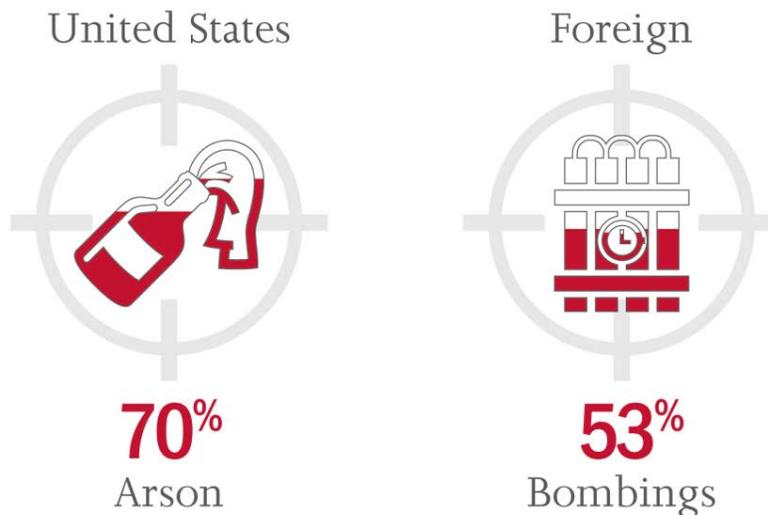
* (U//FOUO) For examples of more cohesive foreign anarchist extremist groups, see Foreign Groups of Note in the Appendix.

unguarded stretches of railway, and criminal acts against them can be effective with less violent or nonlethal methods, such as sabotage and arson, while still causing significant economic damage and posing significant risks to public safety.

- » (U//FOUO) Arson was the most commonly employed tactic by US anarchist extremists, accounting for 70 percent (19 of 27) of the total attacks used in this study. Typical anarchist extremist arson attacks include using IIDs such as Molotov Cocktails against multinational corporations, banks, law enforcement vehicles and police stations, setting fires during riots, and destroying construction sites in gentrified neighborhoods. US anarchist extremists planned to use explosives in one incident that was disrupted by law enforcement, and there were no incidents of US anarchist extremists using bombs.

(U//FOUO) Foreign anarchist extremists committed bombings in 53 percent of total reported incidents and employed arson in 34 percent of the total reported incidents. Of the three countries, the highest number of bombings occurred in Greece (18). Several parcel bombings were reported in all three of the countries during the time period reviewed. The parcel bombings in Italy targeted embassies whereas attacks in Mexico were primarily against university researchers and facilities involved in technology research and financial institutions. Bombing attacks in Greece targeted police, government facilities and staff, embassies, and financial institutions.

US vs. Foreign: Tactical Differences



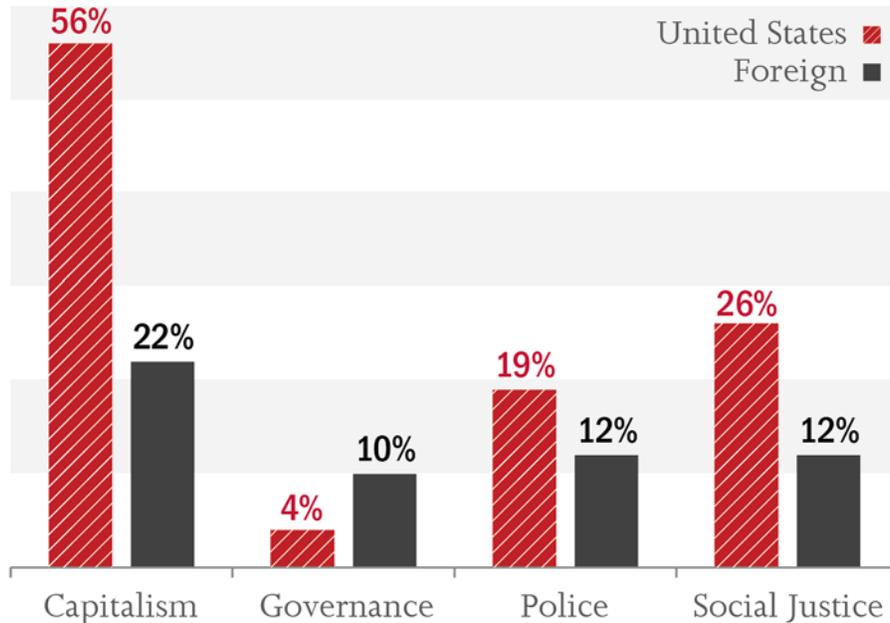
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(U//FOUO) Section III: Anarchist Extremists Motivated to Violence by Many Drivers

(U//FOUO) The anarchist extremist movement is not monolithic either in the United States or overseas, and there are many sub-movements of anarchist ideology that may have different drivers for violence against specific target sets. Nevertheless, anarchist extremists generally facilitate or conduct violence in furtherance of the belief that the state is unnecessary and harmful, and people require liberation from perceived oppressive systems of control, including state power, police, capitalism, and racism. We analyzed the most commonly cited motivators of attacks by US and foreign anarchist extremists in Greece, Italy, and Mexico. Based on our analysis of incidents and associated communiqués, the majority of incidents in the United States were driven by capitalism and those incidents in the analyzed foreign countries were most motivated by solidarity with other anarchist extremists and symbolic actions to commemorate dates of significance.

US vs. Foreign: Significant Drivers of Violence



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(U) Capitalism

(U//FOUO) In addition to opposition to state power, anarchist extremist ideology historically focused on violent opposition to the capitalist system and the elimination of capitalist structures from society, including multinational corporations, financial institutions, and banks. US anarchist extremist violence over the study time period appears to reflect this goal, as opposition to capitalism was the primary driver to violence in 56 percent (15 of 27) of total attacks and planned attacks over the reporting period. We assess anarchist extremists in the United States generally aim to cause economic damage when targeting the soft targets symbolic of capitalism, based on our review of violent incidents targeting symbols of capitalism in the study's time period.

