

Chapter 15: The Christian Right and the Formation of the Patriot Militia

Introduction

Part II up to this point has emphasized bringing together different segments of the broad right-wing and more or less circling around the Patriot militia movement that lurked in the background of the discussion. This chapter brings the Patriot militia into greater focus and argues that it was the Christian Reconstructionists through a very small number of select organizations within the Council for National Policy, with extensive links to the National Rifle Association, Gun Owners of America, and the Second Amendment Foundation and the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, that carries the most responsibility for forming the Patriot militias. To be sure, the anti-Semitic, white supremacist Christian Identity movement was there at the creation, and in greater number of participants at the 1992 Estes Park meeting in Colorado where the Patriot movement germinated as an idea (discussed below); indeed, the right-wing had a long history in forming various militia groups over the previous decades. But, in terms of strategy and organizational linkages, let alone the tremendous communications and organizational network resources available to the Christian Right, the Christian Reconstructionists were the senior partners and the Christian Identity movement the junior partners.

Conventional accounts of the emergence of the Patriot militia mention Larry Pratt, but his Christian Reconstructionist background and the development of a Christian Reconstructionist theology of Christian resistance to federal tyranny go unmentioned (see Chapter 11). Otherwise, Christian Reconstructionist involvement with the Patriot militia tends to be under-appreciated and not given sufficient causal

weight. Even accounts of the revival of the Patriot militia movement after 2004 tend to miss the Christian Reconstructionist antecedents and the networked linkages that the Christian Reconstructionists forged with different segments of the right-wing.

This chapter proceeds through an indirect approach—examining the Christian Right donut before presenting in Chapter 16 the idea that the Christian Right’s ideas provided an important part of the ideological glue of the Patriot militia movement. Chapter 17 then proceeds to present the hole in the donut, if you will, that is, the actual Christian Right strategic plan creating the Patriot militia—the Fourth Generation Warfare’s operational principles outlined by William Lind in his 1989 U.S. Marine Corps *Gazette* article and the eventual configuration of the Patriot militia movement by 1996. The Patriot movement, indeed, the entire Patriot network and ideological sphere is the quintessential Fourth Generation Warfare opponent contesting the legitimacy of the federal government. This chapter thus examines what the Christian Right was doing before and after the emergence of the Patriot militia before presenting the strategic plan in detail, along with details of the Patriot militia movement that emerged.

The Patriot militias that did emerge between 1994 and 1996 were steeped in religion just as the Christian Right was ramping up its anti-abortion and anti-gay campaigns. Moreover, not only did the Christian Right’s Council for National Policy accommodate the Patriot militias within its own organization, key organizations of the Council for National Policy were very much involved in the creation of the Patriot militias. Conspiracy theories aside, it was the National Rifle Association that created the ideology of the militias as the ideological heirs of the Revolutionary War-era militias and the insurrectionist interpretation of the Second Amendment that buttressed the

ideological foundation of the Patriot militias. And, given how deeply and extensively the ideology of guns rights absolutism was partnered with the Christian Right since the days of the Young Americans for Freedom in the early 1960s, it is not unfair to suggest that the Patriot militia is in large measure, though certainly not exclusively, a product of the National Rifle Association, Gun Owners of America, and the Christian Right, especially the Christian Reconstructionists who are its foremost strategists and tacticians.

The sociological and intelligence problem to explain is the emergence of two separate Patriot militia movements more than fifteen years apart—not just the Patriot militia movement that emerged between 1994 and 1996, and by 1998 had been superseded at the elite, strategic planning level by preparations for an anti-immigration movement to combat what they claimed was an “invasion” (see Chapter 12). To the white nationalists/supremacists, as well as their Christian Reconstructionist allies, this Latino invasion posed a real existential threat to their vision of a white-male dominated, conservative Christian homeland dedicated to so-called biblically-based “traditional values” in which non-whites, feminists, homosexuals, liberals, and all other religious, spiritual, or scientific believers were deemed either second-class citizens or enemies of a Christian Republic. The only real substantive difference in this vision is that the broad Christian Right viewed all of America as a white Christian nation, while those on the Hard Right tended to view such a homeland as a remnant, or a whites-only enclave, of what was once the United States of America.

Prior to explaining why it is the organizational network of the Christian Reconstructionists that are responsible for both waves of the Patriot militia movement, it is worth considering the rise, fall, and rise of the movement over time.

The data below from the Southern Poverty Law Center¹ (see Figure 15.1) indicate that the Patriot movement, a combination of militias and Patriot groups like the Constitution Party, the John Birch Society, and common law courts, peaked in 1996, actually having grown after the Oklahoma City bombing. Of the 858 Patriot groups identified by the SPLC in 1996, 370 were militias. The year 1999 was the last year that the Patriot movement had more than 200 groups until 2009. Between 1999 and 2008, a span of ten years, the number of Patriot militia groups averaged about 54. The number of non-militia Patriot groups over the same timespan averaged 106.

The SPLC noted in both its 1998 and 1999 reports that the Patriot movement and the white supremacist movement were moving closer together. Its 1998 report noted that the “amalgam of anti-government conspiracy theories promoted by the Patriot movement has been widely accepted among Klan, neo-Nazi and racist religious [Christian Identity] hate groups.” Its 1999 report indicated that “Patriots now are taking up issues like non-white immigration.” The decline in Patriot groups was attributed to the decline of common law courts, the aging and disillusionment of the movement’s members, law enforcement crackdowns and imprisonment of members, and the hardliners had gone underground into leaderless resistance cells and were no longer visible. Additionally, the SPLC noted that hate groups were increasing while white supremacist groups like the “respectable” Council of Conservative Citizens were also increasing (see Figure 15.2).²

¹ Mark Potok, “The Year in Hate and Extremism,” *Intelligence Report* Spring 2013, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/home/2013/spring/the-year-in-hate-and-extremism>.

² Southern Poverty Law Center, “Small Number of Patriot Groups Still Cause Big Problems,” *Intelligence Report* Spring 1998, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all->

The explanations offered by the SPLC are entirely consistent with the strategic decisions taken in 1997 and 1998 by white supremacist leaders to turn their focus away from the federal government and towards opposing Latino immigration (see Chapter 12). As we saw in previous chapters, while John Tanton's anti-immigration groups spearheaded this movement, Tanton's groups were simultaneously linked to the Free Congress Foundation and its National Empowerment Television (which included the Christian Coalition and its vast network of organizations and churches), and the white supremacist movement, while the Council for National Policy's Constitution Party was linked to the white supremacist movement at the tactical level—at the grassroots level. At the strategic ideological level the Christian Right and white supremacist movement were moving towards each other.

The Anti-Defamation League was the first civil rights organization to observe an increase in activity among extant Patriot militia groups in 2004. A September 2004 report from the ADL noted new militias or “active cells” in at least 30 states with new conspiratorial concerns that the Patriot Act was a first step towards confiscating weapons. This Patriot viewpoint was very consistent with the view of the John Birch Society regarding the Bush administration and the Global War on Terror. Claire Conner, who grew up in a family at the top of the leadership of John Birch Society, wrote that the “new Bush administration proved that little separated the two political parties...[and that] ‘each has labored for many years to bring our nation into a New World Order.’” In October 2001, the JBS issued a 44-page report that “argued that the

issues/1998/spring/the-patriot-movement. Southern Poverty Law Center, “The World of ‘Patriots,’” *Intelligence Report* Spring 1999, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1999/spring/the-world-of-patriots>.

totalitarians who led the United Nations hoped “to use the terrorist threat and other crises to build their new world order.” Conner noted that the JBS essentially viewed Islamic terrorism as a mask for communist terrorism. Martin Durham, a keen analyst on the ideological differences between the radical right (non-anti-Semitic far right) and the extreme right (anti-Semitic far right) noted that the JBS “is a crucial influence on much of the Patriot movement” and viewed the 9/11 attack as “deliberately intended to bring about a more repressive government” (a false-flag operation perpetrated by communists masked as Muslims) and an “elitist plot [that] would enslave Americans.” The extreme right viewed the perpetrators as Israelis and the main enemy the Zionist Occupation Government. The ADL report noted that the new militias, plus the older militias that lasted into the new era such as the Michigan Militia and the Kentucky State Militia, were much more circumspect and keeping a lower profile, mainly online, promoting preparedness expositions, holding gun shoots, and some conducting intensive paramilitary training in preparation for an economic collapse or declaration of martial law. Some militia members from Kentucky and Missouri were operating with Ranch Rescue, a militia-like border patrol operating in Texas and Arizona.³

The upsurge in Patriot groups in 2009 and militias can be linked to two meetings, one in 2004 and the other in 2009, involving the same cast of characters from the Christian Right that includes individuals directly linked to Ron Paul.

³ Anti-Defamation League, “The Quiet Retooling of the Militia Movement,” September 7, 2004, at <http://www.adl.org/extremism/Militia/default.asp>. Claire Conner, *Wrapped in the Flag: A Personal History of America’s Radical Right*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2013: 210, 213, and 215. Martin Durham, “The American Far Right and 9/11,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2003, 15:2: 96-111, pp. 103-4 and 108.

In January 2004, Robert Schulz's We The People Foundation held its first annual conference that the Southern Poverty Law Center characterized as "one of the largest anti-government gatherings in recent memory." Schultz was a promoter of tax resistance and the concomitant beliefs that the IRS and the Federal Reserve System are illegal. The meeting, held in a Virginia suburb of Washington, D.C. attracted "a remarkable array of people, from anti-Semites to conspiracy mongers to white supremacists and even right-wing Republicans" and their concerns ranged from "gun control to taxes to judicial tyranny." The meeting was held at the same time as the Conservative Political Action Conference and participants could move back and forth between the meetings. Angel 'Bay' Buchanan, sister of leading paleo-conservative and white nationalist Patrick Buchanan, forecast that "Americans will be 'forced into a New World Order' and, to a standing ovation, attacked the Bush Administration's immigration and economic policies." Anti-Semite Hutton Gibson, father of actor Mel Gibson, "wowed his audience with a fast-paced diatribe against 'an alliance of the government and the banks' that is leading us to 'the New World Order and one-world government.'" Joseph Farah, head of the conspiracy website hub World Net Daily, echoed the Christian Reconstructionist theology of resistance when he told participants, "If government perpetuates evil, you must resist." Bob Schultz told the audience that the use of violence would be defensive: 'I agree that it may come to violence...but we hope that won't.'"⁴

⁴ Heidi Beirich, "We The People Holds Antigovernment Gathering in D.C.," *Intelligence Report* Spring 2004, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2004/spring/talking-tough>.

According to a Fall 2004 report from the Southern Poverty Law Center, in mid-2004, the “extreme right was furious with Bush for invading Iraq, holding a Ramadan service in the White House, proposing amnesty for illegal immigrants, appointing ‘sodomites’ to federal posts, running up the national debt, and allowing the assault-weapons ban to stand.” The January meeting had apparently been a tune-up for the party’s convention. The Christian Reconstructionist’s Constitution Party’s convention in June 2004 nominated Michael Peroutka as its presidential candidate. Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America was a key speaker and Peroutka was endorsed by Michael Hill, “president of the neo-Confederate hate group League of the South.” Peroutka was also endorsed by “a surprising number of anti-abortion, anti-immigration, anti-gay and neo-Confederate groups.” The SPLC noted that Peroutka started the Institute for the Constitution, “which peddles 12-week seminars teaching a Biblical version of the U.S. government.” Peroutka’s membership in the racist League of the South “helped bring neo-Confederates into the Constitution Party.” Chuck Baldwin, a Florida preacher long linked to the Patriot militias was the party’s vice presidential candidate.⁵ By mid-2013, Peroutka had joined the board of the League of the South and pledged his Institute for the Constitution’s resources to the League’s goal of having two or more southern states secede from the United States and form a confederation on the basis “more or less of the U.S. Constitution of 1788 and the Confederate States Constitution of 1861,” according to the League’s *Grey Book*.⁶

⁵ Bob Moser, “God’s Own Spoilers,” *Intelligence Report* Fall 2004, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2004/fall/gods-own-spoilers>.

⁶ Warren Throckmorton, “Michael Peroutka Pledges Resources of Institute on the Constitution to League of the South,” July 15, 2013, at <http://wthrockmorton.com/2013/07/michael-peroutka-pledges-resources-of-institute-on-the-constitution-to-league-of-the-south/>.

Five years later, Robert Schulz—who is very close to Ron Paul—would help reignite the Patriot movement and militias in 2009 with his Jekyll Island meeting, and, along with Joseph Farah at World Net Daily, promote the birther conspiracy in an effort to delegitimize President Obama. In May 2009, Schulz's We The People Foundation convened a small group of 30 individuals at Jekyll Island, Georgia, to plan a self-styled 'continental congress' for November 2009. The Southern Poverty Law Center noted that the Jekyll Island meeting "appears to have played a key role in launching the current resurgence of militias and the larger anti-government 'Patriot' movement." The meeting "brought together disparate elements of the radical right. It included radical tax protesters, militiamen, nativist extremists, anti-Obama 'birthers,' hard-line libertarians, conspiracy-minded Patriots."⁷ According to the Jekyll Island's website describing the history of that meeting, the 25 or so leaders of a "united front" coalition identified a "long list of ongoing Constitutional violations which now threaten the collapse of the Republic" which included "RFID personal tracking technology, government controlled transportation choke points, illegal surveillance, undeclared wars, unconstitutional direct taxes on labor, international treaties which purport to supersede the legal sovereignty of the nation, electronic election fraud, America's unconstitutional fiat currency (the U.S. 'dollar'), unconstitutional control of firearms by federal authorities, sustainable development and the new world order agenda which seeks to erase all national borders (and the Liberties of America guaranteed by our Constitution)."⁸ Only

⁷ Heidi Beirich, "Midwifing the Militias," *Intelligence Report* Spring 2010, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2010/spring/midwifing-the-militias>.

⁸ Continental Congress, "History Leading to the Continental Congress 2009," at <http://cc2009.us/about-cc2009/history-leading-to-cc2009>.

Taitz, characterized as the “Queen Bee” of the birther movement, was brought to prominence through a network that included Barbara Coe’s California Coalition for Immigration Reform (linked to white nationalist John Tanton); Wiley Drake, the vice presidential candidate on the American Independent Party (the sister party to the Constitution Party); Robert Schulz’s We The People Foundation (a partner to Ron Paul); and, Joseph Farah’s World Net Daily, which became a major promoter of the birther conspiracy, as well as other widely circulated right-wing conspiracy theories, despite the fact that analyses by its own reporters debunked the birther conspiracy theory.⁹

The self-declared and self-styled ‘continental congress’ was a joint enterprise of Ron Paul’s Campaign for Liberty, Robert Schulz’s We The People Foundation, Howard Phillips’ Constitution Party, and the Libertarian Party.¹⁰

Based on at least three different documents produced by the ‘continental congress’ organizers and one after-the-fact promotion, I identified 152 participants, either delegates or alternates, those who signed the Articles of Freedom though not

⁹ Spencer Kornhaber, “Meet Orly Taitz, Queen Bee of People Obsessed With Barack Obama’s Birth Certificate,” *Orange County Weekly*, June 17, 2009, at <http://www.ocweekly.com/2009-06-18/news/orly-taitz/1>. Drew Zahn, “Democrat sues Sen. Obama over ‘fraudulent candidacy.’ Lawsuit disputing U.S. citizenship based in part on discredited claims,” *WorldNetDaily*, August 23, 2008, at <http://www.wnd.com/index.php?pagelId=73214>. Terry Krepel, “Joseph Farah’s Lie About WorldNetDaily, Obama Birth Certificate,” *The Huffington Post*, December 28, 2008, at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/terry-krepel/joseph-farahs-lie-about-w_b_152570.html. Terry Krepel, “Joseph Farah’s Still Not Telling the Full Truth,” *The Huffington Post*, January 13, 2009, at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/terry-krepel/joseph-farahs-still-not-t_b_157662.html. Terry Krepel, “Obama Hate Central,” *Con Web Watch*, January 22, 2009, at <http://conwebwatch.tripod.com/stories/2009/obamahate.html>. Leah Nelson, “Ever Wonder Where the Extreme Right’s Conspiracy Theories and Paranoid Rumors Get Started? Meet WorldNetDaily,” *AlterNet*, October 10, 2012, at <http://www.alternet.org/media/ever-wonder-where-extreme-rights-conspiracy-theories-and-paranoid-rumors-get-started-meet>.

