

Research Report

The Literature of Apocalypse: Far-Right Voices of Violence

Digitized and Reformatted
November 2008

Rita & Leo Greenland Library and
Research Center
Anti-Defamation League

No changes other than
typographical have been made to
this report.

www.adl.org

© 1996 Anti-Defamation League
Printed in the United States of America
All rights reserved



Research Report

The Literature of Apocalypse: Far-Right Voices of Violence

© 1996 Anti-Defamation League
Printed in the United States of America
All rights reserved

David H. Strassler, National Chairman
Abraham H. Foxman, National Director
Howard P. Berkowitz, Chair, National Executive Committee
Peter T. Willner, Chief Operating Officer
Robert G. Sugarman, Chair, Civil Rights Committee
Kenneth Jacobson, Assistant National Director
Jeffrey P. Sinensky, Director, Civil Rights Division

This report has been made possible in part through a generous contribution from Mel and Helene Berman, and in part through a grant from the William and Naomi Gorowitz Institute on Terrorism and Extremism

Copies of this report are in the Rita and Leo Greenland Human Relations Library and Resource Center

ADL Research Report is a periodic publication of the Civil Rights Division, Research and Evaluation Department.

Special thanks to Donald Paneth.

CONTENTS

Introduction

I. Weapon and Survival Manual

1. *The Road Back*

II. Militia Handbooks

1. *Florida State Militia: State Security Handbook*

2. *Free Militia Field Manual*

3. *Militia of Montana Information and Networking Manual*

4. *The Militiaman's Handbook*

5. *U.S. Militiaman's Handbook*

III. Instruction / Propaganda

1. *The March Up Country*

IV. Novels

1. *The Turner Diaries*

2. *Hunter*

3. *Seed of the Woman*

V. Conclusion

THE LITERATURE OF APOCALYPSE: FAR-RIGHT VOICES OF VIOLENCE

Introduction

Explosive material forms the basis for much of guerrilla weaponry....For example, there is chemical fertilizer, and gasoline. The fertilizer ammonium nitrate is used by quarry operators, road builders, in addition to the military.

- *The Road Back* (1973), written by the pseudonymous "Macaba," featured in 1994 catalogue of the Militia of Montana

At 9:15 yesterday morning our bomb went off in the FBI's national headquarters building....The scene...was one of utter devastation....My day's work started a little before five...when I began helping...mix heating oil with the ammonium nitrate fertilizer...'

- *The Turner Diaries* (1978), Andrew Macdonald (pseudonym for William L. Pierce)

Successful assassination requires some kind of plan. But, then, too, there is always the random hunting method. What about solitary assassins? Well brother, if you are the last free man left alive in your area, hunt the enemy. Make it count.

- *U.S. Militiaman's Handbook* (1994), Dan Shoemaker

Bomb-making, mixing explosives, the preparation and placing of mines, military and weapons training, vigilante attacks and assassination, anti-government and anti-Semitic conspiracy theories: these are the subjects of the books and manuals that stock the shelves of today's right-wing militias and other violence-prone extremists. Because right-wing extremism is not monolithic, the tone of these works, like the composition of their audiences, varies: militia literature, for instance, generally avoids the racism that fills the screeds written by professional haters. However, the literature is unified by its advocacy of violence in response to perceived persecution. Taken together, this material is virtually a prescription for mayhem and murder.

This library of the far-right is available in various forms, including militia handbooks, survival manuals, novels, and assorted works of propaganda, supplementing a steady circulation of newspapers, newsletters, and magazines. Some publications, appealing to an interest in preparing for violent conflict, advertise such products as night-vision scopes, shortwave radios, emergency food supplies, water purification kits, trauma first aid kits, flashlights and lanterns. Manuals and handbooks also help unify the ranks of the disaffected by promoting videos and providing lists of radio programming, public access television broadcasts, organizations, and activists who may be contacted.

Paranoid, anti-government themes are common. Apocalyptic literature warns citizens to exercise their right to defend their lives, families, property, and their "right to bear arms" under the Second Amendment to the Constitution. It claims that taxes have been imposed on the American people without consent, that the Federal government has claimed ownership and control of public lands "as most definitely prohibited in the Constitution," that the Federal government has "declared war on its citizens."

