

Memorandum



Dep. Dir.	_____
ADD Adm.	_____
ADD Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Adm. Servs.	_____
Crim. Inv.	_____
CJIS	_____
Info. Mgmt.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Tech. Servs.	_____
Training	_____
Off. of EEOA	_____
Off. Liaison & Int. Affs.	_____
Off. of Public & Cong. Affs.	_____
TQM Office	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Office	_____

381

b6  
b7C

To *WCB* Mr.

Date 4/4/94

From *JKB* J. Kevin O'Brien

Subject : FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) RELEASE OF DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) OF B'NAI B'RITH TO SCOTT THOMPSON

PURPOSE: To advise of the release of documents from the New York Field Office main files pertaining to the ADL on April 18, 1994.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information only.

*gnd*

**APPROVED:** \_\_\_\_\_

Director \_\_\_\_\_

Deputy Director \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Affairs \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Off. of Public & Cong. Affs. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Info. Res. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Training \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Inspection \_\_\_\_\_

DETAILS: By letter dated February 4, 1989, (actual date of letter is 1990), Mr. Thompson submitted an FOIA request to the New York Field Office for material in their files pertaining to the ADL. Since that time, cross-references to the ADL in New York Field Office files on other subjects have been processed and released to Mr. Thompson. Pursuant to existing policy, three New York main files pertaining to the ADL have been forwarded to FBI Headquarters for processing and release to Mr. Thompson.

Enclosure

- 190-58674
- 1 - Mr. Binney, Room 7125
- 1 - Mr. Collingwood, Room 7240
- 1 - Mr.  Room 7176
- 1 - Mr. H. Shapiro, Room 7126
- 1 - Mr.  Room 7126
- 1 - Miss  Room 7176
- 1 - Ms.  Room 7176
- 1 - IRD Front Office, Room 5829
- 1 - Mr. O'Brien, Room 6296
- 1 - Mr. Moran, Room 6387
- 1 - Mr.  Room 6780
- 1 - Mrs.  Room 6780

63-119-106 3619-119

*DKH*:jmr (13)

*RAM*

(CONTINUED-OVER)

*OK*

1-ENCLOSURE

MEMORANDUM FROM J. KEVIN O'BRIEN TO MR.   
RE: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) RELEASE OF  
DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE ANTI-DEFAMATION  
LEAGUE (ADL) OF B'NAI B'RITH TO SCOTT THOMPSON

b6  
b7c

Mr. Thompson is a journalist for the Executive Intelligence Review who is currently in litigation with the FBI regarding certain field office records pertaining to the ADL, including these New York Field Office files (Scott Thompson v. U. S. Department of Justice; U.S.D.C. for the District of Columbia; Civil Action No. 93-1219).

The current release of material consists of New York Field Office files concerning an Extortion investigation, a Department of State-Inquiry investigation, and a public relations/correspondence administrative file. This material clearly documents the liaison between the New York Field Office and the New York office of the ADL, which each field office was required to establish upon the instructions of former Director J. Edgar Hoover. This practice was continued under former Director William Webster.

This memorandum is being submitted to advise of the release of this material to Mr. Thompson inasmuch as it will reveal the extent of the liaison between the FBI and the ADL, which included advice and review by Special Agents regarding the security measures at the New York Office of the ADL during February, 1979 (see attached documents).

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH**  
315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016, TEL. 689-7400

**NATIONAL COMMISSION OFFICERS**

National Chairman  
MAXWELL L. GREENBERG

Honorary Chairman  
SEYMOUR GRAUBARD  
BURTON M. JOSEPH  
DORE SCHARY  
HENRY E. SCHULTZ

Chairman, National Executive Committee  
KENNETH J. BIALKIN

Honorary Vice-Chairman  
LEONARD L. ABESS  
EDGAR M. BRONFMAN  
MAXWELL DANE  
LAWRENCE A. HARVEY  
JACOB K. JAVITS  
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK  
ARTHUR LEVITT  
SAMUEL H. MILLER  
BERNARD NATH  
ROBERT R. NATHAN  
ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF  
MATTHEW B. ROSENHAUS  
BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL  
WILLIAM SACHS  
MELVIN H. SCHLESINGER  
SAMUEL O. SHAPIRO  
THEODORE H. SILBERT  
RICHARD STONE  
SIDNEY R. YATES

Vice-Chairman  
DOROTHY BINSTOCK  
JERRY DUBROF  
BRUCE I. HOCHMAN  
MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
PHILIP KRUPP  
MILTON MOLLEN

Vice-Chairman, National Executive Committee  
THOMAS D. MANTEL

Honorary Treasurers  
BENJAMIN GREENBERG  
RICHARD M. LEDERER, JR.

