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## Fact Finding Report

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# BEYOND THE BOMBING: The Militia Menace Grows

An Update of *Armed & Dangerous*

Anti-Defamation League

1995



David H. Strassler, *National Chairman*

Abraham H. Foxman, *National Director*

Howard P. Berkowitz, *Chair, National Executive Committee*

Peter T. Willner, *Chief Operating Officer*

Kenneth Jacobson, *Assistant National Director*

Robert G. Sugarman, *Chair, Civil Rights Committee*

Jeffrey P. Sinensky, *Director, Civil Rights Division*

This report has been made possible through a generous grant from the  
**William and Naomi Gorowitz Institute on Terrorism and Extremism**

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This publication was prepared by:  
Thomas Halpern, Acting Director, Fact Finding Department;  
David Rosenberg, Assistant Director, Fact Finding Department;  
Irwin Suall, Director of Special Projects;  
David Cantor, Senior Research Analyst, Research & Evaluation Department;  
Lori Linzer, Research Analyst, Research & Evaluation Department;  
Rebecca Kaufman, Research Analyst, Research & Evaluation Department.

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## INTRODUCTION

A new national survey by the Anti-Defamation League offers disturbing evidence that the militia movement has continued to grow since the Oklahoma City bombing. The pattern is not uniform, but militia gains plainly appear to outweigh losses -- contrary to the widespread expectation that public shock and revulsion at the bombing might prompt the militias to disband. The ADL survey also found that many hard-core militiamen believe that the United States Government itself conducted the bombing to create an excuse for further depriving citizens of their constitutional rights.

In October 1994 the ADL issued a Fact-Finding Report titled *Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government*, detailing militia activity in 13 states. The report sought to alert the American public and the law enforcement community to the danger posed by these extremists, many of whom were engaging in paramilitary training while spreading an incendiary anti-federal government message laced with conspiracy theories and, in some places, anti-Semitism.

Six months later, the militia movement came under intense national scrutiny after the deadly April 19, 1995, bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, when it was reported that two suspects in the bombing, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, had attended some militia meetings in Michigan. In addition, prosecutors have charged that McVeigh was motivated to commit the bombing out of anger at the federal government for its handling of the Branch Davidian confrontation in Waco, Texas -- an issue that has been one of the chief rallying cries of the militia movement.

### **A Growing Movement**

Continued monitoring by ADL in the months after publication of the October 1994 report reveals that the militia movement has grown -- with some of the growth taking place after the Oklahoma City bombing. In this new survey, conducted through ADL's regional offices and completed six weeks after the bombing, militias have been found to be operating in at least 40 states, with membership reaching some 15,000. A continued flow of information indicates that these numbers could rise still higher. While these findings are not a definitive indication of the militias' future prospects, they do point to the need for ongoing close attention to this movement.

In California, more than 30 militias are presently operating, apparently having benefitted from the large amount of publicity the movement has received in recent weeks. Other states in which militia activity has increased are Michigan, Georgia, Alabama, New Hampshire, Missouri and Arizona. In a few states -- Ohio, Indiana and Colorado, for example -- activity has declined since the bombing. For some groups, such as the Northwest Oregon Regional Militia, a factor in their decline has been the belief that the government, having engineered the blast, is now poised to take extreme measures to destroy the militia movement.

Since the militias are mainly located in rural and small town communities, the burden of monitoring them falls largely on state and local law enforcement agencies. In the course of the current ADL survey, it became evident that many of these agencies -- in large measure for lack of adequate investigative resources -- have not yet managed to rise to this task. That job will be made even more difficult if, as some militias strategists are counseling, the groups adopt a strategy of organizing into small units designed to be less susceptible to detection, monitoring and infiltration by law enforcement. This approach echoes a strategic concept known as "leaderless resistance" that has been promoted in recent years by several far-right figures, including Tom Metzger of Fallbrook, California, who leads the White Aryan Resistance, and Louis Beam, a former Texas KKK Grand Dragon who has been "Ambassador-At-Large" of the Idaho-based Aryan Nations.

### **Weapons and Conspiracy Fantasies**

The most ominous aspect of the militias' program is the conviction, openly expressed by many of them, that an impending armed conflict with the federal government necessitates paramilitary training and the stockpiling of weapons in preparation for that day of reckoning. According to the militias' conspiracy view, the federal authorities are enacting gun control legislation in order to make it impossible for the people to resist the imposition of a tyrannical regime or a "one-world" dictatorship. Many militia supporters believe that the conspiracy involves not only federal authorities, but also the United Nations, foreign troops and other sinister forces.

Sometimes mentioned among these sinister forces are Jews. ADL's first report on militias noted that a number of militia figures have histories of bigotry. The current survey confirms that some militia propaganda continues to exhibit an anti-Semitic strain that could well become more pervasive among militia groups as a result of the movement's obsessive conspiracy-mongering.

In this connection, the role of America's leading anti-Semitic organization, Liberty Lobby, and its weekly publication, *The Spotlight*, merit attention. In April 1995, ADL revealed that one of the Oklahoma City bombing suspects, Timothy McVeigh, advertised for sale in *The Spotlight* a military-style rocket launcher. On May 28, *The New York Times* reported that Terry Nichols, the other bombing suspect, and his brother James were readers of *The Spotlight*. Many of the conspiracy fantasies fueling the militias were promoted heavily in a September 1994 eight-page supplement of *The Spotlight*. The supplement, widely distributed among militiamen, intoned: "Is America on the verge of war? Is a 'national emergency' about to be declared and America placed under martial law? Is America on the brink of occupation by military troops under United Nations control?" In addition, the Militia of Montana has been promoting for sale in its catalog a comprehensive bomb-making manual entitled *The Road Back*, which was produced by Liberty Lobby's publishing arm, Noontide Press. The catalog describes the book as "a plan for the restoration of freedom when our country has been taken over by its enemies."

### **Spreading Their Message**

The militia movement's continued growth is due -- at least partly -- to an effective communications network. Militia organizers have promoted their ideology not only at militia meetings, but also at gun shows, "patriot" rallies and gatherings of various groups with anti-government "grievances." Some militia firebrands reach their audience through mail-order videotapes and through computer bulletin boards and the Internet. Exploiting yet another medium, the pro-militia American Patriot Fax Network disseminates material from well-known hate group figures and conspiracy theorists, including some who proclaim that the government orchestrated the Oklahoma City bombing.

Of course, the fact that the men charged with the Oklahoma City bombing have had some association with one militia group does not make the entire movement responsible for the crime. But even if no further connection is established between the bombing and the militias, it should be clear by now that these extremists, particularly those engaged in paramilitary training, present a serious danger. The formula they have concocted -- belief in menacing conspiracies, hatred of the government, and the conviction that an armed showdown is coming -- is a prescription for disaster.

For these reasons, the Anti-Defamation League urges the vigorous enforcement by the states of existing statutes outlawing specific types of paramilitary training. Many of these

measures, currently on the books of 24 states, were patterned after a model bill formulated by ADL (see ADL's recent Law Report, *The ADL Anti-Paramilitary Training Statute: A Response To Domestic Terrorism*). The League has written to the governors of the remaining 26 states, urging them to work with their legislatures to adopt such a statute. In addition, ADL has called for federal legislation to address the terrorist threat associated with both international and domestic extremism. We are encouraged at the rapid progress that appears to be taking place on a bipartisan basis toward the adoption of a comprehensive anti-terrorism bill.