- » (U//FOUO) In 2012, five anarchist extremists were arrested and convicted for plotting to blow up the Cuyahoga Valley Bridge in Cleveland, Ohio with C4 explosives. According to court documents, the group wanted to destroy the bridge to cause financial damage and block workers from entering the city.¹⁰ This disrupted plot was especially significant because it showed a willingness by a small group of individuals to engage in a major attack not seen by anarchist extremists in recent decades. DHS and FBI are not aware of reporting suggesting that US anarchist extremists seek to emulate the tactic—an explosive device—used in this incident.
- » (U//FOUO) In June 2010, two individuals reasonably believed by local law enforcement to be anarchist extremists attempted to set fire to a Walmart^{USPER} store in Helena, Montana, with a Molotov cocktail, and vandalized the store with spray paint, including with the anarchist-associated “encircled A” symbol, according to DHS reporting based on liaison with local law enforcement.^{11,†}

* (U//FOUO) Percentages in this graph do not add up to 100 percent because many of the incidents in this study had multiple drivers of violence.

† (U//FOUO) The suspects also left a note nearby citing “Hayduke Lives,” a reference to a book of the same name, which is the sequel to *The Monkeywrench Gang*. Anarchist extremists have cited the latter book as justification for the use of arson and industrial sabotage to attack symbols of corporate globalization, protect the environment, and undermine capitalism.

(U//FOUO) The proportion of attacks committed by foreign anarchist extremists in opposition to capitalism and economic targets was much lower than by US anarchist extremists; only 22 percent of foreign incidents. The reasons for this discrepancy are unknown; it is possible, however, that attacks against economic targets are less likely to garner media or law enforcement attention based on their smaller impact, leading to a lack of reporting for our assessment. Nonetheless, capitalism was still the second-highest cited driver of violence for foreign anarchist extremists. Greek and Italian anarchist extremist attacks that targeted capitalism included bombings, arsons, and rioting that led to casualties. In Mexico, no incidents were identified to have been committed by anarchist extremists motivated by issues related to capitalism during the study's time frame.

- » (U//FOUO) In February 2012, Greek anarchist extremists rioted and clashed with police during protests related to economic austerity measures, resulting in over \$10 million in estimated damages to historic buildings, banks, and businesses, as well as injuries to dozens of protesters and police, according to Greek media reporting.¹²⁻¹⁶
- » (U//FOUO) In December 2011, members of the Italian anarchist extremist movement "Informal Anarchist Federation" claimed responsibility for mailing parcel bombs to the CEO of a major multinational bank, which was successfully defused. A second parcel bomb sent to the national director of the Italian tax agency exploded in the target's hands and resulted in an injured eye and the loss of two fingers, according to US, French, German, and Australian media reporting.¹⁷⁻²²
- » (U//FOUO) In February 2011, suspected Italian anarchist extremists planted a parcel bomb on a window at a branch of Italy's largest energy company. The device was defused before it could detonate and cause injuries, according to reporting from a DHS-funded academic database.²³

(U//FOUO) In the United States, we assess anarchist extremists associate the transportation sector with the capitalist system and believe it is critical to its functioning. Railroad tracks were specifically targeted by anarchist extremists in 15 percent (4 of 27) of all violent attacks during the study's time period in attempts to disrupt the system.^{24,25} The most common tactic used by US anarchist extremists to disrupt the railway sector involves wrapping copper wire around rails to create false obstruction signals, forcing trains to stop and delaying movement until blockages are cleared. Such acts could potentially have caused derailment and thus constitute significant public safety risks.

- » (U//FOUO) Suspected anarchist extremists calling themselves "New York Anarchists"^{USPER} in October 2012 told a local radio station and claimed in a communiqué they disrupted three sets of railroad tracks leading in and out of New York City in solidarity with recently imprisoned anarchist extremists in the Pacific Northwest and against capitalism.²⁶

(U//FOUO) Disruption against transportation accounted for only two percent of foreign anarchist extremist attacks during the reporting period. Both known incidents were committed by Italian anarchist extremists who opposed the use and construction of high-speed rail lines. It is unknown why foreign anarchist extremists did not target the transportation sector at the same rates as US based anarchist extremists.

- » (U//FOUO) During a 2012 incident anarchist extremists stopped rail traffic by throwing hooks over rail lines, and in 2013 anarchist extremists disrupted rail movement by throwing Molotov cocktails at a rail car and catching its compressor on fire, according to Italian media reporting.^{27,28}

(U) Governance

(U//FOUO) Government and political structures ranked as the least common drivers of US anarchist extremist violence accounting for only 4 percent (1 of 27) of the total incidents despite being key forms of hierarchy opposed by anarchist extremists. We assess the lack of attacks attributed to opposition of governance suggests that government-related entities are likely perceived as "hardened" or difficult targets by US anarchist extremists, as opposed to more tangible, "softer," capitalist targets, based on our review of communiqués detailing the motivations of US anarchist extremist attacks examined in this study and a lack of violent rhetoric calling for attacks against these targets. Additionally, this lack of violent rhetoric could be explained by US anarchist extremists having little historical experience and a lack of capabilities for engaging attacking such difficult government targets.

(U//FOUO) In May 2012, three anarchist extremists were found guilty of two counts of mob action and one count each of possessing an incendiary device to commit arson, for their role in plotting attacks against a NATO Summit in Chicago, Illinois.²⁹ According to court documents, they planned to attack police cars and four Chicago Police stations with “destructive devices” and other planned actions for the NATO summit. Some of the proposed targets included the campaign headquarters of President Obama, the home of Mayor Emanuel^{USPER}, and certain downtown financial institutions.³⁰ They received prison sentences of 5, 6, and 8 years.³¹

(U//FOUO) Foreign anarchist extremists were motivated to violence against symbols of governance more frequently than their US counterparts, accounting for 10 percent of total incidents. Foreign anarchist extremists used more potentially lethal tactics—including large bombings and arson—in over half (5 of 8) of all foreign attacks in opposition to governance. It is possible that as symbols of governance become increasingly hardened, anarchist extremists react by choosing more lethal tactics against these targets—a capability that foreign anarchist extremists have more experience with and maintain, based on our review of incidents during the reporting period. We assess that this may lead to their willingness to attack symbols of governance, as opposed to attacks against the softer targets symbolic of capitalism, based on our review of the tactics used by anarchist extremists in incidents against governance and capitalism-related targets examined in this study.