¹⁰ Revolution March.com, “Rally for the Republic, July 12, 2008,” at <http://www.revolutionmarch.com/rallydetails.aspx>. Son of Liberty, “Continental Congress 2009 Round #2 Regional Meetings,” *Campaign for Liberty*, March 16, 2009, at <http://www.campaignforliberty.com/blog.php?view=13449>.

listed as a delegate, and others who replaced delegates who quit the proceedings.¹¹ Excluding the seven who quit and for whom there was no data available, there were 145 people associated with the ‘continental congress.’ Of the 145 people for whom there was delegate data located at GiveMeLiberty.org, which is the website for We The People which organized the delegate selection process, 71 people or 49 percent had previous experience in political or civic organizations. Of the 71 people with previous political experience, 61 percent (43 people) came from the Ron Paul’s Campaign for Liberty or his presidential campaign (25 percent), We The People Foundation (14 percent), the Constitution Party (13 percent), or the Libertarian Party (8 percent). The other 39 percent (28 people) of experienced attendees were nearly equally divided among conservative organizations (13 percent), Tea Party groups (11 percent), militia-Patriot, Oath Keepers, or Sons of Confederate Veterans (10 percent), and Christian Right organizations (6 percent). Of the 12 alternates in the database, 10 had no prior political experience. There were three other people with militia experience that were counted as Ron Paul attendees and another militia attendee that was also affiliated with the Libertarian Party—that was Jon Roland, the founder of the underground Texas Constitutional Militia and the above ground Constitution Society. The executive director of the Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) attended the ‘continental congress.’ As late as 2009, FIRE was identified by the Southern Poverty Law Center as “the largest hard-line nativist group” that directly targeted Latino immigrants rather than

¹¹ ‘continental congress,’ “CC2009 Delegate’s Pledge,” November 2009, at <http://web.archive.org/web/20100206150202/http://articlesoffreedom.us/TOC/DelegatesPledge.aspx>. Articles of Freedom.us, “Pledge by the Delegates,” November 11, 2010, at <http://articlesoffreedom.us/TOC/DelegatesPledge.aspx>. Continental Congress 2009, “Seated Delegates List, at <http://cc2009.us/delegates>. John Wallace, “The Declaration and Resolves of the Continental Congress 2009—More Important Than Ever,” Liberty News Online, January 6, 2012, at http://www.libertynewsonline.com/article_301_31404.php.

opposing immigration policy. FIRE worked closely with the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps and other quasi-militia groups.¹² Tony Dolz, the former head of the Los Angeles chapter of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, one of the leaders of a Constitution Party-John Tanton-Christian Right network of organizations in California attempting to deny birthright citizenship to Latinos born in the United States, as well as a leader in a Tea Party effort to repeal the California's version of the DREAM Act, also attended the 'continental congress.'¹³

Thus, the Ron Paul-Robert Schulz-Howard Phillips conclave drew experienced attendees from across the spectrum of the right-wing to re-launch an even larger Patriot movement that also managed to exclude nearly every Christian Identity or white supremacist leader. The Patriot movement and revival of the Patriot militia in 2009 can be linked directly to strategic level meetings held in 2004 and 2009 that organizationally were linked to the Christian Reconstructionist's Constitution Party as well as directly to

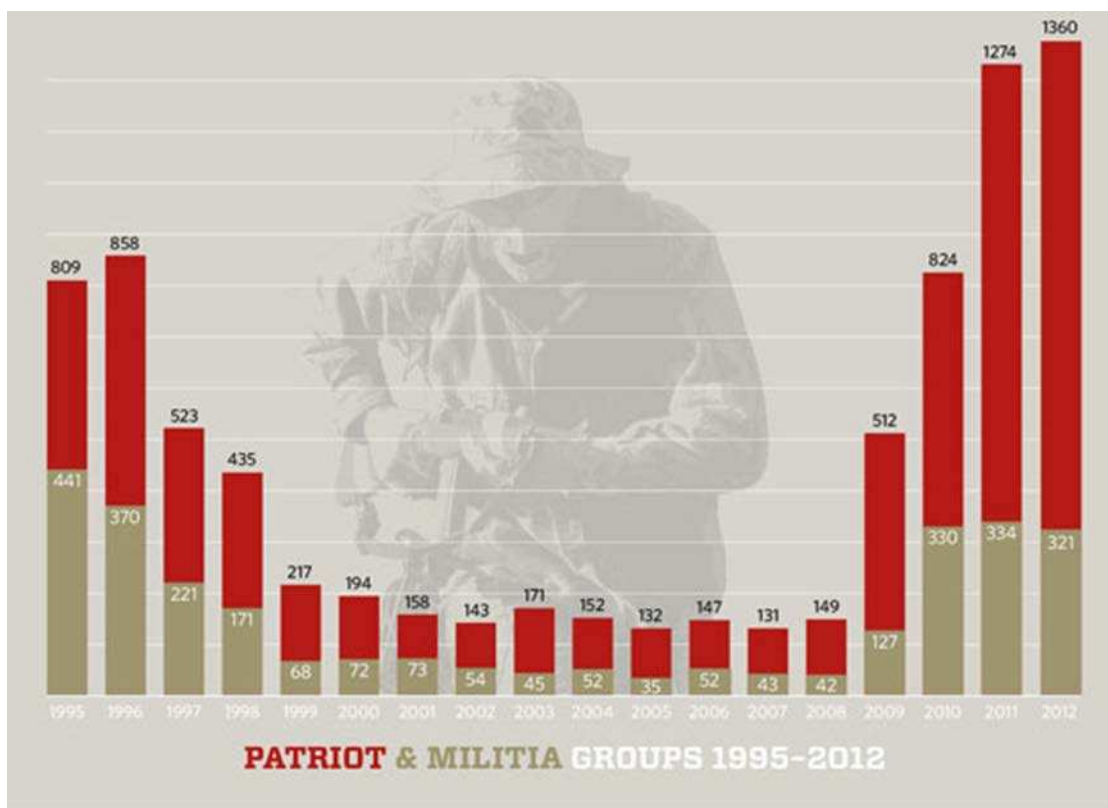
¹² Terry McCarthy, "Stalking the Day Laborers," *Time Magazine*, November 28, 2005, at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1134748,00.html>. Kristin Collins, "Immigration activists target employers," *News & Observer*, October 28, 2006, at <http://www.newsobserver.com/102/story/503817.html>. Sharon McNary, "Fire Coalition puts heat on illegal immigration," *The Press-Enterprise*, March 2, 2007, at http://www.pe.com/localnews/inland/stories/PE_News_Local_D_firecoalition02.429b458.html. Sharon McNary, "Activists slam easing of credit-card access," *The Press-Enterprise*, March 2, 2007, at http://www.pe.com/localnews/immigration/stories/PE_News_Local_D_bankboycott02.429b1fc.html. Heidi Beirich, "The Year in Nativism," *Intelligence Report* Spring 2010, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2010/spring/the-year-in-nativism>.

¹³ Anti-Defamation League, "You Don't Speak for Me," September 2008, at http://www.adl.org/civil_rights/anti_immigrant/dont_speak_for_me.asp. Taxpayer Revolution, "Endorsements for the Initiative," at http://www.taxpayerrevolution.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3&Itemid=23. Julian J. Ramos, "Minuteman conference draws 200," *Santa Maria Times*, February 22, 2009, at <http://www.santamariatimes.com/articles/2009/02/22/news/news02.txt>. Devin Burghart and Leonard Zeskind, "Beyond FAIR: The Decline of the Established Anti-Immigrant Organizations and the Rise of Tea Party Nativism," Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, January 17, 2012 at <http://irehr.org/issue-areas/tea-party-nationalism/beyond-fair-report>.

Ron Paul. Therefore, it is most likely that the rise, fall, and rise of the Patriot movement over time is the product of the Christian Reconstructionists with their Taxpayers/Constitution Party, and that the party's links to the Patriot movement and white supremacists, plus other allies in the orbit of the Christian Right like the National Rifle Association, that account for these developments and not those of the Christian Identity movement or the Hard Right.

Figure 15.1

Patriot Groups and Patriot Militias, 1995-2012



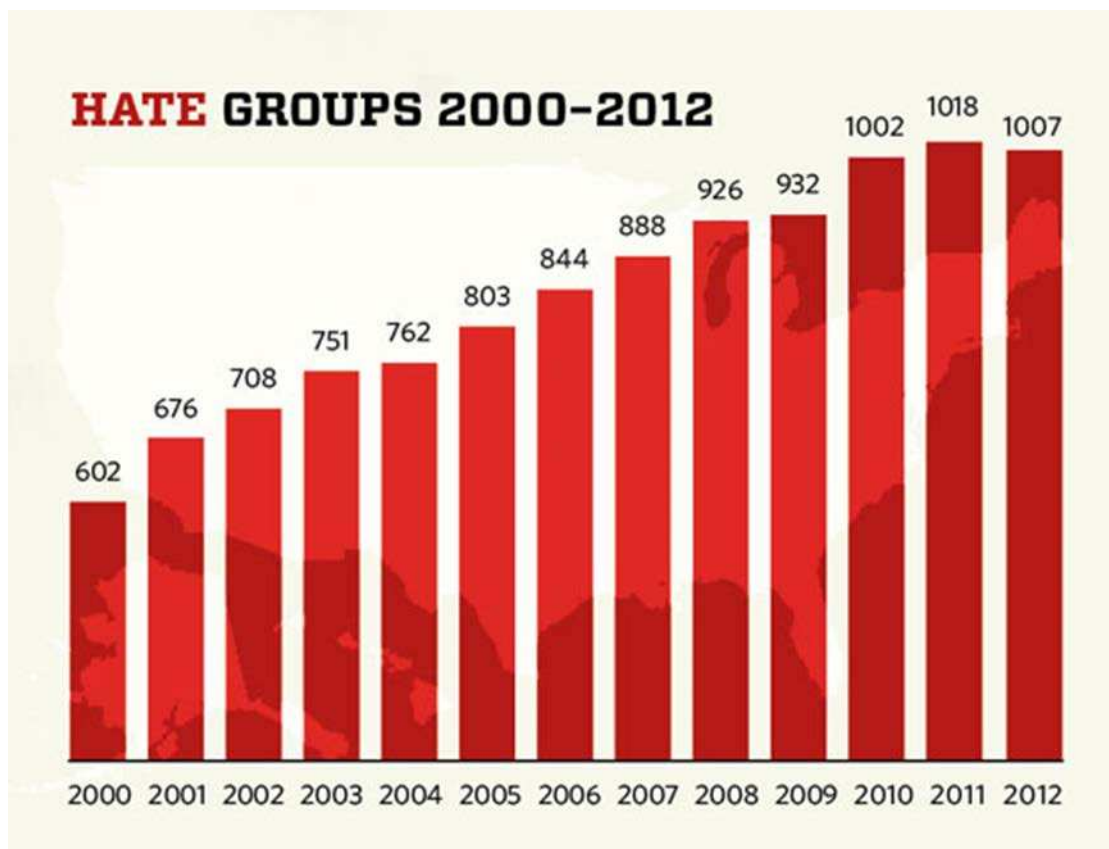
The SPLC data¹⁴ also show that the number of hate groups was increasingly as the white supremacist leadership made opposing Latino immigration their number one

¹⁴ Mark Potok, "The Year in Hate and Extremism," *Intelligence Report* Spring 2013, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splc.org/home/2013/spring/the-year-in-hate-and-extremism>.

strategic priority in defending the white race against what they perceived as a forthcoming cultural and physical genocide. As opposition to Latino immigration went mainstream and gathered Christian Right and Republican allies, the number of hate groups steadily climbed between 2000 to 2012, from 602 to 1007. This steady increase in hate groups suggests that anti-immigration protests which the white supremacist leadership conceived of starting in 1997-1998, which began with Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi, and racist skinhead protests, eventually expanded to include militia-like border patrols, and suburban- and small-city based middle class groups opposed to Latino immigration and pressuring local officials to enact a wide variety of laws that would compel Latino immigrants to “self-deport” under the unrelenting pressure of a “war of attrition.” These significant results cannot be explained by variations in the economy or the election of a Democratic president, let alone the first African American president in November 2008. I would argue that the strategic decisions of Christian Right leaders and white supremacist leaders to oppose non-white immigration were far more causally significant.

Figure 15.2

Number of Hate Groups, 2000-2012



The Christian Reconstructionists and the Emergence of the Patriot Militia

The Patriot militia did not develop out of thin air. There was already a loose grouping of organizations that constituted a Patriot movement by 1990. Moreover, the Christian Reconstructionists had already developed a well-thought out theology of Christian resistance that included elements that would certainly appeal to Christian Identity adherents and other white supremacists: the idea that the county was the ideal level of government; that lower magistrates should interpose themselves between individuals in local communities and the federal government to thwart tyranny; that arming individuals for self-defense and resistance to tyranny was biblically and

constitutionally mandated; and, that a well-armed local militia was needed to resist violently federal tyranny as a last resort. In short, the Christian Reconstructionists—with their allies in the National Rifle Association, Gun Owners for America, and the Second Amendment Foundation-Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms—had developed a robust theological-ideological architecture from which a nation-wide Patriot militia movement could develop.

James Aho, a sociologist at Idaho State University conducted field observations and collected documentary and interview data starting in 1985 on the radical right in Idaho. The resulting book, *The Politics of Righteousness*, published in 1990 is a sociological gem, not only for its rigorous methodology and presentation of data contrary to the Lipset-Raab “politics of extremism,” but because it captures the Patriot movement in Idaho before Ruby Ridge and Waco and makes clear that the Patriot movement draws members from a diverse religious background though having a significant amount of ideological coherence.

Aho noted that the “New Christian Right” had a familial link to “their less respectable cousins” who prefer to call themselves “Christian patriots.” Of particular importance in the definition of Christian patriots is that they feel “duty-bound to go into the world.... to establish God’s rule on earth.” Christian patriots believe that “Law” and “Morality” are derived solely from the “so-called organic Constitution (the original Articles of the Constitution plus the Bill of Rights) and selected edicts from the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Bible). For Christian patriots, truly “authoritative [legislative] enactments either derive directly from God (as read in the Bible) or are in accordance with His will discerned by the Founding Fathers.” What Aho called the

“politics of righteousness is pictured by Christian patriots as a battle against a satanic cabal that has insidiously infiltrated the dominant institutions of society, especially the mass media, public schools, established churches, and state agencies like the Internal Revenue Service. The goal of this cabal is to subvert God’s will...by promoting, among other things, equal rights for ‘unqualified’ ethnic and racial minorities, non-Christian religions such as ‘secular humanism,’ and moral perversion—pornography, homosexuality, abortion, crime, and usury.” Some Christian patriots “are not adverse to advocating the use of revolutionary means to achieve their ends.” Some consider the entire federal government illegitimate and call the federal government the Zionist Occupation Government. Other Christian patriots may oppose specific laws, taxes, or federal programs related to land-use. Some use violence, some use legal means, and other use fictitious legal means. The ultimate objectives of “Christian patriotism is the preservation of ‘Christian values’ and ‘Americanism,’” as the patriots understand them.”¹⁵

Aho’s book was concerned with those Christian patriots who “derive their positions on specific issues from explicit theories of history and society.” Thus, Aho did not focus his study on local individuals who belonged to issue-specific groups who had a worldview that did not extend beyond a vague sense that “secular humanists” were at fault for what was wrong in America.

Aho distinguished between two general ideological types of Christian patriots—Christian Constitutionalists and Identity Christians. Christian Constitutionalists believed

¹⁵ James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990: 4, 14-15.

“an abstract group is behind [a] conspiracy to destroy America.” Identity Christians believed the Jews were behind the conspiracy to destroy America. He also divided Identity Christians into two types, racist and non-racist; racist Identity adherents believed the Jews were the biological, genetic offspring of Satan, while non-racist Identity adherents believed the Jews to be culturally or religiously satanic. There was no assumption that all groups within these two ideological types agreed with each other; nor did he assume that these types were mutually exclusive, thus, individuals could move between different groups in different types; and, there was no assumption that these ideological types represented moderate-revolutionary or peaceful-violent dichotomies.¹⁶ In short, this Patriot sphere was quite diverse. In fact, the basic divisions Aho found between Christian Constitutionalists and Christian Identity mirror almost exactly the differences between the broad Christian Right, but especially the Christian Reconstructionists, and the Christian Identity religious movement discussed in previous chapters.

Aho provided a Venn diagram of three circles depicting the two ideological types plus a third one, the “issue-oriented patriots” with intersections between the three ideological types. The specific issue-oriented patriots—that were not part of his study—are, in fact, groups that are members of the Christian Right’s Council for National Policy: Concerned Women for America, headed by Beverly LaHaye, Eagle Forum, headed by Phyllis Schlafly, the Moral Majority, headed by Jerry Falwell, and the Right to Work, plus local groups that reflect a single-issue focus—though the Christian Right groups focus

¹⁶ James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990: 17-21.

on more than one issue. These national groups were representative of the type of issue-oriented patriots that were part of his sample of 520 Christian patriots: Christian economists who believe a free market economy is consistent with orthodox Christianity, anti-abortionists, home-schoolers, right-to-work advocates, and others. It is important to remember that within one year of Aho publishing his book, Pat Robertson bridged the ideological gap between the Christian Right and the Christian Patriots with his own book on *The New World Order*.

What is especially relevant from Aho's study and generalizable to later studies is his finding that the religious composition of Christian patriot groups tends to follow the religious geography of Idaho (or the state). For example, eastern Idaho is 90 percent Latter Day Saints (Mormons) and "right-wing extremism [Christian patriotism] in eastern Idaho takes the form of Christian Constitutionalism." The northern panhandle of Idaho, with only about 10 percent Mormon followers, is where the Christian Identity groups flourished. Eighty percent of the Christian patriots for whom data was available (n=384) had been socialized in Protestant church groups—32 percent Mormon, about 19 percent Protestant, and about 29 percent "other fundamentalist" (including Baptists at 12 percent that Aho had classified as Protestant). Only 15 percent had been raised Catholic and around 5 percent had no religious training as a child. When compared to the general population of Idaho, other fundamentalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists were over-represented compared to all Protestants. There were also significant differences in the religious backgrounds of Christian Constitutionalists and Christian Identity adherents. The Christian Constitutionalists were overwhelmingly (65 percent)

drawn from the Latter Day Saints while nearly 60 percent of Christian Identity believers were drawn from conservative or fundamentalist Protestant backgrounds.¹⁷

Aho noted that Christian patriots combined “fundamentalist Christianity and devotion to the Constitution.” Christian patriots were endeavoring to achieve “the imposition of a white Christian constitutional commonwealth on a reluctant and apathetic American populace.” Christian patriots were obsessed “with abortion, with homosexuality and ‘queer lovers,’ with pornography, and especially with the focus on the ‘Communist conspiracy’ of the ‘insider’ and the ‘Jew.’”¹⁸

The picture Aho painted regarding religious differences between Christian Constitutionals and Identity Christians, and, the overall ideological worldview of Christian patriots demonstrates that these differences and similarities mirrored the differences between the Christian Reconstructionists and the Christian Identity movement. Moreover, the religious background of Christian Identity believers—a majority from fundamentalist denominations—suggests that the Christian Right’s propaganda appeals could reach this audience—especially if they were made aware that the Christian Right also believed in a muscular, well-armed Jesus to resist federal tyranny. As discussed in earlier chapters, both religious movements had moved towards each other ideologically, while maintaining vast theological differences.