Treasurer  
J. LEO GORDON

Assistant Treasurer  
HOWARD P. BERKOWITZ

Secretary  
MARTIN L. C. FELDMAN

Assistant Secretary  
SEYMOUR REICH

National Director  
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

President, B'nai B'rith  
JACK J. SPITZLER

Executive Vice-President, B'nai B'rith  
DANIEL THURSZ

President, B'nai B'rith Women  
EVELYN WASSERSTROM

Associate National Director and General Counsel  
ARNOLD FORSTER

National Director Designate  
NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Associate National Director Designate  
ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

**STAFF DIRECTORS**

Administration  
HAROLD L. ADLER

Civil Rights  
JUSTIN J. FINGER

Communications  
DAVID SURECK

Community Service  
ROBERT C. KOHLER

Program  
THOMAS D. MANTEL

January 9, 1979

The Honorable William H. Webster  
The Federal Bureau of Investigation "AUTOMATED RECORD"  
J. Edgar Hoover Building  
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Judge Webster:

I want to express my deep appreciation to you for sharing your precious time with us when we met with you last week.

To reiterate: we are ready to be of such assistance to the Bureau, within the area of our competence and authority, as is possible. We very much appreciated your candor as well as your obvious concern for our mutually held values.

We are looking forward to hearing from you as to the identity of the person with whom we might meet to share such information as we may have from time to time. Also, we are very pleased with your suggestion that you would advise us as to who from the New York FBI might counsel us on security measures for our soon-to-be new home at 823 United Nations Plaza. This building is currently the Carnegie International Center.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

*Nathan Perlmutter*  
Nathan Perlmutter

cc: Justin J. Finger  
ra

80-1751-1  
OPEN (REOPEN)  
ORIGIN NY 3-16-79  
DATE 2/16/79  
RECEIVED ADIC

b7c

63-149-1063619-119

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 5, 1979

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter  
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
315 Lexington Avenue  
New York, New York 10016

"AUTOMATED RECORD"

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

Thank you for your letter of January 9, 1979, which arrived during my extended absence from the city. I appreciate your offer of assistance to the Bureau and we welcome the cooperation we have enjoyed with you in the past.

Any information which you might wish to share with us should be communicated to Deputy Assistant Director James O. Ingram at FBI Headquarters. You understand of course that the receipt and collection of information are subject to the Attorney General's guidelines. Mr. Ingram is of course conversant with these guidelines.

With respect to security measures for your prospective headquarters in New York, I suggest that you contact Assistant Director Neil Welch at our New York office. He will be pleased to assist you or refer you to the appropriate official within our New York Division.

It was a pleasure meeting with you on your last visit. With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

William H. Webster  
Director

ADIC Neil Welch (Encl.)  
New York Office

80-1751-2  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
FEB 16 1979  
FBI-NEW YORK  
b7c



ENCLOSURE  
RECORDED COPY FILED IN

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH**

15 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016, TEL. 689-7400

SAC 1  
 SAC 2  
 SAC 3  
 SAC 4  
 SAC, DC  
 SAC, NY  
 SUPV.  
 SUPV.  
 SUPV. 14  
 SSA  
 SRA

February 26, 1979

**NATIONAL COMMISSION OFFICERS**

National Chairman  
**MAXWELL E. GREENBERG**

Honorary Chairman  
**SEYMOUR GRAUBARD**  
**BURTON M. JOSEPH**  
**BORE SCHARY**  
**HENRY E. SCHULTZ**

