



Photo Credit: CC BY-SA 2.0 | Wikimedia Commons



INLAND EMPIRE OUTLOOK

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS
SPRING 2017

California's Many and Varied Attacks
pg. 2 - 3

**A Coordinated Response: Law
Enforcement Response to the San
Bernardino Attack**
pg. 4-11

Emergency Medical Response
pg. 12-17

**Legislative Responses to Terrorism:
California's History**
pg. 18-23

WE REMEMBER *San Bernardino, December 2, 2015*

ROBERT ADAMS

ISAAC AMANIOS

BENNETTA BETBADAL

HARRY BOWMAN

SIERRA CLAYBORN

JUAN ESPINOZA

AURORA GODOY

SHANNON JOHNSON

LARRY DANIEL KAUFMAN

DAMIAN MEINS

TIN NGUYEN

NICHOLAS THALASINOS

YVETTE VELASCO

MICHAEL RAYMOND WETZEL



CALIFORNIA'S MANY AND VARIED ATTACKS

BY LINDSAY BURTON '19

Photo Credit: San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department | Wikimedia Commons

In September 2015, I began a project at the Rose Institute of State and Local Government researching the history of terrorism in California. Little did I know that my research would soon come to include my hometown of San Bernardino. Fellow students Wes Edwards '18 and Bryn Miller '19 joined me in combing through newspaper archives looking for reports of terrorist acts in California.

The term domestic terrorism is defined in federal law as activities that (A) involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; (B) appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and (C) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States. (18 U.S. Code § 2331). We searched public databases for the *Los Angeles Times*, *Sacramento Bee*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, using a list of more than 50 search terms, to look for incidents occurring from 1910 through

2015. We found a variety of attacks, perpetrated by many different and changing groups and individuals through the decades.

The bombing of the Los Angeles Times building in 1910 was the one of the first and most prominent attacks of the 1900s. Members of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers detonated a suitcase filled with dynamite and intended to go off at 4:00 a.m. when no employees would be in the building. Instead, the bomb went off at 1:00 a.m., killing 21 people and injuring another 100. The Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies), a Socialist union that advocated direct action, were responsible for a number of other attacks against businesses in the following decade. They were also suspected of pipe bombing a Preparedness Day Parade in San Francisco in 1916 that killed 10 people and injured another 40. The Cats Claw Club of California (CCC of C), a sub-group of the Wobblies, threatened and bombed a number of wealthy and prominent people from 1916-1918. Their targets included the Governor's mansion in Sacramento in 1917.

Members of the Klu Klux Klan were responsible for threats and attacks in various cities starting in 1922. There are reports of threats and assaults in Los Angeles, Bakersfield, and San Francisco in 1922, and continuing through the 1940s, and even into the 1980s. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* ran stories of a young woman in Los Angeles who was branded with a cross in 1926 and of cross burnings in Huntington Park in 1940 and even as late as 1983 in Kagel Canyon.

The 1960s saw the rise of various ethno-nationalist groups such as the Black Panther Party, Chicano Liberation Front, pro-Castro and anti-Castro groups, and the Jewish Defense League. The Chicano Liberation Front was one of the most active, claiming credit for 28 bombings of banks, schools, government buildings, and supermarkets in 1970-71. The group also claimed credit for the shooting of the police chief of Union City in 1974. Between 1973 and 1976, a group known as the Death Angels was responsible for a string of 12 murders in San Francisco (known as the Zebra Killings). The *Los Angeles Times* reported in 1975 that this group had a plan to run all whites out of San Francisco. The police investigation of those murders grew into a dragnet that took in many innocent young black men for questioning and was ultimately stopped by U.S. District Judge Alfonso Zirpoli. Four men were ultimately tried and convicted of the Zebra Killings.

Radical left-wing groups such as the Weather Underground, Symbionese Liberation Army, and New World Liberation Front were also active in the 1960s and 1970s. The Symbionese Liberation Army may best be known for the kidnapping of Patty Hearst in 1974, but six of their members also died in a shootout with police the same year. The New World Liberation Front was responsible for many attacks in the 1970s, mostly in the Bay Area. Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski, who briefly taught at the University of California Berkeley, sent a series of bombs to locations across the country, starting in 1978 and ending in 1995. Four of the 16 targets were in California. Bombs in 1982 and 1985 severely injured researchers at the University of California at Berkeley. Kaczynski's bombs also killed a store owner in Sacramento in 1985 and a timber industry lobbyist in 1995 in Sacramento.

Abortion clinics have been the target of violent attacks since the early 1980s. In 1984, a clinic in San Diego was firebombed, causing \$200,000 in damage. The same facility was again attacked in 1985. Since then, abortion facilities across the state have been targets, including clinics in San Diego (1987), Long Beach (1988), Redding (1990, 1992), Sacramento (1992), Fresno (1992), and Chico (1994). More recently, a Planned Parenthood clinic in Thousand Oaks was the target of an arson attack in 2015.

Environmental extremists engaged in acts of vandalism and arson starting in the 1980s. For example, a group called the Animal Liberation Front vandalized laboratories at Loma Linda University Medical Center in 1984 and at the University of California Davis in 1988 and 1997. The 1997 attack caused \$4.6 million of property damage to the campus. Another group called Farm Animal Revenge Militia was responsible for a series of arson attacks against meat wholesalers in 1993 and 1994 in San Diego. Animal Liberation Front also attacked poultry and meat processing facilities in 1999 and 2000. It continues to be active, with an attack on a San Diego fur shop in 2013. Earth Liberation Front is a third environmental extremist group whose activity began in 2000. Its targets have included the Delta & Pine Land Company in 2001, car dealerships in the San Gabriel Valley, Santa Cruz, and West Covina in 2003, and construction sites in San Diego in 2003, Sacramento in 2004, and Carmel Valley and Pasadena in 2006.

The last attack in our study (through 2015) is the shooting at the Inland Regional Center in San Bernardino, on December 2, 2015. There, two gunmen killed 14 people and injured another 22. Investigators have not linked the shooters to a terrorist organization, but think that they were 'self-radicalized' and motivated by religious fanaticism.

Terrorism does not have one story, one face, or one goal. Our archival research shows that many different people and entities in California have been targets in the last century. Many different groups and ideologies motivated those attacks. Radical extremism can originate from almost anywhere across the ethnic and political spectrum. ♦



A COORDINATED RESPONSE: LAW ENFORCEMENT RESPONSE TO THE SAN BERNARDINO ATTACK

BY NICK SAGE '20

Photo Credit: Mesa0789 | Wikimedia Commons

On December 2, 2015, Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik launched a devastating attack on the Inland Regional Center (IRC) in San Bernardino, California. Resulting in the death of 14 innocents and the injury of 24 others, the San Bernardino shooting in 2015 was the deadliest terrorist attack on the United States since September 11, 2001. It was also the worst mass shooting since Sandy Hook in 2012.

Americans — and Californians especially — were shocked. The shooting was another warning that the United States is not impervious to terrorist attacks. San Bernardino also reminded the American people that the first line of defense against domestic terrorism is not soldiers armed for war, but rather local police, medical, and fire services. The men and women of the 17 agencies that responded to the attack acted with utmost courage. Many lessons can be learned from their actions in order to prepare for and respond to future attacks. The Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) of the United States Justice Department and the Police Foundation conducted an in-depth analysis of the training and response of local authorities to the San Bernardino attack. They published the results of this study in *Bringing Calm to Chaos, A critical incident review of the San Bernardino public safety response to the December 2, 2015, terrorist shooting incident at the Inland Regional Center*. The analysis in this article relies heavily on that report as well as reporting by *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

The response to the shooting can be broken into four distinct stages: the initial response to the attack, medical treatment and evacuation of the victims, pursuit and elimination of the gunmen, and conducting the investigation. Each part of the response presented different operational challenges, most of which were handled well by those on the scene and some of which revealed flaws in protocol and/or coordination.