- » (U//FOUO) In December 2010, members of the Italian anarchist extremist group *Federazione Anarchica Informale* (FAI) sent parcel bombs to the Chilean and Swiss Embassies in Rome, resulting in severe injuries to Embassy staffers, including an amputation and a loss of vision in one eye, according to Italian media reporting.³²⁻³⁷
- » (U//FOUO) In November 2010, Greek anarchist extremist members of “Conspiracy of Cells of Fire” sent parcel bombs to the Embassies of Mexico, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Chile, Bulgaria, Germany, and Russia located in Greece. They also sent bombs to government targets outside of the country, including French President Sarkozy, German Chancellor Merkel, Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi, Europol HQ, the European Court of Justice, and another unidentified address in The Hague. One of the devices exploded at a delivery service, causing burns to a worker. No other injuries were reported, according to British and French media reporting.^{38,39,40}
- » (U//FOUO) In June 2010, suspected Greek anarchist extremists sent a parcel bomb to Citizens’ Protection Minister Chrysochoidis in Athens.* The assassination attempt failed to injure the minister, but killed his aide, who opened the parcel, according to US media and FBI Greek liaison reporting.^{41,42}

(U) Police

(U//FOUO) Law enforcement entities are a target of anarchist extremists in general because they are perceived as symbols of systematic state oppression, and law enforcement actions—such as riot control and use of force perceived to be police brutality. During the reporting period, US anarchist extremists claimed police actions as a driver in 19 percent (5 of 27) of US anarchist extremist incidents of violence. US anarchist extremists targeted persons as well as property in response to this driver, which may suggest police enforcement actions are a potential flashpoint for future violence. We assess, of all the drivers, it is likely that if US anarchist extremist violence increased, it would likely be motivated by this driver as law enforcement actions may bring anarchist extremists into direct contact with police providing the opportunity for violence to occur.

- » (U//FOUO) In November 2012, an anarchist extremist in Portland, Oregon threw a Molotov cocktail at an empty police vehicle. The attacker pled guilty to possession of an unregistered destructive device and was sentenced to 2.5 years in federal prison. According to court documents, the attack was carried out “to make a political statement.”^{43,44,45}
- » (U//FOUO) In February 2011, anarchist extremist(s) set fire to the door of a Seattle Police Department substation, according to media reporting.⁴⁶ Law enforcement assessed that the incident may have been retaliation for police crowd control actions earlier that evening at a rally in which anarchist extremists assaulted police.⁴⁷

(U//FOUO) Foreign anarchist extremists justified violence in opposition to police in 12 percent of all violent incidents, which included incidents of perceived police brutality, arrests, squatting evictions, and general anti-police sentiments. Similar

* (U//FOUO) According to CIA, organized criminal elements are also suspected of committing the attack.

to US-based anarchist extremists, violence escalating from police enforcement actions could also be a potential flashpoint for future violence from the anarchist extremists included in the study.

- » (U//FOUO) In July 2014, the fugitive leader of the Greek leftist-anarchist extremist group Revolutionary Struggle engaged in a shootout with police officers, after allegedly taking part in an attempted robbery and a police officer identified and tried to apprehend him.* The subject and one policeman were wounded, along with two bystanders.⁴⁸
- » (U//FOUO) In October 2013, the Mexican anarchist extremist groups Bloque Anarko Sur (South Anarchist Bloc) and Grupo Anarquista DILE (TELL Anarchist Group) posted photographs of law enforcement officers perceived to be acting abusively towards protesters. In retaliation for the alleged abuse, anarchist extremists attacked some of the identified officers, including a small explosive attack against the Undersecretary of Mexico City's Public Security Secretariat, according to Mexican media reporting.⁴⁹
- » (U//FOUO) In January 2013, Greek anarchist extremists in Athens rioted—smashing windows and using arson against a political opponent—after being forcibly evicted by police from a former school and apartment that had been an anarchist extremist squatting location for two decades.⁵⁰
- » (U//FOUO) In January 2011, Greek anarchist extremists rioted during a commemorative march for the 2008 shooting death of a student by police. During the riot, anarchist extremists assaulted law enforcement officers with rocks and Molotov cocktails, resulting in injuries to 14 officers and two civilians.⁵¹

(U) Social Justice

(U//FOUO) Social justice issues—specifically opposition to gentrification and opposition to perceived racism and fascism—were the second most common driver of violence for US anarchist extremists, as they accounted for 26 percent (7 of 27) of attacks. Social justice issues accounted for 12 percent of violent foreign anarchist extremist attacks, although these incidents occurred only in Greece and were all against perceived fascism. Although social justice issues can motivate anarchist extremists to violence, they are often a driver for violence if a social justice issue occurs within a location that also has an anarchist extremist presence.

(U//FOUO) Social justice issues often result in legal protest activities, and historically, in both the United States and abroad, anarchist extremists have been known to co-opt legal protests as a cover to commit violence against their targets.^{52- 66} However, a review of data in this study indicated in the seven social-justice motivated violent incidents committed by US anarchist extremists, only one of those incidents exploited otherwise legal protest activity. The reasons for this finding are currently a reporting gap.

(U) Gentrification:

(U//FOUO) Anarchist extremists oppose the gentrification of neighborhoods because they perceive it as being oppressive and part of a greater class war led by the privileged in society against lower-income and working-class individuals. Public commentary within the United States, including by anarchist extremists, frequently decries gentrification as making housing costs prohibitive for lower-income residents of cities, making it a more salient message for those planning attacks.^{67,68,69} Of all US anarchist extremist violent incidents, 19 percent (5 of 27) were in opposition to gentrification, and arson was used in all of these attacks. The majority of these gentrification motivated incidents occurred in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States, which is the location of some of the fastest gentrifying cities in the country, according to media reporting.^{70,†}

- » (U//FOUO) In June 2013, US anarchist extremist(s) are suspected in the attempted arson against a housing development under construction in Portland, Oregon. The incident caused an estimated \$1000 in damages.⁷¹ No arrests have been made.

* (U//FOUO) Although both DHS and FBI typically avoid using terms such as “leftist” or “right-wing” in referring to US domestic extremist groups, we use the term “leftist” in deference to the description of Revolutionary Struggle “as a radical leftist group with a Marxist Ideology” in the US State Department’s designation of the group as a foreign terrorist organization (FTO) in 2009.

† (U//FOUO) As previously mentioned in the Scope section of this article, the US Pacific Northwest region has also historically had the highest volume of anarchist extremist violent incidents nationwide.