[Note: The most important and widely circulated publication promoting these anti-government conspiracy theories (as distinct from the books, pamphlets and tracts treated in this report) is *The Spotlight*, the weekly voice of Liberty Lobby, the most significant anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country. The paper serves as a "bulletin board" of far-right activities, and regularly carries articles with militia-style claims of government plots to undermine the Constitutional rights of American citizens. See also "Liberty Lobby: Hate Central," ADL Research Report, 1995.]

The "enemies" targeted in this material include the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Anti-Defamation League, Federal judges, "corrupt" sheriffs, "abusive" county commissioners, NOW members, journalists, homosexuals, and, in some instances, Jews, blacks, and "unassimilable white minorities." In conspiracy-haunted tracts — which can be as incendiary as bomb-making manuals — this broad array of villains plots to disarm and control the American people by imposing a "New World Order" on the United States.

Rage links with paranoia to produce fantasies of violence in this literature of conspiracy. The danger posed by such material is that it may help transform volatile personal fantasies into aggressive acts which threaten public order and the lives of innocent citizens. Thus, law enforcement officials and a concerned public need to be aware of the content of these books, a sampling of which follows.

I. WEAPON AND SURVIVAL MANUALS

1. ***The Road Back***, by "Macaba," a pseudonym. Torrance, CA: Noontide Press, 1973.

Noontide is a publishing entity linked to Liberty Lobby, the largest anti-Semitic organization in the country. *The Road Back* was featured in the 1994 catalogue of the Militia of Montana.

The contents of *The Road Back* are more than figuratively explosive, comprising specific directions on how to build, set, and detonate bombs and land mines.

"... . The average person, on thinking of explosives, will list dynamite and gunpowder for types most readily available," the author observed. "However, there are those that exist all around us in common supply. For example, there is chemical fertilizer, and gasoline. The fertilizer ammonium nitrate is used by quarry operators, road builders, in addition to the military."

Ammonium nitrate, easily obtainable from many sources in farming communities, is "a very powerful explosive": the author proceeds to describe the necessary ingredients, the best type of mix, the mixing process, and detonation of the mixture.

Other explosives are also described. They include trinitrotoluene (TNT), tetrytol, amatol, and pentaerythritetranitrate (PETN).

The production of hand-thrown explosive devices — pipe, wire, and nail grenades and gasoline bombs — is provided step-by-step. For example: "Fill the bottle nearly full with gasoline, or jellied gasoline, push the cork into the bottle firmly. Cap and fuse a stick of dynamite. . . . Apply the match, and throw immediately."

Methods of mining railroad rails, roads, and culverts are outlined from preparation of the mine to selection of the site, placement of the charge, and arming and detonating the charge. Other subjects include firearms, flamethrowers, booby traps, poisons, and gases.

"The education of a guerrilla warrior," the author concludes, "...is a state of mind and heart — a dedication to his cause....The army of the people, and the master plan of victory are two rivers that must come together, in confluence, at the time of crisis...."

II. MILITIA HANDBOOKS

1. *Florida State Militia: State Security Handbook*, anonymous. Stuart, FL: Robert Pummer (publisher or distributor), 1994.

Pummer, a self-described drug dealer in Michigan in the early 1970s who was imprisoned for second-degree murder, spearheaded the Florida State Militia when this handbook was published. He subsequently moved to Kentucky.

The claimed purpose of this handbook is "to help militias form up," according to the introduction. It recommends a procedure of organization, beginning with five-man teams, each equipped with a four-wheel drive vehicle.

The handbook lists equipment priorities: pistol, rifle, shotgun, primers, powder, and bullets. Preferred types are named.

"BUY AMMO NOW!" it urges. "YOU WILL NOT" BE ABLE TO BUY IT LATER!"

Referring to the "New World Order," gun control, and the Internal Revenue Service, the handbook protests against "a government betraying the people through deception and treat)." An "in-depth study of communist, socialist and United Nations infiltration into the fabric of Washington, DC, has convinced the militias that our nation's capital has been in enemy hands for a number of years," it asserts.

