# Anti-Government Extremists: An Information Project



## Naval Criminal Investigative Service Criminal Intelligence Unit

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#### **Introduction**

This study was begun because of increased requests from the field for information about the so-called "militia movement," which achieved nationwide recognition following the Oklahoma City bombing. Research quickly determined that militias are only a small part of a much larger phenomenon - anti-government extremists.

This report is intended to provide background on this phenomenon. All information was obtained from public sources. It discusses the origins and beliefs of some anti-government groups, particularly those with the more extreme and combative members. History of groups and figures will be used as examples to illustrate anti-government extremist beliefs. goals, and methods. This information is intended to address some of the issues of unique concern to Naval Criminal Investigative Service Special Agents and analysts, specifically threats posed to Department of the Navy (DoN) commands, personnel, property, and law enforcement by the fringe elements of anti-government extremists. It is important to note that this report is written from a law enforcement perspective, to aid Special Agents in investigations of criminal activity posing a threat to the Department of Defense (DoD) in general and the DoN in particular. This law enforcement perspective may also be useful to military commanders who work with law enforcement in the accomplishment of their assigned mission. The focus of this report is not on intelligence gathering or on building a database or file of specific groups or individuals - it is intended as a training tool in order to more fully address and prepare Special Agents and commanders to deal with a potentially serious threat to DoD and DoN assets. Such training is considered essential to the accomplishment of the DoD and DoN missions.

This report is not an all-encompassing study of all anti-government extremist groups and individuals. It is an overview to provide information on the movement. It does not address specific threats faced by specific bases. That type of information can only be collected at the local level, in coordination with domestic civilian investigative agencies, federal, state, and local. This report recognizes the extistance of and respects the rights of persons and organizations lawfully advocating measures in opposition to government policy - many of whom genuinely see themselves as continuing a patriotic American tradition. The focus of this report is not on those groups or individuals, but instead on groups and inviduals that choose illegal means that threaten the accomplishment of the DoD and DoN missions.

For the purposes of this handbook, an extremist is defined as "an individual or group whose political, ideological, or philosophical goals are so far outside those of the mainstream that the extremist has no chance of accomplishing those goals through the normal political process, and therefore, will resort to illegal, even violent, means." An anti-government extremist (AGE) is someone who advocates the violent overthrow of the government or the deprivation of the civil rights of others.

Anti-government extremist groups almost exclusively represent the far right of the political spectrum. They are comprised primarily of white men, although some militia groups have demonstrated conscious attempts to recruit minorities. White supremacist, neo-Nazi, and other hate groups have recently shown increased efforts at enlisting women, particularly

mothers, to their cause. While support for these groups appears at first glance to be strongest among those of lower economic and educational classes, membership crosses all social, educational, economic, and professional strata. Recent studies suggest that an increasing number of "mainstream" Americans are attracted to various aspects of extremist groups, so that these now include those who disagree with the government on one or two specific issues as well as those who are prepared to resist federal representatives at gunpoint.

The most visible common factor among all these groups is the belief that the government is the enemy and is prepared to subjugate the American people to complete government control. Their hatred and fear is based on their perception that the government stands in the way of achieving their goals, whether those goals are gun ownership, racial purity, or avoidance of income taxes. They believe that the government must be stopped at all costs, to include violence.

There is nothing new about anti-government extremism. What is new, and significant, today is the willingness of some anti-government extremists to use violence against the government and its representatives. Although the best estimates indicate that the number of extremists willing to resort to violence is very small, a quick review of activities since the Oklahoma City bombing makes it clear that the threat cannot be discounted.

Anti-government extremists have existed since the genesis of this nation. The first European inhabitants of this country were extremists of sorts, fleeing oppressive government control. Shays' Rebellion in 1786 was the first significant instance of armed opposition to the federal government. In 1794, President Washington sent 13,000 troops to put down 500 unhappy farmers involved in the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania.

Violence by anti-government extremists in this country has tended to occur at the far ends of the political spectrum. Conservative groups such as the Ku Klux Klan attempted to preserve the status quo by targeting racial, ethnic or political minorities. Leftist or radical extremists tended to target government and quasi-government officials and facilities perceived as representing the "establishment" to which they were opposed. This pattern continues today, as seen by the tactics of extreme political groups such as the radical environmentalists who put railroad spikes in trees, and the anti-abortion groups responsible for the murders of abortion clinic employees.

#### <u>Scope</u>

This study will cover the following broad subgroups among today's extremists:

1. <u>Militias</u>: Defined by federal law as an "illegally maintained private army," these groups, in a unique interpretation of the Second Amendment, believe that owning firearms and forming private armed groups is not merely a citizen's right, but a duty. Most object to even basic federal regulations on gun purchase and ownership. Many, but by no means all, militias conduct paramilitary training, instructing their members in weapons use and maintenance, explosives, assault, and ambush tactics, intelligence, communications, and survival skills.

2. <u>Christian Identity Groups</u>: These use their interpretations of the Bible and history to promote descendants of white Europeans as the true Children of Israel. Jews and non-whites are relegated to sub-human status.

3. **Supremacist Groups:** These advocate the supremacy of one race over all others, and would deprive those others of all rights. This includes neo-Nazi and similar groups.

4. **Political and pseudo-legal groups:** These groups, including common law courts, are opposed to all forms of government regulation. Through their own unique interpretations of historical documents (to include the Constitution and the Bible) and other sources, they deny the jurisdiction of the judicial system and establish their own courts. Many use false liens and bogus financial instruments, which has been called "paper terrorism."

Included in this group are the secessionists, who maintain that their state or area is not legally part of the United States. The Republic of Texas, probably the most infamous of these groups, went so far as to try to establish an entire alternate government and obtain diplomatic recognition. Similar groups exist in Hawaii and Alaska, the American South (the "neo-Confederates"), in parts of Canada, and among some Indian tribes.

5. <u>County Sovereignty Groups</u>: These advocate the county as the highest "legitimate" level of government. They seek to place federal and state lands under county control and abolish federal and state legislation in favor of county laws.

6. <u>Single-issue Groups:</u> These are organized around a particular political issue on which they disagree with the government. Unlike most "special interest" groups, their tactics cross the line separating the normal political process from extremism. They ally themselves with the other extremist groups described above to achieve their ends.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has described five different levels of individual involvement in extremism:

1. <u>"Armchair" members</u> are most interested in theories, especially conspiracies. The Internet and e-mail are the most popular methods of participation. Many armchair members are only recent converts to extremism.

2. <u>"Lifestyle" members</u> tend to display the outward signs of membership but stop short of advocating violence or breaking laws. They may homeschool their children and refuse to have them vaccinated, practice self-reliance and survival skills, and occasionally participate in "training exercises." Lifestylers are often derisively described as "weekend warriors" by hard-core extremists.

3. <u>"Professional" members</u> both profit from and fuel extremism. They are the media spokespeople, talk-show personalities, publishers and mail-order businessmen who supply extremism with goods and a voice.

4. <u>"Outlaw" members</u> translate their defiance and mistrust of government into refusal to comply with laws which they claim are illegal, unconstitutional, or otherwise invalid. This includes refusing to pay taxes, collecting illegal weapons and otherwise violating federal firearms laws, and refusal to comply with civil summons. They file bogus property liens against public officials and refuse to obey public officials who have not been "properly sworn" into office.

5. <u>"Underground" members</u> form "secret cells" of a few people to plan violence, usually against public officials, facilities, or institutions. They believe this will provoke severe, hopefully armed and violent, responses from the federal government, which in turn will create enough hatred to drive enough "ordinary Americans" to extremism and eventually foment a "peoples' revolution" to overthrow the discredited federal government. (Few groups appear to have planned anything with which to replace it.) Underground members are responsible for most violent acts traceable to extremism. forming private armed groups is not merely a citizen's right, but a duty. Most object to even basic federal regulations on gun purchase and ownership. Many, but by no means all, militias conduct paramilitary training, instructing their members in weapons use and maintenance, explosives, assault, and ambush tactics, intelligence, communications, and survival skills.

The graphic below illustrates the spectrum of activity demonstrated by various anti-government extremist groups, from behavior that falls within legitimate legal and/or political limits to behavior so far outside those limits that it can be described as war against the government.

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#### **Common Beliefs**

While not all extremists subscribe to the same beliefs, there are a number of precepts encountered repeatedly regardless of the type of group. These common beliefs tend to fuel cross-linking between groups and types of groups.

1. <u>Illegitimacy of the federal government</u>: Common to extremist thought is the belief that the federal government has far exceeded the limits envisioned for it by the founders and that all actions exceeding these limits are illegal and should be disregarded.

2. **Racial supremacy:** Belief in the superiority of one race over all others, and antipathy toward efforts by the federal government to enforce civil rights

3. **Divine nature of founding documents**: Many if not most extremists believe the Constitution, the Bill of Rights (but not subsequent amendments), the Articles of Confederation, and sometimes the Magna Charta are of divine origin, cannot be changed and must be interpreted literally.

4. <u>Posse Comitatus</u>: the belief that the county is the highest legitimate level of government in the country, with the county sheriff the highest official, to whom state and federal officials are subordinate.

5. <u>Common Conspiracy Theories</u>: Conspiracy theories dominate extremist thought, especially among militias, which use them to justify preparing (arming) themselves. Some theories are so extreme as to be ludicrous, while others are only slightly outside main-stream beliefs.

- Foremost among these is the New World Order (NWO), in which the federal government is conspiring with the United Nations to subjugate the people of the United States to establish a one-world socialist government (the New World Order). All gun control legislation is part a plan to disarm the public before the NWO.
- Franklin Roosevelt allegedly secretly suspended the Constitution on 04 Mar 1933 (Roosevelt declared a national emergency to deal with the Depression).

#### - OR --

- President Lincoln "suspended the government" in 1861. This "suspension" was never lifted, so the country was never formally unified after the war ended and all states admitted to the union after 1861 are not actually part of the US. (Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus in 1861; the suspension was lifted in 1865.)
- The Oklahoma City bombing was actually the work of federal agents to publicly discredit the militias and justify more repressive anti-terrorist and gun control legislation.

