Civil Disturbance and Criminal Tactics of Protest Extremists
July 2003

The following report, “Civil Disturbance and Criminal Tactics of Protest Extremists”, was prepared in response to the increase of protest activity worldwide and the escalation of violence and property destruction that has occurred in the past several years. Information regarding the unlawful operational and tactical activities was collected and interpreted by multiple agencies. The information presented is for law enforcement and public safety officials to assist in effectively managing civil disturbances and large-scale protests.

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MULTI-ISSUE PROTEST AGENDAS

High profile events provide an internationally publicized forum for seemingly unrelated special interest groups:

- AIDS-HIV
- Anarchists
- Animal Rights
- Abortion Anti-/ProChoice
- Anti-Government
- Anti-Nuclear
- Anti-Racist
- Bike Transportation
- Children
- Civil Liberties
- Consumer Advocacy
- Death Penalty
- Drug Decriminalization
- Environment
- Feminism
- Food / Hunger
- Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual
- Grass Roots Democracy
- Gun Control
- Housing/Homelessness
- Human Rights
- Immigration
- Left-Socialism
- Literacy
- Mental Health
- Peace
- People With Disabilities
- Police Reform
- Poverty
- Prison Reform
- Race Relations
- Tax Reform
- Trade
- Unions
- Welfare

PURPOSE OF PROTEST DIRECT ACTIONS

- Increase public and media attention
- Tax law enforcement and other public safety resources
- Hinder of local infrastructure (roadways, transit systems, pedestrian traffic)
- Prevent access to venue sites
- Appearance of law enforcement misconduct

PROTEST EVENT ORGANIZATION - LEADERLESS RESISTANCE

Protest event sponsors are often a coalition of both nationally- and locally-based activist groups. National organizations promote the ideology of the movement, provide the organizational expertise for strategic planning, supply a communications platform, and assist in financial support; local groups are responsible for event logistics such as permits, housing, and recruitment. Sponsors of the protests advocate the use of leaderless resistance to carry out direct actions. Leaderless resistance is defined as small groups of individuals - affinity groups - composed of one to six members as decentralized groups taking action against a common target. A number of affinity groups may work together toward a common goal in a large action, or one affinity group might conceive of and carry out an action on its own. Sometimes, affinity groups remain together over a long period of time, existing as political support and/or study groups, and only occasionally participating in actions. While event organizers stress non-violent direct actions, criminal acts of violence and property destruction are neither condoned nor condemned.
INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTER-MEASURES

LAW ENFORCEMENT SURVEILLANCE / OPERATION COPWATCH

Various national and local websites are devoted to the identification of law enforcement personnel and operations, as well as the documentation of perceived police brutality and harassment. These sites also offer links to law enforcement-based websites featuring personnel, equipment and tactics.

Prior to the event, law enforcement and jail facilities are often photographed and mapped for direct action planning.

Suspected law enforcement officers are often “marked” during the event and their locations are communicated via radio or bicycle messenger to protest organizers. Photos are distributed either in hard-copy format or posted on activist / anarchist Internet sites.

Law enforcement officials have been targeted for retaliation by protestors. Names of LEOs and their family members, as well as personal identifiers such as Social Security Numbers and unlisted home phone numbers, have been posted on related protest websites.

PROBING INCIDENTS  Prior to the event, groups will stage mock incidents to monitor the response time and responding law enforcement and public safety agencies.
LAW ENFORCEMENT STUDIES  Activists examine law enforcement personnel and equipment response to prior special events to anticipate and prepare appropriate countermeasures to police tactics.

“MARKING” OF LAW ENFORCEMENT  Activists often attempt to “mark” identified undercover law enforcement. Suggested markings: ultraviolet paint or paint balls via slingshots or “wrist rockets”; urine, bleach, or any strong-odored agent dispensed from a spray bottle. Locations of LEOs are communicated via radio or bicycle messenger to protest organizers. Photos of LEOs are distributed either in hard-copy format or posted on activist / anarchist Internet sites.

MONITORING / BLOCKING OF POLICE COMMUNICATION  Law enforcement communications are monitored by protest organizers. Area police radio frequencies are published and radio and cell phone interceptions are either transmitted to pirate radio stations or downloaded to the Internet. Interception equipment is often housed in vehicles, hotel rooms or abandoned buildings near the venue or protest site. Protestors have discussed various methods to block police communications, some devices readily available via the Internet.

