

NLWJC - Kagan

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Militias [5]



TESTIMONY OF
KENNETH S. STERN
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Before
**America Under the Gun:
The Militia Movement and Hate Groups in
America**

July, 11, 1995

Written Remarks

My name is Kenneth Stern, and I am the American Jewish Committee's program specialist on anti-Semitism and extremism. The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is America's pioneer human relations agency. It fights anti-Semitism and bigotry, promotes pluralism and intergroup relations, and seeks to protect America's democratic tradition.

In addition to being the American Jewish Committee's expert on extremism, I am also writing a book to be published early next year by Simon and Schuster entitled A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate.

On April 10, 1995, nine days before the Oklahoma City bombing, AJC released my report entitled "Militias: A Growing Danger," with a supporting 600-page appendix of media clips, Internet postings, and militia literature. It began:

We issue this report . . . with a sense of urgency. [This movement] is quickly spreading and has all the ingredients to lead to disaster: an ideological caldron of disaffection, hate, conspiracy and violence brewing a fast-growing grass-roots movement with documented ties to hate groups. Some

people connected with this movement advocate killing government officials. They may attempt such an act.

Documenting specific threats against government employees, the report continued:

The first person murdered by a militia member may be a county clerk, a postal worker, a deputy sheriff, a tax collector, an FBI agent or US Marshal, a firefighter, a forest service employee, a FEMA worker, an elected representative -- in fact any representative of government or anyone perceived as opposing the militia and, therefore, seen as doing "the work of government."

And it concluded:

On the grass-roots level across the country, the militia movement is harassing its opponents, threatening law enforcement officials, stockpiling weapons, and spreading paranoid rumors on the Internet. It is time that state and federal officials understand not only the danger of this movement, but also from a more parochial vantage point, that government employees around the country are going about their tasks while there are people planning just when to target them in their cross-hairs.

A covering memo accompanying the report warned of possible militia activity on April 19, 1995, the second anniversary of the fiery end of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, which it termed the key ideological event for these groups.

As the horrifying events of April 19, 1995 unfolded, I had the

disquieting feeling that my fears of the militia movement were being fulfilled. -AJC issued a press release citing the possible militia connection. Then I faxed a note with a few pages of the 600 page appendix -- documenting militia members with military expertise in the Oklahoma area -- to Attorney General Janet Reno. Over the next two days, as experts were talking about Middle East and other possible scenarios, I wondered why what was so clear to me was escaping others. First, for any other group to be responsible for a terrorist act on the anniversary of Waco -- April 19 -- would have to be a one-in-three-hundred-and-sixty-five chance. Second, this was a different type of bombing. The World Trade Center and the other targets for foreign groups fell into two categories -- they were either great symbols (the World Trade Center, the United Nations), or things that would remind Americans for a long time that they were vulnerable (imagine commuting from New Jersey to New York without the Hudson River tunnels or the George Washington Bridge). The Oklahoma City bomb, in contrast, destroyed a government building, a specific target that fit the anti-government ideology of the militia groups.

Finally, some commentators pointed to the bombing of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon, or of the Jewish Community Center in Argentina, claiming that car bombs were trademarks of Middle Eastern terrorism. I recalled an American book called The Turner Diaries, written in 1978, years before either of those foreign events. The Turner Diaries, a key piece of fiction for white supremacists and neo-Nazis, was the blueprint for the 1980s American terrorist group

The Order, which robbed banks and killed talk show host Alan Berg. On page 38 members of the fictional "Order" inflict "immense damage" to a federal building. The explosive? A "mix [of] heating oil with . . . ammonium nitrate fertilizer." (I also remembered that on April 19, 1995 Richard Snell, a real member of the Order, was scheduled to be, and was, executed, for two racially-motivated murders.)

As the Washington Post and the New York Times have reported, it turns out that suspect Timothy McVeigh had also read the Turner Diaries. In fact, he reportedly kept it with him while serving in the army. I wonder if page 38 was dogeared. And as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith has reported, McVeigh's connections to right-wing hate groups are not new: He had even published an ad, under a pseudonym, for military-style launchers in the August 16, 1993, edition of Spotlight, the newspaper of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby.

I've been asked to speak today about white supremacy in the militia movement. That, really, is a large enough question to be the subject of a book. I don't propose today to go group by group and label certain groups racist and others not. What I will address is the impact of racial hatred on the movement as a whole.

Racism and/or anti-Semitism is not the main organizing

principle of the militias. People are not joining what are, in essence, private armies in order to "do something" about blacks or Jews or other minorities. The various militias -- despite the differences between groups -- target government, and draw people into their ranks through "mainstream" issues such as gun control, environmental concerns, and, to a lesser extent, abortion. And although this movement is predominately white, you will find an occasional black or Jew who feels comfortable among its ranks.

That being said, white supremacy does have a major role in this movement, in at least four ways.

First, key leaders of some of the groups have white supremacist roots and anti-Semitic pedigrees. The most significant of these is John Trochmann, one of the founders of the Militia of Montana, affectionately known as "MOM." Even before Trochmann founded MOM, people in Noxon, Montana, knew his racist views. Mona Vanek, a writer from Noxon, used to square-dance with Trochmann. She wrote that Trochmann claimed "that only Caucasians who could blush were acceptable in the eyes of God." She wrote that "[d]erisive laughter met his idea that women should give up their right to vote or to own property."

Trochmann also had Bible study sessions with longtime Christian Identity adherents -- people who believe that white Aryans are the "true Jews," that Jews are the offspring of Satan, and that minorities are of a different species, sometimes called "mud people."

On January 26, 1992, Trochmann declared his "sovereignty" as

a "free white Christian man" who believed in the "organic Constitution of the United States." "I am not now, nor have I ever been," he affirmed, "a citizen of the United States or a resident of its subordinate territories, or a property appertaining thereto, in either a legal or factual sense." His proclamation, in affidavit form, was filed in the Sanders County Courthouse. Such declarations seem bizarre, but are an outgrowth of white supremacist ideology. The basic idea is that the country was founded for and by white Christians, and that there are two types of Americans -- those who received their rights under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and those, such as blacks, who received rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. The former, the theory goes, have no obligations to pay taxes, and owe no allegiance to the federal government, whereas "Fourteenth Amendment" citizens do.

Trochmann also had a lengthy relationship with the Aryan Nations. He spoke at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1990. His wife Carolyn told Esquire that they met Randy Weaver and his wife Vicki at an Aryan Nations "family day." Asked about his association with the Aryan Nations, Trochmann told the Missoulian in April 1995, that he had gone there only twice. In May 1995, Trochmann admitted to reporter Lawrence Kohler of New York Jewish Week, "I went to the Aryan Nations compound four or five times. Once it was for a bagpipe festival. I love bagpipes." His attempts to distance himself from the Aryan Nations brought an unusual response -- a press release denouncing Trochmann as an "anti-Christ" from Richard Butler, head of the Aryan Nations. "It's time to reply," Butler

explained to a reporter. "[Trochmann] came over here quite often. He made six or seven trips for Bible study. . . . Why lie about the number of times here?" Butler's statement asked rhetorically. "John, you even helped us write out a set of rules for our code of conduct on church property." The statement also alleged that Trochmann had taken skinheads into his "place and then whine[d] about their conduct."

Floyd Cochrane, a former Aryan Nations member, wrote an Opinion column in Montana's Ravalli Republic:

John Trochmann can deny it all he wants but the fact is, he has had a long-standing relationship with the Aryan Nations and its followers. I know because I was there. . . . I had the opportunity to meet with the Trochmann family and deal with them both on a personal and professional level, sharing with the Trochmanns the same beliefs of white supremacy and the role of government based on the racist faith of Christian Identity. . . . John spoke at length on the merits of using the Bible and God, not the swastika and Hitler, to advance his brand of racism, bigotry, and Christian Identity. . . . The Trochmanns join their fellow Christian Identity believers in believing that the Jewish people have seized control of the government. . . . From teaching skinheads the Christian Identity values at their home in the summer of 1990 or holding "church service" at the Aryan compound . . . the Trochmanns are respected leaders in the organized racist movement in Montana and Idaho.

Trochmann, it should be recalled, also set up a support group for white supremacist Randy Weaver. The effort to arrest Weaver on firearms charges in August 1992 resulted in the death of a US marshal, and of Weaver's wife and son, and became -- along with Waco and the Brady Bill -- one of three cornerstones of the anti-government ideology of the militia movement.

Trochmann's Militia of Montana, it should be noted, has had influence on the militia movement far beyond the borders of that state. Through advertising, postings on the Internet, speaking tours, television appearances, and catalogue sales, the Montana group -- which was the first truly active militia group -- has had a national impact.

After the Randy Weaver siege, Christian Identity religion leader Pete Peters called a meeting of more than 150 leaders of the far-right from around the country in October, 1992. The report issued after the three-day meeting predictably accused the government of genocide against the Weaver family. But more significant was the convergence of what Peters termed "[m]en . . . who in the past would normally not be caught together under the same roof." These included Richard Butler, founder of the Aryan Nations, Aryan Nations leader Louis Beam, Montana anti-Semite Red Beckman, Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America, Charles A. Wiesman, publisher of racist books and author of "America: Free, White and

Christian," and Montana "activist" Chris Temple. Temple had been an organizer for Bo Gritz's presidential campaign, and also wrote for the Jubilee, a racist, anti-Semitic publication of the Christian Identity Movement. Temple, along with Trochmann, was also a member of the Weaver support group known as United Citizens for Justice.

What emerged from this meeting was a "Battle Plan for Future Conflicts," says the Portland-based Coalition for Human Dignity. Larry Pratt, for example, reportedly downplayed the lobbying efforts of the NRA, and suggested instead a "national struggle for survival" with "armed militia units."

The "Special Report" issued following the meeting also reprinted the entire text of an article by Louis Beam entitled "Leaderless Resistance." Leaderless resistance meant what both the Communist Party and the Nazis used to call "cell structure" -- a legal, above-ground political group (protected in the US by First Amendment rights) and an underground to carry out the illegal activities with minimum risk of exposing the entire organization to prosecution. Beam used the term "Phantom Cell" to describe his idea. "[A]ll individuals and groups," he wrote, "operate independently of each other, and never report to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction participants in a program of Leaderless Resistance through Phantom Cell or individual action must know exactly what they are doing, AND EXACTLY HOW TO DO IT." The purpose of "Leaderless Resistance," wrote Beam, "is to defeat state tyranny. . . . Like the fog which forms when conditions are right and disappears when they are not,

so must the resistance to tyranny be."

Some observers suggest that this meeting launched two important, and interrelated, initiatives. One was the revitalization of the type of paramilitary organizations the far-right had spawned in the 1980s, such as The Order. The other was to use these groups to promote "Leaderless Resistance."

A third white supremacist influence on the militia movement is information and literature. Even though many militia groups are run by people with no white supremacist history, their meetings are a magnet for literature from anti-Semitic and racist groups such as the Lyndon LaRouche organization, the Liberty Lobby, the Populist Party, and others. Also, shortwave radio broadcasts, the Internet, and other means of communication that form the communication culture of the militia groups, spout bigotry and anti-Semitism. It is highly unlikely for any militia member to be active in the militia for any appreciable time without having contact with racist or anti-Semitic propaganda.

The fourth aspect of white supremacist influence, is, I believe, the most important: the anti-government conspiracy theories that fuel this movement are rewrites of anti-Semitic

theories, but with government replacing "Jews."

The basic premise of the militia movement is that government has been "taken over" by unseen forces, pulling the strings. Labels like Republican and Democrat don't matter -- some even refer to House Speaker Gingrich as "Newt World Order Gingrich." The idea is that American sovereignty has been compromised by forces that want to pull the US into the "New World Order" or "One World Government," and that the federal government serves those forces, as opposed to the American people. They believe that gun control is to disarm Americans, so they cannot resist; that international trade agreements are part of the plan to sign away sovereignty, that UN and/or foreign troops are on US soil, poised to take over America on behalf of these forces, put people in concentration camps, etc.

The idea that there is an "unseen hand" behind the scenes, directing human events is the premise of the anti-Semitic forgery, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Instead of saying, as white supremacists do, that the federal government is "Zionist Occupied Territory," most militia folk are happy to leave the "who is behind the curtain" part out of their public statements. It is enough that they get people to believe that government is unreformable through elections, petition, redress, legislation; to believe that their only "hope" against this "unseen hand" is to arm themselves and form private armies.

Historically, these types of conspiracy theories have been very unhealthy for Jews, other minorities, and for democracy. It is

a climate in which bigotry can thrive. In fact, it does, because the militia movement is stereotyping and dehumanizing government and government employees in the same manner as white supremacists stereotype and dehumanize religious and racial groups.

As I wrote in the American Jewish Committee's April 1995 report, Congress should have a parochial interest in the militias. If thousands of Americans across the country were joining private armies, stockpiling weapons, and spinning delusional conspiracy theories for the purpose of warring against any group of American citizens, one would hope that the federal government would have an interest in the problem. But that is exactly what is happening -- and the number one target is you, and the thousands of other dedicated public servants across America.

In conclusion, on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, I want to thank Congressman Schumer, his staff, and his colleagues here today, for holding this hearing. We think it urgent that House Speaker Gingrich hold full hearings on the growing militia movement -- and yes, it is growing, even after April 19. We think it urgent that federal employees are given support and protection in doing their jobs, rather than having to worry that few are concerned that they and their families are in danger. We think it urgent that state and local office holders, and the public at large, see that our national elected representatives do not ignore the thuggish

attitude of many militia groups that make people fear to run for office, speak their opinions, show up to public meetings, or send letters to the editor.

And, finally, we think it urgent that Congress consider and pass legislation that outlaws these private armies. In our view people have the right to own whatever firearms the law allows, and they have the right to say whatever they will about government. But there is no constitutionally protected right to form private armies for the purpose of opposing government. We are aware that many states have laws that address this problem, but for a variety of reasons few have been enforced. This is an urgent federal problem and there must be a corresponding federal response, with jurisdiction for prosecution of those who would make civil war in America.

Thank you.

D R A F T

A Federal law to bar
unauthorized military or paramilitary organizations

A. No body of men and/or women, other than the regularly organized military forces of a state or of the United States, shall associate themselves together as a military or paramilitary company or organization, or conduct training as a military or paramilitary company or organization in the use, application or construction of any firearm, explosive, or incendiary device, capable of causing injury or death to persons, or parade in public with firearms in any village, city or town; provided that students in educational institutions where military science is a prescribed part of the course of instruction, and veterans honorably discharged from the military forces of the United States may, with the consent of a state, drill and parade with firearms in public. Nothing herein shall be construed to prevent parades by the active militia of any state.

B. Any person or persons violating this section shall be fined not more than ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

For purposes of this section:

- (1) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.
- (2) The term "explosive, or incendiary device" means (A) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, (B) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile or similar device, including any device which (i) consists of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a wick composed of

any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (ii) can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.

(3) The term "military company or organization" means an organized group of persons who are trained and armed for the purpose of engaging in combat, warfare or sabotage.

(4) The term "paramilitary company or organization" means an organized group of persons, resembling or akin to a military organization, formed on a military pattern as an auxiliary or diversionary group, and trained and armed for the purpose of engaging in combat, warfare or sabotage.

Prepared by Samuel Rabinove, Legal Director, American Jewish Committee

January 3, 1986

**Memorandum in Support of Proposed Federal Legislation to
Bar Unauthorized Military or Paramilitary Organizations**

Submitted by Andrea Klausner, Esq.

I. Introduction

The militia movement represents a new manifestation of hate-group activity and domestic terrorism in the United States. The threat of militia violence and the encouragement of lawlessness and intimidation by these paramilitary groups underscore the pressing need for more effective regulation of militia groups.

While a number of states have passed anti-paramilitary training statutes, many have not. Furthermore, the militia activities have become too widespread to be considered a localized problem. The threats to government officials, the existence of militias collaborating around the country, the use of interstate channels (the mail, phone lines for the Internet and faxes, and radio airwaves) for communicating and organizing, all mandate that the problem be addressed on a national level.

The Civil Obedience Act of 1968, 18 U.S.C. §231 *et seq.*, criminalizes certain activities related to the furtherance of civil disorders.¹ (For example, the statute provides for the prosecution of paramilitary training camp instructors). This statute, while it has been upheld as constitutional,² is too limited in scope to be truly effective in combatting militia violence and intimidation.] *see notes*

The federal statute proposed herein attempts to address the gaps in law enforcement left by current federal and state anti-militia legislation. This memorandum will attempt to anticipate and address constitutional objections that may be raised to challenge this proposed statute.

II. The Proposed Statute:

A Federal Law to Bar Unauthorized Military or Paramilitary Organizations

A. No body of men and/or women, other than the regularly organized military forces of a state or of the United States, shall associate themselves together as a military or paramilitary company or organization, or conduct training as a military or paramilitary company or organization in the use, application or construction of any firearm, explosive, or incendiary device, capable of causing injury or death to persons, or parade in public with firearms in any village, city or town; provided that students in educational institutions where military science is a prescribed part of the course of instruction, and veterans honorably discharged from the military forces of the United States may, with the consent of a state, drill and parade with firearms in public. Nothing herein shall be construed to prevent parades by the active militia of any state.

- B. Any person or persons violating this section shall be fined not more than ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

For purposes of this section:

- (1) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.
- (2) The term "explosive," or "incendiary device" means (a) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives; (b) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile or similar device, including any device which (i) consists of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a wick composed of any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (ii) can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.
- (3) The term "military company or organization" means an organized group of persons who are trained and armed for the purpose of engaging in combat, warfare or sabotage.
- (4) The term "paramilitary company or organization" means an organized group of persons, resembling or akin to a military organization, formed on a military pattern as an auxiliary or diversionary group, and trained and armed for the purpose of engaging in combat, warfare or sabotage.

(Prepared by Samuel Rabinove, Legal Director, The American Jewish Committee, January 3, 1986.)

III. Congressional Authority: The Commerce Clause

Because the Federal Government holds only those powers delegated to it by the Constitution, any Federal statute regulating unauthorized military or paramilitary organizations must fall under one of the Congress' enumerated powers. While police powers in general are reserved to the states, the Commerce Clause of the Constitution has been interpreted broadly to give Congress the authority to regulate criminal activity having a nexus to interstate commerce.³

Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution authorizes Congress "[t]o regulate commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." This power has been construed to give Congress wide-reaching regulatory authority over three broad categories of activity.⁴ First, Congress may regulate the use

of the channels of interstate commerce which Congress deems are being misused. Second, Congress may regulate and protect the instrumentalities (persons or things) of interstate commerce, even though the threat may come only from intrastate activities. Third, Congress has the power to regulate those activities which "substantially affect" interstate commerce.⁵

Recently, however, in *United States v. Lopez*,⁶ the Supreme Court made it clear that the Commerce Clause has judicially enforceable outer limits. In that case, a challenge was brought against the 1990 Gun-free School Zones Act, which prohibited possession of a gun within 1,000 feet of a school. In a 5-4 ruling striking down the law, the Court held that Congress lacked the authority under the Commerce Clause to prohibit the mere possession of a firearm in or near a school. Justice Rehnquist, writing for the majority, noted that the law was "a criminal statute that by its terms ha[d] nothing to do with 'commerce' or any sort of economic enterprise, however broadly one might define those terms."⁷ Further, he noted, the statute lacked any jurisdictional element that would require prosecutors to prove that the possession was connected in any way to interstate commerce.⁸ In conclusion, the Court held that:

To uphold the Government's contentions here, we would have to pile inference upon inference in a manner that would bid fair to convert Congressional authority under the Commerce Clause to a general police power of the sort retained by the States. Admittedly, some of our prior cases have taken long steps down that road, giving great deference to Congressional action.... The broad language in these opinions has suggested the possibility of additional expansion, but we decline here to proceed any further. To do so would require us to conclude that the Constitution's enumeration of powers does not presuppose something not enumerated...and that there never will be a distinction between what is truly national and what is truly local.... This we are unwilling to do.⁹

While the *Lopez* case does not dispose of the proposed anti-militia legislation, it does emphasize the need for such law to demonstrate a nexus to interstate commerce. Otherwise the statute may be challenged as merely an exercise of general police powers, rather than as a valid exercise of Congressional regulatory authority. By stressing the particular factual circumstances of this case, the Court left the door open to such regulation. As Justice Rehnquist noted:

The possession of a gun in a local school zone is in no sense an economic activity that might, through repetition elsewhere, substantially affect any sort of interstate commerce. Respondent was a local student at a local school; there is no

indication that he had recently moved in interstate commerce, and there is no requirement that his possession of a firearm have any concrete tie to interstate commerce.¹⁰

In light of the close decision in *Lopez*, and the very different factual context of organized militia activity, a court could well conclude that such activities involve the channels and instrumentalities of interstate commerce, and substantially burden interstate commerce. Both Justice Kennedy and Justice Thomas, in their concurring opinions, implied that if a stronger connection or identification with commercial concerns beyond *mere* gun possession were shown, the Commerce Clause would justify such an exercise of Congressional authority.