The attack began when Rizwan Farook and his wife Tashfeen Malik entered the IRC at 10:59 a.m., December 2, 2015. The IRC is a non-profit organization that provides support services to thousands of people with developmental disabilities in southern California. County departments frequently use it for training programs because of the availability of a large conference room and the IRC's proximity to the county office building. Farook was an employee of the San Bernardino County Environmental Health Department and was there with approximately 80 of his colleagues for a day of training. Farook left the session at approximately 10:30am and returned some 30 minutes later with his wife. They entered the center wearing tactical clothing and armed with semi-automatic AR-15 assault rifles. Over the course of only two or three minutes the assailants together fired over one hundred .223 caliber rounds. Nearly all the casualties of the attack were hit within this brief period of time. The gunmen fled the scene three minutes after the shooting began.

Two police units were ordered to the IRC less than a minute after the first shot was fired. Lieutenant Mike Madden of the San Bernardino Police Department (SBPD) was the first officer on the scene, followed by three additional officers who were in the area. None of the first four officers specialized in tactical operations, but they had all received basic active shooter training. The team of four officers—unaware that the shooters had left the IRC—carefully entered the IRC at 11:06 a.m. Shortly after the first police team entered the building, and within 10 minutes of the first shot being fired, 13 SWAT members of SBPD and an additional team of police officers joined Lieutenant Madden’s team in clearing the building.

After-action reports of the attack reveal that the first officers on the scene demonstrated exemplary coordination with one another, despite specializing in very different roles. They closely followed active shooter protocol when clearing the building, focusing solely on locating and eliminating the threat before aiding victims. They were not distracted by technical matters of rank and jurisdiction, and they immediately fell into the proper building-clearing formation.

Coordination between main agency commanders also began shortly after the attack. San Bernardino Police Department Chief Jarrod Burguan, San Bernardino County Sheriff John McMahan, and Assistant Director David Bowdich of the FBI’s Los Angeles field office were in regular communication shortly after the attack began. Command of the situation transferred from the initial officers engaged in tactical operations to agency leaders as they arrived on the scene. Commanders quickly established the San Bernardino Unified Command Center (UCC), creating a more structured chain of command. The command center was composed of various representatives from each participating agency. Together they made decisions regarding tactics, managing the media, and conducting the investigation. The cooperation of operational leaders was a major strength in the San Bernardino operation.

Establishing strong inter-agency connections is essential to respond effectively to an active shooter situation. Ideally, these relationships develop before a crisis so that agencies are able to cooperate more smoothly

when an attack occurs. The San Bernardino responding agencies had the advantage of strong relationships built on joint training exercises, their response to the Christopher Dorner incident in 2013, and the lessons learned from the analysis conducted and published by the Police Foundation in *Police Under Attack: Southern California Law Enforcement Response to the Attacks by Christopher Dorner*. A variety of agencies told the Police Foundation team that the self-examination and critical incident review analysis following the Dorner attack were critical to the success of the response on December 2, 2015. The San Bernardino Police Department, San Bernardino County Sheriff’s Department, Inland Valley Regional SWAT teams, and other law enforcement agencies had all participated in inter-agency active shooter training. The Police Foundation report quotes an officer saying, “I just jumped into the formation with the SWAT guys, it was seamless.” Another officer commented, “Regional and realistic training was invaluable. Training came into play tenfold. We didn’t have to think about how we should do it – we just did it.”

San Bernardino first responders were on the scene in less than four minutes. The San Bernardino Police Department SWAT team was on the scene within 11 minutes.

There are also different regional organizations across the country that aim to develop cohesion between emergency services of all kinds. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) has a program known as the National Incident Management System (NIMS), which focuses on helping various emergency agencies with “planning; procedures and protocols; training and exercises; personnel qualifications, licensure, and certification; equipment certification; and evaluation and revision.” By standardizing as many variables as possible in an emergency situation, NIMS intends to streamline the management of multiple response teams. FEMA is a federal agency, but through NIMS it can improve the effectiveness of local, state, and non-governmental emergency organizations. NIMS encourages emergency responders to “leverage existing preparedness efforts and

TIMELINE: SAN BERNARDINO SHOOTINGS, 12/05/15

Time (PST)	Event
10:58 a.m.	First report of five rounds heard in the 1300 block of S. Waterman Ave.
10:59 a.m.	Report of three suspects armed with assault rifles wearing all black clothing.
11:00 a.m.	Two patrol units dispatched.
11:04 a.m.	First unit arrives on scene (Lieutenant Mike Madden).
11:06 a.m.	Lieutenant, detective, motor, and patrol officer form a contact team and make entry.
11:09 a.m.	San Bernardino Police Department (SBPD) special weapons and tactics (SWAT) team arrives with twelve operators and a tactical medic (six more arrive later).
11:15 a.m.	Triage area established at S. Park Center and Waterman Ave.
11:17 a.m.	First floor secured. Patient evacuation to triage area.
11:26 a.m.	Roof cleared.
11:30 a.m.	Directed Probation to set up containment area for those exiting Bldg. #1.
11:31 a.m.	Secondary sweep of building.
11:33 a.m.	Possible device found on 2nd floor office (roller luggage bag out of place).
11:46 a.m.	SBCSD Explosive Ordinance Disposal (EOD) on scene.
11:51 a.m.	EOD determined device was suspicious.
11:56 a.m.	SBCSD Special Enforcement Division (SED) cleared Bldg. #1.
12:24 p.m.	Inland Valley Regional SWAT (IVS) team to 2nd floor of Bldg. #1 to clear and evacuate.
12:38 p.m.	Unified tactical command post established with SBPD, SBCSD, and Inland Valley SWAT team. The FBI joined later but was on standby to assist if needed at other locations.
1:42 p.m.	Robot deployed to X-ray suspicious package.
2:22 p.m.	X-ray complete, device deemed safe.
2:35 p.m.	SBCSD completes search and evacuation of Bldgs. #1 & #2.
3:02 p.m.	Redlands Police Department in 100mph pursuit of unrelated stolen car that terminates 1/2 mile from command post.
3:02:17 p.m.	SBPD narcotic unit flagged down Redlands Police Department sergeant.
3:08:19 p.m.	SBPD narcotics and Redlands Police Department following suspect vehicle eastbound between San Bernardino Avenue and Richardson.
3:08:43 p.m.	Shots fired while officers attempt to stop suspect vehicle.
3:09 p.m.	Suspect in custody from the Redlands Police Department stolen vehicle pursuit (Orange Show Rd. and Arrowhead).
3:09:22 p.m.	Suspects stop and gun battle ensues (1795 E. San Bernardino Ave.).
3:12 p.m.	Bearcat (armored vehicle) requested.
3:12:57 p.m.	***Officer Down*** Narcotics officer shot in left thigh with .223 round @ corner of Shedden and San Bernardino.
3:14:53 p.m.	Shooting stops.
3:19 p.m.	SED units searching for potential third suspect seen running from the area of the SUV.
3:19 p.m.	Bearcat on scene.
5:08 p.m.	Explosive devices located on 1st floor primary building.
7:36 p.m.	Device removed for destruction.
7:54 p.m.	Device #1 detonated / rendered safe.
8:33 p.m.	Device #2 detonated / rendered safe.
8:37 p.m.	Device #3 detonated / rendered safe.
9:29 p.m.	Building clear and released to investigators.