PROPAGANDA  Protestors will often publish negative portrayals of policing incidents and inflammatory testimonials of alleged abuse.

THEFT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT EQUIPMENT  Protestors have stolen police radios, phones, and uniforms in an attempt to both monitor and disrupt police operations. Thefts of equipment have occurred during physical altercations between protestors and police.

INfiltration / Theft and Manufacture of Event Credentials  Due to increased security, protestors employ a variety of methods to obtain access to event venue and principals. Protestors are encouraged to seek employment with or volunteer for entities having admittance to event venues and activities. Media passes offer another means of entry. Theft and illegal offers of purchase of event credentials have increased in past special events. Credentials have been stolen from the person of delegates and up to $1,000 have been offered to staffers in exchange for event access identification.
PROTEST TACTICS AND DIRECT ACTIONS

While most protest event organizers stress non-violent direct actions, criminal acts of violence and property destruction are often neither condoned nor condemned. An increase in confrontational and aggressive tactics and verbal and physical altercations has been observed between protest extremists and other activists, event principals, and law enforcement officers. Intensified security surrounding the primary venues has displaced protest activity to sites offering potential access to targeted principals and delegates: hotels, transportation vehicles and routes, associated government and private industry facilities, and auxiliary functions. The following reflect offensive and defensive tactics used by protestors during previous special events:

OPERATIONAL TACTICS

FOCAL POINT Activists may identify a central point of protest, usually perceived as the greatest threat to their cause. From this focal point, a pie-shaped formation is drawn and sectors assigned protest and affinity groups for direct actions.

MULTIPLE TARGETS The multi-issue nature of some demonstrations will often result in numerous, dissimilar targets of protest. Government, commercial, retail and banking institutions may be targeted singly or collectively by one or more protest or affinity groups.

CONVERGENCE CENTERS / HUBS / SAFE HOMES Abandoned buildings, warehouses, personal residences, and offices are sought by protest organizers to serve as a multi-purpose convergence center. Facilities are donated, leased, or often squatted. One or more convergence sites may be established and are located in close proximity to the targeted protest site.

Convergence Centers may offer some or all of the following:

- Communications
- Meals
- First Aid
- Housing
- Storage of devices and supplies
- Training
- Workshops for construction of devices, signage, and puppets

Offensive Tactics

CRITICAL MASS Obstruction of public thoroughfares and transportation by protest crowds, street theater, bicycle groups, soccer leagues, marching bands or by improvised barricades.
HUMAN CHAINS are accomplished through the interlocking of arms, legs and bodies to block vehicle and pedestrian traffic.

CONCRETE SLEEVES – “SLEEPING DRAGONS” consist of steel or PVC piping reinforced with concrete and metal wiring to inhibit the effectiveness of removal by saws. A securing device is located within the sleeve. Upon insertion, handcuffs, karabiners, or locks are threaded through the sleeve, and attached to either another concrete sleeve in a human chain or to a fixed object. In most cases, the individual has the ability to release the device and may use dismantling attempts by officers as evidence of police abuse.

BICYCLE GROUPS ride en mass effectively slowing down or blocking major streets and bridges.

SOCCER LEAGUES initiate matches in front of venues and in major thoroughfares.

MARCHING BANDS and amplified music are used to impact police radio communications.

BODY BLOCKING involves the placement of individuals in front of vehicles and venues to obstruct access or movement.

IMPROVISED BARRICADES are constructed from available materials in the area: jersey barriers, dumpsters, and fencing.

TROJAN HORSES are large parade puppets used to store and conceal implements of crime such as sleeping dragons, tri-pods and other devices.

UNCLASSIFIED / SENSITIVE – DISSEMINATION RESTRICTED TO PUBLIC SAFETY AGENCIES ONLY

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ANTI-POLICE OBSTACLES have been used to hinder foot and motorcycle response. Fuel drums filled with water or cement have been rolled into police formations and clear cord, yarn, string or fishing line has been suspended across streets at both neck and ankle level.

ANTI-HORSE ACTIONS have included crowding mounted patrol units by protestors to limit incident response. Wire has been strung at ground level to trip up horses. Protestors have proposed the use of vegetable oil and marbles poured at the foot of the animals to impede movement. Horses have also suffered severe lacerations to tendons and arteries, incapacitating the horse and its rider.

VEHICLE OBSTRUCTION Activists drive or move a vehicle into an intersection, stopping the flow of traffic and causing law enforcement to bring in tow trucks to move the vehicle.

