In a number of venues, including “The Seditionist” magazine and an Illinois publication called “The War Eagle: A Voice and Forum for Revolutionary Pan-Aryanism,” white supremacist Louis Beam calls for “leaderless resistance,” or cells of fighters who report to no one. Beam writes that the idea originated in the early 1960s as part of preparations for a Communist takeover of the United States; he has adapted it to the idea of resisting what he calls the threat of “federal tyranny” and the federal government’s “ever increasing persecution and oppression.” Beam writes that the usual “pyramidal” scheme of organization, “with the mass at the bottom and the leader at the top,” is “not only useless, but extremely dangerous for the participants when it is utilized in a resistance movement against state tyranny…. In the pyramid type of organization, an infiltrator can destroy anything which is beneath his level of infiltration and often those above him as well. If the traitor has infiltrated at the top, then the entire organization from the top down is compromised and may be traduced at will.” Beam recommends the independent “cell system” of organization, and cites two examples: the Revolutionary War-era “Sons of Liberty” and the more recent use of “cells” by Communist infiltrators in the US. Beam writes that if the cell system is adopted without the top layer of leadership—leaderless “phantom cells”—this can thwart government efforts to infiltrate and monitor the groups. Every cell must have the same fundamental ideology and agenda, Beam writes, and then can be trusted to operate independently, taking actions that further the cause of the larger group without top-down direction. He concludes: “America is quickly moving into a long dark night of police state tyranny, where the rights now accepted by most as being inalienable will disappear. Let the coming night be filled with a thousand points of resistance. Like the fog which forms when conditions are right and disappears when they are not, so must the resistance to tyranny be.” Beam’s idea will be used by many in the so-called “Patriot Movement.” The “Patriot Movement” is later defined by founder John Wallace and by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) as a loose confederation of anti-government organizations, groups, and individuals who believe that the US government is illegally infringing on citizens’ liberties. The “Patriot Movement” is largely comprised of right-wing, separatist, and white supremacist organizations, groups, and individuals. [THE SEDITIONIST, 2/1992; NEW YORK TIMES, 7/5/1995; SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 6/2001; JOHN WALLACE, 2007]
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The Oath Keepers, a newly formed far-right “patriot” organization whose membership is restricted to soldiers, police officers, firefighters, and military veterans (see March 2010), is formed at a pro-militia rally in Lexington, Massachusetts, the site of the first battle of the Revolutionary War. It is founded by Army veteran and lawyer Stewart Rhodes, who delivers a fiery speech at the rally. “You need to be alert and aware to the reality of how close we are to having our constitutional republic destroyed,” he tells the assemblage. “Every dictatorship in the history of mankind, whether it is fascist, communist, or whatever, has always set aside normal procedures of due process under times of emergency.... We can't let that happen here. We need to wake up!” The crowd of listeners includes many well-known “patriot movement” members, including Richard Mack, a former Arizona sheriff who refused to enforce the federal Brady law (see November 30, 1993) in his jurisdiction; Mike Vanderboegh of the “Three Percenter” movement (see October 1995 and After); and others. Rhodes gives the rally his group’s “Orders We Will Not Obey,” a list of 10 orders he considers unconstitutional and therefore unenforceable, whether they are issued by commanding officers, policemen, or the president. When Rhodes finishes, Captain Larry Bailey, a retired Navy SEAL who leads a group called Gathering of Eagles, asks the crowd to raise their right hands and retake their oath—not to the president, but to the Constitution. [MOTHER JONES, 3/2010] Posting the ‘Orders’ - On the Oath Keepers blog, Rhodes posts the “Orders We Will Not Obey” along with an introductory statement culled from the speech given by then-General George Washington before the Battle of Long Island: "The time is now near at hand which must probably determine, whether Americans are to be, Freemen, or Slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their Houses, and Farms, are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a State of Wretchedness from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of unborn Millions will now depend, under God, on the Courage and Conduct of this army.” Rhodes writes: “Such a time is near at hand again. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the Courage and Conduct of this Army—and this Marine Corps, This Air Force, This Navy and the National Guard and police units of these sovereign states.” He calls the Oath Keepers “non-partisan,” and issues his list of orders they will refuse to obey, calling these “acts of war” against the American people “and thus acts of treason.” He cites Revolutionary War actions and
precedents for each of his 10 statements.

- "1. We will NOT obey any order to disarm the American people." Rhodes explains that this means the government will not attempt to restrain gun ownership in any way, and states his group’s opposition to any bans on assault rifles or any attempts to enforce gun regulation or registration.

- "2. We will NOT obey any order to conduct warrantless searches of the American people, their homes, vehicles, papers, or effects—such as warrantless house-to-house searches for weapons or persons." Rhodes compares these to the Revolutionary War-era “writs of assistance,” carried out by British soldiers against American colonists without judicial orders. The Constitution proscribes warrantless searches, Rhodes says. “We expect that sweeping warrantless searches of homes and vehicles, under some pretext, will be the means used to attempt to disarm the people,” he writes, and says Oath Keepers will not follow such orders.

- "3. We will NOT obey any order to detain American citizens as ‘unlawful enemy combatants’ or to subject them to trial by military tribunal.” Any such detentions (see June 26, 2002 and June 9, 2002) are unconstitutional, harking back to Revolutionary War-era admiralty courts and the British “star chambers.” Rhodes predicts that the federal government will attempt to detain its own citizens under international law.

- "4. We will NOT obey orders to impose martial law or a ‘state of emergency’ on a state, or to enter with force into a state, without the express consent and invitation of that state’s legislature and governor.” Rhodes fears that “states of emergency” will be declared in the aftermath of a natural disaster such as a hurricane or a massive flood, or perhaps another 9/11-level terror attack, and then used to impose tyranny and martial law on the American populace.

- "5. We will NOT obey orders to invade and subjugate any state that asserts its sovereignty and declares the national government to be in violation of the compact by which that state entered the Union.” As many as 20 individual states have either passed or considered what Rhodes calls “courageous resolutions affirming states rights and sovereignty” that take powers from the federal government and give them over to the states. The federal government may attempt to use force to retake these powers, Rhodes writes, especially if a state attempts to secede or declare itself of equal sovereignty with the federal government.

- "6. We will NOT obey any order to blockade American cities, thus turning them into giant concentration camps.” One of Rhodes’s most strongly stated fears is what he believes will be the attempts of the federal government to build concentration camps and detain citizens.

- "7. We will NOT obey any order to force American citizens into any form of detention camps under any pretext.”

- "8. We will NOT obey orders to assist or support the use of any foreign troops on US soil against the American people to ‘keep the peace’ or to ‘maintain control’ during any emergency, or under any other pretext. We will consider such use of foreign troops against our people to be an invasion and an act of war.” Rhodes believes that the US government may use foreign troops, perhaps under the auspices of the United Nations, to conduct military operations against its own citizenry.

- "9. We will NOT obey any orders to confiscate the property of the American people, including food and other essential supplies, under any emergency pretext whatsoever.”

- "10. We will NOT obey any orders which infringe on the right of the people to free speech, to peaceably assemble, and to petition their government for a redress of grievances.”

Rhodes concludes: “The above list is not exhaustive but we do consider them to be clear tripwires—they form our ‘line in the sand’—and if we receive such orders, we will not obey them. Further, we will know that the time for another American Revolution is nigh. If you the people decide that you have no recourse,
and such a revolution comes, at that time, not only will we NOT fire upon our fellow Americans who righteously resist such egregious violations of their God given rights, we will join them in fighting against those who dare attempt to enslave them.... The mission of Oath Keepers is to vastly increase their numbers. We are in a battle for the hearts and minds of our own troops. Help us win it.”

[STEWART RHODES, 3/9/2009] Army spokesman Nathan Banks will remind the members that following through on their Oath Keepers pledge could mean serious repercussions. “You have every right to disobey an order if you think it is illegal,” Banks will say. “But you will face court-martial, and so help you God if you are wrong. Saying something isn’t constitutional isn’t going to fly.”

Associated with Tea Party Movement - After the 2009 rally, Rhodes’s organization will become closely affiliated with the tea party movement; on July 4, 2009, Rhodes will send speakers to administer his organization’s “oath” at over 30 tea party rallies across the nation. He will take part in the September 12, 2009 “9/12” march in Washington, DC (see September 12, 2009), and host rallies in Florida and other states. [MOTHER JONES, 3/2010]

Entity Tags: Richard Mack, Nathan Banks, Mike Vanderboegh, Oath Keepers, Gathering of Eagles, Larry Bailey, Stewart Rhodes

Category Tags: Anti-Government Rhetoric and Action, Oath Keepers, Other Militias, Separatists, Rhetorical Violence


Daniel Knight Hayden, an Oklahoma man who has declared himself affiliated with local tea party organizations and the “Oath Keeper” movement (see March 9, 2009 and March 2010), is arrested by FBI agents after posting a series of messages on Twitter threatening to unleash a violent attack on Oklahoma state government officials on April 15, “Tax Day.” On April 13, under the moniker “CitizenQuasar,” Hayden began posting a blizzard of “tweets” about his intention to be on the Oklahoma State Capitol steps on the 15th, at first as part of a peaceful tea party event, then escalating into harsher rhetoric, and eventually threats of violence. On April 14, he wrote: “Tea Parties: And Poot Gingrich wants to stand in the limelight. He is a NWO operative,” referring to former Republican House Speaker and tea party favorite Newt Gingrich, and accusing him of being an “operative” for the “New World Order” (see September 11, 1990). Towards midnight of April 14, Hayden begins the following series of posts: “Maybe it’s time to die. Let’s see if I can video record the Highway Patrol at the entrance to the Oklahoma State Capitol.” “While trying to inform them of Oath Keepers” (and links to the Oath Keepers blog). “And post it on the internet. Since i live on this sorry f_cking state,that is as good a place as ANY to die and start a WAR. WEshallsee.” “I WISH I had someone to watch my back with MY camera.” “AND, no matter WHAT happens, to post it on the internet IMMEDIATELY, AND send it to Alex Jones!!!!!!!!!!!!” (referring to radio talk show host Alex Jones). “Damnit!” “Alas... WE SHALL see the TRUTH about this sorry f_cking state!!!!!!” After a few more posts, Dyer begins posting direct threats of violence (later removed from the Twitter account, but presented in the FBI affidavit). “The WAR wWIL start on the stepes of the Oklahoma State Capitol. I will cast the first stone. In the meantime, I await the police.” “START THE KILLING NOW! I am wiling to be the FIRST DEATH! I Await the police. They will kill me in my home.” “After I am killed on the Capitol Steps like REAL man, the rest of you will REMEMBER ME!!!” “I really don’ give a sh_t anymore. Send the cops around. I will cut their heads off the heads and throw the on the State Capitol steps.” Hayden is taken into custody.
before he can go to the Capitol building, and arrested for transmitting threats to kill or injure people using interstate communication tools over the Internet. FBI agent Michael Puskas confirms that Dyer posted under the moniker “CitizenQuasar,” and says Dyer also has MySpace and Blogger accounts under similar monikers. Wired magazine says it “appears to be [the] first criminal proseuction to stem from posts on the microblogging site,” and calls Dyer’s MySpace page “a breathtaking gallery of right-wing memes about the ‘New World Order,’ gun control as Nazi fascism, and Barack Obama’s covert use of television hypnosis, among many others.” Dyer will be arraigned on April 16 and ordered released to a halfway house, a move the Associated Press reports as suggesting “the magistrate judge does not consider him a genuine threat.”

WIRED NEWS, 4/24/2009; ASSOCIATED PRESS, 4/26/2009] Posters on the conservative blog Free Republic, commenting on Hayden’s arrest, label him a “leftist” who intended to kill tea party protesters, a contention they say is proven by Hayden’s vows to seek revenge for the government’s execution of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh (see 8:35 a.m. - 9:02 a.m. April 19, 1995). One poster writes: “Hayden appears to be one of those mixtures of far out ideologies. On one hand he seems to support nazism but accused Obama of using mind control.” [FREE REPUBLIC, 4/24/2009]

Entity Tags: Wired News, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Daniel Knight Hayden, Free Republic, Newt Gingrich, Michael Puskas, Oath Keepers

Category Tags: Anti-Government Rhetoric and Action, Law Enforcement Actions, Oath Keepers, Other Militias, Separatists, Harassment and Threats, Shooting/Guns

January 21, 2010: 'Oath Keeper' Arrested on Child Rape, Weapons Possession Charges

Ex-Marine Charles Dyer is arrested on child rape and federal weapons charges. Dyer, a declared member of the “Oath Keepers” organization (see March 9, 2009 and March 2010), is charged with raping a seven-year-old girl at his home in Marlow, Oklahoma. When Stephens County deputies search his home, they find a Colt M-203 grenade launcher they believe was stolen from a California military base in 2006. Dyer’s arrest causes a split among members of the far-right “Patriot” movement, with militia members rallying behind Dyer and organizations such as the Oath Keepers distancing themselves from supporting him. Dyer was charged with making disloyal statements when, as an active-duty Marine, he posted what Mother Jones calls “incendiary videos on YouTube” under the moniker “July4Patriot.” Wearing a skull mask that partially obscured his face, he called for armed, violent resistance against the US government, railed against the “New World Order” (see September 11, 1990), and invited viewers to join him at his Oklahoma home for military training, at what he said the government “will call... a terrorist training camp.” Dyer was acquitted and continued making video protests and exhortations without the mask, becoming popular among fringe militia elements. In one video made after his discharge from service, he announced his intention of becoming a “domestic terrorist.” Dyer has been a visible and outspoken member of the Oath Keepers since the organization’s first rally, and for a time he was considered an Oath Keeper spokesman, and with Oath Keeper leader Stewart Rhodes’s blessing represented the group at a July 4, 2010 tea party rally. He often featured Oath Keeper logos and materials on his YouTube videos, and wore an Oath Keeper sweatshirt on some of them. Following Dyer’s arrest, Rhodes removes Dyer’s postings and material from the Oath Keepers Web site, and denies Dyer had any official connection with the group. Rhodes insists...
March 2010: Military-Style ‘Oath Keepers' Profiled by Progressive Magazine

The progressive news magazine Mother Jones publishes a detailed examination of the Oath Keepers (see March 9, 2009), one of the fastest-growing “patriot” groups on the far right. The group was founded in April 2009 by Stewart Rhodes, a lawyer who once served as an aide to libertarian US Representative Ron Paul (R-TX).