¹⁷ James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990: 22-4, 167-170, 175.

¹⁸ James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990: 67, 79, and 81.

But, there is one variable that needs to be considered—the relative size of the movements. Just to consider two factors related to propaganda and money on a small scale. By 1982, Pat Robertson’s Christian Broadcasting Network was “the largest non-commercial broadcasting network in the world” and reached “more than seventy-five percent of all homes with a television, over 150 local television stations and 2,500 satellite-cable systems” in the United States. Richard Viguerie, the direct mail guru who helped fund Paul Weyrich’s architecture of the Christian Right, had by 1982 collected “the names of 25 million Americans, approximately 4.5 million of whom are known supporters of right-wing causes.” Sarah Diamond noted that by 1987 “religious broadcasting was a \$2 billion a year industry, and religious broadcasters controlled more than 1,000 full-time Christian radio stations and more than 200 full-time Christian TV stations.”¹⁹

And, Pat Robertson’s Christian Coalition had mastered the art of registering, mobilizing, and getting conservative Christians to vote Republican and to control the Republican Party from the grassroots level. The Christian Coalition helped finance the Republican takeover of the House of Representatives under Newt Gingrich, a student of Paul Weyrich’s. By 1994, Robertson was using rhetoric on his “700 Club” television program that would have made white supremacists “Louis Beam, Pete Peters, or William Pierce...proud to deliver.” According to Dees and Corcoran, Robertson told his Christian Right audience “there’s going to be persecutions against Christians. The government frankly is our enemy...” In the summer of 1995, Robertson was asking his

¹⁹ Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror: The Fundamentalist War on America’s Freedoms in Religion, Politics and Our Private Lives*, New York: Doubleday, 1982: 54 and 83. Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*, Boston, MA: South End Press, 1989: 1.

membership to join the “Christian Patriots” for \$20 per month. The Christian Coalition’s Voter Guide for 1994 opposed the ban on assault weapons. As Rob Boston noted, “the Christian Coalition implies that anyone who favors some controls on weapons—even assault weapons—is ‘anti-family.’” And, the “Coalition took credit for the GOP’s sweeping gains in the 1994 mid-term elections.”²⁰

Sarah Diamond noted that by 1992, the Christian Right was the dominant force within the Republican Party. “An estimated 47 percent of the delegates at the 1992 party convention were self-described born-again Christians, and the Christian Right had its way in drafting the party platform. Over the preferences of candidate Bush himself, the platform called for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion (with no exceptions)... [and] opposition to any civil rights laws for homosexuals...” She noted that of 500 state and local races, Christian Right-backed candidates won 40 percent of those races. And, in 1994, among federal, state and local election candidates backed by the Christian Right, about 60 percent won office.²¹ Robert Boston reported that the Christian Coalition had claimed that it had a \$25 million dollar annual budget, 1.7 million members, and affiliates in 1,600 locales.²²

In other words, when the Christian Reconstructionists sat down with the Christian Identity leaders in October 1992, their religious movement dwarfed that of Christian

²⁰ Rob Boston, *The Most Dangerous Man in America? Pat Robertson and the Rise of the Christian Coalition*, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1996: 95, 96, 102-3, and 110. Morris Dees with James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America’s Militia Threat*, New York: HarperPerennial, 1996: 118.

²¹ Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion: Right-wing Movements and Political Power in the United States*, New York: The Guilford Press, 1995: 296 and 304.

²² Rob Boston, *The Most Dangerous Man in America? Pat Robertson and the Rise of the Christian Coalition*, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1996: 16.

Identity and would soon be a critical and indispensable part of the Republican Party—thus pushing the party rightward towards the Hard Right—a move made easier by the GOP’s inherently racist Southern Strategy. It is difficult to believe that a nationwide mushrooming of Patriot militia groups on the right-wing during this very same period that the Christian Right was mobilizing to move the Republican Party towards the right would be immune to the propaganda campaigns and would not find an ideological affinity with it.

In addition to the 1983 doctrinal support for the creation of a militias modeled on ancient Israel, the New Jersey militia during the Revolutionary War, support for the theological justifications for Christian resistance to federal tyranny by lesser magistrates at the county level of government, and the use of physical force only from a “defensive posture,” by the end of 1990, the Coalition on Revival’s (COR) National Coordinating Council (NCC) called for a “‘Christian’ court system” as well as a “grassroots effort to elect Christians of the correct sort to county boards of supervisors and sheriff’s offices and, once in power, to establish county militias. The head of COR/NCC “identified Larry Pratt as the architect of the NCC’s notion of the role of citizen militias.”²³ In February 1991, a mere three months after Clarkson had disclosed the COR/NCC plan for county-level militias, Howard Phillips unveiled his United States Taxpayers Party (USTP later renamed the Constitution Party).²⁴ The USTP would be linked to the militant anti-abortion movement and the Patriot militia by 1994. One can hardly doubt that Howard

²³ Frederick Clarkson, *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy*, Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1997: 103.

²⁴ Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion: Right-wing Movements and Political Power in the United States*, New York: The Guilford Press, 1995: 289.

Phillips built the Taxpayers/Constitution Party on the foundation of his own Conservative Caucus. Richard Viguerie bragged that by 1981 Phillips' Conservative Caucus had "300,000 contributors and supporters, chairmen in 250 Congressional districts and an annual budget of almost \$3 million." Phillips' role in the Christian Right was to "recruit and train local leaders, to lobby at the grassroots level, and to help set the agenda for national debate..." Sara Diamond reported that Phillips' Taxpayers Party, launched in 1991 and building up to 1996, succeeded in mobilizing "a motley crew of John Birchists, old George Wallace enthusiasts, tax protesters, and adherents of the obscure doctrine known as Christian Reconstructionism. Its first national convention featured speakers representing its founding ideology: Christian Reconstructionism (R.J. Rushdoony and Herb Titus), gun rights absolutism (Larry Pratt), and militant anti-abortion (Randall Terry, Operation Rescue and Matthew Trehwella, Missionaries to the Pre-born). Jerry Reiter provided first-hand evidence that by May 1994 the Taxpayers Party represented the vehicle "to formally 'marry' the militia groups to the anti-abortion radicals," though the plan had been percolating for months.²⁵

The October 1992 meeting at Estes Park, Colorado, called by Christian Identity preacher Pete Peters is a pivotal moment in the development of the Patriot militia, though its significance is somewhat fuzzy. Some observers believe the Patriot militia developed out of the meeting, while other observers are not quite sure what role the meeting actually played.

²⁵ Richard Viguerie, *The New Right: We're Ready to Lead*, Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1981: 58. Sara Diamond, *Not by Politics Alone: The Enduring Influence of the Christian Right*, New York: The Guilford Press, 1998: 106-7. Jerry Reiter, *Live From the Gates of Hell—An Insider's Look at the Antiabortion Underground*, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000: 169.

The meeting in Colorado attracted 160 or so “Christian men” from fourteen states two months after the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the U.S. Marshals Service, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation were involved in an 11-day confrontation in August 1992 that left three people dead—U.S. Marshal William Degan, Samuel Weaver, and Vicki Weaver—the latter two teenage son and wife of Randy Weaver, respectively, a white supremacist wanted for failure to appear in court on a charge that he had sold two sawed-off shotguns to a government informant in 1989. After refusing to become a government informant himself, he was arrested on the gun charge and released. The confrontation ensued after he failed to appear in court based on a court document that was faulty regarding the date of his appearance. In 1995, the federal government settled a lawsuit for \$3.1 million with the Weaver family, while another individual who was seriously wounded received \$380,000. In his investigative study *Ruby Ridge*, journalist Jess Walter who covered the events for three years for the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane) concluded, “Tens of millions of dollars have been spent on hearings and investigations that failed to resolve the most basic questions about the standoff.... Nine years later, the courts are still flip-flopping over whether a federal agent should be tried for his actions at Ruby Ridge. Investigators, lawyers, and federal officers are still debating who shot first. Top FBI officials are still denying that they approved the bureau’s unprecedented and illegal orders to shoot civilians without provocation.”²⁶

²⁶ Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2002: 302-3. Jess Walter, *Ruby Ridge: The Truth and Tragedy of the Randy Weaver Family*, updated and revised, previously published as *Every Knee Shall Bow*, New York: Harper Perennial, 2002: 163-208 and 3.

The next major confrontation between the federal government and a religious group related to gun charges was the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, in February 1993 (see Chapter 12). Sociologist Stuart Wright commented that “the sieges at Ruby Ridge and Waco, both based on weapons violations, aroused the deepest fears of Patriot and gun rights groups...”²⁷

Estes Park—It Is Only Just the Start

What happened at Estes Park in October 1992 and what was the meeting’s significance? Recall that Chapter 11 established that prior to this meeting that Pastor Pete Peters had signaled to the Christian Reconstructionists that there was common ideological, if not theological, ground between the two religious movements, while leaving considerable theological differences aside. David Barton’s meetings with Christian Identity preachers and the resulting distribution of his “America is a Christian nation” mantra provided a common ideological framework. Estes Park was the *result* of finding prior ideological affinities, not the cause of those ideological affinities.

Morris Dees and James Corcoran described the meeting as having a wide variety of religious adherents including Christian Identity, Baptists, Church of Christ, and Mennonites. They pointed out that all “of the angry rhetoric at the Rendezvous flowed in one direction—at the federal government. Not the Jews, not the blacks, not the homosexuals, not the abortionists, although each group was tagged throughout the three days. The enemy was defined clearly as the federal government and the New

²⁷ Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007: 139.

World Order.” According to Dees and Corcoran, the “Estes Park meeting actually established a working structure for the current militia/Christian Patriot movement.” Some of the published committee reports were “deliberately kept vague” to prevent being charged by the government with any crimes. The conference “embraced the ‘concept of church militias,’” they apparently supported Larry Pratt’s view that the unorganized militia was “both an individual’s right and the one true line of defense against a government bent on taking away all rights of the individual. They endorsed Louis Beam’s strategy...of ‘leaderless resistance,’ a strategy that calls for autonomous cells, comprised of no more than eight to ten members, organized around ideology, not leaders.” Dees and Corcoran suggested that Estes Park marked the transformation of the fragmented movement into a “serious, armed political challenge to the state itself.... Alliances were formed from diverse factions: Identity, Posse Comitatus, the Klan, Aryan Nations, reconstructionists and other fundamentalist Christians, neo-Nazis, tax resisters, Second Amendment advocates, and anti-abortion extremists.” The meeting marked “a watershed for the racist right.”²⁸

Martin Durham quoted from a different participant’s recollections of the Estes Park meeting—an Identity newspaper associated with Louis Beam. That analysis pointed out that it was a Baptist pastor named Greg Dixon who “called for the formation of militias” as “Constitutional militias within their churches—as he had done.” Pratt had advocated for the “God-given right to keep and bear arms.” Durham suggested that the concept of leaderless resistance adopted differed from Beam’s and that the militias

²⁸ Morris Dees with James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America’s Militia Threat*, New York: HarperPerennial, 1996: 53, 60, 64, 65-6, and 69.

that eventually emerged differed from the concept advocated by the former Moral Majority leader Greg Dixon.²⁹

However, it is far from clear that Durham's analysis is fully accurate. Dixon may very well have recommended militias linked to churches, as he himself had done, but the Christian Reconstructionists in 1983 and in 1990 had been rather explicit that their conceptualization of the militia was broader than a church-based militia, though their conceptualization would not have ruled out church-based militias, and Matthew Trehwella, a Taxpayers Party officials, also recommended the formation of church-based militias. Moreover, Pratt had been the named architect of the Coalition on Revival's National Coordinating Council's recommendation for the formation of militias at the county level—once they came to power. Pratt is quoted by Zeskind at Estes Park as recommending the formation of the unorganized militia—a type of militia that did emerge in the 1994-1996 period. And, we have already noted in Chapter 7 that across the Patriot militia movement it was the ubiquitous recommendation for an organizational structure that had a public face—mainly for public propaganda agitation—and a hidden or secret face organized in underground cells for actual combat operations.

Kenneth Stern of the American Jewish Committee noted that the Estes Park meeting “may have laid some of the groundwork for the militia's formation.... Yet its importance should not be overrated.”³⁰

²⁹ Martin Durham, *The Christian Right, the far right and the boundaries of American conservatism*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000: 73-4.

³⁰ Kenneth S. Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996/1997: 37.

However, Leonard Zeskind's initial report on the Estes Park meeting for *Rolling Stone* noted that Chris Temple, an Identity journalist and organizer for the Populist Party, had called for unity across the broad right-wing: "You know, we've got a common goal...to restore and even establish Christian government in this land." According to Zeskind, Temple advocated a two-stage plan: "The first stage would be to embark on building a national network; the second, according to Identity doctrine, would end with the creation of an all-white Christian republic."³¹

In his seminal work on the right-wing, *Blood and Politics*, Zeskind elaborated that Temple "argued for a new kind of unity, not just among white supremacists but between white supremacists and others—particularly their cousins on the Christian right who were neither biological (racial) determinists nor explicitly anti-Semitic." But, Zeskind quoted Pratt from a recording of the Estes Park meeting advocating the formation of unorganized militias contrary to Durham's analysis which focused on Greg Dixon: "He told them he believed it was perfectly reasonable to walk into the office of a secretary of state and declare: 'My name is Larry Pratt, and I'm the commandant of the Nathan Hale unorganized militia.' What would happen next? 'That would be that. Then you've got a recognized, but unorganized militia, one that's not being provided for or commanded by the governor of the state, or the legislature.'"³² Note that Pratt's conceptualization here

³¹ Leonard Zeskind, "Armed and Dangerous (The NRA, Militias and White Supremacists are fostering a network of right wing warriors)," *Rolling Stone Magazine*, November 2, 1995, at <http://www.rickross.com/reference/militia/militia7.html>.

³² Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2009: 312-3 and 315.

is much broader than a church-based militia and entirely consistent with his formulation developed for the Council on Revival's National Coordinating Council.

Zeskind, unlike Stern, thought the Estes Park meeting was “unique and of significant historical weight on several counts.” On the one hand, the right-wingers from the northwest part of the country had decided to emerge from their separated enclaves and cooperate. Rather than a clash of bombastic egos, the meeting had “truly collaborative leadership.” And, Zeskind noted, “Although the militia movement in the 1990s eventually traced directly back to the Estes Park meeting, the most singularly significant aspect of the meeting was less the initiation of the militia than the participation of such men as Larry Pratt.”³³ Or, as Zeskind put it in 1995, “Congressmen, militia members, militant anti-abortion activists, radical anti-immigration advocates, Christian Identity believers, white separatists, gun lobbyists, the Christian Coalition, high-powered right-wing fund raisers—they’re all entangled in a web of interlocking relationships. To a large degree, that’s precisely what the Estes Park attendees sought to create.”³⁴ And, that is extremely close to the formulation that Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center thought had happened in the aftermath of Estes Park—that the Patriot movement, including its armed wing in the militia, was an ideologically and organizationally diverse movement united by their commitment to resist federal tyranny.

³³ Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2009: 318-9.

³⁴ Leonard Zeskind, “Armed and Dangerous (The NRA, Militias and White Supremacists are fostering a network of right wing warriors),” *Rolling Stone Magazine*, November 2, 1995, at <http://www.rickross.com/reference/militia/militia7.html>.

The Christian Right attendees at the Estes Park meeting represented significant organizational networks as well as being network operators.

Larry Pratt was and still is the executive director of Gun Owners of America and a member of the Council for National Policy since at least 1982. He is linked to the anti-immigration movement through two organizations he heads/headed, English First and the United States Border Control. Pratt was/is a member of Phillips' US Taxpayers Party. The founder of the Gun Owners of America, H.L. 'Bill' Richardson, was a member of the board of directors of the National Rifle Association and a lifetime member of the NRA.³⁵ Pratt's Committee to Protect the Family Foundation was a major source of funds to the militant anti-abortion group Operation Rescue.³⁶ John Stoos, a member of the Council for National Policy in 1996, was also on the board of Gun Owners of America and had been an advisor to the California chapter of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition—providing an additional link between gun rights absolutism and the Christian Right.³⁷

Dees and Corcoran noted that Greg Dixon, whom they did not further identify, had "proffered 'The Theology of Christian Resistance.'"³⁸ While Dees and Corcoran apparently did not fully understand the import of Dixon's remarks, Dixon's talk was

³⁵ SeekGod, "Larry Pratt biographical entry," no date, at <http://www.seekgod.ca/cnp.pe-q.htm#pratt>. SeekGod, "The Council for National Policy, Selected Organization/Media/Project Index," no date, at <http://www.seekgod.ca/cnporg.htm>.

³⁶ Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2009: 316.

³⁷ Seek God, "The Council for National Policy: Selected Organization/Media/Project Index: E ~ J," June 1, 2001, at <http://www.seekgod.ca/cnporgan.htm>.