DUMPING Dump trucks are often leased to deposit manure, sand, rocks, coal, or hazardous waste in view of high-visibility venues or at key roads/intersections to block access to an event.

VEHICLE / SLEEPING DRAGON BLOCKADE Large vehicle outfitted with devices similar to sleeping dragons is utilized as a street or building blockade. A bus is customized that it allows activists to secure themselves within lock-down devices built into the bus. The operator of the bus secures himself to the driver’s seat using a heavy-duty motorcycle lock. The other activists lock themselves on the outside of the bus by placing their arms in holes cut out of the sides of the bus and reinforced with concrete inside the bus. Activists may also be on top and underneath the bus.

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION TAKE OVER Protestors will overwhelm bus and rail systems by instructing mass ridership or protest activity at major transportation arteries. Taxed beyond its operational capabilities, transportation delays impact the arrival and departure of event delegates and principals, as well as area commuters.

HASSLING PRINCIPALS Protestors will engage in verbal and physical altercations with event principals and delegates. These confrontations include the physical manhandling of principals, their entourage and vehicles. Venue and hotel exits may be blocked preventing egress.

INFLAMMATORY PROTEST MATERIALS, often observed at anti-abortion and animal rights demonstrations and reflecting graphic depictions of aborted fetuses and maimed animals, have provoked both verbal and physical altercations between opposing protest groups and individuals. These protest materials are displayed upon placards and on the sides of vehicles.

CHILDREN, ELDERLY, AND PHYSICALLY CHALLENGED are prominently positioned by protestors to gain sympathy and negative portrayal of police dispersal and arrest actions.

PIE IN THE FACE Enroute to or at the venue site, activists may attempt to throw a pie in the face of a principal. Pies used in past incidents have contained non-toxic ingredients.
SAFE DEMONSTRATION AREAS  Prior to the event, protestors are divided into groups based on willingness of arrest. Lawful demonstrations by individuals not wanting to be arrested are conducted in areas usually authorized by permit. Those engaged in criminal activity may withdraw into the mass of lawful demonstrators to avoid detection by law enforcement. Some protestors will not be deterred by the lack of permit and may attempt to join legitimate parade participants.

BANNER HANGING  In order to reach a mass audience to promote its cause, protestors seek out structures which have access to high and unobstructed views. Banners are hung by “climbers” upon cranes, multi-storied buildings, bridges, as well as the buildings housing the target of protest.

TARGETS are often tagged with the anarchist logo prior to direct action.

KRYPTONITE LOCKS  The use of kryptonite locks to secure persons to vehicles, fixed, objects or other persons is prevalent in protest activities. Note that users of the kryptonite lock were always found to be in possession of a release key, though they professed not to have one on their person.

KRYPTO-ZONE LOCKS

TRI-PODS  Tripods consist of three pipes between ten to twenty feet in length. Once assembled, the individual secures him- or her-self to the apex with a noose around the neck. Tripods were extremely effective because the design is intricate and difficult to disassemble. Improper disassembly may be life-threatening for the user is actually hung from the device and may choke, a fact exploited by the activists. Activist legal observers are present when these devices are erected and are quick to indicate mistreatment of the tripod user if disassembly is attempted by law enforcement personnel. Actions such as this are videotaped for media purposes. Because the tri-pod devices are cumbersome to transport and difficult to conceal, parts may be stored at construction sites, in street puppets, or close to the area of protest.
SUPER SOAKERS / SQUIRT AND SPRAY BOTTLES may be filled with ammonia, bleach, urine, or other hazardous substances to spray on police personnel. Balloons launched upon officers have also been found to contain these toxic liquids.

PEPPER SPRAY Demonstrators may release their own pepper spray or tear gas to create the impression of police use.

PROJECTILES Rocks, bottles, batteries and other objects are used as projectiles targeting law enforcement officers. Objects are stored on the person of protestors in backpacks or in the vicinity of the protest site. Protected by asbestos gloves, protestors will retrieve live CS canisters and pitch these back into police lines. Frozen water balloons have been dropped from a three-story building upon a moving police vehicle, shattering its windshield.

WRIST ROCKETS Wrist rockets are wrist-mounted slingshots that can be used to shoot marbles, BBs, jacks, and similar items. A variation of this device has been used to throw CS canisters back at police.

MIRRORS may be used to reflect light and impair vision and visibility of law enforcement surveillance and media camera lenses.