It adds: "The enemies of freedom walk upon the land....How much more of this sickness can men of honor endure before they hurl this scum into oblivion?"

Fighting terror calls for using terror in return, the handbook states, contending that the militia's enemies have left it "without recourse."

"It must be kept in mind," the book states, that "these socialists kill our people and pay no price. This must stop! Make them pay!" It proposes that the militia list its enemies, find out where they work, and follow them home. The list, says the author, "will come in handy when the time comes."

The handbook's "Patriot List" recommends several anti-Semitic periodicals: *The Spotlight*, weekly organ of the Washington, DC-based Liberty Lobby, the most active and influential anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country; *The Truth at Last*, an anti-black and anti-Jewish hate sheet produced by longtime extremist Ed Fields of Marietta, GA; *Criminal Politics*, a conspiracy-oriented anti-Semitic and "anti-establishment" monthly; and *The National Educator*, whose pages have honored The Order, a far-right terrorist gang, and the neo-Nazi paramilitary group Aryan Nations. The handbook also endorses the Liberty Lobby-controlled program "Radio Free America" as a source that transmits "what the mainstream media will not tell you."

2. *Free Militia Field Manual*, anonymous. No publisher or place of origin given. 1994.

This manual is divided into two sections: four chapters discuss the principles justifying formation of the militia—namely morality, heritage, right, and reason—supported with scriptural quotations. Four additional chapters take up who and what the Free Militia is, its general organization, equipping oneself, and secrecy and security.

"From every legitimate angle, we are justified in keeping and bearing arms as well as forming or joining a militia independent of government control," the manual declares. "The Bible tells us we are morally right. The American Revolution shows we have the historical right. The Constitution protects our legal right. Moreover, our Constitutional liberties are systematically being eroded and denied..."

Members of the militia, the book advises, are responsible for arming and equipping themselves. All firearms have their place, but "only a few are really effective combat weapons." The manual calls the Ruger Mini-14 the "ideal rifle for service in the Free Militia," stating, "it uses the .223 caliber cartridge...capable of penetrating most Kevlar body armor. . . . It also has more military accessories made for it than any other rifle...."

On the question of security, the manual encourages activists to form small, secret cells—a form of far-right agitator Louis Beam's notion of "leaderless resistance": "For now, the existence of the Free Militia is largely kept a secret because we are a relatively small organization. . . we might be misunderstood as fanatics, vigilantes, or even criminals....Our personnel and plans must always be kept private... as decentralized as...possible...."

3. Militia of Montana (M.O.M.) *Information and Networking Manual*. Noxon, MT: M.O.M., 1994.

The Militia of Montana is one of the country's most visible and extreme militias. It is run in Noxon, MT, by the Trochmann brothers, John and David, and David's son, Randy. John Trochmann has been associated with the Aryan Nations, the Idaho-based neo-Nazi organization, serving as a featured speaker at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1990.

M.O.M.'s manual advertises books and videos that provide "information" about its views and agenda. Among the books are *The New American Man: A Call to Arms; Sniper Training and Employment; Booby Traps*; and *The Road Back*, which describes how to build bombs and land mines (see Sec. I, no. 1).

Another publication, the M.O.M. *Catalogue*, offers 14 training manuals in one binder, covering weapons, guerrilla war techniques, patrols, terrain, identification, traps, electronics, hand-to-hand combat, investigation, espionage and sabotage, ambush, dirty tricks, and swat teams.

4. *The Militiaman's Handbook*. The handbook appears without the name of an author, publisher, or date of publication.

Exploiting religion to advance its extremist goals, this book asserts that Americans "must return to the discipline and Christian values of our heritage."

"America was founded as a white Christian nation based on the European, Protestant ethics and ideals of personal freedom, respect for others, work, saving, and possession of property....These ideals are being intentionally perverted.. . ."

The militia advocated by this handbook is to be "unorganized," but would serve as the "backbone of the defense of our communities." It warns: "Those who wish to establish a godless, socialist, worldwide totalitarian government know they must disarm the American people, the American militia."

Chapters address indoctrination, organization, equipment, and marksmanship with handguns, rifles, shotguns, submachine guns, and machine guns.