³⁸ Morris Dees with James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*, New York: HarperPerennial, 1996: 64.

actually the title of the 1983 edited book by Gary North that in its 348 pages, 18 articles, and 4 book reviews provided a comprehensive theological grounding for a Christian militia modeled on the ancient militia in Israel and Revolutionary War militia in New Jersey, and resistance to federal tyranny led by lesser magistrates at the county level—following both John Calvin’s and Rousas Rushdoony’s writings. Dixon had also been a board member of the Moral Majority and the former head of the Indiana Moral Majority.³⁹ Dixon, in other words, had a great deal of information about how the Christian Right had been organized at the grassroots level through local churches and had a thorough understanding of the Christian Reconstructionist’s theology of Christian resistance—an extremely important point of theological congruence between the Christian Reconstructionists and the Christian Identity movements (see Chapter 11).

Steve Graber, an attorney from Kansas, was the former regional organizer for the Rutherford Institute and made it clear that he was not representing the Rutherford Institute.⁴⁰ John Whitehead, the head of the Institute and a close follower of Rushdoony, had written the first article in the 1983 edited symposium book by North called “Christian Resistance in the Face of State Interference.” Whitehead had suggested that “There does come a time when force, even physical force, is appropriate. The Christian does not take the law into his own hands and become a law unto himself. But when all avenues to flight and protest have closed, force in the *defensive posture* is appropriate. This was the situation of the American Revolution.

³⁹ Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*, Boston, MA: South End Press, 1989: 61 and 69.

⁴⁰ Morris Dees with James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America’s Militia Threat*, New York: HarperPerennial, 1996: 53-4. Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2009: 313.

The colonists used force in defending themselves. Great Britain, because of its tyranny, was a foreign power invading America.... As such, *the American Revolution was a conservative counter-revolution*. The colonists saw the British as the revolutionaries trying to overthrow the colonial governments”⁴¹ [emphasis in original]. While Graber may have attended as a “civilian,” nonetheless, he was probably prepared to articulate the theological and legal arguments for Christian resistance, as well as having knowledge of the nation-wide network of attorneys associated with the Institute.

The significance of the Estes Park meeting was threefold. First, the three Christian Right representatives confirmed to the other Christian Identity participants what Pete Peters already knew—the Christian Right movement was dedicated to turning America into a Christian nation; they were determined to bring the federal government, the Constitution, and the federal courts under the sway of the Christian Right by breaking the wall separating church and state, and, asserting that all laws had to be consistent with and flow from the Bible; they were determined to keep white Christian males on top of the political-economic-social orders; and, they believed in a muscular, gun-toting Jesus who belonged to a militia, who had a biblical and constitutional right to own any weapons he wanted, and who was authorized to respond with force to federal tyranny and evilness. Second, the Christian Right demonstrated that they were building nation-wide networks of activists dedicated to opposing abortion rights, feminism, taxes, civil rights for homosexuals, and supported gun rights absolutism. And third, the Christian Identity participants agreed to collaborate in

⁴¹ John W. Whitehead, “Christian Resistance in the Face of State Interference,” pp. 1-13 in Gary North, editor, *The Theology of Christian Resistance*, Tyler, Texas: Geneva Divinity School Press, 1983: 11-12.

building a nation-wide network of Patriot militias and put aside all theological and ideological differences with the Christian Right to do so. Moreover, given the disparity in numbers and finances, it should be clear that the Christian Reconstructionists and their Christian Right allies were in the driver's seat.

Building a nation-wide network of Patriot militias—well beyond the small number of Christian Identity churches and isolated paramilitary compounds dotting the country in far-away rural locales—would require a real operational plan that surpassed the musings of Larry Pratt in his books, the identification of exploitable networks for militia movement building, and the dedication of resources to the effort. As Gary North had put it, “Men need a *theology of resistance* before they begin to develop a *strategy of resistance*. Before a Lenin there must be a Marx—theory before practice.”⁴²

In other words, I strongly doubt the implicit assumption of every analysis of the Patriot militia movement that this was somehow a spontaneous, instantaneous movement that just appeared because of Waco. Only the Christian Reconstructionists possessed a real operational plan written by William S. Lind (see Chapter 17), exploitable networks or churches and parachurch organizations, and the broadcasting and think tank resources to build a nation-wide network of Patriot militias. As Zeskind rightly reported in 1995 regarding the proposal by Chris Temple, the “first stage would be to embark on building a national network.”

The fact that within six months the Christian Identity leaders would include the Branch Davidians—a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, pro-Israel religious group—as martyrs for

⁴² Gary North, “Editor’s Introduction,” pp. vii-xxx in Gary North, editor, *The Theology of Christian Resistance*, Tyler, Texas: Geneva Divinity School Press, 1983: xx.

the cause demonstrated their commitment to the Estes Park agreement. As Michael Barkun described this process of acceptance, “The right’s disinterest in Davidian beliefs was matched by their desire to treat the Davidians as passive victims.... For the right, therefore, it was not sufficient to absolve the Davidians of blame for the fire. It was necessary that they be presented as completely uninvolved in their own deaths, in order to transfer complete responsibility to the government.... Thus the right-wing martyrology is a parade of diverse and sometimes incompatible victims, ranging from Robert Matthews, the Odinist racist insurgent, to the Waco dead.”⁴³

There is very little doubt that the militias that emerged in the 1994-1996 period were heavily orientated towards religious issues, some were led by ministers, some were associated with white supremacists, and some may have been more secular constitutional militias—though in many cases these so-called secular constitutional militias faded rather rapidly and the degree of “secular-ness” is open to question—an issue addressed in the next chapter.

There is considerable time-lag between the Estes Park meeting in October 1992 and the emergence of the first Patriot militia, the Militia of Montana, in January or February 1994 linked to a participant at that meeting, John Trochmann. Trochmann and his ally Chris Temple, who formulated the Christian Reconstructionist-Christian Identity agreement at Estes Park, formed United Citizens for Justice immediately after the Weaver standoff ended in order to support Weaver during his trial. In the fall of 1993, Trochman and Temple had a falling out over strategy for the UCJ and Trochmann

⁴³ Michael Barkun, “Appropriated Martyrs: The Branch Davidians and the Radical Right,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2007, 19:1: 117-124, pp. 121 and 122-3.

then formed the Militia of Montana in February 1994 (or January, according to different sources) using the UCJ's mailing list.⁴⁴

Why wait eighteen months—from October 1992 to February 1994? Why didn't Trochmann and Temple rush back to Montana and start the first Patriot militia? Because it takes time to implement an off-the-shelf operational plan, mobilize resources, “build a national network,” and then execute the plan. And, the plan was being executed by the Christian Reconstructionists. They were already putting together the pieces. By November or December 1990, it was revealed that the National Coordinating Committee of the Coalition on Revival was planning for county-level militias. By February 1991, Howard Phillips announced at the annual Conservative Political Action Conference the formation of the U.S. Taxpayers Party. In 1991, Pat Robertson of the Christian Coalition released his book *The New World Order* to bring Patriot conspiracy theories to the Christian Right and send a strong signal to the Christian Identity movement that the Christian Right was a serious player. And, by December 1993, the Free Congress Foundation (that employed William S. Lind) had partnered with Wayne LaPierre's National Rifle Association and Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition for National Empowerment Television programming and interactive grassroots mobilization and organization. Ralph Reed, the executive director of Robertson's outfit sat on the board of NET. And, in 1994 the Christian Coalition made

⁴⁴ David Neiwert, *In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest*, Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1999: 75.

opposition to the assault weapons ban part of their morality scorecard for federal election candidates, thus equating being “pro-family” with being “pro-guns.”⁴⁵

Thus, it is important to focus attention on organizations closest to or part of the Christian Right to identify the underlying source of much of the ideology of the Patriot militia movement, and, the movements close to the Christian Right that helped build ideological bridges to the Patriot militias. It is important to stress that the main goal of Fourth Generation Warfare as a strategy is to bring other movements into fundamental alignment on the need to resist federal tyranny and to consider the federal government’s policies, laws, and regulations as illegitimate. There need not be an agreement on what end-state they ultimately desired. What is necessary is that they feel themselves to be part of a movement that considers its values and way of life under attack—morally, culturally, economically, and even existentially.

The NRA’s Gun Rights Absolutism and the Patriot Militia

Absolute opposition to gun control has always been the hallmark of right-wing paramilitary groups.

Robert DePugh’s Minutemen, formed in 1960, to resist the communist takeover of the federal government were arrested numerous times for weapons violations by the FBI and BATF. While the group was never very large and had been infiltrated by

⁴⁵ Jean Hardisty, “Constructing Homophobia: Colorado’s Right-Wing Attack on Homosexuals,” *Public Eye*, March 1993, at <http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v07n1/conshomo.html>. Hardisty reported that Ralph Reed was on the Free Congress Foundation’s National Empowerment Television board. Leonard Zeskind, “Armed and Dangerous (The NRA, Militias and White Supremacists are fostering a network of right wing warriors),” *Rolling Stone Magazine*, November 2, 1995, at <http://www.rickcross.com/reference/militia/militia7.html>. Zeskind reported the programs of the NRA and the Christian Coalition.

federal informants, DePugh's "most fertile recruiting grounds were among the fringe elements in the John Birch Society, radical tax protesters, the Ku Klux Klan, and neo-Nazi organizations, such as the National States Rights Party." Its newsletter was called *On Target*, providing a less than subtle hint about the intended use of its weaponry. DePugh was very good friends with and may have been influenced by William Potter Gale who had formed his own California Rangers, a forerunner of the Posse Comitatus groups and Patriot militias.⁴⁶

Gale was also responsible for the formation of the Posse Comitatus in the 1970s and 1980s that drew support from "right-wing tax protesters" and "members of the National Association for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms (NAKBA), and other groups devoted to 'Second Amendment Absolutism,' which interpreted the Constitution as conferring an unfettered right to gun ownership." By January 1975, DePugh, now released from federal prison, had assumed control of NAKBA's *Armed Citizens News* that in January 1974 announced its support to spread the Posse Comitatus nation-wide. Daniel Levitas, an expert on the Posse Comitatus movement, described a Posse meeting in 1982 in farm-crisis ravaged Kansas that was billed "as a 'Bible study'" but "featured training in explosives, guerrilla warfare, knife-fighting, hand-to-hand combat, first aid, and 'useable poisons.'" Nevertheless, Posse activists also encouraged members and the public to vote for the U.S. Constitution Party (essentially the

⁴⁶ John George and Laird Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen, and Others on the Fringe*, Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992: 292, 274, and 275.

namesake forerunner of Howard Phillips' party that added the Christian Reconstructionist substructure to the right-wing political superstructure).⁴⁷

Numerous observers of the Patriot militia have noted its opposition to any and all forms of gun control—but their positions are not essentially different from the NRA's, except for the fact that the NRA works inside the system to thwart legislation.

In a 2010 interview with a libertarian website, Pratt explained the different approaches of the GOA and the NRA toward the federal government: “The National Rifle Association approaches politics and the government as a given. That leads to working within the system rather than saying we see the system is a problem, that the system represents a number of threats to our liberty and that the system needs to be brought under control; the system needs to be corrected and changed.... It is hard for people to come to grips with the idea that your government is not really working for your best interest. If you are able to come to that realization, you will take hopefully appropriate action. The NRA hasn't come to that realization and so they are comfortable working within a system which is essentially leading us into bondage.”⁴⁸

However, Pratt's description does not quite square with reality on two counts. One, Pratt himself works inside the system, and two, the NRA was linked to the Patriot militia.

⁴⁷ Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002: 135, 116, 8, and 183-4.

⁴⁸ The Daily Bell, “Exclusive Interview: Larry Pratt on the GOA, the Constitution and Gun Control, August 15, 2010, at <http://www.thedailybell.com/1291/Larry-Pratt-on-the-GOA-the-Constitution-and-Gun-Control.html>.

Richard Feldman, a gun industry lobbyist with a comprehensive insider's knowledge of the gun rights movement, reported that "all the key Second Amendment groups" held secret meetings three times per year to discuss "gun politics and industry trends." Attendees included Alan Gottlieb, founder and head of the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms and the Second Amendment Foundation, and Larry Pratt, as well as NRA gun rights fundamentalist Neal Knox. The purpose of these meetings was "to know where each group stood on an issue—so all of us could keep moving in the same general direction and avoid being sideswiped in legislative conflicts."⁴⁹ As noted previously (see Chapter 12), Pratt's 1983 article for Gary North's *Tactics of Christian Resistance*, in addition to promoting a well-armed local militia, also advocated using the latest computer technologies to build grassroots pressure on state and federal legislators—an essential tactic necessary to influence the political system.

Corroboration that the NRA and other members of the absolutist gun rights movement played the inside-outside game came from a 1995 interview Alan Gottlieb gave two researchers from Public Good, the late Paul de Armond and Jim Halpin. Gottlieb, who operated the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, the Second Amendment Foundation, and the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, told the researchers, "We're totally independent [from the NRA]. We share intelligence information." The "intelligence information" specified which congressional members and candidates were worth endorsing or spending money to defeat based on first-hand reports of how these federal candidates were responding to local pressure. Gottlieb's networks were extensive. Public Good reported that in 1988 Gottlieb "launched the

⁴⁹ Richard Feldman, *Ricochet: Confessions of a Gun Lobbyist*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2008: 201.

Wise Use Movement, today the most powerful anti-environmental force in the country” with such groups “active in every state, indeed, in nearly every county, in America.”⁵⁰

The sociologist Luther Gerlach used the Wise Use movement as his prime example of a SPIN-type social movement (see Chapter 7) which included a wide variety of groups threatened by federal land use regulations including workers in natural resource exploitation industries, farmers and ranchers, property developers, libertarians, and religious fundamentalists, as well as conservative law firms dedicated to making private property claims related to public resources. Gerlach identified Gottlieb and his business partners Ron Arnold and Charles Cushman as “founders and leaders of the Wise Use/property rights movement.”⁵¹

In other words, the NRA, the GOA (Larry Pratt), and the CCRKBA (Alan Gottlieb) were playing the traditional Christian Right game of inside politics and outside pressure, or, good cop, bad cop. Wayne LaPierre’s role, at least partially, is to play the “rodeo clown” and divert attention away from the NRA’s other officials and board members who reached deep into the Patriot movement, as well as the gun industry which funds the NRA. Pratt and Gottlieb may move the NRA further to the right, but the NRA is a member in good standing of the far right. As Zeskind noted in his 1995 article on Estes Park: “But the much-ballyhooed conflict within the NRA between moderates and

⁵⁰ Jim Halpin and Paul de Armond, “The Merchant of Fear,” Public Good, October 26, 1994, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/merchant.htm>.

⁵¹ Luther P. Gerlach, “The Structure of Social Movements: Environmental Activism and Its Opponents,” pp. 289-310 in John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, editors, *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001: 293-4. Steven M. Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008: 64-5. Teles noted that business interests that funded first-generation conservative public interest law firms and conservative ideology were in tension and sometimes open conflict. But, the point is that businesses funded these first-generation law entities to extract private profits from public resources and minimize federal regulations on businesses.

extremists in the leadership is almost wholly a media-concocted story. The political culture in the NRA has been so radicalized in recent years that bipartisan moderates have been virtually eliminated. The division now is between Republican Party hard-liners and a free-floating, militia-driven constituency.”⁵²

The National Rifle Association’s links to the Patriot movement in general and the Patriot militia are worth reconsidering because the NRA’s ideological links coincide with other tangible organizational links established by NRA board members.

In June 1994, LaPierre and the NRA put out a special report called “The Final War Has Begun,” certainly language that is both apocalyptic and suggesting an existential cosmic war with the federal government. The special report appeared in *The American Rifleman* and claimed: “A document secretly delivered to me reveals frightening evidence that the full-scale war to...eliminate private firearms ownership completely and forever...[is] well underway.... I firmly believe the NRA has no alternative but to recognize this attack and counter with every resource we can muster.”⁵³ In September 1994, “Tanya Metaksa of the NRA is quoted [in the *New York Times Magazine*] as saying that gun control is part of ‘a hidden agenda among what I call gun prohibitionists who want to disarm the American people.’”⁵⁴

⁵² Leonard Zeskind, “Armed and Dangerous (The NRA, Militias and White Supremacists are fostering a network of right wing warriors),” *Rolling Stone Magazine*, November 2, 1995, at <http://www.rickcross.com/reference/militia/militia7.html>.

⁵³ Kenneth S. Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996/1997: 111.

⁵⁴ Thomas Halpern and Brian Levin, *The Limits of Dissent: The Constitutional Status of Armed Civilian Militias*, Amherst, MA: Aletheia Press, 1996: 82.

LaPierre's statement is ambiguous regarding "every resource we can muster." While it could refer to resources solely under the control of the NRA and solely to be used legitimately within the political system, "every resource we can muster" could also refer to the Patriot militias that conducted musters and given the NRA's support for the insurrectionist theory of the Second Amendment, a prelude to violence.

The National Rifle Association also involved itself very deeply in the Republican probe of the Waco tragedy—an issue that prompted the rapid development of the Patriot militia movement. Jack Anderson reported that "NRA participation in scripting the hearings was so egregious that there is some justification behind the Democrats' charges that hearings were not held to determine what happened—what mistakes were made and how to avoid similar events in the future—but were held simply to help the NRA trash the BATF." Anderson reported that NRA employees gathered information for the congressional committee; the NRA funded some of the congressional investigation; NRA staff contacted witnesses and misrepresented themselves as committee staffers; NRA staff members interviewed witnesses before they were scheduled to appear before the committee; and, that purportedly independent expert witnesses testifying before the committee had, in fact, been paid by the NRA to perform their technical analyses and testify. Anderson quoted the *Wall Street Journal's* criticism of the hearing: "A driving force behind these hearings is a payoff to the politically powerful National Rifle Association."⁵⁵ Thus, if the Waco tragedy was instrumental to the formation of Patriot militias, providing "proof" that the federal government posed both a constitutional and

⁵⁵ Jack Anderson, *Inside the NRA Armed and Dangerous: An Exposé*, Beverly Hills, CA: Dove Books, 1996: 137 and 138-141.

existential threat to Patriots and Christians, then certainly the National Rifle Association was critical and instrumental in making Waco an issue.