The following is a state-by-state summary of militia activity, supplementing the information contained in our October 1994 report, *Armed & Dangerous*.



## ALABAMA

Alabama has a small, but steadily growing, militia movement. Its most active groups, which appear to be in regular contact with one another, are the Gadsden Minutemen of Etowah County and the Montgomery County-based Sons of Liberty. The Gadsden Minutemen, led by Mike Kemp and Jeff Randall, publish a regular newsletter and meet periodically to practice battle skills and hand-to-hand combat techniques.

The Sons of Liberty is a small group with a deliberately low profile. The organization's manual advises members to "keep the group size down. If you've got more than 10-12 spin off another group." Followers are also warned not to "keep all your eggs in one basket. If you have more than one rifle, keep it in a hideaway spot." Finally, the handbook counsels, "Don't lose sight of our objective.... Don't fire unless fired upon, but if they [federal officials] mean to have a war let it begin here."

## ALASKA

Small militias have formed in Alaska. Despite their modest size, the groups have caused concern among observers. An Anchorage attorney and board member of the National Rifle Association has called some of the militias "extremely dangerous."

Alaskan militias are connected to the national militia movement via computers. The electronic bulletin board services "AmeriKa" and "Back Woods," based in Anchorage, provide users with conspiracy literature -- including articles by Linda Thompson (see **Indiana**) and on topics ranging from "NATO and U.S. Join Together For Total Civilian Disarmament" to "Why the British Had To Kill Abraham Lincoln." The bulletin board services also act as forums for users to lambast the purportedly encroaching powers of the federal government.

## ARIZONA

A number of militia supporters and anti-federal government advocates hail from Arizona. William Cooper of St. Johns has broadcast a nightly shortwave radio program, "Hour of the Time," promoting militias and "New World Order" conspiracy theories. Gerald "Jack"

McLamb, a former Phoenix policeman and founder of Police Against the New World Order, aims to convince law enforcement officials of a plot to create a one-world government. McLamb targets a law enforcement audience with his conspiracy tract, *Operation Vampire Killer 2000*, and a newsletter, *Aid & Abet*, co-produced with Mesa police officer Rick Dalton. Another lawman, Graham County Sheriff Richard Mack, has spoken at "patriot" gatherings about his successful suit against the U.S. Government to avoid enforcement of the Brady Law in his county, an action that has earned him the admiration of militiamen nationwide.

Actual militia organizing in the state has occurred in the areas of Phoenix, Prescott, Payson, Snowflake, Kingman, Pinedale and the Four Corners, with some continued growth since the Oklahoma City bombing.

In April 1995, two men from Snowflake with reported ties to a militia were charged with illegal conspiracy to manufacture, possess and sell 20 grenades to a federal undercover agent. Kenneth Zesk, 40, and Danny Fite, 26, reportedly said that their group was arming itself for a confrontation with the federal government. The charges are pending.

On May 23, 1995, Stephen Gehring, a Mesa attorney and reputed leader of the Payson-based Militia of Arizona, was charged with fraudulent schemes and hindering prosecution, stemming from an alleged attempt to pass bogus money orders. Gehring is accused of trying to use the notes to pay off a property tax bill and to post bail for another reported militiaman, Ricki John Lawhon.

## ARKANSAS

Militia organizing in Arkansas remains embryonic with one to three groups in the northwest region of the state. The groups are not known to engage in paramilitary training.

In Fayetteville, archery equipment producer Wayne Fincher of Elkins has organized the Militia of Washington County.

## CALIFORNIA

California's militia movement has been growing rapidly, with approximately 35 units throughout the state. The locations of these groups range from urban centers to small towns, and extend from the state's northern to southern borders. Counties in which militias have been active include: Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, San Diego, Kern, Placer, Alameda, Marin, Santa Clara, Shasta, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, El Dorado, Tulare, Sonoma, Mendocino, Butte, Tuolumne and Tehama.

This widespread activity has been encouraged on public access television and radio. "The Informed Citizen," a television program broadcast on Redding's public access channel, Michael Zwerling's radio talk show on KSCO in Santa Cruz, and "Truth Radio" KDNO in Delano, all promote militias.

Dean Compton, 33, a resident of rural Shasta County, has founded the National Alliance of Christian Militias in response to the perceived threat of an impending "New World Order." The group, whose members are armed, reportedly blends Biblical teachings and survivalism. Training sessions are conducted on Compton's 130-acre ranch.

### Visiting Activists

Far-right organizer and former Green Beret Bo Gritz (see **Idaho**) has promoted his SPIKE program (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events -- a paramilitary survivalist training course) in California. Gritz conducted a SPIKE session and gave a speech in Butte County in February 1995, at which time the Butte County Militia was forming. On that visit, Gritz reportedly said that Americans might finally be awakening to the threats he sees: "Who would have ever thought," he was quoted as saying, "these militias would spring up everywhere?" Gritz also encouraged the formation of militias in a March 1995 speech in Glendale.

Over the past year, Mark Koernke ("Mark from Michigan") has spoken around the state as well. In August 1994, Koernke appeared in Concord, where he reportedly described a future takeover of the U.S. by foreign "New World Order" troops and claimed that the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) will establish concentration camps for American citizens. "The solution," he said, "is militias. It looks like we're going to pull the trigger. We eventually will. No doubt about that." In August and September 1994, Koernke also spoke to

audiences in Kern County, and in May 1995, he addressed 600 people at a "Taking America Back" conference in Palm Springs. The organizer of the event, Tom Johns, claims to be the "intelligence officer" for the Morongo Valley Militia.

Bob Fletcher of the Militia of Montana addressed a San Fernando Valley group called the Granada Forum in Tarzana in March 1995. The group, which gathers regularly to discuss "patriot" issues, has also heard speeches by longtime anti-Semite Eustace Mullins and California State Senator Don Rogers, who has proposed a resolution objecting to any U.S. assistance in the formation of a "global government" and the "merger of the United States" into such a world government.

## COLORADO

Sources indicate that militia organizing in Colorado has been frozen in the aftermath of the April 19 bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Meetings have been put on hold, though it does not appear that the groups have disbanded.

Despite this development, anti-federal government and conspiracy-oriented tirades continue to be phoned in by listeners to radio station KHNC in Johnstown, which broadcasts a steady stream of "patriot" programs. In recent weeks some callers have expressed the view, held by many militia supporters, that the government itself carried out the Oklahoma City blast.

Another important vehicle for pro-militia activism in Colorado is *The USA Patriot Magazine*, edited by D. A. Weideman and published monthly by the USA Patriot Network in Johnstown. The periodical, whose cover price is "4 FRNs" (Federal Reserve Notes), contains a "Telephone & Address Book" listing dozens of contacts. Among them are *The Free American*, a pro-militia periodical from New Mexico; Militia Supply, identified as a "Patriot Hardware" outlet with a catalog and a toll-free phone number; Mark Koernke (listed as "Mark from Michigan"), whose speeches and videotapes have encouraged militia organizing throughout the country; and Bob Fletcher, of the Militia of Montana.

Fletcher has traveled to Colorado on behalf of his militia. In a January 1995 speech in Fort Collins, he instructed fledgling militiamen that "you better damn well learn how to use a gun if you don't know how to use one now."