The extensive weapons possession by militia groups for use in paramilitary training exercises and public displays is certainly a far cry from the mere individual possession of a gun for unknown purposes in a school zone. Instruction in the use of a broad range of weapons is a central part of militia training. It is likely that at least some of those weapons were purchased through interstate transactions. Furthermore, military activity involves the extensive use of the channels and instrumentalities of interstate commerce. Much militia communication and organization takes place through the Internet, through the mail, through faxes, and through radio broadcasts. Finally, by creating an atmosphere of imminent violence and intimidation, militia activity substantially burdens interstate commerce. The Supreme Court has found that racial discrimination has a direct and highly restrictive effect on commerce.¹¹ Discriminatory practices obstruct the interstate travel of potential victims of racial discrimination. Furthermore, discrimination discourages professional and skilled persons from moving into areas where such discriminatory practices occur, thereby causing industry to be reluctant to establish there. Similarly, it can be argued that the climate of intimidation and imminent danger created by militia activity in an area has the same, if not greater, direct and restrictive effect on interstate commerce. Indeed, in Justice Breyer's dissenting opinion, joined by Justices Stevens, Souter and Ginsberg, Justice Breyer argues quite forcefully and persuasively that gun-related violence in today's society has a very significant impact on the nation's economic, as well as social, well-being.¹²

IV. A Second Amendment Challenge

The proposed statute may be challenged on Second Amendment grounds. The Second Amendment states:

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

A review of recent case law indicates that the proposed statute would survive a Second Amendment challenge.

In *United States v. Miller*,¹³ the Supreme Court held that there is no absolute Second Amendment right of individuals or groups of individuals to bear arms. Rather, an individual's right to bear arms must be reasonably related to the preservation of a well-regulated militia:

In the absence of any evidence tending to show that the possession or use of a "shotgun having a barrel of less than eighteen inches in length" at this time has some reasonable relationship to the preservation or efficiency of a well-regulated militia, we cannot say that the Second Amendment guarantees the right to keep and bear such an instrument. Certainly it is not within judicial notice that this weapon is any part of the ordinary military equipment or that its use could contribute to the common defense.¹⁴

The Supreme court has not addressed a Second Amendment issue since the *Miller* decision.¹⁵ Moreover, since the *Miller* decision, no Federal court has found any individual's possession of a military weapon to be "reasonably related to a well regulated militia."¹⁶ "Technical membership' in a state militia (e.g., membership in an 'unorganized' state militia) or membership in a non-governmental military organization is not sufficient to satisfy the 'reasonable relationship test.'¹⁷ Membership in a hypothetical or "sedentary" militia is likewise insufficient.¹⁸ The Second Amendment does not imply any general constitutional right for individuals to bear arms and form private armies.¹⁹

In *United States v. Hale*,²⁰ the appellant seized upon the *Miller* test to argue that individual possession of true military weapons was protected under the Second Amendment. In that case, the appellant had been convicted on 13 counts of possession of a machine gun and 3 counts of possession of unregistered firearms. Appellant argued that those weapons were susceptible to military use and, therefore, by definition, were related to the existence of a "well-regulated militia." The Eighth Circuit rejected that argument and upheld the conviction.²¹

[I]t is not sufficient to prove that the *weapon* in question was susceptible to military use. Indeed, as recognized in *Cases*, most any lethal weapon has a potential military use....Rather, the claimant of Second Amendment protection must prove that his or her *possession* of the weapon was reasonably related to a well regulated militia....Where such a claimant presented no evidence either that he was a member of a military organization or that his use of the weapon was "in preparation for a military career," the Second Amendment did not protect the possession of the weapon....²²

In *United States v. Oakes*,²³ the appellant challenged his conviction for possession of an unregistered machine gun by arguing, *inter alia*, that he was protected by the Second Amendment right to bear arms (1) as a member of the state militia (which included "all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five years") and (2) as a member of "Posse Comitatus," a militia-type organization registered with the state of Kansas. The Tenth Circuit rejected this argument:

The purpose of the second amendment as stated by the Supreme Court in *United States v. Miller, supra* at 178, 59 S.Ct. 816, was to preserve the effectiveness and assure the continuation of the state militia. The Court stated that the amendment must be interpreted and applied with that purpose in view. *Id.* To apply the amendment so as to guarantee appellant's right to keep an unregistered firearm which has not been shown to have any connection to the militia, merely because he is technically a member of the Kansas militia, would be unjustifiable in terms of either logic or policy. This lack of justification is even more apparent when applied to appellant's membership in "Posse Comitatus," an apparently nongovernmental organization. We conclude, therefore, that this prosecution did not violate the second amendment.²⁴

Similarly, in *United States v. Warin*,²⁵ the Sixth Circuit held that the appellant's mere membership in the "sedentary militia" of the state by virtue of being an adult male resident and citizen of Ohio, did not confer any Second Amendment guarantee to bear arms. The court concluded:

It would unduly extend this opinion to attempt to deal with every argument made by defendant and *amicus curiae*, Second Amendment Foundation, all of which are based on the erroneous supposition that the Second Amendment is concerned with the rights of individuals rather than those of the States or that defendant's automatic membership in the "sedentary militia" of Ohio brings him within the reach of its guarantees.²⁶

In *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association v. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*,²⁷ the district court upheld an injunction against defendants' military activities. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, styling themselves as the Texas Emergency Reserve, had associated as a military company, parading in public with firearms and military dress, and conducting military combat training at various military training camps.²⁸ The district court held that the injunction did not violate the Second Amendment.²⁹

As the case law makes clear, an individual cannot merely identify himself as a member of an inactive state militia or as a member of a private paramilitary organization which calls itself a "militia" in order to invoke the Second Amendment guarantee. The definition of a "well-regulated militia" must be viewed in historical context.

When the Second Amendment was ratified in 1791, the state militias functioned as both the principal units of military organization and as an implicit check on federal power.... These militias were comprised of ordinary citizens who typically were required to provide their own equipment and arms. The Second Amendment prevented federal laws that would infringe upon the possession of arms by individuals and thus render the state militias impotent. Over the next 200 years, state militias first faded out of existence and then later reemerged as more organized, semi-professional military units. The state provided the arms and the equipment of the militia members, and these were stored centrally in armories. With the passage of the Dick Act in 1903, the state militias were organized into the national guard structure, which remains in place today.

Considering this history, we cannot conclude that the Second Amendment protects the individual possession of military weapons. In *Miller*, the Court simply recognized this historical residue. The rule emerging from *Miller* is that, absent a showing that the possession of a certain weapon has "some reasonable relationship to the preservation or efficiency of a well-regulated militia," the Second Amendment does not guarantee the right to possess the weapon.³⁰

V. A First Amendment Challenge

The proposed statute also may be challenged on First Amendment grounds. The First Amendment provides, in part:

Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

It is likely that the proposed statute would survive a challenge on First Amendment grounds. The case of *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association v. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*,³¹ which involved a First Amendment challenge to an injunction against paramilitary activities, is directly relevant to this discussion.

In *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association*, it was clear from the facts of the case that the defendants, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, otherwise known as the "Texas Emergency Reserve ("TER"), had associated as a military company or organization and had paraded in public with firearms.³² They also operated private military training camps in Texas.³³ The plaintiffs, Vietnamese fishermen in the Galveston, Texas area, sought relief from defendants' intimidating and harassing military operations. In particular, plaintiffs described a "boat parade" organized by the TER in which TER members crossed a Texas channel in full TER military dress and with an open display of weapons. An effigy of a Vietnamese fisherman was hung from the rear deck rigging.

In granting injunctive relief against the defendants, the district court concluded that the military operations of the type at issue here were not protected by the First Amendment rights of free speech and freedom of association. Because the defendants' military activities involved "conduct," rather than "speech," the First Amendment was not implicated.³⁴ The defendants' conduct of military operations, including the military boat "parade," involved such grave interferences with the public peace and such minimal elements of communication that the district court viewed these activities as impermissible "conduct" rather than "speech" within the meaning of the First Amendment. The district court cited *United States v. O'Brien*,³⁵ in which the Supreme Court declared that "[w]e cannot accept the view that an apparently limitless variety of conduct can be labelled 'speech' whenever the person engaging in the conduct intends thereby to express an idea."

While this holding would have been sufficient to dispose of the First Amendment claim, the Court went further. Even if defendants' military operations were characterized as "speech," said the Court, defendants still would not be entitled to First Amendment protection because their provocative statements and communications would constitute "fighting words."³⁶ The Supreme Court has long recognized that "fighting words," which "by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to excite an immediate breach of the peace," constitute a narrow category of speech which simply does not fall within the ambit of the First Amendment.³⁷ The court found that the threat of violence communicated by defendants through their military activities was precisely the kind of irrefutable and dangerous communication meant to be covered by the "fighting words" exception to the First Amendment.³⁸

Even if the "fighting words" doctrine did not apply to the defendants' conduct, and such conduct was considered to be an exercise of free speech, said the district court, this conduct nevertheless could be properly regulated under the standard established by the Supreme Court in *United States v. O'Brien*. In that case, the Supreme Court held that a governmental regulation which impinges upon First Amendment freedoms will be upheld if it satisfies the following criteria:

a governmental regulation is sufficiently justified
if it is within the constitutional power of the

Government; if it furthers an important or substantial governmental interest; if the governmental interest is unrelated to the suppression of free expression; and if the incidental restriction on alleged First Amendment freedoms is no greater than is essential to the furtherance of that interest.³⁹

The district court concluded that the State of Texas met the criteria expressed in *O'Brien*. First, the State has the power to regulate the formation of private armies.⁴⁰ In *Presser v. Illinois*,⁴¹ the Supreme Court declared:

Military operation and military drill and parade under arms are subjects especially under the control of the government of every country. They cannot be claimed as a right independent of law. Under our political system they are subject to the regulation and control of the state and federal governments, acting in due regard to their respective prerogatives and powers.

Second, weighty governmental interest counsels against acceptance of any argument that the First Amendment protects such military operations.⁴²

There can be no justification for the organization of such an armed force. Its existence would be incompatible with the fundamental concept of our form of government. The inherent potential danger of any organized private militia, even if never used or even if ultimately placed at the disposal of the government, is obvious. Its existence would be sufficient, without more, to prevent a democratic form of government, such as ours, from functioning freely, without coercion, and in accordance with the constitutional mandates.⁴³

Third, this governmental interest is unrelated to the suppression of free expression. The governmental interest is not intended to, nor does it, suppress free expression.⁴⁴ Finally, any restriction which an injunction of military activities would place on defendants' free expression is minimal; "defendants remain free to express their views by means other than the threat of military force."⁴⁵

In conclusion, the court noted that defendants' military training operations were similarly outside the scope of the First Amendment's freedom of speech and association.⁴⁶ An injunction against TER's military training operations would in no way hinder defendants from meeting together as a group. Rather, it would simply limit their ability to engage in a certain pattern of non-communicative conduct which threatened to incite a breach of the peace.

The conduct engaged in by the defendants and successfully enjoined in *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association* is the very conduct sought to be regulated under the proposed statute. By the same reasoning, therefore, the proposed statute should survive a First Amendment challenge.

VI. A Ninth Amendment Challenge

Several challenges to firearm regulation have been brought under the Ninth Amendment to the Constitution. The Ninth Amendment reads:

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Federal courts that have dealt with such challenges have found no fundamental right to possess firearms protected by the Ninth Amendment.

In *Quilici v. Village of Morton Grove*,⁴⁷ handgun owners brought an action against the village challenging the constitutionality of the village's gun control ordinance. The Seventh Circuit held, *inter alia*, that the ordinance did not violate the Ninth Amendment:

"Appellants may believe the ninth amendment should be read to recognize an unwritten, fundamental, individual right to own or possess firearms; the fact remains that the Supreme Court has never embraced this theory."⁴⁸

Similarly, in *United States v. Warin*,⁴⁹ the defendant challenged the constitutionality of certain provisions of the National Firearms Act, as amended by the Gun Control Act of 1968, 26 U.S.C. § 5801 *et seq.* The Sixth Circuit held, *inter alia*, that the federal statute did not violate the Ninth Amendment:

"We simply do not conceive of the possession of an unregistered submachine gun as one of those "additional fundamental rights, protected from governmental infringement, which exist alongside those fundamental rights specifically mentioned in the first eight constitutional amendments."⁵⁰

VII. A Tenth Amendment Challenge

The Tenth Amendment to the Constitution provides:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Previous sections of this memorandum addressed federal authority to legislate in this area. In particular, Section III (addressing Congressional commerce clause authority) and Section V (addressing the compelling government interest in regulating armies and military activities) provide an ample jurisdictional basis for the proposed statute. Additional support for Tenth Amendment authority may be found in *United States v. Miller*,⁵¹ in which the Supreme Court held that the federal government does have the authority to regulate and tax the transfer of certain types of firearms without unconstitutionally usurping the police power reserved to the states.

ENDNOTES

1. Section 231 of the Civil Obedience Act of 1968 provides:

(a)(1) Whoever teaches or demonstrates to any other person the use, application, or making of any firearm or explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, knowing or having reason to know or intending that the same will be unlawfully employed for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder which may in any way or degree obstruct, delay, or adversely affect commerce or the movement of any article or commodity in commerce or the conduct or performance of any federally protected function; or

(2) Whoever transports or manufactures for transportation in commerce any firearm, or explosive or incendiary device, knowing or having reason to know or intending that the same will be used unlawfully in furtherance of a civil disorder; or

(3) Whoever commits or attempts to commit any act to obstruct, impede, or interfere with any fireman or law enforcement officer lawfully engaged in the lawful performance of his official duties incident to and during the commission of a civil disorder which in any way or degree obstructs, delays, or adversely affects commerce or the movement of any article or commodity in commerce or the conduct or performance of any federally protected function —

Shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Nothing contained in this section shall make unlawful any act of any law enforcement officer which is performed in the lawful performance of his official duties.

2. 18 U.S.C. § 231(a)(1) is neither unconstitutionally vague or overbroad, *National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet-Nam v. Foran*, 411 F.2d 934 (7th Cir. 1969), nor violative of the First Amendment, *United States v. Featherston*, 461 F.2d 1119 (5th Cir. 1972). 18 U.S.C. § 231(a)(3) has also been upheld as constitutional. *United States v. Mechanic*, 454 F.2d 849 (8th Cir. 1971), *cert. denied*, 406 U.S. 929 (1972); *United States v. Banks*, 368 F. Supp. 124 (D.S.D. 1973); *United States v. Hoffman*, 334 F. Supp. 504 (D.D.C. 1971).

3. For example, Congress used its Commerce Clause authority to criminalize civil disorders under the Civil Obedience Act of 1968, 18 U.S.C. § 231 *et seq.* See Note 1, above. The Commerce Clause has also been used successfully by Congress to prohibit "loan-sharking." In *Perez v. United States*, 402 U.S. 146 (1971), the Supreme Court upheld Title II of the Consumer Credit Protection Act, which prohibited extortionate credit transactions, as a valid congressional exercise of its Commerce Clause authority.

4. *Perez v. United States*, 402 U.S. 146, 150 (1971).

5. *United States v. Lopez, Jr.*, ___ U.S. ___ (1995), 63 U.S.L.W. 4343, 4346, No. 93-1260, April 26, 1995.

6. *Id.*

7. *Id.* at _____, 63 U.S.L.W. at 4348.

8. *Id.*

9. *Id.*

10. *Id.*

11. In *Katzenbach v. McClung*, 379 U.S. 294 (1964), the Supreme Court upheld, as a valid exercise of commerce power, a federal statute prohibiting racial discrimination by local restaurants which offered to serve interstate travelers or which served food a substantial portion of which had moved in interstate commerce.

12. *Lopez, supra* at 4365.

13. 307 U.S. 174 (1939)

14. *Id.* at 178.

15. *United States v. Hale*, 978 F.2d at 1016 (8th Cir. 1992).

16. *Id.* at 1020.

17. *Id.* at 1020, citing *United States v. Oakes*, 564 F.2d 384, 387 (10th Cir. 1977), *cert. denied*, 435 U.S. 926 (1978).

18. *United States v. Warin*, 530 F.2d 103 (6th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 426 U.S. 948 (1976).

19. *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association v. the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, 543 F. Supp 198, 210 (S.D. Texas 1982).

20. *Supra*.

21. In rejecting that argument, the Eighth Circuit cited *Cases v. United States*, 131 F.2d 916, 922 (1st Cir. 1942), *cert. denied*, 319 U.S. 770 (1943), for the proposition that the existence of any reasonable relationship to the preservation of a well-regulated militia must be determined from the facts of each individual case.

22. *Supra* at 1020.

23. *Supra* at 387.

24. *Id.*

25. *Supra* at 106.

26. *Id.*

27. *Supra*

28. *See id.* at 203-206.

29. *Id.* at 210.

30. *Hale, supra* at 1019.

31. *Supra.*

32. *Supra* at 203-207.

33. *Id.* at 202-203. Plaintiff's expert witness testified that TER had all the elements of a military organization which he defined as "...any unit with command structure, training and discipline so as to function as a combat or combat support unit." Indeed, TER provided military training to persons dressed in military type uniforms, which he described as training in the "art of war, the functions of a soldier," including combat and support roles.

34. *Id.* at 208.

35. 391 U.S. 367, 376 (1968)

36. *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association, supra* at 208.

37. *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568, 572 (1942), cited in *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association, supra* at 208. In subsequent cases to *Chaplinsky*, the Supreme Court has made it clear that the fighting words doctrine is to be construed narrowly. In *Gooding v. Wilson*, 405 U.S. 518, 523 (1972), the Supreme Court held that a state statute which punished "fighting words" must be restricted to "those words which have a direct tendency to cause acts of violence by the person to whom, individually, the remark is addressed." Commentators disagree on whether *Gooding* represents a departure from *Chaplinsky*. See Note, The Fighting Words Doctrine, 93 Colum. L. Rev. 1527, 1542 n. 89 (1994). At least one commentator has interpreted *Gooding* to mean that the fighting words doctrine cannot be used to punish insults directed against large groups of people. *Defending My Enemy*, by Aryeh Neier, (E.P. Dutton, N.Y. 1979), pp. 137-38. In *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*, 505 U.S. ____, 120 L.Ed. 2d. 305 (1992), the Supreme Court struck down a St. Paul ordinance on its face because the ordinance prohibited only certain types of fighting words and was deemed to be content-discriminatory. However, the Court refused an invitation by the petitioner to modify the scope of the *Chaplinsky* formulation, and to invalidate the ordinance on the basis of overbreadth. By implication, therefore, the *Chaplinsky* formulation remains good law.

38. It is unclear whether the military activities challenged in *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association* would be upheld as "fighting words" if challenged directly. Nevertheless, the discussion in this case on the fighting words doctrine was *dicta* and unnecessary to the Court's ruling that the defendant's military conduct could be regulated.

39. *Supra* at 377.

40. *Supra* at 209.

41. 116 U.S. 252, 267 (1886).
42. *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association*, *supra* at 209.
43. *Application of Cassidy*, 268 App.Div. 282, 51 N.Y.S.2d 202, 205 (1944), *aff'd*, 296 N.Y. 926, 73 N.E.2d 41 (1947), cited in *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association*, *supra* at 209.
44. *Vietnamese Fishermen's Association*, *supra* at 209.
45. *Id.*
46. *Id.*
47. 695 F.2d 261 (7th Cir. 1982), rehearing and rehearing *en banc* denied, March 2, 1983.
48. *Id.* at 271.
49. *Supra.*
50. *Id.* at 108.
51. *Supra.*

The Militia Movement--in Their Own Words and Deeds
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July 11, 1995

The Center for Democratic Renewal, formerly the National Anti-Klan Network, is a 16-year old civil rights organization in Atlanta, Ga. that monitors the influence and spread of hate groups and teaches communities how to respond. Now that workers have recovered the final missing bodies from the scene of the Oklahoma bombing and imploded the Alfred P. Murrah federal building, America needs a crash course on the militia movement that may be part of this tragedy. The militia movement proves that the racists and anti-Semites who fought the civil rights movement have not retreated; they have just regrouped.

We are offering this testimony because there is so much misinformation available about the character of militias. While nearly all militias share conspiracy theories that are bizarre, the trick is to peel away their misleading rhetoric and get to the structure of what they are actually saying. The CDR does not label a person or a movement racist, anti-Semitic or homophobic just because we happen to disagree with their politics. Instead, we prefer to let their words and deeds speak for themselves.