In 1983, the National Rifle Association's president of the Kansas state chapter opposed a model bill drafted by the Anti-Defamation League to outlaw paramilitary training which had been prompted by Posse Comitatus organizer Gordon Kahl's deadly shootout with federal and local law enforcement officers. The NRA state president claimed that the bill was "an infringement on our individual rights to gather, even in our homes, for discussing and 'conversationalizing' on riflery of any kind."⁵⁶

Journalist Cheri Seymour reported on a lifetime NRA member and member of the NRA's board, then Arizona state senator Wayne Stump (1982), who was also a member of the advisory committee of the Committee to Restore the Constitution and the Christian Law Association. Stump was not only a Christian patriot, but he was ideologically affiliated with the Posse Comitatus. Stump believed the Second Amendment had been written "to preserve our rights to throw off tyranny" as well as the Posse Comitatus division of citizenship into "preamble citizens" or "*de jure* citizens," meaning white Christian males, and Fourteenth Amendment citizens, or all non-whites. Only "preamble citizens" "could claim the protections of the first ten Amendments to the Constitution." Zeskind reported that as of 1995, Stump was still on the board of the NRA.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002: 204.

⁵⁷ Cheri Seymour, *Committee of the States: Inside the Radical Right*, Mariposa, CA: Camden Place Communications, 1991: 250-1. Leonard Zeskind, "Armed and Dangerous (The NRA, Militias and White Supremacists are fostering a network of right wing warriors)," *Rolling Stone Magazine*, November 2, 1995, at <http://www.rickross.com/reference/militia/militia7.html>.

Another NRA board member deserving extra special attention is Robert K. Brown, publisher of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine and supporter of white supremacist regimes in southern Africa and death squads in Central America.⁵⁸ Brown's magazine *Soldier of Fortune* was singularly responsible for the development of the first white supremacist underground within the military—the Special Forces Underground's *The Resister* newsletter—which was probably responsible for the leak of an impending BATF/FBI raid in March 1995 that might have prevented the Oklahoma City bombing. Not only did Brown's relationship with the editor of *The Resister* probably result in the leak, but the NRA then brought the leak to the attention of federal agencies and Republicans in Congress in an apparent effort to stop the raid.

The U.S. Army's Special Forces at Fort Bragg first became aware of Steven Barry's magazine *The Resister*, a product of the Special Forces Underground, in August 1994—within months of the Patriot militia emerging in February through April 1994 when the Militia of Montana and the Michigan Militia became the first two and the largest of the militia groups. Barry conceived of *The Resister* on August 23, 1992, the day Vicki Weaver was killed by an FBI sniper, and the prototype of the newsletter was conceived on February 28, 1993, the start of the siege at Waco. According to Barry, he became “a defector in place.” Barry took credit for leaking damaging information about the role U.S. Special Forces played in Haiti in allowing anti-government forces to retain their weapons rather than turning them in as the United Nations had wanted. *The Resister* was “helped immeasurably by its intimate relationship with *Soldier of Fortune*

⁵⁸ Educational Fund to Stop Gun Violence, “Bob Brown (Board Member), no date, accessed May 8, 2013, at <http://www.meetthenra.org/nra-member/Robert%20K.%20Brown> and <http://www.meetthenra.org/ties?tid=15>.

magazine,” in particular its national affairs editor James L. Pate who was “close to Barry for years.” According to the SPLC’s untold story of Steven Barry, in the winter of 1993—fully two years before the Oklahoma City bombing—“Barry contacted Pate, who would thereafter provide numerous services to *The Resister*.” The first post office box for *The Resister* was established in 1994 was compromised and Pate then opened a second box in his own name. That post office box was later closed down because *Soldier of Fortune* was concerned about “appearing too closely tied to *The Resister*.” In fact, Pate had laid out the first issue and had written for the newsletter under a pseudonym. Pate also faxed documents received from Barry to *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. Timothy McVeigh was arrested in possession of a complimentary copy of *The Resister*. The U.S. Army’s Special Forces Command laid a trap for Barry and Pate by planting information with a soldier close to Barry. Pate showed up at the exact date, time, and place to observe a Delta Force exercise in Houston that the informant had given only to Barry.⁵⁹

A *New York Times* analysis of *The Resister* observed that in its own words it was “fighting the ideological source of the New World Order, the egalitarian evil of Communism.” According to the *Times*, “Describing its philosophy in its first issue in the summer of 1994, *The Resister* said it favored “strict constitutionalism, isolationism, laissez-faire capitalism, individual rights, limited government and republicanism,’ and opposed ‘statism, liberalism, tribalism, socialism, collectivism, internationalism, democracy, altruism, pull politics and the New World Order.” The *Times* quoted a

⁵⁹ Gregory A. Walker, “Steven Barry Becomes Important Figure in Paramilitary Underground,” *Intelligence Report* Summer 1999, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1999/summer/a-defector-in-place>.

SPLC expert that had been tracking the Special Forces Underground as embodying “‘basically the white Christian militia mentality.’”⁶⁰

The Spring 1995 issue of *The Resister* addressed the Patriot militia in an open letter, according to Kenneth Stern. The open letter stated: “‘One uncontrollable consequence of publishing *The Resister* was its spread outside the Special Forces into the patriot movement.... Our support for the concept of the unorganized militia in general is unqualified. Our support for particular militia groups is very much qualified.’”

But, what is breathtakingly astonishing is the long list of historical actions by the federal government that deserved to have the Patriot militia—if they had existed at the time—to mobilize against the federal government: “‘Did the militia mobilize to oppose any of the following? Democracy; the Federal Reserve Bank; direct taxation; popular election of Senators; universal suffrage; compulsory education; prohibition; the formation of federal law enforcement; regulatory, or social agencies; the War Powers Act; labor laws; social security; the formation of the U.N.; the ‘Great Society’ programs; environmental laws; lowering the voting age; equal opportunity; affirmative actions [sic]; forfeiture laws; or any other statist, socialist or Marxist legislation. The answer is: NO.’”⁶¹

This list demonstrates that according to a radical economic libertarian philosophy—which is found across the entire right-wing spectrum—there is practically

⁶⁰ John Kifner, “Extremist Army Group at War With U.S. Policy,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1995, at <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/15/us/extremist-army-group-at-war-with-us-policy.html>.

⁶¹ Kenneth S. Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996/1997: 158-9.

no legitimate federal program, policy, or law, despite having broad popular backing from the American people, having been legislated in conformity with the Constitution, and having been the outcome of legitimate democratic processes. All these actions should have been met by physical violence. In other words, broadly considered, the federal government is illegitimate by definition—simply because it does not conform to a dystopian philosophy wherein the very actions of the drafters of the Constitution were illegitimate. How could democracy be a condition requiring opposition from the Patriot militia?

By 1998-1999, Barry had attended Jared Taylor's *American Renaissance* conference on "the defense of Western civilization" with James Pate, and a who's who list of white supremacists and neo-Nazis;⁶² was advertising William Pierce's (*The Turner Diaries, Hunter*) neo-Nazi National Alliance to readers of *The Resister*,⁶³ had published an article, "Planning a Skinhead Infantry," under a pseudonym in Pierce's *Resistance* magazine advocating that skinheads and other racists join the military in order to learn combat skills necessary for fighting a future genocidal, ethnic cleansing civil war in America, as well as how to avoid detection by military authorities; Barry had just become the National Alliance's "military adviser,"⁶⁴ in 1999, Barry was advising the anti-

⁶² Southern Poverty Law Center, "Meeting draws racists, pseudo-intellectuals," *Intelligence Report* Fall 1998, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1998/fall/racial-renaissance>. Gregory A. Walker, "Steven Barry Becomes Important Figure in Paramilitary Underground," *Intelligence Report* Summer 1999, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1999/summer/a-defector-in-place>.

⁶³ Southern Poverty Law Center, "National Alliance Leader, William Pierce, Looks to Build Far-Right Alliances," *Intelligence Report* Winter 1999, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1999/winter/the-alliance-and-its-allies?page=0,1>.

⁶⁴ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Planning a Skinhead Infantry," July 7, 2007, at <http://legacysplc.wwwsplcenter.org/intel/news/item.jsp?sid=21&printable=1>.

Semitic *The Spotlight* newspaper on how the U.S. Army's Delta Force had been at Waco and used shape-charges against civilians;⁶⁵ and, by 2001, Barry was an open neo-Nazi consulting with the white supremacist neo-Confederate groups League of the South and the Council of Conservative Citizens.⁶⁶

Stephen Jones, the lead defense lawyer for Timothy McVeigh wrote that “during the winter of 1994-1995 federal officials were actively planning a joint raid on the settlement [Elohim City] and requested that other law enforcement officials put investigations of their own on hold. This raid was called off—also for reasons never explained—but it gave substance, after the fact, to fears the Reverend Millar expressed to two local sheriffs that a raid was imminent and to the widespread anxiety among people at Elohim, who numbered less than a hundred, that their home was about to become the next Waco.”⁶⁷ Stuart Wright, the sociologist hired by McVeigh's defense team, wrote about “the cancellation of the raid two months prior to the bombing.” Wright, basing his analysis on an Associated Press investigative article, attributed the cancellation to the FBI and ATF becoming “aware for the first time that each of the agencies had an informant inside Elohim City.”⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Mike Blair, “U.S. Rangers Find Waco Evidence,” *The Wizards of Az* (from *The Spotlight*), September 10, 1999, at <http://www.wizardsofaz.com/waco/explosive.html>. Mike Blair, “Military Unit Responsible at Waco,” *The Forbidden Knowledge* (from *The Spotlight*), probably September 12, at http://www.theForbiddenKnowledge.com/hardtruth/military_unit.htm.

⁶⁶ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Conduct Unbecoming: Steven Barry, 45,” *Intelligence Report* Summer 2001, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2001/summer/false-patriots?page=0,1#4>.

⁶⁷ Stephen Jones and Peter Israel, *Others Unknown: The Oklahoma City Bombing Case and Conspiracy*, New York: PublicAffairs, 1998: 147-8.

⁶⁸ Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007: 183.

That would put the cancellation in February 1995. However, Wright's explanation is probably incorrect in light of other information that neither Jones nor Wright considered. The other evidence suggests that the reason the BATF and/or FBI cancelled a raid on the armed white supremacists at Elohim City who were connected to Timothy McVeigh is that, like at Waco, they had lost the key element of surprise and the probability of success without bloodshed and/or a long standoff had diminished greatly. Though the warnings most likely emanating from *The Resister* and distributed to "all militia units and other patriots" was couched in general terms—an assault on the militia and other patriots—it's very broadness would have included the white supremacists at Elohim City while obscuring the real intended target. All of the Patriot movement would have been on alert.

On February 20, 1995, Jon Roland, founder and head of the underground Texas Constitutional Militia and the above ground Texas Militia Correspondence Committee, blasted out the following email to "All militia units and other patriots: By this time we have all heard the many rumors of planned federal actions against militia leaders and other patriots. A number of dates have been mentioned, and many units are on yellow alert. We have also heard that conspiracy charges are planned under RICO.... *Law enforcement and military personnel are lending us support and information*"⁶⁹ [emphasis added]. On March 22, 1995, Roland again sent out a warning to militia units and other patriots, including some media: "We continue to get confirming reports, but so far no hard evidence, of a mass arrest, with the date march [sic] 25 being most often

⁶⁹ Texas Militia Correspondence Committee, "Possible Round-up of Militia Leaders," February 20, 1995, Constitution Society, at <http://www.constitution.org/mil/5220raid.htm>.

mentioned. *We have the NRA*, other civil rights organizations, *and at least six US Senators inquiring into the matter*” [emphasis added].⁷⁰

Roland’s email was no joke. In the June/July 1995 chronology of the Patriot militia movement compiled by Anne Bower for Body Politic, who was affiliated with the Institute for First Amendment Studies, she wrote for the January 1995 entry: “*The Resister*, a militia publication for military personnel, is probably the source for the rumor that federal authorities would launch a national raid on militias on March 25. This was given so much credence that several Congress members began to look into the situation.” Her entry for March 23, 1995, read: “The NRA issues a demand for a public investigation of the supposed March 25th BATF raids. The raids never materialize and militia communication on the Internet subsides slightly.”⁷¹ A Violence Policy Center report noted that in “the beginning of 1995 the NRA queried government agencies about the veracity of rumors circulating on the internet and being received at NRA headquarters that a coordinated raid by federal law enforcement on militias was about to occur.”⁷² Neil Hamilton’s chronology of the Patriot militia movement noted that “In March, Republican Congressman Steve Stockman, from the Ninth District in Texas, accuses the federal government of preparing a military assault on militias.”⁷³

⁷⁰ Texas Militia Correspondence Committee, “Warning of Reichstag Event,” Constitution Society, March 22, 1995, at <http://www.constitution.org/mil/5322raid.htm>.

⁷¹ Anne Bower, “Militia Diary,” Body Politic, June-July 1995, at http://www.publiceye.org/body_politic/mag/back/art/0506pg03.htm.

⁷² Josh Sugarman and Kristen Rand, “NRA Family Values: The Extremism, Racism, Sexism, Legal Woes, and Gun Industry Ties of the National Rifle Association’s Board of Directors,” Violence Policy Center, June 1996, at <http://www.vpc.org/nrainfo/study.html>.

⁷³ Neil A. Hamilton, *Militias in America—A Reference Handbook*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1996: 71.

An Anti-Defamation League report from July 1995 on the Patriot militia noted that Stockman sent an official letter to then Attorney General Janet Reno on March 22, 1995, “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.” The ADL report also noted that Stockman had written in the June 1995 *Guns & 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.’”⁷⁴

Stockman, elected in November 1994, addressed the Council for National Policy in May 1995 on “Oklahoma City, militias, and terrorism.” Representative Helen Chenoweth, a white supremacist, pro-militia, anti-environmentalist ideologue from Idaho, also addressed the CNP meeting on the same topic. Stockman was a lifetime member of the National Rifle Association and a member of the NRA board, as well as a new member of the Council for National Policy in 1996.⁷⁵

Another NRA board member is John Milius, the filmmaker responsible for the pro-militia, anti-gun control 1984 film *Red Dawn*, a film about “a preposterous guerrilla resistance against a massive Soviet assault on the American homeland.” David Sirota’s analysis of the movie demonstrates that the film “starts out with the bedrock provisos of

⁷⁴ Anti-Defamation League, *Beyond the Bombing: The Militia Menace Grows*, June 19, 1995, at <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/orgs/american/adl/beyond-the-bombing/>.

⁷⁵ Skipp Porteus, “Clandestine council meets in Virginia,” Institute for First Amendment Studies, June 1995, at <http://www.publiceye.org/ifas/fw/9506/cnp.html>. Seek God, “The Council for National Policy: Selected Organization/Media/Project Index: K ~ Z,” June 1, 2001, at <http://www.seekgod.ca/cnporg.htm>.

militarist paranoia, including key pillars of eighties Vietnam-related revision: “anti-gun control extremism, retaliation/revenge on countries that defeat the United States, backstabbing politicians, United States as the embattled underdog, stealth terrorists are already among us, [and] the need for a militarized southern border” [capitalization removed and phrases condensed].⁷⁶

Richard Feldman, the gun industry lobbyist, noted that the National Rifle Association “cautiously began to court the militias and their far-right allies. Board member Robert Brown ran a laudatory cover-story article on the Michigan militia in *Soldier of Fortune*.... After that, Tanya Metaksa met members of the Michigan Militia while traveling through Lansing.” Neal Knox, a powerful force within the NRA board, refused “to distance himself from the movement: ‘Unless those people have committed a violation of the law, I’m not going to say we can’t have anything to do with those people.’” The NRA’s attempt to distance itself from the militias after the Oklahoma City bombing via a statement adopted in June 1995 left Feldman, a lawyer, confused as to “the NRA’s true position on the militias.”⁷⁷

In fact, the degree of the NRA’s actual involvement with the militias may never be known. Consider, the view of an NRA field representative in 1990 quoted by Josh Sugarman: “The Second Amendment is there as a balance of power. It is literally a loaded gun in the hands of the people held to the heads of government.” Joan Burbick quoted two NRA sources, including NRA leader Harlon Carter, in the late 1970s

⁷⁶ Richard Feldman, *Ricochet: Confessions of a Gun Lobbyist*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2008: 234. David Sirota, *Back to Our Future*, New York: Ballantine Books, 2011: 144-5.

⁷⁷ Richard Feldman, *Ricochet: Confessions of a Gun Lobbyist*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2008: 235, 237, and 239.

indicating that the NRA leadership viewed gun owners as the general militia. A 1977 article on the Second Amendment in the *American Rifleman* declared that the “guardians of liberty are those, each individual, who would enjoy that liberty,” rather than “formal bodies of police or military.” Harlon Carter in a May 1979 *American Rifleman* article “declared that the NRA was ‘foremost in the struggle to protect and preserve all our God-given, constitutional and long-accepted rights.’” Joan Burbick observed of the NRA, that they “likened themselves to the militia of old, defending liberty, but without any regulation, training, or officers.”⁷⁸ The expressed NRA views are entirely consistent with the Christian Reconstructionists and the later Patriot militia. While the NRA saw itself and all gun owners as defending liberty against the federal government, the Christian Reconstructionist saw the militia as a force for Christian resistance against federal tyranny.