- » (U//FOUO) In August 2013, anarchist extremist(s) opposed to gentrification claimed responsibility for an arson to a five-story apartment complex that was under construction and near completion in Portland, Oregon. The arson caused an approximate loss of \$5 million.⁷²
- » (U//FOUO) Individual(s) possibly adhering to an anarchist extremism ideology set fire to an unfinished condominium in February 2011 in Grand Rapids, Michigan. A letter claiming responsibility three days later cited “anti-gentrification” as motivation and threatened additional actions, including robbery, assault, and kidnapping.^{73,74,75,76}

(U//FOUO) Gentrification does not appear to be a significant driver of violence for foreign anarchist extremists, who did not cite the motivation in any attacks over the reporting period. We assess, based on our review and due to an apparent lack of foreign anarchist extremist violent rhetoric on the topic, gentrification possibly does not have the same salience amongst anarchist extremists in these countries as in the United States; however, the general effects of and sentiment towards gentrification in these countries are a reporting gap.

(U) Anti-Racism/Anti-Fascism:

(U//FOUO) Some US-based anarchist extremists engage in violent opposition to perceived racism and consider themselves to be anti-fascists. On occasion, such persons have actively sought out violent confrontations with white supremacists at public locations such as at rallies, concerts, or meetings. Of all reported US anarchist extremist violent incidents during the time period, only seven percent (2 of 27) were related to anti-racism.

- » (U//FOUO) In May 2012, a group of possibly up to 18 people, including suspected anarchist extremists, assaulted individuals they believed were white supremacists with clubs and bats during a meeting at a restaurant in Chicago, Illinois. Five members of the group, including at least one individual associated with anarchist extremism, involved in the attack were arrested and pled guilty to charges related to the attack, according to US media reporting and FBI case information.^{77,78}
- » (U//FOUO) In April 2010, individuals—including one suspected anarchist extremist—attacked white supremacists who were participating in a rally against illegal immigration and attacked police officers who were attempting to quell the crowd in Los Angeles, California. Five people—including one suspected anarchist extremist—were arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon and battery of police officers, according to media and law enforcement reporting.^{79,80,81}

(U//FOUO) Anti-racism and anti-fascism were only occasional drivers of violence among foreign anarchist extremists in the countries in this study and accounted for four percent of the total violent incidents. Notably, all of these violent incidents occurred in Greece and between anarchist extremists and the self-proclaimed nationalist and anti-immigrant political party, Golden Dawn, whose political power had been increasing in the country throughout 2012 and 2013. All of the party’s 18 elected members of the Greek Parliament were arrested in October and November 2013 on charges that the party is a criminal organization; however, the group still maintains political support among 5 to 6 percent of the electorate, according to opinion polls cited in the Greek press.^{82,83}

- » (U//FOUO) In November 2013, anarchist extremists in Greece using the moniker “Fighting Revolutionary Popular Groups” claimed responsibility for the murder of two Golden Dawn members. The attack was committed in retaliation for the alleged Golden Dawn murder of an anti-fascist rapper in September, according to US and Greek media reporting.⁸⁴⁻⁸⁸
- » (U//FOUO) In December 2012, Greek anarchist extremists operating under the moniker, “Antifascist Front - Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front (FAI - IRF)” planted an improvised explosive device outside an office of Golden Dawn in suburban Athens. The explosion destroyed walls in the office and damaged an adjacent building, but caused no casualties, according to British and Greek media reporting.^{89,90}

(U) Other

(U//FOUO) During the reporting period, both US and foreign anarchist extremists were motivated to violence by other drivers that could not be placed in the aforementioned categories. The “Other” category accounted for 11 percent (3 of 27) of total US incidents and consisted of violence primarily motivated by commemoration of significant dates within the broader anarchist movement, solidarity for imprisoned anarchists, and attempts to disrupt major state-sponsored political, social, and economic events. All US violent incidents placed in the “Other” category targeted property rather than persons and within these “Other” incidents, previously ascribed driver categories also played a role in motivating the attacks, such as police actions, capitalism, and governance.

- » (U//FOUO) Violence in the United States occurred during two of the last four years covered in the study on or around the May 1st “International Workers’ Day,” a date commonly associated with anarchist extremist violence worldwide. Past incidents of violence on May 1st have included rioting, assaults against police, and injury to innocent bystanders, according to communiqués, law enforcement, and media reporting.⁹¹⁻⁹⁷
- » (U//FOUO) In May 2012, anarchist extremist(s) claimed responsibility for throwing an incendiary device through a window of a Portland, Oregon bank. The claim stated the attack was a follow up to May Day events, and was committed in solidarity with anarchist extremists involved and arrested in May Day actions in Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, and overseas. The bank branch had been attacked previously in April 2012 and later in June 2012 with incendiary devices, according to FBI case reporting.⁹⁸
- » (U//FOUO) In December 2010, unknown anarchist extremist(s) claimed responsibility for an attempted arson after setting off a smoke bomb at a police club in Portland, Oregon, that burned a mat and carpet, but did not ignite a larger fire. According to the Internet communiqué, the act was done to commemorate the two year anniversary of the death of a student by police in Athens, Greece, and was “a gesture of revolutionary solidarity” with imprisoned anarchists.^{99,100}

(U//FOUO) Foreign anarchist extremists were also motivated to violence by drivers in the “Other” category in 31 percent (26 of 83) of total incidents. Commemoration for dates of significance for the movement and solidarity for imprisoned anarchists—including following major arrests and during the lead up to trial—motivated foreign anarchist extremists to violent criminal activity. Unlike their US counterparts, 77 percent (20 of 26 incidents) of incidents by foreign anarchist extremists included in the study violently targeted persons rather than property.