The militia movement serves the interests of the white supremacist movement and is an outgrowth of the Christian Patriot wing of that movement; heirs to the Posse Comitatus. Many militia ideas and conspiracy theories are directly copied from the white supremacist movement. Enough known white supremacists are in their ranks to cause our organization to view with strong skepticism the presence of a few people of color or Jews who deny the bigotry of the movement. The leaders in this movement do not frequently use gutter obscenities, which makes their racism and anti-Semitism less obvious. Sensitive to public relations, the bigotry and potential for violence is frequently disguised with euphemisms. They have to hide their bigotry to present a sanitized image to the public and to attract new recruits.

To begin, we would like to make the following summary observations based upon our research into the militias:

- 1) Militias are a part of the white supremacist movement.
- 2) Their agenda is racist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic.
- 3) They are linked to mainstream politicians who legitimize their points of view.

Racism and Bigotry in the Militia Movement

The racism and bigotry of the militia movement is most clearly demonstrated by their obsession with the Civil War and their views on key constitutional issues decided by that war, particularly the 14th and 5th Amendments. Bizarre constitutional interpretations in this context do much more than reinforce the racist views in the militia movement. They also buttress a virulent

hatred of the federal government that has lingered since 1865.

The 14th Amendment passed after the Civil War extended constitutional protection to newly-freed slaves. Many militia members file impressive-sounding but legally meaningless documents renouncing their citizenship from "the foreign jurisdiction known as the municipal corporation of the District of Columbia." (A Season of Discontent, Montana Human Rights Network, 5/94). But in fact, what they really claim is superior citizenship under the original Constitution as opposed to "second-class" citizenship granted by Congress. They call white people "state" or "organic" citizens with inalienable rights, while African Americans (and other people of color) are considered "14th amendment" or "federal" citizens with alienable rights granted by Congress and subject to revocation.

For example, Robert Wangrud of an Oregon Christian Patriot group, Republic v. Democracy Redress, told a newspaper reporter, "There is only one race that founded this country and that is the White Race. The Constitution recognizes this and clearly states that only white people can be citizens of this country. The 14th Amendment changed all that, but we feel it became law illegally and as such is not binding...." In the same interview, Wangrud also said, "Blacks really wouldn't care if they lost their rights. I mean look at the L.A. riots. Now can you really say that those people that burned the city down are capable of governing themselves? If the blacks don't like it here they should leave." (Clackamas County Review, May 28-June 3, 1992).

In his newsletter, Wangrud stated "We need to begin taking care of our own. People should also take a Christian oath of allegiance before taking any office. That would eliminate the religious cults like Hindus and Jews from taking power..." (BEHOLD! March 1987, p. 9). Wangrud's book, Martial Law Rule, is sold by the Militia of Montana.

A militia newsletter, The Patriot (Jan. 1990) states: "The Federal Constitution does NOT apply to State actions against State Citizens....[only to] The so-called 14th Amendment 'citizens of the United States.' This amendment is only of admiralty or equity jurisdiction, and these de facto citizens are not [citizens] under Common Law. They do not have unalienable rights, only limited statutory 'civil rights', that Congress has seen fit to grant them....the Constitution of the United States of America (1787), which is available only to White Common Law State Citizens...So are you a White Common Law Citizen of the State or a federal citizen of the District of Columbia?" (A Season of Discontent, Montana Human Rights Network, 5/94)

In their use of the 5th Amendment, many militia members associated with the Wise Use anti-environmental movement claim that the federal government cannot pass or enforce environmental regulations without compensating the property owners affected by the legislation. The word they use to describe this demand for compensation is called "takings" – language that was last used by slaveholders who wanted to be compensated when the federal government freed the slaves. This belief is based on a distorted reading of the 5th Amendment in the Dred Scott decision in which the majority of the Supreme Court ruled that Dred Scott was not a citizen, but rather was property. Wrote the Court: "The rights of private property [owners] have been guarded with equal care. Thus the rights of property [owners] are united with the rights of [a slave-owning] person and placed on the same ground by the fifth amendment of the Constitution." (Paul de Armond, The Anti-democratic Movement – More Than Militias, 6/95)

Some militia members also want their states to relive the Civil War by threatening to secede from the United States:

David Espy of the Arizona Association of the Sons of Liberty and the Volunteer Militia states: "[We want] the legal cessation (sic) of Arizona from these federal United States." Anti-Defamation League Report, *Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government*, p. 4)

John Trochmann, founder of the Militia of Montana, loudly proclaims that he is not racist or anti-Semitic. Instead, he most frequently uses words like "shadow government" or "banking elites." However, his own words and deeds appear to contradict that statement.

A May 1, 1995 interview in Time Magazine reports that Trochmann has said, "Sometime in the next century, America's white population will perish." He also frequently visited the Aryan Nations neo-Nazi paramilitary compound in Idaho and was a featured speaker there in 1990, although he claims to have merely spoken on morality. (Klanwatch News Release 10/26/94). But according to Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler, John Trochmann visited the compound many times and even helped write the group's Code of Conduct. The Aryan Nations Platform reads (in part):

"Article I: Only Aryans (White Race) are allowed citizenship of the nation, and only citizens can:

- 1) vote and own property within the nation's borders.
- 2) conduct business, possess (keep) and bear arms.
- 3) hold office in government, industry or society.
- 4) comprise military or lawn enforcement personnel...

Article II: Non citizens can live in the Republic but only under the custodianship of a citizen.

Article III: All hybrids called Jews are to be repatriated from the Republic's territory, all their wealth redistributed to restore our people..."

Other militia members are also blunt in their bigotry. Richard Flowers of the Boring, Oregon Christian Patriot Association told a newspaper reporter that "blacks in general have a lower I.Q. than whites, and most want to just come in and take over without establishing anything for themselves." (Clackamas County Review May 28-June 3, 1992)

James Wickstrom, a Posse Comitatus leader of Ulysses, Pa. who was convicted in 1990 of a conspiracy to pass counterfeit bills in an effort to fund a guerrilla army, wrote in 1984: "The White Anglo/Saxon Posses across this Christian Republic await the opportunity to clean up America of which the Jews and their 'lackey' jerks called politicians have made a garbage dump!" (Klanwatch Press Release 10/26/94). Wickstrom was released in 1993 after serving three years of a 38-year sentence for the counterfeiting.

Mark Koernke of the Michigan Militia has said, "The Los Angeles gangs, both the Bloods and the Crips, are being trained, equipped, and funded by the federal government." (Los Angeles Reader 5/12/95). Statements like these arouse racism and help convince militia members that they need to arm themselves against gangs that are stereotyped as black or Latino.

However, the official spokesman for the Michigan Militia, Bob Fletcher, is more evasive about his bigotry: "If the bulk of the banking elite are Jewish, is that anti-Semitic? The people who are doing this are the international elite, and if they are all Jews, so be it, but that's not the case." - (June 15th testimony before Senate)

Many militia members have connections not only to the Aryan Nations, but also to the Christian

Identity movement. This religion believes that whites are the true Lost Children of Israel, that blacks and other people of color are not human, and that Jews are the children of Satan. One of the chief proponents of this psuedo-religion is Pastor Pete Peters who hosted the Colorado meeting of more than 150 leaders of the white supremacist movement in October 1992 which sparked the militia movement.

In his own words, Peters has said: "Once one learns and understands the Bible truth concerning God's Israel people, i.e., that the Caucasian people who settled America and formed the U.S.A. are the covenant people of the Bible, then and only then can one properly understand the perceived injustices and problems concerning the issue of race in this country." (A Scriptural Understanding of the Race Issue, God's Call for Repentance, Pastor Pete Peters.) Peters also wrote in 1992 a booklet titled The Death Penalty for Homosexuals is Prescribed in the Bible.

James "Bo" Gritz, a former Green Beret, is a leading trainer of militias. He offers SPIKE Training (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) to militia activists across the country in which he promises: "Both street confrontation and deliberate shooting will be taught along with instinctive 'Quick Kill' skills. All guns and ammo will be furnished." (Center for Action, September 1993, p. 4, cited by Montana Human Rights Network, p. 7)

Although not a Christian Identity believer himself, in 1991 Gritz said: "I believe that the Christian Identity religion will continue to grow in this nation until it is able to stand self-sufficient in spite of the government....I am telling you that He [God] has given us all that we need. He's given us the likes of Pete Peters, he's given us the likes of the Identity Christian movement." (1991 speech at an Identity Bible Camp sponsored by Pete Peters in western Colorado). Yet Gritz loudly and repeatedly claims that he is not a racist; that running with David Duke in 1988 on the Populist Party ticket was an accident, and that any association he had with the Liberty Lobby was a mistake. He claims that he and his supporters are merely misunderstood. But they are condemned by their own words and actions.

Gritz, in his book, Called to Serve, claims that "Eight Jewish families virtually control the entire FED [Federal Reserve System]." In 1991, he said "The enemy you face today...would change the United States of America, a nation under God, into USA Incorporated...and a Zionist group that rules over us as long as Satan might be upon this earth, that is your enemy." (Klanwatch Press Release 10/26/94)

Pete Peters helped pay for publication of Gritz's book Called to Serve. Now Gritz and Peters have apparently fallen out, presumably because Gritz, although homophobic, was not sufficiently so because he said he would not approve of Peters' demand for the death penalty for homosexuals. (Jubilee March/April 1992). Despite the official split, Gritz and Peters still travel in the same circles; for example, both were present at the "No More Wacos" meeting called by Red Beckman in Billings, MT January 29-30, 1994. Several members of the Ku Klux Klan also attended this meeting.

Gerald "Jack" McLamb, is a former Arizona police officer, is a close associate of Bo Gritz, and a leader in the Christian Patriot movement who was present with Gritz during the Weaver standoff in August 1992. His mission is to recruit police officers and soldiers into the movement through his Aid & Abet Police Newsletter and Operation Vampire Killer 2000. (Aid & Abet Vol. 1, Number 3, circa 1986). While claiming to lead a non-violent revolution among law

enforcement, he offered the following advice: "We must do something 'SIGNIFICANT' to HURT 'their program'!" Founder of Police Against the New World Order (PATNWO), McLamb also said in his keynote speech at the 1994 Seattle Preparedness Expo that interracial marriage was a "violation of God's plan" and a ploy by the elitists to create a mono-colored servant class. (The Dignity Report, Vol. 3, #1, Winter 1995, Coalition for Human Dignity) Gritz and McLamb have purchased property in Idaho they call "Almost Heaven" to use to train militia activists. McLamb's tapes and books are also offered for sale by the Militia of Montana.

Known, self-avowed racists populate the militia movement. For example, Duncan Philp, a Christian Identity follower and member of Pete Peter's LaPorte Church of Christ is the leader of the White Patriots, a Ft. Collins militia. (Klanwatch News Release 10/26/94). Similarly, the Lone Star Militia in Texas was started by Robert Spence, self-described Imperial Wizard of the True Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Another key strategist is Louis Beam, who authored the Leaderless Resistance strategy used by the militia movement, operated the Texas Emergency Reserve in the early 1980s, the military arm of the Texas Klan that was training 2,500 paramilitary soldiers in the five secret camps. The TER harassed Vietnamese fishermen until a lawsuit by the Southern Poverty Law Center halted their terrorism. In 1987, Beam was charged with sedition for being part of a plot to overthrow the federal government. He fled to Mexico and was put on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted List." After a gun battle with Mexican police, he returned to the U.S. and was acquitted in 1988 by an all-white jury in Ft. Smith, Arkansas.

Beam wrote on Leaderless Resistance: "All members of phantom cells or individuals will tend to react to objective events in the same way through usual tactics of resistance. Organs of information distribution such as newspapers, leaflets, computers, etc., which are widely available to all, keep each person informed of events, allowing for a planned response that will take many variations. No one need issue an order to anyone. Those idealists truly committed to the cause of freedom will act when they feel the time is ripe, or will take their cue from others who precede them." – Leaderless Resistance outline published in 1992 and distributed at October meeting of white supremacists in Colorado. (Pete Peters' report on meeting)

Another popular speaker on the militia circuit is Martin "Red" Beckman whose home was confiscated last year by the IRS for failure to pay taxes. He has spoken at militia rallies in Florida and Montana, among other states, and said in his book: "They talk about terrible holocaust of Hitler's Nazi Germany. Was that not a judgment upon a people who believe Satan is their god? They are still with us today, still worshipping their god, Satan, and they are still stealing from the people. They are the ones who schemed and conspired to create a Federal Reserve Banking System." The Church Deceived, 1984, Martin "Red" Beckman

The literature circulated by the militia movement at its conventions and rallies reveals a great deal of insight into their prejudices and paranoia. Publications included in a "Patriot List" in the Florida State Militia's handbook include The Spotlight, The Truth At Last, and The National Educator whose pages have honored the leaders of the Aryan Nations and The Order (who committed bank robberies and murdered a Jewish radio host in 1984). The Spotlight, published by the Liberty Lobby is the organ of choice for the militia movement. It was also the paper chosen by arrested Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh when he wanted to advertise the ammunition he was selling.

A survey of The Spotlight between January 1994 and June 1995 (18 months) reveals:

1. Pro-militia articles - 26
2. Foreign troops on U.S. soil - 24
3. Concentration camps, FEMA, black helicopters - 49
4. New World Order or "Global Plantation" - 75
5. Waco or Randy Weaver - 16
6. States' Rights - 10
7. International Jewish Bankers (Bilderburgs, etc.) - 40
8. Holocaust denial - 13
9. Anti-Israel - 50
10. Anti-Black or Pro-Apartheid - 28.

With constant propaganda like this, does one need to say that this publication is racist and anti-Semitic? For many militia members, The Spotlight is not only their primary source of information about national and world events; it is probably the only one they trust because it caters to their paranoid world view.

Mainstreaming by Militias

Perhaps the most dangerous trend represented by the militia movement is that it provides a means for elected officials to carry beliefs formerly only held by the white supremacists into the political mainstream. Militias, for the most part, are a reaction to the feeling by many angry white men that the government does not respond to their needs. In particular, they are angry over gun control, environmental regulations, civil rights laws, the women's movement, gay and lesbian rights, the globalization of the economy, the United Nations, and a host of other issues they believe threaten their privileges as white men. Militias are broadening their appeal from just angry gun owners to include property owners, farmers, anti-abortionists, home schoolers, survivalists and others who see Washington, D.C. politicians as corrupt and unresponsive. They want to replace civil rights with gun rights. In short, militias have ideas and guns while their mainstream allies have ideas and power.

In the same vein, language about states' rights as used by the militia movement also harks back to the days of slavery. States' rights was used both to defend slavery before the Civil War and was resuurrected to slow down desegregation in the 1950s. The states' rights movement has been dormant since the failure of the white Citizens Councils to stop the Civil Rights movement. The white Citizens Councils have evolved into the Councils of Conservative Citizens (COCC), according to WCC member Robert Patterson who headed Mississippi's Citizens Council until 1989. He told a reporter with the Jackson Clarion Ledger that the COCC, which started in 1985 in St. Louis, boasts a membership of 80,000 to 150,000 members in 24 states concentrated in the southeastern and northeastern part of the country. The COCC has attracted the support of Sen. Trent Lott of Mississippi, Missouri Congressman Mel Hancock, former Alabama Governor Guy Hunt, and current Mississippi Governor Kirk Fordice. The COCC has ties to David Duke's Louisiana campaigns, supports the use of the confederate symbol in Southern flags, and opposes affirmative action. It is vehemently against the United Nations, favors English-Only legislation, and, of course, is opposed to the holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (James Ridgeway, Village Voice, 5/16/95)

The COCC has picked up the banner of the states' right movement. Kirk Fordice praised their

efforts: "I endorse the Council of Conservative Citizens in their efforts to strength the traditional family concept and preserve the U.S. Constitution by returning rightfully delegated powers to the people and the states." (Village Voice, 5/16/95)

One of the most vocal supporters of states' rights is Colorado state senator Charles Duke. He frequently travels the militia circuit promoting the concept of states' rights. He and others who share his views have had an impact: at least 15 states have passed resolutions asserting their sovereignty and rejecting all but the most narrow role for the federal government. On the surface, the resolutions appear to merely affirm the 10th amendment of the Constitution, but in fact they belligerently challenge the authority of the federal government in a way reminiscent of the Civil War.

In Duke's own words: "We're in a battle to recover the country....It's in the grip of something that very's unChristianlike....The time is near when we must choose whether to stand up and fight. I for one am ready to stand up and fight." (The Colorado Statesmen, 8/5/94) As a state legislator, Duke cast votes against a Holocaust resolution because it included gays and lesbians among its victims, and against an amendment to a similar resolution the following year, arguing that it inflated the number of Nazi guards at a Jewish prison camp. (The Colorado Statesman, 8/5/94)

He wrote in his newspaper column: "The AIDS disease, introduced and perpetuated by the homosexual community, bears sharp witness to the consequences of using one's body in an unnatural way." (The Colorado Statesman, 8/5/94)

It is difficult to assess the number of patriots or militia members because individuals usually hold multiple memberships, but more than 2,000 "clubs" are counted under the umbrella of the national Constitutionist Networking Center (CNC) in Baldwin, Kansas. (The Colorado Statesmen 8/5/94). Duke, speaking at their convention, endorsed the idea of militias: "We're trying to find ways to convince sheriffs whose side they ought to be on. If push comes to shove, people are ready," he said at the CNC convention. "The militias are forming with or without [sheriffs]. It would be nice if they come along; if they don't it's not required." Duke introduced himself as a "state representative and part-time revolutionary." Although describing himself as merely a champion for states rights, Duke also believes in the implanted microchips. "This is not fiction," Duke warns. "I can tell you those microchips will do a lot more!"

The CNC, though it denies any connection to white supremacists, invited Kirk Lyons to speak at their Indianapolis Conference last year. Lyons, who cancelled his CNC engagement, heads the North Carolina-based CAUSE Foundation and is a white supremacist attorney whose clients include Holocaust deniers, Ku Klux Klan members and skinheads. He frequently represents David Duke. Working with Lyons are his wife's parents, Charles and Betty Tate, former leaders of the Aryan Nations based in Idaho. Lyons frequently appears at Aryan Nations events, once lecturing skinheads at the 1990 Aryan Youth Action Conference. (The Northwest Imperative, Coalition for Human Dignity, p. 1.22)

The CNC, chaired by impeached former Arizona governor Evan Mecham, has a "four-year plan to retake the country." The plan includes a "National Security Project" to infiltrate and influence military officers, from enlisted men and women to the Pentagon; the "Community Security Project" to give every law enforcement officer a copy of the book [Operation] Vampire Killer 2000 that explains their duty to the Constitution; reforming the monetary system; and

"eliminating Socialists" from Congress and state legislatures by 1996. (The Colorado Statesman, 8/5/94) Mecham frequently appears with Jack McLamb.

Duke also provides a link to another key group: "We're dealing with something that took over a nation led by Christ, created by Christ and put in place by Christians," said Charles Duke, July 30, 1994 at the Guardians of American Liberties (GOAL) meeting in Denver. (The Colorado Statesman 8/5/94)

According to the FBI, GOAL has attempted to unify the various patriot, militia, and religious right groups. GOAL is attempting to become an umbrella group for militias and claims chapters in Texas, Arizona, California and Nevada. Active organizations include the Committee to Restore the Constitution, We The People, the Christian Coalition, the Colorado Taxpayer's Party, Citizens for the Constitution, the Libertarian Second Amendment Congress, the Liberty Lobby, the Christian Identity Movement, Citizens of the Republic, Freedom Associates, the Fully Informed Jury Association, the Aryan Nations and the Ku Klux Klan. (Denver Post, 1/22/95) This type of collaboration permits the mainstreaming of white supremacist ideology through an alliance with the radical right wing of the political spectrum. That is why GOAL tries to recruit people from the Aryan Nations as well as the Christian Coalition.

GOAL's founder, Stewart Webb, arrested by FBI in 1991 for making interstate anti-Semitic phone calls and by Nevada authorities in January 1995 on Colorado charges that he tried to influence a public official, is said to have boasted about unifying white supremacists, neo-Nazis, Aryan Nations members and tax protestors. The FBI says Webb claims over 150 lawyers have joined the cause and will give them a built-in legal team.

Other examples of mainstreaming by the militia movement include California State Rep. Don Rogers who spoke at the first annual "Jubilation Celebration" in 1991 in Sacramento, sharing the platform with Louis Beam. The Jubilation Celebration, and its flagship publication, Jubilee, is the networking nexus of the Christian Identity movement. By Sept. 1993, the event had grown to include Pete Peters, Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America, Tom Blair (who briefly was on a school board committee in Pennsylvania until they discovered his connections with the Aryan Nations and Jubilee). Rogers also spoke at the Jubilation in 1992 and 1994. Another public official at the 1994 Jubilation was Richard Carver, a Nye County, Nevada commissioner, known for devising strategies to thwart federal jurisdiction over state and county government and a leader in the Wise Use movement.

Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America (GOA) is the most visible link between the white supremacist movement and Congress. He is a former member of the Virginia State Legislature, and during the 1980s was active in New Right circles. Pratt later founded the 250,000 member English First, a group that sponsors efforts to block bilingual education. In the 1970s, he became the executive director of GOA, which shares offices with English First. Significantly, Pratt attended the same meeting in Colorado in October 1992 hosted by Pete Peters. (James Ridgeway, The Village Voice 5/16/95)

Pratt is an advisor to a congressional task force to repeal gun control, has frequently met with Tom DeLay, House whip, and Dick Armey, majority leader who wants to win over his 150,000 membership, along with presidential candidate Phil Gramm. But he also hangs out with Bo Gritz, Mark Koernke, and Jack McLamb. This year, he has thrown GOA support behind the presidential candidacy of Pat Buchanan, forming "Gun Owners for Pat Buchanan." Pratt has

edited a new book, Safeguarding Liberty, The Constitution & Citizen Militias, a collection of essays that argue that an active militia could have prevented the Weaver shootout.

Other politicians have also worked with or benefited from such support. Rep. Steve Stockman (R-TX) was endorsed by GOA which gave him nearly \$7,000. Texas law enforcement officials are convinced that militia members worked on his campaign, a charge Stockman says he can neither confirm nor deny. Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R-MI) shared a platform in Nov. 1994 with Michigan Militia members at a Gun Owners event. Presidential candidate Phil Gramm has been endorsed by Gun Owners of New Hampshire. (Newsweek 5/8/95)

And of course, there is newly elected Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-ID) who has perhaps, done more than any other politician to support the militia cause. Members of the United States Militia Association worked last fall in the Idaho campaign of Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-ID), says Sam Sherwood, the group's leader. While never condoning violence, she has defended militia groups. After the Oklahoma city bombing, she urged against blaming the militias for the event, claiming they were no more than peaceful people exercising their constitutional rights. The militias have also returned the favor: reportedly, they praise and support her legislative agenda, distribute videotapes of her speeches, and rally to her side. Chenoweth has said: "The only endangered species is the white Anglo Saxon male." (Time 5/1/95). This is a sentiment militias have little trouble supporting.

Chenoweth has used the notoriety of the militia movement to get media attention. Her critics, including Rep. George Miller (D-CA) have accused her of "pandering to the militia with code words." Her videotape comments linking environmental activism with the New World Order are sold by the Militia of Montana.

Conclusion

Some people, learning of the militia movement for the first time, assume that militia members are just angry folks with guns. The movement has tried to portray itself as a civil rights movement, a patriotic movement, a non-violent movement, and as a neighborhood watch group. None of this is true. They cannot deny the racist, anti-Semitic, sexist and homophobic nature of many militia members. Nor should anyone discount their extreme potential for violence. In the 1940s, the Ku Klux Klan said, "We going to show the white Anglo-Saxons how to take control of the government. First a neighborhood, then the whole city, then the state government, and finally the national government!" (Stetson Kennedy, The Klan Unmasked).

The militias appear to be picking up where the Klan left off. In the words of John Trochmann: "We don't want to go to the cartridge box, but we will if we have to." (Klanwatch News Release 10/26/94). He told Esquire Magazine in March 1995: "We're prepared for war with the federal government."

James Roy Mullins, The Blue Ridge Hunt Club, Virginia: "Hit and run tactics will be our method of fighting...We will destroy targets such as telephone relay centers, bridges, fuel storage tanks, communications towers, radio stations, airports, etc...human targets will be engaged....when it is beneficial to the cause to eliminate particular individuals who oppose us (troops, police, political figures, snitches, etc.)." (ADL Report, p. 25) Mullins was arrested July 27, 1994 and charged with possession and sale of a short-barreled rifle and unregistered silencers and with facilitating the unlawful purchase of a firearm. In searches of the homes of the members of his

group, federal agents found a stockpile of weapons. In Mullins' home, agents found 13 guns, several of which had homemade silencers. They also found explosives, hand grenades, fuses and blasting caps in a separate warehouse.

Norman Olson, Michigan Militia says: "We're talking about a situation where armed conflict may be inevitable if the country doesn't turn around." (1994 ADL Report, p. 2)

Randy Trochmann, Militia of Montana: "If and when the federal government decides to confiscate weapons, people will band together to stop them. They are not going to give up their guns." (1994 ADL Report, p. 2)

Robert Pummer, Florida Militia: Our group is "capable of defending ourselves against chemical and biological agents." (1994 ADL Report, p. 2) "We have had enough -- enough drugs and crime, enough violence and bloodshed, enough Waco- and Ruby Ridge-style government attacks on Christian Americans." In the Florida State Militia Handbook, published by Pummer, he cautions his followers: "You still have your inner circle, and this the FBI, ATF, or any other federal scumbags cannot penetrate, if you keep up your guard."

Prepared by:

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SPECIAL
REPORT

**Paranoia as Patriotism:
Far-Right Influences on the
Militia Movement**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
1995



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"October 13, 1991. At 9:15 yesterday morning our bomb went off in the FBI's national headquarters building. Our worries about the relatively small size of the bomb were unfounded; the damage is immense....

"My day's work started a little before five o'clock yesterday, when I began helping Ed Sanders mix heating oil with the ammonium nitrate fertilizer in Unit 8's garage. We stood the 100-pound bags on end one by one and poked a small hole in the top with a screwdriver, just big enough to insert the end of a funnel. While I held the bag and funnel, Ed poured in a gallon of oil.... It took us nearly three hours to do all 44 sacks, and the work really wore me out.

"Meanwhile, George and Henry were out stealing a truck. With only two-and-a-half tons of explosives we didn't need a big tractor-trailer rig, so we decided to grab a delivery truck... George and I headed for the FBI building in the car, with Henry following in the truck.... As we drove by the building...we saw that the basement entrance was open and no one was in sight. We signalled Henry and kept going for another seven or eight blocks, until we found a good spot to park....

"We were still two blocks away when the pavement shuddered violently under our feet. An instant later the blast wave hit us--a deafening 'ka-whoomp,' followed by an enormous roaring, crashing sound, accentuated by the higher-pitched noise of shattering glass all around us."

-- from *The Turner Diaries* (1978), pp. 38-39.

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Introduction

On April 19, 1995, a large truck bomb destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 167 people, including 19 children in the building's day care center. The deadly blast -- the worst act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history -- came on the two-year anniversary of the fiery culmination of the Federal government's confrontation with the Branch Davidian sect at its compound in Waco, TX. At first, law enforcement and the country at large believed the Oklahoma City explosion to be the work of international terrorists. However, within days of this tragedy, the evidence pointed to a domestic origin, and prosecutors alleged that the first man indicted was motivated by an intense hatred of the Federal government. It was further reported that the two bombing suspects charged thus far had some contact with one of the many right-wing paramilitary "militias" that have emerged in this country over the past year.

In October 1994, the Anti-Defamation League issued a 28-page fact-finding report entitled, "Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government," highlighting the proliferation of militias in America. The ADL findings were based on a survey which found evidence of militia activity in 13 states. ADL surveys two weeks after the Oklahoma City bombing indicated evidence of militia activity in at least 32 states, with signs that the total number might continue to rise.

The aims of these militias involve laying the groundwork for large-scale resistance to the Federal government and its law enforcement agencies, as well as opposing gun control laws. In the view of many such extremists, America's government is the enemy, widening its authoritarian control, planning warfare against the citizenry and utilizing the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the Federal Bureau of Investigation as its main instruments.

An additional problem uncovered by investigation of the growing militias is the presence in some of them -- even in leadership roles -- of persons with histories of racial and religious bigotry and experience in political extremism.

In order to provide greater public understanding of the militias' ideology and historical context, ADL has prepared this report. It includes a summary account of two events that have fueled the growth of militias, followed by concise discussions of selected far-right activists and organizations -- a number of which have had a significant influence upon, or relationship to, the militia groups.

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Rallying Cries of the Ultra-Right: Weaver and Waco

In addition to recent gun control legislation, two events have received top billing in the propaganda of the militia movement in America: the Randy Weaver siege in Idaho and the Branch Davidian incident in Waco, Texas. Militia leaders repeatedly refer to these two events as evidence of what they perceive to be a conspiratorial crackdown by the Federal government.

Randy Weaver first came under Federal scrutiny during an investigation of the white supremacist Aryan Nations and was indicted in December 1990 for allegedly selling illegal guns to an informer for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (ATF). When Weaver, who was known to have espoused violently anti-government views, failed to appear in court in January 1991, Federal officials sought his arrest. Weaver hid out with his wife, his children and an associate in a cabin in a remote area of northern Idaho. When the authorities moved in to make the arrest, an armed confrontation and an 11-day siege followed, during which a Federal deputy marshal and Weaver's wife and son were killed before Weaver finally surrendered.

The second incident, more dramatic and far-reaching in its effect, was the siege of the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas. On February 28, 1993, Federal agents attempted to enter the Davidians' compound in order to arrest the sect's leader, David Koresh, for allegedly stockpiling a vast illegal arsenal. When residents of the compound resisted, four ATF agents were killed in a shootout, along with six Davidians. After a 51-day standoff, agents attempted a second assault at which time a fire broke out and 80 Davidians died, including 18 children. The ATF and FBI maintained that they did nothing wrong and that the Davidians started the fire themselves in a mass suicide. A Federal investigation later found that both agencies had exercised poor judgment, but had broken no laws; however, House Republicans plan to hold further hearings on the incident in the near future, and a Senate investigation is planned.

For militia members, as well as members of many right-wing extremist groups, the Randy Weaver episode and even more particularly the Waco incident have become symbols of perceived Federal tyranny against American citizens. Numerous propaganda videos alleging a massive government conspiracy concerning Waco circulate among militia members and others who share their views. Among them are "Waco: The Big Lie," by Linda Thompson, the self-proclaimed "Acting Adjutant General" of the "Unorganized Militia of the United States," based in Indianapolis; and "Day 51," sponsored by the Washington State-based Citizens for Liberty. Ben Hinkle, chairman of the latter group, has been quoted as saying: "I believe the tragedy in Oklahoma is a cover-up to divert attention away from Waco." Indeed, some militia members and supporters even accuse the government of planting the Oklahoma City bomb to create an anti-militia backlash.

FORERUNNERS AND INFLUENCES

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The Arizona Patriots

The Arizona Patriots was an anti-Semitic group with an emphasis on stockpiling weapons and baiting public officials. (The group had disbanded by the end of the 1980s, but recent reports indicate the group may be reconstituting itself.) The group first gained public notice by its efforts to clog the Arizona court system with nuisance lawsuits in the 1980s. This was a tactic also employed by the violence-prone Posse Comitatus, whose adherence to the anti-Semitic "Identity" doctrine and refusal to recognize any governmental authority higher than the county level were shared by the Arizona Patriots.

Ty Hardin, self-stylized "freedom fighter" and former film and TV actor, led the Arizona Patriots. After a mid-1970s dispute with the IRS, Hardin ran a tax protest school called the Common Law Institute, whose packet of materials included a "Patriot Handbook" containing "tested cases and methods to maintain personal freedom." In 1983 and 1984, Hardin edited *The Arizona Patriot*, a monthly journal that printed diatribes against government officials, calls for "Christian Patriots" to band together, and reprints of articles from such anti-Semitic publications as *The Spotlight* and *The National Educator*, as well as from *Executive Intelligence Review*, the magazine of the conspiracy-oriented Lyndon LaRouche political cult. *The Arizona Patriot* was published by Norman Kuhman, signer of the 1984 "indictment" document issued by the California-based Committee of the States.

In fact, mirroring the California-based Committee, the Arizona Patriots issued a collective "indictment" in June 1984, against all elected Arizona officials, threatening to conduct a "grand jury inquest" unless those officials resigned within 30 days. The document was written in the name of the Committee of the State of Arizona, Assembled.

During the same meeting at which the Patriots drew up its "indictment," heavily armed members, clad in combat fatigues, discussed plans to murder Arizona's then-Governor Bruce Babbitt, U.S. District Court Judge Paul Rosenblatt, and members of the state's Department of Public Safety.

Following a two-year FBI undercover probe, Federal agents raided a Patriot camp in 1986, and confiscated a homemade blowgun, night-vision goggles, pamphlets depicting nuclear war, gas masks, spent shell casings, numerous rocket ammunition crates and publications of the Aryan Nations. The investigation also uncovered a plot to finance a paramilitary base by robbing an armored car in Nevada; Patriot surveillance of the Phoenix ADL regional office as part of a bomb plan; and plans for the group to bomb a Phoenix synagogue, an Ogden, Utah IRS facility, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. FBI agents arrested eight members of the group, who also had in their possession blueprints for three U.S. dams.

Of those arrested, three -- Jack Oliphant, Monte Ross and Daniel Arthur -- were sentenced to four-year Federal prison terms, three were sentenced to five years'

probation, one was released, and one remains a fugitive. Ty Hardin left Arizona, and the group soon ceased to function.

In prison, Jack Oliphant wrote a 70-page manuscript titled "To Alter or Abolish Government" in which, according to *USA Today*, he said that an "all-out, do or die, to the last man civil war" is the only way patriots can "throw off one status of citizenship while retaining the territory in which they reside." Following his release, Oliphant returned to the Kingman, Arizona area, where he sheltered neo-Nazi Skinhead Jay Raspberry after an automobile-ramming incident for which three counts of aggravated assault were later brought against Raspberry. In a recent interview, Oliphant blamed a "Jew judge" for his own conviction in the 1980s.

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Aryan Nations

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Headquartered near Hayden Lake, Idaho, Aryan Nations is a paramilitary hate group founded in the mid-1970s by Rev. Richard Girnt Butler, now 77 years old. It was formed around Butler's Church of Jesus Christ Christian, one of the several hundred churches affiliated with "Identity," a pseudo-theological hate movement. Identity doctrine maintains that Anglo-Saxons, not Jews, are the Biblical "chosen people," that non-whites are "mud people" on the level of animals, and that Jews are "children of Satan."

Aryan Nations militantly advocates anti-Semitism and the establishment of a white racist state. Although primarily an Identity group, Butler's Aryan Nations reflects a Nazi-like philosophy; Butler himself has praised Hitler. During the early 1980s, several of Butler's followers joined members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and some KKK splinter groups to form a secret organization known as The Order, which planned to overthrow the U.S. government. To raise money for their planned revolution, The Order engaged in a crime spree involving murder, counterfeiting, bank robberies and armored car hold-ups. The group's activities ended with the death of its founder and leader, Robert J. Mathews, in a shootout with Federal agents in December 1984, and the incarceration of many of its members.

As noted, anti-Semitism is a basic tenet of the Aryan Nations ideology. For example, Dennis Hilligoss, the group's state coordinator in Oregon, recently said that "The Jew is like a destroying virus that attacks our racial body to destroy our Aryan culture and purity of our race."

To aid in recruitment efforts, Aryan Nations hosts many racist activists during its summer festivals of hate at Hayden Lake, called the "World Congress of Aryan Nations." At these conferences, Butler's organization has offered courses in urban terrorism and guerrilla warfare. Numerous extremists have addressed Aryan Nations gatherings. John Trochmann, a featured speaker at the 1990 congress, later became a founder and leader of the Militia of Montana.

Since 1979, Aryan Nations has been engaged in prison outreach. This is an important aspect of the Aryan Nations' agenda, given that so many members of The Order and Aryan Nations are now serving long prison sentences. Aryan Nations corresponds on an ongoing basis with prison inmates through letters and the forwarding of its periodicals. In 1987, Aryan Nations began publishing a "prison outreach newsletter" called *The Way*, which has facilitated recruitment and connections between Aryan Nations and its offspring, Aryan Brotherhood, a network of prison gang members.

Butler has called Hayden Lake -- an otherwise peaceful community -- the "international headquarters of the White race." Recently, though, Butler's organization has suffered from internal difficulties, with several of its members leaving to form new groups. Carl Franklin, chief of staff for Aryan Nations, resigned in July of 1993 as a

result of disagreements with Butler, who had previously named him his successor. Wayne Jones was security chief at the Aryan compound since the late 1980s and departed along with Franklin. They and two other members moved to Western Montana to form their own white supremacist group called the "Church of Jesus Christ Christian of Montana." Following these departures, two more key members, Charles and Betty Tate, left to join Kirk Lyons, their son-in-law, a North Carolina-based lawyer who has defended right-wing extremists and has called himself an "active sympathizer" with their causes. In addition, a one-time Aryan Nations official named Floyd Cochran has quit the group and renounced anti-Semitism and racism.

Despite the recent defections, Aryan Nations seems to be showing signs of rejuvenation. Several new "state offices," often consisting of a mail drop, have opened in the last year. Additionally, Staff Director Tim Bishop, the former Kansas state leader for Thom Robb's Arkansas-based KKK and a member of the Aryan Nations since 1984, manages the day-to-day operations with enthusiasm.

Aryan Nations has been mentioned prominently in connection with one of the incidents that militia groups cite as evidence of a government conspiracy against the citizenry -- the 1992 Randy Weaver confrontation in northern Idaho. Weaver, a white supremacist who had reportedly visited the Aryan Nations compound in the past, resisted an effort by Federal agents to arrest him at his remote cabin for alleged weapons violations. Weaver's wife and son were killed during the stand-off, along with a deputy U.S. marshal. During the siege, groups of Aryan Nations supporters, in addition to Skinheads and other neo-Nazis, rallied in support of Weaver near his cabin.

The post of successor to Butler remains vacant. It is believed, however, that Louis Beam, who has been touted in the past as Butler's heir apparent, may step in to fill that void. Beam, who was David Duke's Texas KKK Grand Dragon in the 1970s, has served as the Aryan Nations' Ambassador-at-Large. He recently purchased property in the northern Idaho panhandle not far from the Aryan Nations headquarters at Hayden Lake. He recently attended a gun rights rally whose sponsoring group, reports the *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, includes militia members and sympathizers, and was at the most recent Aryan Nations World Congress. Further, he has lately written in support of "leaderless resistance" -- a strategy that calls for the formation of autonomous cells organized around ideology, not leaders, so as to be better able to carry out actions against their enemies with reduced risk of infiltration.

Committee of the States

The Committee of the States was a right-wing extremist tax protest group that was formed on July 4, 1984 in Mariposa, California. William Potter Gale, a longtime anti-Jewish activist associated with the Posse Comitatus and the "Identity" movement, and "Pastor" of his own Identity church, was instrumental in its founding. Aryan Nations founder Richard G. Butler also signed the document that formed the group.

The Committee of the States took its name from the Articles of Confederation, predecessor to the U.S. Constitution, which called for a committee of the states to run the nation. The group initially came to public attention by way of a 1985 article in the Los Angeles *Daily Journal*, which stated that the Committee had a stronghold of some 25 supporters in the area of Sacramento, California, and participants in Nevada, Idaho, Iowa and Wisconsin. The article outlined some of the group's beliefs:

- They subscribed to the theory of the extremist group Posse Comitatus that the highest legal authority should lie with the counties and county sheriffs, and in citizen grand juries. They opposed government regulation of any kind, especially Federal income tax.
- They contended that the courts are functioning under martial law, an "admiralty jurisdiction" which was opposed by the nation's founding fathers. They claim such laws favor merchants and the banks, and that the Federal government and international bankers are enslaving Americans with the aim of a Communist takeover.
- They held that God's law as proclaimed in the Bible takes precedence over man-made law. Some Committee of the States members turned in their driver's licenses and removed the license plates from their cars to demonstrate their opposition to such governmental regulations.

The Committee's founding documents were officially filed with the recorder of Mariposa County, California, on July 15, 1984. They included an "indictment" against the U.S. Congress, "collectively and *in persona* (as individuals)," for the alleged crimes of "malfeasance and misfeasance in office." It declared that, "We, the People, the 'body politic' bringing this indictment, are the Lords and Masters of this self-governing Republic known as the United States of America."

An accompanying document was addressed to "each and every Member" of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. It declared: "You are hereby served the attached Indictment containing specific Charges and Specifications brought against you by this Committee of the States, sitting as a Grand Jury of the People (body politic) of the States of the Union." It added: "You are hereby notified that this Committee of the States shall meet in Congress on the first Monday in

November in the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty Four (1984), for the conduct of a trial to determine your guilt or innocence unless your resignation from office is accomplished prior to that date."