According to author Justine Sharrock, it has become “a hub in the sprawling anti-Obama movement that includes Tea Partiers, Birthers, and 912ers.” (Sharrock is referring to the burgeoning “tea party” movement, the people who believe President Obama is not an American citizen (see August 1, 2008 and After and October 8-10, 2008), and the “9/12” organization formed by lobbying organization FreedomWorks and Fox News host Glenn Beck—see March 13, 2009 and After.)

December 2009, a grassroots summit organized by the Oath Keepers drew lawmakers such as US Representatives Phil Gingrey (R-GA) and Paul Broun (R-GA). Sharrock’s profile is based on research and interviews with Rhodes, other Oath Keeper leaders, and ordinary members such as Private Lee Pray, who is stationed at Fort Drum, New York.

Group Made Up of Uniformed Citizens - What sets the group apart from others on the far-right fringe is that its membership is restricted to US citizens in uniform—soldiers, police officers, and veterans. At its ceremonies, members reaffirm their official oaths of service, pledging to protect the Constitution, but then go a step further, vowing to disobey “unconstitutional” orders from what they view as an increasingly tyrannical government. Pray says he knows of five fellow Oath Keepers at Fort Drum.

Preparing for Tyranny, Martial Law - He and other members are actively recruiting, arguing that under Obama, the US government is turning increasingly tyrannical and must be opposed, violently if need be. Pray says that many Oath Keepers had problems with some government policies under President Bush, but those reservations have grown with Obama’s ascension to power. Rhodes tells Sharrock: “Too many conservatives relied on Bush’s character and didn’t pay attention. Only now, with Obama, do they worry and see what has been done. Maybe you said, ‘I trusted Bush to only go after the terrorists.’ But what do you think can happen down the road when they say, ‘I think you are a threat to the nation?’” Pray, like many members, believes it will be a year at most before...
Obama declares martial law, perhaps under the pretext of a natural disaster or another 9/11-level terror attack, and begin detaining citizens en masse and banning interstate travel. Another Oath Keeper advises Sharrock to prepare a “bug out” bag with 39 items including gas masks, ammunition, and water purification tablets, so that she will be prepared “when the sh_t hits the fan.” Pray and his friends have a “fortified bunker” at one of their member’s parents’ home in rural Idaho, where they have stashed survival gear, generators, food, and plenty of weapons. If need be, they say, they will attack their fellow soldiers. Pray describes himself as both a “birther” and a “truther,” believing that Obama is an illegitimate president installed by a government that launched the 9/11 attacks on its own soil to drive the country further down the road towards tyranny. Pray has suffered demotion for a drinking problem, and was denied deployment to Iraq when he injured his knees in a fall. Right now his job involves operating and maintaining heavy equipment on base, and he is listed currently as “undeployable.” He and his fellow Oath Keepers on base spend their free time researching what they call the “New World Order” (see September 11, 1990) and conspiracies about detention camps. Pray is one of the few active-duty members who will agree to have his name made public; Rhodes encourages active-duty soldiers and police officers to hide their membership in the group, saying a group with large numbers of anonymous members can instill in its adversaries the fear of the unknown—a “great force multiplier,” he calls it. Pray worries that the CIA is monitoring his phone calls and insists that unmarked black cars follow him when he drives. A fellow Fort Drum Oath Keeper who only allows his first name of Brandon to be used, and who is also “undeployable” due to his own injuries, says that the off-limits areas of Fort Drum contain concentration camps. Sharrock notes that the soldiers’ behavior might be considered “paranoid,” but writes, “Then again, when you're an active-duty soldier contemplating treason, some level of paranoia is probably sensible.”

Stewart Rhodes - Rhodes, a Yale graduate and constitutional lawyer, is working on a book currently titled *We the Enemy: How Applying the Laws of War to the American People in the War on Terror Threatens to Destroy Our Constitutional Republic.* He is an Army veteran who was honorably discharged after injuring his spine in a parachute jump, and worked for a time supervising interns in Ron Paul’s Congressional office. He briefly practiced law in Montana, has worked as a sculptor and a firearms instructor, and writes a gun-rights column for SWAT magazine. He describes himself as a libertarian, a staunch constitutionalist, and a devout Christian. He decided to abandon electoral politics in 2008 after Paul’s presidential bid failed, and turned instead to grassroots organizing. In college, he became fascinated with the idea that had German soldiers and police refused to follow orders in the 1930s, Adolf Hitler could have been stopped. In early 2008, he read a letter in SWAT magazine declaring that “the Constitution and our Bill of Rights are gravely endangered” and that service members, veterans, and police “is where they will be saved, if they are to be saved at all!” Rhodes responded with a column predicting a future President Hillary (“Hitlery”) Clinton turning the US into a despotism while dressed in her “Chairman Mao signature pantsuit.” He asked readers if they intended to follow this “dominatrix-in-chief,” hold militia members as enemy combatants, disarm citizens, and shoot all resisters. If “a police state comes to America, it will ultimately be by your hands,” he wrote. You had better “resolve to not let it happen on your watch.” Shortly thereafter, he set up a blog he called “Oath Keepers,” asking for testimonials from soldiers and veterans, and began gaining popularity. Military officers offered assistance. A Marine Corps veteran invited Rhodes to speak at a local tea party event. Paul campaigners provided strategic advice. In March 2009, Rhodes attended a rally staged by a pro-militia group, and in front of the crowd of some 400 participants, officially launched the Oath Keepers movement (see March 9, 2009). Buchanan and Beck have praised Rhodes, with Buchanan predicting that he “is headed for cable stardom.”
Conspiracy theorist Alex Jones of Infowars.com has repeatedly featured Rhodes and the Oath Keepers on his radio talk show.

**Attracts Attention of Anti-Hate Organizations** - The Oath Keepers has come to the attention of anti-hate organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which have cited the group in their reports on rising anti-government extremism. Rhodes has accused the SPLC of trying “to lump us in with white supremacists and neo-Nazis, and of course make the insinuation that we’re the next McVeigh,” referring to Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh (see 8:35 a.m. - 9:02 a.m. April 19, 1995). Author David Neiwert, an expert on right-wing groups, tells Sharrock that it would be a mistake to term them another amalgamation of “right-wing crackpots” or “extremist nimrods,” as other press outlets have done. “[T]he reality is a lot of them are fairly intelligent, well-educated people who have complex worldviews that are thoroughly thought out,” Neiwert says. Neiwert and Sharrock tie Rhodes’s message to the much earlier views expressed by members of the now-defunct Posse Comitatus (see 1969), and note that the last reemergence of this brand of rhetoric took place during the last time a Democrat, Bill Clinton, was in the White House. Today, groups like the Oath Keepers use the Internet, particularly Facebook and YouTube, and cable news networks, to connect with like-minded citizens around the world. “The underlying sentiment is an attack on government dating back to the New Deal and before,” Neiwert says. “Ron Paul has been a significant conduit in recent years, but nothing like Glenn Beck and Michele Bachmann [R-MN] and Sarah Palin (see October 10, 2008)—all of whom share that innate animus.” While Rhodes and most Oath Keepers say they will only begin active disobedience under the delineated circumstances laid out by the group, some members have gone down their own paths of violence. Oath Keeper Daniel Knight Hayden set off a controversy last April 15 with a barrage of messages on Twitter stating his intention to “START THE KILLING NOW!” by engaging in a gun battle at the Oklahoma State Capitol and urging other Oath Keepers to join him (see April 14-15, 2009). Rhodes denounced Hayden, but Neiwert notes that Rhodes’s inflammatory and inciteful rhetoric can have what he calls “an unhinging effect” on people inclined toward violent action. “It puts them in a state of mind of fearfulness and paranoia, creating so much anger and hatred that eventually that stuff boils over.” In January, ex-Marine and Oath Keeper spokesperson Charles Dyer, who beat a treason charge for advocating armed resistance to the government, was arrested on charges of raping a 7-year-old girl, and authorities found stolen military weaponry at his home; some militia groups have hailed Dyer as “the first POW of the second American Revolution,” but Rhodes removed information about him from the organization’s Web sites and now denies he was ever a member (see January 21, 2010). Rhodes says he and his Web staff are “overwhelmed” with the need to delete messages encouraging racism and violence from their blog, and recently he shut down one Internet forum because of members’ attempts to use it to recruit for militia organizations. Chip Berlet of the watchdog group Political Research Associates and an expert on far-right movements equates Rhodes’s rhetoric to yelling fire in a crowded theater. “Promoting these conspiracy theories is very dangerous right now because there are people who will assume that a hero will stop at nothing.” What will happen, he adds, “is not just disobeying orders but harming and killing.” Rhodes acknowledges that to follow through on his rhetoric could be risky, and reminds Sharrock that freedom “is not neat or tidy, it’s messy.”

**Gold Standards, Muslim Rights, and Treasonous Federal Institutions** - During a recent meeting at a North Las Vegas casino, Sharrock took part in discussions of whether Muslim citizens had rights under the Constitution, why the Federal Reserve was a treasonous institution, why the government should be run under Biblical law and a gold standard, and how abortion-rights advocates are part of a eugenics plan targeting Christians. The group takes no official stance on the US’s war on terror or its foreign engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan, but a recent Oath Keeper member who promoted his dual membership in the Iraq Veterans
Against the War (IVAW) on the Oath Keepers blog had his post removed by Rhodes, who called the IVAW a “totalitarian” and “communist” organization. Expanding Membership - Rhodes says the group has at least one chapter in each of the 50 states, and claims the group has some 29,000 members, not counting the ones who keep their membership off the computer lists. Volunteers are preparing a large “outreach” to soldiers serving overseas. The organization has worked hard to become a staple of tea party events, and tells tea partiers that bringing guns to those events reminds participants of their constitutional rights. The organization has made strong connections with groups such as the Constitution Party and Phyllis Schlafly’s Eagle Forum, and national figures such as Ralph Reed, the former director of Pat Robertson’s Christian Coalition, and Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America. Elected officials such as Broun, Gingrey, Bachmann, and Steve King (R-IA) have expressed their interest in sponsoring legislation crafted by Oath Keeper leaders. [MOTHER JONES, 3/2010]


Category Tags: Anti-Government Rhetoric and Action, Oath Keepers, Other Militias, Separatists, Rhetorical Violence

April 20, 2010 and After: Right-Wing Militia Members Launch Abortive Attempt to ‘Take Over’ Tennessee Courthouse

Darren Huff, a former US Navy officer from Georgia who belongs to a far-right militia group called the “Oath Keepers” (see March 9, 2009 and March 2010), drives to Madisonville, Tennessee, as part of a group of militia members with the intention of “tak[ing] over” the Madisonville courthouse and freeing Walter Fitzpatrick, who was jailed when he tried to enforce a “citizen’s arrest” on a judicial official for failing to convene an investigation into President Obama’s citizenship (see April 1-5, 2010). The Oath Keepers are a group of former military and law enforcement officials who often advise current military and law enforcement personnel not to obey orders from higher authorities on the grounds that those orders do not satisfy constitutional mandates. Huff drives to Tennessee with a Colt .45 and an AK-47, but is intercepted by state troopers acting on an alert from the FBI. The troopers tell reporters that Huff acknowledges being armed, and states his intention to go to the Madisonville courthouse, take over the facility, and arrest county officials, whom he calls “domestic enemies of the United States engaged in treason,” and turn them over to the state police. According to a witness interviewed by the FBI, Huff is only one member of “eight or nine militia groups” whose intent is to go to Madisonville to “take over the city.” The witness, a bank manager, says Huff told him he’d see Huff’s actions on the news. Madisonville law enforcement officials report witnessing numerous individuals carrying both openly displayed and concealed firearms in the area around the courthouse. The troopers permit Huff to proceed to the courthouse, though Huff attempts no arrests and no violence ensues. The next day, Huff tells a radio audience that his encounter with the troopers was “not entirely confrontational.... We were kind of a little bit more on a friendly level, even some Christian conversation came in, which I was glad for.” He tells his listeners that he showed great restraint by not performing a citizen’s arrest on the troopers, and adds that because the first
attempt to free Fitzpatrick was unsuccessful, he and other militia members intend to mount a second “rescue effort” within one to two weeks. Instead, Huff is arrested by the FBI, who listened to the broadcast and determined that he has the means and the intent to cause violence. Carl Swensson, who like Fitzpatrick is a member of the right-wing, anti-government group “American Grand Jury” (AGJ), recounts the entire series of incidents on his Web site, and demands others get involved “to help the citizen’s [sic] of the United States regain our Constitutional Republic by peaceful means.” [WBIR-TV, 5/4/2010; TPM MUCKRAKER, 5/6/2010; CROOKS AND LIARS, 5/6/2010]


Timeline Tags: Domestic Propaganda

Category Tags: Anti-Government Rhetoric and Action, Other Militias, Separatists, Other Violence, Oath Keepers
Context of 'January 1994: 'Patriot Movement' Enraged over NAFTA'

In a speech discussing the post-Cold War world, President Bush outlines his vision of a “New World Order.” Bush says: “We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective—a new world order—can emerge: a new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.”