Source: Braziel, et.al., *Bringing Calm to Chaos, A critical incident review of the San Bernardino public safety response to the December 2, 2015 terrorist shooting incident at the Inland Regional Center*, COPS, Police Foundation.

collaborative relationships to the greatest extent possible” and includes organizational specifications for an “Incident Command System, Multiagency Coordination Systems, and Public Information.” With NIMS operational commanders can spend less time creating a chain of command, since all involved organizations already know to whom to report in a crisis.

The overall response to the San Bernardino attack was very organized. Problems began to arise, however, when a large number of officers began to “self-deploy” to the IRC. Many officers arrived still dressed in civilian clothes and driving personal cars, which led to additional confusion in an already difficult situation. Self-deploying officers can give onsite commanders a large advantage in securing the scene. If they arrive, however, in a chaotic fashion and fail to report in to the chain of command, they can distract officers who already have assigned duties. The phenomena of self-reporting officers is not a new one and self-reporting officers do provide essential manpower in a time of crisis. For example, some of the first responding officers were with the San Bernardino County Probation Department—even though they did not have explicit orders to respond. The probation office is only 2.9 miles from the IRC, making it closer than the SBPD headquarters. Hearing of the incident over the police scanner, probation officers self-deployed to the scene to investigate. The proximity of the probation officers allowed them to reach the scene before most other law enforcement. The probation officers saw multiple wounded victims when they arrived at the IRC, and they were the first officers to start the triage process by passing out medical supplies. They set up and managed the transportation and triage of victims. They initially acted independently, but once an operational command was established, the large team of probation officers reported to the commanders and became instrumental in securing perimeters around the IRC and triage areas.

Chief Burguan of the SBPD later explained that the initial officers to respond to the shooting were ill-equipped. SBPD has a limited number of service rifles, and thus most of the first police to enter the building were only armed with handguns. There is debate over the extent to which police officers should be armed, but some of the initial officers also lacked basic protective equipment like ballistic helmets. Part of the equipment

issue is that in an active shooter situation every second counts, and often officers respond before having a chance to prepare properly.

After police arrived on the scene, a grueling three-hour process of sweeping and re-sweeping the IRC room by room for potential threats ensued. Officers had to work with discipline, as it was still unclear whether the shooters were still in the building. This task was complicated by the crime scene consisting of many rooms spread among multiple floors on the IRC’s three buildings, and the fact that there was no standardized system for marking which rooms had already been cleared. Though law enforcement was able to work through this confusion, it slowed the overall process of clearing the IRC. The Police Foundation report noted that in the future emergency services should ensure that law enforcement personnel have the tools to breach rooms quickly and a uniform system to indicate which rooms have already been searched. As the IRC was locked down, local medical services did their best to manage all the wounded victims. Twenty minutes after the attack began paramedics established the first triage area and began to perform first aid on the wounded. All of the 22 wounded civilian victims—and later the two wounded police officers—arrived at a hospital within 57 minutes, and all of them survived.

While the EMTs were able to rescue all the wounded, responders admitted that there is nevertheless room for improvement regarding medical efficiency. Many of the first officers to respond to the IRC did not have substantial first aid training. In addition, many of the officers were not equipped with adequate medical kits to begin treating the victims’ extensive wounds. Advanced police first aid kits and training may not be sufficient to stabilize victims completely, but these improvements would buy medical responders more time to get the patients to higher-level medical care.

The wounded were obviously the most pressing concern, but there was also the matter of securing nearly 400 witnesses. Police on site escorted the witnesses from the IRC to a nearby golf course where they waited for a few hours before being moved to a local church. No one can tell when or where a mass shooting will occur which makes it difficult to find a centralized location

big enough to house such a large number of witnesses. Law enforcement can benefit by establishing a network of community leaders with access to large facilities that could be used in emergency situations.

A large number of personnel were tasked with clearing the IRC, but there were also many law enforcement officers who were trying to track down the shooters. A county employee in the conference room told an SBPD officer his suspicion that Farook was the perpetrator. Coordinated and rapid work by SBPD and SBCSD crime analysts determined that several individuals of that name lived in neighboring communities and officers then made their way to all known addresses. Authorities then released to the public a description of the black SUV identified by witnesses as leaving the IRC. Several people called in with reports, including one of a black SUV with Utah license plates. One caller memorized the license plate number and called with that information. An analyst at SBPD headquarters ran the plate number and found that the car was registered to a rental company. An

employee at the rental car agency provided information that led to the identification of Rizwan Farook.

SBPD then sent an unmarked car to Farook's house in Redlands, but found no activity there. Meanwhile a few SBPD narcotics officers also headed to Farook's house. They saw the SUV leaving the home just as they arrived and followed the SUV in their unmarked cars. The narcotics officers were able to alert a Redlands patrol sergeant who followed the SUV on Interstate 10. The Redlands officer tried to stop the SUV after it got off the freeway at Tippecanoe Avenue in San Bernardino. An SBCSD deputy joined behind the Redlands police cruiser. The SUV continued a short distance on San Bernardino Avenue before the occupants began shooting at the pursuing officers through the back window. There were, at that point, officers from the Redlands Police Department and San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department on the scene. All three departments broadcast on their respective radio channels that the suspects in the SUV were shooting at them. As a large gunfight broke



Graphics by Melissa Muller '18, based on Braziel, et.al., *Bringing Calm to Chaos, A critical incident review of the San Bernardino public safety response to the December 2, 2015 terrorist shooting incident at the Inland Regional Center*, COPS, Police Foundation.

out in the street, 175 law enforcement officers from various local, county, state, and federal agencies made their way to the scene. Ultimately, 24 officers fired at least 440 shots at the SUV. The suspects fired at least 81 rounds at the officers. The firefight resulted in the death of both gunmen and non-lethal injuries to two officers.

The climactic gun battle again showed the positive and negative sides of self-deployment. The narcotics officers who pursued the gunmen did not necessarily self-report, but they did act independently by switching from police radios to cell phones to prevent the perpetrators from listening in through radio scanners. This meant the Unified Command Center was not fully aware of the narcotics team's status. In this case the initiative of the narcotics officers allowed law enforcement to track and neutralize the terrorists. There were other officers, however, who rapidly left their assigned positions at the IRC to assist in engaging the gunmen. Many of these officers failed to report to the command center, resulting in some confusion and leaving certain response roles at the IRC unmanned. Additionally, some of the officers who self-deployed arrived after both shooters had been killed. Self-reporting can be a useful part of emergency response, but only if the officers respect the chain of command upon arriving on site.

With the death of the two attackers the immediate threat of additional casualties subsided. Law enforcement agencies then began conducting a criminal investigation. Since there were federal, county, and local law agencies at the three crime scenes – the IRC, the attackers' home, and the site of the gun battle -- they had to coordinate the collection of evidence. Overall the Unified Command Center did well at assigning distinct roles to each agency. The law enforcement leadership team of Chief Burguan (SBPD), Sheriff McMahan (SBCSD), and Assistant Director Bowdich (FBI) decided it would be best if the FBI processed the IRC to collect evidence, as it appeared that the attack was likely to be related to terrorism. The SBCSD tactically cleared the building before releasing it to the FBI. The SBPD, however, remained as the on-scene commander at the IRC until the attack was officially classified as an act of terrorism on the following day. The FBI also led the investigation of the home in Redlands and the SBCSD led the investigation at the site of the final gun battle. On a macro level the operational

commanders were successful at dividing tasks among the agencies. Agencies also were effective in using one another's crime analysts and forensic specialists where they would be most useful.