The fundamental unit of the militia, the reader learns, is the four-to-ten men squad. The handbook states:

The primary mission of the squad is training and recruiting. The operational mission is defense of the person, families and homes of the members. Recognition of the individual for completing minimal training and assembling an equipment kit should be given. Individual training should include weapon safety and familiarization, fire and movement, and field skills. Squad training should include squad tactics, ambushes, and defensive fires and tactics.. . .

The choice of weapons is up to the individual, but squads should try to limit weapons to two or three calibers. The use of semi-automatic military rifles and 12 gauge shotguns are [sic] highly recommended. Spouses and teenage children of militia men should be taught basic weapons safety and marksmanship.. . .

5. *U.S. Militiaman's Handbook*, Dan Shoemaker. Monmouth, IL, 1994.

This handbook considers training, ballistics, and marksmanship.

Shoemaker divides training into two phases — activities performed by individuals and by units (squad, eight to 20 people; platoon, 16-50 people). Activities include physical exercise and martial arts for individuals, target practice, advancing along assault lines, and night operations for units.

Charts provide information by rifle caliber on battle range bullet trajectories (50-100 yards), long-range bullet trajectories (100-500 yards), and wind drift. "It is suggested that you write down your rifle's trajectory information and tape this minichart to the cheek-side of your rifle's buttstock in waterproof fashion," writes Shoemaker.

The handbook lists five basic punitive actions "in defense of the U.S. Constitution." These include: death and destruction on the battlefield; battlefield executions; marking of enemy prisoners or enemy sympathizers; vigilante activities, and assassination.

The targets for attack include law enforcement agents or troops sent against an area's militia by local, state, or national governments. "When municipal, township, county, or local area law enforcement agents attack or seek to confine or control the U.S. Militia or its individual members, those agencies should be totally eliminated in the initial attack," Shoemaker writes.

Other directives:

- Do not allow any law enforcement agents to escape. Kill them all....
- The highest-ranking officer or soldier captured alive should be executed. If that officer is a U.S. soldier, he has committed treason against the U.S. Constitution....
- All crew members which operated any war machines, including aircraft, in battle against the U.S. militia should be executed....
- When prisoners are taken, every prisoner should be marked....The preferred method is to actually "brand" the prisoner with a hot branding iron shaped to form an L which stands for "Liberty"....

Vigilante action is to be directed against two types of persons — employers and political leaders who do not recognize, or attempt to damage, the U.S. Militia or its individual members. Additionally:

- Vigilante actions should occur at a time when most people are at home, perhaps asleep....A good time might be on a quiet weekday between the hours of 1:30 a.m. to 3:00 a.m....
- Militiamen involved with a vigilante action should wear a mask....
- Vigilante action may result in death and destruction. So, take a vote either among unit leaders or the entire membership involved whether or not to use vigilante action against a person....

With the regard to assassination, the handbook states:

- Assassination by the U.S. Militia should be, but it not required to be, a military operation....
- There are a lot of ways to kill someone who is targeted for assassination....
- If members of the U.S. Militia find themselves standing over the subject's body or somehow initially capture the subject, the situation should be handled like a battlefield execution. Read the execution order before or after the target subject is terminated....
- Successful assassination requires some kind of plan. But, then, too, there is always the random hunting method. What about solitary assassins? Well brother, if you are the last free man left alive in your area, hunt the enemy. Make it count.

III. INSTRUCTION/PROPAGANDA

1. *The March Up Country*, Harold Covington. Reedy, WV: Liberty Bell Publications, 1987

Covington is a longtime neo-Nazi and Klan leader; he allegedly organized the activists who attacked a 1979 street demonstration in Greensboro, NC, killing five members of the Communist Workers Party (Covington was not present at the rally and was not indicted). In recent years, Covington has reportedly served as an advisor to Combat 18, an active neo-Nazi terrorist group in England.

Liberty Bell is a pro-Nazi propaganda mill headed by George Dietz.