- All world governments are controlled by the Illuminati, a secret sect founded in Germany in 1776.
- Paying federal income tax is voluntary, because the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment was never properly ratified.
- Black helicopters are used to spy on law-abiding citizens.
- Hong Kong police officers are being trained in Montana to disarm Americans. Foreign military troops are stationed throughout the US.
- Bar codes on the backs of road signs are actually coded directions for the United Nations troops to follow during the impending invasion.
- Concentration camps are being built to house Americans opposed to the NWO, either inside abandoned salt mines in Michigan, or in the Louisiana swamps, or in biospheres on federal lands.
- Shackles are being secretly installed in railroad freight cars in order to transport Americans to the concentration camps.
- Fluoridation of the water supply is actually a NWO experiment in mind control.
- Americans who join the military are implanted with computer chips ("biochips").
- The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) secretly controls the government and the weather.
- The Federal Reserve is illegal and controlled by: eight Jewish families, or Swiss bankers, or the Illuminati.
- The federal government contaminates all paper money with cocaine residue so it can later be seized and used to pay off the national debt.
- Planned vaccinations of military personnel for anthrax are actually a NWO plot intended to infect them with the disease and replace them with NWO soldiers.
- Jet contrails are actually evidence of NWO efforts at biological warfare deadly diseases are being spread from jet aircraft.

There is a wide gap between anger at the federal government and violent action against representatives of that government. Not everyone who declares himself a sovereign citizen, joins a militia group, takes part in a common law court, becomes a follower of Christian Identity, or joins a white supremacist organization will turn to violence. However, there is a segment within each element of anti-government extremism that is willing, even ready, to resort to violence. The purpose of this manual is to provide information about the history, philosophies and prominent members of these and to acquaint the reader with the dangers represented by anti-government extremists.

Except where otherwise specified, information in this project is valid as of June 30, 1998.

Stacie Dotson Walter W. Wallmark June, 1999

#### <u>Militias</u>

"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." (Second Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America.)

**Overview:** Militias comprise the openly armed wing of extremism. There is no centralized militia structure, nor is there such a thing as a "typical" militia member. People join militias out of anger and frustration with what are perceived as efforts by an uncaring government

to take away their constitutional rights, particularly those represented by the Second Amendment, which militia members interpret as an absolute right to own and possess firearms.

It is unknown exactly how many militias, or how many militia members, there are in the United States. In October, 1994, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) estimated there were active militia units in 13 states. In June 1995, six weeks after the Oklahoma City bombing, ADL estimated militias were operating in at least 40 states. By 1997, ADL estimated that militia activity continued to grow in only five states, remained stable in 20, and declined in the remaining 25. At the end of 1996, the Southern Poverty Center's Klanwatch identified 441 paramilitary militia units active in all 50 states.

Several factors sparked the growth of paramilitary groups. With the end of the Cold War, Americans began to look for a new "enemy," and many identified the federal government as that



enemy. Many of those who suffered in the recessions of the 1980s and 1990s resented a government that seemed indifferent and occasionally antagonistic to them.

Federal legislation alienated some Americans. The North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA), was seen by many as an assault on American jobs. The Brady Law and the 1994 ban on assault rifles were viewed as infringements on their constitutional right to keep and bear arms. Those already in militias viewed these acts as further proof of a conspiracy to disarm the American public.

Two events, more than any others, accelerated the growth of the militias: Ruby Ridge (1992) and Waco (1993). Regardless of the actual events at either location, militia activists invoke Ruby Ridge and Waco in almost religious terms as proof of the hostility of the federal government.

Militia members represent the entire educational spectrum, from high school dropouts to PhDs. While many are from blue collar backgrounds, others are doctors or engineers. Some are law enforcement officers. Militia participation is not limited to white males. There are militias consisting of Jews, African-Americans, and Hispanics, and many with female members. There is even a militia dating service, called the "Patriot Matchmaker." However, the philosophies that bind together extremists, including the militias, are overwhelmingly racist, anti-Semitic, and white supremacist.

While militias experienced a resurgence in the 1990s in the aftermath of Ruby Ridge and Waco, some groups achieved notoriety in the 1970s and 1980s. The militias discussed below are not necessarily the most dangerous, largest, or most active, but have featured largely in public attention due to extensive media coverage.

**Posse Comitatus:** In 1969, Henry "Mike" Beach, a former member of the pro-Nazi Silver Shirts, and William Potter Gale, a Christian Identity believer, formed separate Posse Comitatus groups. By the mid-1970s, there were about 80 Posse Comitatus groups across the country.

The significance of Posse Comitatus is that it is the origin of the idea that the federal government has "gone too far," greatly exceeding the limits envisioned by the founders. This means that the federal government is illegitimate and has no authority and federal agents are the enemy. The county is the highest government authority and the county sheriff is the senior law enforcement official, views most clearly expressed by the "county sovereignty" movement.

Gale wrote a guerrilla warfare manual called *The Road Back*, now a major reference for the militias. Gale predicted a war against the federal government and conducted guerilla training for Posse Comitatus members. A number of Posse Comitatus members were convicted for planned violence against federal officials, including judges and IRS agents. Gordon Kahl, a Posse Comitatus member, and supporters killed three and wounded four other law enforcement officers in an arrest attempt in 1983; Kahl was killed later that year in another shootout with law enforcement.

**The Order:** The Order, a "spinoff" of Posse Comitatus and Aryan Nations, was founded by Robert Matthews in 1983. Its mission was to "bring total victory to the Aryan race." To finance war with the federal government, members committed a series of armed robberies, including a \$3.8 million armored truck robbery. The Order was responsible for the 1984 murder of Alan Berg, a Jewish radio talk-show host, in Denver. Matthews was killed in a shootout with FBI agents in 1984 in Oak Harbor, Washington. In 1985, member David Tate killed Missouri Highway Patrol Officer Jimmy Linegar and wounded Trooper Alan Hines, who stopped him for a traffic violation. In 1986, ten members were convicted and twelve others pled guilty to charges including racketeering, arson, and murder.

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The Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA): Another Posse spinoff, this group was based in Arkansas and was responsible for a series of firebombings and arsons. They planned to blow up oil pipelines and destroy water supplies. CSA conducted training in military tactics, guerrilla warfare, martial arts, and survival for members. On 30Jun84, CSA member Richard Wayne Snell shot and killed Arkansas State Trooper Louis Bryant after Bryant stopped Snell for a traffic violation. In April, 1985, the CSA compound was raided by BATF and five people were arrested. BATF agents found illegal weapons, land mines, cyanide, a rocket launcher, and an armored car at the compound.

Robert Millar, a CSA advisor, was not arrested and went on to found Elohim City, a Christian Identity enclave in Oklahoma. On 19Apr95, the same day Timothy McVeigh blew up the Alfred Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma, Richard Wayne Snell was executed in Arkansas for the murder of Trooper Bryant. Snell's body was claimed by Millar and "lay in state" in Elohim City. During the bombing investigation, federal authorities documented contacts between McVeigh and Elohim City. "Sovereign citizen" and white separatist Chevie Kehoe also has ties to Elohim City.

<u>Militia of Montana:</u> One of the best known militias, the Militia of Montana (MOM) is based in Noxon, MT and operated by brothers John and David Trochmann and David's son Randy. John Trochmann was a featured speaker at the 1990 Congress of the Aryan Nations. In 1992, during Ruby Ridge, he founded United Citizens for Justice, a support group for his friend Randy Weaver. In February of 1994, convinced by Ruby Ridge and Waco the federal government intended to turn the country over to the New World Order, the Trochmanns founded MOM.

MOM is also famous for its publications, its *Preparedness Catalog*, and its speaking tours. The MOM pamphlet, *The Militia*, is used by many to justify the existence of paramilitary groups. *The Militia* maintains the Second Amendment allows formation of "unorganized" militias so citizens can protect themselves against tyrannical acts of the government. MOM publishes a monthly newsletter, *Taking Aim*, which rails against the New World Order, black helicopters, foreign troops stationed in the United States, and other conspiracy theories. Although John Trochmann plays down his ties to Christian Identity and Aryan Nations, *Taking Aim* often contains anti-Semitic articles. MOM 's *Preparedness Catalog* offers a wide range of survivalist products, video and audio tapes, and books, including William Potter Gale's *The Road Back*.

In December, 1994, MOM sponsored a five-stop speaking tour in Washington and Montana, featuring Mark "Mark from Michigan" Koernke of the Michigan Militia, a major militia recruiter, John Trochmann and Bob Fletcher. Fletcher, the owner of a bankrupt toy company, claimed he was driven into bankruptcy by government plots connected to the Iran-Contra scandal. He became a major spokesman for MOM, then went on to become a short-wave radio talk show host. John Trochmann has become a featured speaker at a series of "Preparedness Expos" around the country.

In March, 1995, William Stanton, a Montana Freeman, was sentenced to ten years in prison for criminal syndicalism. In a show of support for Stanton, John Trochmann and six supporters with an arsenal of weapons drove from Noxon to Roundup, MT (about 500

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miles). They were arrested for carrying concealed weapons. In addition to the weapons, law enforcement officers found communications equipment, thousands of rounds of ammunition, gold and silver, and \$80,000 cash. Charges against Trochmann and four of the other men were later dropped.

**Blue Ridge Hunt Club:** In 1993, James Roy Mullins, a 40-year-old factory worker in Pulaski, VA, was convinced by Ruby Ridge, Waco and the assault weapons ban that the federal government was plotting to disarm American citizens. Mullins began to prepare for a war with the government. He used his firearms knowledge to manufacture silencers and convert weapons to fully automatic. He then began to recruit a group of like-minded citizens to fight for their rights.

The group, which never numbered more than 15, began to meet in the spring of 1994. They chose the name "Blue Ridge Hunt Club" and elected Mullins president and Raeford Nelson Thompson, a 57-year-old diesel mechanic, vice president. Thompson was a government informant almost from the beginning. Thompson wore a wire to Club meetings, giving BATF many hours of conversations between members.

The Hunt Club met and practiced with weapons, including rifles equipped with Mullins' homemade silencers. They also acquired more weapons. Member Paul David Peterson, a federally licensed firearms dealer, was more than willing to sell weapons to his friends without filling out the required forms. The Club members decided that if the federal government ever confiscated citizens' weapons, they would break into the Pulaski National Guard armory and seize the military weapons there. The Club planned to incite the public into an uprising against the local, state, and federal authorities.

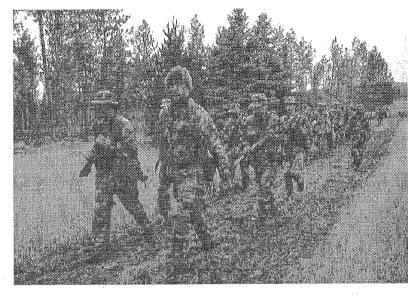
On 27Jul94, agents of the BATF, in conjunction with the Virginia State Police and the Pulaski PD, arrested Mullins and Peterson for various weapons violations. During subsequent searches of Mullins's property, BATF agents found 13 guns, several with home-made silencers, explosives, hand grenades, fuses and blasting caps, and a computer disk on which were outlined the plans to raid National Guard armories. Stump and four others were charged with 36 violations of federal firearms law.