Chairman, National Executive Committee  
**KENNETH J. BIALKIN**

Honorary Vice-Chairman  
**LEONARD I. ABESS**  
**EDGAR M. BRONFMAN**  
**MAXWELL BARE**  
**LAWRENCE A. HARVEY**  
**JACOB K. JAVITS**  
**PHILIP M. KLUTZNIK**

**ARTHUR LEVITT**  
**SAMUEL H. MILLER**  
**BERNARD NATH**  
**ROBERT R. NATHAN**  
**ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF**  
**MATTHEW B. ROSENHAUS**  
**BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**  
**WILLIAM SACHS**  
**MELVIN H. SCHLESINGER**  
**SAMUEL D. SHAPIRO**  
**THEODORE H. SILBERT**  
**RICHARD STONE**  
**SIDNEY R. YATES**

Vice-Chairman  
**DOROTHY BINSTOCK**  
**JERRY DUBROF**  
**BRUCE I. HOCHMAN**  
**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**  
**PHILIP KRUPP**  
**MILTON MOLLEN**

Vice-Chairman, National Executive Committee  
**THOMAS D. MANTEL**

Honorary Treasurers  
**BENJAMIN GREENBERG**  
**RICHARD M. LEDERER, JR.**

Treasurer  
**J. LEO GORDON**

Assistant Treasurer  
**HOWARD P. BERKOWITZ**

Secretary  
**MARTIN L. C. FELDMAN**

Assistant Secretary  
**SEYMOUR REICH**

National Director  
**BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN**

President, B'nai B'rith  
**JACK J. SPITZER**

Executive Vice-President, B'nai B'rith  
**DANIEL THURSZ**

President, B'nai B'rith Women  
**EVELYN WASSERSTROM**

Associate National Director and General Counsel  
**ARNOLD FORSTER**

National Director Designate  
**NATHAN PERLMUTTER**

Associate National Director Designate  
**ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN**

**STAFF DIRECTORS**

Administration  
**HAROLD L. ADLER**

Civil Rights  
**JUSTIN J. FINGER**

Communications  
**DAVID SURECK**

Community Service  
**ROBERT C. KOHLER**

Program  
**THEODORE FREEDMAN**

Mr. Neil Welch, Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
26 Federal Plaza, 28th Floor  
New York, New York 10007

"AUTOMATED RECORD"

Dear Mr. Welch:

On Thursday, February 15, [redacted] and several of his colleagues from your office met with me and other ADL officials for the purpose of reviewing security measures at our prospective headquarters building at 345 East 46th Street, New York

They were most helpful in pointing out certain problem areas. The next day [redacted] telephoned and provided me with a recap of their inspection and suggested that, in light of the nature of the building and its tenants, we ought consider retaining a private security consultant. We have followed through on this recommendation.

On behalf of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, I want to thank you and your staff persons for the valuable assistance rendered to us on this matter. We appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

*Justin J. Finger*  
Justin J. Finger, Director  
National Civil Rights Division

JJF/cm

cc: Judge William H. Webster

80-1751-3

Anti-def. League

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]  
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]

MAR 1 1979 b7c

[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

80-1751-3

ASST. DIR  
 SAC 1  
 SAC 2  
 SAC 3  
 SAC 4  
 SAC, BO  
 SAC, H  
 SAC, I  
 SAC, J  
 SAC, K  
 SAC, L  
 SAC, M  
 SAC, N  
 SAC, O  
 SAC, P  
 SAC, Q  
 SAC, R  
 SAC, S  
 SAC, T  
 SAC, U  
 SAC, V  
 SAC, W  
 SAC, X  
 SAC, Y  
 SAC, Z

March 21, 1979

16  
 b7c

Mr. Justin J. Finger  
 Director  
 National Civil Rights Division  
 Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
 315 Lexington Avenue  
 New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Finger:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your February 26th letter to Assistant Director Welch. I was pleased to learn that some of my colleagues led by Special Agent **[REDACTED]** were of assistance to you. We hope your security system will be effective and that you will not hesitate to call on us again if we can be of assistance.

b7c

Sincerely yours,

*William H. Webster*

William H. Webster  
 Director

① - New York - Enclosure

Attention ADIC: Also bring to the attention of SA **[REDACTED]** and other appropriate personnel. 80-1751-5

b7c

SA **[REDACTED]**  
 SA **[REDACTED]**

copy made

RECEIVED  
 MAR 27 1979  
 b7c

*[Handwritten signature]*

80-179-1065519-119

ENCLOSURE

219

May 19, 1995

Mr. Jess N. Hordes, Director  
Washington, D.C. Office  
Anti-Defamation League  
1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 1020  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Hordes:

This is in response to your letter to Attorney General Reno, dated April 24, 1995, in which you enclosed a copy of the 1994 Anti-Defamation League report entitled, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government," as well as several other pamphlets. A copy of this material was forwarded to my office by the Attorney General for review.