The Southern Poverty Law Center will later write that many people, particularly white supremacists and separatists, take Bush’s phrase “as a slip of the tongue revealing secret plans to create a one-world government.” [SWEET LIBERTY, 9/11/1990; SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 6/2001]

In 1995, Michigan gun dealer and right-wing activist Frank Kieltyka will describe the “New World Order” to a Buffalo News reporter. According to Kieltyka, the “New World Order” is backed by the US government and led by, among other organizations, the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). “We’re moving towards the Communists,” Kieltyka will warn. The belief in this “New World Order” will be emphasized in coming years in the militia movements and by right-wing publications such as The Spotlight, an openly racist, anti-government newsletter. [STICKNEY, 1996, PP. 157-158]


Timeline Tags: US Domestic Terrorism
the early 1960s as part of preparations for a Communist takeover of the United States; he has adapted it to the idea of resisting what he calls the threat of “federal tyranny” and the federal government’s “ever increasing persecution and oppression.” Beam writes that the usual “pyramidal” scheme of organization, “with the mass at the bottom and the leader at the top,” is “not only useless, but extremely dangerous for the participants when it is utilized in a resistance movement against state tyranny…. In the pyramid type of organization, an infiltrator can destroy anything which is beneath his level of infiltration and often those above him as well. If the traitor has infiltrated at the top, then the entire organization from the top down is compromised and may be traduced at will.” Beam recommends the independent “cell system” of organization, and cites two examples: the Revolutionary War-era “Sons of Liberty” and the more recent use of “cells” by Communist infiltrators in the US. Beam writes that if the cell system is adopted without the top layer of leadership—leaderless “phantom cells”—this can thwart government efforts to infiltrate and monitor the groups. Every cell must have the same fundamental ideology and agenda, Beam writes, and then can be trusted to operate independently, taking actions that further the cause of the larger group without top-down direction. He concludes: “America is quickly moving into a long dark night of police state tyranny, where the rights now accepted by most as being inalienable will disappear. Let the coming night be filled with a thousand points of resistance. Like the fog which forms when conditions are right and disappears when they are not, must the resistance to tyranny be.” Beam’s idea will be used by many in the so-called “Patriot Movement.” The “Patriot Movement” is later defined by founder John Wallace and by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) as a loose confederation of anti-government organizations, groups, and individuals who believe that the US government is illegally infringing on citizens’ liberties. The “Patriot Movement” is largely comprised of right-wing, separatist, and white supremacist organizations, groups, and individuals. [THE SEDITIONIST, 2/1992; NEW YORK TIMES, 7/5/1995; SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 6/2001; JOHN WALLACE, 2007]

Entity Tags: Louis R. Beam, Jr, John Wallace, Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot Movement
Timeline Tags: US Domestic Terrorism

January 1994: 'Patriot Movement' Enraged over NAFTA

White supremacists, right-wing anti-government organizations, and others, including many members of the so-called “Patriot Movement” (see February 1992) are enraged over the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, they see NAFTA as “reflecting the growing power of a global elite, or New World Order” (see September 11, 1990). [SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 6/2001]

Entity Tags: Southern Poverty Law Center, North American Free Trade Agreement
Timeline Tags: US Domestic Terrorism

March 17, 2009: Fox Host, National Review Editor Accuse Obama Administration Member of Advocating, Working for ‘One-World Government’

Fox News talk show host Glenn Beck, joined by National Review deputy managing editor Kevin Williamson, asserts that Obama administration members are working behind the scenes to move towards what they call a “one-world
government.” Williamson tells Beck and their viewers that Carol Browner, assistant to the president for energy and climate change, belongs to a group that is “arguing for... the same stuff that the left is always arguing for, which is transferring wealth and power out of citizens' hands and into the government’s hands.” Williamson continues: “You know, the left always needs an emergency because they can’t get this stuff done through normal democratic means. So, in the ’30s, it was the Depression, and then it was World War II. Then it was the Cold War and the threat of nuclear annihilation. And then after the Soviet Union fell apart, it became the environmental movement.” Beck responds: “Right. Let me—I’m going to have them take you someplace that I like to call ‘one-world government.’” Beck later says that Browner “was involved in a socialist organization” that “wants one-world government.” Williamson agrees: “Yeah, they’re big on what they call, you know, global architecture, transnational architecture, which is just another way of saying sort of UN-style bureaucracies that would be international in nature and would de-emphasize American power and global leadership.” [MEDIA MATTERS, 4/10/2009] Beck and Williamson are echoing claims made in the ‘90s and later by extremist militia groups, which warned that the US government intended to implement a “new world order” (see September 11, 1990) of a one-world government that would result in the confiscation of Americans' guns, and a general replacement of democracy for tyranny (see 1994, January 1994, February 1995, July 4-11, 1997, October 20, 1999, April 14-15, 2009, January 21, 2010, and October 11, 2010).

Entity Tags: Obama administration, Carol Browner, Glenn Beck, Fox News, Kevin Williamson

Timeline Tags: Domestic Propaganda

March 18, 2009: Radio Host Tells Online Fox News Viewers that His Predictions of a ‘New World Order’ ‘Global Government’ Are Now Becoming Popular with Conservative Media Pundits

Fox News senior judicial analyst Andrew Napolitano hosts radio host Alex Jones on the online program Freedom Watch. Jones says that he has long pointed out “how hundreds of mainstream news articles a week are saying there is a new world order, a global government. It will be run by the very banks that are collapsing society by design, and we will pay carbon taxes to them.... [T]he good news is, I’ve never seen an awakening this big. And I’m seeing, you know, people like Glenn Beck talk about the new world order on Fox. I’m seeing you talk about it for years before him. We’re seeing [CNN host] Lou Dobbs talk about it. We’re seeing, you know, mainline talk show hosts—[radio host Rush] Limbaugh is even talking about global government now. [Radio host] Michael Savage is talking about how he thinks, you know, Obama may stage crises to bring in martial law.” [MEDIA MATTERS, 4/10/2009] Jones is echoing claims made in the ‘90s and later by extremist militia groups, which warned that the US government intended to implement a “new world order” (see September 11, 1990) of a one-world government that would result in the confiscation of Americans’ guns, and a general replacement of democracy for tyranny (see 1994, January 1994, February 1995, July 4-11, 1997, October 20, 1999, April 14-15, 2009, January 21, 2010, and October 11, 2010), and that are echoed by Fox News pundits such as Glenn Beck (see March 17, 2009), Bill O’Reilly (see April 1-2, 2009), and others (see April 6, 2009).

Entity Tags: Andrew Napolitano, Alex Jones, Barack Obama, Fox News

Timeline Tags: Domestic Propaganda

March 24, 2009: Former UN Ambassador Joins Fox News Host in Accusing Obama of Moving towards ‘One-World Government’

Fox News talk show host Glenn Beck, with former UN Ambassador John R. Bolton as his guest, says that the Obama administration is pushing for a “global
April 6, 2009: Conservative Media Editor Resurrects Militia Warnings of ‘New World Order’ under Obama

Cliff Kincaid, the editor of the conservative Accuracy in Media, accuses President Obama of seeking to appoint an advocate of the “new world order” to the State Department. Kincaid is referring to Obama’s nomination of Yale Law School dean Harold Koh as legal adviser to the State Department. Kincaid says Koh’s nomination “is beyond worrisome. This is terrifying that—the thought of this kind of guy with these views becoming the top lawyer at the State Department. But seen in the light of the some of the other appointments Obama has made, it’s consistent with his push, which is now out in the open, for the US to become really subsumed into this, quote, ‘new world order’ that everybody keeps talking about, in which our sovereignty has been sacrificed for the, quote, ‘greater good.’” Kincaid is harking back to claims made in the ‘90s and later by extremist militia groups, which warned that the US government intended to implement a “new world order” (see September 11, 1990) of a one-world government that would result in the confiscation of Americans’ guns, and a general replacement of democracy for tyranny (see 1994, January 1994, February 1995, July 4-11, 1997, October 20, 1999, April 14-15, 2009, January 21, 2010, and October 11, 2010). [MEDIA MATTERS, 4/10/2009] Three days later, former Republican Senator Rick Santorum (R-PA) will say that Obama’s nomination of the “internationalist” Koh shows that Obama is “contemptuous of American values” (see April 9, 2009).
1981 and After: White Supremacist Holds Influential Gathering

Richard Butler, the head of the white separatist and neo-Nazi organization Aryan Nations (see Early 1970s), hosts the first Aryan World Congress at the Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The event attracts many of the area’s racist leaders. Butler begins holding more gatherings in subsequent years and begins appointing state leaders of Aryan Nations chapters. One of the brightest young leaders in Butler’s coterie is Robert Jay Mathews, who will go on to found the violent white supremacist group The Order (see Late September 1983). Other prominent Nations members at the conferences include: Tom Metzger, leader of the White Aryan Resistance; Louis Beam, a former Klansman who will promote the concept of “leaderless resistance” (see February 1992); Don Black, a former Klansman who will create Stormfront, the largest white separatist forum on the Internet; and Kirk Lyons, a well-known lawyer who will represent a number of extremists facing criminal charges. [SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 2010; SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 2010]


Timeline Tags: US Domestic Terrorism

1983: White Supremacists Plot to Blow Up Oklahoma City Federal Building

Three white supremacists living in the Elohim City, Oklahoma, compound (see 1973 and After) visit Oklahoma City and make plans to blow up the Murrah Federal Building there. The three are: James Ellison, the leader of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA) who will be arrested in 1985 after a four-day standoff with federal authorities; Kerry Noble; and Richard Wayne Snell, who will be executed for murdering a black police officer and a businessman he erroneously believed to be Jewish (see 9:00 p.m. April 19, 1995). All three men have close ties to the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations (see Early 1970s). The evidence of their plan is released during the investigation of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing (see 8:35 a.m. - 9:02 a.m. April 19, 1995), and is collated by former US prosecutor Steven N. Snyder, who once worked out of the Fort Smith, Arkansas District Attorney’s office. The plan involves parking a van or trailer in...
front of the building and exploding it with rockets detonated by a timer. Snyder will come across the information on the bombing plot while preparing for the trial of a sedition case against a 14-man group of white supremacists, 10 of whom are charged with planning to overthrow the government. (All 14 will be acquitted in a 1988 trial—see Late 1987 - April 8, 1998.) Snyder will get the information from Ellison, who provides information to him as part of his role as chief witness for the prosecution. The other defendants in the trial, many of whom are believed to have had some connection to the bombing plot, will be Richard Butler, the head of Aryan Nations; Robert E. Miles, a former Klansman who heads the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ the Saviour in Cohoctah, Michigan; and Louis R. Beam Jr., a former grand dragon of the Texas Ku Klux Klan and “ambassador at large” of the Aryan Nations. Ellison will tell Snyder that in July 1983, he attends a meeting of extremist groups in Hayden Lake, Idaho, the location of the Aryan Nations headquarters, where he informs them of the death of fellow white supremacist Gordon Kahl in a gun battle with law enforcement agents in Arkansas (see March 13 - June 3, 1983). Snyder’s notes of Ellison’s statement read, “Kahl was the catalyst that made everyone come forth and change the organizations from thinkers to doers.” According to Ellison, the leaders of the various supremacist groups discuss how to overthrow the federal government, using as a sourcebook the novel *The Turner Diaries* (see 1978), which tells of a successful move by white supremacists to overthrow the government and then commit genocide against Jews and blacks. Ellison will tell Snyder that he volunteers to assassinate federal officials in Arkansas as part of the plot. The leaders discuss blowing up the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City, other federal buildings, and the Dallas office of a Jewish organization. According to Ellison’s trial testimony, in October 1983 Snell and another participant, Steve Scott, “asked me to design a rocket launcher that could be used to destroy these buildings from a distance.” Of Snell, Ellison will testify: “On one of the trips when I was with Wayne, he took me to some of the buildings and asked me to go in the building and check the building out. This kind of thing.” Ellison will tell Snyder that at Snell’s request, he surveils the Murrah Building to assess what it would take to damage and destroy it. He makes preliminary sketches and drawings. According to the preliminary plans, rocket launchers are to be “placed in a trailer or a van so that it could be driven up to a given spot, parked there, and a timed detonating device could be triggered so that the driver could walk away and leave the vehicle set in position, and he would have time to clear the area before any of the rockets launched.... And I was asked to make it so it would fit in either a trailer or a van or a panel truck.” Snyder will later say that Snell is embittered towards the government because of the IRS, which took him to court and seized property from him for failure to pay taxes. But, Snyder will add, “you can’t be sure about any of this, because a federal raid, to a lot of these people, is any time the postman brings the mail.” Ellison will be taken into custody after a four-day standoff with state and federal authorities in 1985, only convinced to surrender after white supremacist Robert Millar talks him into giving up (see 1973 and After). Ellison will be convicted of racketeering charges and sentenced to 20 years in prison. He will enter the federal witness protection program until completing his parole and leaving the program on April 21, 1995, two days after the Oklahoma City bombing. [NEW YORK TIMES, 5/20/1995; ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, 8/9/2002; NICOLE NICHOLS, 2003] Entity Tags: Louis R. Beam, Jr, James Ellison, Gordon Kahl, Elohim City, Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, Aryan Nations, Kerry Noble, Murrah Federal Building, Richard Girnt Butler, Robert Millar, Steve Scott, Steven N. Snyder, Richard Wayne Snell, Robert E. Miles Timeline Tags: US Domestic Terrorism Late 1987 - April 8, 1998: White Separatists Tried, Acquitted of Sedition
Richard Butler, the head of the white separatist and neo-Nazi organization Aryan Nations (see Early 1970s), is indicted, along with 12 of his followers and fellow racists, by a federal grand jury for seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence, conspiring to kill federal officials, and transporting stolen money across state lines. The sedition was allegedly developed at a 1983 Aryan Nations Congress meeting (see 1981 and After). The case is tried in Fort Smith, Arkansas, before an all-white jury. The government is unable to prove the case, and Butler and his fellow defendants are all acquitted. The judge refuses to accept the jury’s statement that it is deadlocked on two counts, a ruling that leads to the blanket acquittals. Other white supremacists acquitted in the trial are Louis Beam (see February 1992), Richard Wayne Snell (see 9:00 p.m. April 19, 1995), and Robert Miles. US Attorney J. Michael Fitzhugh says he believes the prosecution proved its case, but “we accept the verdict of the jury.” Six of the defendants are serving prison terms for other crimes. The prosecution says Butler, Beam, Miles, and the other 10 defendants had robbed banks and armored trucks of $4.1 million, including about $1 million that still is missing. The defense countered that the prosecution’s case was based on conspiracy theories given by the prosecution’s chief witness, James Ellison, an Arkansas white supremacist serving 20 years for racketeering. During the proceedings, Butler undergoes quadruple bypass surgery and a second surgery to unblock his carotid artery, all at government expense. [ASSOCIATED PRESS, 4/8/1998; SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 2010; SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, 2010]