In March 1986, a Committee of the States letter was sent to sheriffs in Georgia. The "Dear Sheriff" letter stated: "If county sheriffs realized two facts of the law, they would put an absolute stop to foreclosure on private property throughout the United States of America." It alleged that "a debt based on credit is a fiction of law, dischargeable under the law through bankruptcy," with personal property "to be retained." It also declared: "The sheriff is duty-bound to preserve and protect private rights of county residents against tyranny of public wrongs by public administrators."

In 1988, Gale and four other members of the Committee were sentenced to one year and one day in jail for threatening the lives of IRS agents and a Nevada state judge. Gale died in jail at age 71. His death marked the end of the Committee of the States.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)

Founded in 1971 by former San Antonio fundamentalist minister James Ellison, The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) was a paramilitary survivalist group which operated an Identity-oriented communal settlement near the Arkansas-Missouri border. Under the guise of being a church, the CSA was a violence-prone purveyor of anti-Semitism and racism. The 100 or more inhabitants of the settlement believed American society to be approaching economic collapse, famine, rioting and a "coming war." They stockpiled arms, food, and wilderness survival gear, and trained in the use of weapons in a mock village called Silhouette City.

Kerry Noble, an elder and "ordained minister" of the CSA, explained: "We are Christian survivalists who believe in preparing for the ultimate holocaust." The organization's materials proclaimed that the settlement's purpose was "to build an Ark for God's people during the coming tribulations," and Noble declared that "the coming war is a step towards God's government."

CSA operated the "Endtime Overcomer Survival Training School," offering to members and selected non-members courses in urban warfare, riflery and pistolcraft, military tactics, "Christian martial arts" and wilderness survival. The school was run by CSA founder and leader James Ellison.

The CSA's anti-Semitism flowed from its Identity-movement doctrine, which declared: "We believe the Scandinavian-German-Teutonic-British-American people to be the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel which Jesus was sent for." Its members were told that "Jews of today are not God's chosen people, but are in fact an anti-Christ race, whose purpose is to destroy God's people and Christianity through its Talmudic teaching, forced inter-racial mixings, and perversions." The Jews, said CSA seminar organizer Bill Thomas, are "the seed of Satan, not the seed of God." Kerry Noble stated, "We do believe non-whites and Jews are a threat to our Christian, white race" and that "Jews are financing the training of Blacks to take over most of our major cities."

In addition, CSA's official booklist offers a number of anti-Jewish, pro-Nazi, and racist tracts, including *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, *The Talmud Unmasked*, *Who's Who in the Zionist Conspiracy*, *The Negro and the World Crisis*, and *A Straight Look at the Third Reich*.

In the wake of the 1983 Aryan Nations conference, CSA leaders engaged in a series of criminal activities, including the firebombing of an Indiana synagogue, the arson of a Missouri church, and an attempted bombing in Missouri of a pipeline supplying Chicago with natural gas. In April 1985, 200 FBI agents raided the CSA compound on the Missouri-Arkansas border and seized hundreds of weapons, bombs, an anti-tank rocket, and quantities of cyanide allegedly intended to poison the water supply of an unnamed city.

In September 1985, CSA leaders James Ellison and Kerry Noble and four other CSA activists -- Gary Stone, Timothy Russell, Rudy Loewen and David Giles -- were sentenced to lengthy Federal prison terms on racketeering and illegal weapons charges. CSA member Stephen Scott pleaded guilty in an Arkansas Federal court to charges he dynamited a natural gas pipeline near Fulton, Arkansas in 1983. Ex-CSA member Kent Yates also pleaded guilty to a charge of conspiring to make and transfer automatic weapons silencers. The convictions and guilty pleas in effect broke the white supremacist group.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Robert DePugh and The Minutemen

Robert DePugh, 72, came into prominence in the early 1960s as founder of the Minutemen -- a secretive, extreme right-wing group that perceived an impending Communist takeover of the U.S. and organized violent "counteraction" to prevent the alleged takeover. Organized into secret cells of five to 15 members, the Minutemen stockpiled weapons and trained together to defend the country against what they deemed "subversives." In scattered incidents throughout the U.S. during the 1960s, armed Minutemen clashed with law enforcement authorities and private citizens.

Minutemen carrying out DePugh's orders and objectives placed armed caches in various locations around the country. They attracted notoriety when this military equipment was discovered by law enforcement. In October 1966, for example, 19 New York Minutemen were arrested in raids and accused of planning to bomb and burn three summer camps in the New York metropolitan area, which the Minutemen claimed were being used by "Communist, left-wing, and liberal" individuals. Huge supplies of weapons and explosives -- including rifles, pipe bombs, mortars, machine guns, grenade launchers and a bazooka -- were uncovered. Because of faulty search warrants, however, the charges against the Minutemen were dropped in 1971, after lengthy court proceedings.

In addition, the Minutemen used threats against their perceived enemies. In one incident, DePugh's monthly publication, *On Target*, listed the names of 20 Congressmen who had criticized the then-active House Committee on Un-American Activities, warning: "Traitors beware! Even now the cross hairs are on the back of your necks."

In February 1968, DePugh went underground after a Federal grand jury in Seattle indicted him and seven other Minutemen on charges of conspiring to rob a bank. Federal agents captured DePugh and an associate 17 months later as they were leaving a hideout in Truth-or-Consequences, New Mexico. In July 1969, DePugh was sentenced to an 11-year prison term for firearms violations, bond jumping, and breaking Federal fugitive gun control laws.

DePugh's incarceration signalled the end of the Minutemen as a significant presence among the radical right in America. Following his release from prison in May 1973, DePugh attempted to revive his stature in the hate movement, first by affiliating himself briefly with Liberty Lobby, the leading anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country, and then by collaborating with United Klans of America leader Robert Shelton on an unsuccessful project called "the Committee of Ten Million."

In June 1992, John Grady, leader of the American Pistol and Rifle Association (APRA) -- a far-right alternative to the National Rifle Association -- appealed to "Selected Patriots" to initiate a letter-writing campaign to overturn DePugh's conviction on other weapons violations. According to press accounts, DePugh had been convicted on two counts of weapons possession by a felon and one count of possessing an

unregistered machine gun following a September 1991 Iowa arrest on charges of sexual exploitation of a 13-year-old girl and misdemeanor possession of child pornography. No further details on these charges have been reported since.

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Elohim City

Founded in the mid-1980s by Robert G. Millar, a U.S. resident alien from Canada with ties to The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), Identity encampment Elohim City is located on the rugged and mountainous Oklahoma-Arkansas border. *The Toronto Star* described the encampment as a place of white supremacy and anti-Semitism that is "among a growing number of gun-toting, right-wing religious camps across the U.S." The Canadian paper said that Elohim City has been identified as a "neo-Nazi type" camp by U.S. Justice Department officials and as a "hate group" by the Oklahoma Human Rights Commission.

Elohim City "elder" Zera Horton Patterson III said in a May 13, 1985 *Arkansas Gazette* article that "community members did not think of themselves as 'white supremacists,' but as a 'chosen people' charged by God with the responsibility of serving and leading others." Patterson continued, "Jesus said, 'He who is the greatest among you, let him be their servant.' Jesus was the servant of all men and in that sense He was the Supreme One, the supremacist because He was the servant. So that's the way we are supremacists in that sense."

Elohim City founder Robert Millar has been connected to leaders of other Identity-type movements. He tried to raise money for CSA leader Jim Ellison's bond following Ellison's 1985 arrest for illegal weapons possession. He also served as a character witness on behalf of Richard Wayne Snell, a CSA member who was serving a life sentence in Arkansas for the 1984 murder of an Arkansas state trooper. Snell was executed by the State of Arkansas on April 19, 1995 -- the same day as the Oklahoma City bombing -- for the earlier murder of a pawn shop owner in 1983. According to *New York Daily News* columnist Michael Daly (April 23, 1995), "The Rev. Robert Millar arranged for Snell's body to be shipped to Elohim City [for burial]."

The February 24, 1987 *Arkansas Gazette* noted that a Federal grand jury in Ft. Smith, Arkansas was investigating members of the CSA, The Order, the Posse Comitatus and the KKK, and reported that "Rev. Robert Millar of Elohim City, Oklahoma has said that he was brought to Ft. Smith for questioning. He said that he was asked about an alleged plot to kill Federal Judge H. Franklin Waters of Fayetteville, former U.S. Attorney Asa Hutchinson of Ft. Smith and FBI special agent Jack Knox of Fayetteville, all of whom took part in the 1985 prosecution of CSA leaders."

In August 1993, *The Balance*, a publication of CAUSE Foundation -- a legal defense group whose head, attorney Kirk Lyons, has described himself as an "active sympathizer" of his far-right clients' causes -- made reference to Elohim City. It said that on July 9, 1993, members of the Adair County Sheriff's Office in Muldrow, Oklahoma visited Elohim City, describing it as "an Identity religious community led by the Rev. Robert G. Millar." It said that they "were there to warn Pastor Millar of a possible BATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms] raid on their church and homes."

Stating that the law officers were looking for a suspect wanted for alleged possession of an unregistered machine gun who was "known to be around Elohim City," the publication declared: "We believe that this information distributed to the law enforcement agencies is a prelude to a Branch Davidian-type raid. There are many parallels between the Branch Davidians and Elohim City. Both are known to be opposed to the government, are a religious separatist community, and have legal weapons to defend themselves." It added: "As a preemptory [sic] measure, Rev. Millar has signed a power of attorney to empower CAUSE Foundation to represent him and his parishioners should a confrontation with the government develop."

Unlike the CSA and some other militant Identity encampments, Elohim City continues to exist.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Colonel James "Bo" Gritz

Colonel James "Bo" Gritz, who recently commented that the deadly Oklahoma bombing was a "Rembrandt -- a masterpiece of art and science," is highly influential in the anti-government "patriot" movement. The former Green Beret and Presidential candidate of the Populist Party -- a political party founded by Willis Carto, leader of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby -- recently created a "Christian Covenant Community" in northern Idaho. Established as a haven for "like-minded individuals," "Almost Heaven," as the settlement is called, is widely believed to be a paramilitary complex. Gritz is vehemently anti-gun control and he urges supporters to resist any attempts by the Federal government to "take away their guns." He leads survivalist, paramilitary training sessions, which he calls S.P.I.K.E. (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events).

Gritz came to national attention when he assisted white supremacist Randy Weaver in surrendering to Federal authorities in August 1992 after an 11-day stand off at Weaver's northern Idaho cabin. Weaver's wife and son and a deputy U.S. marshal were killed in the siege, which occurred when Federal authorities attempted to arrest Weaver for failing to appear on an illegal weapons charge. Gritz has condemned Federal authorities as "traitors" in both this incident and the Waco tragedy.

Gritz has served for many years on the advisory board of the Liberty Lobby's *Spotlight* periodical. He is particularly fond of conspiracy theories, asserting that AIDS is a Federal conspiracy to ease population growth, and that the government will in the future implant microchips in the hands of every American for identification and control purposes. He also has expressed deep concern about alleged unmarked black helicopters that he says have been spotted in the Western United States, and he has compared the U.S. government to the Soviet KGB and the Nazi Gestapo. Lastly, he has expressed support for the white supremacist "Identity" movement, which preaches that Jews are "Satan's spawn" and that non-whites are "mud races."

Gritz gives the distinct impression that he is preparing for a stand-off with the Federal government, threatening: "The FBI knows me and the Special Forces know me... The last thing they want to do is tangle with me, because I'm trained in guerrilla warfare."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Gordon Wendell Kahl

Gordon Wendell Kahl was a North Dakota farmer and member of the Posse Comitatus who died on June 3, 1983, at age 63. Kahl, a fugitive who was charged with tax evasion and the murder of two Federal marshals in Medina, North Dakota, was killed by law enforcement officers in a confrontation at a farmhouse in the Arkansas Ozarks.

In keeping with Posse doctrines recognizing no government authority above the county level, Kahl refused to renew his state driver's license in 1974. In 1977, he was charged with tax evasion on his 1972-74 taxes, and was placed on five years' probation. An arrest warrant was issued for him in March 1981 when Kahl failed to report to a Bismarck probation officer.

On February 13, 1983, Kahl killed two U.S. marshals and wounded three others in Medina, North Dakota, when the marshals attempted to arrest Kahl for his probation violation. Kahl escaped and a four-month search ensued. In June 1983, Kahl was discovered hiding out in the Arkansas farmhouse. He was killed in an ensuing shootout with law enforcement officers; a local sheriff was also killed in the exchange.

Kahl has been hailed as a hero and martyr among radical right activists who see his death as evidence of a Federal government conspiracy to deny Americans their rights. Books and songs saluting him have been written, and shirts and bumper stickers eulogizing him have become collector's items.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPI

Mark Koernke

Mark Koernke is an influential personality in the militia movement who has recently come to the attention of the general public in connection with the investigation of the Oklahoma City bombing. According to press reports, he was a friend, perhaps even a mentor, of Timothy McVeigh, the man accused of the bombing, and was an associate of the Nichols brothers, also being held by authorities -- Terry, accused of abetting the bombing, and James as a material witness. Additionally, it has been reported that Koernke sent a fax to Rep. Steve Stockman of Texas, referring to the bombing.

Referring to himself as "Mark from Michigan," Koernke describes himself as a former U.S. Army Intelligence Officer and Counter-Intelligence Analyst. He has appeared at "survivalist" conventions with militia extremists and so-called "patriots." Koernke has spoken across the country warning of a government plot to take away the rights of American citizens, and he has produced a number of video tapes detailing these supposed Federal conspiracies including *America in Peril*, *A Call to Arms*, and *Equipping for the New World Order*. An advertisement in a Militia of Montana newsletter, states that the second of these tapes "brings forth new evidence and brand new atrocities with actual photos of concentration camps in America."

A University of Michigan janitor living in the small town of Dexter, Michigan, Koernke calls for armed defiance of the government. Until April 28, he broadcast a radio show five days a week called "The Intelligence Report," affiliated with the "Voice of Liberty" program on shortwave station WWCR (World Wide Christian Radio), based in Nashville, Tennessee. WWCR took the program off the air after Koernke suggested that Federal authorities were setting up McVeigh for assassination and that the government itself might have committed the bombing.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Liberty Lobby and *The Spotlight*

Liberty Lobby, the largest, best-financed and most influential radical right organization in America, is a significant source of propaganda for the militia movement. Founded in 1955 by Willis Carto, currently listed as "treasurer," though universally acknowledged to be the group's leader, Liberty Lobby has established some connection to a great many leaders and groups on the extreme right in the post-WWII era. Under the guise of patriotism and conservative populism, the organization has been a propaganda mill for Carto's actual agenda: to rehabilitate Hitlerian National Socialism and agitate on behalf of a neo-Nazi movement in the United States.

Willis Carto's personal anti-Semitism and racism have manifested themselves in a number of overt ways. Correspondence by Carto published in 1966 stated that "Hitler's defeat was the defeat of Europe. And of America.... The blame, it seems, must be laid at the door of the international Jews.... If Satan himself...had tried to create a permanent disintegration and force for the destruction of the nations, he could have done no better than to invent the Jews." In addition, Liberty Lobby has expressed support for the apartheid governments of South Africa and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Carto himself wrote in 1955 that "only a few Americans are concerned about the inevitable niggerfication [sic] of America."

Carto, now 68, carried on an intense relationship with Francis Parker Yockey, an eccentric far-right activist who began his career as a prosecution attorney at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, but later developed pro-Nazi sympathies. Yockey, who committed suicide in a San Francisco prison after being arrested in 1960 on passport fraud charges, wrote a 600-page manifesto titled *Imperium*, which outlined a totalitarian, pro-Hitler political philosophy conceived in the image of "the European Revolution of 1933." Carto has continued to distribute copies of the book, and under oath during an unsuccessful lawsuit against ADL in the 1970s he acknowledged that he still adhered to Yockey's ideology.

In pursuit of his covert neo-Nazi agenda, Carto has organized a number of extremist front groups and spin-off associations from the Liberty Lobby network. Two of the most important in the past decade have been the Populist Party -- founded in 1984 as Liberty Lobby's political arm, and most famous for launching the national reputation of former Klan leader David Duke during his 1988 Populist Party candidacy for President -- and the Institute for Historical Review. This latter group, founded in 1979, is currently the leading outlet for Holocaust-denial propaganda in the world. In recent years, the Populist Party and the Institute for Historical Review have broken with Carto and Liberty Lobby over control of funds and disputes regarding strategy. They both remain extremist organizations to their core, and continue to maintain a significant presence among the radical right today.

Liberty Lobby, meanwhile, has remained without question the leading ideological

influence on the hate movement today. The main propaganda vehicles for the organization currently are the weekly tabloid *The Spotlight*, which serves as a central "bulletin board" for the extreme right and which claims to reach an estimated readership of over 100,000, and the radio broadcasts "Radio Free America" and "Editor's Roundtable," which bring the voices of extremists and conspiracy theorists to dozens of media markets across the country. The shows are carried on the Liberty Lobby-controlled Sun Radio Network.

Illustrating *The Spotlight's* role as a bulletin board for extremists of the far right, ADL recently revealed that in 1993, Oklahoma City bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh -- using the alias "T. Tuttle" -- advertised for sale in *The Spotlight* a military-style anti-tank launcher.

Liberty Lobby has often sought to portray itself as respectably "conservative." However, it is nothing of the kind. Major American conservative figures, such as William Buckley and Judge Robert Bork, have condemned the group's anti-Semitism.

In the past two years, *The Spotlight* has devoted dozens of features to conspiracy theories involving the Federal government. Many of these stories have involved militia groups directly, or have addressed the same issues which have preoccupied militia members, such as national gun control and international arms control efforts, or the alleged "black helicopters" that supposedly signify the loss of national sovereignty and the imminent takeover of the U.S. by the United Nations. The paper ran a sensationalized 8-page special supplement, dated September 1994, featuring these themes.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Colonel Gordon "Jack" Mohr and the Christian Patriots Defense League

Gordon "Jack" Mohr, a retired U.S. Army colonel, heads the Citizens Emergency Defense System (CEDS), a militant civilian "defense" group restricted to white Christians. CEDS, based in Mohr's home town of Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, has been closely associated with John Harrell's Illinois-based Christian Patriots Defense League (CPDL), an anti-Semitic survivalist group which has been involved in paramilitary activity and "martial arts" training.

Exploiting Christian terminology for his own extremist purposes, Mohr has described CPDL as "made up primarily of Christians and/or Patriots, who see what is happening in our government and are preparing for difficult times we believe are ahead." Mohr has described himself as an evangelist as well as an author and lecturer. For many years he has stridently promoted anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and white supremacy, as a leader of the "Identity Church" movement. ("Identity" is a pseudo-theological hate movement which holds that white Anglo-Saxons are the Biblical "chosen people" and that non-whites are "mud people.")

In the summer of 1982, Mohr participated in a CPDL-CEDS "festival" and was listed as "National Director of Plans and Training" and "National Director of Defense Coordinators," among other titles, in the gathering's "Guide Book." Others attending the meeting were the late William P. Gale, an anti-Semite who later helped found the Committee of the States, and the late Robert Miles of Michigan, an ardent racist and former Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon.

The March 1984 issue of "Faith for the Family," an evangelically oriented periodical, published an article titled "Apostles of Darkness," which criticized groups promoting a "gospel of racial superiority [that] twist the scriptures and pervert the person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ." The article pointed out that at the CPDL's annual Freedom Festivals, "Special Weapons Attack Training (SWAT), knife fighting, hand-to-hand combat, homemade explosives, combat patrols, and 'streetsweeper shotgun' [sic] are among the subjects taught."

Other extremist group gatherings in which Mohr participated include the 1988 Aryan World Congress and a 1988 "Freedom Festival" in Licking, Missouri, where classes were offered in "survival techniques for the times of crisis...."

Mohr has also written books and pamphlets and has produced videos espousing his anti-Semitic ideology. These materials are often advertised in extremist publications. *The Great Conspiracy*, for example, is a 60-page book covering "the Talmudic conspiracy to rule the world."

Over the years, Mohr has participated in many extremist activities in addition to writing and publishing hate materials. He has been involved in the prison ministry of

Crusade For Christ and Country, a program promoted in *The Christian Patriot Crusader* as designed to involve incarcerated Identity members in the CPDL and to offer them support and spiritual "guidance."

The August 1990 "Christian Vanguard Newsletter" (published by anti-Semite James K. Warner's Louisiana-based New Christian Crusade Church) reported that Mohr attended a June 1990 Identity "camp" meeting. Warner disclosed to his readers: "Brother Jack Mohr informed those attending that this was to be his last appearance at camp -- due to his health ... He is not giving up the fight; he will continue to put out tracts, books and tapes on conspiracy and Bible truths from his Bay St. Louis, Mississippi home...."