"This book is written for the practical and ideological instruction of revolutionaries," Covington writes. His premise: the "white, Aryan race is in imminent danger of physical extinction"; the "malevolent activities of the Jewish race have a good deal to do with the decline of the white

man and his culture." Western nations, he argues, are ruled by Zionist Occupational Governments (ZOGs).

Covington states: "The only method by which white victory may be attained is through a series of revolutions in every white or partially white country, wherein white racial nationalists assume state power and then proceed to carry out a complete transmutation of the societies in which these revolutions take place."

Dipping into the well of Holocaust denial, he argues that Jews "spend countless millions...perpetuating a mythical event that never happened."

Covington foresees four phases to "victory": cadre recruitment, groundwork among the general population, political and propaganda attack, and armed struggle against tyranny. Yet he does not advocate violence, he says, nor the forcible overthrow of the government. However, he warns that "you can push people only so far before they react violently."

"If I myself were going to go underground and play urban guerrilla, I wouldn't fool with these little machine pistols that burp a thirty-round magazine in five seconds and gobble ammunition like popcorn," Covington advises. "I'd get myself one good, long-range sniper's rifle with a scope; one compact, concealable yet heavy handgun like a .44 Bulldog, .357 or a .380 automatic; some disposable small-caliber Saturday Night Specials for one-shot assassination work and then discard. . . ."

IV. NOVELS

1. *The Turner Diaries*, Andrew Macdonald (pseudonym for William L. Pierce). Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1978.

Pierce is the longtime leader of the National Alliance, a virulently anti-Semitic extremist group that advocates a Nazi takeover of America. A former professor of physics, Pierce presides over a compound in the mountain wilderness of West Virginia, where his "Cosmotheist Community Church" works to "train a new generation to pick up the torch and become warriors for our cause." The National Alliance promotes a vast array of racist and anti-Semitic materials from publishers and organizations of America's neo-Nazi network. Its own National Vanguard Books has offered for sale, among other anti-Semitic works, *The International Jew* and Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

[Note: In June 1983, a U.S. appellate court ruled that the National Alliance did not qualify for an educational tax exemption (which Pierce had sought) because its publications were "far outside the range Congress would have intended" for such exemption.]

The National Alliance helped give rise to a violent manifestation of domestic extremism when Bob Mathews, a recruiter for the group, established in 1983 the far-right terrorist gang known as The Order (the name of the inner circle of revolutionary terrorists in *The Turner Diaries*).

Composed of members or former members of the National Alliance and Nazi and Klan organizations, The Order embarked on a violent crime spree — including murder, bombings, and armed robbery — during the next two years, ending with Mathews's fiery death in an FBI shootout in Puget Sound, WA. Other members of The Order were tried and convicted for their crimes, and sentenced to lengthy prison terms.

Pierce fantasizes an overthrow of the American government by far-right extremists who systematically kill Jews and blacks, destroy Israel, and eventually establish an "Aryan" world. Jews throughout the world are killed, in accordance with the vow of the narrator: "If the Organization survives this contest, no Jew will--anywhere. We'll go to the uttermost ends of the earth to hunt down the last of Satan's spawn." In the novel, these events take place between 1991 and 1999.

Many of the crimes narrated in the early parts of the novel — robberies, murders, counterfeiting, and bombings — were mimicked by the extremist group, The Order, whose leader, Robert Mathews, used *The Turner Diaries* as a blueprint for the group's activities. Pierce's publication, *National Vanguard*, praised The Order for having "set its sights on a full-scale, armed revolution, ending with the purification of the U.S. population and the institution of a race-based authoritarian government." The publication asked: "...how will the Jews cope with the man who does not fear them and is willing, even glad, to give his life in order to hurt them? What will they do when a hundred good men rise to take Robert Mathews' place?"

A startling parallel with the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building is to be found in *The Turner Diaries*. In Pierce's book, the FBI's national headquarters in Washington, DC, is destroyed. As in Oklahoma City, the explosive is ammonium nitrate.

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

Then we slapped a big square of adhesive tape over the hole, and I turned the bag end over end to mix the contents while Ed refilled his oil can from the feeder line to their oil furnace. It took us nearly three hours to do all 44 sacks, and the work really wore me out.