Prior to the Oklahoma bombing, militias had organized in Larimer and Weld Counties near the Wyoming border, in counties around Denver, in Park County west of Colorado Springs, and in the southern region of the state.

### **Charles Duke**

Colorado's militia movement has been publicly defended by State Senator Charles Duke, who has reportedly said that "the few militia people I know practice a policy of nonviolence, ... not altogether too different from a Boy Scout kind of idea." Following the Oklahoma City bombing, a *Denver Post* columnist reported that Duke raised the possibility of a government role in the bombing: "They're certainly capable of it. Look what they did to Waco. There's many people around the country who believe they did it.... Is it unreasonable to see the continuation of a pattern here?"

## **DELAWARE**

The Delaware Regional Citizens Militia, located in the central part of the state, began organizing in the early months of 1995. Leader Andrew Brown has claimed that membership in the group is so secretive he would identify "only seven or so, even if you tortured me."

Brown has joined the chorus of militia leaders attributing the Oklahoma City bombing of April 19, 1995, to the federal government. "The government is behind this one," he has said. "I'm telling you, the government perpetrated that bomb. There's going to be more bombings, but it's not us, man. It's not us."

## **FLORIDA**

Militias and their "patriot" supporters are operating throughout Florida in the following counties: Alachua, Duval, Clay, St. Johns, Marion, Orange, Brevard, Highlands, St. Lucie, Martin, Volusia, Indian River, Okeechobee, Pinellas, Sarasota, Pasco, Polk, Hillsborough,

Palm Beach and Monroe. Robert Gene Pummer, formerly of Martin County and once the key organizer of the Florida State Militia, has moved to Mayfield, Kentucky.

On December 3, 1994, outside Melbourne, a collection of anti-government activists and militia groups organized a "Patriot Alert Rally." Martin "Red" Beckman, a tax protestor from Montana, told the gathering, "They lied to us about Pearl Harbor and Vietnam and Korea and the energy crisis and the Kennedy assassination. We don't want to have to go to the militia if we can help it. But if we don't have truth in this country, part of the judgment that's going to come on this country is going to come from the militia."

Literature for sale at the rally included copies of *The New Federalist* (a publication of political extremist Lyndon LaRouche), *The Spotlight* (the organ of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby), literature from the St. Lucie-based Florida State Militia, 2nd Regiment, and a handbill from the Brevard County Militia proclaiming: "Wake-up America, Your country is being taken over bit-by-bit. Join Your fellow PATRIOTS to STOP this MOVEMENT."

The same month, the Gainesville City Hall briefly flew a United Nations flag. Members of militias from around the state and the nation, including then-Michigan Militia leader Norman Olson, issued a flood of complaints and threats to the city and local business leaders. The flag was removed. Gainesville's city manager stated, "The city commission meeting that we had regarding the U.N. flag was probably the meeting at which I felt more personal fear than any other public meeting I've ever attended in 20 years."

### **On the airwaves**

In Pensacola, militias are promoted by Chuck Baldwin, the pastor of Crossroads Baptist Church. Baldwin hosts a radio show on the Christian Patriot Network and invites listeners to call in: "We're talking about citizens' militias, federal government's encroachment on individual rights, New World Order, United Nations, gun control, it's all related." Militias are also promoted on the public access channel in Alachua County, which airs a pro-militia video produced by the North Florida Patriot Association.

## GEORGIA

Frank Smith, an Air Force veteran and retired tool-and-die maker, claims to lead the Georgia Militia. Days after the April 19 bombing of Oklahoma City's Federal Building, Smith echoed the sentiments of militia leaders across the country by blaming the U.S. Government for the blast. Speaking on the CNN television program "Talkback Live," Smith said the government was "trying to get the militia movement to come out and fight. We expected them to do something drastic. We didn't expect it to be that drastic."

In March 1995, the Voice of Liberty Patriots, a group led by Rick Tyler of Epworth, held a conference in Atlanta featuring state and county rights advocates -- including Colorado State Senator Charles Duke and California State Senator Don Rogers -- as well as conspiracy theorists. Several in attendance sported "Georgia Militia" T-shirts reading "Don't Tread On Me." Literature offered for sale at the rally included the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby's *Spotlight* tabloid.

Tyler also directs a so-called constitutionalist, anti-tax group known as the Georgia Taxpayers Association, and co-hosts "Voice of Liberty," a daily shortwave radio program. Soon after the Oklahoma City bombing, "Voice of Liberty" listeners were told that the disaster was being used by the government as an excuse "to put across their agenda of establishing a police state.... They are ruthless, they are cunning, they are cutthroat, and furthermore, we are their target."

Another organization, known as Citizens for a Constitutional Georgia, meets weekly at an Atlanta hotel. Materials available for sale at the meetings have included pro-gun literature, but also *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *The Spotlight*. The group has sponsored local appearances by well-known militia activists Mark Koernke (see **Michigan**) and Marietta native Linda Thompson (see **Indiana**). The latter gave a speech at the Cobb County Civic Center that was attended by some 800 people.

A militia group in north Georgia conducts paramilitary maneuvers on a 38-acre tract in Hall County, northeast of Atlanta.

## IDAHO

In recent months, Idaho's militia movement has attempted to achieve mainstream acceptance. Carefully toning down his group's rhetoric, militia leader Samuel Sherwood, of the Blackfoot-based United States Militia Association (USMA), has told Idaho lawmakers that his organization is working for change within the political system. On other occasions, however, Sherwood has derided the state's government and has seemed to encourage violence against its representatives.

Sherwood has exploited local dissatisfaction with federal environmental policy to boost his recruiting efforts. In January 1995, a federal judge issued an order prohibiting mining, logging and ranching in five National Forests in Idaho to protect endangered salmon in the area. The move threatened the livelihoods of many Idahoans including residents of the small town of Challis. Sherwood, plying the fears and anger of the community, reportedly encouraged Challis residents to join his militia to fight such federal restrictions and declared:

We're ready to look the federal government in the eye. We want a bloodless revolution, but if the bureaucrats won't listen we'll give them a civil war to think about. All it's going to take, is this crazy judge to close down central Idaho and there'll be blood in the streets.

### **Threat to Legislators**

Sherwood issued another menacing threat in March. After meeting with Idaho Lieutenant Governor Butch Otter, Sherwood complained that some Idaho politicians ignored the interests of state citizens in favor of a federal agenda. His advice to followers, widely reported, was: "Go up and look legislators in the face, because some day you may have to blow it off."

Sherwood has claimed that state militia members helped Republican Anne Fox win election last November as Idaho Superintendent of Education. According to the Associated Press, Sherwood said that 1,000 militia members were on hand to assist the campaign effort by answering telephones and providing other services. After Fox's victory at the polls, Sherwood served briefly as a member of her transition team.

In February 1995, Fox spoke at a USMA meeting in Boise. On the podium, she expressed approval for the militia's strong opposition to gun control and its calls for states' rights.

On April 15, 1995, militia members, tax protesters and constitutionalists from across the country, gathered in Post Falls for a day-long seminar. Speakers before the reported crowd of 300 included Militia of Montana leader John Trochmann, anti-tax activist M. J. "Red" Beckman, of Billings, Montana (see *Armed & Dangerous*), and Eustace Mullins, of Staunton, Virginia, a longtime anti-Jewish propagandist and conspiracy theorist.