On 27Feb95, as part of a plea bargain, Mullins pled guilty to seven weapons charges and was sentenced to five years' confinement on 15May95. Peterson cooperated fully with federal authorities and eventually was sentenced to three years' probation, four months of house arrest, and community service.

<u>Michigan Militia:</u> The Northern Michigan Regional Militia, or Michigan Militia, was founded in April of 1994 by Ray Southwell and Norman Olson. It quickly became the nation's largest militia group with at least 6,000 members (the Militia claims a membership

of 10,000 in 75% of Michigan's counties). Michigan is one of the states (along with Georgia, Alabama, New Hampshire, Missouri, and Arizona) in which militia activity has increased since the Oklahoma City bombing, according to ADL.

In the summer of 1996, Olson and Southwell went public with their theory that the Japanese bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in retaliation for the Tokyo subway nerve gas attacks, which they claimed were



carried out by the United States government. Other leaders of the Michigan Militia openly disagreed with Olson's and Southwell's theory, and the two resigned from their leadership positions as a result. During the bombing investigation, it was disclosed that Terry Nichols attended several meetings of the Michigan Militia in 1994, and brought Timothy McVeigh with him at least once. After their ouster, Olson and Southwell founded the Third Continental Congress. Olson eventually resumed leadership of the Michigan Militia.

Mark Koernke, known among extremists as "Mark from Michigan," is a member of the Michigan Militia-at-Large, a more radical offshoot of the Michigan Militia. Through a series of lectures, appearances, and videotapes, and as host of "The Intelligence Report," a nightly short-wave radio show, Koernke declaims against the New World Order (NWO) and other militia conspiracy theories. He encourages listeners to stockpile weapons and food, buy body armor, and join militias in preparation for war against the New World Order. Koernke frequently appears with John Trochmann.

At the "Great Ohio Preparedness and Self-Reliance Expo of '96," Koernke claimed the federal government conducted the Oklahoma City bombing as part of a plan to make militias look bad to the American people. During the 11-13Jul97 Philadelphia Area Preparedness Expo, Koernke, Trochmann, and other conducted a round table discussion concerning the Oklahoma City bombing during which they set forth various theories concerning government culpability.

On 13Oct97, Koernke was charged for felonious assault against a process server who tried to serve him with a subpoena. When he failed to appear in court to answer that charge on 26May98, a warrant was issued for him and he became a fugitive. Koernke was captured on 20Jul98. Eventually assault charges against Koernke were dropped after questions of witness reliability were raised.

**Mountaineer Militia:** Led by Ray Looker in the Clarksburg, West Virginia area, this group initially was concerned with common AGE conspiracy theories, such as black helicopters and concentration camps. Looker, born in 1940, is a veteran of 13 years in the Army, with service in Vietnam. Looker claimed the federal government bombed the Murrah Building in order to place the blame on local militias and use the incident as a pretext for suppressing the militias.

In June, 1995, Mountaineer Militia member Okie Marshall Richards, Jr., a former Navy member, became disenchanted with the militia's activities and became a government informant. Richards taped Mountaineer members as they conspired to bomb the FBI's new Criminal Justice complex in Clarksburg. James Rogers, a Clarksburg firefighter and a "major" in the Mountaineer Militia, photographed blueprints of the center, which he obtained through the fire department's records.

Eventually, Looker offered to sell the blueprints of the FBI complex for \$50,000 to an undercover FBI agent. Looker was arrested in Oct96 when he delivered the blueprints. Simultaneous raids resulted in the arrests of six other Mountaineer members. Affidavits presented in court revealed that the Mountaineer considered assassinating Jay Rockefeller and Alan Greenspan as part of a "holy war" against the federal government. Looker and six others were convicted on various charges.

**<u>Viper Militia:</u>** In July, 1996, the BATF arrested the twelve members (ten men, two women) of this group near Phoenix, AZ, concluding an investigation by a task force of BATF, U. S. Marshals Service, U. S. Customs Service, Phoenix PD, Arizona State Police, and other local and federal agencies. A government informant introduced an undercover agent to the group; the agent eventually became the group's "security officer."

The Vipers conducted three field training exercises in 1995-6, in which members exploded bombs and fired machine guns. Members made videotapes of local federal buildings which could be possible bombing targets (they made no specific plans to attack any specific building). They stockpiled weapons and explosives. The twelve members swore a militiaman's oath, which included a pledge to kill any infiltrators.

In December, 1996, ten members pled guilty to conspiracy and explosives charges and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from one to nine years. On 23Jun97, one of the remaining two members was found guilty of conspiracy to make or possess unregistered destructive devices. The twelfth member is pending retrial after a Nov97 mistrial.

#### **Christian Identity**

Christian Identity maintains that whites are the true descendants of Israel, Jews are the descendants of Satan and Eve, and blacks and other people of color are subhuman "mud people." Christian Identity is a collection of loosely affiliated churches and compounds throughout the United States. Recruitment nationwide is increasing. In 1998 it was estimated there were 94 ministries in 34 states. The Southern Poverty Law Center estimates there were as many as 50,000 adherents in the US and Canada at the end of 1997. While there is no formal national hierarchy, a number of active prominent CI leaders have emerged, many of whom are also active in other areas of extremism. Christian Identity beliefs underlie the philosophies of many extremist groups, ranging from militias to supremacists to sovereign citizens.

#### History

The origins of Christian Identity can be found in Anglo-Israelism and nativism, two nineteenth-century theories evolved to justify the separation of the races.

Anglo-Israelism was founded in the mid-19th century in England by Edward Hine. Its basic premise was that the citizens of the Aryan nations of Europe (Germany, the Scandinavian countries, England) are the true descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

In 1871, *Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel* was published in the United Kingdom and became a best seller. It was later brought to the United States. The book maintained that the true Jews, God's Chosen People, were western Europeans, while the people known as Jews were really descendants of Asian Khazars, who in turn are descended from Eve and Satan.

Christian Identity holds that God passed the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Bill of Rights directly to the founding fathers, and that these documents are therefore sacred, unchanging and unchangeable. The logical extension of this theory is that all amendments to the Constitution other than the first ten (Bill of Rights) are invalid because they did not come from God. A derivation of this theory is the belief that only white men are truly citizens of the United States, since blacks were enfranchised by the (illegal) Fourteenth Amendment and women by the equally illegal Nineteenth Amendment. This belief is shared by "common law court" activists, "sovereign citizens," and many militias.

Nativism is a sociopolitical theory favoring the interests of "native" inhabitants of a country over those of immigrants. This theory was employed after the Civil War to justify attempts to return freed slaves to Africa. Nativism also was used to justify discrimination against Jews, Catholics, Irish, Chinese and other immigrants in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In the 1920s, the *Dearborn Independent*, a newspaper owned by Henry Ford, espoused various anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. The *Independent* was the first U. S. publication to publish *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, purportedly the detailed strategy of the High Jewish Council and the Masonic Order for world domination. Although later proven to be a total hoax, *The Protocols* are still a critical element in Christian Identity, white supremacist, and militia literature, and copies are widely available in extremist circles.

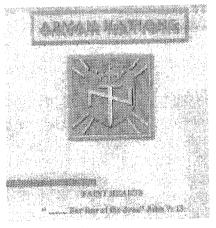
In the 1930s, Father Charles Coughlin hosted a weekly radio broadcast in which he frequently blamed the "international Jewish conspiracy" for the Depression. He aligned himself with the neo-Nazi German-American Bund, and defended Nazi persecution of Jews and others in Germany. After World War II, Gerald L. K. Smith, a follower of Coughlin and associate of Henry Ford, formed the Christian Defense League (CDL) and established its newspaper, *The Cross and the Flag.* CDL and its newspaper were among the first to use Christian Identity theology as a religious justification for racist and anti-Semitic violence.

A lieutenant of Smith's and the editor of *The Cross and the Flag* was Dr. Wesley Swift, a former Ku Klux Klan kleagle (organizer). In 1946, Swift founded the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian (CJC-C), the first Christian Identity church. Swift spread Identity teachings to the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazis in the 1960s. He was among the first in Christian Identity to assert the need for paramilitary organizations to defend followers. Swift also founded the California Rangers in 1960, which became the Minutemen in 1961.

The Minutemen went out of existence in 1968 when most of them were arrested for blowing up a police station and for attempted bank robberies.

A follower of Swift's was William Potter Gale, who wrote the guerrilla manual *The Road Back*, which is still a mainstay of extremism. Gale founded a Christian Identity operation in Mariposa, CA and in 1969 formed the Posse Comitatus (previously discussed). He moved his CI operation from Mariposa to the Sierra-Nevada foothills in the early 1970s and turned it into the Ministry of Christ Church.

Richard G. Butler was an aeronautical engineer who, in



1963, was recruited into the CJC-C by Swift and Gale. When Swift died in 1970, Butler assumed control of Swift's operation. In 1974, Butler moved his congregation to Hayden Lake, Idaho to establish a whites only, martially-run, self-sustaining enclave as a Promised Land. In 1978, Butler established the political-military arm of the Church of Jesus Christ - Christian - the Aryan Nations. The Hayden Lake compound became known by the same name.

Butler also transformed Christian Identity into a millenialist sect. Millenialists believe that before the Second Coming can happen, God's law on earth must be established through the great battle of Armageddon. They are therefore justified in taking any action, to include violence, to speed Armageddon.

<u>Women in Christian Identity:</u> According to CI doctrine, women are not true citizens. Accordingly, in the early days of CI, women had little or no role. They are still not allowed to hold leadership roles, but they do form a meaningful presence. The White Aryan Resistance, the CI/KKK organization founded by famed white supremacist Tom Metzger, has a women's auxiliary, the Aryan Women's League.

**Skinheads:** Due to its white supremacist philosophy, and perhaps also due to its affinity for Norse mythology, there has been an significant growth in the number of skinheads joining Christian Identity. With their confrontational lifestyle, skinheads have become the front line troops of Christian Identity. The Army of Israel (AOI), a skinhead CI group from Hurricane, UT, wants to establish a whites-only homeland bordering Zion National Park. AOI has been known to actively recruit in the Pacific Northwest, and Navy personnel have been the targets of AOI recruitment pitches.

**Other Cl Organizations:** The Aryan Liberation Front was a Cl/skinhead unit responsible for four racially motivated bombings over a ten week period in Sacramento, CA in 1993. On 19Jul93, six white youths, members of the Fourth Reich, were arrested for planning the bombing of the largest African-American church in Los Angeles and conspiring to assassinate Rodney King, Louis Farrakhan, and Al Sharpton. Their objective was to instigate a race war.