Some time after the trial, one of the jurors marries one of the defendants, David McGuire. [KAPLAN, 2000, PP. 19]


Timeline Tags: US Domestic Terrorism
December 31, 1995: FBI 'Profile' of McVeigh Compares Accused Bomber to Serial Killer

A New York Times analysis of indicted Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh (see 8:35 a.m. - 9:02 a.m. April 19, 1995, July 11-13, 1995, and August 10, 1995) uses an interview with FBI profiler Jack Douglas to paint a picture of McVeigh as a burgeoning serial killer. Douglas, the model for the FBI analyst in the movie *The Silence of the Lambs*, describes McVeigh as an underachieving loner whose stunted social development, obsessive neatness, inability to deal with his abandonment by his mother, sexual frustration, obsession with guns, and overarching alienation led him to conceive and execute a plot that killed scores of innocent people. “There are the same kind of characteristics” in McVeigh’s makeup as serial killers possess, Douglas says. “Asocial, asexual, a loner, withdrawn, from a family with problems, strong feelings of inadequacy from early in life, an underachiever.” McVeigh did well in the highly structured environment of the US Army (see March 24, 1988 - Late 1990 and January - March 1991 and After), Douglas notes, but was unable to function successfully outside of that environment (see November 1991 - Summer 1992). His lifelong obsession with guns (see 1987-1988) blended with his increasing fascination with far-right militia, white supremacist, and separatist ideologies that led him to believe the government was actively plotting to disarm and repress its citizenry. McVeigh, always fascinated with computers, used the burgeoning network of computerized bulletin boards, email clients, videotape exchanges, shortwave radio broadcasts, and other information resources to fuel his beliefs, all codified in what Times reporter John Kifner calls “a venomous novel called *The Turner Diaries*” (see 1978) that depicts rebel white supremacists overthrowing the federal government and committing genocide against minority citizens.

**Apocalyptic World View Triggered by Events** - McVeigh’s increasingly apocalyptic world view, Douglas says, led him to carry out the bomb plot, perhaps in an effort to bring about the same supremacist rebellion that *The Turner Diaries* depicts. The federal raids on Randy Weaver’s cabin in Ruby Ridge, Idaho (see August 31, 1992), and the Branch Davidian compound in Texas (see April 19, 1993), the passage of the Brady gun control bill (see November 30, 1993), and the birth of the paramilitary militia movement (see August 1994 - March 1995) all spurred McVeigh forward. Kifner writes: “The paramilitary movement vowed to resist the government and publish manuals on forming underground guerrilla squads. Mr. McVeigh was just a little ahead of the curve.” The final straw for McVeigh, Kifner and Douglas theorize, was the passage of the August 1994 crime bill that outlawed 19 types of semiautomatic assault weapons (see September 13, 1994). Shortly thereafter, McVeigh wrote an angry letter to his friend Michael Fortier alerting him that he intended to take some sort of “positive action” against the government (see September 13, 1994).
Shared Inadequacies - Douglas calls McVeigh’s “obsession with weapons” an “overcompensation for deep-rooted feelings of inadequacy…. They compensate for a while by talking the talk, but after a while they have to go out and do something about it. Typically the time for violence is in the mid-20s. They look in the mirror and see they’re going nowhere fast. This is an easily controlled and manipulated personality. They are looking for something to hang their hat on, some ideology. They have difficulty fitting into groups, but they are more mission-oriented, more focused.” Seattle forensic psychiatrist Kenneth Muscatel has called this type of personality disorder “Smerdyakov syndrome,” after the scorned half-brother in Dostoyevsky’s novel The Brothers Karamazov, who listens to the other brothers inveigh against their father until, finally, he murders the father. Douglas notes the devoted friendship between McVeigh and indicted co-conspirator Terry Nichols, another underachieving loner who did well in the Army. “These two are birds of a feather,” Douglas says. “Each feeds off the other’s inadequacies.” Of McVeigh, Douglas says: “These people are comfortable in a structured environment, they do very well. But outside of a structured environment, without that rigidity, he just can’t survive. On the other hand, he’s probably doing fine now in jail. I bet they would say he’s a model prisoner.”

‘Red Dawn’ and the Militia Movement - McVeigh’s favorite movie is, by all accounts, a 1984 film called Red Dawn that depicts a group of Texas high school football players banding together to defeat an invasion of Soviet paratroopers. The “‘Wolverines,” as the footballers term themselves, transform themselves into a polished, lethal guerrilla force. The film contains a number of tropes that resonate with McVeigh and other militia sympathizers: the use of gun-registration forms to enable the Soviet invasion, political leaders eager to betray the American citizenry they represent, and others. The film is a cult classic among militia members. Along with another extraordinarily popular series of movies, the Rambo films, Red Dawn expresses what sociologist James William Gibson has noted is a new perspective on military veterans and popular culture; whereas traditional war movies show raw recruits uniting to battle an evil enemy on behalf of a just national cause, post-Vietnam movies such as Red Dawn and the Rambo films popularize the archetype of an alienated loner or small band of outlaws, betrayed by their own government and fighting for their view of the American ideal as renegades. Another favorite film of McVeigh’s is a very different offering, the 1985 black comedy Brazil, which depicts an Orwellian future dominated by an all-powerful bureaucracy. Actor Robert DeNiro plays a commando-like “outlaw repairman”; his character’s name is “Tuttle,” one of the aliases used by McVeigh (see April 19, 1993 and After, October 12, 1993 - January 1994, December 1993, February - July 1994, and May 12, 1995). The last movie McVeigh rented before the Oklahoma City bombing was Blown Away, the tale of a mad bomber.

‘The Turner Diaries’, Gun Regulation, and the Militia Movement - Kifner notes that much has been made of McVeigh’s fascination with William Pierce’s novel The Turner Diaries. McVeigh was an avid reader, paging through mercenary and gun magazines, white supremacist and anti-Semitic newsletters and fliers, and an array of apocalyptic and war novels. One of the more unusual works found in McVeigh’s possessions is a document titled “Operation Vampire Killer 2000,” written by militia leader Jack McLamb and predicting a “globalist,” “New World Order” (see September 11, 1990) takeover of the US by “the year 2000.” The document names the plotters against American democracy as, among others, the Order of the Illuminati, international bankers, the United Nations, the “Rothschild Dynasty,” the Internal Revenue Service, CBS News, Communists, the Yale secret society Skull and Bones, “humanist wackos,” and, possibly, aliens from outer space in Unidentified Flying Objects. McLamb writes: “For the World Elite to truly enjoy their ‘utopian’ Socialist Society, the subject masses must not have the means to protect themselves against more ‘voluntary compliance.’ When one grasps this logical position, there is no longer any question about it:
THE GUNS WILL HAVE TO GO.” But The Turner Diaries was, according to one person involved in the investigation, McVeigh’s “Bible” (see August 20, 1995). As with so much of McVeigh’s reading material, Turner posited the forcible confiscation of citizen-owned guns by the US government as the presage to tyranny. In a book on the paramilitary movement, Kenneth Stern wrote: “Those who would regulate guns were cast as tyrants who were coming for people’s guns first. The government had to disarm citizens in order to subjugate them. The United Nations could march in and take over America; loyal Americans could be sent to concentration camps.” Both McVeigh and the paramilitary movement were “developing in the same time line,” Stern tells Kifner. “I would date the first functioning militia as February of 1994 in Montana, and then spreading to Michigan and other places” (see October 12, 1993 - January 1994). McVeigh and Nichols were apparently influenced by the writings of former Ku Klux Klan leader Louis Beam, who advocated a “leaderless resistance” of tiny, independent cells that “state tyranny” would find more difficult to control (see February 1992). “No one need issue an order to anyone,” Beam wrote. “These idealists truly committed to the cause of freedom will act when they feel the time is ripe, or will take their cues from others who proceed them.” In Pierce’s novel, a bombing almost exactly like the Oklahoma City blast is carried out by the novel’s hero Earl Turner; the novel’s bombing destroys the FBI headquarters in Washington and inspires a nationwide revolt by white supremacists against the “tyrannical” government. It is conceivable, Kifner concludes, that McVeigh’s bomb was intended to strike the same sort of blow, and perhaps evoke the same results. [NEW YORK TIMES, 12/31/1995]


Timeline Tags: US Domestic Terrorism

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In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest

by David Neiwert

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From the Back Cover

Rather than simply demonizing or directing outrage at self-proclaimed "Patriot" and militia organizations -- which is often the approach of those who oppose them -- David Neiwert allows Patriot extremists to speak for themselves and largely on their own terms. His critical journalistic dialogue, placed in the context of the Northwest's regional milieu, allows us to better understand the socioeconomic and philosophical/religious complexities of how and why these otherwise ordinary citizens have come to think the way they do.

There is little question that strains of racism and paranoia characterize many of these people's beliefs and behavior, but the Patriots -- often blue-collar people, economically and socially challenged by changing times -- are desperately responding to feelings of having been marginalized, and disenfranchised, from the American Dream.

The saga of the Montana Freemen, explored here in detail for the first time, provides a framework for exploring the larger phenomenon of the movement throughout the four states -- Montana, Idaho, Washington and Oregon -- that comprise the Pacific Northwest. In presenting a broad overview of the movement and its history, Neiwert presents a case for maintaining a dialogue with Patriot believers, particularly the average people next door who so often are its recruits -- and for meeting the challenge the movement presents by addressing the root issues of rural decay.

About the Author

David A. Neiwert is a fourth-generation Idahoan who now lives in Seattle. A veteran, award-winning journalist, he has worked at newspapers in Idaho, Montana and Washington since 1977. He currently works as a writer-producer for MSNBC on the Internet. His work has appeared in Salon magazine, the Intelligence Report (SPLC), Montana Law Review, the Freedom Writer, and a host of regional and international publications.

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*Because only You have the right to control Your Mind.*
They Say They Want a Revolution

Right-wing extremists are on the rise.

By Mark Potok

Egged on by cheers and interrupted by standing ovasions, one-time GOP vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin told the first National Tea Party Convention in Nashville that President Obama’s spending was “immoral” and amounted to “theft.” She said America needed politicians “to proclaim their alliance to our Creator.” She opined that the Democrats were “running out of time.”

And then she got to the punch-line: “America is ready for another revolution.”

Presumably, Palin was speaking in metaphors, as she apparently did when she accused the president of trying to set up “death panels” to decide which Americans will live and which will die. But it’s hard to say. More than a few tea partiers and attendees of town halls on health care have paraphrased Thomas Jefferson, saying the “tree of liberty” again needs “watering” with “the blood of tyrants.”

Palin’s provocative comments came as a new Rasmussen Reports poll showed that 75 percent of likely American voters were “angry” or “very angry” at the policies of the federal government, up from 66 percent in September. The poll also found that 88 percent of “mainstream voters” were angry, but 84 percent of the “political class” was not—another indication at how leaders are widely seen as completely out of touch.

Joe Stack’s deadly airborne attack on an IRS building in Austin serves as a clear example of how deadly that fury can be.

The numbers are harrowing, and hearken back to the period around the 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, when the antigovernment “Patriot” movement was at its hottest. A few days after that attack left 168 men, women, and children dead, a USA Today poll found that fully 39 percent of Americans agreed with the proposition that the federal government was “so large and powerful that it poses an immediate threat to the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens.”

A new CNN/Opinion Research Corporation poll asked precisely the same question and found that 56 percent of Americans now agree with that statement—a simply astonishing measure of how angry and suspicious we have become.

The Oklahoma City attack was the culmination of political anger against the government that had been building for years over issues such as gun control, environmental regulation, the outsourcing of jobs, and the purported crushing of dissent. Today, the fury is building again, this time over bailouts of banks and the auto industry, health insurance, the economy, government spending, and the country’s changing demographics.

And that anger has fueled a pervasive rage on the right—a rage reflected, as the Southern Poverty Law Center just reported, in the dramatic growth of radical groups. Hate groups last year remained at record levels, despite the collapse of a major neo-Nazi group. Anti-immigrant vigilante groups soared by nearly 80 percent. And, most dramatically, militias and the larger “Patriot” movement came roaring back, with 363 new militias and related groups appearing in 2009 for a dizzying 244 percent increase.

These three strands of the radical right—hate mongers, nativist extremist groups, and so-called “Patriot” organizations—are the most volatile elements on the American political landscape. Taken together, their numbers increased by more than 40 percent, rising from 1,248 groups in 2008 to 1,753 last year.

It’s perfectly obvious that many Americans are unhappy with the way the government is operating these days. And it’s equally obvious that our country faces a daunting array of serious problems and challenges. But the way forward isn’t to deal with the kinds of vicious attacks, conspiracy theorizing and downright racism—not to mention talk of “revolution”—that we see coming from the radical right. That kind of talk merely ensures that none of these problems will be seriously addressed.
Mark Potok is director of the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Intelligence Project, which monitors extremist activity across the United States. *Rage on the Right*, the organization’s new report on the growth of extremist groups can be read at [www.splcenter.org](http://www.splcenter.org).