Meanwhile, George and Henry were out stealing a truck. With only two-and-a-half tons of explosives we didn't need a big tractor-trailer rig, so we had decided to grab a delivery truck belonging to an office supply firm....

George and I headed for the FBI building in the car, with Henry following in the truck....

As we drove by the building, however, we saw that the basement entrance was open and no one was in sight. We signaled Henry and kept going for another

seven or eight blocks, until we found a good spot to park. Then we began walking back slowly, keeping an eye on our watches.

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

The plate glass windows in the store beside us and dozens of others that we could see along the street were blown to splinters. A glittering and deadly rain of glass shards continued to fall into the street from the upper stories of nearby buildings for a few seconds, as a jet-black column of smoke shot straight up into the sky ahead of us.

A further entry in the *Diaries* reflects the protagonist's warped philosophy rationalizing his murderous act:

At 9:15 yesterday morning our bomb went off in the FBI's national headquarters building...the damage is immense. We have certainly disrupted a major portion of the FBI's headquarters operations for at least the next several weeks. . . we gaped with mixture of horror and elation at the devastation....

It is a heavy burden of responsibility for us to bear, since most of the victims of our bomb were only pawns who were no more committed to the sick philosophy or the racially destructive goals of the System than we are.

But there is no way we can destroy the System without hurting many thousands of innocent people...And if we don't destroy the System before it destroys us...our whole race will die.

It has been widely reported that indicted Oklahoma City bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh was an admirer of *The Turner Diaries* and enthusiastically recommended it to others.

2. *Hunter*, Andrew Macdonald (pseudonym for William L. Pierce). Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1989.

Pierce dedicates this volume to "Joseph Paul Franklin, the Lone Hunter, who saw his duty as a White man and did what a responsible son of his race must do, to the best of his ability and without regard for the personal consequences." In fact, Franklin, a past Klan member and a neo-Nazi, is a racist mass murderer, having been convicted for the 1977 slaying of an interracial couple in Madison, WI, and for the 1980 murder of two black joggers in Salt Lake City. He has also confessed to killing a man leaving a Bar Mitzvah service in St. Louis, MO, in 1977.

Hunter functions as both novel and extremist tract. A diatribe against Jews and blacks, the novel's plot comprises a string of murders and a | truck bombing by a white former Air Force

pilot in Vietnam. The main character kills "racially 1 mixed couples," a newspaper columnist, a Congressman, a Senator, two governors, a cardinal, two bishops, a rabbi, a TV talk-show host, and numerous others. He builds a bomb using ammonium nitrate, a fuel-oil sensitizer, and a time-delay detonator, places it in a delivery van, and destroys Israeli offices in downtown Washington, DC.

The "civilization of which he had felt himself a part was losing its sense of identity," Pierce wrote of his protagonist. "The country is unraveling, and our job is to hold it together."

Pierce concludes the book with episodes of civil disorder which "had become almost a daily fact of life, despite the government's draconian measures to keep it in check," with bombings of banks and government buildings and a black "rebellion" setting the stage for possible counterblows by the white, racist "National League."

3. *Seed of the Woman*, Joshua Von Vulcan. Noxon, MT: Four Horseman Press, date uncertain (inferring from information provided about the author on the book's back cover, the novel was probably written in the early 1990s).

According to the note on the back cover, Von Vulcan was born in Germany in 1933, has written several novels, and "lives on the high plains of Montana." In the early 1950s, we are told, he was "able to learn the amazing truth concerning the rise of Adolf Hitler, the Third Reich [and]...the Zionist lies vilifying the German people," as well as "the outrageous lie of the extermination of 6 million Jews."

Four Horseman Press identifies itself as "a sacerdotal order of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian of Montana." The "church" is led by "Pastor" Carl Franklin, a former member of Aryan Nations and its racist and anti-Semitic Church of Jesus Christ Christian, who broke from the Idaho-based Nazi-like group in 1993.

Seed of the Woman details the wild exploits of several young neo-Nazis in a contemporary \ America peopled by gross stereotypes. Its favorable depiction of Nazi-inspired slaughter and its promotion of Nazi doctrine serves to encourage violence against Jews, blacks, homosexuals, and others.