**Personalities:** While there is no single leader of Christian Identity, there are many influential members. As mentioned above, Richard Butler assumed leadership of the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian in 1970 when Wesley Swift died and later founded Aryan Nations. Butler hosts the annual Aryan Nations World Congress. Butler, who was born in 1918, is reported to be in poor health. He has named Neuman Britton as his successor.

In the early 1980s, Louis Beam was the leader of the Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. After the Texas Knights lost a civil suit in 1982, Beam left the Klan and eventually became the "ambassador-at-large" for Aryan Nations. A Christian Identity believer, Beam openly advocated the violent overthrow of the federal government. He spoke of creating an allwhite nation in the Pacific Northwest.

In 1984, Beam established a newsletter, *The Seditionist*, in which he first promoted "leaderless resistance". Leaderless resistance is a strategy which calls for small cells (2 - 3 members) which act without guidance from higher levels, when the members of the cells believe the time is right for action. The great advantage of the strategy is that it is nearly impossible for an informant to infiltrate the small cells. The greatest disadvantage is that communication between cells becomes difficult, the solution to which appears to be the Internet, e-mail, fax networks, and short-wave radio.

In 1992, Beam was a featured speaker at the Estes Park meeting sponsored by Pastor Pete Peters, at which he again set forth leaderless resistance as the preferred tactic of anti-government extremists.

Christian Identity minister Pete Peters heads the Identity congregation of the Laporte Church of Christ, Laporte, CO. Peters may be the unsung genius of anti-government extremism. In October, 1992, he organized and hosted a three-day meeting in Estes Park, CO at which the leaders of various antigovernment extremist factions came together for the first time and acknowledged their common goal: resistance to the federal government at all costs. The meeting resulted in the endorsement of militias by the various groups. Louis Beam set forth his suggestion of "leaderless resistance." Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler, 1992 Populist Party Vice Presidential Candidate Bo Gritz, John Trochmann of MOM and Gun Owners of America director Larry Pratt were among the attendees.



#### **Supremacists and Separatists**

Not all anti-government extremists are white supremacists. Not all anti-government extremists are white. However, it must be noted that white supremacist personalities, philosophies, and organizations dominate much of present-day extremism. A very brief overview of some of the white supremacist elements is presented in this chapter.

<u>Ku Klux Klan:</u> As originally founded on 24Dec1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, the Ku Klux Klan was a social club for Confederate veterans. In early 1867, it was reorganized as an armed group to protect Southern interests during Reconstruction. It was organized on



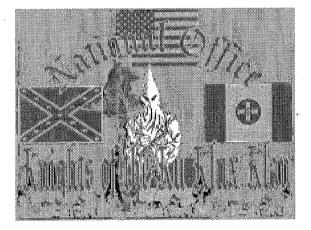
military lines with a clear chain of command. It quickly became focused on violent underground opposition to the federal government's Reconstruction policies and was responsible for numerous acts of violence against blacks. The original Klan was ordered disbanded in 1869, but local groups remained active.

In 1915, the KKK experienced a resurgence due to the growth of

nativism in the United States. In addition to its previous hostility against blacks, the Klan now was also biased against Roman Catholics, Jews, foreigners, immigrants, and organized labor. This second incarnation of the Klan died out during the Great Depression in the 1930s.

The Klan surged in popularity again during the 1960s in response to the civil rights movement. Recent adverse criminal and civil court decisions greatly diminished the power of various Klans. However, the Klan is once again enjoying a resurgence, but contemporary Klans view the government as well as minorities as their enemies.

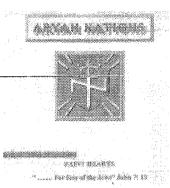
Many former leaders of the KKK simply moved into other areas of extremism which also views the government as a target. The former head of



the Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Louis Beam, now serves as "ambassador-at-large" for Aryan Nations.

Cementing the relationship between the KKK and the militias, the Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Johnstown, PA, published an advertisement on its Website soliciting volunteers for the "Klan Militia." Volunteers were expected to sign up for a two-year enlistment, much of which would be spent "away from homes and families...in support of various Missions for the Invisible Empire."

**Aryan Nations:** Richard Girnt Butler was recruited into the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian by Wesley Swift and William Potter Gale in 1963. After Swift died in 1970, Butler assumed leadership of the CJC-C and moved the church to Hayden Lake, Idaho in 1974 to establish a Christian Identity "encampment." Butler wanted to establish a whites-only, martially-run, self-sustaining enclave as a "promised land." During the mid-1970s, Butler established the political-military arm of the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian - the Aryan Nations (AN), which militantly advocates the establishment of a white racist state.



Aryan Nations hosts an annual World Congress of Aryan Nations at its Hayden Lake compound. In 1990, John Trochmann, who later founded the Militia of Montana, was a featured speaker at the Congress. Trochmann was a frequent visitor to the Hayden Lake compound and helped write its code of conduct.

During the Aryan Nations' World Congress in July, 1998, Butler named his successor – Neuman Britton, national chaplain for the Aryan Nations. Britton, born in 1926, is married to Joan Kahl, former wife of Posse Comitatus "martyr" Gordon Kahl. Britton is also a former associate of assassinated American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell.

Aryan Nations has conducted a prison outreach program since approximately 1979. AN members correspond with prison inmates and forward copies of AN periodicals to them. In 1987, AN began publishing *The Way*, a prison outreach newsletter. Aryan Brotherhood, a network of prison gang members, is an offshoot of Aryan Nations.

In 1995, Butler claimed 700 active Aryan Nations members in Idaho alone, with 11,000 spread throughout the US and Canada, including twelve "ministers." However, the Office of International Criminal Justice at the University of Illinois/Chicago, estimated the group had 100-150 active members and between six and fifteen thousand supporters worldwide.

World Church of the Creator (WCOTC): a white supremacist pseudoreligion with chap-

ters throughout the US, South Africa. Founded as in 1973 by Ben Klassen, a leader, its creed is anti-minoranti-Christian. Klassen styled and created a security force are required to carry weapons

In 1992, George Loeb, a victed of murdering a black Mansfield, in Jacksonville, was established that Mansfield



Canada, the UK, Sweden and Church of the Creator (COTC) former John Birch Society ity, anti-Semitic and virulenty himself "Pontifex Maximus" called the White Berets, who at COTC functions.

COTC "reverend," was con-USN member, Harold Florida. During Loeb's trial, it was killed solely because of

his race. Mansfield's mother filed a wrongful death suit against COTC, resulting in the

forced sale of church assets. Klassen "sold" the COTC headquarters in North Carolina to National Alliance leader William Pierce. Klassen appointed Richard McCarty to succeed him, retired, and then committed suicide in 1993.

McCarty renamed the organization World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) and relocated its headquarters to Niceville, Florida. In 1995, Matt Hale, then a 23-year-old law student, was named Pontifex Maximus. Hale moved WCOTC headquarters to East Peoria, IL. In 1999, Hale claimed 3,000 members of WCOTC. Canadian WCOTC leader Eric Hawthorne (aka George Burdi) is also the president of Resistance Records (see below).

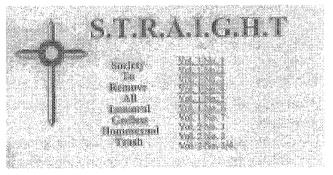
**Skinheads:** The skinhead phenomenon originated in Great Britain in the late 1960s. Out of resentment toward immigrants and reaction to the social and economic changes taking place, some young people formed gangs of militant white youths collectively known as Skinheads, from their habit of shaving their heads. Menacing and brutal, the Skinhead style symbolized tough, patriotic, anti-immigrant, working class attitudes in contrast to the supposedly sissyish, pacifist, liberal, middle class values of the "long hairs." The British Hammer Skins recently opened a "British Skinhead Girls" Web site in an attempt to recruit more young women into the skinhead movement, exemplifying efforts by extremist groups to widen their appeal among women.

Skinheads in the United States are directly descended from the British Skinheads. Skinheads first appeared in the United States in the late 1970s. The American adherents were first attracted by the music and fashions. As the number of skinhead groups in the U. S. increased, some established links with extremist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Aryan Resistance (WAR).

The ideology of American skinheads is a blend of xenophobia and nativism, racial and religious bigotry, and Nazism. A basic tenet is the belief that the white race is superior to all others. Some skinheads also follow Christian Identity. To skinheads, the "purity of the white race" is essential. One of the greatest "sins" is to be a "race traitor," by "race mixing" (interracial relationships). Homosexuals are also skinhead targets.

Skinheads believe the United States should be for whites only and that non-whites should not be allowed to immigrate. Many skinheads believe in the "Northwest Imperative," the idea that a "white homeland" free of nonwhites should be established in the Pacific Northwest. This theme is repeated by such groups as Aryan Nations, WAR, and the KKK.

The Army of Israel (AOI), headed by



Johnny Bangerter, is a skinhead paramilitary group based in St. George, Utah. Bangerter was one of a group of skinheads who traveled to Idaho in 1992 to support Randy Weaver during Ruby Ridge.

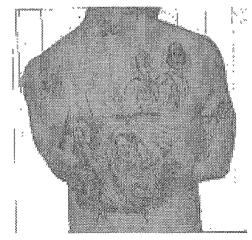
One branch of skinheads claims not to follow the racial and neo-Nazi beliefs of the rest of the skinheads. This group is called "sharps," for "Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice." They refer to the "other" skinheads as "boneheads," but are othewise indistinguishable from "other" skinheads. "Boneheads" consider "sharps" to be racial traitors, so that any meetings between the two tend to result in violence.

**Odinism:** A pagan religion which promotes ancient Norse and Teutonic gods, mythology and magic, sometimes including blood sacrifice. It was widely practiced in Nazi Germany and played a key role in the initiation rights of the Schutzstaffel (SS). Revived in the US in the 1970s, it was popular among neo-Nazis and other white supremacists, but had lost much of its popularity by the mid-1980s and eventually was succeeded by Asatru. Odin was the supreme male deity in the Norse pantheon; there is a skinhead "heavy metal" band called "Odin's Law."

**Asatru:** The successor to Odinism, the first US Asatru group was founded in 1987. Asatru has been described as a "romantic, post-modern, hip" creed intended to appeal to the "New Age" generation, and appears to be especially popular among young supremacists. An Icelandic word meaning "belief in the AEsir (gods)," Asatru is officially recognized as a religion in Europe, where its adherents worship multiple pre-Christian European gods. In the US, however, the neo-pagan creed has been adopted by white supremacists and skinheads who use its Norse and Aryan basis to promote their concepts of racial superiority and genetic purity. Many Asatru adherents have close ties to neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic groups as well. A Denver skinhead who confessed to the November 1997 murder of a black man wore an Asatru tattoo. There are seven Asatru prison ministries in five states; federal prison officials estimate there were about 100 Asatru followers in the federal system in 1996.