But, one also has to consider that the NRA representatives acted in covert ways. Robert Feldman, a lawyer and at the time an NRA consultant hired by Wayne LaPierre, described how the NRA provided covert financial and on-the-ground assistance to an anti-tax “grassroots” effort in New Jersey. Having been beaten by the New Jersey governor on an assault weapons ban, the NRA provided money and expertise, while local gun groups provided bodies at rallies. Feldman explained that the anti-tax leaders were “amateurs” and Feldman ensured that the group sent out timely press releases and helped organizing. Feldman pointed out that “we had to give the Hands documents a rough edge. I always made sure to misspell at least one word.... And we turned out

⁷⁸ Josh Sugarman, *National Rifle Association: Money, Firepower & Fear*, Washington, D.C.: National Press Books, 1992: 14. Joan Burbick, *Gun Show Nation: Gun Culture and American Democracy*, New York: The New Press, 2006: 83-4.

several mailers with blurry dot-matrix printers on rough paper stock.... There was no money or paper trail linking Hands to the NRA.”⁷⁹

Robert P. Churchill, a libertarian historian intent on proving that the Patriot militias that emerged in the 1990s, at least what he calls the constitutional wing of the militia movement that he silently suggests had a secular orientation as opposed to the religious millenarian wing, drew its inspiration from the Whig theory of rebellion dating from the American Revolution. His doctoral dissertation was called, “‘The Highest and Holiest Duty of Freemen’: Revolutionary Libertarianism in American History” which became his book, *To Shake Their Guns in the Tyrant’s Face: Libertarian Political Violence and the Origins of the Militia Movement*.

Churchill placed a heavy emphasis upon the National Rifle Association’s development and distribution of the insurrectionary interpretation of the Second Amendment as a causal factor in the development of the Patriot militia. While acknowledging that William Potter Gale’s Posse Comitatus had promoted county-level militias and Louis Beam had promoted leaderless resistance, Churchill argued that the “final necessary factor in the emergence of the militia movement was the recovery of the libertarian memory of the American Revolution by the gun rights movement. In the mid-1970s, the National Rifle Association adopted a much more militant stance in its political lobbying, arguing that all forms of gun control violated basic constitutional principles. To make its case more persuasive, the NRA promoted legal scholarship to support the

⁷⁹ Richard Feldman, *Ricochet: Confessions of a Gun Lobbyist*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2008: 175-6.

thesis that private gun ownership was constitutionally protected under the Second Amendment.”

Churchill gave prominence to David Caplan’s 1976 *Fordham Urban Law Journal* article that provided “the first modern articulation of what has become as the insurrectionary interpretation of the Second Amendment.” Churchill noted that other scholars, both liberal (Sanford Levinson) and conservatives, most of whom were funded by the NRA, endorsed the interpretation that to “keep and bear arms” meant an individual right, not a collective right; meanwhile, conservative lawyers funded by the NRA “elaborated on this insurrectionary interpretation of the Second Amendment.” He noted that a reading of the Federalist and Anti-Federalist writers provided the “modern gun rights movement...the most radical legacy of the American revolution, the idea that the people have a right and a duty to take up arms, even against an elected government, should that government exercise unconstitutional power.” Moreover, the “gun rights activists carried this memory into the Christian Patriot sphere and into the militia movement.”⁸⁰

In other words, according to Churchill’s most favorable analysis possible to the Patriot militia movement, it was the NRA’s sponsorship of radical libertarian legal articles promoting the insurrectionary theory of the Second Amendment which strongly influenced the development and direction of the Patriot militia movement, and not, the Patriot militia’s development of their own ideology.

⁸⁰ Robert H. Churchill, *To Shake Their Guns in the Tyrant’s Face*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011: 213-5. Churchill never states that the lawyers were funded by the NRA. He only states that “other lawyers connected with the gun rights movement.” But, Halbrook was an NRA lawyer.

Constitutional scholar Carl Bogus's analysis of the NRA's funding of this insurrectionary interpretation of the Second Amendment demonstrated that the NRA's support was absolutely critical in developing this line of reasoning which contradicted all previous Supreme Court decisions and lower court decisions on the "collective right model." According to Bogus, the collective right model "holds that the Second Amendment grants the people a collective right to an armed militia, as opposed to an individual right to keep and bear arms for one's own purposes outside of, or even notwithstanding, governmental regulation." Bogus noted that between 1970 and 1989, of the twenty-seven law review articles "endorsing the individual right model [of the Second Amendment]...at least sixteen of these articles—almost sixty percent—were written by lawyers who had been directly employed by or represented the NRA or other gun rights organizations, although they did not always so identify themselves in the author's footnote." The leading proponent of the insurrectionary interpretation of the Second Amendment is Stephen Halbrook, a lawyer linked directly to the NRA.

According to Bogus, "Halbrook, especially, advocates an insurrectionist theory of the Second Amendment. That is, he argues the Amendment is designed to ensure that citizens are armed and ready to fight against their own government should it become tyrannical."⁸¹ Bogus also argued that Halbrook's insurrectionary theory of the Second Amendment and, by extension the views of the NRA, the Christian Reconstructionists and the Patriot militia movement, implicitly rests on the assumption that American democracy will fail. As Bogus put it, "Halbrook paints a dismal picture. It is animated by

⁸¹ Carl T. Bogus, "The History and Politics of Second Amendment Scholarship: A Primer," Chicago-Kent Law Review, Volume 76 Number 3, (Second Amendment Foundation,) 2000, at <http://www.saf.org/LawReviews/BogusChicago.htm>.

a profound mistrust not only for government, but for constitutional democracy. For Halbrook, all of the constitutional mechanisms ensuring that government power will not be misused—the division of power between the federal and state governments, the separation of powers among the three branches of government, a bicameral legislature, an independent judiciary, freedom of speech and the press, and a civilian Commander in Chief—are inadequate. He is afraid the constitutional structure will fail. When Halbrook speaks of an armed citizenry as necessary to ‘counter inroads on freedom by government’ and ‘prevent tyranny and to overpower an abusive standing army,’ he is arguing that the constitutionally elected government will itself become the enemy. In short, Halbrook believes both that the ultimate guarantee of freedom must come from the barrel of a gun and that the Founders believed this as well.”⁸²

Churchill's analysis of the prime importance of the NRA in providing the ideological basis of the Patriot militia movement is also corroborated by Stuart Wright who noted that “the NRA employed scholars to make legal arguments and sponsored publications outlining gun ownership as a constitutionally protected right. Specifically, gun right advocates argued that the Second Amendment ensured the protection of all other amendments in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. In the face of threats to democracy by enemies foreign or domestic, they claimed ‘armed citizens’ must be ready to defend their freedoms. Without the Second Amendment, there could be no

⁸² Carl T. Bogus, “The Hidden History of the Second Amendment,” University of California at Davis Law Review, Number 31, 1998, (Second Amendment Foundation), at <http://www.saf.org/LawReviews/Bogus2.htm>.

First Amendment and citizens would be powerless to defeat the forces of tyranny. This theme appeared throughout NRA and GOA ads, pamphlets, and magazines.”⁸³

Jack Anderson’s critique of the National Rifle Association’s insurrectionary theory of the Second Amendment quoted Dennis Henigan, director of the Legal Action Project of the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence. According to Henigan, “The militia and other groups are acting that out, engaging in dissent through armed force. The idea is that if you don’t like abortion clinics, shoot doctors. If you don’t like the ATF, blow up a building. Obviously, the NRA will not say this in such blunt terms, but it’s the logical extension to what they’ve been saying for years.”⁸⁴

Thomas Halpern and Brian Levin, of the Anti-Defamation League and Southern Poverty Law Center, respectively, also quoted Henigan for their critique of the insurrectionist theory of the Second Amendment which they called a “very dangerous theory that is antithetical to the purposes of the Constitution and to our democracy” and suggested that proponents of this interpretation are “perpetrating a dangerous fraud upon this country.” Halpern and Levin suggested that “If the insurrectionist theory were a legitimate constitutional theory, the attorneys for suspects in the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City could plausibly apply the theory as a legitimate defense.” Henigan argued in his critique of Sanford Levinson’s (liberal) interpretation: ‘Who, in fact, is to determine when government has gone too far? Obviously, Levinson would not want government to determine that because that would defeat the right. So, if

⁸³ Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007: 123.

⁸⁴ Jack Anderson, *Inside the NRA Armed and Dangerous: An Exposé*, Beverly Hills, CA: Dove Books, 1996: 85.

it is to be an individual right, in any meaningful sense, then I as an individual must have the constitutionally guaranteed right to decide when my government has gone too far and then to take up arms against it.... Would the Ku Klux Klan have the constitutional right to attack public school officials who are trying to enforce desegregation because the Klan believed in good faith that that was tantamount to tyranny?.... [Y]et it seems to me to be a view that is the logical extension of Levinson's theory of the Second Amendment, as well as the NRA's theory of the Second Amendment.... If this is seriously being suggested as a constitutional right, then these advocates, I believe, are sowing the seeds of anarchy in this country."⁸⁵

But, the NRA's star ambassador to the larger Patriot movement, including the militia movement, is former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack, who in 1994 challenged a portion of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act which had required that local sheriffs run background checks for the federal government. According to a Southern Poverty Law Center biography of Mack, he was "born into a conservative Mormon family" in December 1952. Between 1984 and 1988, Mack was tutored on constitutional history and purpose by fellow conservative Mormon and John Birch Society author, W. Cleon Skousen who "appears to have shaped his ideology more than any other" person. Mack had formerly been a police officer in Provo, Utah before being elected in 1988 as sheriff of Graham County in Arizona. He remained sheriff until he lost his re-election bid in November 1996. In 1994, he received the NRA's Law Officer of the Year award and was inducted into the NRA's Hall of Fame. In 1995, he was awarded the Gun Owners

⁸⁵ Thomas Halpern and Brian Levin, *The Limits of Dissent: The Constitutional Status of Armed Civilian Militias*, Amherst, MA: Aletheia Press, 1996: 79-83.

of America's Defender of the Second Amendment Award.⁸⁶ Mack was either the "chief lobbyist" or "public relations director" for Gun Owners of America or "a lobbyist."⁸⁷

Whatever his actual position with Larry Pratt's Gun Owners of America, he was an employee of an organization with direct ties to the Christian Right's Council for National Policy, an organization instrumental in the Coalition on Revival's National Coordinating Committee's advocacy of establishing county militias, and working directly under Larry Pratt, one of a handful of Christian Reconstructionist strategists that helped bridge the divide between the Christian Right and the Christian Identity religious movements.

The NRA underwrote Mack's lawyer David T. Hardy to the tune of \$350,000, according to a 2010 Richard Mack presentation to the Pennsylvania chapter of Oath Keepers.⁸⁸ Interestingly, the event was hosted by "Sheriff Bunny Welsh, a Constitutional Republican," according to Mack's announcement on his The Sheriff Project website (see Chapter 19), and would join the board of directors of his

⁸⁶ Ryan Lenz, "Former Arizona Sheriff Richard Mack Seeks 'Army' of Sheriffs to Resist Federal Authority," *Intelligence Report* Winter 2012, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2012/winter/resurrection>. Sheriff Richard Mack (retired), "On A Personal Note," no date, at <http://sheriffmack.com/index.php/biography>.

⁸⁷ Ryan Lenz, "Former Arizona Sheriff Richard Mack Seeks 'Army' of Sheriffs to Resist Federal Authority," *Intelligence Report* Winter 2012, Southern Poverty Law Center, at <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2012/winter/resurrection>. Political Research Associates, "Profiles on the Right: Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association," November 22, 2013, at <http://www.politicalresearch.org/profiles-on-the-right-constitutional-sheriffs-and-peace-officers-association/#>.

⁸⁸ Pennsylvania Oath Keepers, "Sheriff Richard Mack with PA Oath Keepers at Roxy Theater in Northampton (Part 5)," April 4, 2010, at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2A6tDsl4z_E&list=PLA9DEBCD4C555E016&index=5.

Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association by January 2012.⁸⁹ Hardy was the former Assistant General Counsel for the NRA and one of the NRA-funded lawyers who promoted the insurrectionary interpretation of the Second Amendment.⁹⁰

In October 1996, the NRA beat the Brady Bill on Tenth Amendment grounds when the U.S. Supreme Court held in a 5-4 decision written by Justice Scalia that “The Federal Government may neither issue directives requiring the States to address particular problems, nor command the States’ officers, or those of their political subdivisions, to administer or enforce a federal regulatory program. It matters not whether policymaking is involved, and no case-by-case weighing of the burdens or benefits is necessary; such commands are fundamentally incompatible with our constitutional system of dual sovereignty.”⁹¹ Mack would talk about the NRA’s and his Tenth Amendment Supreme Court victory with Patriot militia and Tea Party organizations for the next two decades—and always spreading the good news about the NRA.

Between mid-1995 and mid-1996, numerous observers of the Patriot movement document that then Sheriff Mack was a ubiquitous presence on the Patriot talk circuit talking about his NRA-backed and –funded law suit against the Brady law and

⁸⁹ Richard Mack, “Sheriff Mack Event—Lancaster County,” The Sheriff Project, no date, accessed January 17, 2014, at <http://sheriffmack.com/docs/2010-03-30/2010-03-30.htm>. Constitutional Sheriffs & Peace Officers Association, “Stand Up for the 10th Amendment & Attend the Constitutional Sheriffs Convention Jan 30!,” no date, accessed January 27, 2014, at http://www.countysheriffproject.org/CSPOA_Invitation_Dec29.2011.pdf.

⁹⁰ Robert H. Churchill, *To Shake Their Guns in the Tyrant’s Face*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011: 213-4. Hardy’s association with the NRA taken from his law firm’s website at <http://michellawyers.com/attorney-profile/david-t-hardy/>.

⁹¹ *Printz v. United States* at <http://supreme.justia.com/us/521/898/case.html>.

spreading the Posse Comitatus-linked Patriot ideology that the county sheriff is an effective blocking force to federal tyranny when combined with the militia. However, it must be pointed out that though the Posse Comitatus held that view, the idea of the county sheriff—as a lesser magistrate—resisting federal tyranny is also entirely consistent with the Christian Reconstructionist view. Thus, Mack could make his case and find agreement from Christian Identity/Posse Comitatus types and Christian Right types, as well as secular libertarians and state’s rights advocates.

According to David Neiwert, a widely recognized expert on the Patriot movement in the Pacific Northwest, “Mack is one of the chief contact points between the NRA and the militias.”⁹² Jack Anderson’s 1996 book on the NRA commented that “The NRA may want to disassociate itself with the militia movement, but it named Sheriff Richard Mack of Arizona its Law Enforcement Officer of the Year at its 1995 annual meeting in Phoenix. ‘People get all upset when they hear about militias,’ said Sheriff Mack, ‘but what’s wrong with it?.... I wouldn’t hesitate for a minute to call out my posse against the federal government if it gets out of hand.’”⁹³

Leslie Jorgenson, a *Colorado Statesman* journalist, wrote that Sheriff Mack had appeared on Chuck Baker’s Colorado radio talk show which had featured a “who’s who of the armed right” including “Linda Thompson, ‘adjutant general’ of the Unorganized Militia of the United States;... Larry Pratt... and [white supremacist] Rev. Pete Peters.”⁹⁴

⁹² David Neiwert, *In God’s Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest*, Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1999: 332, footnote 9.

⁹³ Jack Anderson, *Inside the NRA Armed and Dangerous: An Exposé*, Beverly Hills, CA: Dove Books, 1996: 84.

⁹⁴ Leslie Jorgenson, “Right-Wing Talk Radio Supports Militia Movement,” April 21, 1995, at <http://archives.econ.utah.edu/archives/marxism/1995-04-30.000/msg00566.html>.

In April 1995, Sheriff Mack appeared at the Antioch Baptist Church in North Dakota to promote his book *From My Cold Dead Fingers*⁹⁵—a slogan popularized by the NRA, though Alan Gottlieb originated it back in the days of Young Americans for Freedom, according to a Wikipedia article. However, a 1995 report from the Public Good in Oregon noted that the bumper sticker, “‘They can have my gun when they take it from my cold, dead fingers,’ captures the spirit of armed resistance to lawful authority. The gun lobby has created a multimillion dollar business of selling and reselling this myth to approximately three million gun owners.”⁹⁶ Thus, perhaps not so subliminally Mack was touting the NRA to the Patriot sphere of militias and other organizations, including fundamentalist, evangelical, or non-denominational churches.

A June 1995 Anti-Defamation League report took note that “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.”⁹⁷ Jonathan Mozzochi, executive director of the Oregon-based Coalition for Human Dignity, a human rights group that monitored the Patriot movement’s development, reported of Mack: “One prominent supporter of the militia movement and the far right from the ranks of law enforcement is Sheriff Richard Mack from Graham County, Arizona. Mack has sued the federal government over the Brady Bill, which he refuses to enforce. Mack is widely

⁹⁵ Leslie Jorgensen, “Preaching the patriot gospel,” Institute for First Amendment Studies, August 1996, at <http://www.publiceye.org/ifas/fw/9608/patriot.html>.

⁹⁶ Paul de Armond, “The Anti-Democratic Movement—more than militias,” Public Good, June-August 1995, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/nullify.htm>.