The novel opens with the escape from prison of a right-wing extremist; in an echo of the terminology used in *The Turner Diaries*, Von Vulcan has his protagonist rejoin "the Organization" to fight the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG). "The Organization had legal and illegal members. Illegals were members who engaged in...armed robbery, counterfeiting and combat operations." The legals engage in such functions as literature distribution, religious activities, and politics.

"Aren't these people Nazis?" one skeptic asks.

"They might be, but so what?"

The villain in the novel is "the Jew." "In 'the good old days,' America wasn't run by Jew bankers... . the one-world Jewish Conspiracy is as old as White Western Man...their ancient goal. . . is THE COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF THE ARYAN RACE...."

The Organization is structured militarily — Command, Intelligence, Operations, Supply/Logistics, and Propaganda. In another nod to *The Turner Diaries*, a higher level of the Organization is known as "The Order," dedicated to "God and the Aryan Race."

A favored plot element in the novel is the portrayal of assaults by black men on white women. There are numerous such scenes, which are both sexually explicit and violently racist. The novel ends when a man and a woman — members of the Organization — blow up a bar, killing 249 homosexuals.

CONCLUSION

The tone and content of the extremist literature discussed in this report reflect the philosophy of the groups that promote it: desperate, violence-prone, haunted by fanatic conspiracy theories. The materials convey instructions and recommendations for settling differences and solving difficult problems through violence.

To be sure, the works described here — all of which advocate, encourage, or condone extremist violence — are not the only publications popular or influential in the militia movement and the far-right fringe. Endemic to this extremist world is the proliferation of conspiracy theories which depict the Federal Government as a criminal organization bent on depriving American citizens of their Constitutional rights. Such theories are promoted in certain publications that do not advocate violent action but suggest the need for "resistance" in order to restore the corrupt system to constitutionality and lawfulness. One example of this type of propaganda is the 1992 pamphlet, *Operation Vampire Killer 2000*, by Jack McLamb, a retired Phoenix, AZ, police officer, ostensibly published by "Police Against the New World Order."

Although described by *The New York Times* in a December 31, 1995, feature as "incoherent and almost impossible to follow," this conspiracy-theory tract occupies a prominent place in the militia library, and was reportedly a favorite of accused Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh. The pamphlet, subtitled "American Police Action Plan for Stopping World Government Rule," rails against "the ongoing, elitist covert operation which has been installed in the American system with great stealth and cunning..."

The cast of characters indicted as "globalists" by McLamb — who has drawn on the propaganda of anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists such as Eustace Mullins — is by now familiar to anyone with a knowledge of militia-style propaganda: the Illuminati, the Rothchilds (the "Head Bloodsuckers"), the United Nations, the IRS, "communists," Yale's Skull & Bones Society, "New Age professors" and psychologists, and even UFOs. In keeping with militia obsessions, the central feature of their conspiracy is gun control.

In response, *Vampire Killer 2000* advocates a seemingly oxymoronic plan to "LAWFULLY EXTERMINATE these parasitic Global Blood Suckers by placing numerous 'STAKES' made of words, paper, pen, and hard work through their hardened hearts." [Emphasis in original.]

Whether violence-oriented or merely conspiratorial, all of this literature is constitutionally protected. How then, in an open, civil society, are responsible citizens to react to this dangerous, paranoiac approach to perceived grievances? How should Americans who uphold democratic methods responsibly and effectively oppose the threat to public order and safety posed by these books and their promoters?

It is hoped that awareness of this problem by the public and its elected officials will lead to ever more effective, constitutionally sound action by law enforcement at every level. ADL continues to urge the vigorous enforcement by the states of existing statutes outlawing specific types of paramilitary training for the purpose of engaging in civil disorder. Many of these measures, currently on the books in 24 states, were patterned after a model bill formulated by ADL. The League has written to the governors of the remaining 26 states, urging them to work with their legislatures to adopt such statutes. In addition, public support is needed for Federal legislation to address terrorist threats associated with both international and domestic extremism.

More broadly, in a culture that continues to tolerate intolerance and legitimize the language of extremism, violent haters should be isolated and rejected.