<u>Tattoos</u>: Tattoos are characteristic of skinheads and other young male white supremacists, who view them as reminders of their beliefs and commitments. The symbols show a strong Nazi and Nordic influence, and may include the following:

- "White Pride" or "White Power," down the backs of both upper arms in elaborate, Gothic-type letters
- Runes or runic symbols
- "KKK," "SS," "666, "OI (skinhead music)," "SWP (Supreme White Power)," "WP (White Power),"White Pride,"
- Odin, Thor, Thor's hammer, Viking head in horned helmet, other Norse or Viking symbols or portraits
- Celtic symbols, especially the Celtic cross
- Portraits of Hitler, Iron Cross, swastikas, German eagle, war eagle, German or Nazi military insignia from World War II, "Blood and Honor," "Got Mit Uns" ," "88 (which means "Heil Hitler," "H" being the 8<sup>th</sup> letter of the alphabet)," "SS" or stylized thunderbolts
- Death's head or other depictions or symbols



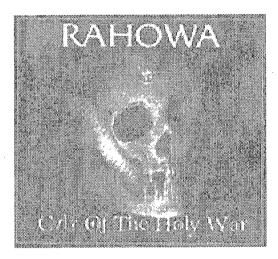
representing death

- Crossed hammers ("Hammer Skins")
- Spider web (when tattooed on the elbow, this reportedly indicates the skinhead has
- killed a minority person)-
- Various symbols representing specific groups such as the Aryan Nation, National Alliance, WAR (including "WAR" and "AYM (Aryan Youth Movement)"), or Ku Klux Klan.

**Music:** The skinhead music called "oi" originated in Britain, where the term was a slang greeting appropriated by skinheads. "Oi" presents the world in "us against them" terms and emphasizes white superiority and purity; it's a blend of hard rock and heavy metal with a

heavy bass line. Song titles and lyrics are very explicit, although cover copy usually emphasizes "white pride" rather than violence or racial supremacy. Oi became intertwined with other white supremacist ideologies and evolved into generalized hate music, the musical expression of the younger generation of supremacists. There are about 25 hate bands in the US and about 100 worldwide.

Resistance Records, founded in Michigan in 1994, is



the largest publisher of hate music, with annual sales of about \$300,000;



the company's hate-music magazine, *Resistance*, has a circulation of about 5,000. The company's biggest bands are RAHOWA (an acronym for Racial Holy War), No Remorse, Bound for Glory and Berserker, whose best sellers include titles such as "Doctor Martens Dental Plan," "Crush the Weak" and "Final Solution." Other bands include Max Resist, Aggravated Assault, White Terror, Nordic Thunder, Brutal Attack, Elite Terror, Nordic Fist, Arresting

Officers, New Glory, Kicker Boys, Anti-Heroes and Doc Martens. (Doc Marten is the brand name of a type of heavy boot favored by skinheads.)

Resistance Records was founded by George Burdi, aka Eric Hawthorne, a leader of the World Church of the Creator and prominent in the Canadian neo-Nazi movement. Burdi was arrested by Canadian authorities in April 1997 for violating Canada's strict anti-hate laws. Since then, Eric Davidson, editor of the neo-Nazi magazine Blood & Honor, has served as general manager. Davidson is currently attempting to market white power videos to MTV and has expanded music sales to the Internet.

The organization Communities Against Hate in 1997 reported that 35% of recent recruits to skinhead and other hate groups cited hate music as their first attraction to these groups.

#### White Supremacist Personalities:

**David Duke:** A former Nazi and former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Duke left his Klan trappings behind in 1987, when he entered mainstream politics as a conservative political candidate. He was elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives in 1988. In 1990, he received nearly 40% of the vote in an unsuccessful bid for the U. S. Senate. He gave up his Louisiana House seat to run for governor in 1991. Duke then made an attempt as a Republican Presidential candidate in the 1992 campaign but was soon forced out of the field. Duke is the leader of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) and runs a mail-order book business. He is particularly adept at modern media and communication methods and has an exceptional grasp of the significance of the Internet. Tom Metzger and Louis Beam were the leaders of his KKK groups in California and Texas respectively. In 1999, Duke ran for the vacated U. S. House of Representatives seat of former Speaker "Bob" Livingstone and lost.

Tom Metzger: He joined David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1970s and be-

came the Grand Dragon of the California Knights of the KKK. In 1975, Metzger was ordained a minister in a Christian Identity church. In 1980, he won the primary election for a seat in the U. S. House of Representatives but was soundly defeated (88% to 12%) in the general election. Soon afterwards, he formed the White American Political Association (WAPA). In 1982, Metzger ran in the primary for a U. S. Senate seat from California and was again defeated. Following this, WAPA changed its name to White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and became more openly violent.



On 12Nov88, the Portland, Oregon skinhead gang East Side

White Pride attacked a group of Ethiopian immigrants. One, Mulugeta Seraw, was killed. Three East Side White Pride members were convicted of the murder. Investigation established a direct link between East Side White Pride and WAR. The national vice president of WAR was sent to Portland by Metzger to teach the skinheads, among other things, to attack people of color as a means of gaining respect. Seraw's family brought a wrongful death suit and was awarded \$12.5 million, which included \$10 million in punitive damages, against WAR, Metzger, and Metzger's son John. Metzger and his son filed for bankruptcy, and as of July, 1998, Seraw's family has collected only approximately \$100,000.

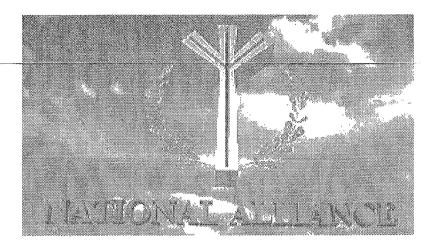
To reach out to skinheads nationwide, Metzger formed a "youth auxiliary" of WAR called Aryan Youth Movement, later known as the White Student Union and now called WAR Youth. John Metzger was made the leader of WAR Youth. It was the Metzgers' intent to have chapters of WAR Youth in high schools and colleges. Metzger also recognized the value of women and formed the Aryan Women's League (AWL), with his daughter, Lynn, as the leader. According to an editorial in WAR's publication, *WAR*, the purpose of AWL is "...to recruit White racially conscious women to battle the Jew/mud/Zombie/Mutant degenerate lesbos..."

**Louis Beam:** While Tom Metzger became the leader of the California faction of David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Louis Beam was the leader of the Texas faction. Beam conducted paramilitary training for members of his Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and urged them to reclaim the country "by blood" if necessary. In a highly publicized case, the Texas Knights were sued for harassment by a group of Vietnamese fishermen in Galveston in 1982. The paramilitary training camps were ordered shut down as part of the judgement against the Texas Knights and Beam. Beam later left the Texas Knights and eventually became the ambassador-at-large for Aryan Nations. In 1984, he created the first white supremacist computer bulletin board network. He developed a "point system" for the assassination of federal officials and civil rights leaders.

In 1987, Beam and other white supremacists were indicted for sedition - plotting to overthrow the government of the United States. He fled the country and was eventually captured in Mexico. In April, 1988, Beam and his co-conspirators were acquitted by a jury in federal court in Ft. Smith, Arkansas. After this, Beam increased his antigovernment rhetoric and began publishing his newsletter, *The Seditionist*, in which he first promoted the "leaderless resistance" strategy. This theory has since been widely circulated in AGE circles. Beam elaborated on it as a featured speaker at the 1992 meeting in Estes Park, Colorado, which was organized by Christian Identity minister Pete Peters.

**William Pierce:** The American Nazi Party (ANP) was run for many years by George Lincoln Rockwell. After Rockwell's assassination, his lieutenant, physicist William Pierce, assumed leadership of the ANP's successor organization, the National Socialist White People's Party. In 1970, Pierce left NSWPP and founded National Youth Alliance, which later was renamed the National Alliance. The group, based in Hillsboro, WV, runs a publishing business, prints a journal (*National Vanguard*), and produces a radio show which Pierce claims has an audience of 100,000 listeners. Pierce encourages his members to join militias nationwide.

In 1992, Pierce purchased COTC headquarters in North Carolina from COTC leader Ben Klassen. In May, 1999, Pierce purchased Resistance Records from Canadian WCOTC leader Eric Hawthorne (George Burdi).



Pierce is best known for a novel he wrote in 1978 under the pen name of Andrew MacDonald. *The Turner Diaries* was the blueprint for The Order in the 1980s. It was favorite reading of convicted Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh. There are clear parallels between a bombing detailed in *The Turner Diaries* and the Oklahoma City bomb-ing (see table below). McVeigh is reported to have telephoned Pierce's private number shortly before the bombing.

#### Turner Diaries Bombing

Target was federal law enforcement building

Truck bomb

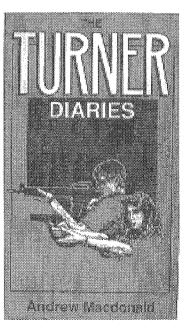
Ammonium nitrate/fuel oil mixture

Detonation at 0915

Bomb designed to blow front off building, collapsing upper floors

Bomber considered himself a "patriot"

Bomber was openly racist



#### **Oklahoma City Bombing**

Target housed federal law enforcement

Truck bomb

Ammonium nitrate/fuel oil mixture

Detonation at 0905

Bomb designed to blow front off building, collapsing upper floors

Bomber considered himself a "patriot"

Bomber was openly racist

#### **Other Supremacists**

Although far fewer than their white counterparts, there are some groups which espouse the supremacy of other races over whites.

**Black Hebrew Israelites:** A religiously based group which believes that God is black and whites are "devils." Blacks are the "true Jews" while those who call themselves Jews are imposters and part of a Satanic plot to destroy blacks. A number of followers have migrated to Israel (which they call "Northeast Africa"), where they have consistently refused to live according to Israeli law. The group may have existed prior to the Civil War; a "prophet," William Crowdy, founded a group in Kansas in 1896. Although the similarities to Christian Identity are remarkable, no connection between the two doctrines has been established.

<u>Yahweh Ben Yahweh:</u> A group allegedly based on Black Hebrew Israelitism but more closely resembling a personality cult, centered around leader Hulon Mitchell Jr., aka Yahweh Ben Yahweh. Mitchell established his "Temple of Love" in Miami in the 1980s, where the group committed numerous crimes, including 14 murders, on Mitchell's orders. The group was violently anti-white and used random murders of whites as an initiation ritual. Mitchell and six other leaders are serving lengthy prison terms for murder, conspiracy and other crimes.