### **Bo Gritz**

Far-right figure and former Green Beret James "Bo" Gritz, who is building a survivalist community in central Idaho, has engaged in activities that have closely paralleled those of the militia movement. He has traveled the country conducting a weapons and survival training course he calls SPIKE -- Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events -- and has called for the execution as traitors of the "tyrants" responsible for the government's actions in the Randy Weaver standoff in northern Idaho and the Branch Davidian conflagration at Waco.

Recently, Gritz deplored the April 19 Oklahoma City bombing yet praised its technique. At a speech in Dallas, Texas, he labeled the blast a "Rembrandt," and said he considered it a "masterpiece of science and art put together."

A radio station in Charlevoix, Michigan, alarmed by Gritz's remarks, decided to suspend indefinitely broadcasts of Gritz's daily shortwave program, "Freedom Calls." After the station was inundated with calls protesting the move, however, "Freedom Calls" returned to the air two days later.

## **ILLINOIS**

A Lombard-based organization called the Illinois Minutemen describes itself as a militia and has echoed the anti-government themes of militia groups elsewhere. The group, formed in mid-January by Glen Ellyn resident Mike Bafundo, now claims members from Cook, DuPage, Will, Kane and McHenry Counties. It meets twice a month at a Lombard bowling

alley. Members do not wear uniforms or carry weapons, but they are reportedly considering a paramilitary training session with the Michigan Militia.

Another organization, the Southern Illinois Patriots League, held a rally on April 22 in Carbondale to protest the presentation by Governor James Edgar of the state's highest honor, the Order of Lincoln, to gun control advocate James Brady. Signs at the rally, which drew 150 participants, assailed some of the militia movement's favorite demons: one described James Brady and his wife Sarah as "diabolical misfits," another equated agents of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms with Nazi stormtroopers. Protestors were also invited to wipe their feet on a United Nations flag. Organizers of the rally included Glad Hall, Scott Slinkard and Ken Potter.

## INDIANA

Militias have become active across the state in such counties as St. Joseph's, Allen, Johnson, Marion, Ripley, Warrick and Dearborn. Many of the groups in these counties are also part of the larger Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, a state-wide umbrella organization that coordinates militia activities.

Influential militia propagandist Linda Thompson, of Indianapolis, operates a computer bulletin board for militia groups across the country. She has announced to prospective new members that her bulletin board was for "doers, not whiners or talkers." She explained that potential members had to be willing to provide the movement with substantial assistance, such as a training site, ammunition, skills training, food, medical care, or money.

Like many others in the militia movement, Thompson blamed the government for the Oklahoma City bombing. "I genuinely believe the government did this bombing," Thompson told *The Boston Globe*. "I mean who's got a track record of killing children?"

On May 12, 1995, Thompson was arrested by Marion County police and charged with resisting arrest and disorderly conduct; the case is pending. According to officials, Thompson carried a concealed weapon into the county prosecutor's office and refused to show her permit for the gun.

Elsewhere in Indiana, the Boonville-based North American Volunteer Militia, directed by Joe Holland, enjoys a considerable following. Holland, who describes himself as a patriotic "freedom fighter," reportedly is under investigation by federal authorities for bank fraud, bankruptcy fraud, securities fraud and tax evasion.

The North American Volunteer Militia is active outside Indiana, particularly in Montana. In April 1995, Holland urged followers to travel to Ravalli County, Montana, to show their support for militia members there who had engaged in an armed confrontation with police (see **Montana**). Ravalli County law enforcement officials expressed concern that Holland was attempting to provoke a violent encounter. He surrendered to Indiana authorities after being charged in Montana with criminal syndicalism.

In Elberfield, a militia group called the Tri-County Carbineers, led by truck driver Jimmy Funkhouser, has been organized. To qualify for membership, candidates are required to own an assault rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition.

James Heath, a member of the Indianapolis Police Department, heads the Johnson County Militia, located just south of Indianapolis. Like others in the movement, members of the organization meet to express their deep distrust of federal lawmakers and share their fears of an impending "one-world government."

In early May 1995, speaking before a Greenwood-based group called the Sovereign Patriots, Heath derisively referred to Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith as "Goldstein." Noting that the mayor's home address is unlisted, Heath also asserted that Goldsmith had something to hide. In a subsequent apology, Heath employed an anti-Semitic stereotype to argue that his slur was really a compliment. Several days later, Indianapolis Police Department officials disciplined Heath for his remarks by demoting him from sergeant to patrolman.

## IOWA

Militia groups have formed in Iowa, but there is little evidence of their size and influence.

Paul Stauffer, an Air Force veteran living in Cedar Rapids and the self-described "national contact" for the Iowa Militia, has claimed that his organization operates in 35

counties; he has not offered specific membership figures. He contends that Iowa militia members are concerned with "intelligence" gathering activities, and that the group maintains contacts with militia leaders across the country.

A May 3, 1995, Cedar Rapids meeting organized by Stauffer found many among the audience of 60 parroting the fevered anti-government conspiracy theories of the militia movement.

## KANSAS

C. D. Olsen of Lyndon leads the Kansas Citizens Militia (also known as the Kansas Unorganized Citizens Militia), the chief such group in the state. Olsen took over recently from Morris E. Wilson, previously the group's commander and now its "Executive Officer." Wilson claims militia units are organizing in Wichita, Junction City and Topeka, where at one meeting he played host to Michigan militia proponent Mark Koernke.

Several individuals, including Wilson, were recently involved in a brush with the law. On April 17, 1995, the Sheriff's Department in Osage County responded to a local farmer's complaint of prowlers on his land. Officers found four heavily armed men, all members of the Kansas Citizens Militia, parked on the farmer's property. The men claimed they had been informed of a possible burglary and had come to offer their assistance. After a search of their vehicles by the officers, Wilson and another man were arrested on charges of carrying concealed weapons; a third man was arrested for possessing a gun with a defaced serial number. While the charges against the other two men have been dismissed, Wilson's case is still pending.

Some militia figures in Kansas, like their counterparts elsewhere, have been quick to blame government officials for the April 19 bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Brad Glover, who calls himself Brigadier General of the Kansas Militia and commander of the 1st Kansas Mechanized Militia, has said, "My personal opinion is that it's a [government] set-up. There are just too many coincidences."

## **KENTUCKY**

There are two main militia groups in Kentucky, both of which are newly formed and relatively small.

Danny and Diane Snellon are, respectively, the coordinator and the secretary/treasurer of the Kentucky Citizens Militia. Formed in Fall 1994, the group does not "have uniform or gun requirements," says Danny Snellon. Recent meetings have taken place at the main branch of the Lexington Public Library and at a sportsman's shop in Paris, northeast of Lexington. Attendance at these meetings has ranged from 10 to 20 people.

In Boone County, in northern Kentucky, a militia called the Defenders of Liberty is believed to have a core group of 30 to 40 individuals. Unlike the Kentucky Citizens Militia, the Defenders of Liberty do wear uniforms and undergo paramilitary training. Since the bombing in Oklahoma City, militia members in Kentucky appear to be lying low to avoid the scrutiny of law enforcement officials.

## **LOUISIANA**

In Lafayette, the Militia of Louisiana has formed under the leadership of Thomas Parker. It has engaged in paramilitary and urban combat training, and is thought to number about 55 members -- some of whom have had affiliations with so-called constitutionalist groups.

Early in 1995, Michigan-based organizer and ideologue Mark Koernke addressed the militia.