See more items tagged with: tea baggers, tea party, patriot groups, hate groups, radical right

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The Patriot Movement and Related Subjects
18 Wikipedia Articles
The *patriot movement* is a loose collection of conservative, independent, largely rural[1], anti-government, conspiracy-minded[2] social movements in the United States that include unorganized militia members, tax protesters, sovereign or state citizens, quasi-Christian apocalypticists, or combinations thereof.[3] Adherents describe the movement as centered on a belief that individual liberties are in jeopardy due to unconstitutional actions taken by elected government officials, appointed bureaucrats, and some special interest groups outside of government, to illegally accumulate power.[4] Journalists and researchers have associated the patriot movement with the right-wing militia movement[5] and some in the movement with illegal acts of violence.[2][6][7]

Major patriot-related events in America include the 1993 Waco siege and 1992 Ruby Ridge siege. After declining from 1996 to 1998, the number of patriot groups has increased dramatically following the election of Barack Obama to the presidency.[8] The movement's iconography centers on themes relating to the American Revolution, such as the colonial Minuteman, the 13-star "Old Glory" flag, Uncle Sam, and the painting titled "The Spirit of '76".

### Views of the patriot movement

Descriptions of the patriot movement include:

- diverse conservative and libertarian causes addressing issues such as national sovereignty, state sovereignty, the United States Constitution, individual liberties including the Bill of Rights, and American exceptionalism;
- a diverse movement with as its common thread a growing dissatisfaction with and alienation from government, the willingness to use military force to defend their rights, and a conspiratorial eschatology[3];
- "a brand of politics historically associated with libertarians, militia groups, anti-immigration advocates and those who argue for the abolition of the Federal Reserve[9];
- a movement outspoken regarding the constitution and particularly the 14th amendment and 2nd amendment.[10]

As a result, some members refuse to pay their income taxes,[10] and some groups operate their own common-law legal system.[11] Patriot movement members are often concerned about the rise of a New World Order,[2][10] sometimes coming in the form of a United Nations takeover.[12]

In addition, the patriot movement has been associated with the following views:

- Support of the paramilitary militia movement, such as the Michigan Militia[2][6][7][11][13]
- Religious views focused on finding "signs of the end of times"[12]
- Suspicion regarding surveillance[10]

Elements of the patriot movement have expressed support for various conspiracy theories:

- Federal government involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing[12][14] (Convicted bomber Timothy McVeigh was "heavily involved in the patriot movement" and the bombing was modeled after one of the missions in a white supremacist novel, *The Turner Diaries*, "one of McVeigh's favorite books".[3])
- Federal government involvement in the John F. Kennedy assassination[12]

In addition to the militia movement which is said to have come out of the patriot movement, Patriot movement is often associated with so-called “Sovereign citizen movement” who believe that "most US law doesn't apply to
Patriot movement

History

Some date the movement back to the 1950s. The reformist wing of the patriot movement is considered to have begun in 1958 with the formation of the John Birch Society and opposition to communism, the United Nations and the civil rights movement. An insurgent wing has been traced in origins to the Liberty Lobby active in the 1950s with promotion of themes of White supremacy and antisemitism.

In the early 1990s, the patriot movement saw a surge of growth spurred by the confrontations at Ruby Ridge and Waco. The 1995 Oklahoma City bombing was carried out by two patriot movement members, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols. During the 1990s the movement organized using "gun shows and the Internet" The movement was highly active in the mid-1990s, and at a peak in 1996 contained around 800 separate groups. It saw decline in the late 1990s.

In 2009, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) expressed concern about a resurgent patriot movement, and the United States Department of Homeland Security issued a report warning of heightened "Rightwing Extremism". The growth has been attributed to "non-white immigration and ... the economic meltdown and the climb to power of an African American president." The Southern Poverty Law Center, reported that the number of patriot groups grew from 149 in 2008, to 824 in 2010 and 1,274 in 2011. The SPLC found that while "there are many people" in the patriot movement "that aren't engaged in illegal activity," the "normalizing of conspiracy theories" -- such as the belief that FEMA is building concentration camps; rumors of covert plans by Mexico to repatriate parts of the Southwest; and concerns about Muslim Sharia law becoming part of the US court system -- has played into the growth of the groups.

An extremist member of the patriot movement carried out the 2009 anti-abortion murder of George Tiller, and some extremists within the movement also have expressed support for Joseph Stack's 2010 plane crash into an IRS office.

Groups

Groups that have been mentioned in association with the patriot movement include

- League of the South (president Michael Hill)
- Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (headed by William Gheen)
- Militia of Montana (leader John Trochmann)
- Michigan Militia
- "The Oath Keepers" was founded in March 2009 by Stewart Rhodes in Lexington, Massachusetts. The organization which advocates that its members (current and former U.S. military, and law enforcement) uphold their oaths of service, and pledging to protect the U.S. Constitution. The Oath Keepers as a group have grown to include chapters in many states across America.

Criticisms

Various patriot movement aligned groups have frequently been criticized as racist, extremist, anti-semitic, and violent by groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, Anti-Defamation League, and the FBI.

Author John Avlon, a self-described political centrist, has coined the term Hatriot (a portmanteau of hate and patriot) as an alternative designation, since he and many Americans do not believe the Patriot movement is truly patriotic, but is instead rooted in hate and extremism:

    When love of country is mixed with fear of the government and hate for the president, that's when you become a Hatriot.
Publications related to the patriot movement

- Republic Magazine [31], founded in 2008, bills itself as "the voice of the patriot movement"

References

The militia movement is a political movement of paramilitary groups in the United States. Members of the movement typically refer to themselves as militia, "unorganized militia",[1] and "constitutional militia".[2] While groups such as the Posse Comitatus existed as early as the 1980s,[3] the movement gained momentum after controversial standoffs with government agents in the early nineties, and by the mid-nineties, groups were active in all 50 states with membership estimated at between 20,000 and 60,000.[4] Although in unconnected groups, they may be united in their beliefs of the federal government's threat to their freedom, and in particular the movement's opposition to any limit of the Second Amendment right to bear arms.

History

The militia movement is a paramilitary outgrowth of the independent survivalist, anti-tax and other causes in the patriot movement subculture in the United States. The formation of the militias was influenced by the historical precedent of existing paramilitary movements such as the Posse Comitatus, and groups associated with protecting liberties of governed people.

Although the far-right Patriot movement had long been marginalized, certain cultural factors paved the way for the wide scale growth of the libertarian or ideological Militia movement. This attitude grew with the federal government's own expansions of powers.

Precursor groups existed in the form of small militias that had organized during the 1970s and 1980s, but the movement underwent a wave of growth and rose to prominence in American culture in the 1990s. Events such as the killing of Gordon Kahl by government agents, the controversies of the Presidency of Bill Clinton, and the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement angered those on the right and left. The catalysts came in the form of the FBI's 1992 shootout with Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge, and the government's 1993 siege and eventual destruction of David Koresh and the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas.[5][6][7] Historian Mark Pitcavage described the militia movement of the 1990s:[3]

The militia movement is a right-wing movement that arose following controversial standoffs in the 1990s. It inherited paramilitary traditions of earlier groups, especially the conspiratorial, antigovernment Posse Comitatus. The militia movement claims that militia groups are sanctioned by law but uncontrolled by
government; in fact, they are designed to oppose a tyrannical government. Adherents believe that behind the “tyranny” is a left-wing, globalist conspiracy known as the New World Order. The movement's ideology has led some adherents to commit criminal acts, including stockpiling illegal weapons and explosives and plotting to destroy buildings or assassinate public officials, as well as lesser confrontations.

Some Militia groups saw the Davidians and the Weaver family as martyrs, and used Ruby Ridge and Waco as examples of the federal government's threat to people who refused to conform, and additionally those two events became a rallying cry to form militias to defend the people against the forces of a government perceived as hostile. Both incidents involved weapons alleged to be illegal and federal agents' efforts to confiscate them. In both incidents, the government failed to produce evidence of illegal activity. Government agencies responsible for the deaths of the Branch Davidians, and members of the Weaver family at Ruby Ridge, were later exonerated and exempted from further investigation. This heightened tensions in militias, as many leaders were gun rights advocates and firm believers in the right to bear arms.

Resentment of the federal government only heightened with the passage of the Brady Act in 1993 and the Assault Weapons Ban a year later. Those laws also helped to drive more moderate gun owners into sympathy with some of the militia movement's positions. The USMS and FBI shootings of Sam and Vicki Weaver at Ruby Ridge also alienated many in the gun rights movement. Some members of the militia movement viewed this as an attempt by the government to disarm the American people, a preliminary step to clear the way for an invasion of United Nations troops and the establishment of a New World Order. Many people joined militias in order to protect themselves, their families, and their rights from perceived government intrusion.

The growth of movement had not gone unnoticed. During the 1990s public attention to the militia movement began to grow. The Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, 1995, the second anniversary of the Waco fire, drew nation-wide attention to the militia movement with the revelation that Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols had links to armed right wing groups. This increased public scrutiny and law enforcement pressure, and brought in more recruits due to the heightened awareness of the movement.

In March 1996, agents of the FBI and other law enforcement organizations surrounded the 960-acre (unknown operator: u'strong' ha) eastern Montana "Justus Township" compound of the Montana Freemen. The Freemen were a Sovereign Citizen group that included elements of the Christian Identity ideology, espoused common law legal theories, and rejected the legitimacy of the Federal Reserve. Montana legislator Carl Ohs mediated through the standoff. Both Randy Weaver (one of the besieged at Ruby Ridge) and Bo Gritz (a civilian negotiator at Ruby Ridge) had attempted to talk to the group but had given up in frustration, as did Colorado Senator Charlie Duke when he had attempted negotiations. A break finally came when far right leaders abandoned the group to their fate. The group surrendered peacefully after an 81 day standoff and 14 of the Freemen faced criminal charges relating to circulating millions of dollars in bogus checks and threatening the life of a federal judge. The peaceful resolution of this and other standoffs after Ruby Ridge and Waco have been credited by some to the creation of the Critical Incident Response Group (CIRG) within the U.S. Department of Justice in 1994.

Another incident occurred in Fort Davis, Texas a year later in March 1997 when a faction of the self-styled "Republic of Texas" militia group seized hostages. The Republic of Texas group believed that the annexation of Texas as a state in 1845 was illegal, that Texas should remain an independent nation, and that the legitimate government of Texas was the group's leadership. Joe and Margaret Ann Rowe were taken at gunpoint in retaliation for the arrest of member Robert J. Scheidt, who had been arrested on weapons charges. Leader Richard McLaren then declared that the group was in a state of war with the federal government. The property was then surrounded by the entire Jeff Davis County sheriff's department, state troopers, Texas Rangers, and agents of the FBI. McLaren's wife, Evelyn, convinced him to surrender peacefully after a week-long standoff. The McLarens and four other Republic of Texas members were sent to prison.

A 1999 US Department of Justice analysis of the potential militia threat at the Millennium conceded that the vast majority of militias were reactive (not proactive) and posed no threat. In January 2000, the FBI Project Megiddo
report stated:

Most militias engage in a variety of anti-government rhetoric. This discourse can range from the protesting of
government policies to the advocating of violence and/or the overthrow of the federal government. However,
the majority of militia groups are non-violent and only a small segment of the militias actually commit acts of
violence to advance their political goals and beliefs. A number of militia leaders, such as Lynn Van Huizen of
the Michigan Militia Corps -Wolverines, have gone to some effort to actively rid their ranks of radical
members who are inclined to carry out acts of violence and/or terrorism. Officials at the FBI Academy classify
militia groups within four categories, ranging from moderate groups who do not engage in criminal activity to
radical cells which commit violent acts of terrorism. It should be clearly stated that the FBI only focuses on
radical elements of the militia movement capable and willing to commit violence against government, law
enforcement, civilian, military and international targets.[15]

As of 2001, the militia movement seemed to be in decline, having peaked in 1996 with 858 groups.[16] Even the
Michigan Militia (with which McVeigh and the Nichols brothers had grown frustrated due to its seeming preference
for talk over action)[17] disbanded. Prior to that, it had kicked out its most radical members in the wake of the
Oklahoma City bombing; they formed the North American Militia, whose leaders, Brad Metcalf and Randy Graham,
later received 40- and 55-year sentences, respectively, for terrorist plots against the IRS and federal officials.

Militias' primary forms of outreach are gun shows, shortwave radio, newsletters, and the Internet.[18]

Ideology

The ideologies of various Militia movements can be described as political, constitutional, conspiratorial, or
community based. Militia groups claim legitimacy based on colonial writings, particularly the Declaration of
Independence; Article 1, section 8 and the 2nd Amendment of the United States Constitution; the Militia Act of
1792; Title 10, Section 311 [19] of the United States Code; and the concept of an independent wing of the citizenry
that enacts its own governmental beliefs.[8] Watchdog groups, such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern
Poverty Law Center have portrayed militias as often holding racist ideologies. This can be verified in the fact that
many paramilitary militia groups hold white supremacy views, such as the former Aryan Nations of northern Idaho.
For example, The Gadsden Alabama Minutemen who exposed the racist "Good'O'Boys Roundup" held by ATF
agent Eugene Rightmyer had a black member, though this does not necessarily discredit racism claims, but rather
racism against blacks in that specific militia,[citation needed] Robert Churchill noted a white supremacist "resistance
wing" of the movement and a radical libertarian "constitutionalist wing" motivated by various, at times overlapping,
concerns.[7] The beliefs of the latter group center around opposition to the power of federal or local governments and
limitations imposed by governing parties or erosions of liberties by governing parties.[20] Some Militias are also
formed in order to protect a community from outside intervention or perceived negative influence by outside parties.
Some Militias have also formed around a particular ideology without all members agreeing on every particular issue.
Power struggles, politics, and disagreements persist as in any organization; hence internal ideologies can change
from time to time.

Some of the movement sees power of a government as a form of tyranny.[3] Their beliefs focus on
limited-government, on taxes, regulations, and gun control efforts as perceived threats to constitutional liberties.
Many of their views are similar to those of the John Birch Society, tax protestor movement, county supremacy
movement, state sovereignty movement, and the states' rights movement.[4] Gun control is considered
unconstitutional, and a move toward fascism by the government. The controversial novel Unintended Consequences
by John Ross in 1996 is an example of these beliefs. However, not all Militias are armed, or support the use of
violence in political change.