**Original African Hebrew Israelite Nation of Jerusalem:** A Chicago group whose leaders, Ben Ami Carter and Warren Parker (aka "Prince Asiel Ben Israel") were convicted of trafficking in forged documents shortly after receiving a civic award for preventing gang violence. Like the Miami group, this was more of a cult. Both more closely resemble criminal conspiracies in the guise of separatist religion.

**Stream of Knowledge**: A Black Hebrew Israelite group in Albuquerque, New Mexico, founded in 1992, allegedly by John McGee III (aka "Ya Han Na Ga"), a civilian worker at Kirtland AFB, and Carl Bennett (aka "Ka Ariah"), a clerk at a VA hospital. Virulently anti-white, the group allegedly recruits members at nearby military bases for a race war scheduled to occur by 2000. Reportedly all male, the group is thought to be amassing weapons and training in martial arts. Women are barred from membership. The Stream is believed to own a local security company and a business called Mid East Oils that sells products at local flea markets.

**Moorish Nation:** a black separatist group which came to public notice when eighteen of forty New York City employees involved in a tax avoidance scam claimed to be members. Several claimed to be members of "the Republic of New York." The Nation operates in New York, Newark, and Philadelphia and is believed to be active elsewhere. It claims its members are not bound by the Constitution, which applies only to whites (echoing white supremacist beliefs). Members file documents which cite the 1857 Dred Scott decision, and other US laws on slavery, as proof the Constitution does not bind them. Instead, they follow the doctrine of the Free Moorish Zodiac Constitution. One leader is Hakin H. Y. Bey, who operates a Nation Web site. The group is an ideological and political association and is not known to be violent. Members frequently use group license plates and ID cards.

#### Common Law Courts Sovereign Citizens

While the growth of the militias may have slowed since the Oklahoma City bombing, "common law courts" have expanded. Links between courts and the militias are increasing rapidly, as many anti-government activists now join both a militia group and a common law court group. Common law courts use affiliated militias as the enforcement arm of the "court."

Although the common law courts are a product of the 1990s, their basic rhetoric is a direct throwback to Posse Comitatus: The county is the highest level of government and federal and state laws are therefore subordinate to the county. The county sheriff, as the highest law enforcement official in the county, is responsible for protecting the citizens from interference from federal, state, and local governments. If the sheriff neglects this duty, the people have the right to act in the name of the sheriff to protect themselves. Under Posse Comitatus, a sheriff who refused to carry out the orders of the Posse was subject to the death penalty.

Common law courts are established by groups of like-minded citizens, who call themselves "sovereign citizens." Armed with information from the Internet or a starter kit, a group can establish a common law court., elect a judge and a jury and hear cases. Since common law courts only recognize the first ten amendments of the Constitution, most "courts" generally permit only white males to serve as judge or jury.

The first business of the court usually is to establish the members as "sovereign citizens" or "freemen." Common law adherents do this by renouncing all contracts or legal ties with the federal and state governments, after which the individual is granted a "quiet title" by the court, officially becoming a "sovereign citizen." The granting of the "quiet title" is of paramount importance to the common law courts as only a "sovereign citizen," or true citizen, may bring a complaint in front of the court. This "quiet title" should not be confused with the more traditional action to secure clear title to real property.

Typical common law cases involve redress of grievance against the government. For example, an individual found guilty in a real court of failure to display license plates may bring charges in the common law court against the police officer who cited him, the prosecutor, and the judge who convicted him. These officials will be commanded to appear in front of the common law court to answer the charges, but are not likely to do so. The common law court will then try them *in absentia* and find them guilty of violating the rights of the "sovereign citizen." Some of the more extreme common law courts have ordered local militias to "arrest" indicted officials who refuse to appear before the court.

The preferred weapon of the common law advocates is the bogus lien. "Sovereign citizens" file fake liens against the property of law enforcement officers, federal and state officials, and anyone else who displeases them. The liens have no legal effect, but remain in court records, on real estate titles and in credit files for years. The victim is unaware of the lien until s/he tries to take action on the property, such as selling it or obtaining a loan, and must then through a lengthy and sometimes costly process to have the lien removed. The January, 1995 issue of "Taking Aim," the newsletter of the Militia of Montana, printed an explanation of the lien filing process followed by the Montana Freemen. While the Freemen perfected the art of filing bogus liens, they did not originate the scheme. California court recorders reported they started receiving phony liens in the early 1980s from members of Posse Comitatus.

In some jurisdictions, common law members file fake liens and other court documents in such volume it threatens to shut down the legal system. This has been called "paper terrorism." Ilse Bailey, a County Attorney in Kerr County, Texas estimated 40 percent of her workday was consumed by claims from anti-government extremists. County clerks often do not recognize liens as false. Clerks who recognize the phony documents and refuse to file them find themselves subject to fake liens, threats and other forms of harassment. In 1994, Karen Matthews, recorder of Stanislaus County, California was beaten and stabbed by a "sovereign citizen" whose filings she had refused. The "citizen," George L. Reed, and eight followers were convicted of various charges and sentenced to lengthy federal prison terms. Stanislaus County officials estimate they have spent over \$200,000 to protect the recorder and her employees from "sovereign citizens."

"Sovereign citizens" issue bogus money orders, bank drafts and checks with the same ease and purposes they file bogus liens - to harass federal and state officials and to inun-

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date the system with bad paper. One of the reasons the Montana Freemen taught people how to issue bogus money orders was to destroy the Federal Reserve System. A 1997 California Senate investigative report noted authorities throughout the United States have conducted at least 65 criminal investigations involving 151 people with Freemen ties and \$2.17 billion worth of phony financial instruments. The Freemen did not invent this scheme either; the idea has been circulating in extremist circles since the 1980s. Sovereign citizens" claim it is their right to travel unimpeded. Any restriction of their movements, especially by law enforcement, is considered a violation of this right. "Sovereign citizens" consider requirements for license plates, vehicle stickers, registrations, and drivers' licenses to be a violations of the "right to travel." Vehicle stops and arrests also are considered violations, but any approach by law enforcement, no matter how innocent, may be perceived as an impediment to travel.



Incidents and Personalities:

**Michael Hill:** Founder and "first chief justice" of the "Ohio Common Law Supreme Court," - a Christian Identity minister, and a chaplain of an Ohio militia unit. On 28Jun95, Hill was stopped by Sgt. Matt May of the Frazeysburg, Ohio Police for failure to display a legal license. Hill argued that May had no authority to pull him over, then drove off. May stopped him again, and Hill got out of his car holding a gun. May fired at Hill and hit him three times, killing him instantly.

Hill immediately became a martyr. His supporters claimed May fired on an unarmed man and lied about the shooting. Fortunately for May, the coroner's investigation noted one of May's bullets hit Hill's gun, sending metal fragments into Hill's hand and arm, which could only have happened if Hill's gun had been drawn.

**Chevie and Cheyne Kehoe:** The Kehoe brothers, Cheyne, 20, and Chevie, 24, were raised as Christian Identity adherents. They consider themselves "sovereign citizens." They have ties to Aryan Nations and other white supremacist groups. On 15Feb95, near Wilmington, OH (45 miles northeast of Cincinnati), the Kehoe brothers were pulled over by an Ohio State Trooper for driving with expired tags. Cheyne fired at the trooper as Chevie drove off, dragging the trooper for a short distance; a passerby was shot in the arm. The Kehoes were eventually arrested in Jun97 after Cheyne turned himself in and told authorities where Chevie was hiding.

Evidence seized from the Chevy Suburban the brothers abandoned in Ohio has since linked Chevie Kehoe to the March 1995 murders of Arkansas gun dealer William Mueller, his wife and stepdaughter, who were killed during a robbery. Kehoe and white supremacist Danny Lee were indicted for the murders as well as for racketeering. The indictment charges they intended to start a revolution by assassinating public officials and law enforcement officers. The revolution was intended to create a new nation called the Aryan People's Republic in the Pacific Northwest. At least some of the items stolen from Mueller were temporarily stored at the Christian Identity compound at Elohim City, Oklahoma. Kehoe is suspected in at least two other murders.

Chevie Kehoe and Danny Lee were tried in April and May of 1999 and were found guilty of the murders of William Mueller and his family. Cheyne Kehoe and the brothers' mother testified for the prosecution during the trial. Chevie Kehoe was sentenced to life in prison without parole. Danny Lee was sentenced to death.

The Montana Freemen: In January, 1993, a group of "sovereign citizens," or "freemen," ordered the county attorney of Garfield County, MT to prosecute the county director of the Farmers Home Administration for fraud. The county attorney refused and 36 armed "freemen" seized the Garfield County Courthouse and set up a "Supreme Court of Garfield/ Comitatus." The county attorney filed charges against 15 of the Freemen who seized the courthouse. On 15Jul94, the "Garfield County Freemen" mailed letters threatening the jurors if any of the defendants were convicted.

Seven of the 15 Freemen were convicted. The other eight refused to show up for trial, not recognizing the authority of the court. The Garfield County Sheriff, who has only one deputy, requested state and federal help to arrest the eight heavily armed "Freemen." On 28Sep95, the eight "Freemen" wanted by the Sheriff and at least two others barricaded themselves on a five-square-mile tract of land they called "Justus Township" and threat-ened violence if anyone attempted to arrest them.

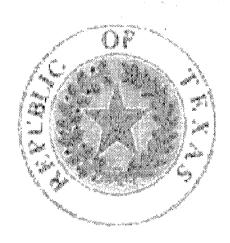
The "Justus Township Freemen" were actually a combination of two "Freemen" groups. Several unsuccessful farming families near Jordan, MT had adopted common law tactics to forestall debt and foreclosure. South of Jordan, in Roundup, MT, a smaller group, led by Leroy Schweitzer, taught classes on how to use bogus checks and money orders. In September, 1995, the "Roundup Freemen" drove north to Jordan to merge with the "Jordan Freemen." The ranch owned by the Clark family was named "Justus Township." It became a sanctuary for common law followers throughout the country as well as giving a name to the combined group.

In March, 1996, the FBI stepped in and the "Montana Freemen Standoff" began. The standoff ended peacefully 81 days later on 13Jun96 with the surrender of the "Freemen." Schweitzer and thirteen other "Freemen" were later indicted on federal charges of conspiracy to defraud federal, state, and local governments. According to the indictments, the "Freemen" attempted to purchase merchandise and pay off debts with authentic-looking phony checks. When anyone questioned the checks, they were threatened by phone and

mail. In court, following their surrender, the "Freemen" refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, refused to answer questions from their court-appointed lawyers, and interrupted proceedings by repeatedly railing against the "international Zionist movement."

On 21Feb97, Russell Landers and James Vincent Wells were convicted of federal fraud and conspiracy. On 05Apr97, fourteen "Freemen" were reindicted on forty counts of conspiracy, fraud, false claims, threatening public officials, and weapons charges.