The Order

The Order was the most violent and notorious domestic terrorist group of the 1980s. Founded in 1983 by Robert J. Mathews, a recruiter for the neo-Nazi National Alliance and an activist in the Nazi-like and "Identity"-affiliated group Aryan Nations, The Order (also known as Bruders Schweigen, or Silent Brotherhood) drew its members from the National Alliance, Aryan Nations, and various Klan splinter groups. As a blueprint for its "revolution," The Order relied upon William Pierce's novel *The Turner Diaries* (see below), and many of the crimes for which Order members were convicted resembled terrorist acts described in the book.

In its first year, The Order began accumulating a war chest for its real-life revolution when three members stole \$369 from a Spokane, Washington store. Soon thereafter the group launched a counterfeiting operation at the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, which was exposed when Order member Bruce Carroll Pierce was arrested for passing a phony \$50 bill. Pierce was eventually convicted, but jumped bond and went underground until 1985. Before the end of 1983, Robert Mathews robbed the Seattle City Bank of \$25,000.

The robberies escalated the following year. In March 1984, Order members diverted police by exploding a bomb in a Seattle theater while other members robbed an armored car parked outside a department store, seizing \$500,000.

In addition to these crimes, Bruce Carroll Pierce planted a bomb in a Boise, Idaho synagogue, which caused minor damage but no injuries. The Order also began assassinating perceived enemies, beginning with one of their own members, Walter West. West had aroused the suspicion of his comrades by, in their words, "talking too much." In May 1984, he was driven into the Idaho wilderness by Order members who then executed and buried him.

Another victim of The Order's terror was Alan Berg, a controversial Jewish talk-radio personality in Denver. Berg was murdered outside his home in June 1984 after he repeatedly goaded right-wing and white-supremacist extremists on his call-in program.

Around the time of this murder, Order members resumed their counterfeiting operation and robbed a Brink's armored truck near Ukiah, California. The hold-up yielded the group's biggest take -- over \$3.6 million -- which was distributed for salaries, mobile homes, uniforms, vehicles, and weapons. The group also purchased parcels of land in Idaho and Missouri for paramilitary training camps and reportedly donated money to fellow extremists, including the leaders of Aryan Nations and the National Alliance.

The Order's revolution might have progressed even further if Mathews had not left a pistol at the scene of the Ukiah robbery, which the FBI traced to the mailbox of

another Order member. In that mailbox authorities found Aryan Nations propaganda. Agents also obtained descriptions of Order members through their recovered vehicles. At the same time, Order member Thomas Martinez was arrested in Philadelphia for passing counterfeit money. Martinez agreed to become a government informant and flew to Portland, Oregon, to meet with Mathews and fellow Order member Gary Yarbrough.

Agents raided the hotel the next morning. Mathews wounded an officer before escaping and Yarbrough was arrested at the scene. Mathews was traced to Whidbey Island in Washington, where in December 1984 he held off 200 law enforcement officers for over 36 hours, until he died in a conflagration set off by the ammunition with which he barricaded himself. On December 30, 1985, nine men and one woman -- all members of the group -- were convicted following a four-month Federal court case in Seattle. They were sentenced to terms of 40-100 years in prison, as well as stiff fines. Another member was convicted in a separate trial of murdering a Missouri state trooper and was sentenced to life. In addition, 12 Order members pleaded guilty to various crimes; one had become a fugitive and was on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list before his capture.

Although The Order is defunct, several incarcerated members, most notably David Lane, continue to propagandize from their prison cells, and continue to wield influence in the hate movement.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

William L. Pierce and *The Turner Diaries*

The Turner Diaries, a novel written and published in 1978 by William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, under the pseudonym "Andrew Macdonald," is a fictional account of the activities of a racist, anti-Semitic underground which, through a series of violent acts during the 1990s, gains power in the U.S. and eventually the world. The book describes the bombing of FBI headquarters in Washington, a mortar attack on the Capitol building, the destruction of public utilities and communication systems, and the "liberation" of the nation after atomic bombs have been dropped on several East Coast cities.

The book then relates how this new regime, having secured domestic victory, launches another nuclear attack -- against Tel Aviv. In the end, the U.S. population is reduced to 50 million "Aryans." Jews throughout the world are killed, in accord with the vow of the narrator: "If the Organization survives this contest, no Jew will -- anywhere. We'll go to the uttermost ends of the earth to hunt down the last of Satan's spawn." In this vein, the book refers to Adolf Hitler as "the Great One."

Author Pierce, who holds a Ph.D. in physics and is a former college instructor in Oregon, has long held racist and anti-Semitic views. In the 1960s he was assistant to George Lincoln Rockwell, founder and head of the American Nazi Party. In the 1980s he was the mentor of Robert Mathews, founder of The Order, who used *The Turner Diaries* as a blueprint for the group's "revolutionary" criminal activities. Pierce also heads a pseudo-religious entity, the anti-Semitic "Cosmotheist Church" in West Virginia.

After the Oklahoma City bombing, Pierce acknowledged that "someone may have read the book" (*The Turner Diaries*), which he termed a possible "inspiration." He also predicted that there would be further acts like this, but that what happened in Oklahoma made little political sense because it was not sustained. "One day," Pierce said, "there will be real, organized terrorism ... aimed at bringing down the government."

Pierce wrote another pro-Nazi novel, *Hunter*, whose hero murders interracial couples, Jews and other minorities.

The Posse Comitatus

The Posse Comitatus is an intermittently active, loosely organized group of "Christian Identity" activists dedicated to survivalism, vigilantism, and anti-government agitation. Following the pseudo-religious tenets of the "Identity" movement, Posse members typically proclaim Jews to be the "synagogue of Satan," blacks and other people of color to be subhuman "mud races," and Northern European whites to be the "Chosen People" of Biblical prophecy. The name of the group translates from Latin to mean "power of the county," and the Posse believes that all governmental power is rooted at the county, not Federal, level.

Because Posse members believe that the Federal government is controlled by "enemies" -- often meaning Jews -- they resist paying taxes, as well as other duties of law abiding citizenship. Some members of the group have even refused to apply for driver's licenses, because this would imply submission to an "illegitimate, subversive" authority. Elements of the Posse's ideology, most notably its fierce hostility to Federal authority are echoed among today's militias.

The Posse has attracted Klan members and other anti-Semites. Among the avid promoters of the Posse during its period of development in the 1970s were Arch Roberts' Committee to Restore the Constitution, based in Fort Collins, Colorado; Western Front of Los Angeles, run by collaborators of the late anti-Jewish agitator Gerald L.K. Smith; and ex-neo-Nazi and Klansman David Duke of Louisiana, more recently head of the NAAWP (National Association for the Advancement of White People).

In 1983, when active Posse member Gordon Kahl murdered two Federal marshals in North Dakota and became a fugitive, the group attracted nationwide attention. The marshals had come to arrest Kahl for a parole violation in connection with an earlier conviction for non-payment of taxes. Kahl later died in a shootout with Arkansas law enforcement officials in which a local sheriff was also killed; Kahl became a martyr to the Posse, the Aryan Nations and other extremists.

In October 1987, retired army colonel William Potter Gale -- one of the founders of the Posse movement and the California-based Committee of the States -- along with four associates from the Committee, was convicted of threatening the lives of Internal Revenue Service agents and a Nevada state judge. The five had been charged with conspiracy, mailing threatening letters, and attempting to interfere with the administration of internal revenue laws. All five were sentenced in January 1988 to Federal prison for a term of one year and one day. Gale died in April of that year, at age 71.

James Wickstrom, an Identity minister and a Posse leader, was convicted in 1991 in Pittsburgh of plotting to distribute \$100,000 in counterfeit bills to white supremacists at the 1988 Aryan Nations World Congress. While in prison, Wickstrom transferred his

leadership role to "Identity" preacher Mark Thomas of Pennsylvania, who was recently linked to the Freeman brothers, two neo-Nazi Skinheads charged with murdering their parents and younger brother; the brothers were reported to have attended gatherings at Thomas's compound. By the end of 1994, Wickstrom had been released from prison. He and Thomas are reported to now be rivals.

In March 1995, the Justice Department charged three members of Family Farm Preservation, an offshoot of the Posse Comitatus, with attempting to distribute \$65 million in counterfeit money orders. The case is pending.

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Linda Thompson

Self-proclaimed "Acting Adjunct General" of the "Unorganized Militia of the United States," Linda Thompson is an influential figure in the militia movement. She is a lawyer in Indianapolis and chairman of the American Justice Federation, which describes itself as "a group dedicated to stopping the New World Order and getting the truth out to the American public." Thompson claims to have contact with militias in all 50 states. She appears frequently at militia gatherings and gun shows to lecture and sell her videos "Waco, The Big Lie," and "Waco II -- The Big Lie Continues." The latter, she claims, "proves conclusively the government murdered 100 men, women and children at Mt. Carmel in April, 1993." She also sells other propoganda material such as "The Traitor Files," which purport to link "Bill and Hillary Clinton to a Marxist-Terrorist network."

Thompson's most ambitious undertaking to date was a planned militia march on Washington, D.C., on September 19, 1994, where an ultimatum was to be delivered to the government. The ultimatum commanded members of Congress to initiate legislation that would, among other things, repeal the 14th, 16th and 17th Amendments to the Constitution, and the Brady Law and NAFTA. Thompson ordered all participants to come "armed and in uniform," and that besides delivering the ultimatum, "The militia will arrest Congressmen who have failed to uphold their oaths of office, who will then be tried for Treason by citizens' courts." Realizing after several months that support for her march was lacking, Thompson called it off.

Thompson continues to appear at rallies and conferences around the country, on radio and on computer bulletin boards, promoting the militia cause and calling down thunder upon the American government and its law enforcement agencies. On the subject of the Oklahoma bombing, she said: "I genuinely believe the government did this bombing... I mean, who's got a track record of killing children?"

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OTHER FAR-RIGHT ACTIVISTS

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Louis R. Beam

Sometime Klansman and neo-Nazi Louis R. Beam has been a leading advocate of anti-government sedition and various forms of "Aryan" violence for more than a quarter of a century.

In 1968, Beam joined Robert Shelton's United Klans of America (UKA) and in 1976 switched to David Duke's Knights of the KKK. His chief responsibility in the Klans was to instruct the "knights" in guerrilla warfare.

In 1981, Beam became "Ambassador-at-Large" for Aryan Nations, a violence-prone, Nazi-like hate group headquartered in Idaho. Beam has been touted as a possible successor to the organization's 77-year-old leader, Richard Butler. He has built a computer network for the group, featuring an assassination "point system" through which a participant could be designated an "Aryan Warrior" based on the importance of the politician, civil rights leader, police officer, or minority group member that he managed to kill.

In 1983, Beam told a crowd: "I'm here to tell you that if we can't have this country, as far as I'm concerned, no one gets it. The guns are cocked, the bullets are in the chamber. ... We're going to fight and live or we're going to die soon." His philosophical watchword, reportedly stated in a 1970s terror campaign against Vietnamese fisherman in Texas, is "Where ballots fail, bullets will prevail."

In April 1987, Beam and 11 other extremists were indicted in Arkansas on charges involving conspiracy to overthrow the government. Before the indictment was issued, Beam fled to Mexico, where he was arrested after a shootout and returned for trial. A jury later acquitted Beam and his codefendants on all charges.

In February 1992, Beam issued in his quarterly publication, *The Seditonist*, an appeal for a concept called "leaderless resistance," described as an alternative to the "leadership" structure in "underground" groups. In this alternative, activity is autonomous, organized around ideology rather than leaders. It is explained as a system for keeping secret the plans of terrorist assaults against the Government, known only to a few individuals in small leaderless cells in order to prevent leaks or infiltration. The concept was fathered in 1962 by Col. Ulius Amoss, the founder of an anti-Communist organization, International Services of Information Inc., who feared a Communist takeover of America. (Interestingly, this is also the organizational pattern employed by some foreign terrorist groups.)

With Soviet Communism no longer a threat, Beam wrote that "the purpose of Leaderless Resistance is to defeat state tyranny." He added: "Like the fog which forms when conditions are right and disappears when they are not, so must the resistance to tyranny be."

Beam recently attended a gun rights rally whose sponsoring group, according to the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, includes militia members and sympathizers. He also attended the most recent Aryan Nations World Congress, and in 1995 purchased property not far from that organization's northern Idaho compound.

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"Pastor" Pete Peters

Pete Peters is probably the leading figure in the "Identity" movement, preaching the bigoted pseudo-religion in his LaPorte, Colorado Church of Christ since 1977. He proclaims that Jews pose a satanic threat to American civilization and that they are conspiring to control America; that blacks and other people of color are inferior to whites; that homosexuals should be executed; and that northern European whites and their American descendants are the Biblical "chosen people."

Peters makes video and audio recordings of his sermons, writes numerous pamphlets, broadcasts on shortwave radio, satellite, and public access TV, and hosts semi-annual "Bible" retreats across the country. The titles in Peters' *Scriptures for America* book and tape catalog reveal the essence of his "Identity" philosophy: "My Personal Experience with Jewish Power"; "Skinheads -- S.O.S. Troops of the Right"; "Death Penalty for Homosexuals"; "Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Dream, Our Nightmare."

Peters and his congregation first received national attention in 1985, when it was reported that several members of The Order, the most violent far-right terrorist group of the 1980s, had attended the LaPorte Church during their criminal heyday. Subsequent investigation into The Order's activities revealed a string of firebombings, armed robberies, counterfeiting and the "execution" of one of its own members. On February 13, 1984, Peters and his close colleague, Col. Jack Mohr, appeared on Alan Berg's Denver talk radio program. An angry confrontation ensued between the host and his guests over the latter's white supremacist views. Four months later, on June 18, Berg was murdered outside his home. In 1987, two members of The Order were convicted and sentenced to prison terms of 150 years in connection with the crime.

Peters inspires fervent devotion by presenting his ministry as the ticket to salvation. His statements and writings document his hostility toward Jews, blacks, other minorities and American democracy itself.

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Thom Robb and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Thom Robb of Harrison, Arkansas, is the largest KKK faction operating today. Over the last several years, Robb has toned down the Klan's extremist rhetoric in a deceptive effort to make it more palatable to the public. He has urged his followers to avoid harsh racist language and emphasize instead their "love of the white race." Recent literature from the Knights states that "the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan does not preach against Negroes. We believe that everyone has a right to love their heritage and race. ... We believe that white people have a right to be proud of our history and culture just as much as black people have a right to be proud of theirs."

Robb has held a series of rallies at highly visible public places, in an attempt to recruit new members. The Knights have engaged in cynical campaigns to exploit several civic-minded themes, taking positions against drugs, drunken driving and dropping out of school. They also have attempted to join "adopt-a-highway" cleanup programs in several states. To appear more mainstream, Robb frequently ordered that his members dress in white shirts and black trousers rather than Klan robes for public appearances.

Robb's public relations campaign has been modeled on the image makeover attempted by David Duke, who founded the Knights and led them until 1980. After professing a goal of creating "a thousand" David Dukes, Robb attempted to run for the Arkansas legislature in 1992 as a Republican, but was rebuffed by the state Republican organization.

Yet the new face Robb wears thinly masks his own racism and anti-Semitism. Robb is a "pastor" in the so-called "Identity" movement, which holds that northern Europeans are the true descendants of the Biblical Israelites and that the Jews are descended from Satan. Robb has stated: "I hate Jews. I hate race-mixing Jews. We've let Antichrist Jews into our country and we've been cursed with abortion, inflation, homosexuality, and the threat of war."

Robb's racism is also a matter of record. In an April 1990 editorial in his hate sheet *The Torch*, Robb wrote: "When the Negro was under the natural discipline of white authority, white people were safe from Negro abuse and violence. But not only were whites safe from the abuse and violence of the Negro, but the Negro was also safe from himself."

Friction over Robb's tactic of presenting a more moderate image, however, has been a significant factor in two recent major defections. In April 1994, a split from the Knights was led by Chicagoan Ed Novak (true name: Ed Melkonian), who had been Robb's Illinois state leader, national chief of security, and a member of the national council. Novak, once a neo-Nazi group member and known in the Klan as an advocate of secrecy and of being well-armed, brought sizable portions of Robb's membership into

the new group, called the Federation of Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

More recently, in August, Klan leaders from Michigan, Indiana and Illinois led a second walkout from Robb's organization, claimed the Knights' name for themselves, and pronounced Robb deposed as national director. (Robb responded by tossing them out of his Knights.) The man tapped to lead the mutinous outfit, David Neumann, 40, of Michigan, has reportedly said: "Thom Robb is a poor example of a Klansman. He comes off as a young Republican, not as a racist."

As yet, the splintering of the Knights of the KKK has not led to violence. But the strong resistance to attempts to paper over the Klan's historic reputation for militant white supremacy suggests that the Klan movement continues to warrant the scrutiny of law enforcement, civil rights groups and members of the public.

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An ADL Fact Finding Report

ARMED & DANGEROUS:

MILITIAS TAKE AIM AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

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Anti-Defamation League

1994

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Introduction

Bands of armed right-wing militants, most calling themselves "militias," are cropping up across America. They have no centralized structure, but there are linkages among some of them, consisting largely of the sharing of propaganda material and speakers. A survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League has found evidence of their activity in no fewer than 13 states.

The aims of these militias, often bellicosely stated, involve laying the groundwork for massive resistance to the federal government and its law enforcement agencies as well as opposition to gun control laws. In the view of many such extremists, numbering in the thousands, America's government is the enemy, now widening its authoritarian control and planning warfare against the citizenry.

To the militia ideologues, gun control legislation -- the Brady Law,¹ restrictions on assault weapons,² etc. -- are major stratagems in a secret government conspiracy to disarm and control the American people and abolish their Constitutional "right to bear arms."³ They are also obsessed with the role of government in two recent events -- the Branch Davidian confrontation in Waco⁴ and the Randy Weaver siege in Idaho⁵ -- which they interpret as signs

¹ The Brady Law requires a five-day waiting period in the sale of all handguns, during which time a background check will be performed on the purchaser through a national computerized network.

² The 1994 federal crime bill recently signed by President Clinton bans the sale and possession of 19 different types of assault weapons and limits gun clips to a maximum of 10 bullets.

³ The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states: "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

⁴ The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (ATF) originally attempted to enter the Branch Davidian compound in order to seize illegal weapons and arrest those responsible. The residents of the compound resisted the raid through arms, killing four ATF agents. The residents then remained in the compound for several weeks until a second assault at which time the compound burst into flame killing more than 80 group members.

⁵ Randy Weaver, a white supremacist, failed to appear in Federal Court on a weapons charge in 1992. He hid out with his wife, his children, and an associate, Kevin Harris, in a cabin in a remote area of northern Idaho. The U.S. Marshals Service, learning of Weaver's whereabouts, surrounded the cabin. In the 11-day siege which followed, a Deputy Marshal, William Degan, and Weaver's son and wife were slain. Finally, Weaver and Harris surrendered. At their subsequent trial in July 1993, Harris was acquitted of all charges and Weaver was acquitted of all but two lesser charges, for which he served 15 months in jail. The incident has since been made into a cause celebre by right-wing extremists.

of impending tyranny. The answer, say these extremists, is ultimately, necessarily, *paramilitary* resistance. An armed and aroused citizenry must be mobilized and ready for a call to war.

For most, if not all, of the militias, the fear of government confiscation of their weapons is a paramount concern. Samuel Sherwood, head of the "U.S. Militia Association" in Idaho, states: "When they come around to collect weapons, we'll have the legal and lawful structure to say 'no' to that." Randy Trochmann of the "Militia of Montana" gets tougher: "If and when the federal government decides to confiscate weapons, people will band together to stop them. They are not going to give up their guns." And the "enemy" easily becomes nightmarish: Robert Pummer, a leader of the "Florida State Militia," says that his group is "capable of defending ourselves against chemical and biological agents."

Although thwarting gun control is the chief aim of the militias, they seek to turn the clock back on federal involvement in a host of other issues as well, e.g., education, abortion, the environment.

Case in point: Norman Olson, a regional militia commander in northern Michigan, has envisioned violence erupting if present government policies continue. Olson, a Baptist minister who owns a gun shop, declared: "We're talking about a situation where armed conflict may be inevitable *if the country doesn't turn around.*" (Emphasis added.) Most often the central issue of the militants has been the legality of guns themselves. Clearly, their deeper suspicions and terrors should be of concern: Is their militant cause merely the alleged gun-toting "right" of citizens? -- or is it the "turning around" of the U.S. itself from what the militants see as the "treasonous" direction of the federal government's present policies? The question which no one can answer just yet is what, exactly, the "militias" intend to do with their guns.

Might they still, as many observers hope, limit themselves to the time-honored means provided by the Constitution -- freedom of expression, the ballot, the courts, the right of petition -- or do they intend to resort to lawlessness?