There were, however, also a few instances of miscommunication among federal and local law enforcement. For example, after the shootout in the street, police officers began a traditional mass shooting investigation. Federal agents on the scene were more focused on determining whether the shooting was a terrorist attack, and some agents collected evidence from the scene without adequately explaining their intentions to local law enforcement. The tension between FBI agents and SBCSD officers revealed that not all personnel were aware of other agencies' authority. The best way for emergency agencies to avoid unnecessary confusion is by ensuring that all responders have a strong knowledge of every organization's role in a crisis situation.

As detailed in the Police Foundation report, "Overwhelmingly, responders interviewed attributed much of the success of the response to the December terrorist attacks to the relationships they had built regionally through training and other endeavors."

The attack on San Bernardino put the many responding agencies to the test. If the operation had not been executed cleanly, then there could have been far more casualties. There were points during the attack that could have strained the response leadership to the point where confusion overwhelmed emergency personnel. First responders, however, had already forged many inter-agency personal connections that allowed them to better navigate the hectic situation.

The responders displayed exemplary coordination during the attack, and demonstrated the effectiveness of preparation and training. ♦

RESPONDING AGENCIES

STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANIZATIONS	
San Bernardino Police Department	SBPD officers were first on scene. In conjunction with the SBCSD and the FBI, they maintained primary incident command. SBPD officers were initially responsible for the investigation of the shooting incident and also responded to the gun battle with the suspects.
San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department	The SBCSD assisted the SBPD and the FBI with incident command. It also responded to and maintained responsibility for the scene of the gun battle that ultimately killed the suspects.
California Highway Patrol	The CHP assisted at both the IRC and shootout scene with emergency response, scene management, and traffic control.
Colton Police Department	The Colton Police Department is part of the Inland Valley Regional SWAT team that responded to both the initial terrorist attack at the IRC and the final shootout with the suspects.
Fontana Police Department	The Fontana Police Department arrived shortly after the first four officers entered the IRC. The second team to enter the IRC included three Fontana detectives, one of whom was a SWAT team member. The Fontana Police Department is also a member of the Inland Valley Regional SWAT team.
Inland Valley Regional SWAT	The IVS is a collaboration of the cities of Rialto, Colton, and Fontana. The IVS responded to both the initial shooting at the IRC and the final shootout with the suspects.
Redlands Police Department	The Redlands Police Department responded to assist with stopping the suspect and securing the suspects' home.
Rialto Police Department	The Rialto Police Department is part of the Inland Valley Regional SWAT team.

FIRE AND EMERGENCY RESPONSE AGENCIES	
Inland Counties Emergency Medical Agency	The ICEMA is the local emergency medical services (EMS) agency for Inyo, Mono, and San Bernardino counties.
Ontario Fire Department Explosive Ordinance Disposal	Ontario Fire Department Explosive Ordinance Disposal responded to assist with potential explosive devices.
San Bernardino City Fire Department/ San Bernardino County Fire	The city's fire department was the primary medical first responder to the shooting at the IRC. The department established the medical triage and treatment area and handled logistics for medical transport of victims. The county's fire department also provided substantial support during the incident.

RESPONDING AGENCIES

OTHER LOCAL RESPONDING AGENCIES

San Bernardino City Unified School District	The SBCUSD responded with police officers as well as Office of Emergency personnel to assist with scene management and medical triage and security. It initiated a lockdown of all 80 San Bernardino schools and other buildings in an effort to secure all locations, personnel, and students in their care.
San Bernardino County District Attorney’s Office	The San Bernardino County District Attorney’s Office sent representatives from its Bureau of Victim Services to provide a comprehensive list of services to victims and witnesses at both the Rock Church and the Rudy Hernandez Community Center.
San Bernardino County Probation Department	Representatives of the San Bernardino County Probation Department were some of the first on scene and were responsible for setting up and managing the transportation and triage of victims. They also managed Hernandez Center operations as part of the investigation and witness interviews.

FEDERAL PARTNERS

Federal Bureau of Investigation	The FBI responded immediately to the scene and provided mutual aid and support at the incident command and tactical support through executive management personnel, SWAT agents, special agent bomb technicians, and investigators. In addition, FBI personnel conducted the evidence recovery efforts at the IRC and subject residencies. The FBI became the lead investigative agency once the shooting at the IRC was determined to have been a terrorist event.
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives	The ATF was responsible for assisting in investigating the source of the firearms seized from the suspects as well as recovered explosive devices.
Department of Homeland Security (DHS)/ Homeland Security Investigations (HSI)	DHS/HSI was on scene as part of the federal response to the terrorist shootings.

Source: Braziel, et.al., *Bringing Calm to Chaos, A critical incident review of the San Bernardino public safety response to the December 2, 2015 terrorist shooting incident at the Inland Regional Center*, COPS, Police Foundation.



Photo Credit: Kristian Johansson | Flickr

EMERGENCY MEDICAL RESPONSE

BY JOE NOSS '20

The San Bernardino terrorist attack was the deadliest on American soil since 9/11. The number of casualties was substantial, but it could have been even higher without the effective and swift work of emergency medical services (EMS). EMS training for a crisis of this magnitude prepared them to implement protocols used in a mass casualty incident (MCI) quickly. This account of the EMS response is drawn from *Bringing Calm to Chaos, A critical incident review of the San Bernardino public safety response to the December 2, 2015, terrorist shooting incident at the Inland Regional Center*, by Braziel, et.al., published by the Police Foundation; *EMS Crews Share their Experience of the San Bernardino Terrorist Attack*, by Crews and Heightman, published in the *Journal of Emergency Medical Services*; *The San Bernardino, California, Terror Attack: Two Emergency Departments' Response*, Lee, et. al., published in the *Western Journal of Emergency Medicine*; and news articles in the *Los Angeles Times*, *San Bernardino Sun*, and *The Press-Enterprise*.

The planning and preparation for an MCI began years before the San Bernardino attack. Following the 1999 Columbine school shooting, police departments

and EMS across the nation began conceptualizing and implementing methods to deal with mass casualty incidents. The San Bernardino Police Department introduced active shooter training drills in 2000 and made them part of in-service training in 2007. EMS personnel also engaged in similar training. For example, the San Bernardino City Unified School District Police conducted an active shooter drill in 2013. The exercise enlisted a number of city departments and tested the core capabilities of unified command, victim extraction and triage, and medical surge at area hospitals. Other law enforcement agencies and fire departments also engaged in similar training. This culture of preparedness was central to EMS effectiveness during the San Bernardino attack. Training for MCIs delineated a series of priorities for both the police and EMS: capture suspects, save lives in proximity to the shooter, ensure safety of citizens, ensure safety of officers, contain suspects, and then investigate after the event. The Police Foundation analysis noted that personnel across the different departments lauded these drills, as they trained the agencies to react to situations cooperatively, just as they need to do in a real crisis. The focus of these training drills was the rescue of injured civilians and

officers. The drills were chaotic, showing officers how MCIs are “difficult venues in which to operate, because of environmental factors, confusion, victims’ injuries, and pleas for help.” The objectives of these drills were multifaceted: they enabled the fine-tuning of incident command support rules, helped the different departments to understand the methods of simple triage and rapid treatment (START), and oriented the different staff to new MCI-specific supplies. Many San Bernardino departments, such as the SBCFD, were already used to treating shooting victims, increasing their ability to respond and care for patients.

In addition to the preparation of the various departments, there were a few chance factors that both benefited and hindered the EMS. On the day of the attack, the two nearby trauma centers, Arrowhead Regional Medical Center in Colton, and Loma Linda University Medical Center and Children’s Hospital in Loma Linda, were both fully staffed. There were two complete police SWAT teams engaged in an active shooter training exercise at nearby Arrowhead Springs Hotel and a San Bernardino County Sheriff’s Department helicopter was also in the area. All of these circumstances contributed to an effective response. On the other hand, the San Bernardino County Fire Department EMS had not yet received new gear that was scheduled to be delivered on the afternoon of the attack. This new gear included color-coded treatment

tarps and triage tags that would have been useful during the crisis.