**Republic of Texas:** The Republic of Texas (ROT) is a common law, sovereign citizen group which took "common law" to its logical conclusion - secessionism. ROT was formed in December, 1995. Its members believe Texas was illegally annexed by the United States in 1845, and is actually an independent republic. ROT does not recognize the elected government of the State of Texas and formed its own government. Since its inception, ROT has flooded the court system of Texas through the filing of bogus legal documents; members filed phony liens against anyone with whom they had a disagreement.



In January, 1996, ROT demanded Governor

George W. Bush step down and recognize the Provisional Government of the Republic of Texas, then mailed letters to each of the 254 county sheriffs in Texas, demanding they swear allegiance to ROT. ROT President Archie Lowe petitioned the General Assembly of the United Nations to recognize the ROT as an independent state.

A temporary restraining order was issued against ROT in June 1996 to stop the filing of bogus liens. In October of 1996, ROT sent notices to 175 banks in Texas demanding all accounts of the State of Texas be dissolved and the transferred to the ROT. ROT was found in contempt of court and was ordered to rescind the "orders" or face criminal charges. ROT "ambassador" Richard McLaren responded threatening action by ROT's "Texas Defense Force." In January, 1997, ROT made bomb threats against several state buildings, and McLaren threatened to file "international liens" against properties of Texas officials.

Between February and April 1997, warrants were issued for McLaren and four followers on a variety of charges. ROT members barricaded themselves in the ROT "compound" west of Ft Davis, and later took two neighbors hostage. McLaren anticipated support from "every militia in the country" as well as ordinary citizens. The massive numbers of people McLaren expected to rally to him never materialized.

ROT held out against law enforcement officers until 02May97, when McLaren and all but two of his followers surrendered (one of these was killed while evading law enforcement, while the other was eventually arrested). During the search of the compound, more than 60 pipe bombs were recovered. On 08May97, ten more ROT members were arrested. McLaren and his followers have been convicted of kidnapping and of charges related to the bogus bank drafts.

**Constitution Rangers:** The Constitution Rangers recently came to national attention when two members, Dave Pilon and Tony Volovsek of Hayden Lake, Idaho, traveled to Washington, DC to deliver a letter to all members of Congress, ordering them to recognize the police powers of the Constitution Rangers and to establish a separate court system to examine government excesses. Some members of Congress perceived the letters as a threat and asked the FBI to investigate, while some viewed the letters as simply constituents expressing an opinion.

The Constitution Rangers were founded in 1977 in Arizona by Lawrence "Pappy" Robertson. The current "commander and chief" of the Rangers is Jack Dean Yoos, who was involved with the Unorganized Militia of Hawaii before moving to Idaho in 1996. Yoos claimed the Constitution Rangers are militia members and followers of Posse Comitatus, and denied any ties to Christian Identity or Aryan Nations. Yoos said the Rangers are "...the policemen who police the government officials to see that they do not obstruct and usurp the powers that they have." Members carry identification cards and badges. There may be as many as 26,000 followers around the country.

#### **County Sovereignty**

County Sovereignty is another restatement of the basic premise of Posse Comitatus - the county-is-the-highest-level of government and state and federal-laws are subordinate to those of the county. It is also known as "county supremacy" and as the "Tenth Amendment Movement," a reference to that Amendment's statement that "...powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the states..."

County Sovereignty is a recent phenomenon with origins in Catron County, New Mexico, where in 1994 local ranchers and county officials joined together to pass an ordinance forbidding the federal government from enforcing its land use regulations within the county (where 80% of the land is owned by the federal government), after the federal government attempted to limit grazing on public lands. At the same time, ordinances were passed requiring all homeowners to own firearms and environmentalists to register with the county sheriff.

Then, in 1995 in Nye County, Nevada, County Commissioner Dick Carver, backed by an armed posse, bulldozed a road through Toiyabe National Forest on behalf of a local miner after the Forest Service denied a permit for the road. Carver, who has sought alliances with white supremacists and Christian Identity, later told attendees at a Wise Use rally that had either of the two Forest Service rangers present at the bulldozing drawn a weapon, "50 people with sidearms would have drilled him."

In August 1997, Big Horn County, Wyoming sheriff Dave Mattis announced he has a written policy requiring federal officials to seek his clearance before entering the county and/or exercising federal authority over any county resident. Mattis claims a recent federal court decision supports him. There is some suspicion that this "decision" came from a common law court, rather than a federal district court.

An off-shoot of County Sovereignty, which can be referred to as County Secession, was active In Washington from 1992 through the 1994 elections. Under Washington's constitution, if 50% of a county's registered voters sign a petition, the legislature can be asked to split a county into two (or more) new counties. Many people in Snohomish and several other counties became supporters of secession because they believed their taxes would be lower and they would have greater control over land use in general and their property specifically. Some supporters were anti-growth and -development, and many were anti-environmentalist. Ironically, the secessionists were funded by real estate developers who stood to benefit from uncontrolled growth in the newly-created counties. A number of the secessionist groups were linked to Wise Use through organization and funding. Since then, more than 100 other counties, primarily in the West, have passed similar ordinances. To date, none of the "county sovereignty" ordinances has withstood challenge in court.

#### Single Issue Extremist Groups

Single-issue groups are those organized around one socio-political issue, although their members frequently object to government policy on a number of other topics. These groups have chosen to go outside the legal and political systems to achieve their goals.

Many special interest groups resort to extralegal methods at times, such as the "civil disobedience" widely practiced by anti-war activists during the Vietnam era. What distinguishes single-issue extremists from other special interest groups is their willingness to resort to violence to achieve their aims.

**Wise Use Movement:** One of the most prominent single-issue extremist groups is the Wise Use Movement, begun in 1984 by two professional organizers, Alan Gottlieb and Ron Arnold. Gottlieb is a former coordinator for Young Americans for Freedom, while Arnold is a former public relations consultant for the Rev. Sun-Myung Moon. They established a funding base from industry (timber, mining, energy and ranching) which later was joined by a number of prominent real-estate developers. Gottlieb and Arnold recruited activists from grass-roots organizations, who then served as unwitting "fronts" for the corporate sponsors of Wise Use. Arnold and Gottlieb were eventually joined by Chuck Cushman, a professional agitator. The three of them are the "Terrible Trio" of Wise Use.

In August 1988, a "Multiple Use Strategy Conference" was held to "define the common ground on which to fight environmentalism." From this conference, the "Wise Use Move-ment" was formally born.

Wise Use called for repeal of federal land use policy, expanded development of natural resources in areas such as the National Parks, disbelief in global environmental problems and economic, vice environmental, impact statements. Wise Use was fueled in part by economic problems in the 1980s, as thousands of jobs in the timber, mining and agricultural industries were lost. Many of these losses were blamed on increasingly stringent environmental policies, rather than on increased mechanization and foreign competition.

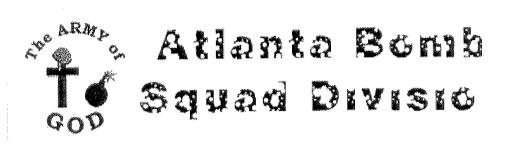
Both environmentalists and federal employees of natural resource agencies (the Park Service, Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management and Fish and Wildlife Service) have found themselves subject to harassment from Wise Use, to include armed confrontations, assaults, bombings, and vandalism. Nye County, Nevada Commissioner Dick Carver was supported by Wise Use in his 1995 face-off with the US Forest Service. On November 14, 1994, Ellen Gray, an Audobon Society activist, was threatened with by a member of the Snohomish County (Washington) Property Rights Alliance, a Wise Use Group. At a landuse hearing the man shook a noose at Gray and said, "This is a message for you...We have a militia...If we can't beat you at the ballot box, we'll beat you with a bullet." Although local police investigated, the man was not identified.

Wise Use is associated with other anti-government extremists. In many areas, Wise Use groups were points of contact for organizing militias. When a proposal to link the Northern Cascades with a Canadian provincial park was publicized, Wise Users claimed the pro-

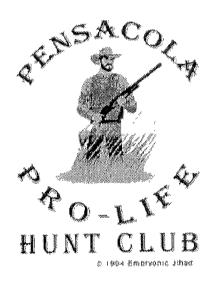
posal was part of the New World Order plot. A growing Christian Identity influence has been observed in Wise Use, and an overlap between Wise Use and white supremacy has been noted in anti-Native American activities. Further cementing Wise Use to anti-government extremism in general is its support of counties rebelling against federal land control. Many anti-government extremists believe that the UN is behind federal land use policy in a New World Order conspiracy to create biospheres on federal lands.

Anti-Abortion Extremism: The best documented history of violence on the part of single-

issue extremists is found among antiabortionists. Violence has ranged from picketing, harassing, and blocking the entrances of abortion clinics, to numerous bombings, to the



shooting deaths of six abortion clinic workers and the wounding of thirteen others. An



example is the January 1998 bombing at a clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, which killed an off-duty police officer and wounded a nurse. Anti-abortion extremists make no secret of their belief that violence is justified in their pursuit of their goal to stop all abortion. They frequently cite Biblical justification for their actions.

Neal Horsley ran for governor of Georgia on the Creators Rights Party ticket. Horsley advocated formation of antiabortion militias. (Horsley also advocated the use of nuclear weapons against abortion clinics.) Horsley published the names of 120 "abortion criminals" on the Internet, asking for personal information on them to be used for "trials." On his Web site, Horsley endorses a group called "Army of God," apparently the same group that has claimed responsibility for the bombings of abor-

tion clinics in Atlanta and Birmingham, Alabama. Horsley's statement of support for the Army of God appeared on the Internet several hours before the claim of responsibility was made public by the news media. Several other anti-abortion leaders have called for the formation of "militias" to protect unborn children.

Other single-issue groups which have resorted to violence and intimidation include those dedicated to property rights, gun ownership, and those opposed to immigration, affirmative action, homosexual rights, technology, and international economic cooperation. All of these issues are also important to the other anti-government extremists described in this handbook.

#### **Extremists and the Military**

Anti-government extremists actively target military personnel for recruitment. Younger, lower-ranking officer and enlisted personnel are viewed as a resource by extremists, who hope to recruit them.

At the same time extremists target military facilities for offensive action. Senior military and law enforcement personnel are considered part of the NWO conspiracy. Military personnel and bases are also seen as a source of weapons, equipment and supplies.

On 16 December 1997, Secretary of Defense Cohen announced that military members would begin receiving vaccinations against anthrax, which is believed to be part of the arsenals of at least ten countries. Within two days of the announcement, messages appeared on various extremist Internet sites, urging military members to resist the vaccinations, by force if necessary. One message stated that the vaccine was actually a plot to eliminate military members who would not participate in the conspiracy to establish the NWO. A second message from an individual styling himself the "private attorney general … of the United States," was a pseudo-legal "demand letter" to Secretary Cohen requiring he "cease and desist" the vaccination program.