- » (U//FOUO) Anarchist extremists located abroad also participate in violent activity on May Day. During the time period of the study, violent incidents occurred on May Day in Mexico in 2011 and Greece in 2010.^{101,102,103}
- » (U//FOUO) In May 2012, several members of the Italian anarchist extremist group FAI conducted a drive-by shooting attack on an Italian nuclear energy company executive, wounding him in the leg. According to a letter claiming responsibility for the attack, the incident was retaliation for the arrest of eight Greek anarchist extremists in the preceding weeks.¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁹
- » (U//FOUO) In February 2011, members of the Greek anarchist extremist group Conspiracy of Cells of Fire were suspected of sending a parcel bomb to the office of Greece’s Justice Ministry; the bomb, however, was defused before it could explode. According to a communiqué claiming responsibility, the attack was retribution against the government for refusing the requests of group members who were undergoing trial.^{110,111}
- » (U//FOUO) In December 2010, suspected members of the Italian anarchist extremist FAI sent a parcel bomb to the Greek Embassy in Rome. The package was opened by a mail worker, but did not detonate. According to a note left near the bomb, the attack was carried out in remembrance of Lambros Fountas—a member of the Greek leftist-anarchist extremist group Revolutionary Struggle—who was killed in a shootout with Greek police in March 2010.^{112,113,114,115}

(U//FOUO) Opposition to technology was another driver for foreign anarchist extremist violence included in the ‘Other’ category and was a significant driver of violence in Mexico. Based on our review of communiqués detailing the motivations for attacks examined in this study, opposition to technology was identified as a driver of violence for 37 percent (7 of 19) of violent incidents in Mexico. Although technology was cited as a driver in the May 2012 FAI shooting incident in Italy, it was

not a driver for incidents in the United States or Greece—making a comparative analysis impossible. All of the technology driven attacks targeted persons rather than property—and 88 percent were bombings intended to inflict casualties.

- » (U//FOUO) From April 2011 to February 2013, a Mexico-based anarchist extremist group known as Individuals Tending Towards Savagery (ITS) engaged in a letter bombing campaign of 7 attacks against individuals involved in nanotechnology research, resulting in several injuries. According to the group, they are opposed to nanotechnology experiments such as those being conducted by their targets because they "contribute to the destruction, manipulation, and taming of the Earth." There have been no arrests, according to media reporting.^{116- 121}

(U) Outlook

(U//FOUO) Although US and foreign anarchist extremists at times express their solidarity for one another in communiqués, it is currently not known if they have collaborated to commit violence abroad or domestically. We also have no available reporting suggesting a shift by US and foreign anarchist extremists towards collaboration to commit attacks in the United States or abroad. We assess the lack of known collaboration may be another reason US and foreign anarchist extremist do not use the same tactics.

(U//FOUO) Signposts of Change—How US Anarchist Extremists Could Become More Lethal

(U//FOUO) We assess the following future occurrences could potentially lead US anarchist extremists to adopt more violent tactics:

- » (U//FOUO) Fascist, nationalist, racist, or anti-immigrant parties obtain greater prominence or local political power in the United States, leading to anti-racist violent backlash from anarchist extremists.
- » (U//FOUO) A charismatic leader emerges among US anarchist extremists advocating criminal activity and unifies the movement, possibly increasing motivation to commit violence.
- » (U//FOUO) Incendiary or explosive devices constructed by anarchist extremist(s) become more sophisticated.
- » (U//FOUO) Anarchist extremist(s) retaliate violently to a violent act by a white supremacist extremist or group.
- » (U//FOUO) Anarchist extremist(s) retaliate to a perceived act of violence or lethal action by law enforcement during routine duties, creating a martyr for the movement.
- » (U//FOUO) Anarchist extremist(s) with financial means travel abroad where they learn and acquire more violent tactics and return to teach others and/or conduct actions on their own.
- » (U//FOUO) Anarchist extremists acquire or arm themselves with legal and/or illegal weapons.
- » (U//FOUO) Multinational corporation or bank becomes involved in public scandal, leading to focused targeting campaign by US anarchist extremists against the entity.
- » (U//FOUO) A successful US or foreign anarchist extremist event disruption such as at the 1999 Seattle WTO riots motivates copycat and/or follow-on actions domestically.
- » (U//FOUO) A foreign intelligence service attempts to foment US unrest by facilitating anarchist extremist violence domestically.*

* (U//FOUO) DHS and FBI define white supremacist extremists as individuals who seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, to support their belief in the intellectual and moral superiority of the white race over other races. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may not constitute extremism, and may be constitutionally protected.

(U) Intelligence Gaps

(U//FOUO) **We lack information to estimate the level of organization and overall size of the US anarchist extremist movement.** The broader anarchist movement's diffuse and decentralized organizational structure makes it difficult for law enforcement to identify its violent domestic extremist elements.* Some anarchist extremists also self-identify with other domestic extremist movements, such as animal rights and environmental extremists further exacerbating this gap. †‡

(U//FOUO) **The extent of anarchist extremist involvement in planning or facilitating violence during legal and Constitutionally- protected gatherings and protests is unknown.** Many of the activities that anarchist extremists engage in are not within the purview of FBI and DHS collection, as they are constitutionally protected, such as participating in training camps, holding meetings, and engaging in online communication.

(U//FOUO) **We lack information to identify the travel patterns linking US and foreign anarchist extremists.** Little is known about possible organizational ties between US and foreign anarchist extremists, largely because of restrictions on collection related to activities implicating Constitutional and privacy rights afforded to US citizens. Data on travel patterns of both US and foreign anarchist extremists are also extremely limited.

(U) Source Summary Statement

(U//FOUO) This analysis is drawn primarily from open source reporting, and foreign press articles taken from the US Intelligence Community's Open Source Center. Secondly, information has been drawn from federal, state, and local law enforcement reporting and US court documents. We have **medium to high confidence** in our judgments. The judgments are guided by the following parameters:

(U) **High confidence** includes high-quality information from multiple sources or from a single, highly reliable source, and the nature of the issue makes it possible to render a strong judgment.

(U) **Medium confidence** includes information that is credibly sourced and plausible but can be interpreted in various ways, or information that is not sufficient quality or corroborated sufficiently to warrant a higher level of confidence.

(U) **Low confidence** includes information that lacks credibility and/or whose plausibility is questionable, information that is too fragmented or poorly corroborated to make strong analytic judgments, or significant concerns or problems exist with the sources of the information.

(U) DHS and FBI have **high confidence** in the information obtained from court documents and those of US Government and law enforcement agencies. DHS and FBI have **medium to high confidence** in the information obtained from open sources, which includes foreign media reports and Internet websites whose information is credibly sourced and plausible, but may contain biases or unintentional inaccuracies. When possible, open source information has been corroborated through other law enforcement and government sources.

* (U//FOUO) DHS and FBI define domestic extremists as individuals based and operating entirely within the United States or its territories without direction or inspiration from a foreign terrorist group or other foreign power who seek to further political or social goals, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may not constitute extremism, and may be constitutionally protected.