Officers from the San Bernardino County Probation Department (SBCPD) were among the first on the scene, due to the proximity of their office to the IRC. A probation sergeant heard the call over the police radio and raced to the IRC with another probation officer, arriving in less than three minutes. They found a scene of people hiding behind cars, trees, and an electrical box. They gave a first aid kit to a group of injured people and prepared to enter the building. They were, however, dissuaded from this course by the number of injured people they encountered outside the building. Instead, they called the probation office for help. Dozens of probation officers arrived within minutes. The Police Foundation report refers to them as “an army of probation officers” and they were instrumental in moving injured people from the IRC to the triage and treatment areas. The command post leadership eventually utilized this large team of probation officers to secure the building and triage area perimeters.

The first EMS operative to arrive on the scene was San Bernardino County Fire Department tactical paramedic Ryan Starling. Starling had been training with the police department SWAT teams at the Arrowhead Springs Hotel. He entered the IRC with a SWAT team and found a chaotic situation in the

PATIENT TYPES AND SEVERITY		
Injury Severity and Deaths	Number	Definition
Deaths	14	Triaged on scene as dead.
Gunshot wounds -- critical	11	Patient required emergency surgery.
Gunshot wounds -- complex	5	Patient had wounds involving multiple systems, i.e., soft tissue with fractures or soft tissue with neurological deficit.
Gunshot wounds -- soft tissue only	4	Patient did not require surgical repair or was not accompanied by life-threatening blood loss.
Orthopedic injuries	8	Non-life-threatening wounds not caused by gunshots, i.e., trip and fall.
Total	42	

Source: Crews and Heightman, *EMS Crews Share their Experience of the San Bernardino Terrorist Attack*, *Journal of Emergency Medical Services*, August 2016.

HOSPITALS RECEIVING PATIENTS	
Hospital	# of Patients
Arrowhead Regional Medical Center	6
Loma Linda University Medical Center	5
Community Hospital of San Bernardino	2
Kaiser Hospital Fontana	2
Kaiser Hospital Ontario	2
Riverside County Medical Center	2
San Antonio Community Hospital	2
St. Bernardine's Medical Center	1
Total	22

Source: Lee, et.al., *The San Bernardino, California, Terror Attack: Two Emergency Departments' Response*, Western Journal of Emergency Medicine, January 2016.

conference room. With the sprinkler system going off, “the water was flowing out the entrance door and had a red tinge of color to it. It was obvious it was the blood of the victims.” The air was smoky from the discharged weapons, fire alarms were sounding, and victims were pleading for help. Starling turned from his tactical medic duties and began triaging patients in the conference room, using START. He marked victims with medical tape to best identify those who needed immediate and rapid extrication to the casualty collection point and treatment area. SBCFD officers Ron Good, Greg Soria, John Miller, and firefighter/paramedic Cody Strickland joined Starling and began re-triaging patients. The crew used black triage tags for the deceased, and red, yellow, or green tags to rank the urgency of victims’ wounds. The deceased were left in place, while the red, yellow, and green-tagged patients were put in police vehicles and moved from the casualty collection point to the triage and treatment area at the San Bernardino Golf Club across the street from the IRC. Although the paramedics did not have the MCI kits, they were still equipped with wound clot and pressure dressings, occlusive chest seals, and tourniquets, enough for the triage at hand.

Once identified, officers dragged, carried, or used chairs to remove the victims from the conference room, placing them in vehicles outside the IRC, which took

them to the EMS area. The triage area was initially set up near the IRC entrance, but was determined to be too close and was later moved to the golf course across the street. The officers did not have stretchers and had to carry wounded people by hand or with blankets to the new triage zone. The probation and other officers carried injured victims to cars, which quickly formed a conveyor-like system to drive victims to the nearby triage and treatment areas.

Once victims reached the triage zone, firefighters and paramedics began treating victims. Tarps were set up in the triage area to designate the different levels of trauma. Ambulances began arriving rapidly at the triage zone, carrying the various wounded to local hospitals. A San Bernardino County Fire Department helicopter landed on the golf course to airlift patients to a hospital in Riverside County.

The *Golden Hour* is defined by EMS as the first hour of trauma. Research shows that if injured persons reach a hospital within a the first hour, their likelihood for survival increases. Captain Kevin Whitaker led the transport effort at the triage area. He made several key decisions regarding the destination hospitals for the injured victims. Whitaker utilized the San Bernardino County Fire Department Air Rescue 6 to air-lift two patients to a trauma center in Moreno Valley. The

air-transport took just under 11 minutes. Whitaker organized the transport of the 17 critical patients, all of whom were moved to local facilities within 17 minutes of reaching the triage/treatment zone. They were sent to eight different hospitals, thus avoiding overloading any one of them. All 21 patients transported by EMS, along with one other transported in a police car, survived. Altogether, it took fifty-seven minutes to get them out of the IRC and to a hospital.

Throughout the crisis, the EMS had many successes. The excellent coordination between EMS and fire departments was a result of their MCI training, enabled them to establish casualty collection, triage, and treatment areas quickly. Moreover, the newly created ReadyNet notification system allowed quick communication with the nearby hospitals, helping the trauma centers prepare for the influx of patients. This efficient coordination meant that all injured victims were cleared from the casualty collection point at the San Bernardino golf course very quickly. It is also significant that EMS personnel themselves avoided injury. As Captain Whitaker noted to Crews and Heightman, “If anyone involved in patient care had ended up at the hospital, we would have felt that we screwed up. Since our engines retained their full complement of personnel after the incident and were able to go back into service when we were done, we did well.”

Despite the success of the emergency medical response, many first responders felt both unprepared and underequipped. For example, the probation officers who first arrived on the scene felt they were not adequately trained or equipped to provide emergency medical care to the IRC shooting victims or wounded colleagues. The Police Foundation report notes that one probation officer remarked that he “geared up and tried to give first aid, but our first aid kits were insufficient to treat the wounds.” Moreover, the MCI training received by EMS and fire personnel did not simulate the transition from an active shooter situation to an MCI. The training did include victim rescue, but did not go into enough detail about the necessary role tactical rapid response and victim rescue teams would play.

As a result of the lessons learned from San Bernardino attack, public safety agencies have already begun developing new protocols for active shooter situations. As suggested by the Presidential Task Force on 21st Century Policing, “every law enforcement officer should be provided with tactical first aid kits and training”. The various San Bernardino departments, including the Probation department, have implemented training and equipment programs to deal with future MCIs. Similarly, learning from the suspicious package situation that arose, EMS teams now set up triage areas in what are called “warm zones,” areas that are not so close to the “hot” active shooting, but not as far away as the “cold zones” like the golf course. This change in tactics will enable EMS to provide first aid and triage more quickly, while other first responders contend with the shooting. ♦

Trauma Centers Prepare for Shooting Victims

Most of the severely injured victims were transported to Loma Linda University Medical Center or Arrowhead Regional Medical Center. Both operate designated trauma centers and were able to mobilize staff and resources quickly. Both hospitals cite prior disaster drills as invaluable to prepare their well executed responses. Loma Linda and Arrowhead both learned of the shooting on December 2, 2015, by phone calls directly from officers at the IRC, several minutes ahead of the official ReadyNet notification. What follows is a brief outline of how each hospital prepared upon receiving notice of the IRC attack.