## **MICHIGAN**

The Northern Michigan Regional Militia, also known as the Michigan Militia, has attracted national attention in the wake of the April 19 bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

Group leaders have said that Terry Nichols, a suspect in the Oklahoma blast, attended several of its meetings last year and that on at least one occasion he brought another suspect, Timothy McVeigh. Additionally, federal agents searching the Decker, Michigan farm of Terry Nichols's brother James -- who has been considered a material witness in the bombing case -- uncovered a number of documents relating to the Michigan Militia.

Not surprisingly, leaders of the Michigan Militia have disagreed with federal officials about the identity of the bomber, and have offered a theory of their own. A week after the blast, Michigan Militia commander Norman Olson, along with his chief of staff, Ray Southwell, announced that they believed the Japanese had bombed the Oklahoma building. The motive: retaliation for the recent nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subways, which Olson and Southwell said was engineered by the American government.

When their view was repudiated by a majority of the Militia's board, the two men immediately resigned from their positions. Olson assured the press that, nevertheless, "the Michigan Militia is as strong as ever," and that he and Southwell will remain members of the organization.

Despite negative publicity since the Oklahoma City bombing, the militia movement in Michigan has enjoyed some continued success in its recruitment.

### **Mark from Michigan**

Minutes after the bombing in Oklahoma, outspoken activist Mark Koernke (a.k.a. "Mark from Michigan"), whose militant "how-to" videotapes have made him a prime recruiter for the movement, faxed a cryptic, handwritten message about the bombing to U.S. Rep. Steve Stockman, a freshman Republican from Texas. "First update," the fax read in part. "Seven to 10 floors only. Military people on the scene." Koernke insisted he had no prior knowledge of the bombing, and that he had only sent the fax hoping Stockman would "get cameras in place as soon as possible."

Koernke, of Dexter, Michigan, is employed as a janitor at the University of Michigan. He has been identified as spokesman of the Michigan Militia-at-Large, characterized as a more radical offshoot of the Michigan Militia. Koernke has promoted conspiracy theories to audiences around the country, including several in the Pacific Northwest while on a speaking tour sponsored by the Militia of Montana.

Until recently, Koernke also hosted "The Intelligence Report," a shortwave radio program that aired five times a week. Days after the Oklahoma bombing, Koernke told listeners that federal agents had outfitted suspect Timothy McVeigh in a bright orange jumpsuit in order to make him an easy assassination target.

Koernke's program was subsequently pulled from the airwaves by WWCR, the Nashville, Tennessee, shortwave radio station that had been broadcasting his daily diatribes. "We've got to get the gasoline off the fires," insisted the manager of the station, which reaches 2.7 million listeners in the United States and a number of foreign countries.

## MINNESOTA

There are several small militia groups sprinkled across Minnesota. These include the Arrowhead Regional Militia in Duluth, the St. Cloud-based Metro Militia and the Red Pine Regional Militia, located in the Minneapolis area.

## MISSISSIPPI

Drew Rayner of Ocean Springs has spearheaded recruitment for the Mississippi Militia; on April 28, 1995, he appeared before a group of 65 to 75 near Laurel. Literature available at the meeting included the Mississippi Militia "Information Booklet," which contained a 20-page manual on the formation of a militia, *The Revolutionary Spirit*, a Laurel-based tabloid that excerpted material from Liberty Lobby's *The Spotlight*, and *Operation Vampire Killer 2000*, a manual by former Phoenix, Arizona, policeman Jack McLamb that aims to convince law enforcement officials of a one-world government conspiracy.

## MISSOURI

The Buckner-based Missouri Patriots are a recent addition to Missouri's militia movement. Its newsletter, *The Militia Minute*, rails against the federal government, "international bankers" and the media. While its size is not known, leaders of the militia are also members of the Kansas City-based White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, a

promotional item for the White Knights in their publication, *The White Beret*, features the slogan: "Join the White Militia."

Statewide, militias have been established in an estimated 14 counties and are recruiting actively, with some continued growth since the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Although they maintain separate identities, several units in the eastern section of Missouri appear to operate under the leadership of the St. Louis-based 1st Missouri Volunteers Militia, a group established in January 1995 and led by John Moore. Militia groups in the western part of the state are directed by the Missouri 51st Militia, of Kansas City. The Springfield-area 24th Missouri Militia is the largest and most influential such group in the southeastern part of the state.

In March, the 1st Missouri Volunteers assembled a gathering of six state militia groups for a "Missouri Regional Conference." At the event, speakers, including State Senator David Klarich, declared that unlike their counterparts in other states, the Missouri Militia does not promote an agenda of bigotry. However, literature offered at the meeting included extracts from hate publications like the Liberty Lobby's *The Spotlight*, *The Truth at Last*, published by anti-Jewish agitator Ed Fields of Georgia, and *The Jubilee*, a journal that espouses the anti-Semitic pseudo-theology of the "Identity Church" movement.

## MONTANA

Militia groups in Montana, whose armed members have been embroiled in hostile confrontations with police, are among the most volatile in the country.

The Militia of Montana (M.O.M.), one of the movement's most visible and extreme groups, has continued to spread its message around Montana and the nation from its headquarters in the small town of Noxon.

M.O.M. was founded by John Trochmann -- who has been a speaker at a major conclave of the white supremacist Aryan Nations -- along with his brother David and David's son Randy. In public, John Trochmann has tried to play down his Aryan Nations experience. In a recent press release, however, Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler announced that

Trochmann had traveled to the group's Idaho compound "quite often ... for Bible study," and that he "even helped us write out a set of rules for our code of conduct on church grounds."

In December 1994, M.O.M. sponsored a five-stop speaking tour in Washington and Montana with Mark Koernke ("Mark from Michigan"), whose videos and speeches are key recruiting tools for the militia movement. John Trochmann and Bob Fletcher, another M.O.M. official, were also in attendance to answer questions from the audience. One month later, Fletcher traveled to Colorado to reach out to sympathizers in that state. He warned an audience of about 75 that a bloody battle was in store, and instructed them to be prepared. "You better damn well learn how to use a gun if you don't know how to use one now," he said. "If you don't have bullets now, you better flat get them."

### **M.O.M. Propaganda**

An item in an issue of M.O.M.'s monthly newsletter, *Taking Aim*, printed several weeks before the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building, underscores the centrality of the date, April 19, to the group's ideology. The newsletter noted April 19, 1995, as the upcoming execution date ("UNLESS WE ACT NOW!!!" it read) for convicted murderer and white supremacist Richard Wayne Snell. The item recounted that April 19 was also the day on which "Lexington burned.... Warsaw burned.... The feds attempted to raid Randy Weaver.... The Branch Davidians burned." By citing Lexington and Warsaw, M.O.M. seems to compare today's U.S. Government to colonial America's British rulers and, outrageously, to the genocidal Nazi regime, while simultaneously agitating on behalf of a racist and anti-Semitic killer.

As is the case with many militia groups around the country, M.O.M. leaders are obsessed with the notion that United Nations troops, aided by Soviet-made weapons, are planning a takeover of the United States. An "Intelligence Report" recently distributed by M.O.M. purports to provide followers with detailed documentation of this conspiracy. A National Guard base in Biloxi, Mississippi, is said to be filled with trucks "of Soviet origin," whose "fuel tanks have been topped off and apparently look ready to roll." The report adds: "These trucks are being marked at this time United Nations."