The ideologies most commonly associated with the militia movement are the Christian Patriot movement, the
Constitutional militia movement, and opposition to the creation of a one world government. Most militias are
derived from a local populace who come to common belief, and so ideologies tend to differ by region. Most agree
Militia movement

upon local regulation opposed to global, federal or state regulation.

**Active militia movement groups, 2010**

**United States militia groups, 2010**[21]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Militia group name</th>
<th>State, county or locale</th>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Alabama Militia</td>
<td>Alabama, Mobile</td>
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<td>Alabama Shoals Badgers</td>
<td>Alabama, Tusculumbia</td>
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<td>Alaska Citizens Militia</td>
<td>Alaska, Nikiski</td>
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<td>Arizona Citizens Militia</td>
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<td>Arizona Militia</td>
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<td>Cochise County Militia</td>
<td>Arizona, Tombstone</td>
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<td>Northern Arizona Militia</td>
<td>Arizona, Flagstaff</td>
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<tr>
<td>Militia of Washington County</td>
<td>Arkansas, Fayetteville</td>
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<td>American Resistance Movement</td>
<td>All States, USA/Nation-Wide area</td>
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<td>Northern California State Militia</td>
<td>California, Falcon Creek</td>
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<td>State of California Unorganized Militia</td>
<td>California, Monrovia</td>
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<td>Minutemen Militia</td>
<td>Colorado, Fort Collins</td>
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<td>Florida Free Alliance</td>
<td>Florida, Nokomis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florida Free Militia</td>
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<td>Georgia, Chatham County</td>
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<td>Georgia, Lawrenceville</td>
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<td>Idaho Citizens Constitutional Militia</td>
<td>Idaho, statewide</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Idaho Light Foot Militia</td>
<td>Idaho, Bonner County</td>
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<td>135th Illinois Volunteer Cavalry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois State Militia (Unorganized) 167th Battalion, 21st FF</td>
<td>Illinois, statewide</td>
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<td>Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 3rd Brigade</td>
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<td>Indiana Constitutional Militia</td>
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<td>Indiana Militia Corps</td>
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<td>Indiana Sedentary Militia</td>
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<td>Indiana Sons of Liberty</td>
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<td>Indiana's Greene County Militia</td>
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<td>Indiana State Militia 14th Regiment</td>
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<td>Kansas State Militia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Militia movement</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Southern Sons of Liberty</td>
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<td>Delta 5 Mobile Light Infantry Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, Eaton County</td>
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<td>East-Central Volunteer Militia of Michigan</td>
<td>Michigan, Lapeer County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hutaree Militia</td>
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<td>Jackson County Volunteers</td>
<td>Michigan, Jackson County</td>
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<td>Lenawee County Free and Independent Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, Adrian</td>
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<td>Michigan Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, Redford</td>
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<td>Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines 8th Division</td>
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<td>Northern Michigan Backyard Protection Militia</td>
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<td>Southeast Michigan Volunteer Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, 13 counties</td>
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<td>West Michigan Volunteer Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, Muskegon County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capitol City Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, Eaton County and Ingham County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid Michigan Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, 7 Counties, centered around Ingham County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ocqueoc Militia</td>
<td>Michigan, Presque Isle County, Montmorency County, Alpena County, Cheboygan County</td>
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<td>Minnesota Militia/Army of Mississippi</td>
<td>Minnesota, St. Cloud</td>
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<td>Minnesota Minutemen militia</td>
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<td>Constitution Defense Militia of Attala County (CDMAC)</td>
<td>Mississippi, Attala County</td>
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<td>East Central Mississippi Militia</td>
<td>Mississippi, East Central</td>
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<td>Missouri Militia</td>
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<td>Militia of Montana</td>
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<td>New Hampshire Patriot Militia</td>
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<td>United States Constitution Rangers</td>
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<td>New Jersey Militia</td>
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<td>New Jersey Guardian Angels</td>
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<td>North Carolina Citizens Militia</td>
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<td>Ohio Militia</td>
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<td>Militia movement</td>
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<td>East Tennessee Militia</td>
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<td>Texas State Militia</td>
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<td>Virginia, Roanoke</td>
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<td>King County Volunteer Militia</td>
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<td>Kitsap County WA Militia</td>
<td>Washington, Kitsap County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington State Militia</td>
<td>Washington, statewide</td>
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**Notes**


Sovereign citizen movement

The sovereign citizen movement is a loose grouping of American litigants, commentators, and financial scheme promoters, classified as an "extremist anti-government group" by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation.[1]

Self-described sovereign citizens take the position that they are answerable only to common law and are not subject to any statutes or proceedings at the federal, states or municipal levels, or that they do not recognize U.S. currency and that they are "free of any legal constraints."[2][3][4]

They especially reject most forms of taxation as illegitimate.[5] Participants in the movement argue this concept in opposition to "federal citizens" who, they say, have unknowingly forfeited their rights by accepting some aspect of federal law.[6]

In a 2010 publication, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) estimated that approximately 100,000 Americans are "hard-core sovereign believers" and another 200,000 are "just starting out by testing sovereign techniques for resisting everything from speeding tickets to drug charges."[7]

History

The concept of a sovereign citizen originated in the Posse Comitatus movement as a teaching of Christian Identity minister William P. Gale. The concept has influenced the tax protester movement, the Christian Patriot movement, and the redemption movement—the last of which includes claims that the U.S. government uses its citizens as collateral against foreign debt.[6]

Gale identified the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution as the act that converted sovereign citizens into federal citizens by agreeing to a contract to accept benefits from the federal government. Other commentators have identified other acts, including the Uniform Commercial Code,[8] the Emergency Banking Act,[8] the Zone Improvement Plan,[9] and the alleged suppression of the Titles of Nobility Amendment.[10]

Many of those in the movement consider the term "sovereign citizen" an oxymoron, preferring to view themselves as sovereign individuals "seeking the Truth".[11]

Theories about sovereign citizens

Sovereign-citizen leader Richard McDonald has established State Citizen Service Centers around the United States. Writing in American Scientific Affiliation, Dennis L. Feucht describes McDonald's theory, which claims that there are two classes of citizens in America: the "original citizens of the states" (or "States citizens") and "U.S. citizens." McDonald asserts that U.S. citizens or "Fourteenth Amendment citizens" have civil rights, legislated to give the freed black slaves after the Civil War rights comparable to the unalienable constitutional rights of white state citizens. The benefits of U.S. citizenship are received by consent in exchange for freedom. State citizens consequently take steps to revoke and rescind their U.S. citizenship and reassert their de jure common-law state citizen status. This involves removing one's self from federal jurisdiction and relinquishing any evidence of consent to U.S. citizenship, such as a Social Security number, driver's license, car registration, use of ZIP codes, marriage license, voter registration, and birth certificate. Also included is refusal to pay state and federal income taxes because citizens not under U.S. jurisdiction are not required to pay them. Only residents (resident aliens) of the states, not its citizens, are income-taxable, state citizens argue. And as a state citizen land owner, one can bring forward the original land patent and file it with the county for absolute or allodial property rights. Such allodial ownership is held "without recognizing any superior to whom any duty is due on account thereof" (Black's Law Dictionary). Superiors include those who levy property taxes or who hold...
mortgages or liens against the property.\[12\]

Critics of sovereign citizen theory assert that sovereign citizens fail to sufficiently examine the context of the case laws from which they cite, and ignore adverse evidence, such as Federalist No. 15, where Alexander Hamilton expressed the view that the Constitution placed everyone personally under federal authority.

**Incidents involving members**

Convicted Oklahoma City bombing conspirator Terry Nichols was a member of the sovereign citizen movement, having asserted individual sovereignty in at least three court cases.\[13\] In 2010, two police officers in West Memphis, Arkansas were shot and killed by Joseph T. Kane after Kane and his father were the subject of a traffic stop. Kane and his father were later identified as members of the sovereign citizen movement.\[14\]\[15\]

In March 2011, a central figure in the sovereign citizen movement named Samuel Lynn Davis pleaded guilty to 31 counts of money laundering in Federal district court in Nevada. Davis was snared in a sting operation after he agreed to launder more than $1.29 million in what he believed to be illicit funds. Davis accepted $73,782 fees to launder the money, not realizing he was dealing with Federal law enforcement agents.\[16\] In October 2011, Davis was sentenced to four years and nine months in Federal prison, and was ordered to pay over $95,000 in restitution.\[17\]

In September 2010, David Russell Myrland, an associate of a Sovereign Citizens group, sent emails and placed telephone calls to various officials of the City of Kirkland, Washington, telling them to "keep their doors unlocked", that they were going to be arrested, and that they "should not resist".\[18\] Myrland also reportedly threatened federal judges and the chief prosecutor of King County, Washington.\[19\] Myrland's threat to arrest the mayor of Kirkland came about after he was arrested by police. His vehicle had been impounded after he was found driving with a suspended license and expired vehicle-license tabs. An unloaded gun with ammunition nearby had been found on the seat of the car.\[20\] Although he was not a law enforcement officer, Myrland had claimed that he had the authority to form a group of private citizens to arrest felons in public office "as permitted by RCW 9A.16.020" (the state statute governing lawful use of force).\[21\] On December 2, 2011, Myrland was sentenced to three years and four months in federal prison after pleading guilty in connection with the threats he made, including the threat to forcibly arrest the mayor of Kirkland, Washington.\[16\] Myrland is scheduled for release from Federal prison on December 20, 2013.\[22\]

On February 1, 2012, Timothy Garrison, an accountant from Mount Vernon, Washington was sentenced to three and a half years in federal prison after having pleaded guilty to tax fraud. He admitted to having filed about 50 falsified tax returns. Federal prosecutors contended that Garrison's actions cost the Internal Revenue Service over 2.4 million dollars in tax revenues. Prosecutors also stated that the sixty year old accountant had described himself as a "sovereign citizen" beyond the reach of state and federal law. Garrison had previously served time in federal prison in the 1980s in connection with fraud against investors in a cattle ranch.\[23\] Garrison is scheduled for release from Federal prison on July 16, 2014.\[24\]

On June 18, 2012, Francis Schaeffer Cox, who had asserted that he was a sovereign citizen, was found guilty in the United States District Court in Anchorage, Alaska, of several felony charges including conspiracy to commit murder.\[25\]\[26\]

**Legal status of theories**

Variations of the argument that an individual is "sovereign" have been rejected by the courts, especially in tax cases such as *Johnson v. Commissioner*,\[27\] *Wikoff v. Commissioner*,\[28\] *United States v. Hart*,\[29\] *Risner v. Commissioner*,\[30\] *Maxwell v. Snow*,\[31\] *Rowe v. Internal Revenue Serv.*\[32\], *Heitman v. Idaho State Tax Commission*,\[33\] *Cobin v. Commissioner*,\[34\] *Glavin v. United States*,\[35\] and *United States v. Greenstreet*.\[36\] The Internal Revenue Service has included "free born" or "sovereign" citizenship in its list of frivolous claims that may result in a $5000 penalty when used as the basis for an inaccurate tax return.\[37\]
References


Sovereign citizen movement

[29] Text of 701 F.2d 749 (8th Cir. 1983) (per curiam) is available from: Justia (http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/701/749/443726/).
[34] Docket # 16905-05L, T.C. Memo 2009-88, United States Tax Court (April 28, 2009).
[35] Case no. 10-MC-6-SLC, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin (June 4, 2010).
[36] 912 F.Supp. 224 (N.D. Tex. 1996) (Gale Greenstreet's arguments—that he was of "Freeman Character" and "of the White Preamble Citizenship and not one of the 14th Amendment legislated enfranchised De Facto colored races", that he was a "white Preamble natural sovereign Common Law De Jure Citizen of the Republic/State of Texas", and that he was a sovereign, not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States District Court—were ruled to be "entirely frivolous").

External links

- SPLC Video Informing Law Enforcement on the Dangers of "Sovereign Citizens" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d_y-gLm9Hrw)
- 60 Minutes documentary about Sovereign citizens (http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2011/05/15/60minutes/main20062666.shtml)

Tax protester (United States)

A tax protester is someone who refuses to pay a tax on constitutional or legal grounds, typically because he or she believes that the tax laws are unconstitutional or otherwise invalid. Tax protesters are different from tax resisters, who refuse to pay taxes as a protest against the government or its policies, not out of a belief that the tax law itself is invalid.

Tax protesters raise a number of different kinds of arguments. These include constitutional arguments, such as claims that the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution was not properly ratified or that it is unconstitutional generally, or that being forced to file an income tax return violates the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination. Others are statutory arguments suggesting that the income tax is constitutional but the statutes enacting the income tax are ineffective, or that Federal Reserve Notes do not constitute cash or income. Yet another collection of arguments centers on general conspiracies involving numerous government agencies.

Legal commentator Daniel B. Evans has defined tax protesters as people who "refuse to pay taxes or file tax returns out of a mistaken belief that the federal income tax is unconstitutional, invalid, voluntary, or otherwise does not apply to them under one of a number of bizarre arguments." An illegal tax-protest scheme has been defined as "any scheme, without basis in law or fact, designed to express dissatisfaction with the tax laws by interfering with their administration or attempting to illegally avoid or reduce tax liabilities." Some tax protesters refuse to file a tax return or file returns with no income or tax data supplied.
Origin of term

In the United States, the term "protest" as applied to a tax generally means "a declaration by a payer, esp. of a tax, that he does not concede the legality of a claim he is paying". Similarly, Black's Law Dictionary defines a tax protest as:

The formal statement, usually in writing, made by a person who is called upon by public authority to pay a sum of money, in which he declares that he does not concede the legality or justice of the claim or his duty to pay it, or that he disputes the amount demanded; the object being to save his right to recover or reclaim the amount, which right would be lost by his acquiescence. Thus, taxes may be paid under "protest".