Loma Linda University Medical Center and Children's Hospital

- The charge nurse and nursing administration began the emergency response, activating the disaster plan. The hospital established an incident command center in the nursing administration office, away from the emergency department.
- The emergency department was full at the time of the attack and all admitted patients were moved, in compliance with the disaster plan. The hospital relocated remaining patients away from six adult resuscitation rooms and cleared and readied an additional five beds in the pediatric emergency department. People in the waiting room were moved to other areas.
- The emergency department attending physician contacted the trauma surgeon on call. The trauma medical director placed additional trauma surgeons on call and contacted the operating room manager to clear the operating rooms for victims. They were able to make five operating rooms available immediately, with others freeing up shortly. The operating rooms were kept on standby for about four hours.
- Within 20 minutes, the hospital set up a triage tent, with basic supplies, outside of the emergency department. Patients already in the waiting room were moved to available emergency department beds out of the resuscitation area, and to an Express Care associated with the emergency department, and later into the triage tent.
- At the time of the activation, the emergency department was staffed with two adult and one pediatric attending physicians. Four additional attendings arrived quickly. Because an emergency medicine conference was in progress on campus, they were soon joined by many others. Before the first patient arrived, 26 emergency medicine residents, three pediatric emergency medicine fellows, seven attending emergency medicine physicians, and five pediatric emergency medicine attendings arrived in the emergency department.
- The chief of trauma surgery, along with three additional attending surgeons, five trauma residents, and a trauma nurse practitioner came to the emergency department. They were joined by three additional attending surgeons.
- Many nurses reported to the emergency department, in addition to those summoned as part of the disaster response. There were approximately 50 nurses and techs available.

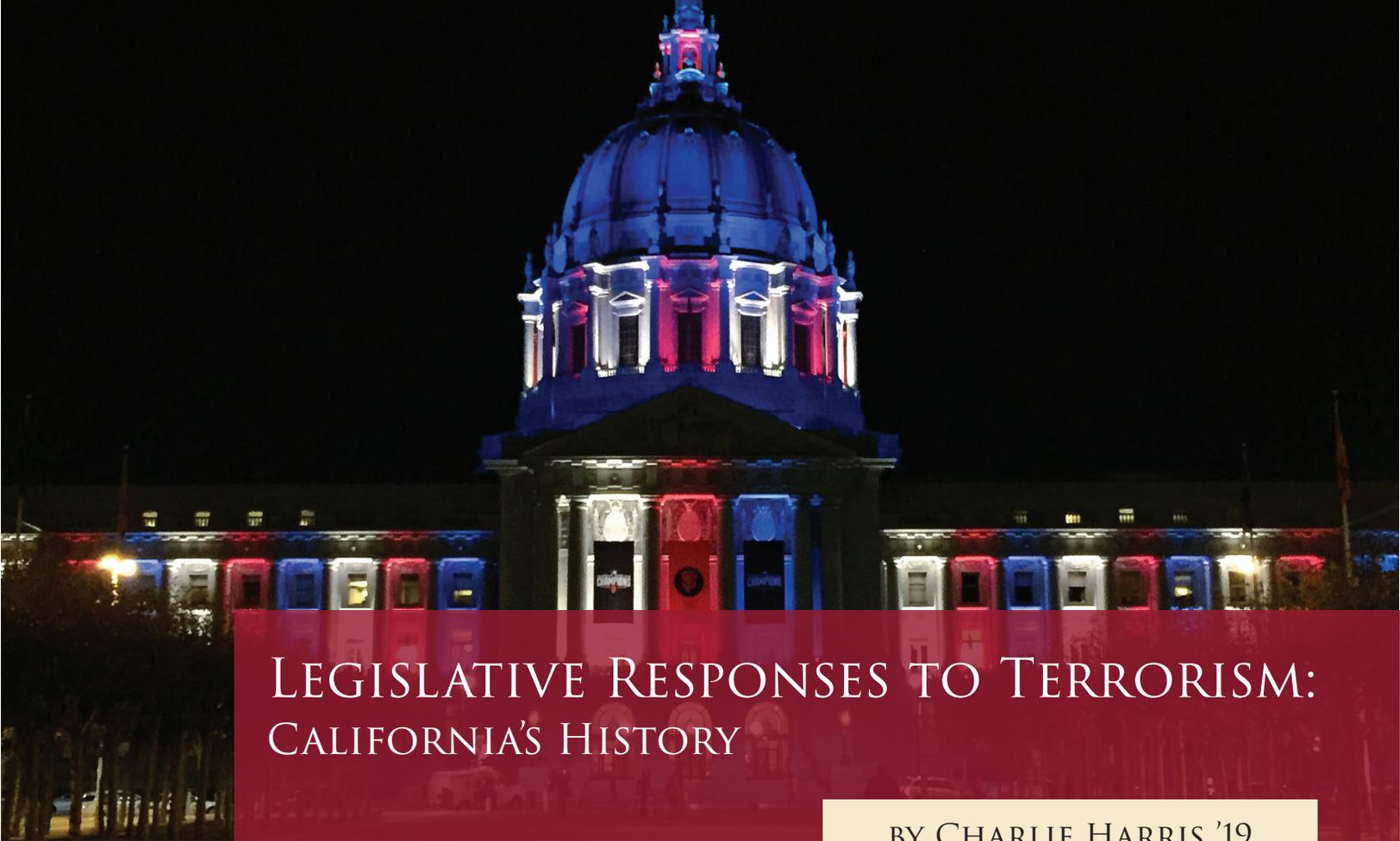
Arrowhead Regional Medical Center

- Three emergency department attending physicians were on duty, one of whom is also trained as a tactical medicine SWAT team member. Because the hospital was able to mobilize additional physicians and residents who were already on campus, he decided to respond to the scene of the shooting with the SWAT team.

- The hospital immediately fully staffed its eight trauma beds. Each bed had anesthesia, emergency medicine, and trauma surgery personnel. In addition they converted four medical beds into lower acuity trauma beds, for a total of 12 available trauma beds.
- Three trauma nurses were present and three additional responded to the call for extra help. The charge nurse also sent five emergency department nurses into the trauma resuscitation area. An emergency department tech was also assigned to each bed.
- There were five emergency attending physicians, 20 emergency residents, and several physician assistants in the emergency department.
- Four attending trauma surgeons and eight general surgery residents also responded. Overall, the hospital was able to assign at least one attending (either trauma surgeon or emergency medicine attending) and two residents to each trauma bay.
- Four attending anesthesiologists were present, each assigned to two trauma bays.
- Two nurses were assigned to each trauma bay, preferably using the combination of one trauma nurse paired with an emergency department nurse. Each trauma team also had a respiratory tech.
- The hospital placed eight operating rooms on standby, placing all elective non-emergent surgeries on hold.
- Internal medicine service and pediatric service quickly admitted several pending patients to free up as many emergency department beds as possible. All patients already in the waiting room or in emergency department rooms were seen and evaluated by a separate emergency department crew. The hospital did not use an outside tent because they were able to clear a large number of emergency beds quickly.
- Many off-duty emergency department staff offered to report and many of them did come. In total, more than 70 additional staff from various services came to the emergency department.
- The hospital went on lockdown when it received reports that the shooters might have been San Bernardino County employees. SWAT members took posts outside the hospital, with snipers on the rooftops. Armed police officers took posts inside the hospital.