⁹⁷ Anti-Defamation League, *Beyond the Bombing: The Militia Menace Grows*, June 19, 1995, at <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/orgs/american/adl/beyond-the-bombing/>.

featured on the militia speaking circuit.” The report had actually focused on James ‘Bo’ Gritz, the former Special Forces officer turned white supremacist, vice presidential candidate of the Populist Party that featured David Duke, the former KKK leader, at the top of the ticket, and, Gerald ‘Jack’ McLamb, a former Arizona police officer who has attempted for three decades to organize local law enforcement officials to oppose the New World Order.⁹⁸

David Neiwert’s July 1996 report on Sheriff Mack, based on first-hand observations of his various talks, remarked that “Richard Mack knows how to work a crowd.” Mack’s talk is entirely consistent with the Christian Reconstructionist’s Constitution Party’s platform, though Mack is a “devotee of the late Mormon ‘Constitutionalist’ W. Cleon Skousen,” the same Christian constitutionalism written about by James Aho. Mack would tell Patriot audiences that the federal government was a “monster” and that “forming citizen militias will protect them from it.” Mack claimed the “separation of church and state is a myth.” Neiwert also noted that Mack touches upon “a lot of the hot buttons that draw people into the patriot movement—gun rights, abortion, education—all focused on hatred of the federal government and its leaders. The strong response he gets when he decries church-state separation underscores a core component of the worldview held by the nation’s growing contingent of the ‘patriot’ right.”⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Jonathan Mozzochi, “The Militia Movement & Hate Groups in America,” Public Eye.org, July 11, 1995, at <http://www.publiceye.org/eyes/undergun.html>.

⁹⁹ David Neiwert, “God and country: How the militia movement undermines separation,” Institute for First Amendment Studies, Institute for First Amendment Studies, July 1996, at <http://www.publiceye.org/ifas/fw/9607/militia.html>.

Daniel Levitas noted that after filing his lawsuit “Mack joined the Christian Patriot speaking circuit where he gave passionate speeches about his devotion to constitutional government and hawked his two books: *From My Cold Dead Fingers: Why America Needs Guns!* and *Government, GOD, and Freedom: A Fundamental Trinity*.”¹⁰⁰ Kenneth Stern reported even after the Oklahoma City bombing that several Patriot figures like Mack and a “handful of other state and local officials have continued to travel the country promoting hatred of government and support for the militia’s ideology.... But the greatest threat these men posed lay in the courage they gave to like-minded but less well known county and state officials who might use the legitimacy of their offices to spread the militias’ agenda.”¹⁰¹

Mack was able to spread the gun rights absolutism ideology into the Patriot movement, or, more likely, use the NRA’s and GOA’s gun rights absolutism as a calling card allowing him to serve as another conduit between the Christian Right and the Patriot militia.

In short, it is virtually impossible to separate NRA/GOA ideology, NRA/GOA support to Richard Mack, and Richard Mack’s spreading the good news throughout the Patriot sphere, which included the militia movement, and the Patriot militia movement’s endorsement of the same ideology. Moreover, whatever brand of “constitutionalism” former Sheriff Mack was conveying to his Patriot audiences, Mack’s ideas, like the Patriot sphere’s ideological catalogue of ideas, came bundled in a religious package or

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2002: 310.

¹⁰¹ Kenneth S. Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996/1997: 217.

having a religious veneer. Rights come from God (rather than the “Creator” or “Nature’s God” as stated in the Declaration of Independence) and the rights to life and liberty meant opposition to abortion, opposition to gay rights, opposition to civil rights, opposition to public schools, and the right to insurrection and the right to resist federal tyranny, especially a resistance led by county sheriffs working with Patriot militias. Mack’s views, given the influence of Skousen’s Mormon Constitutionalism and probably the closely-related views of Christian Reconstructionist strategists for whom he worked, absent the overt racism and anti-Semitism, were largely consistent with the views of Christian Identity adherents in the Patriot movement as well as other fundamentalist Christians.

Interestingly, Aho noted in his 1990 book that the theology/ideology of Christian constitutionalism—America was a Christian nation, the U.S. Constitution was a divine document, and God’s law should prevail over human law and reason—was the overarching ideational bridge that linked disparate religious organizations together. Aho wrote that “the recent coalitions between the Freemen Institute and the Baptist minister Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority, Inc., the Catholic anti-feminist Phyllis Schlafly’s Eagle Forum, and the Korean evangelist Rev. Myung Moon’s Unification Church suggest that even irreconcilable theological differences can be transcended when far rightists face a common foe.”¹⁰² While in 1990 those linkages appeared to Aho to be “fragile bridges at best,” the data in Part II demonstrate that these early “fragile bridges” created an enduring over-arching theological/ideological architecture encompassing the broad

¹⁰² James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990: 119 and 122.

Christian Right, the Patriot sphere, and the Hard Right—and people like Larry Pratt and Richard Mack used those ideational bridges to network the Patriot movement.

Wise Use Meets Gun Rights Meets Patriot Movement

Another personal bridge between the Council for National Policy and the Patriot militia movement and larger Patriot sphere is Alan Gottlieb. Alan Gottlieb, Ron Arnold, and Charles Cushman, who founded the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, according to the sociologist Luther Gerlach “were recognized as founders and leaders of the Wise Use/property rights movement.”¹⁰³ Gottlieb has been a member of the Council for National Policy since 1984, was a national director of the American Conservative Union (which organizes the movement-wide Conservative Political Action Conference), and was a board member of the Reverend Moon’s American Freedom Coalition.¹⁰⁴

In fact, the development and expansion of the Wise Use/Property Rights and the Wise Use/County Rule movements—Wise Use is the core with additional elements depending upon the research emphasis in the literature—can be traced directly back to the Christian Right, especially its core strategic leadership, as well as an important foundational role played by the National Rifle Association.

David Helvarg’s well documented 1994 investigative book, *The War Against the Greens*, reported that Gottlieb began working with his “friend Richard Viguerie” to use

¹⁰³ Luther P. Gerlach, “The Structure of Social Movements: Environmental Activism and Its Opponents,” pp. 289-310 in John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, editors, *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001: 294.

¹⁰⁴ Seek God, “The Council for National Policy: Selected Member Biographies, CNP ~ G,” no date, at <http://www.seekgod.ca/cnp.g.htm>.

direct mail appeals to raise money for his Citizens Committee to Keep and Bear Arms. Once the Citizens Committee, the Second Amendment Foundation, and Gottlieb's private businesses were up and running he created the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise and hired Ron Arnold as that organization's executive vice president. It was Arnold, using Gerlach's research on SPIN-type social movements, who convinced Gottlieb in 1984 to build "a movement that would target 'runaway environmentalism.'" Floyd Brown, who would head Citizens United and produce the infamously racist Willie Horton political advertisement for then Vice President George Bush, was the director of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise. Ron Arnold had been hired in 1979 by Paul Weyrich to write a subsidized biography of James Watt, thus helping assure his place in the Reagan administration as Secretary of the Interior. Gottlieb's Liberty Park office in Bellevue, Washington, rented office space to the Reverend Moon-funded American Freedom Coalition (a major source of initial funds for the Wise Use movement), Accuracy in Media, "and various county secessionists, tax rebels, and anti-abortionists." Helvarg documented that the Wise Use movement's network of power brokers included a bevy of organizations linked to Paul Weyrich—the Free Congress Foundation, the Heritage Foundation, and the American Legislative Exchange Council—and the Moon-financed *Washington Times* which provided extensive propaganda support, the Koch-funded Cato Institute, the Moon-funded Science and Environmental Policy Project, the Koch-funded Federalist Society, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, the Washington Legal Foundation, and nineteen other "pro-business 'public interest' law firms...providing the anti-green movement with tens of millions of dollars in free legal services. The firm's directors coordinate strategy through

an annual meeting sponsored by the Heritage Foundation.” The movement itself was funded by numerous trade associations and corporations in farming, livestock, logging, mining, and petroleum.¹⁰⁵

The National Rifle Association has been deeply involved in the Wise Use/Property Rights movement even before it was a social movement, according to Helvarg's research. The late-1970s Sagebrush Rebellion that began in Nevada and spread to “Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, and Alaska” in an effort to wrest control of federal lands from the Bureau of Land Management to the states was supported by “the Cattlemen’s Association, Farm Bureau Federation, oil and gas industry, coal industry, NRA, and western sports groups.” In 1985, three years before the social movement began in earnest, the NRA participated and helped fund, along with farming, mining, and petroleum associations, “anti-environmental campaigns while supporting the creation of pro-industry ‘grassroots.’” The NRA’s board in 1987 declared “its opposition to the expansion of federal wilderness and national parks.” In June 1988, the NRA participated in a major conference including all the major financial players trying to protect their corporate bottom lines and weaken federal environmental regulations. In August 1988, the NRA participated in another major conference that led to Gottlieb publishing the movement’s seminal book, the *Wise Use Agenda*, based upon a twenty-five point agenda of “goals drawn from the written suggestions of the American Freedom Coalition, NRA, MSLF (Mountain States Legal Foundation), Blue Ribbon, and other conference participants.” In 1991, the then director of the NRA’s hunting services

¹⁰⁵ David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens*, San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, (1994) 1997: 128, 129, 66, 136, 127, 22, and Chapter 1, “Inside the Beltway.”

personally tapped Wise Use rabble rouser Chuck Cushman to lead opposition to expansion of the Stone Lakes National Wildlife Refuge in California's Central Valley.¹⁰⁶

The Wise Use movement, according to several observers of the Patriot sphere, is linked to the Patriot militias and is largely funded by the same natural resource corporations that fund other parts of the Christian Right, including the American Legislative Exchange Council and the Cornwall Alliance for the Stewardship of Creation (see Chapter 3).

Observers of the Wise Use movement in the Pacific Northwest, link the anti-environmental movement, which is quite diverse in its social and economic composition, to the militia movement and to some white supremacist groups, as well as to the Christian Right. This does not mean that the Wise Use movement is white supremacist, but as part of the Patriot sphere, it includes white supremacist groups.

Political scientists at Idaho State University in 1993 described the deliberate, "offensive tactics" of a "seven-fold rhetorical strategy" the Wise Use movement uses to appeal to traditional believers in the "Old West ideology," as well as libertarians (*laissez-faire* free market) and the Religious Right: "(1) bill itself as the 'true' environmental movement; (2) try to marginalize environmental groups by highlighting the views and actions of the radical fringe of environmentalism, and in other ways promote the perception that environmentalists are atypical of the public ['elitist radicals']; (3) downplay threats to the environment; (4) try to form coalitions with interests who perceive they have been harmed or are threatened with harm from environmental

¹⁰⁶ David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens*, San Francisco:Sierra Club Books, (1994) 1997: 64, 23, 76-7, and 151.

policies; (5) form coalitions with groups that share part of the Old West ideology [classic *laissez-faire* liberals, the Religious Right, Business (“mining, logging, grazing, and some agriculture), the Republican Party]; (6) stress the economic costs of environmental policy; and (7) create the perception that the real goal of environmentalists is attainment of authoritarian power [“‘socialistic’ domination”].”¹⁰⁷

The open Wise Use rhetorical appeal to the Christian Right, identified by the Idaho State University researchers, was built into the movement’s DNA, since it sprang from the pinnacle of power in the Council of National Policy. However, the language of its key operatives shows their use of religious language. Ron Arnold, for example, told Helvarg that “Wise Use is engaged in a ‘holy war against the new pagans who worship trees and sacrifice people.’” And Chuck Cushman, one of the top organizers in the movement was quoted by the *Oregonian* newspaper “accusing environmentalists of ‘systematic, cultural genocide of rural America.’”¹⁰⁸

In Oregon, the Wise Use movement, as part of the Patriot sphere of groups and networks, included the militia and white supremacist groups. Paul de Armond wrote about how militia organizers in October 1994 used opposition to environmentalism to network the Patriot movement: “The militia organizers were calling themselves ‘The Committee for Environmental Justice’ and the topic of the meeting was the proposed United Nations takeover of the public lands in the North Cascades region of Washington

¹⁰⁷ Ralph Maughan and Douglas Nilson, “What’s Old and What’s New About the Wise Use Movement,” (Idaho State University Department of Political Science) Public Good, 1993, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/maughan.htm>.

¹⁰⁸ David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens*, San Francisco:Sierra Club Books, (1994) 1997: 12 and 145.

State. Wild rumors had been floating around the property rights groups since Chuck Cushman—one of the founders of the anti-environmentalist ‘Wise Use’ movement—had toured the northern half of the state in early 1994.... The Committee for Environmental Justice was a collection of Christian Patriots, Wise Users and conspiracy theorists from Snohomish County who had conflated Cushman’s conspiracy theories about the North Cascades with white supremacist propaganda about an imminent U.N. invasion of the United States.... By the next winter, they were hosting John Trochmann, leader of the Militia of Montana, in his first appearance in this region.”¹⁰⁹

The Wise Use meeting in Maltby, Washington, in the winter of 1995, not only featured Trochmann of the Militia of Montana, but also then Arizona sheriff Richard Mack; a single-term former Washington State Supreme Court Justice noted for a “series of complaints about his ethical and professional conduct;” the brigadier general of the United States Special Field Forces identified as the “Deputy Judge Advocate General” and the “Commandant, Investigative Services Division,” whose ‘Adjutant General’ own home was raided by the FBI on suspicion of “counterfeiting government identification (see Chapter 16 on its “commanding general” linked to white supremacists); tax resisters of various sorts; sovereign citizens peddling a variety of incomprehensible legal theories; Lyndon LaRouche newsletters; representatives and literature from Reverend Sun Myong Moon’s American Freedom Coalition which was financially linked to Alan Gottlieb’s Wise Use efforts through Ron Arnold, a Wise Use strategist and “registered agent of the AFC;” Red Beckman, the anti-Semitic tax resister; the Fully Informed Jury Association promoting jury nullification of state and federal laws, which

¹⁰⁹ Paul de Armond, “A Not So Distant Mirror,” Public Good, 1996, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/nosodist/>.

would become a strategic partner of Oath Keepers (see Chapter 19); a U.S. Taxpayers Party member who had advocated murdering doctors as their policy of opposing abortion at the party's Wisconsin convention; an indefatigable militia organizer from Michigan and propagandist; as well as speakers linking the North Cascades International Ecosystem Preserve to the New World Order; and, representatives from a Wise Use group used as a tool for recruiting for the militias, the Snohomish County Property Rights Alliance. As Paul de Armond noted at the end of his descriptive article, "Welcome to the militia movement in the Pacific Northwest." De Armond would also document that Skip Richards, head of the Coalition for Land Use Education, had a long history of collaborating with the Wise Use leadership, Christian Patriot conspiracists, the Citizens for Liberty (a front group for the Militia of Montana), and Citizens for Environmental Justice, another group that linked up with the Militia of Montana through John Trochmann's Citizens for Justice group.¹¹⁰

Paul de Armond's chronology of events in Washington State between March 1994 and July 1996 demonstrated the repeated interactions of Wise Use groups and the Patriot militias. In March 1994, the Coalition for Land Use Education (CLUE) featured Wise Use organizer Chuck Cushman as a speaker, Ben Hinkle, chairman of his Citizens for Liberty group that "distributes Militia of Montana flyers...altered to promote his Citizens for Liberty Group," and a CLUE board member who also promotes the Independence County secession movement. In October 1994, Citizens for Environmental Justice host a representative from John Trochmann's United Citizens for

¹¹⁰ Paul de Armond, "Militia of Montana Meeting," Public Good, February 11, 1995, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/maltby3.htm>. Paul de Armond, "Skip Richards' Years of Contact with Christian Patriot Militias," Public Good, 1996, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/richards.html>.

Justice (the group to raise money for Randy Weaver of Ruby Ridge). Literature from the Militia of Montana is distributed. In March 1995, the Everett Freedom Forum and the Snohomish County Property Rights Alliance host County Supremacy advocate Dick Carver from Catron County, New Mexico. Carver is not only linked to the National Federal Lands Conference which promoted the militia movement, but Carver had “attended several Christian Identity gatherings in California and Idaho.” In May 1995, at a meeting of the Citizens for Liberty group, the head of the Washington State Militia issues a not so veiled threat to featured speaker Whatcom County Sheriff Dale Brandland who rejects the idea that it is his constitutional duty to interfere with federal law enforcement officers inside the county. At the November 1995 inaugural meeting of the Washington State Militia featured speakers include a CLUE board member who promotes county secession, a representative of Citizens for Liberty, and a sovereign citizen tax resister. In January 1996, a Mount Vernon meeting included leaders of the Washington State Militia and the Citizens for Liberty. The featured speaker, John Trochmann of the Militia of Montana, gave “his ‘Enemies—Foreign and Domestic’ speech. Trochmann identifies ‘enemies’ as Communists, socialists, U.S. Corporations, ‘traitors’ in the U.S. government, ‘commies’ in law enforcement, ‘greenies’ (environmentalists), members of the B’hai faith, the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. Trochmann also explicitly endorses Louis Beam’s Leaderless Resistance strategy of terrorism, as well as referring to Leaderless Resistance as ‘public meetings and private cells.’”¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Paul de Armond, “Militia and CLUE Activity in Whatcom and Snohomish Counties,” Public Good, 1996, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/militiachron.html>. On Sheriff Brandland not understanding the real

The Wise Use movement, particularly one of its primary leaders, Ron Arnold and Karen Budd, who sat on the advisory board of the National Federal Lands Conference distributes booklets (“A Brief Description of the County Government Movement” and “The Power and Authority of County Government”), as well as information about Catron County, New Mexico’s successful efforts to stymie federal regulations protecting endangered species and preventing the over-grazing of federal lands. Catron County officials threatened to arrest any federal officer who violated the “civil rights of residents,” meaning their ability to violate federal laws.¹¹² The Catron County strategy of intimidating federal officials and spuriously claiming county jurisdiction over federal lands is also promoted by Karen Budd, a former staff assistant to Secretary of the Interior James Watt and former staff attorney at Watt’s Mountain States Legal Foundation.¹¹³ Watt embodied the Christian Right’s theology that unrestricted human exploitation of natural resources was part of God’s plan (see Chapter 3).