A recent episode in Virginia offers some partial but troubling evidence. Members of a militia group calling itself the Blue Ridge Hunt Club were arrested for possession of illegal weapons. The leader of the group, James Roy Mullins, and three others who were taken into custody, were found to be stockpiling weapons in their homes and storage facilities. Found on a computer disk in Mullins' home was a draft of the group's newsletter stating that it planned

a series of terrorist actions in furtherance of its aims. According to an ATF official, the group intended to further arm itself by raiding the National Guard Armory in Pulaski, Virginia.

A further and vexing problem uncovered by investigation of the growing militias is the presence in some of them -- even in leadership roles -- of persons with histories of racial and religious bigotry and of political extremism. In the Northwest, for example, we find militia leaders with backgrounds in the Aryan Nations movement, and elsewhere other erstwhile neo-Nazis and Ku Kluxers.

The militias are of concern and doubtless will remain so in the coming months; they are driven by a combustible issue in American life which remains unresolved -- that of gun control, an issue of urgency and passion in a society beset by violent crime. Coming head to head: a cry for weapons restrictions and a perceived Constitutional right. Most of those siding with the latter are law-abiding citizens who feel that guns are desirable for personal defense or for sport. Many of them feel that the National Rifle Association (NRA) adequately represents their concerns; others who see the NRA as too moderate have sought out more extreme advocates such as the American Pistol and Rifle Association (APRA). Of late, however, still others are resorting to the mustering of a far more desperate and dangerous "resistance" -- the militia movement that is the focus of this report.

There follows a state-by-state synopsis of militia activity.

Arizona

Efforts have recently begun in Arizona to create a militia movement. David Espy, who portrays himself a latter-day American Revolutionary captain, has attempted to organize militia meetings over the last several weeks. An advertisement he placed in the September 11 and 25, 1994 issues of the Prescott Courier announced a meeting in Paulden, Arizona of the "Association of the Sons of Liberty and the Volunteer Militia." The purpose of the meeting was to discuss plans for action against the federal government which, he asserts, "continue[s] to pass legislation that weaken our unalienable, private property and Bill of Rights (sic)." The formation of a militia is an integral part of Espy's plan:

So, everyone out there, who thinks that taking pride in owning firearms, is being fanatical or nuts, should remember where you are living and how we all got here to begin with. It wasn't by just sitting back and letting the government run our lives and usurping our fundamental rights as free people. So forgive me, if I see a clear and present danger with what is happening in our country today, and that I feel a genuine and rational need to form a volunteer militia force, if for no other reason than to [let] Washington know that there is still a large group of us out here that have inherited revolutionary DNA and are willing to fight for it until our dying breath.

Another aspect of his plan is a demand for "the legal cessation (sic) of Arizona from these federal United States."

Also active in Arizona is Gary D. Hunt, a man obsessed with the Waco Branch Davidian incident. Hunt himself was present during the siege in Waco and wrote about the event at the time, comparing the Branch Davidians to the original revolutionary Minutemen: "I understand why [the Minutemen] were willing to stand and face portions of the greatest military force in the world. And I understand why David Koresh and the other brave defenders of Mount Carmel stand fearlessly defending their home and mine."

More recently, Hunt has distributed a flier dated July 2, 1994 and labeled "Sons of Liberty No. 3." The flier describes the effectiveness of militias in the Revolutionary War and suggests that militias are again needed now. At the bottom of the flier, written in by hand, Hunt announced: "March on Phx FBI 8-25-94 5-6 p.m. to release the Branch Davidians. Bring legal signs + guns. Tell a friend." The FBI and Phoenix Police paid close attention, but the planned march never materialized.

Colorado

Militias in Colorado have benefitted from the support of a number of right-wing groups. Most active in the movement are so-called Patriot groups that proliferate throughout the state. Others showing support for militias in Colorado are the Constitutionists, the Guardians of American Liberties (GOAL), and state representative Charles Duke.

Militias, calling themselves Patriots; are being formed across the state and are currently operating in Lakewood, Longmont, Boulder, Greeley and Fort Collins. The Fort Collins group is led by Duncan Philp.

The Patriots' propaganda promotes the view that the federal government has betrayed the people and the Constitution through laws regarding home-schooling, abortion, taxation, freedom of speech and religion, and, most importantly, gun control. While calling on citizens to take political action (e.g., write their Congressmen, attend meetings, etc.), they also urge that people prepare to resist the government by forming militias and stockpiling weapons, groceries and other necessities for survival.

The Patriots publish a newsletter and sell tapes and videos through "The Patriot Library." Among the titles for sale are "The New World Order, Communist groups supported by Hillary Clinton," as well as tapes describing black helicopters said to be scrutinizing the actions of citizens in the western states. A June 22, 1994 "Patriot Factsheet" encouraged members to read, by computer access, *The Spotlight*, the organ of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby.

Guardians of American Liberties, a multi-state organization centered in Boulder, is attempting to take a leadership role in the militia movement. It describes itself as a "national grassroots network of American Citizens formed to insure our government is free of corruption, that it is actively aligned with the will of the people and to safeguard the Constitution of the United States of America from all forms of corruption." GOAL has some 40 to 50 members in Colorado as well as claimed chapters in Texas, Arizona, California and Nevada. It has established a militia committee, although it is not clear what degree of success it has achieved in organizing militias in Colorado or elsewhere. GOAL literature lists these additional committees: a "Federal Reserve & IRS Committee," a "Political Prisoner Committee," and a

"Sovereignty & Freedom Committee," beneath which is printed the slogan, "Kick the Feds out of the Counties."

GOAL's leader, Stewart Webb, has appeared frequently on right-wing radio shows to discuss his various conspiracy theories regarding, among other issues, the S&L and BCCI scandals. Webb has a history of anti-Semitism. From the mid-1980's and into the 90's, he made a series of threatening anti-Semitic phone calls and continued to do so even after receiving a cease and desist order.

The Constitutionists, a Kansas-based extremist group whose leadership includes Evan Mecham, the impeached former governor of Arizona, has received support in its promotion of militias from Colorado State representative Charles Duke. Duke spoke at the group's June conference in Indianapolis and promoted the formation of militias as an effective way for citizens to protect themselves from the government. At a Patriots meeting last July, Duke said: "We need some ability to get some firepower to protect the citizens. I would like to see a militia...[the type] that functions as a sheriff's posse and has sufficient training."

Radio station KHNC in Johnstown has offered its facilities to the Patriots and other groups active in the militia movement. KHNC broadcasts continuous Patriot programs and talk on "conservative issues." Among regulars on the station are Bo Gritz (see Idaho section of this report) and Dr. Norm Resnick, an outspoken opponent of gun control. In addition to using the radio to air their views, Colorado militias also disseminate information on computer bulletin boards that reach readers across the country. The Colorado Free Militia and Boulder Patriots, for example, are promoted on the New Age Electronic Information Service, a Colorado bulletin board.

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Florida

Several groups using the name "militia" have appeared in Florida.⁶ Among them are groups whose handbooks and leaflets variously engage in anti-Semitic innuendo, serve up alarmist warnings of a government conspiracy to abolish individual rights (especially gun ownership rights), and specify the amount of ammunition and other material each militia member is expected to carry.

One such outfit is the Florida State Militia, whose prime mover is Robert Pummer of Stuart, in Martin County. Pummer, a Kansas native who was a drug dealer in Michigan in the early 1970's and served time for second-degree murder, has been agitating on some of the same issues exploited by militia-style groups around the country: gun control, the Branch Davidian conflagration in Waco, the Randy Weaver siege at Ruby Ridge in Idaho, allegations of Russian and other foreign troops operating on U.S. soil, and other conspiracy-minded themes. He claims members in every Florida county.

The Florida State Militia's handbook, published by Pummer, declares: "[W]e have had enough -- enough drugs and crime, enough violence and bloodshed, enough Waco- and Ruby Ridge-style government attacks on Christian Americans." The handbook explains how to organize militia regiments. It prescribes the recommended survival gear and weaponry: "BUY AMMO NOW! YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BUY IT LATER!" While expressing worry over the possibility of infiltration, the handbook offers the following reassurance: "[Y]ou still have your inner circle, and this the FBI, ATF, or any other federal scumbags cannot penetrate, if you keep up your guard."

Publications contained in a "Patriot List" in the Florida State Militia's handbook include several anti-Semitic periodicals: *The Spotlight*, organ of the Washington, D.C.-based Liberty Lobby, the wealthiest and most active anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country; *The Truth At Last*, an obsessively anti-Black and anti-Jewish hate sheet produced by longtime extremist Ed Fields of Marietta, Georgia; *Criminal Politics*, a conspiracy-oriented anti-Semitic, "anti-Zionist" and anti-establishment monthly; and *The National Educator*, whose pages have honored the leaders of the far-right terrorist gang called The Order and the neo-Nazi paramilitary

⁶ Not included in this report are those militias that exist merely as resolutions by some county commissions to demonstrate their symbolic opposition to gun control.

group, Aryan Nations. The handbook says a short-wave radio is an essential piece of communications equipment. It particularly endorses the Liberty Lobby-controlled program "Radio Free America" as one source that transmits "what the mainstream media will not tell you."

Pummer's militia sponsored an Information Fair and Campout in St. Lucie County on the weekend of September 17, 1994. The event attracted approximately 100 attendees, including some parents who came with their children. Most attendees carried firearms, including some semi-automatic weapons. Many wore knives. A workshop on radio communications was conducted by a man who identified himself as a retired police chief and Air Force officer. All attendees were encouraged to attend the U.S. Constitution Restoration Rally in Lakeland, Florida, on October 1 (see below).

A Key Largo-based group calls itself alternately the United States Militia and the 1st Regiment Florida State Militia. Making a specious claim to legitimacy from such documents as the U.S. Constitution, the Federalist Papers, the Florida Constitution and Florida statutes, this group has been attempting to recruit members at "patriotic" and anti-gun control gatherings in Florida. Mimicking the style of the Declaration of Independence, its literature speaks of a "Train of Abuses" perpetrated on state and local governments and the citizenry by the federal government. "Just as our Founding Fathers of this country shook off their shackles of bondage," the group declares, "so must we."

The militia's regulations state that "County units will be organized in each county of the state." Militia members are told to expect to spend one weekend a month engaging in unit activities including rallies, shooting events and fund raisers. A list of suitable equipment is provided, which includes one thousand rounds of ammunition per weapon and six 30-round magazines for each militia member. While the group's regulations state that "The unit may not be used against the police or governmental authority within the state of Florida," an exception may be made when such an "entity" commits "crimes of violation of their oath of office" and of "sections or articles of the Constitution of the United States of America and of this state."

The United States Militia's material was distributed at a U.S. Constitution Restoration Rally in Lakeland, Florida, on October 1, 1994. Attended by 1,000 to 1,500 people, the event was sponsored by Operation Freedom, an outfit created by Charles and Ruth Ann Spross of Maitland, Florida. The Sprosses describe their effort as a "for profit partnership," and, indeed,

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they offer for sale scores of video and book titles, such as "The Planned Destruction of America" and Linda Thompson's "Waco, The Big Lie." Featured on the schedule at the October 1 gathering was a speech by M. J. "Red" Beckman, of Montana, who has been influential in the militia movement in his home state.

Distributed along with the speakers program at the rally was a sheet bearing the heading: "Paul Revere Rides Again." It proclaimed: "A strong and growing Underground Patriotic Movement with state-wide militia groups exists against The Sinister Ones that is unreported by the monopolistic and controlled establishment media." (sic) Identifying such enemies as the House of Rothschild, international bankers, the Federal Reserve System and the Trilateral Commission, the flier asked: "What is the range of British and Israeli influence in the upper tiers?" It urged readers to "Stockpile food, water, guns and ammo. Never surrender your weapons.... Subscribe to the weekly populist newspaper *The Spotlight*.... Form or attend meetings with other spirited patriots.... Consider yourself warned!"

Also distributed in large numbers at the rally was a flier urging that "All Gun Owners Should Fire A WARNING SHOT As A Signal To The New Congress" on November 11 at 11:00 pm. "Congress has failed to safeguard the Bill of Rights," it reads, "especially the 2nd Amendment." It further declares:

A warship will fire a warning shot across the bow, a rattlesnake will sound off; these warnings are never ignored. It is time to warn politicians that if they do not respect the Bill of Rights they should at least fear the wrath of the People. Congress is forcing the country into a civil war.

A group in Tampa that claims alignment with a national "patriot movement" has ordered four judges and several Hillsborough County officials, including the tax collector, to give themselves up for arrest to the group's so-called Constitutional Court. Founder of the group, Emilio Ippolito, and his daughter, Susan Mokdad, reportedly said they have an unarmed militia composed of volunteers to execute the Constitutional Court's orders. Subsequently, Ed Brown, an activist with an armed militia group in New Hampshire, contacted Florida law enforcement authorities, prosecutors' offices and the Florida Bar Association to express support for Ippolito's "court."

Idaho

As in other parts of the country, the recent rise of militias in Idaho can be linked to four events: the Randy Weaver siege, the Waco disaster, the passage of the Brady Law and the federal anti-crime law. Idaho militias identify particularly closely with the Weaver incident because it took place inside the state and because some key militia figures in the region were allied with Weaver and indeed participated in the events surrounding the siege.

Samuel Sherwood, an Idaho militia leader, has recruited hundreds of Idahoans into his United States Militia Association. At a July meeting in Blackfoot, Idaho, Sherwood reportedly told potential recruits that President Clinton's crime bill authorized the government to hire 100,000 former Royal Hong Kong police to come to America to enforce gun control laws. As of August 1994, Sherwood's association has organized militias in at least a dozen of Idaho's 44 counties.

Sherwood's recruitment campaign has met with opposition from law enforcement officials. The Tri-County Sheriff's Association, representing 16 eastern Idaho counties, has passed a resolution against the formation of militias. Greg Moffat, Madison County Sheriff and the leader of the association, has asserted that they would "give absolutely no support to the idea of a militia."

Bo Gritz

Although his current project is not strictly speaking the formation of militias, Bo Gritz's activity closely parallels the militia movement. Gritz, the 1992 Populist Party candidate for president, is a former Green Beret, well-known for conducting SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) training throughout the region, preparing participants in weapons and survival techniques.

Gritz is currently creating an armed community on a 200-acre piece of land in Central Idaho known as "Almost Heaven." He purchased the land and is now selling it in lots. A second community called "Shenandoah" is also planned nearby. Gritz plans to live at Almost Heaven with 30 other families in a self-sufficient community which he has said will obey all laws "unless they go against the laws of God and common sense." Through rigorous military training, Gritz plans to prepare his followers to prevent the government from making any

attempts to intrude: "I want a community where if the F.B.I. looks at us, they'll end up saying it's more trouble than it's worth."

Gritz derives much of his support from his opposition to the federal government's actions in the Weaver and Waco cases. He himself was present at the Weaver standoff and assisted Weaver in surrendering to the authorities. Gritz recently wrote in his newsletter, "The tyrants who ordered the assault on the Weavers and Waco should be tried and executed as traitors." But Gritz's extremist views go beyond opposition to certain government policies. For example, in his book, *Called To Serve*, he peddles the anti-Semitic myth that Jewish families control the Federal Reserve System.

Indiana

Indianapolis is the home base of Linda Thompson, an influential figure in the militia movement nationally. Thompson is a lawyer and chairman of the American Justice Federation, which describes itself as "a group dedicated to stopping the New World Order and getting the truth out to the American public." Thompson claims to have contact with militias in all 50 states. She appears frequently at militia gatherings and gun shows, to lecture and sell her videos "Waco, The Big Lie," and "Waco II - The Big Lie Continues." The latter, she claims, "proves conclusively the government murdered 100 men, women and children at Mt. Carmel in April, 1993." She also sells other propaganda material such as "The Traitor Files," which purport to link "Bill and Hillary Clinton to a Marxist-Terrorist network."

On July 13, 1994, Thompson was arrested in Indianapolis for using her vehicle to block a bus carrying supporters of President Clinton's health care plan. She was charged with obstructing traffic. At the time of her arrest police officers seized from her person a .45-caliber pistol and a .22-caliber Derringer pistol. They also found in her vehicle an assault rifle with 295 rounds of ammunition. Her case is pending.

Thompson's most ambitious undertaking to date was a planned militia march on Washington, D.C., on September 19, 1994, where an ultimatum was to be delivered to the government. The ultimatum commanded members of Congress to initiate legislation that would, among other things, repeal the 14th, 16th and 17th Amendments to the Constitution, and the Brady Law and NAFTA. Designating herself "Acting Adjutant General," of the "Unorganized Militia of the United States," Thompson ordered all participants to come "armed and in uniform." She announced that, besides delivering the ultimatum, "The militia will arrest Congressmen who have failed to uphold their oaths of office, who will then be tried for Treason by citizens' courts."

Realizing after several months that support for her march was lacking, Thompson called it off, yet her standing in the militia movement apparently remains undiminished.

The John Birch Society, troubled about Thompson's influence on its members and staff, found it necessary to warn them against her. On May 12, 1994, the Society, issued an official "admonition to all members and a directive to all employees" to "stay clear of her schemes." They said: "Linda Thompson's call for the arrest in September of members of Congress and the

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President of the United States by an armed militia is not just insane, it is contrary to all understanding of the nature and identity of the enemy." It appears that even by the standards of the John Birch Society, Thompson is too radical.

Meanwhile, Thompson continues to appear at rallies and conferences around the country, and on radio, promoting the militia cause and calling down thunder upon the American government and its law enforcement agencies.

A rally to form a militia in Indianapolis took place in September 1994, at a union hall in the south central part of the city. In attendance were some 200 persons, filling the hall to capacity, while an overflow crowd was turned away.

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A smaller militia is believed to be functioning in Switzerland County, in eastern Indiana. The county, long plagued by extremist activity, has been the home base of the Northwest Territory Knights of the KKK, a Klan splinter group.

Michigan

The militia movement has gained a following in Michigan. The most visible such group in the state has sprung up in northern Michigan. Spokesmen there make the (probably exaggerated) claim that militias have 10,000 members and that brigades are operating or are currently forming in 66 of the state's 83 counties. Meetings reportedly draw 50 to 100 attendees.

The issues animating Michigan's militias are the same as those fueling the movement nationally. Chief among them is a belief that gun control legislation is but a prelude to a complete ban on firearms ownership in this country. An essential additional ingredient, though, is their conviction that the government intends to wage war on citizens who refuse to give up their weapons. They cite as evidence for this view the tragic assault on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, and the 1992 raid on the cabin of Randy Weaver in Idaho, in which Weaver's wife and son and a federal marshal were killed. They also contend that this same federal government is acquiescing in the surrender of U.S. sovereignty to the United Nations and other international bodies. One militia, accordingly, aims to "stand against tyranny, globalism, moral relativism, humanism and the New World Order threatening to undermine these United States of America."

Norman E. Olson, 47, a Baptist minister and gun-shop owner in Alanson, is the Commander of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Northern Michigan Regional Militia. After a few months of discussion and recruitment, the group was established in April 1994. It conducts training exercises twice a month. At a recent session, weapons reportedly included Chinese SKS semi-automatic assault rifles, shotguns and deer rifles.

When residents complained about militia members clad in camouflage uniforms and painted faces gathering with their rifles at a village park and a public campground in Pellston, the village council banned firearms from those and other village sites. Militia commander Olson threatened to sue the village for allegedly violating his rights. He also announced that his group would no longer convene in the park or the campground, saying: "The people of Pellston have got to want the light of liberty."

Olson strenuously denies that the Northern Michigan Regional Militia is racist or anti-Semitic. He claims some Jewish ancestry, and professes admiration for Israel. But his militia's

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rhetoric on occasion has been extreme and alarmist. In reference to the aborted march on Washington promoted by Indianapolis militia leader Linda Thompson, Olson has written: "Many thousands are prepared to go to Washington in uniform, carry their guns, prepared to present the ultimatum to the President and to Congress. This may be the beginning of a Concord-like confrontation." A militia pamphlet distributed at a May meeting in Petoskey attended by some 55 people reportedly asked: "What force exists to prevent a state or federally orchestrated massacre like the one in Waco from occurring in Michigan?" Ray Southwell, a real estate agent who is the group's information officer, has said: "I'd guess that within the next two years, you will see the Constitution suspended." His further prediction: "Christian fundamentalists will be the first to go under fascism this time. Just like the Jews were the first last time."

Southwell speaks as though he regards confrontation with law enforcement as inevitable. His militia is preparing for the day "when martial law is declared." "We are taking a stand," he says, "and are prepared to lose everything."