SIGNAGE WEAPONRY CONCEALMENT Posters and banners have been found to be mounted on baseball bats and boards driven with exposed nails. Signs have also been affixed to both commercial and homemade tiki torches.

SMOKE OR STINK BOMBS may be discharged at or in the vicinity of the venue to disrupt proceedings or prompt the evacuation of the site.

SUSPICIOUS PACKAGES / HOAX DEVICES are used to disrupt proceedings and to tax public safety resources. Render safe operations usually require venue evacuation and redirect manpower allocation, leaving secondary target areas open. Boxes of clocks and gallon jugs of clear liquids imbedded in electrical circuit boxes are some examples of hoax devices used by protestors.

BOMB THREATS / FIRE ALARMS are other means by which protest extremists will attempt to disrupt or cancel an event or to extract principals from the venue for direct confrontation.

ELECTRICITY DISRUPTION Protestors may attempt to disrupt electrical service to venue buildings, hotels, meetings places. Mylar helium balloons, some filled with metal shavings, have been launched towards electrical power lines.

PROPERTY DESTRUCTION Though publicly condemned by most demonstration organizers, protestors have either individually or collectively in splinter or affinity groups conducted criminal acts of vandalism, property destruction and arson.

Stickers and graffiti are often posted in protest areas to promote acts of property destruction and vandalism.

“As anarchists, we contend that property destruction is not a violent activity unless it destroys lives or causes pain in the process. By this definition, private property—especially corporate private property—is itself infinitely more violent than any action taken against it.”
INCENDIARY DEVICES  Protest extremists employ a variety of incendiary devices to commit acts of arson and assault, particularly against law enforcement personnel. Improvised devices such as Molotov cocktails, tiki torches, and chains wrapped in kerosene-soaked rags launched by oversized slingshots have been observed at protest events. Seized flammable liquids such as gasoline and kerosene have been found stored in glass jars and plastic transport containers. Instructions for such devices are found in numerous publications and websites on the Internet.

MOLOTOV COCKTAILS  have traditionally been the choice incendiary device due to its simplicity in construction, availability of components, and ease of concealment. Sophisticated versions may include a timing device. Molotov cocktails have been employed against protest targets, such as furriers, and law enforcement personnel.

TIKI TORCHES  Commercial and homemade torches comprised of kerosene-filled basin with wick mounted on a pole; improvised torches have been constructed from a soup can filled with a flammable liquid and rag for ignition, often disguised as a mount for a poster or banner.

BONFIRES  Protestors start bonfires to create rallying points, to draw media attention, and to tax public safety resources. Dumpsters and debris are hauled and set afire to block thoroughfares and inhibit police response.

PYROTECHNICS  Smoke bombs are often used to simulate tear gas and to falsely accuse police of its use against protestors. M80s, bundled firecrackers and other fireworks are used as distraction devices.

IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE DEVICES (IEDs)  Though intelligence suggests no specific threat to date, extremists have utilized improvised explosive devices in furtherance of their objectives. IEDs are often manufactured with common materials obtainable from hardware and sporting goods stores. Instructions for their construction are easily available via the Internet, public library, and special interest publications; their types of form and concealment are only limited by the imagination of the builder.

BIOCHEMICAL THREATS  Extremists have threatened the possession and use of biochemical agents. Previous incidents have included the discovery of multiple canisters testing positive for cyanide elements.
Defensive tactics

PASSIVE RESISTANCE Several forms of passive resistance have gained popularity among protestors. Traditional passive resistance, in which the protestors becomes completely limp and provides no assistance in movement, effectively taxes police resources during arrest and dispersal. Activists may engage "in-your-face" passive resistance, standing within an officer's personal space and refusing to obey commands; attempts to passively or verbally provoke the officer into a physical confrontation, which could then be witnessed and captured on film by other protestors or by the media.

COMPLETE NON-COOPERATION In addition to passive resistance, many protestors may be completely uncooperative in police encounters. Many do not carry forms of identification and will only provide an alias. Interview attempts may be met with silence or false information. In arrest and custodial situations, arrestees will not respond to verbal commands.

UNARREST The tactic of unarrest is only attempted in situations where activists greatly outnumber the police. The arrestee and officer are surrounded by a crowd of protestors, who pull the individual from the custody of the arresting officer, thereby unarresting the individual. Advocates of this tactic are adamant that police officers should not be touched, assaulted, or harmed during the disengagement activity.

GRAFFITI AND CLEANUP Often before the graffiti can be attributed to a particular individual or group, another group removes the evidence of the activity.