Daniel Junas noted that the “County Rule movement and the militias share an ideological kinship, revolving around the idea, long popular in far-right circles, that the county is the supreme level of government and the sheriff the highest elected official. Posse Comitatus—the name for a far-right, semi-secret anti-tax organization—literally

purpose of the meeting or the ideology of his hosts, see Paul de Armond, “To Soothe Their Fears,” Public Good, 1996, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/cflmay19/>.

¹¹² Paul de Armond with Jim Halpin, “Steal This State,” Public Good, 1994 and 1995, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/steal.htm>.

¹¹³ Jim Halpin and Paul de Armond, “The Merchant of Fear,” Public Good, October 26, 1994, at <http://www.publicgood.org/reports/merchant.htm>. David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens*, San Francisco:Sierra Club Books, (1994) 1997: 233.

means the power of the county.” Junas also reported that the National Federal Lands Conference in an October 1994 publication “featured a lead article that explicitly called for the formation of militias. The article, which cited information provided by the Militia of Montana and pro-militia organizations in Idaho and Arizona, closed by saying: ‘At no time in our history since the colonies declared their independence from the long train of abuses of King George has our country needed a network of active militias across America to protect us from the monster we have allowed our federal government to become. Long live the Militia! Long live freedom! Long live government that fear [sic] the people!’”¹¹⁴

Kenneth Stern provided additional information on the National Federal Lands Conference newsletter supportive of the Patriot militia movement. According to Stern, “the October 1994 newsletter...had a lead story entitled ‘Why There Is a Need for the Militia in America.’ (The need was ‘to overthrow the men who perverted the Constitution.’) The article’s author thanked various militias, including the Militia of Montana, for their help, and noted that these groups would ‘be more than happy to assist you in starting your own militia.’”¹¹⁵

An article by Paul Clark, a New County Movement proponent, in the *Modern Militiaman* newsletter made clear that the County Movement had a strong conservative religious element. Part of the movement, which Paul de Armond wrote about in Oregon, involved dividing existing counties into new counties, what Clark called “secession,” in

¹¹⁴ Daniel Junas, “Rise of Citizens Militias: Angry White Guys With Guns,” *Covert Action Quarterly* at The Public Eye, April 24, 1995, at http://www.publiceye.org/rightist/dj_mili.html.

¹¹⁵ Kenneth S. Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996/1997: 127.

the name of bringing government closer to people and controlling tax revenues. Clark described some of the goals of local groups in Oregon as “eliminate most of the local regulations,” “reassert local control over things like law enforcement and education,” “accept no federal or state education funds,” and “encourage alternatives like home schooling.”¹¹⁶ Destruction of the public school system and encouraging home schooling has long been the goal of the Christian Right, especially the Christian Reconstructionists.

Ann Burlein in her book *Lift High the Cross* suggested that the “shared ideology of privatism,” by which she meant a conceptual focus on the family as an ideological prism to promote “private business and the private market, idealized in the figure of the independent, self-starting entrepreneur” while opposing “big government” had the “potential to bridge the white supremacist and the Christian right.” Essentially, religion played a “key role” in promoting biblical capitalism which “allies We The People with multinational corporations.”¹¹⁷ Religion provides the same glue and ideological justification in the Wise Use and the County Rule movements.

Richard Abanes reported the link between the Wise Use movement, the Patriot militias, and the use of intimidation and threats of violence to thwart the federal government and deny its legitimacy and constitutional supremacy: “Patriot attitudes toward environmentalism were clearly articulated in a letter sent to...the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. He warned that ‘unless the ‘curse’ of the Endangered Species Act was

¹¹⁶ Paul S. Clark, “New County Movement Threatens Establishment,” *Modern Militiaman* #6, July 4, 1997, at <http://www.whitenationalist.org/lindstedt/mm6conty.html>.

¹¹⁷ Ann Burlein, *Lift High the Cross: Where White Supremacy and the Christian Right Converge*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002: 191 and 158.

repealed, there would be ‘rioting, bloodshed, rebellion and conflict that will make the Serbian-Bosnia affair look like a Sunday picnic.’”

Abanes also noted that a variant of the New World Order conspiracy theory links the Patriot militia movement to the Wise Use anti-environmentalist movement:

“According to this twist on the one world takeover, eco-management is designed to leave citizens homeless and landless, which will in turn make them vulnerable to the enslavement planned by invading U.N. troops.... This enviro-paranoia has served as a bridge between the militias and anti-environmentalists, especially those within the militant Wise Use movement.”¹¹⁸ Carolyn Gallaher observed first-hand in her study of the Patriot movement in Kentucky that white supremacists used opposition to environmentalism (specifically the United Nations biospheres), a form of cultural anxiety, to express and infuse white supremacist ideology into the Patriot movement using race-neutral language like “national” instead of “white.” Gallaher argued that “While biospheres may appear to be an environmental issue, the crux of the patriot opposition to them is culturally based. Their opposition hinges on the association of biospheres with the United Nations, an organization patriots view as representative of culturally inferior people.”¹¹⁹

Neil Hamilton’s reference book on the Patriot militias noted that one of the sub-themes of the militia movement related to the major theme of the intrusiveness of the federal government is directed at environmental regulations. “The latter has blossomed

¹¹⁸ Richard Abanes, *American Militias: Rebellion, Racism & Religion*, Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996: 15 and 85.

¹¹⁹ Carolyn Gallaher, *On the Fault Line: Race, Class, and the American Patriot Movement*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003: 157.

as a big issue in the West and functions in tandem with the Wise Use Movement, consisting of activists dedicated to dismantling all environmental controls (and, ironically, backed by many of the same corporations often criticized by the militias).... Federal officials have reported threats, and even actual attacks, against their persons and also against property such as forest service offices.” Hamilton also noted that John Trochmann, founder of the influential Militia of Montana, had used anger at the Endangered Species Act and other federal regulations to campaign for the creation of militias.¹²⁰ In fact, when Trochmann testified before a U.S. Senate subcommittee on the militias in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing, one of the first reasons he gave for the formation of the militia, after the presidency having been “turned into a position of dictatorial oppression” was that the federal government “defines human beings as a biological resource under the United Nations ecosystem management program...”¹²¹

Robert Snow also reported on the apparent links between some of the militias, the Wise Use movement, and violence. According to Snow, “Some militia organizations, particularly those in the Pacific Northwest logging areas, have been known to work with the Wise Use movement. This organization, established in 1984, is part of the anti-environmental movement and has allegedly been involved in many incidents of terrorism and harassment.... Members of militia groups and Wise Use

¹²⁰ Neil A. Hamilton, *Militias in America—A Reference Handbook*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1996: 41-2.

¹²¹ Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government Information, *The Militia Movement in the United States*, United States Senate hearing, June 15, 1995, Diane Publishing Company, page 84.

members, particularly in the West and Northwest, have been known to often join forces in what they see as a common battle against environmentalists.”¹²²

Helen Chenoweth, a pro-white supremacist ideologue and supporter of both the militia movement and the Wise Use movement was elected to Congress from Idaho in 1994. Morris Dees wrote that Chenoweth “had become the darling of the racist militia element when she proclaimed ‘white Anglo-Saxon male[s]...are endangered.’ Her support of Wise Use’s anti-environmental concerns locked in another large militia constituency.”¹²³ Jeffrey St. Clair, a “red state rebel” described Chenoweth as “the primed heroine of Idaho’s burgeoning population of potbellied punks and middle-aged skinheads, the prissy pinup girl of the Posse Comitatus, a woman who morphed the religio-cosmetic acumen of Tammy Faye Baker onto the paranoid political sensibilities of Lyndon LaRouche.” Chenoweth’s winning campaign in 1994 was financed by mining companies, particularly the Allen Ball company that owned the A-B Mining Company. Chenoweth exchanged cash for an interest in land she owned with the promise that she would sponsor legislation to open up the Sawtooth National Recreation Area to mining. As St. Clair put it, “An apparent case of political *quid pro quo*.”¹²⁴ And, Chenoweth reportedly received considerable electoral support from Samuel Sherwood’s United

¹²² Robert L. Snow, *The Militia Threat: Terrorists Among Us*, New York: Plenum Trade, 1999: 120.

¹²³ Morris Dees with James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America’s Militia Threat*, New York: HarperPerennial, 1996: 129.

¹²⁴ Jeffrey St. Clair, “Ignominy and Resistance in Idaho: Last Stand in the Big Woods,” pp. 122-133 in Joshua Frank and Jeffrey St. Clair, editors, *Red State Rebels: Tales of Grassroots Resistance in the Heartland*, Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2008: 128-9.

States Militia Association that allegedly mobilized 1,000 volunteers for her congressional campaign.¹²⁵

A *Washington Post* obituary for Chenoweth noted that she had “scolded Congress after the Oklahoma City federal building bombing for not trying to understand anti-government activists. She also held hearings on ‘black helicopters,’ which militia members believed were filled with United Nations-sponsored storm troopers eager to swoop into the broken-down ranches of the rural West and impose international law.” Consistent with the Posse Comitatus and New County Movement philosophy, Chenoweth “introduced a bill that would have required federal agents to get permission from local sheriffs before they could make an arrest or conduct a search on public land.” Chenoweth believed “abortions should be illegal and that the government should not pay for abortions for poor women, even in cases of rape or incest.”¹²⁶ A *New York Times* review of her first term in Congress noted that “Just after Mrs. Chenoweth’s election in 1994, a former Ku Klux Klan leader in Georgia, E. R. Fields, hailed it as a victory for ‘race-based campaigns.’ The Militia of Montana began selling videos of her speeches on the danger of one-world government control of natural resources. And anti-government groups embraced her as a favorite speaker.” The *Times* observed that her political passions—actually completely consistent with the views of the Christian Reconstructionists and their Christian Right allies—was a “new kind of populism” that appealed to “poor and middle class whites in rural areas of the West and South.” These

¹²⁵ Martin Durham, *The Christian Right, the far right and the boundaries of American conservatism*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000: 145.

¹²⁶ Patricia Sullivan, “Militia-Friendly Idaho Rep. Helen Chenoweth-Hage,” *Washington Post*, October 4, 2006, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/03/AR2006100301565.html>.

positions included “Unregulated gun ownership, minimal Federal environmental protections and abolishing the Education, Energy, Commerce and Housing Departments along with the Environmental Protection Agency.”¹²⁷ In the fall of 1994, the Militia of Montana’s catalogue featured a videotape of a 1993 speech Chenoweth made before a church group warning of the New World Order’s takeover of the United States. Wrote the *Times*, “The tape...explains how more than 50 percent of the United States is now under ‘the control of the New World Order.’” Representatives Chenoweth and Stockman, as well as Senators Larry Craig (Idaho) and Lauch Faircloth (North Carolina) also wrote letters on behalf of the Patriot militia movement inquiring about the federal law enforcement plans to raid Patriot organizations in March 1995, based on rumors of training at Fort Bliss, Texas.¹²⁸

In April 1999, Chenoweth wrote an article in opposition to President Clinton and NATO taking air actions against Serbia over the possibility that Slobodan Milosevic might ethnically cleanse Kosovo of ethnic Albanian Muslims. But, what is most particular about her opposition is that she also couched it in terms that at some future unspecified date the International Community could use Kosovo as a precedent to prevent the United States from reclaiming or contesting control of the southwest portion of the United States from Latino radicals. In other words, she was fully on-board with the white supremacist conspiracy theory of the *reconquista*, the reconquest of the

¹²⁷ Timothy Egan, “Politics: A New Populist; Idaho Freshman Embodies G.O.P.’s Hope and Fear in ‘96,” *New York Times*, January 15, 1996, at <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/01/15/us/politics-a-new-populist-idaho-freshman-embodies-gop-s-hope-and-fear-in-96.html>.

¹²⁸ Timothy Egan, “Terror in Oklahoma: In Congress; Trying to Explain Contacts With Paramilitary Groups,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1995, at <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/05/02/us/terror-oklahoma-congress-trying-explain-contacts-with-paramilitary-groups.html>.

southwestern United States by Latino immigrants—years before it became a “mainstream” talking point-- and a conspiracy theory supported by William S. Lind at the Free Congress Foundation and John Tanton at the Federation for American Immigration Reform, as well as the hardline members of the anti-immigration movement. According to Chenoweth, *“Consider the case of the southwestern United States, a region referred to as ‘Aztlan,’ the mythical homeland of the Aztecs, by such militant groups as the ‘Brown Berets.’ Aztlan radicals have announced their intention to conduct la reconquista—the re-conquest—of that region through unrestrained illegal immigration, as well as subversion and violence. It is not difficult to foresee a future scenario in which the ‘international community’ authorizes the use of military force in support of ‘autonomy’ for Aztlan, in the same way that the war in Yugoslavia was launched in support of ‘autonomy’ for an Albanian Muslim-dominated Kosovo”*¹²⁹ [emphasis in original].

Thus, even using the Wise Use movement as a starting point yields connections between the guns rights absolutist movement, the Christian Right and the Council for National Policy, the Christian Reconstructionist’s Constitution Party, and the Patriot militia, with an undertow of muted white supremacist logic and rhetoric.

Conclusion

Central to the latest theories regarding social movements is the conceptualization of social movements using ideas as bridging mechanisms between different movement segments (see Chapter 7). Sharing core ideas—even if they disagree on other

¹²⁹ Congressman Helen Chenoweth, “Our Illegal War,” Town Crier News, April 26, 1999, at <http://towncriernews.blogspot.com/2006/10/rip-congresswoman-chenoweth-we-should.html>.

matters—is what brings social movements together. Constructing narratives that all movement participants can share and absorb is a key organizational strategy—especially if they all face a common existential threat. In the new theories of social movements, ideas can provide organizational structure and widely-held ideas can generate social action independent of leadership. So-called travelling evangelists spread the good news from one social movement network to another social movement network. Individuals may belong to one or more movement segments simultaneously or move between movement segments over time. There need not be formal linkages whereby organizations are connected through interlocking personnel, though leaders may link themselves through informal personal relationships. Leadership is as decentralized as possible and some parts of the movement may indeed be “leaderless” and secretly underground. A large single public demonstration and/or smaller local demonstrations can provide proof of the movement’s existence. Idea-based social movements need not agree on all ideas—there can be bitter disputes based on differing principles or simply clashes of personalities and leadership styles. But, it is also the strength of their opposition that gives these new social movements coherence and strength, as well as sharing an enemies list.

Inherent in the gun rights absolutist movement and the Christian Right movement, and shared by the derivative Patriot militia movement, are the core ideas of Fourth Generation Warfare—that the federal government is illegitimate; that the federal government is an unconstitutional, as well as cultural, moral, political, economic, and existential threat; and, that all patriots of differing religious backgrounds and economic circumstances must stand together under a common religious ideology (not theology)

and strategy of Christian resistance without compromising their core theological or ideological principles.

This chapter has demonstrated that the key ideas of the guns rights absolutist movement—that everyone is a potential patriot armed with a God-given and constitutionally guaranteed right to own combat-capable firearms, with the right to form militias and resist federal tyranny, by defensive force if necessary—is not only common to the Patriot militias and movement—but had been previously co-generated by the Christian Reconstructionists at least one decade before the Patriot militias emerged. In fact, these key ideas were co-generated by the gun rights absolutist movement and the Christian Reconstructionists, and, to a much lesser extent by the Christian Identity movement, though all three movements held them in common before the Patriot militias were formed in the mid-1990s. These ideas had also been rooted in the armed right-wing of the 1960s through the 1980s.¹³⁰

Key members of the Council for National Policy can be found in the gun rights absolutist movement, the Wise Use anti-environmental movement, the anti-Agenda 21 movement, and the Patriot movement and provides an alternative explanation that placed a greater causal weight on the Christian Identity movement. One reason scholars and observers assigned greater causal weight to the Christian Identity movement is that the theological and ideological significance of the Christian Reconstructionist movement was studied by a separate group of scholars and observers, and, was under-appreciated by many of the early writers on the Patriot

¹³⁰ James Coates, *Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1987. Phillip Finch, *God, Guts, and Guns*, New York: Seaview/Putnam, 1983. Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, *The Far Right*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

movement. Only a few writers who specialized in the Christian Right like Sara Diamond, Frederick Clarkson, Jerry Reiter, and Sandi DuBowksi attempted to link the Christian Reconstructionists to the Patriot militias.

It is surely not an accident that the John Birch Society and the Christian Reconstructionists collaborated in the formation of the Council for National Policy; it is surely not an accident that the Christian Reconstructionists played an instrumental role in the formation of the Coalition on Revival; it is surely not an accident that the Coalition on Revival's National Coordinating Committee called for the establishment of county militias and that gun rights absolutist Gun Owners of America was instrumental in its promotion; it is surely not an accident that the National Rifle Association's insurrectionary interpretation of the Second Amendment and the Christian Reconstructionist's biblical duty and constitutional right to resist federal tyranny are essentially seamless; it is surely not an accident that the Christian Reconstructionists and the John Birch Society continued to collaborate in the Wise Use movement and the opposition to Agenda21; it is surely not an accident that the Christian Reconstructionist U.S. Taxpayers Party, the militant anti-abortion Operation Rescue and Missionaries to the Pre-born, and the "Free Militia" collaborated in bringing together all three movements; and, it is not an accident that the John Birch Society, the Taxpayer Party (later re-named the Constitution Party), and the gun rights absolutist movements collaborated in the larger Patriot movement, including in the Patriot militias and the much later Tea Party movement.

That the Patriot militias and the larger Patriot movement appear as ambiguous networks with competing personalities and egos should not blind us to a factual

certainty: their key ideas are derived from larger religious-grounded or religious-influenced movements. The Patriot militias, at least the majority of them, are, in fact, the armed wing of the Christian Right and to a lesser extent the armed wing of the Christian Identity movement. It is to this factual certainty that the next chapter addresses.