At this time, I would like to express my gratitude to you for sharing this information. Please be assured that this material will receive appropriate scrutiny. Once again, I thank you for your interest and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Robert M. Bryant  
Assistant Director in Charge  
National Security Division

63-HQ-1063619-120

MAILED 13

MAY 30 1995

ENCLOSURE

FBI

Dep. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
ADD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
ADD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Adm. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Crim. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Info. Mgnt. \_\_\_\_\_  
Insp. \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Lab. \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Tech. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Cong. Affs. Off. \_\_\_\_\_  
Off. of EEO \_\_\_\_\_  
Off. Liaison & Int. Affs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Off. of Public Affs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director's Office \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: The above letter expresses thanks to Mr. Jess N. Hordes, Director of the Washington, D.C. Office of the Anti-Defamation League, for providing a copy of the 1994 Anti-Defamation League report entitled, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government," as well as several other pamphlets.

1 - Mr. [Redacted] 1 - Mr. R. Cimusz *ckb*  
1 - Mr. [Redacted] 1 - Mr. [Redacted]

Mr. J. P. O'Neill **APPROVED:**  
DJJ:djj (7)

Director \_\_\_\_\_  
Deputy Director \_\_\_\_\_

Crim. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_ Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Crim. Jus. Info. \_\_\_\_\_ Legal Counsel \_\_\_\_\_  
Servs. \_\_\_\_\_ National Sec. \_\_\_\_\_  
Finance \_\_\_\_\_ Personnel \_\_\_\_\_  
Info. Res. \_\_\_\_\_ Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_

Off. of EEO \_\_\_\_\_  
Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Off. of Public & Cong. Affs. \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM  *ban*  
*RMB*

*Jnes 5437*  
*RMB/ban*

b6  
b7c



Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D.C.

May 1, 1995

Mr. Jess N. Hordes  
Director, Washington, D.C. Office  
Anti-Defamation League  
1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 1020  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Hordes:

Thank you for sending to me the 1994 Anti-Defamation League report, entitled, **Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim At The Federal Government**. As you know, this information is critically important in the wake of the tragedy in Oklahoma City. I appreciate your sharing this with the Department and have forwarded it to staff for their review and attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Janet Reno".

Janet Reno

63-HQ-1063619-120

ENCLOSURE



OFFICERS OF THE  
NATIONAL COMMISSION  
National Chairman  
DAVID H. STRASSLER  
National Director  
ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN  
Chairman  
National Executive Committee  
HOWARD P. BERKOWITZ

Chief Operating Officer  
PETER T. WILLNER

Honorary Chairmen  
KENNETH J. BIALKIN  
SEYMOUR GRAUBARD  
MAXWELL E. GREENBERG  
BURTON M. JOSEPH  
BURTON S. LEVINSON  
MELVIN SALBERG

Vice-Chairmen  
MEYER EISENBERG  
THOMAS HOMBURGER  
JUDI KRUPP  
ALLAN MARGOLIS  
LESTER POLLACK  
IOEL SPRAYREGEN

Honorary Vice-Chairmen  
LEONARD L. ABESS  
DOROTHY BINSTOCK  
RUDY BOSCHWITZ  
EDGAR M. BRONFMAN  
MAXWELL DANE  
MAX FISHER

BRUCE I. HOCHMAN  
GERI M. JOSEPH  
MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
SAM KANE  
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK  
PHILIP KRUPP  
SAMUEL H. MILLER  
BERNARD D. MINTZ  
MILTON MOLLEN  
BERNARD NATH  
ROBERT R. NATHAN  
ANITA PERLMAN  
SIDNEY R. YATES