UNIFORM CLOTHING ATTIRE Protest cells will don similar clothing attire in solidarity and to avoid identification of specific individuals by law enforcement. Attempting to infiltrate venues or posing as staffers, protestors have been instructed in the fashion wear of conservative clothing.

MASKS are donned to avoid detection and identification by law enforcement. Bandanas, goggles, and costume masks offer not only concealment, but inhibit direct effects of tear gas and pepper spray.

PROTECTIVE MASKS AND CLOTHING Protestors have used protective masks and tear gas resistant clothing to negate the effects of gas used by police. Both commercial and military surplus masks have been observed in use.

Homemade neutralizers may be stored in squirt bottles and applied to masks to counter the effects of tear gas and pepper spray.
**SOLIDARITY** Protest organizers advocate that groups willing to be arrested should be comprised of demographically similar individuals (i.e. males, females, juveniles) to ensure that once arrested, the group is housed in the same jail facility. Group cohesion enables the arrestees to offer mutual support to withstand interrogation and incarceration, as well as the opportunity to devise new tactics.

**RELEASE REFUSAL** Arrestees are encouraged to refuse release until all jailed protestors are freed from custody.

**HUNGER STRIKES** Jail solidarity and tactics such as hunger strikes prolong media attention and strain court and custodial resources long after the event.

**SURROUNDING OF COURT AND JAIL FACILITIES** Once the event is over, protestors will move on to courthouse and jail facilities to support their incarcerated counterparts. A human chain may be formed surrounding the facility or more confrontational direct actions may be conducted to interfere with court and jail functions, personnel and facilities.

**Potential Tactics**

Many new offensive and defensive tactics and direct actions have been proposed by protestors in planning sessions and discussion groups:

**WMD HOAX** The threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction use could effectively close down any venue due to the extensive render safe procedures by public safety personnel.

**INCAPACITATING SOUND WAVES** Protestors have been advised to review military studies on urban assault, notably the use of sound waves for crowd dispersal. Sound wave devices are relatively inexpensive and readily available for purchase via mail order catalogue and the Internet. Advertisements claim the devices provide “serious, substantial capability to disrupt and disperse gatherings, speeches, demonstrations, and crowd dynamics”.

**SHIELDS** The use of shields have been proposed to deflect rubber bullets and pepper spray. Constructed of layered cardboard, plywood, or sheet metal, the shields may be disguised as simple paper posters or banners by adhering placards or painting slogans and imagery upon them.

**BODY ARMOR** Protestors have advocated the use of body armor for protection against rubber bullets and baton use by police. Suggestions for improvised body armor have included the use of construction products similarly used for shields and sports protective equipment.

**NETS** To hinder or incapacitate law enforcement response, concealable wide-range fishing nets may be thrown upon police personnel.

**LACROSSE STICKS** Enhancing range, lacrosse sticks may be used to launch projectiles such as rocks or to return CS canisters at police officers.

**WATER BALLOON LAUNCHERS** Commercially-available water balloon launchers may be used to fire balloons filled with toxic liquids such as urine, bleach or paint at police.

**LADDERS** Hidden within puppet structures, ladders may be used to scale venue fencing and police barricades.

**FORMATIONS** By studying police structured response to demonstrations, protestors have planned the use of crowd formations to counteract law enforcement manpower formations.
Protestors use various communication and media sources to update and exchange information with other activists prior to and during the events. Internet websites, list servers, email, and chat rooms are used to electronically communicate with activists worldwide. Meetings and teach-ins are conducted to discuss logistics of direct actions. Radio and cable-access television are utilized to promote protest activities and provide real-time feed of ongoing events. While the protest event will bear publication, individuals usually will not be notified of dates, times and locations of specific direct actions until their arrival at designated rendezvous points.

### Promotional Communication
- Internet
- Meetings
- Leaflets / Phones
- Press Conferences

### Codes
- Text
- Numeric
- Morse
- Color

### Street Communication Devices
- Nextel Phones
- Cell Phones
- Two-way Radios
- Pagers
  - Text Messaging
  - Numeric Code
- E-mail
- Laser Pointers
- Colored Flags
- Messengers
  - Runners
  - Bicycles
- Music
  - Volume
  - Type

### Staging / Interactive Communications
- Internet
- Radio
- Cable TV
- Posters

### Street Communications
- Command Centers
  - Stationary
  - Mobile
- Planning Collectives