Militia leader Bradley Glover plotted to attack the Ft Hood Army base on July 4, 1997 with six other followers to stop what he believed was the training of New World Order troops. The group was arrested before the attack could be carried out after three members turned out to be undercover police officers. Glover believed once the attack began, large numbers of military personnel would join him rather than support the New World Order conspiracy.

Another example of the interface between extremists and the military is the "Twentynine Palms Survey." Conducted in May 1994 at MCAGCC Twentynine Palms, the survey questioned 300 Marines about general attitudes toward their mission, including their willingness to fight under UN command and to seize firearms from American citizens if ordered to do so. Extremists interpreted this as actual preparation for the New World Order takeover. In reality, the survey was a graduate student's research project.

There have been many other interactions between military personnel and anti-government extremists over the years. Several have received prominent attention in the media. In 1976, a Ku Klux Klan chapter surfaced among Marines at Camp Pendleton, CA. In 1985, the White Patriot Party actively recruited Marines from Camp Lejeune and soldiers from Fort Bragg in North Carolina. In the fall of 1995, a group of Marines from MCAGCC Twentynine Palms, CA were identified as a skinhead gang. In 1995, an African-American couple in Fayetteville, NC was killed by a group of three white soldiers from nearby Fort Bragg. Subsequent investigation determined the three soldiers were members of a white supremacist group formed on the post.

"Operation Longfuse," a case conducted jointly by NCIS, FBI and ATF targeted the theft and sale of military weapons and equipment. Information developed during the investigation suggests some of the military members involved were influenced by reading "The Turner Diaries," and may have begun stealing and selling weapons and equipment to finance a survivalist lifestyle. Investigators noted a possible link between the stolen weapons and militias.

In 1997, a Navy master-at-arms overseas used a government-owned public-access computer to send an e-mail to Tom Metzger, expressing support for Metzger's views and soliciting Metzger's advice on spreading those views in the Navy. Also in 1997, a Marine Corps captain on the east coast received an unsolicited anti-Semitic article on his governmentowned computer at work, purportedly from William Pierce of the National Alliance. In April 1998, three individuals were asked to leave NAS Brunswick, Maine after distributing Aryan





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Nations literature. In July 1998, the white supremacist publication Nationalist Observer printed a defense of two Navy members who were discharged for distributing hate literature aboard a San Diego-based aircraft carrier.

In 1996, during the Montana Freemen standoff, an Internet communiqué was posted from "Headquarters, Constitutional Militias of the United States" to the militia groups which called for the militias to disrupt and destroy federal communications if military action was taken against the Freemen. (The author of the communiqué was eventually identified as Bradley Glover.) While the communiqué was very specific as to the types of facilities to target, it cautioned the militias not to capture or injure any military personnel who would defect to the militias. As at Fort Hood, Glover expected a significant portion of the military to defect.

**<u>Pertinent Military Laws and Regulations</u>:** Effective 03Sep97, a new paragraph was added to Navy Regulations pertaining to membership in extremist groups, defining "participation" more specifically than previous instructions.

**1167.** <u>Supremacist activities</u>. No person in the naval service shall participate in any organization that espouses supremacist causes; attempts to create illegal discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, religion, or national origin; advocates the use of force or violence against the government of the United States or of the government of any state, territory, district, or possession therein; or otherwise engages in efforts to deprive individuals of their civil rights. The term "participate", as used in this article, includes acts or conduct, performed alone or in concert with another, such as demonstrating, rallying, fundraising, recruiting, training, or organizing or leading such organizations. The term "participate" also includes engaging in any other activities in relation to such organizations or in furtherance of the objectives of such organizations, when such activities are detrimental to good order, discipline, or mission accomplishment.

It should be noted that this does not prohibit "nonparticipatory" acts such as simply joining such an organization or receiving its literature for personal use. Many acts of "participation" also can be charged under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, such as assault, wrongful destruction, conspiracy, communicating a threat, or actions prejudicial to good order and discipline.

**Pertinent Federal and State Law:** The 1993 amendment to the National Defense Act of 1916 divided "militias" into the National Guard (specifically designated state National Guard units which can be mobilized as part of the US Army); the remainder of the state National Guard units; and any and all other state militia units which states may wish to raise, equip and train on their own without federal aid (to date, there are none).

There is no federal law specifically prohibiting private militias. The Domestic Insurgency Act of 1995 was defeated in Congress. The ACLU and several other civil rights groups have stated they will immediately challenge any such bill passed by Congress and signed into law. Any anti-militia law would legally be limited to prohibiting illegal acts such as collecting arms, conducting paramilitary training, or planning anti-government violence. It could not prohibit advocating extremist views or associating with those who do.

Seventeen states have passed legislation against "paper terrorism," prohibiting the filing or recording of bogus documents and the harassment of public officials. Congressional attempts at a national anti-paper terrorism law have to date been defeated. In a trend in the opposite direction, in 1996-97, 22 states and the District of Columbia considered "jury nullification" laws to allow juries to disregard laws with which they did not agree.

#### **Extremists and Law Enforcement**

As previously stated, anti-government extremist violence is not new. What is new is an apparent willingness to openly oppose, by arms if necessary, law enforcement officers at all levels of government – including military law enforcement. It has been documented by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Department of Justice) that while the overall rate of violent crime in America has decreased, the rate of violence against law enforcement officers has increased. Although data are incomplete, it appears that violence against law enforcement by extremists also is on the increase.

Recent examples include:

- On 19Sep97, a Boise, Idaho police officer was killed and another wounded during a traffic stop. The two suspects, who also died, had a large quantity of arms and anti-government literature in their possession.
- On 02May98, Charles Prins of Ionia, Michigan shot two sheriff's deputies who attempted to serve him with a civil citation for building code violations. Both deputies survived; Prins later shot himself.
- On 29May98, three men with ties to the "Four Corners Militia" shot and killed a Cortez, Colorado police officer who tried to stop them from stealing a truck. Officer Dale Claxton was killed before he could open the door of his cruiser.

Extremists also target law enforcement in other ways. During the summer of 1997, there was briefly posted on the Internet a document from the "419 Group." The 28-page manifesto called for the surveillance, stalking, and murder of:

- Every single active ATF field agent and their informers.
- Every ATF district and regional supervisor.
- Every ATF administrative employee above the grade of GS-7, up to and including the Director.
- With the exception of the FBI, Secret Service, Coast Guard, Marshal's Service and DEA field agents, every other government agent or civilian employee known to be armed as well as their immediate supervisors. And, any agent from any agency local, state and federal who assists ATF in raid preparation or is an actual ATF raid participant.
- Every *national* senator or representative, active or retired, who sponsored any gun control legislation and every sitting member of the federal judiciary who has ever upheld any gun control legislation, regardless of political party or professed ideology.

In a special note, the author provides an additional exemption to all active duty members of the military, "especially those of you who are members of Task Force Six." The author directs military personnel, "*Do not intervene.*"

Extremists solicit, collect and post personal information on law enforcement on the Internet, a practice they refer to as "counterintelligence." Randy Trochmann posted a list of people

to remember at the holidays, suggesting that readers send them Christmas cards. The last name was that of the director of the Illinois State Police, together with his home address. Trochmann suggested that readers send the director copies of the Constitution because of his involvement with the Shirley Allen standoff. (Allen, 51, of Roby, Illinois, held out for 39 days against police who attempted to serve her with a court order mandating a psychiatric evaluation.)

Militia spokesman J. J. Johnson openly advocated that extremists obtain as much personal information as possible about any law enforcement officer with whom they have a confrontation – including such information as where the officer's children go to school.

On 20Aug98, an individual signing himself "John Blau" posted information on the Internet that Missouri FreeNet, an Internet service provider, would "allow the opening of a LEO (Law Enforcement Officer) Information Page ... to contain information on LEO personnel such as photo, name, address, phone number, make/model/license plate of vehicles, etc." Blau signed this and subsequent posts with the following advertisement:

#### "HELP EXECUTE AN LEO BY CONTRIBUTING!

Contribute to the LEO Information Project: Let the world know where "your" favorite LEO lives, drives, etc.! Submit an LEO's picture, name, address, phone, automobile make/model/year/license, and other personal information for inclusion in the LEO Information WWW Site! Send info to LEO@MFN.ORG. Opening soon!"

Blau's posts to various Internet sites make clear his adherence to violent extremist beliefs. When contacted by concerned citizens, Missouri FreeNet acknowledged that Blau was their assistant systems administrator, and would be allowed to continue collecting personal information on law enforcement to post on his planned site.

An emerging tactic is for extremists to replace local law enforcement with their own kind. In 1998, J. J. Johnson ran for sheriff of Nye County, Nevada and lost. Other extremists ran for sheriff in Kentucky and Utah.

#### **Conclusions**

Anti-government extremists are not, as commonly believed, a number of separate groups with loose ties and differing beliefs. Instead, they are part of a multifaceted entity displaying different faces to the world but under which lies a core of belief in racial superiority, anti-Semitism and hatred and fear of the government. This entity encompasses militias, Christian Identity, separatists, secessionists, single-issue extremists, "sovereign citizens" and common law courts, and county sovereignty believers. Although some groups prefer to rely on local control, there are indications that a cooperation between groups (particularly in the area of intelligence and information exchange) is expanding across state lines. A few groups have begun a nationwide recruiting effort.

A recently noted phenomenon is increasing "cross-linking" between various groups. It is common for extremists to join both a militia and a common-law group simultaneously; many common-law groups use militias as their enforcement arms. Many common-law groups espouse Christian Identity theology. Some militias are demonstrating increased ties to Christian Identity, neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups, while hate groups use Christian Identity to justify themselves. At least some of this cross-linking was begun, and







is fueled, by the Internet, which extremists have been quick to exploit. It has given them a means of communication much faster, more widely distributed and more secure than traditional means, and has introduced many extremists to others of similar beliefs.

Illustrating this cross-linking, extremist Neal Horsley posted a list of 120 "abortion criminals" on his Web site, asking for personal information on them to be used in "trials" to come. A link between the Ku Klux Klan and militias is demonstrated by an Internet appeal to join the "Klan Militia."

Although this study focuses exclusively on right-wing extremists, the threat of violence from left-wing extremists should not be discounted. In 1996, well after the fall of Communism, members of a "Marxist" group in New York, the "Provisional Communist Party," were arrested in possession of firearms and explosives. Radical environmentalists and animal-rights groups have resorted to violence to press their agendas.

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