At common law, and under some earlier tax statutes, the filing of a protest at the time of payment of an erroneous tax was a requirement in order for the payor to recover a refund of the tax at a later time. In the case of U.S. federal taxes, the rule was abolished by Congress in 1924. See generally George Moore Ice Cream Co. v. Rose, Collector of Internal Revenue. Under the current Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as amended, the taxpayer's failure to protest does not deprive the taxpayer of the right to file an administrative claim with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) for a refund and, if the claim is not allowed by the IRS, to sue for a tax refund in Federal district court.

The term "protest" is also used to describe a taxpayer's formal written request for review, by the Appeals Division of the IRS, after the IRS issues a "Thirty-Day Letter" proposing an increased tax liability following an IRS examination of a tax return.

In 1972, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania used the term tax "protestor" (protester) in United States v. Malinowski. This case, however, involved a taxpayer who was a member of the Philadelphia War Tax Resistance League who was protesting the use of tax money in the Vietnam War. The taxpayer was not making arguments that the tax law itself was invalid; he was essentially protesting the war, not the tax. The taxpayer had filed a false Form W-4, and admitted he knew that he was not legally entitled to claim the exemptions (allowances) he claimed on the W-4. Thus, Malinowski might be termed a tax resister rather than a tax protester. He was convicted, and his motion for a new trial or acquittal was denied.

A person could be both a tax protester and a tax resister if he or she believes that tax laws do not apply to him or her and also believes that taxes should not be paid based on the use to which the taxes are put. Some tax resisters have put forth legal arguments for their position — for instance that they cannot pay taxes for nuclear weapons development because this would put them in violation of the Nuremberg Principles — that could be considered varieties of tax-protester theories.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, U.S. Federal courts began using the term "tax protester" in still another, more narrow sense — to describe persons who raised frivolous arguments about the legality of Federal taxes, particularly income taxes. This particular technical sense of the term is the sense described in the remainder of this article.

History

While there have been people throughout history who challenged the assessment of taxes as beyond the power of the government, the modern tax-protester movement began after World War II. One of the first people to fit this description was Vivien Kellems, a Connecticut industrialist and political activist who specifically protested monthly tax withholding. In 1948 she refused to withhold taxes from the wages of her employees, based on the claim that the government had no power to require such withholding. The IRS then seized the money owed from her bank account. She brought suit against them and, in a book she wrote, asserted that she won, although she did not challenge the constitutionality of tax withholding itself.

She lost a separate case challenging the constitutionality of withholding itself, and continued in legal battles and appeals, until her death in 1975, ultimately unsuccessful in challenging the withholding of tax. The tax-protester movement began to develop a greater following in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many books, lectures and other materials promised to help people avoid having to pay taxes.
In 1973, a disbarred attorney named Jerome Daly lost an appeal on his conviction for willfully failing to file federal income tax returns. In rejecting Daly's appeal, the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit noted that one of Daly's contentions involved his "seemingly incessant attack against the federal reserve and monetary system of the United States. His apparent thesis is that the only 'Legal Tender Dollars' are those that contain a mixture of gold and silver and that only those dollars may be constitutionally taxed. This contention is clearly frivolous." In a case before the United States Tax Court in 1974, Everett and Dorothy Vernaccini argued that the Internal Revenue Service should allow them certain deductions on the theory that the record keeping requirements of Internal Revenue Code section 274 were unconstitutional under the Thirteenth Amendment (prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude), and under the theory that the record keeping requirements violated 42 U.S.C. § 1994 [13] (which prohibits "peonage"). The Tax Court rejected those arguments. [14]

In 1975, the term "tax protester" began to appear in reported court decisions. The first two reported federal cases may have been Gilbert v. Miriami[15] and United States v. Scott, [16] coincidentally decided only two days apart. In Gilbert v. Miriami, the taxpayer (Walter Gilbert) sued the District Director of Internal Revenue (Charles Miriami) asking for injunctive and declaratory relief from enforcement of the internal revenue laws, including a request for a judgment that the statute prohibiting most suits to restrain the assessment or collection of Federal taxes was unconstitutional. The court rejected the taxpayer's claims.

In Scott, the court noted that an undercover government agent had sworn out an affidavit regarding the agent's infiltration into a "tax-protester" organization. The case involved James Walter Scott, the leader of that organization. Scott had failed to file tax returns from 1969 to 1972, based on Constitutional arguments against the validity of the income tax. Scott argued unsuccessfully that the Sixteenth Amendment was not properly ratified, that federal reserve notes were not legal tender and that he was not required to report their receipt as income, and that he was not required to file tax returns if he felt they would incriminate him. The United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit upheld Scott's conviction. [17]

In 1977, the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, in the case of Ex parte Tammen, referred to a tax-protester group called the "United Tax Action Patriots" or "UTAP":

The evidence shows that the organized tax-protester group is growing rapidly. It has spread eastward from the West Coast and is adding substantially and wrongfully to the workload of the federal courts.

The goal of UTAP is to do away with federal income taxation by making the burden so heavy on the IRS and the federal courts that the government will have to yield. It is their philosophy that the Sixteenth Amendment was improperly passed and therefore invalid, and that anyone attempting to enforce the income tax laws is violating the rights of the taxpayers and should be treated as a criminal.

The organization meets on a regular basis for the purpose of teaching its members the various and sundry methods of obstructing the Internal Revenue Service. Many of their speakers travel about the country to appear on the programs at these meetings. The members are told at these meetings that they should file protest type tax returns, commonly known as "porth" returns, containing only the name and address of the taxpayer; and that they should object to the completion of the form on various and sundry constitutional grounds. They are also instructed to file W-4 statements claiming as many as 99 exemptions to avoid the withholding of any tax from their salaries. Since such returns will obviously result in the matter being referred to the Audit Division of the Internal Revenue Service, they are further instructed that upon being requested to appear for an audit they should resist, if possible; and that if forced to appear, they should make every effort to disrupt such proceedings to the point of making a farce of them. They are told that in all cases they should avoid giving any correct or meaningful answers to questions propounded to them. If their actions ultimately result in court proceedings, they are to take whatever action is necessary to delay, obstruct and disrupt all such proceedings. Their philosophy involves the subversion, not only of the Internal Revenue Service, but also of the federal judicial system by tying up its courts in fruitless proceedings involving tax protestors. [18]
The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals stated that people are attracted to the "tax protestor movement's illusory claim that there is no legal requirement to pay federal income tax." The court called the tax-protester arguments "wholly defective and unsuccessful."[19] Ideas associated with the tax-protester movement have been forwarded under different names over time. These ideas have been put forth, for example, in the broader Christian Patriot and Posse Comitatus movements, which generally assert that the Constitution has been usurped by the federal government.

The tax-protester phenomenon is not restricted to the United States. Similar arguments are raised in the context of other legal systems in other countries, although it is more notorious in the United States tax system, to the extent that this article deals only with the situation in this country.[20]

Arguments

In 1986, the Seventh Circuit observed:

> Some people believe with great fervor preposterous things that just happen to coincide with their self-interest. "Tax protesters" have convinced themselves that wages are not income, that only gold is money, that the Sixteenth Amendment is unconstitutional, and so on. These beliefs all lead — so tax protesters think — to the elimination of their obligation to pay taxes.[21]

Arguments made by tax protesters generally fall into several categories: that the Sixteenth Amendment was never properly ratified; that the Sixteenth Amendment does not permit the taxation of individual income, or particular forms of individual income; that other provisions of the Constitution such as the First, Fifth, or a "Missing Thirteenth Amendment" eliminate an obligation to file a return; that citizens of the states are not also citizens of the United States; that the statutes enacted by the United States Congress pursuant to their constitutional taxing power are defective or invalid; that the tax code does not apply to inhabitants of U.S. territories; and that the government and the courts engage in various conspiracies to conceal the above deficiencies.

Such arguments are usually summarily dispensed with when presented in federal court. For example, the Fifth Circuit once noted:

> We perceive no need to refute these arguments with somber reasoning and copious citation of precedent; to do so might suggest that these arguments have some colorable merit. The constitutionality of our income tax system—including the role played within that system by the Internal Revenue Service and the Tax Court—has long been established... [Petitioner's argument] is a hodgepodge of unsupported assertions, irrelevant platitudes, and legalistic gibberish.[22]

In that case, the court viewed the tax-protester arguments as sufficiently frivolous to merit the imposition of sanctions—in this case twice the costs spent by the government in defending the litigation—for even bringing them up.

Penalties

In the United States, "protesting" Federal income taxes is not, in and of itself, a criminal offense.

Frivolous tax returns

The United States Congress has, however, enacted Internal Revenue Code section 6702 "in an effort to deter tax protesters from filing frivolous returns." This statute was enacted as part of the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982.[23][24]

The penalty under section 6702 is a civil (non-criminal) penalty, and is $500 for positions taken on or before March 15, 2007. For positions taken after that date, the penalty amount has been increased to $5,000.[25] The Internal Revenue Service has issued a list of positions considered to be legally frivolous.[26] Shauna Henline, the senior technical adviser of the Frivolous Return Program at the Internal Revenue Service, has testified that the IRS receives about 20,000 to 30,000 frivolous tax returns per year, and that approximately 100,000 related letters and other
documents are received each year.\[27\]

In some cases, taxpayers have argued that section 6702, the "frivolous argument" penalty statute, is itself unconstitutional. That argument was rejected in *Hazewinkel v. United States* (taxpayer's arguments — that sections 6702 and 6703 violate both procedural and substantive due process because there is no right to a prior hearing, and that the word "frivolous" is unconstitutionally vague — were rejected).\[28\] See also *Pillsbury v. Commissioner*, a case in which taxpayer Leecil Pillsbury's argument — that section 6702 violates the Fifth Amendment Due Process Clause of the Constitution — was ruled to be without merit.

In that case, the court also ruled the following taxpayer arguments to be invalid: (1) the argument that section 6702 is an unconstitutional Bill of Attainder; (2) the argument that section 6702 unconstitutionally authorizes the imposition of cruel and unusual punishment; (3) the argument that section 6702 unconstitutionally violates the doctrine of separation of powers; (4) the argument that section 6702 unconstitutionally violates the taxpayer's First Amendment rights to petition the government for redress of grievances.\[29\] See also *Duke v. Commissioner* (tax-protester argument that 6702 was unconstitutional was rejected by the court),\[30\] *Kane v. United States* (taxpayer's argument — that because section 6702 does not define the term "frivolous," the statute is unconstitutionally vague — was rejected),\[31\] and *Hudson v. United States* (taxpayer's arguments — that section 6702 unconstitutionally violates taxpayer's First Amendment rights, that section 6702 violates due process rights by failing to provide a hearing before assessment of a penalty, that section 6702 is an unconstitutional bill of attainder, and that section 6702 is unconstitutionally vague — were ruled to be without merit).\[32\]

**Frivolous litigation in United States Tax Court, and appeals of Tax Court decisions**

In 1939, Congress enacted section 1117(g) (entitled "Proceeding Frivolous") of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939, giving the Board of Tax Appeals (now called the United States Tax Court) the power to impose a civil monetary penalty of up to $500 against any party who instituted a proceeding "merely for delay" before the Board of Tax Appeals. In 1954, this provision was continued with the enactment of section 6673 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. The current version of section 6673 (in the 1986 Code) provides that frivolous arguments may result in a penalty in U.S. Tax Court of up to $25,000.\[33\] Similarly, the Internal Revenue Code also provides that the U.S. Supreme Court and the federal courts of appeals may impose penalties where the taxpayer's appeal of a U.S. Tax Court decision was "maintained primarily for delay" or where "the taxpayer's position in the appeal is frivolous or groundless."\[34\]

**Frivolous litigation in United States District Court**

In a non-criminal case in a United States district court, a litigant (or a litigant's attorney) who presents any pleading, written motion or other paper to the court is deemed to have certified that, to the best of the presenter's knowledge and belief, the legal contentions "are warranted by existing law or by a nonfrivolous argument for the extension, modification, or reversal of existing law or the establishment of new law."\[35\] Monetary civil penalties for violation of this rule may in some cases be imposed on the litigant or the attorney under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.\[36\] In one 2007 case, for example, the Seventh Circuit issued an order giving such an attorney "14 days to show cause why he should not be fined $ 10,000 for his frivolous arguments."\[37\]

**Frivolous litigation in various other appeals**

Congress has enacted section 1912 of title 28 of the United States Code providing that in the United States Supreme Court and in the various courts of appeals where litigation by the losing party has caused damage to the prevailing party, the court may impose a requirement that the losing party pay the prevailing party for those damages.\[38\] A person who raises a frivolous argument in a Federal appeals court may also be subject to monetary penalties under Rule 38 of the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure.\[39\]
Treatment by Internal Revenue Service

Prior to the Internal Revenue Service Restructuring and Reform Act of 1998 (the "1998 Act"), the Internal Revenue Service had defined a tax-protester scheme as "any scheme without basis in law or fact for the ostensible purpose of expressing dissatisfaction with the substance, form, or administration of the tax laws be [sic; "by"] either interfering with tax administration or attempting to illegally avoid or reduce tax liabilities."[40]

The IRS has not released records indicating whom the agency defined as "illegal tax protesters" (coded as TC-148). In testimony before Congress in 1997, former IRS historian Shelley L. Davis contended that the IRS kept lists of citizens "for no reason other than that their political activities might have offended someone at the IRS [ . . . ]" and she charged that "anyone who offers even legitimate criticism of the tax collector is [labeled by the IRS as] a tax protester [ . . . ]"[41]

After the 1997 congressional hearings, Congress responded with the 1998 Act. Subsection (a) of section 3707 of the 1998 Act now prohibits "officers and employees of the Internal Revenue Service" from designating a taxpayer as an "illegal tax protester" or using any similar designation for a taxpayer.[42] By contrast, subsection (b) of section 3707 provides: "An officer or employee of the Internal Revenue Service may designate any appropriate taxpayer as a nonfiler, but shall remove such designation once the taxpayer has filed income tax returns for 2 consecutive taxable years and paid all taxes shown on such returns."[43]

The IRS has prescribed procedures for its personnel to handle frivolous returns (whether considered valid returns or not) in the "Frivolous Return Program" section of the Internal Revenue Manual.[44] The IRS has concluded, in Service Center Advice 200107034 dated November 15, 2000, that the statutory prohibition on the use of the term "illegal tax protester" by IRS personnel does not prohibit the IRS from maintaining a database of frivolous tax return filers as part of its Frivolous Return Program. IRS Advice 200107034 states (in part):

The Frivolous Return Program in Examination [an administrative component of the IRS] has the specific assignment of processing assessments of frivolous return penalties pursuant to [Internal Revenue Code] section 6702. The employees of that unit receive documents from throughout the country that IRS employees believe may qualify as frivolous returns under section 6702. The employees reviews the documents and determines how to proceed.