The medical teams at Loma Linda University Medical Center and Arrowhead Regional Medical Center both identified areas in which they could improve. These include communication with onsite command and first responders, crowd control, having an established location for family assistance, and additional identification tags to identify fully gowned and masked personnel. Both teams emphasized the importance of disaster training to their successful response that day. The Loma Linda team notes, “With a disaster drill recently conducted in our hospital, the initial set up of the [emergency department] with equipment, communications, triage, and security occurred seamlessly.” Similarly, the Arrowhead Regional team concluded, “[O]ur response was well-organized, well-run, and well-staffed. We were incredibly proud of the teamwork that was displayed and amazed by everyone’s willingness to step up and help out in such a challenging situation.”

Source: Lee, et. al., *The San Bernardino, California, Terror Attack: Two Emergency Departments’ Response*, Western Journal of Emergency Medicine.



LEGISLATIVE RESPONSES TO TERRORISM: CALIFORNIA'S HISTORY

BY CHARLIE HARRIS '19

Photo Credit: GPS | Flickr

The 2015 San Bernardino terrorist attack thrust terrorism into Californian's public consciousness. There is, however, a history of politically-motivated violence in the state spanning union-sponsored violence in the early 1900s to the radical jihadists and other groups who perpetrate attacks today. In response to many of these attacks the California legislature has enacted legislation aimed at protecting Californians.

Most instances of terrorism in the early years of California history were attacks by the militant wing of the organized labor movement against their big business targets. From the early 1900s through World War I and World War II there was a strain of violent radicalism that was a part of the struggle between the unions and their bosses. The most famous expression of this violent strain was the 1910 bombing of the Los Angeles Times building in Los Angeles. The explosion destroyed the building, killing 20 people and injuring many more. The paper's editor, Harrison Gray Otis, was a fierce critic of organized

labor, making him a target for more militant union members. Local union leaders adamantly denied any involvement in the bombing and condemned the attack. They also proclaimed the innocence of James McNamara and John McNamara when the two were arrested one year later. The McNamara brothers were members of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Labor unions rallied behind the McNamaras and even hired Clarence Darrow to defend them. At trial, however, James McNamara pled guilty to the crime of murder and John McNamara pled guilty to being an accessory to the bombing of the Llewellyn Iron Works a few months after the Los Angeles Times bombing.

In the decade following the Los Angeles Times bombing, hostility toward union violence continued to grow in California and nationwide. The California legislature moved to take up comprehensive legislation criminalizing the union sponsored violence after a particular incident in December of 1917. An bomb exploded on the back porch of the

Governor's mansion was attributed to the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW or "Wobblies"), a radical labor organization known for its sometimes violent acts. In early 1919 the California legislature took up a bill aimed at the Wobblies and other radical labor organizations. The California Criminal Syndicalism Act outlawed criminal syndicalism, defined as "the doctrine and activities involving the use of violence as a means of social change." Union leaders warned that this law could have the practical consequence of criminalizing legitimate union activity such as strikes and boycotts. Despite the efforts of legitimate labor organizations to oppose the law, it passed 33-0 in the Senate and 59-9 in the Assembly and was signed by Governor Stephens on April 30, 1919.



The Los Angeles Times building, post-bombing in 1910.

Source: *California Historical Society* | *Wikimedia Commons*

The political climate created by the trial of the Wobblies' members for the Sacramento bombing, and the lingering suspicions about organized labor for the role of union members in the Los Angeles Times bombing and other attacks, hurt their chances of mounting an effective opposition campaign. The Criminal Syndicalism Act ended up being a significant piece of legislation in line with a nationwide trend of legislating against radical leftism. The trend emerged in response to the red scare that followed the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and specific instances of terrorism that came from radical left wing groups sympathetic to the Bolshevik ideal.

The Criminal Syndicalism Act was the subject of a challenge in *Whitney v. California*. The United States Supreme Court upheld the law as constitutional in 1927. The case centered on the plaintiff's challenge of her conviction for being a member of the Communist Labor Party of California. Her participation in the party was enough for a conviction under the Criminal Syndicalism Act even though she never participated in any violence in pursuit of political change. The Court held that this conviction was constitutional, as criminal

syndicalism makes it a crime to even be a member of an organization which has advocated violence for political or economic change. This case is also notable for a concurrence from Justice Brandeis in which he extolled the virtues of free speech and famously said that the solution to unpopular speech is more free speech rather than “enforced silence.” Justice Brandeis wanted to ensure that his vote to uphold the syndicalism conviction was not used to suppress healthy criticism of the government. His concurrence made it clear that free speech was an integral part of the democratic process, just not when it was advocating for violence.

“If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence.”

*- Justice Brandeis, Whitney v. California
(concurring opinion)*

The Supreme Court overturned *Whitney v. California* more than 40 years later in the 1969 case *Brandenburg v. Ohio*. *Brandenburg* held a criminal syndicalism law in Ohio to be unconstitutional on the grounds that it failed to distinguish between general advocacy for a cause and specific incitement of imminent lawless action.

As the stability of the 1950s gave way to the tumultuous cultural conflicts of the next few decades, radical terrorist groups on the left and right threatened the peace in California in the 1960s and 70s. Groups like the Black Panthers and the Weather Underground undertook direct terrorist actions to advance their political agendas. After each instance of terrorism, legislators in Sacramento proposed bills that would help keep their constituents safe.

The Black Panther Party rose to national prominence due to its militant brand of opposition to

policing in black communities. The party began in late 1966 as a local movement opposed to the police departments of the East Bay cities of northern California. The Black Panthers would patrol their own communities armed with openly-carried loaded guns, and would resist government efforts to stymie their behavior. In early 1967 a Republican East Bay legislator, Don Mulford, introduced AB 1591 which would criminalize the open carry of firearms in public places. The bill was directly intended to curb Black Panther patrols in the communities that Mulford represented. Huey Newton, the leader of the Black Panthers, saw this challenge to the Panther’s right to bear arms as a potentially huge publicity coup. On May 2, 1967, as the California Assembly debated the Mulford Act, Newton and 30 fellow Black Panthers descended on the capitol in full regalia, complete with loaded weapons. They marched into the capitol and six of the Panthers forcibly entered the Assembly chambers while the members were debating AB 1591. It was a striking scene as some legislators dove for cover and others stood paralyzed by fear. There was, however, nothing illegal about the Panther’s actions that day. The only thing the sergeants-at-arms could do was escort the intruders out of the chamber.

The California legislature responded by amending the Mulford Act specifically to prohibit carrying loaded firearms inside the state capitol or other state government facilities, in addition to the broader prohibition on open carrying of guns. The Mulford Act passed and was enacted with a companion urgency statute so it could go into immediate effect. In much the same way as the bombing of the governor’s mansion porch strengthened support for the Syndicalism Act, the violation of the state capitol fueled significant political will to pass a stringent anti-terrorism statute. The Mulford Act is also notable for being gun control sponsored and promoted by a Republican legislator and then signed into law by Governor Ronald Reagan.

The 1960s also saw the rise of radical left wing groups with various agendas related to race relations and opposition to the Vietnam War. Many of the groups were peaceful, but some took a more

militant approach to effecting political change. The Weathermen (later the known as the Weather Underground) stood out for its terrorist tactics and willingness to use violence in pursuit of their agenda. The Weathermen were founded in 1969 by University of Chicago students. They began their militant campaign with a “declaration of war” against the American government. After their name change, the Weather Underground undertook a national campaign of bombings, many of which occurred in California. While they were ostensibly committed to not killing anyone with their bombings, in early 1970 the Underground was linked to the murder of a San Francisco policeman via a jerry-rigged nail bomb planted at a police substation near Golden Gate Park. In other attacks Underground members bombed the army base at the Presidio and a Marin County courthouse.