Vice-Chair  
National Executive Committee  
BARBARA BALSER

Honorary Chairmen  
National Executive Committee  
DAVID A. ROSE  
RONALD B. SOBEL

Treasurer  
ROBERT H. NAFTALY  
Assistant Treasurer  
SYDNEY JARKOW

Honorary Treasurers  
CHARLES GOLDRING  
MOE KUDLER

Secretary  
IRVING SHAPIRO

President, B'nai B'rith  
KENT E. SCHINER

Executive Vice President  
B'nai B'rith  
SIDNEY CLEARFIELD

President  
B'nai B'rith Women  
SUSAN BRUCK

Acting Director  
B'nai B'rith Women  
GAIL WOOD

ASSISTANT NATIONAL DIRECTORS

Development  
STUART TAUBER

Program, International Affairs  
KENNETH JACOBSON

DIVISION DIRECTORS

Civil Rights  
JEFFREY P. SINENSKY

Community Service  
ANN TOURK

Finance and Administration  
BOBBIE ARBESFELD

Intergroup Relations  
CHARNEY V. BROMBERG

Leadership  
Assistant to the National Director  
MARK D. MEDIN

Marketing and Communications  
MARK A. EDELMAN

Washington Representative  
JESS N. HORDES

General Counsel  
ARNOLD FORSTER

Associate General Counsel  
JUSTIN J. FINGER

**Anti-Defamation League**  
Washington, D.C. Office



JESS N. HORDES  
Director

MICHAEL LIEBERMAN  
Associate Director/Counsel

STACY BURDETT  
Assistant Director

April 24, 1995

The Honorable Janet Reno  
Attorney General  
Department of Justice  
10th & Constitution Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20530

Dear Madam Attorney General:

In the aftermath of the tragic bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, we wanted to make sure you had a number of Anti-Defamation League publications on organizations in the extremist movement in the United States and their leaders. Included in the enclosed materials is an October, 1994 ADL Fact Finding report, "Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim At The Federal Government."

For decades, ADL has served as a reliable source of information on hate groups and responses to violent bigotry. ADL's focus has been to expose the activities of these anti-democratic organizations -- some of which have attracted racists and anti-Semites -- and to craft legal and legislative responses to their activities. In the early 1980's, ADL proposed a model Anti-Paramilitary Training Statute, which has now been adopted in 22 states. This legislation expands the jurisdiction for state and local law enforcement officials to take steps to prevent paramilitary training for individuals preparing to engage in an illegal civil disorder. A copy of the ADL's Anti-Paramilitary Training Statute is included as part of our militia report.

Please do not hesitate to contact our office if you have any questions about these reports or if we can be of assistance to you in any way.

Sincerely,

Jess N. Hordes  
Washington Representative

Encl.

APR 24 4 19 PM '95



*An ADL Fact Finding Report*

---

# ARMED & DANGEROUS:

MILITIAS TAKE AIM AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

---

Anti-Defamation League

1994

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

David H. Strassler, *National Chairman*

Abraham H. Foxman, *National Director*

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

Peter T. Willner, *Chief Operating Officer*

Kenneth Jacobson, *Assistant National Director*

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

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

Gary Zaslav, *Chairman, Fact Finding and Research Committee*

This publication was prepared by Irwin Suall, Director of Special Projects;  
Thomas Halpern, Associate Director, Fact Finding Department;  
David Rosenberg, Assistant Director, Fact Finding Department;  
and James Q. Purcell, Assistant to the Civil Rights Director.

© 1994 Anti-Defamation League  
Printed in the United States of America  
All rights reserved

## Introduction

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

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

To the militia ideologues, gun control legislation -- the Brady Law,<sup>1</sup> restrictions on assault weapons,<sup>2</sup> etc. -- are major stratagems in a secret government conspiracy to disarm and control the American people and abolish their Constitutional "right to bear arms."<sup>3</sup> They are also obsessed with the role of government in two recent events -- the Branch Davidian confrontation in Waco<sup>4</sup> and the Randy Weaver siege in Idaho<sup>5</sup> -- which they interpret as signs

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Arizona

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

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

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

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

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

## Colorado

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

## Florida

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