The Militia of Montana distributes a catalog that offers for sale numerous videotapes, audiotapes and publications on a variety of conspiracy themes. The catalog also offers a comprehensive bomb-making and warfare manual, *The Road Back*, which was produced by the

anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby's publishing arm, Noontide Press. M.O.M. describes the book thus: "A plan for the restoration of freedom when our country has been taken over by its enemies. 20 chapters on organization, recruiting, intelligence, communications, supply, weapons, sabotage, medicine, warfare, and training, etc."

### **Brush With the Law**

In recent months, authorities in Musselshell County have learned that several M.O.M. members, including John Trochmann, have cooperated with so-called Freemen. Followers of this anti-tax movement have defied local and federal law and have operated their own common law court system, reflecting their view of the Constitution.

In early March 1995, rancher William Stanton, a follower of the Freemen movement, was sentenced by a judge in Roundup, Montana, to a 10-year prison term for criminal syndicalism -- the advocacy of crime, violence, or property damage for political ends -- related to Freemen activities. On the heels of Stanton's sentencing, and in an apparent show of support for the Freemen, John Trochmann and six of his followers embarked on a 500-mile journey to Roundup, armed with an arsenal of weapons. "I believe the men were here to attempt to capture or kill us," the Musselshell County Attorney told a local paper.

The seven men were arrested on charges of carrying concealed weapons and felony intimidation. A search of their vehicle revealed a collection of handguns and rifles, communications equipment, thousands of rounds of ammunition, quantities of gold and silver, and \$80,000 in cash.

Charges against all but two of the men -- Frank Ellena of Billings, and Dale Jacobi of Thompson Falls -- were dropped in late March after a state prosecutor concluded that there was insufficient evidence to support felony charges.

### **North American Volunteer Militia**

The Boonville, Indiana-based North American Volunteer Militia (NAVVM), directed by Joe Holland (see **Indiana**), has an active outpost in Montana. The group's attitude toward law enforcement officials may be discerned from a letter by Holland to the Montana Revenue Department: "How many of your agents will be sent home in body bags before you hear the pleas of the people?" asked Holland in his letter. "Proceed at your own peril!"

In early April 1995, an armed encounter between militia members and Ravalli County officials ended with the arrest of one militiaman. Drawing a parallel between this situation and the confrontations involving the Branch Davidians at Waco and Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge in Idaho, Joe Holland urged followers to travel to Ravalli County in a show of support. "In my opinion," Holland wrote in an "alert" message distributed by fax, "it looks as though another Waco or Ruby Ridge may be in the planning stages in Ravalli County, Montana. There has been a build-up of police over the last few days." In May, Holland and two Montana men were charged with criminal syndicalism; Holland has surrendered to Indiana authorities.

NAVM's Montana coordinator is Calvin Greenup of Darby, a dump operator and elk rancher. In early May 1995, Greenup was charged with plotting to kidnap, try in a common law court, and hang local government officials. The charges, which were also filed against Joe Holland and two of his cohorts, followed an undercover investigation conducted by the state Justice Department. In addition, Greenup has been wanted by officials for tax evasion, obstruction of justice, and running an unlicensed game farm. For several weeks, though, he avoided arrest by hiding out on his large farm and threatening to shoot any law officer who approaches. In early June, Greenup turned himself in to local authorities, made bail, and was released. Greenup's son, Scott, who was sought by police for assaulting an officer and jumping bail, also surrendered.

Before ending his holdout, Greenup said his extreme stance was his only guarantee that "the crooked politicians" will take notice. "Do the political officials want this state to blow or do they want to get it back and hear our pleas?" he asked.

## NEBRASKA

An Omaha-based militia has been organizing since January 1995. The group, which has used several names, including the Constitutional Reinstatement Group and the Nebraska Militia, meets bi-weekly; at these meetings, the notorious anti-Jewish screed *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* has been offered for sale.

The group does not appear to engage in paramilitary training.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

The Hillsborough Troop of Dragoons, led by Fitzhugh MacCrae, has recently emerged as an active militia in New Hampshire. MacCrae told *The Boston Globe* that his group comprises 63 members, of whom two-thirds are allegedly combat veterans. While he emphasizes the group's benign and civic activities, he also boasts, "We're probably better armed than the Army."

Elsewhere, the White Mountain Militia operates in Cornish under the leadership of N. Scott Stevens, who describes himself as director of the militia's "Information Services." Stevens hosted a May 14, 1995, rally in the Cornish town hall for militia members, extreme anti-gun control groups, and others hostile to the federal government.

Ed Brown, head of the Plainsfield-based Constitution Defense Militia (see *Armed & Dangerous*), has claimed to operate groups in seven states, but his organization has not engaged in any publicly noted activity in recent months. According to *The Boston Globe*, shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing, Brown said, "We think it's an inside job.... These criminals within the U.S. Government want to make us look bad."

## NEW MEXICO

Militias in New Mexico operate in counties around Albuquerque and Santa Fe and in the northwestern area of the state. On October 22, 1994, six militia organizations from these regions met in Raton in an unsuccessful attempt to form a combined New Mexico militia. More recently, Governor Gary Johnson was criticized for meeting with militia representatives on April 28, 1995, although he claimed that he met with them in order to ensure that they remain non-violent.

A Farmington militia is known to promote neo-Nazi and white supremacist sentiments.

### *The Free American*

At the start of 1995, the state's leading pro-militia voice, *The Free American*, added anti-Semitism to its advocacy of armed preparedness. In its edition marked "January 1994" (the date was clearly erroneous since the issue reported recent events), the Tijeras-based monthly

newspaper, published by Clayton R. Douglas, included a coupon stating: "Know Someone Who Doesn't Believe in Conspiracies? Send them a copy of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The blueprint used for the New World Order. Only \$15.00."

Douglas, though he is not part of a militia, echoed many militia leaders around the country when he speculated after the April 19 Oklahoma City bombing that "factions within our government" may have engineered the deadly explosion.

## NEW YORK

In recent months, several militias have surfaced in New York. A number of these groups are clustered in the region of south central New York along the New York-Pennsylvania line. While some of the organizing in this area remains inchoate, established militias include the Citizens Militia, Chemung Division, founded in Chemung County in November 1994 by Jerry Loper, a self-employed excavator and landscaper. Loper's group, which engages in paramilitary training, receives literature from the Militia of Montana and militia groups in Michigan, providing further confirmation that groups in those two states serve as important propaganda sources for militias around the country.

Militias have also organized in nearby Tioga, Steuben, Schuyler, Chenango, Cortland and Broome Counties. In Chenango County, militiaman Francis Catlin, who uses the code name "Moonshiner," has said that outrage over the Waco conflagration fueled the militia movement in upstate New York. "We figure this country is in real bad shape," he has commented, adding that "Jewish people" are responsible for the financial difficulties faced by grain farmers.

Near New York City, militias were formed in November 1994 in Dutchess and Orange Counties. The Orange County Militia, which has more recently been known as the Committee of Correspondence, has distributed literature incorporating conspiracy theories from political extremist Lyndon LaRouche. Founder Walter Reddy, while reportedly distancing himself from the group, has also expressed the suspicion that the federal government was involved in the Oklahoma City bombing. Reddy stated, "It was CIA-orchestrated, from the information I have."