These attacks compelled California legislators to respond. A 1970 report of the Assembly committee on criminal procedure lists a package of legislation that seriously increased the penalties for making, possessing, or using destructive devices. Assembly Bill 970 (Crown), AB 1003 (Biddle), and SB 1350 (Beilenson) all dealt with updating statutes related to bombings. Chapter 1425 of the Statutes of 1970, concludes with this statement, “Bombings of public and private buildings have recently taken place at an increased rate, and in order to provide greater security and control over explosives which might wrongfully become available to persons intent on using such explosives for illegal purposes and to deter such illegal bombings, it is necessary that this act go into effect immediately.” The terrorist activities of the Weather Underground and other radical organizations were the clear target of this spate of



President Gerald Ford immediately after the assassination attempt by Lynne “Squeaky” Fromme in Sacramento

Source: Ricardo Thomas | Wikimerdia Commons

legislation. The committee report also included further legislation which increased the sentences for criminals convicted of assault with a deadly weapon on a peace officer. SB 84 (Nejedly) raised the sentence from 15 years to life for such a crime, perhaps in response to increased attacks against police officers like the Park Station bombing.

In 1975 there were two attempts on President Gerald Ford's life in California. Both attempts were perpetrated by women who used pistols to try and kill the President during his public appearances. The first attempt by Lynne "Squeaky" Fromme in Sacramento failed when she did not cock the revolver before firing, and the second attempt in San Francisco by Sara Jane Moore was stopped by a former marine who tackled her after she missed her first shot. Both Fromme and Moore were involved in some manner with revolutionary politics. Fromme was a member of the Manson Cult and Moore had an obsession with Patty Hearst and the Symbionese Liberation Army. After both of these attacks Governor Jerry Brown signed two pieces of legislation. The first imposed mandatory minimum sentences on criminals convicted of a specific set of gun-related crimes and the second instituted a 15-day waiting period between the purchase of a gun and its delivery. Brown was trying to crack down on crime and set the expectation that individuals who committed gun crimes would be punished. Moore had purchased her gun the day of her assassination attempt, so the waiting period was intended to stop such crimes of passionate momentary rage.

California's thriving agricultural sector has also been targeted by terrorist attacks. In 1989, a group calling itself "The Breeders" took responsibility for deliberately spreading the invasive Mediterranean fruit fly across Southern California. The state government had been aerial spraying the chemical Malathion to try to eradicate the infestation of medflies. However, eco-terrorists were opposed to spraying Malathion over large swaths of Southern California because they thought it was harmful for the environment and humans. The Breeders threatened to continue introducing more medflies

into areas just beyond the spray zones until the Malathion campaign was called off. The identity of the breeders remains a mystery and they were never caught. The government did stop the Malathion spraying. Senator Rueben Ayala introduced legislation in response to the medfly issue. His SB 1754 made it a felony to import Mediterranean fruit flies into California. The act was passed with an urgency statute and went into effect in June of 1990, presumably so The Breeders could be charged under the more stringent law. The Breeders are a good example of the kind of danger that California's agricultural sector faces from agro-terrorism.

A determined foe could use chemical or biological weapons to contaminate the vast farm land of the San Joaquin Valley.

The modern era of terrorist violence has seen more diffuse organizations attack vulnerable civilian and government targets. California legislators have played a small but significant role in keeping their constituents safe by legislating on an eclectic mix of topics in response to the terrorism of the present day and age.

After a spate of anthrax attacks in Southern California during the late 1990s local law enforcement officials clamored for a bill to give state authorities the jurisdiction to investigate these terrorist incidents. In 1999 then Assembly member Robert Hertzberg introduced AB 140, the Hertzberg-Alarcon California Prevention of Terrorism Act. Committee analyses for the legislation indicate that it was intended to give state authorities concurrent jurisdiction for terrorism-related crimes, which were previously criminalized only by federal statute. Specifically, the bill provided penalties for the possession or usage of a weapon of mass destruction and making terrorist threats. The legislation was also intended to increase penalties

for agro-terrorism, which meant classifying chemical and biological weapons as WMDs. AB 140 ended up looking especially prescient in light of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 which showed the need for comprehensive responses to terrorist acts.

In the months following the 9/11 attacks, California legislators introduced a suite of bills aimed at combatting terrorism. SB 910 from Senator Jack Scott made it illegal to bring box cutters or parts of weapons that could later be assembled onto a plane. SB 1257 from Senator Kevin Murray tightened regulations on the transportation of hazardous materials that would be of potential use for terrorists. AB 1838, by then Speaker of the Assembly Robert Hertzberg, expanded the definition of weapons of mass destruction to include vehicles and airplanes. Finally, AB 74 by Assembly member Carl Washington added WMD related crimes to the list of wiretap eligible offenses and made it easier to amend existing wiretaps to include new phone numbers. Though the legislative response was limited in scope, California legislators took what actions they could on the state level to act in the face of the national tragedy.

More recently, the California legislature has had to respond to the San Bernardino terrorist attack in 2015. Much like the post-9/11 response,

the nature of the legislation corresponded to the particular details of the attack. The radical jihadist couple who carried out the attack used high power rifles to massacre government workers at the Inland Regional Center. The legislature tried to crack down on the types of weapons used in the attack. SB 880 from Senator Isadore Hall expanded the definition of assault weapon to include guns with so-called “Bullet Buttons,” a mechanism gun manufacturers had been using to get around existing California law banning rifles with detachable magazines. The bullet button allows a rifle’s magazine to be detached using a specific tool. SB 880 added rifles with any sort of detachable magazine, even those protected by a bullet button, to the assault weapon classification. Current owners of guns classified as assault weapons are not required to give up their firearm, but they must register their firearm with the state and are seriously restricted in how they can use it. SB 1235 from Senate President pro Tempore Kevin De León creates a statewide database of ammunition purchases and requires IDs and a background check before purchasing ammo. Finally, SB 1446 by Senator Loni Hancock prohibits the possession of high capacity, 10 or more, bullet magazines. These measures are another chapter in the California legislature’s long tradition of acting in response to terrorist attacks. ◆

The author would like to thank the librarians at Honnold Mudd Library and the California State Library for their help researching this article.



Photo Credit: Jena Mace '19

EDITORIAL BOARD

ANDREW E. BUSCH, PHD
DIRECTOR, ROSE INSTITUTE
MARC D. WEIDENMIER, PHD
DIRECTOR, LOWE INSTITUTE
MANFRED W. KEIL, PHD
KENNETH P. MILLER, JD, PHD
BIPASA NADON, JD
MARIONETTE MOORE

STUDENT STAFF

LINDSAY BURTON '19
CHARLIE HARRIS '19
BRYN MILLER '19
MELISSA MULLER '18
JOSEPH NOSS '20
NICHOLAS SAGE '20



THE INLAND EMPIRE CENTER

The Inland Empire Center for Economics and Public Policy is based at Claremont McKenna College. It was founded as a joint venture between the Rose Institute of State and Local Government and the Lowe Institute of Political Economy to provide business and government leaders with timely and sophisticated analysis of political and economic developments in the Inland Empire.

The IEC brings together experts from both founding institutes. Andrew Busch, Ph.D., director of the Rose Institute, has authored or co-authored 13 books on American politics and currently teaches courses on American government and politics. Marc Weidenmier, Ph.D., director of the Lowe Institute, is a Research Associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research and a member of the Editorial Board of the Journal of Economic History. Manfred Keil, Ph.D., an expert in comparative economics, has extensive knowledge of economic conditions in the Inland Empire. Kenneth P. Miller, J.D., Ph.D., is an expert in California politics and policy who studies political developments in the Inland Empire. Bipasa Nadon, J.D., has worked in municipal government and specializes in local government policy.

To receive issues of the IEO electronically and news from the IEC, please e-mail us at contact@inlandempireoutlook.org