Other militia activists in Michigan have had their own encounter with the law. Police in Fowlerville (Livingston County) arrested three militia members on September 8, 1994. Loaded rifles and handguns, as well as gas masks, night-vision binoculars and two-way radios, were found in their car. At the men's scheduled September 14 hearing, at least two dozen uniformed supporters staged a protest in front of the courthouse and stomped on a United Nations flag. The suspects failed to appear and are considered fugitives. They were described by their supporters as security aides to Mark Koernke (a.k.a. "Mark from Michigan"), a former Army intelligence officer whose "America in Peril" video and speeches have helped to recruit members to militias around the country.

All the confrontational talk has caught the attention of law enforcement authorities. "Some of their material is disquieting because it defines the U.S. government as the enemy," said a Michigan State Police commander. "It is disquieting if people think redress is in armed conflict with the U.S. government." The head of the Detroit office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms expressed the hope "that the militia groups would use the power of the vote rather than the threat of armed violent confrontation to accomplish their goals."

Missouri

Militias are active in Missouri but do not appear to be as well-organized as in other states. They operate in at least five southern Missouri counties: Crawford, Green, Barton, Dade and Cedar, and number collectively approximately 130 members. The militias hold irregular meetings to view training videos, discuss paramilitary techniques and exchange literature reflecting right-wing views.

Missouri's militias are attempting to organize themselves for political action by, among other things, running candidates for local office. In keeping with their political aspirations, they have attempted to avoid any public identification with more extreme groups, although some members also belong to the John Birch Society and the Populist Party.

Montana

Militias have been forming in Montana since February 1994. While the rhetoric of these groups focuses on gun control and other familiar militia causes, examination reveals that some of the leading figures in the Montana militia movement have also participated in the activities of racist and anti-Semitic groups.

Meetings have been held across the state, drawing as many as 800 at a March 10 meeting in Kalispell. Two other meetings there also drew over 150 participants. Similar gatherings held in Hamilton, Eureka, Big Timber and Great Falls drew over 200 participants each. Smaller numbers attended meetings in Sanders County, Billings and Troy. While the crowds at initial meetings have been large, they have tended to fall off somewhat at subsequent gatherings.

Montana militias often dwell on the state's history as an independent outpost of freedom. A recent militia newsletter quoted, with approval, Gary Marbut, president of the Montana Shooting Sports Association (an anti-gun control group) in a call for rejection of all federal control over the state:

Montanans are fed up with the federal government dictating to Montana and the people of Montana and we are through with Congress's increasing encroachment on the Bill of Rights. We have a thirst for freedom in Montana, and we simply will not subsist under the boot heel of federal tyranny. There may be some debate about what the Second Amendment means to the U.S. Supreme Court or the people of Peoria, but there is no question about what the Second Amendment means to the people of Montana. "The great purpose" as Patrick Henry said, "is that every man be armed."

Militia of Montana

The Militia of Montana (M.O.M.) is among the most visible and the most extreme of such groups in the country. M.O.M. is run in Noxon, Montana by the Trochmann brothers, John and David and David's son Randy, all of whom have long been involved in the white supremacist movement. The Trochmanns have been members of the Aryan Nations, the Idaho-based neo-Nazi organization that promotes anti-Semitism, white supremacy and the establishment of a white racist state. John Trochmann was a featured speaker at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1990. He has also been an active supporter of Randy Weaver, the white supremacist who was involved in a shoot-out with federal authorities. Some members of M.O.M. circulate neo-Nazi

publications among themselves. One such book, *Seed of the Woman*, is a "novel" detailing the wild exploits of several young neo-Nazis in a contemporary America peopled by gross stereotypes. Its favorable depiction of Nazi-inspired slaughter and its promotion of Nazi doctrine make it a prescription for violence against Jews, blacks, homosexuals and others.

M.O.M.'s eight-page pamphlet, "The Militia," discusses the history of militias and their origin in the United States, arguing that the Second Amendment was intended to allow the citizens to form "unorganized" militias in order to protect themselves from a potentially tyrannical government. It outlines the militia's role as follows:

To balance the military power of the nation with the might of the militia will put at odds any scheme by government officials to use the force of the government against the people. Therefore, when the codes and statutes are unjust for the majority of the people, the people will rightly revolt and the government will have to acquiesce without a shot being fired, because the militia stands vigilant in carrying out the will of the people in defense of rights, liberty and freedom.

The purpose of government is in the protection of the rights of the people, when it does not accomplish this, the militia is the crusader who steps forward, and upon it rests the mantle of the rights of the people. (sic)

Displaying the group's attitude towards taking up arms, John Trochmann recently said: "We don't want bloodshed. We want to use the ballot box and the jury box. We don't want to go to the cartridge box. But we will if we have to."

M.O.M.'s newsletter, *Taking Aim*, details the ways that the government is currently failing to protect the rights of the people. It cites gun control and the crime bill as evidence of this, but also suggests a variety of conspiracy theories about plans by world leaders to implement a world government. M.O.M. plays to paranoid fears by making wild claims about the supposed activity of foreign military troops in Montana and across the country. One report on the activity of out-of-state troops brought in to fight forest fires concludes: "One more note: Mysterious deaths have been taking place since these troops appeared. Coincidence? We do not know." While the newsletter does not echo the racist ideology of the Trochmanns, it makes a homophobic slur in alluding to rumors regarding Attorney General Janet Reno's sexual orientation.

M.O.M. advertises and distributes books, tapes and videos that provide further "information" on their conspiracy theories. Typical of the selection is a video advertised as "The Countdown to History (Biochip - Mark of the Beast) UN Police Force, One World Govt.,

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Chip implants, All by the year 2000-Totally Documented." Also offered are tapes and videos on organizing militias and on survival and combat techniques.

Red Beckman

M. J. "Red" Beckman, an influential figure in the militia movement, has a record as an anti-Semite and an anti-tax activist. He recently lost a long struggle with the IRS when he was finally evicted from his land long after it had been sold to pay for taxes due the government. Beckman, like many militia proponents, is a conspiracy theorist. He has said that the Federal Reserve Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the so-called New World Order are conspiring to dominate the world. In his 1984 book, *The Church Deceived*, Beckman proclaimed that the Holocaust was a judgment upon the Jews for worshipping Satan. More recently, he appeared on KULR-TV, a Montana television station, and repeated his view that Jews are worshippers of Satan.

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New Hampshire

New Hampshire law provides for an "unorganized militia" made up of all citizens over the age of 18 who are not in the national guard or state guard. Militia enthusiasts in New Hampshire have pointed to the state's legislation (as well as the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution) to explain and justify their seemingly oxymoronic organization of "unorganized militias." There is nothing to suggest, however, that they actually intend to serve according to the spirit of the laws by which they justify their own existence. Such laws call for the governor of the state to direct members of the "unorganized militia" to serve in the National Guard during times of crisis.

New Hampshire is the home of the Constitution Defense Militia, a well-organized group with at least 15 members. It is not known if the group engages in paramilitary training or the stockpiling of weapons.

The group has held meetings at the home of Edward L. Brown of Plainsfield. Brown is outspoken in his support of the concept of militias and devotes much of his time and energy to the causes embraced by them: opposition to gun control, the United Nations and the federal government. He recently lobbied against a bill that would ban guns in school zones, for example.

While much of Brown's activity appeals to mainstream opponents of gun control and big government, his enthusiasm for conspiracy theories and his reliance on extremist propaganda places him on the far reaches of the political spectrum. Brown is a devoted reader of *The Spotlight*, the organ of Liberty Lobby, the best-funded and most active anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the United States. In a recent telephone call to ADL, Brown acknowledged that he gets his information on domestic and international affairs from *The Spotlight*. He recently wrote letters to his Congressman and Senators in Washington regarding the alleged build-up of hostile foreign troops inside the United States. Other members of his militia reportedly also embrace conspiracy fantasies involving the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

At a recent meeting of the group, members expressed their admiration for two extremist figures: Bo Gritz and Linda Thompson (see the sections of this report on Idaho and Indiana). The group has been in contact with Gritz regarding the organization of militias.

New Mexico

As in neighboring Arizona, the organization of militias in New Mexico is in the nascent stages. Thus far, the most visible manifestation of pro-militia sentiment in New Mexico has been found in *The Free American*, a monthly newspaper published privately by Clayton R. Douglas and his wife, Jan Douglas. The September 1994 issue contained an advertisement declaring: "It's Time To Take Matters Into Our Own Hands. It's Time To Protect Our Constitution! Join The New Mexico Unorganized Militia." The accompanying phone number for more information was the number of the newspaper itself.

The militia movement appears to be taking hold in Catron County, an area that in recent years has experienced much anti-federal government sentiment among some residents. Among the groups attempting to organize a local militia are "Concerned Citizens" and the "Patriots of Catron County."

Finally, literature from Linda Thompson's (see Indiana section) "Unorganized Militias of the United States," has been distributed through gun shops in Albuquerque.

North Carolina

North Carolina's militia movement has been fueled by an alarmist vision of a U.S. government bent on the destruction of American liberties.

A Monroe-based group called Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government has coalesced around Albert Esposito. He denies that he is preaching revolution, but his rhetoric includes clear overtones of preparation for battle with the imagined enemy. He urges the group to amass caches of the "Four B's": Bibles, bullets, beans and bandages. Many members own semiautomatic weapons, including AR-15's and AK-47's.

The group's program is a mixture of anti-government, religious and conspiratorial ideas. It aims to "make the Holy Bible and the United States Constitution the law of the land," and it vows to "resist the coming New World Order (one world government)." To accomplish its goals, it promises to "Remove treasonous politicians and corrupt judges from positions of authority, and return authority to the people." (Precisely how these malefactors are to be removed from office is not stated.)

Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government meets twice a month, alternating between Monroe, in Union County, and Matthews, in neighboring Mecklenburg County. At one meeting, Esposito, a 43-year-old contractor, reportedly repeated G. Gordon Liddy's alleged statement about the new crime law's assault weapons ban: "He said, 'If they pass it, don't obey it. And if they come after you, meet force with force.'"

The group has distributed application forms for the "National Free and Sovereign Civilian Militia, North Carolina state Division." The forms ask applicants whether they are proficient in the operation of handguns and rifles, "reloading ammo," and a variety of survivalist skills.

Esposito has espoused his views on guns at Union County commissioners' meetings. He also railed against federal encroachment in announcing his support for a nonbinding resolution passed by the commission in support of school prayer. Holding a copy of the Constitution in the air, he declared: "We control the county. Not Washington."

Consistent with such anti-federal government views, Esposito says he has refused to file federal income tax returns for three years running because he regards the tax as unconstitutional.

The group he leads split off from a tax-protest group in Charlotte called the Carolina Patriots, three of whose leaders were convicted in October 1994 of conspiracy to help people avoid their tax obligations. Esposito's group has attempted to distance itself from the Carolina Patriots.

In addition to their views on guns and taxes, members of the Monroe group have expressed ideas and conspiracy theories that are characteristic of some other militias around the country. These include charges that the Federal Reserve system has enriched a tiny elite (the group's literature advocates the abolition of the Federal Reserve), and that some government employees have been implanted with computer chips in order to monitor the citizenry. Another claim made at one of the group's meetings, that the government cannot require private citizens to obtain a driver's license, echoes the stand of an earlier extremist group, the Posse Comitatus.

A separate North Carolina militia group has been formed in Greenville, in the eastern part of the state. Led by Scott Brown, the unit is part of the Idaho-based United States Militia Association. Brown reportedly has said his group worries that government representatives "don't really understand what the Constitution means and stands for, and they're voting away our unalienable rights." It is not known whether the Greenville unit is engaging in any more incendiary rhetoric or activity. But this fear -- which is apparently spreading and growing -- that the government is a threat to the rights of the people, is a central theme that militia groups are feverishly trying to exploit.

A computer bulletin board in Alamance County, called "The Spirit of '76," has served as an area recruiting point for the militia led by Linda Thompson, the Indianapolis woman who is a leading figure in the militia movement nationwide. Another bulletin board system that made Thompson's computerized materials available has referred individuals interested in joining the militia to The Spirit of '76. For its part, The Spirit of '76 has declared itself off limits to police and other government authorities by posting a warning that states: "This BBS [bulletin board system] is a PRIVATE system. Only private citizens who are NOT involved in government or law enforcement activities are authorized to use it."

Ohio

Several militia-like groups have arisen in scattered communities in the State of Ohio. One such militia has been meeting and conducting paramilitary training exercises in Pike County in rural south central Ohio. There is overlapping participation, and a weapons-sales connection, among the Pike County militia, the neo-Nazi SS Action Group and the Ku Klux Klan.

Other militia groups have arisen in Franklin County and Warren County. A militia-type group called "Patriots" meets in Cincinnati and conducts paramilitary exercises in rural Clermont County.

Virginia

On July 27 of this year, James Roy Mullins, a founding member of a militia-like group called The Blue Ridge Hunt Club, was arrested and charged with the possession and sale of a short-barreled rifle and unregistered silencers and with facilitating the unlawful purchase of a firearm. Ultimately, three other members were also charged with firearm offenses. Federal officials said that Mullins had formed the club to arm its members in preparation for war with the government. The cases are pending.

The group, formed earlier in 1994, has had as many as 15 members. They are said to have met three times before Mullins' arrest. While members of the group say that their purpose is to lobby against gun control laws, federal law enforcement officials tell a much different story. An ATF official who investigated the case said that "Mullins is organizing a group of confederates, to be armed and trained in paramilitary fashion, in preparation for armed conflict with government authorities should firearms legislation become too restrictive." Evidence of such preparation is substantial. In searches of members' homes and storage facilities, federal agents found a stockpile of weapons. In Mullins' home, agents found 13 guns, several of which had homemade silencers. They also found explosives, hand grenades, fuses and blasting caps in a separate warehouse.

Even pretrial incarceration has not stopped Mullins from threatening violence. While in jail, he wrote a letter to a friend saying that he wanted to borrow a machine gun in order to "take care of unfinished business" with certain prosecution witnesses.

The strongest indications of the group's goals was the draft of a portion of its newsletter found on a computer disk obtained by federal agents. On the disk, Mullins had written:

Hit and run tactics will be our method of fighting... We will destroy targets such as telephone relay centers, bridges, fuel storage tanks, communications towers, radio stations, airports, etc... human targets will be engaged ... when it is beneficial to the cause to eliminate particular individuals who oppose us (troops, police, political figures, snitches, etc.).

An ATF official also said that Mullins was planning to arm the group by burglarizing the National Guard Armory in Pulaski, Virginia.

Conclusion

Given the revolutionary posturing of so many of the militias, and the role in them of hatemongers of long standing, the better part of wisdom dictates that close attention be paid to them. There is a role here for the press and for citizen organizations that monitor extremism. The Anti-Defamation League is pledged to do its part.

The chief responsibility for keeping on top of the militia threat, however, plainly rests with the law enforcement branch of government. That this responsibility must be implemented with all due respect for the legal rights to which everyone is entitled should go without saying. Law enforcement agencies need the requisite resources to monitor these groups and to take appropriate measures, when necessary, to protect the public.

One such tool is paramilitary training legislation already on the books of many states. Those laws (many patterned after a model bill first formulated by ADL, which is appended to this report) should be applied, where appropriate. In states where such laws have yet to be adopted, ADL urges that they be given prompt consideration.

The right to hold and promote one's views on the issues which are agitating the militias -- such as gun control, the environment, and abortion -- is inviolate under the Constitution. There is no right, however, to use force or violence either to impose one's views on others or to resist laws properly enacted. That is the crux of the problem presented by the rise of the militias.

Appendix

ADL MODEL PARAMILITARY TRAINING STATUTE

A. (1) Whoever teaches or demonstrates to any other person the use, application, or making of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, knowing or having reason to know or intending that same will be unlawfully employed for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder; or

(2) Whoever assembles with one or more persons for the purpose of training with, practicing with, or being instructed in the use of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, intending to employ unlawfully the same for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder --

Shall be fined not more than _____ or imprisoned not more than _____ years, or both.

B. Nothing contained in this section shall make unlawful any act of any law enforcement officer which is performed in the lawful performance of his official duties.

C. As used in this section:

(1) The term "civil disorder" means any public disturbance involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons, which causes an immediate danger of or results in damage or injury to the property or person of any other individual.

(2) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.

(3) The term "explosive or incendiary device" means (a) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, (b) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile, or similar device and (c) any incendiary bomb or grenade, fire bomb, or similar device, including any device which (i) consists of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a

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wick composed of any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (ii) can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.

(4) The term "law enforcement officer" means any officer or employee of the United States, any state, any political subdivision of a state, or the District of Columbia, and such term shall specifically include, but shall not be limited to, members of the National Guard, as defined in section 101(9) of title 10, United States Code, members of the organized militia of any state or territory of the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or the District of Columbia, not included within the definition of National Guard as defined by such section 101(9), and members of the Armed Forces of the United States.

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Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL OFFICE 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017	(212) 490-2525
WASHINGTON OFFICE 1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. (Suite 1020), Washington, D.C. 20036	(202) 452-8320
REGIONAL OFFICES	
ALBUQUERQUE P.O. Box 21639, Albuquerque, NM 87154	(505) 843-2712
ARIZONA The First Interstate Tower, 3550 North Central Avenue (Suite 914), Phoenix, AZ 85012	(602) 274-0991
ATLANTA (Southeast) One Securities Centre, 3490 Piedmont Road N.E. (Suite 610), Atlanta, GA 30305	(404) 262-3470
BOSTON (New England) 1 Lincoln Plaza, (Suite 301), Boston, MA 02111	(617) 330-9696
CHICAGO (Greater Chicago/Wisconsin) 309 West Washington, (Suite 750), Chicago, IL 60606	(312) 782-5080
CLEVELAND (Northern Ohio) 505 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, OH 44113	(216) 579-9600
COLUMBUS (Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky) 42 East Gay St., (Suite 814), Columbus, OH 43215	(614) 621-0601
CONNECTICUT 419 Whalley Avenue, New Haven, CT 06511	(203) 787-4281
DALLAS (Northwest Texas/Oklahoma) 12800 Hillcrest Road (Suite 219), Dallas, TX 75230	(214) 960-0342
D.C. (D.C./MARYLAND) 1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. (Suite 1020), Washington, D.C. 20036	(202) 452-8310
DENVER (Mountain States) 300 South Dahlia Street (Suite 202), Denver, CO 80222	(303) 321-7177
DETROIT (Michigan) 4000 Town Center (Suite 420), Southfield, MI 48075-1405	(810) 355-3730
HOUSTON (Southwest) 4635 Southwest Freeway (Suite 400), Houston, TX 77027	(713) 627-3490
LOS ANGELES (Pacific Southwest) 10495 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90025	(310) 446-8000
MIAMI (Florida) 150 SE Second Avenue (Suite 800), Miami, FL 33131	(305) 373-6306
NEW JERSEY 741 Northfield Avenue, West Orange, NJ 07052	(201) 669-9700
NEW ORLEANS (South Central) 925 Common Street (Suite 975), New Orleans, LA 70112	(504) 522-9534
NEW YORK CITY (New York City, Westchester, Rockland, Putnam and Long Island) 823 U.N. Plaza, New York, NY 10017	(212) 490-2525
NEW YORK STATE 125 Wolf Rd. (Suite 504), Albany, NY 12205	(518) 446-0038
OMAHA (Plains States) 333 South 132 Street, Omaha, NE 68154	(402) 333-1303
ORANGE COUNTY 2700 North Main Street (Suite 500), Santa Ana, CA 92701	(714) 973-4733
PALM BEACH COUNTY The Commerce Center, 324 Datura Street (Suite 223), West Palm Beach, FL 33401	(407) 832-7144
PHILADELPHIA (Eastern Pennsylvania/Delaware) 230 South Broad Street, 20th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19102	(215) 735-4267
SAN DIEGO 7851 Mission Center Court (Suite 320), San Diego, CA 92108	(619) 293-3770
SAN FERNANDO VALLEY 22622 Vanowen Street, West Hills, CA 91307	(818) 587-3220
SAN FRANCISCO (Central Pacific) 720 Market Street (Suite 800), San Francisco, CA 94102-2501	(415) 981-3500
SEATTLE (Pacific Northwest) Plaza 600 Building (Suite 720), 600 Stewart Street, Seattle, WA 98101	(206) 448-5349
ST. LOUIS (Missouri/Southern Illinois) 10926 Schuetz Road, St. Louis, MO 63146	(314) 432-6868
VIRGINIA/NORTH CAROLINA 6330 Newtown Rd. (Suite 326), Norfolk, VA 23502	(804) 455-9002
OVERSEAS OFFICES	
JERUSALEM 30 King David Street, Jerusalem, Israel 94101	011-972-2-251-171
CANADA Cooperative Association with the League for Human Rights of Canadian B'nai Brith 15 Hove Street (Suite 210), Downsview, Ontario, Canada, M3H 4Y8	(416) 633-6227