## NORTH CAROLINA

The Alamance Minutemen is a small and secretive militia group whose communications appear to be conducted largely through the "Spirit of '76" computer bulletin board, operated by the group's leader, Jeff Rudd of Alamance County.

Another organization, Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government, meets in the towns of Monroe and Matthews, both near Charlotte. While it once promoted militia-style themes, it now claims to engage only in Bible study. Indications are that the group's one-time leader, Al Esposito (see *Armed & Dangerous*), may no longer be active in that role.

## OHIO

The first few months of 1995 were marked by the widespread organizing throughout the state of the "Ohio Unorganized Militia" -- loose-knit groups that conduct various paramilitary exercises. However, low attendance at meetings since the Oklahoma City bombing suggests that the militia movement in Ohio may have lost some strength.

The Ohio Unorganized Militia has justified its activity by citing both the U.S. Constitution's Second Amendment and a provision of state law: the Ohio Revised Code provides for an "unorganized militia ... of all able-bodied citizens of the state who are more than 17 years of age and not more than 67 years of age." The group has been active in Franklin, Brown, Clermont, Hamilton, Stark, Coshocton, Columbiana, Williams, Lucas, Medina and Montgomery Counties.

Despite the claimed legal basis for its existence, the militia has used highly inflammatory language. Rod Scott, a captain in the Brown County group, has stated: "Any armed agent of the United States Government who comes to my home or any militia member's home to take a gun, to steal my property, to violate my freedom, will be met with deadly force."

## OKLAHOMA

To date the most visible militia in Oklahoma, the Oklahoma Citizens Militia operates in Eufaula, southeast of Tulsa, under the leadership of denture maker Ross Hullett. Hullett has condemned the April 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, stating, "Christians don't do this to people." But Oklahoma militia members also share the characteristic, paradoxical "patriotism" of the broader movement. "I would lay down my life for my country," member John Harrell told *The Wall Street Journal*, "but I wouldn't spit on a congressman if he were burning to death."

## OREGON

Oregon's militia movement, which began to emerge in late 1994, appears still to be in its infancy. Touting the familiar theme that "a Civilian Militia is a final line of defense against all enemies both foreign and domestic," the Central Oregon Regional Militia has operated modest units in the town of Prineville and neighboring Deschutes County.

The Salem-based Northwest Oregon Regional Militia was disbanded by its founder, insurance salesman Mike Cross, following the Oklahoma City bombing. Cross said he feared "persecution" by the federal government. He stated, "If they would blow up one of their own buildings, who knows what they could do to militias."

## PENNSYLVANIA

In recent months, sporadic militia organizing has been conducted throughout eastern and southeastern Pennsylvania -- including Dauphin, Delaware, Bucks, Berks, Montgomery and Chester Counties. Some of this activity may have been spurred in part by a November 20, 1994, recruiting speech in suburban Philadelphia by Samuel Sherwood, head of the Idaho-based United States Militia Association. Sherwood subsequently appeared on local talk radio programs.

Similarly, in Crawford County in the western part of the state, a February 4, 1995, appearance by Michigan militia proponent and video agitator Mark Koernke attracted various militia sympathizers and groups. The Keystone Militia has a base in adjacent Warren County.

Militias have formed in Potter and Elk Counties in north central Pennsylvania. Ken Haupricht of the Elk County group has acknowledged that two members also belong to the Ku Klux Klan. The Potter County-based Bucktail Militia (named after Civil War sharpshooters who trained in the area) claims "brigades" in neighboring counties.

### **SOUTH CAROLINA**

In the early months of 1995, the South Carolina Civilian Militia began actively recruiting in the Greenville-Spartanburg area, seeking, in particular, pilots and those with military skills. The militia's self-proclaimed leader, Ian Roebuck, a preacher, claims 80 members in several counties. Roebuck and "information officer" R. C. Davenport disclaim any ties with white supremacist organizations, but advance the notion, standard in the militia movement, that the United States is on course to succumb to a United Nations-led tyranny.

### **SOUTH DAKOTA**

The Rapid City-based Tri-State Militia is described by its leader Rodger Chant as an umbrella organization for militia groups across the state. Chant also claims that the group maintains ties with 35 other militias across the country, including the Michigan Militia.

### **TENNESSEE**

George Etter of Morristown leads the pro-militia Christian Civil Liberties Association. He publishes a newsletter, *The Militia News*, which he claims circulates to "millions" of militia members, and reportedly distributes materials that explain how to make automatic weapons and explosives. Etter, who has a felony record, is himself prohibited from handling firearms. Like many militiamen around the country, Etter reportedly claimed the federal government engineered the Oklahoma City bombing to discredit the militia movement.

Additionally, a militia has been reported to be operating near Memphis.

## TEXAS

An active militia presence was established in Texas with the founding of the Texas Constitutional Militia in 1994. The organization's manual includes language identical to the Michigan Militia's literature, with a pledge to "stand against tyranny, globalism, moral relativism, humanism, and the New World Order threatening to undermine our form of government and these United States of America."

Since Fall 1994, the Texas Constitutional Militia has organized widely, with groups active in the San Antonio, Dallas, Houston and Beaumont areas. The militia's "commanding officers" include, in Collin County, welder John A. Turner of Plano, and in Dallas County, Russell Smith, a glass artist. A separate group, the Red River Militia (or Red River Militia Guard), has organized in east Texas, and is believed to be active in Gilmore, Marshall, DeKalb and Texarkana.

On November 12, 1994, the Texas Constitutional Militia convened an "Alamo Rally" in San Antonio "to honor the Alamo heroes ... and to petition the government for redress of grievances." The rally was advertised in the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby's tabloid, *The Spotlight*. Anti-Semitic and racist materials produced by such groups as Liberty Lobby and William Pierce's neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed at the rally.

The Dallas-area militia, known as the North Texas Constitutional Militia and based in suburban Richardson, has engaged in paramilitary and survival exercises near the Texas-Oklahoma border. These exercises have included the S.T.A.R. (Strategic Training for Assistance and Readiness) program. According to its materials, S.T.A.R. is conducted by a "cadre" of "former Rangers, Seals, Green Berets, and Martial Arts Experts." On April 19, 1995, the day of the Oklahoma City bombing, and two years to the day after the Branch Davidian compound at Waco erupted in flames, the North Texas Constitutional Militia erected near the site of the compound a stone tablet in memory of those killed in the blaze.

Several militias are also believed to be active in Kerrville, northwest of San Antonio, among them the U.S. Civil Militia, founded by Betty Schier and her son Carl. In early May, the pair reportedly turned over to federal authorities a variety of explosives, including TNT, nitroglycerine and a homemade material incorporating ammonium nitrate and paraffin. Betty Schier, 66, a retired gun dealer, said she and her 35-year-old son "don't condone" the Oklahoma City bombing, and claimed they only had the explosives for purposes of producing

a video called "The Mad Bomber," which the son has been trying to sell through a survivalist magazine. The authorities questioned the pair and took possession of the explosives after Carl Schier alerted the FBI that an acquaintance had asked him for information on making a car bomb. No charges were filed against the Schiers.

### **Gritz Visits Texas**

On February 18, 1995, Bo Gritz (see **Idaho**) brought his SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) weapons and survival training workshop to Dallas. Several timeworn anti-Semitic screeds were sold at the seminar, including *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, *Jewish Ritual Murder*, by mid-century British anti-Semite Arnold Leese, *The Jews and Their Lies*, by Martin Luther, and *The Truth About the Protocols*, by Gerald Winrod, the Kansas-based Jew-hating demagogue of the 1930's and 40's known as the "Jayhawk Nazi."