† (U//FOUO) DHS and FBI define animal rights extremists as individuals who seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, to further their opposition to people, businesses, or government entities perceived to be exploiting or abusing animals. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may not constitute extremism, and may be constitutionally protected.

‡ (U//FOUO) DHS and FBI define environmental extremists as individuals who seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, to further their opposition to people, businesses, or government entities perceived to be destroying, degrading, or exploiting the natural environment. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may not constitute extremism, and may be constitutionally protected.

(U) Additional Information

(U//FOUO) Additional DHS and FBI production on the topic of anarchist extremism includes the 2012 (U//LES) Homeland Security Reference Aid: "Anarchist Extremists," the 2012 FBI Assessment "(U//LES) Anarchist Extremism: An Overview for Law Enforcement," and the April 2015 (U//FOUO) FBI-DHS Joint Intelligence Bulletin: "Anarchist Extremists Likely to Exploit I May Events for Violent Activity."

(U//FOUO) DHS and FBI encourage state and local law enforcement partners to share information concerning unlawful activities by anarchist extremists in their jurisdictions by submitting Suspicious Activity Reports (SAR) to the Nationwide SAR Initiative (NSI) and E-Guardian databases.

(U) Report Suspicious Activity

(U) To report suspicious activity, law enforcement, Fire-EMS, private security personnel, and emergency managers should follow established protocols; all other personnel should call 911 or contact local law enforcement. Suspicious activity reports (SARs) will be forwarded to the appropriate fusion center and FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force for further action. For more information on the Nationwide SAR Initiative, visit <http://nsi.ncirc.gov/resources.aspx>.

(U) Tracked by: HSEC-8.1, HSEC-8.2, HSEC-8.3, HSEC-8.5, HSEC-8.6

(U) Appendix A: Methodology and Analytic Process

(U) Core Methodology

(U//FOUO) Domestic extremism subject matter experts from DHS and FBI collected and examined data related to 110 US and foreign violent incidents from 2010 through 2014, which were deemed indicative of anarchist extremism, according to both DHS and FBI definitions. DHS and FBI chose to compare anarchist extremist violence in Greece, Italy, and Mexico with violence in the United States because anarchist extremists in these foreign countries have historically exhibited a willingness to engage in violence—particularly violence against persons—in an effort to explore what differentiates the most violent anarchist extremists and assess whether that type of violence could take place domestically.

(U//FOUO) The study's results should be caveated by its reliance largely on open source information. This data set is not comprehensive and is limited by the difficulty in discerning the ideological motivations behind some crimes; this could increase the number of violent incidents by anarchist extremists that were not recognized or reported as stemming from ideological reasons. Additionally, the foreign attacks examined were drawn from the open source center's collection of translated articles. As a result, significant incidents could have been missed for inclusion in this study because they were not translated by the Open Source Center or reported by foreign media.

(U) Analytic Process

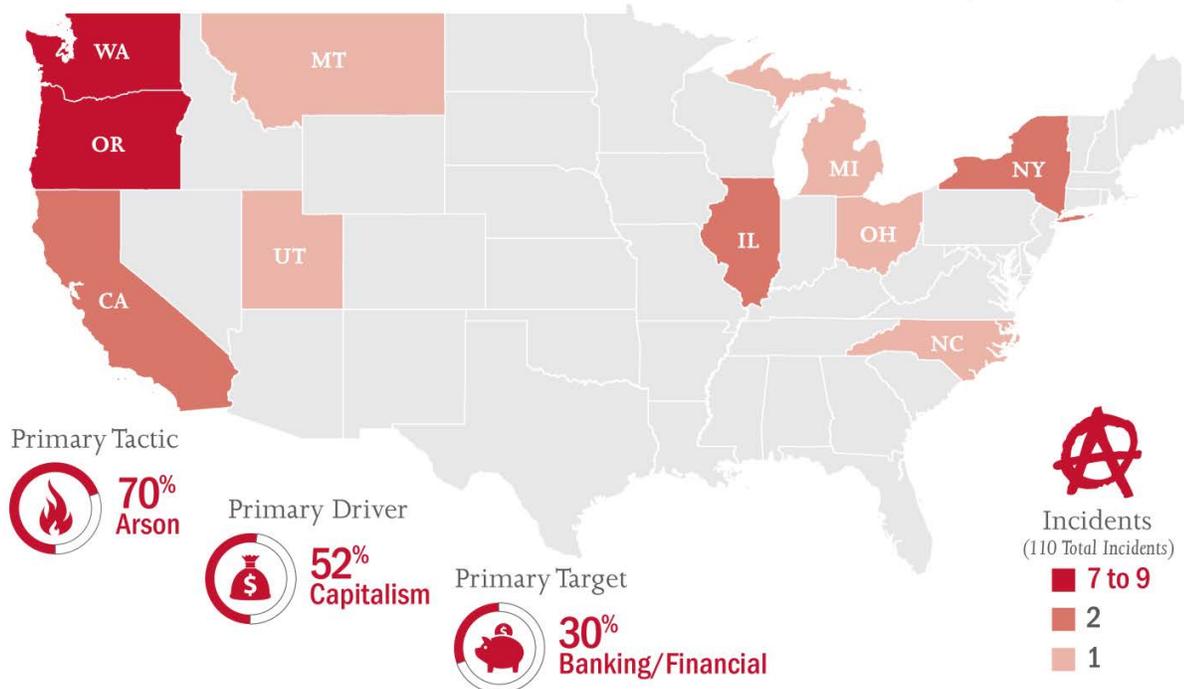
(U//FOUO) DHS and FBI examined the 110 incident dataset in the four countries and determined the following information for each incident: date, targeting of property or persons, group name, driver of violence, tactic utilized, claimed reason for attack, long term vs. specific factors, presence of protests (to determine if used as a cover for violent actions), attack severity, and actual target. Once the information was organized, the US data was examined to determine what trends and patterns existed in relation to violence generally and then drivers of violence specifically. Subsequently, these findings were compared against the foreign anarchist extremist data for similarities and differences in datasets. These findings were drafted as the text of this paper, along with conclusions drawn by DHS and FBI analysts.

(U) Categories of Drivers Used in Study

- (U) **Social Justice:** Includes anti-racism, immigration issues, gentrification of neighborhoods, environmental protection, and prisoners' rights.
- (U) **Economic Issues:** Includes wage disputes, union disputes, government spending, austerity measures, tax collection, and mass transit fares.
- (U) **Police:** Includes arrests, shootings by officers, and incidents of perceived police oppression.
- (U) **Governance:** Opposition to all forms of government organization.
- (U) **Capitalism:** Opposition to a capitalist economic system.
- (U) **Technology:** Opposition to advances in technology such as the development of nanotechnology or artificial intelligence.
- (U) **Other:** Includes ideological revenge, prisoner solidarity, anti-war, opposition to international summits, journalist intimidation, and commemoration of events.

(U//FOUO) Map

Locations of US Anarchist Extremist Incidents Referenced in this Study, 2010–July 2014



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UNCLASSIFIED¹²²**(U) Foreign Groups of Note**

(U//FOUO) Although there are a number of foreign anarchist extremist groups noted in this study for engaging in violent actions, below are the entities most commonly associated with major acts of violence, such as bombings and murder.

(U) Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei (SPF) aka Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (*Synomosía Pyrínon Tis Fotiás – SPF*)

(U//FOUO) The Conspiracy of Cells of Fire is a Greek anarchist extremist group that first emerged in January 2008 after committing a series of arsons targeting luxury car dealerships and banks in Athens and Thessaloniki, Greece. Subsequently, the group was responsible for over 100 arsons and bombings over the next two years, before being weakened by a police crackdown in 2010. Since then, Conspiracy of Cells of Fire has called for an internationalization of actions under their moniker. The US State Department designated the group as a foreign terrorist organization in 2011.¹²³

(U) Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front (*Federazione Anarchica Informale – FAI*)

(U//FOUO) The FAI is an informal movement comprised of various anarchist extremist groups originally created circa 2003 in Italy. In 2011, the FAI movement organized additional anarchist extremist cells under the name IRF to spread their violent extremist ideology and violent criminal activities across national borders. Over the past few years, anarchist extremist individuals/groups worldwide have used the FAI/IRF moniker to claim responsibility for attacks—including murders, shootings, and bombings—against government and corporate targets. FAI/IRF networks are active in several countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Indonesia, Russia, Greece, Mexico, and Chile.¹²⁴

(U) Revolutionary Struggle (EA) (*Epanastatikos Agonas — EA*)

(U//FOUO) Revolutionary Struggle is a Greek leftist-anarchist extremist group that emerged around 2003 by bombing a courthouse complex in Athens where the trials of 17 November members were taking place. Over the past decade, the

group has been responsible for numerous bombings and firearms attacks, including firing an anti-tank rocket at the US Embassy in Athens in January 2007. Six members of EA were arrested in April 2010 including leader Nikos Maziotis and his wife Pola Roupa. In October 2011, Maziotis and Roupa were released, with conditions, pending trial but both disappeared. On 16 July 2014, Maziotis was recaptured. Roupa now leads EA. The group most recently claimed responsibility for a 10 April 2014 bombing outside a branch of the Greek central bank in Athens.¹²⁵

(U) Individuals Tending Towards the Wild (*Individualidades tendiendo a lo Salvaje* - ITS)/Wild Reaction (RS) (Reaccion Salvaje - RS)

(U//FOUO) Individuals Tending Towards the Wild is a Mexican anarchist extremist movement that began operating in April 2011, with a bombing and shooting campaign particularly targeting nanotechnology researchers, which lasted until 2013. In August 2014, ITS announced that they would be entering “a new phase” in their war against technological society and will not only continue targeting humans with violence but also will begin targeting property as well. Additionally, ITS announced they would be uniting with several other domestic extremist movements, and would henceforth be operating under the moniker Wild Reaction (RS).¹²⁶