The local contact person for Gritz's visit was Tom Baker, who runs Baker's Outpost, a "Survival & Preparedness Center" in nearby Plano. Along with survival and "defense" supplies, Baker sells conspiracy literature, including Peter Kershar's *Economic Solutions -- The Incredible Story of: How You and America are Being Bankrupt & What You Can Do to Avoid the Wipeout*, which advances the anti-Semitic canard that the Federal Reserve is run by eight Jewish families. The book carries an endorsement by Bo Gritz.

Gritz returned to Dallas the following month for "Preparedness Expo '95," where he shared the podium with, among others, the Michigan-based militia figure Mark Koernke. On a more recent stop in Dallas, shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing, Gritz deplored the tragedy, but went on to describe the bombing as "a Rembrandt, a masterpiece of science and art."

### **Congressman Steve Stockman**

In an official letter dated March 22, 1995, Congressman Steve Stockman wrote to Attorney General Janet Reno claiming that "reliable sources" had informed him that several federal agencies were preparing a paramilitary style attack on the militias, whom he described as "Americans who pose no risk to others." Mr. Stockman even specified the dates and hour of the alleged impending attack: March 25 or 26 at 4:00 a.m.

Warning that the assault would "run the risk of an irreparable breach between the federal government and the public," Congressman Stockman asked for detailed information

about the military arrangements for the assault. The purported plan of attack, it turned out, was a fiction.

Stockman also wrote an article which appeared in the June issue of *Guns and Ammo* magazine, claiming that the raid on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco was conducted by the Clinton Administration "to prove the need for a ban on so-called assault weapons." Earlier, Stockman appeared as a guest on the radio program of Liberty Lobby, the leading anti-Semitic propaganda group in the nation; he has since said he was unaware of Liberty Lobby's anti-Semitism. ADL has recently conveyed its concerns over these matters in a meeting with Congressman Stockman.

## UTAH

News accounts citing law enforcement sources report that at least seven militia units are operating in Utah. One group, the Box Elder County-based Unorganized State Militia of Utah, was disbanded this spring by leader Doug Christiansen, who said he disapproved of the growing militancy of the movement.

Johnny Bangerter, the leader of a St. George-based neo-Nazi Skinhead group called the Army of Israel, claims his organization has ties to militias in Montana, Texas and Utah. He and other Skinheads traveled to northern Idaho in 1992 to express support for white supremacist Randy Weaver during his standoff with federal law enforcement agents -- an event that later contributed to the genesis of the militia movement. Bangerter has asserted that he wrote a note delivered to Weaver during the episode by influential far-right figure Bo Gritz (see **Idaho**), who assisted in Weaver's surrender to authorities.

## VIRGINIA

James Roy Mullins, a founding member of the militia-like Blue Ridge Hunt Club (see *Armed & Dangerous*), pled guilty to federal firearm offenses on February 27, 1995. On May 15, he was sentenced to a five-year prison term. The trial of Warren Darrell Stump II, another Hunt Club member accused of firearm offenses, was delayed on April 26, 1995, when a federal judge determined that the Oklahoma City bombing might affect jury deliberations. Two additional club members await trial.

In Bedford County, pastor and gun dealer William Waters claims to lead the 1st Virginia Freeborn Civilian Militia. Douglas Jeffreys, a state highway department worker from Hanover County, says that he has been touring the state working to form the Virginia Citizens' Militia, an organization of loosely affiliated groups.

## WASHINGTON

Washington has been the site of frequent recruitment and organizing drives by militia groups based outside the state. Militias have emerged throughout the state, particularly in the counties surrounding Seattle, in the Spokane area, and in Clark and Cowlitz Counties in southwestern Washington.

In central Washington, leaders of the Lake Chelan Citizens Militia have been active in the Populist Party of Washington State and in the 1992 presidential campaign of far-right figure Bo Gritz (see **Idaho**), who was the Populist Party nominee.

In Clark County, along the Oregon border, David Darby leads a branch of the Idaho-based United States Militia Association. The Association's prime mover, Samuel Sherwood, has spoken to Darby's group.

The Militia of Montana (M.O.M.) has also recruited extensively in Washington. M.O.M. sponsored a tour of the Northwest by Michigan's Mark Koernke, during which he visited Spokane on December 2, 1994. In February 1995, M.O.M.'s Bob Fletcher recruited in Snohomish County, north of Seattle.

M.O.M. has continued its outreach efforts, particularly around Spokane, in recent months.

## WEST VIRGINIA

The leading militia figure in West Virginia is Ray Looker, whose group, the Mountaineer Militia, holds periodic meetings. Echoing the oft-repeated militia story that mysterious unmarked black helicopters are surveilling leaders of the movement around the

country, Looker recently claimed that such copters have circled over his home in the Clarksburg area. He has also asserted that the West Virginia National Guard has been denied ammunition by the federal government.

## WISCONSIN

The Militia of Wisconsin (also known as Freeman Militia of Wisconsin) is an amalgam of three small organizations -- one under the leadership of Don Treloar in Waupaca County, one in Vernon County under Will Holzli, and a third near Slinger. Unified around the pro-gun, anti-government, conspiracy-driven philosophies that characterize other militia groups, they meet regularly and claim to engage in weapons training and maneuvers. Treloar, speaking of the group's regular field exercises, says "we are preparing men for battle." Holzli, who called media within hours of the Oklahoma City bombing to say that he thought it might be part of a government plot, has boasted of 10,000 members statewide, a plainly exaggerated claim.

Ernie Brusubardis III of Slinger has developed a 10-minute video to be shown to recruits. While the militia claims to be open to any man 18 or older, the video reportedly states that only "professing Christians" can become officers.

## WYOMING

The Western United Militia (WUM), a small group based in Cheyenne, is led by Robert Becker, identified as "Col. Becker" in WUM materials. The group has advertised for recruits in a free shopper's weekly in Cheyenne, and a WUM flier was distributed at a Cheyenne gun show in May. Headed "Patriots Unite!", the handbill contends, in familiar militia fashion, that President Clinton, the United Nations and other global conspirators seek to establish a one-world government, and that -- presumably toward this end -- Soviet-built tanks are being transported to various U.S. locations. The flier, which makes the (certainly exaggerated) claim that WUM has "21 divisions in 17 Western States," instructs would-be members to enclose 20 dollars with their applications.

In Sweetwater County, in southwestern Wyoming, leaflets headed "Wyoming Militia" have surfaced, possibly indicating some nascent local activity. The materials cite several laws

as justifying the militia's existence, but they also offer, for use in unsecured telephone communications, suggested code words for "enemy," "contraband," "weapons," and "making or using explosives." Recommended reading includes such titles as *The Ultimate Sniper* and *Can You Survive?* -- the latter work written by Robert B. DePugh, who served time in prison for firearms violations and other offenses related to activity with the Minutemen, a heavily armed, far-right group he founded in the 1960's. Other names that appear on the leaflets include "Sweetwater Citizen Emergency Response Group" and "Wyoming 'Unorganized' (Reserve) Militia, 4th Group."

## Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

<b>NATIONAL OFFICE</b> 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 .....	(212) 490-2525
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