- ¹ (U//FOUO); This graphic was produced by DHS I&A, and is based on an analysis of the 110 violent anarchist extremist incidents studied in this paper; Date created: 23 FEB 2014; Extracted information is U//FOUO; Overall document classification is U//FOUO.
- ² (U); *The Black Bloc Papers*; JAN 2010; section 1:45; (U); Publication is used to spread Anarchist Extremist messaging, including communiqués to a broader audience.
- ³ (U); KGW News; “Portland bank targeted over transgender case”; 06 JUN 2012; <http://www.kgw.com/story/news/2014/07/24/12260942/>; accessed on 13 JUL 2015; (U); Newspaper.
- ⁴ (U); Anarchist News; “Railroad Sabotage in Northern Washington”; 03 DEC 2011; <http://cc.bingj.com/cache.aspx?q=%22Railroad+Sabotage+in+Northern+Washington%22&d=4941004408294178&mkt=en-US&setlang=en-US&w=1ONzE2aqgk7G6LgU2Aw0NV0Xvjmkizl>; accessed on 13 JULY 2015; (U); Anarchist support website.
- ⁵ (U); Citizen Journalist blog; “Anarchists Claim Sabotage of Train Tracks in NYC”; 17 SEP 2012; <http://cc.bingj.com/cache.aspx?q=To+our+comrades+enduring+repression+in+the+Northwest&d=4986784427087570&mkt=en-US&setlang=en-US&w=BQtR5fMaLKHbun66dhKopDXdbh767Vme>; accessed 13 JULY 2015; (U); Anarchist support blog.
- ⁶ (U//FOUO); This graphic was produced by DHS I&A, and is based on an analysis of the 110 violent anarchist extremist incidents studied in this paper; Date created: 23 FEB 2014; Extracted information is U//FOUO; Overall document classification is U//FOUO.
- ⁷ (U//FOUO); This graphic was produced by DHS I&A, and is based on an analysis of the 110 violent anarchist extremist incidents studied in this paper; Date created: 23 FEB 2014; Extracted information is U//FOUO; Overall document classification is U//FOUO.
- ⁸ (U//FOUO); This graphic was produced by DHS I&A, and is based on an analysis of the 110 violent anarchist extremist incidents studied in this paper; Date created: 23 FEB 2014; Extracted information is U//FOUO; Overall document classification is U//FOUO.
- ⁹ (U//FOUO); This graphic was produced by DHS I&A, and is based on an analysis of the 110 violent anarchist extremist incidents studied in this paper; Date created: 23 FEB 2014; Extracted information is U//FOUO; Overall document classification is U//FOUO.
- ¹⁰ (U); CBSNews.com; “Criminal Complaint: US vs. Douglas L. Wright; 01 MAY 2012; pg. 7-8; http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/Wright_complaint_affadavit_050112.pdf?tag=contentMain;contentBody; accessed 13 JULY 2015; (U); News source with attached court documents.
- ¹¹ (U//FOUO); DHS; HIR/MT-0001-10; 22 JUN 2010; DOI 22 JUN 2010; (U//FOUO); Attack on Identified U.S. Business (USBUS) in Helena, MT by a Possible Anarchist and Environmentalist Group; Extracted information is U//FOUO; Overall document classification is U//FOUO; (U); Source is law enforcement official with firsthand access.
- ¹² (U); OSC; EUP20120212071015; 12 FEB 2012; DOI 12 FEB 2012; (U); Greek Press Agency Reports on Violent Clashes Outside Parliament Building; Extracted Information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall document classification is UNCLASSIFIED.
- ¹³ (U); OSC; EUP20120212071019; 12 FEB 2012; DOI 12 FEB 2012; (U); Greek Website: ‘Anarchists’ Use Molotov Cocktails to Torch Stores in Athens; Extracted Information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall document classification is UNCLASSIFIED.
- ¹⁴ (U); OSC; EUP20120213430005; 12 FEB 2012; DOI 12 FEB 2012; (U); More on Rioting in Central Athens, Buildings Ablaze, Many Injured; Extracted Information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall document classification is UNCLASSIFIED.
- ¹⁵ (U); OSC; EUP20120214430006; 13 FEB 2012; DOI 13 FEB 2012; (U); Greece: Officials Take Stock of Riot Damages, Politicals Ask for Calm; Extracted Information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall document classification is UNCLASSIFIED.
- ¹⁶ (U); OSC; EUP20120215430009; 15 FEB 2012; DOI 15 FEB 2012; (U); State PAO: Greek Media Reaction Report 15 FEB 12; Extracted Information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall document classification is UNCLASSIFIED.
- ¹⁷ (U//FOUO); OSC; EUP20111209102005; 09 DEC 2011; DOI 09 DEC 2011; (U); Italy Tax Chief Wounded in Letter Bomb Blast; (U); Extracted Information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall document classification is UNCLASSIFIED.
- ¹⁸ (U//FOUO); OSC; EUP20111208102030; 08 DEC 2011; DOI 08 DEC 2011; (U); Germany: Letter Bomb Sent to Deutsche Bank CEO; Extracted information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall document classification is UNCLASSIFIED.
- ¹⁹ (U); *The New York Times*; “Letter Bomb Explodes in Italian Tax Office”; 09 DEC 2011; http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/10/world/europe/letter-bomb-explodes-in-italian-tax-office.html?_r=0; accessed on 07 APR 2014; (U); Newspaper.
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- ¹²² (U//FOUO); This graphic was produced by DHS I&A, and is based on an analysis of the 110 violent anarchist extremist incidents studied in this paper; Date created: 23 FEB 2014; Extracted information is U//FOUO; Overall document classification is U//FOUO.
- ¹²³ (U); National Intelligence Council study; Analytic Report: The ‘Other’ Terrorism: Left-wing and Anarchist – A Current Operational Map; 27 JUN 2013; pg. 7; (U); Obtained in analytic exchange with author, who is a renowned USG expert on anarchists.
- ¹²⁴ (U); National Intelligence Council study; Analytic Report: The ‘Other’ Terrorism: Left-wing and Anarchist – A Current Operational Map; 27 JUN 2013; pg. 7; (U); Obtained in analytic exchange with author, who is a renowned USG expert on anarchists.
- ¹²⁵ (U); DHS/University of Maryland; *START Global Terrorism Database (GTD)*; DOI 21 FEB 2011; (U); Search criteria “Revolutionary Struggle”—24 incidents; http://apps.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?start_yearonly=&end_yearonly=&start_year=&start_month=&start_day=&end_year=&end_month=&end_day=&asmSelect0=&perpetrator=1405&ntp2=all&success=yes&casualties_type=b&casualties_max=; accessed on 14 JUL 2015; Extracted information is UNCLASSIFIED; Overall record classification is UNCLASSIFIED; (U); GTD is a DHS-funded academic database cataloging terrorist attacks.
- ¹²⁶ (U); National Intelligence Council study; Analytic Report: The ‘Other’ Terrorism: Left-wing and Anarchist – A Current Operational Map; 27 JUN 2013; pg. 15; (U); Obtained in analytic exchange with author, who is a renowned USG expert on anarchists.



Homeland Security

Office of Intelligence and Analysis

Customer Feedback Form

Product Title: (U//FOUO) Baseline Comparison of US and Foreign Anarchist Extremist Movements

1. Please select partner type: and function:

2. What is the highest level of intelligence information that you receive?

3. Please complete the following sentence: "I focus most of my time on:"

4. Please rate your satisfaction with each of the following:

	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	N/A
Product's overall usefulness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Product's relevance to your mission	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Product's timeliness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Product's responsiveness to your intelligence needs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. How do you plan to use this product in support of your mission? (Check all that apply.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drive planning and preparedness efforts, training, and/or emergency response operations | <input type="checkbox"/> Initiate a law enforcement investigation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Observe, identify, and/or disrupt threats | <input type="checkbox"/> Initiate your own regional-specific analysis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Share with partners | <input type="checkbox"/> Initiate your own topic-specific analysis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Allocate resources (e.g. equipment and personnel) | <input type="checkbox"/> Develop long-term homeland security strategies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reprioritize organizational focus | <input type="checkbox"/> Do not plan to use |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Author or adjust policies and guidelines | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="text"/> |

6. To further understand your response to question #5, please provide specific details about situations in which you might use this product.

7. What did this product not address that you anticipated it would?

8. To what extent do you agree with the following two statements?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
This product will enable me to make better decisions regarding this topic.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This product provided me with intelligence information I did not find elsewhere.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. How did you obtain this product?

10. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up conversation about your feedback?

To help us understand more about your organization so we can better tailor future products, please provide:

Name: <input type="text"/>	Position: <input type="text"/>
Organization: <input type="text"/>	State: <input type="text"/>
Contact Number: <input type="text"/>	Email: <input type="text"/>



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