When the documents come into the Frivolous Return Program, employees enter initial data into a computerized inventory database. [ . . . ] Initial data includes name, social security number, and tax examiner assigned the case. Later, a tax examiner reviews the documents to see if they qualify as frivolous. If the documents meet the frivolous test, the tax examiner does a compliance check to see if the taxpayer is properly filing returns. If the taxpayer is properly filing returns and is not potentially subject to a frivolous return penalty, then the tax examiner deletes the individual from the database [ . . . ][45]

According to the IRS:

[ . . . ] Congress enacted section 3707 because of its concern that taxpayers may be stigmatized by a designation as an "illegal tax protester." [ . . . ] Under section 3707(a)(2), the IRS is required to remove illegal tax-protester designations from its individual master file and disregard any illegal tax-protester designation in a place other than the individual master file in the case of any illegal tax-protesters designation made on or before July 22, 1998, the date of the enactment of section 3707. Although section 3707 prohibits the IRS from designating taxpayers as illegal tax protesters, it does provide that the IRS may designated [sic] any appropriate taxpayer as a nonfiler. However, the nonfiler designation must be removed once the taxpayer has filed income tax returns for two consecutive years and paid all taxes shown on the returns. Section 3707(b).

We conclude [ . . . ] that Congress was concerned that innocent taxpayers may have been mislabeled as illegal tax protesters. However, Congress did not intend to limit the IRS's ability to maintain records and
to make designations, other than the illegal tax-protesters designation, where such designations are appropriate.

As a result of the enactment of sections 3707 [of the 1998 Act] and 6702 [of the Internal Revenue Code], the IRS [ . . . ] has tried to balance these competing obligations by focusing on the conduct of the taxpayers and specifically identifying those frivolous arguments asserted rather than applying a general label of tax protester.\textsuperscript{[45]}

The Criminal Investigation (CI) division of the Internal Revenue Service investigates reports of violations of the federal criminal tax statutes,\textsuperscript{[46]} including tax evasion under 26 U.S.C. § 7201\textsuperscript{[47]}, willful failure to file tax returns or pay tax under 26 U.S.C. § 7203\textsuperscript{[48]}, willful filing of false returns under 26 U.S.C. § 7206\textsuperscript{[49]}, and violations of other statutes, and refers tax cases to the Tax Division of the U.S. Department of Justice for prosecution.

In July 2008, the office of the Treasury Department's Inspector General for Tax Administration reported that the number of federal criminal tax investigations referred by the Internal Revenue Service to the Justice Department is at an eight-year high. According to the report, the fiscal year 2007 ended with 4,600 investigations. The increase is nearly 50 percent from fiscal year 2002 to year 2007. The report also concluded that federal criminal tax convictions increased by 6.7% from fiscal year 2006 to fiscal year 2007. The number of persons convicted in fiscal year 2007 was 2,155.\textsuperscript{[50]}

Treatment by the U.S. Department of Justice

The Department of Justice may obtain a federal court ruling to the effect that a specific tax-protester activity constitutes the promotion of an illegal tax shelter under Internal Revenue Code section 6700 (26 U.S.C. § 6700\textsuperscript{[51]}), and may obtain a court order prohibiting that activity under 26 U.S.C. § 7408\textsuperscript{[52]}, as it did in the case of United States v. Robert L. Schulz, We the People Foundation for Constitutional Education, Inc., and We the People Congress, Inc.\textsuperscript{[53]} The Tax Division of the U.S. Department of Justice prosecutes violations of the federal criminal tax statutes, generally after an investigation and referral of a case by the Criminal Investigation division of the Internal Revenue Service. See, e.g., subsection (d) of 26 U.S.C. § 7602\textsuperscript{[54]}.

As of February 2008, the Department of Justice was reported to be "planning a crackdown on the so-called tax-protester movement."\textsuperscript{[55]} United States Assistant Attorney General Nathan Hochman, the head of the Tax Division of the Justice Department, stated: "Too many people succumb to the fallacy, the illusion, that you don't have to pay any tax under any set of conditions [ . . . ] That is a growing problem."\textsuperscript{[55]} According to a Bloomberg News report, the U.S. government has a 97 percent conviction rate in criminal tax denier cases.\textsuperscript{[35]}

On April 9, 2008, U.S. Assistant Attorney General Nathan Hochman announced the launch of the National Tax Defier Initiative, also known as the "TAXDEF Initiative."\textsuperscript{[56]} In the announcement, Hochman stated:

Now, tax non-compliers come in a wide variety of folks, some of which can be brought into compliance through education, and other of which can only be brought into compliance through enforcement. Today, I want to focus on a particularly pernicious and egregious character in the tax non-compliance world: the tax defier.

The tax defier is not someone who has a legitimate legal or factual dispute with the government about the amount of their tax due. We welcome such legitimate disputes administratively before the IRS, or in [court]. The tax defier is not someone who is merely exercising his or her first amendment rights to challenge the tax policy choices of Congress.

Instead, the tax defier is someone who rejects the fundamental basis, the legal underpinnings of our entire tax system, and flies in the face of legal precedent going back decades that has upheld the Constitutional and statutory validity of that system. And, this is important, and taxes [sic] specific and concrete action to violate the law. It is the tax defier's conduct which results in frivolous returns, bogus tax schemes, and frivolous claims that threatens the foundation of our tax system, in which will be and
can be vigorously countered. Although the tax division and the IRS have been effective at times at going after tax defier activity, the problem demands constant vigilance.

Today, I want to renew and revitalize the tax division’s commitment to going after tax defier conduct by announcing the creation of the National Tax Defier Initiative, or the TAXDEF Initiative.

[...]

To the extent that protest defines someone who stands on a soapbox and decries the appropriateness of a particular tax policy, it’s a completely legitimate act to do so. However, when that protest turns into defiant conduct, which is the [filing] of a frivolous return, a bogus claim, engaging some of these bogus tax defier techniques on my right and left - that’s when the tax defiant conduct becomes criminal or civil prosecutable. [... ] we decided to use the term tax defier to focus on the 100% illegitimate part of what these folks are doing. And, again, what we’re prosecuting is the conduct, not the mere exercise of their first amendment rights.[45]

In United States v. Amon, Alan Amon was convicted of filing a false withholding allowance certificate under 26 U.S.C. § 7205 [57]. Rather than having been indicted by a grand jury, Amon had been charged by the U.S. Department of Justice in a document called an information. He appealed the conviction, in part on the ground that the government’s prosecution of him was "unconstitutionally selective." The United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit noted that the trial court had agreed that Amon was "selected for prosecution because he is an active and outspoken [tax] protester."[58]

The trial court ruled that Amon's "status as an active protester was insufficient to establish selective prosecution" and that no illegal discrimination occurs where the government prosecutes individuals for actions they take in failing to comply with tax laws where an effect of the prosecution is "...to dissuade others from engaging in that kind of tax protest." The Court of Appeals agreed, stating: "Merely showing that the Government elected, under established IRS directives, to prosecute an individual because he was vocal in opposing voluntary compliance with the federal income tax law, without also establishing that others similarly situated were not prosecuted and that the prosecution was based on racial, religious or other impermissible considerations, does not demonstrate an unconstitutionally selective prosecution."

Responses

Many Appeals Courts have made blanket statements repudiating tax-protester arguments. For example, see the Seventh Circuit case of United States v. Buckner.[59]

For the record, we note that the following beliefs, which are stock arguments of the tax protester movement, have not been, nor ever will be, considered "objectively reasonable" in this circuit:

(1) the belief that the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution was improperly ratified and therefore never came into being;
(2) the belief that the Sixteenth Amendment is unconstitutional generally;
(3) the belief that the income tax violates the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment;
(4) the belief that the tax laws are unconstitutional;
(5) the belief that wages are not income and therefore are not subject to federal income tax laws;
(6) the belief that filing a tax return violates the privilege against self-incrimination; and
(7) the belief that Federal Reserve Notes do not constitute cash or income.
Arguments about constitutionality

The case of Cheek v. United States involves a U.S. Supreme Court decision on tax-protester arguments. The Cheek case involved John L. Cheek, a tax protester who was prosecuted for tax evasion under 26 U.S.C. § 7201. In Cheek, the Court stated:

Claims that some of the provisions of the tax code are unconstitutional are submissions of a different order. They do not arise from innocent mistakes caused by the complexity of the Internal Revenue Code. Rather, they reveal full knowledge of the provisions at issue and a studied conclusion, however wrong, that those provisions are invalid and unenforceable. Thus, in this case, Cheek paid his taxes for years, but after attending various seminars and based on his own study, he concluded that the income tax laws could not constitutionally require him to pay a tax.[60]

The Supreme Court in Cheek continued:

We do not believe that Congress contemplated that such a taxpayer, without risking criminal prosecution, could ignore the duties imposed upon him by the Internal Revenue Code and refuse to utilize the mechanisms provided by Congress to present his claims of invalidity to the courts and to abide by their decisions. There is no doubt that Cheek, from year to year, was free to pay the tax that the law purported to require, file for a refund and, if denied, present his claims of invalidity, constitutional or otherwise, to the courts. See 26 U.S.C. 7422. Also, without paying the tax, he could have challenged claims of tax deficiencies in the Tax Court, 6213, with the right to appeal to a higher court if unsuccessful. 7482(a)(1). Cheek took neither course in some years, and, when he did, was unwilling to accept the outcome. As we see it, he is in no position to claim that his good-faith belief about the validity of the Internal Revenue Code negates willfulness or provides a defense to criminal prosecution under 7201 and 7203. Of course, Cheek was free in this very case to present his claims of invalidity and have them adjudicated, but, like defendants in criminal cases in other contexts who "willfully" refuse to comply with the duties placed upon them by the law, he must take the risk of being wrong.[61]

After a remand by the Supreme Court, the tax protester in Cheek was ultimately convicted, and the conviction was upheld on appeal. The Supreme Court refused to hear his petition for review of his conviction after the remand, and he was sent to prison.[62]

If a jury finds that a criminal defendant had a subjective good faith belief due to a misunderstanding based on the complexity of the tax law (and not based on an argument about its constitutionality), that belief may be a defense with respect to the element of willfulness, even if the belief is unreasonable. This is due to the general mens rea requirement needed to hold someone criminally liable and the specific intent (required by the word "willfully" in the statute) as defined in the Cheek case and other court cases (see specific intent crimes). Persons acquitted of criminal tax evasion may still be sued civilly, and may be required to pay the taxes assessed, along with civil penalties.

References


[16] 521 F.2d 1188 (9th Cir. 1975).


[22] Court v. Commissioner, 737 F.2d 1417, 18 (5th Cir. 1984).


[32] 766 F.2d 1288, 85-2 U.S. Tax Cas. (CCH) paragr. 9575 (9th Cir. 1985) (per curiam).


[34] See paragraph (4) of subsection (c) of 26 U.S.C. § 7482 (http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/26/7482.html).


[37] United States v. Patridge, 507 F.3d 1092, 1097 (7th Cir. 2007).


[40] (http://www.kscourts.org/ca10/cases/2002/02/01-2125.htm)


[45] Service Center Advice 200107034, National Office Service Center Advice Memorandum for Associate Area Counsel, Salt Lake City, Nov. 15, 2000, Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Dep't of the Treasury.

[46] See generally "Criminal Investigation (CI) At-a-Glance," Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Dep't of the Treasury, at (http://www.irs.gov/irs-article0,_id=98398,00.html). In the Internal Revenue Code, the CI division is referred to as the "Intelligence Division" of the IRS. See subsection (b) of 26 U.S.C. § 7608 (http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/26/7608.html). The Intelligence Division, formerly known as the "Intelligence Unit," changed its name to "Criminal Investigation" in July 1978 (see "The History of IRS Criminal Investigation (CI)," Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Dep't of the Treasury, at (http://www.irs.gov/compliance/enforcement/article0, id=107469,00.html)), although section 7608 has not been amended by Congress to reflect this change.


[59] 830 F.2d 102 (7th Cir. 1987).


[61] Cheek, 498 U.S. at 206.


External links

- Tax Protester FAQ (http://evans-legal.com/dan/tpfaq.html) by attorney Daniel B. Evans
- Income Tax: Voluntary or Mandatory? (http://docs.law.gwu.edu/facweb/jsiegel/Personal/taxes/IncomeTax.htm) Professor Jonathan Siegel at George Washington University Law School explains the errors in some popular tax-protester myths.
- tax-protester web site claiming the Average American is not liable for filing and paying income taxes (http://www.showmethelaw.org/category/education)
- Web site of former tax protestor Dr. Greg Williams (http://taxfool.com)
- Web site of tax protestor and former decorated I.R.S. Criminal Investigation Special Agent, Joe Banister (http://www.freedomabovefortune.com)
Sovereignty

Sovereignty is the quality of having supreme, independent authority over a geographic area, such as a territory.\[^1\] It can be found in a power to rule and make law that rests on a political fact for which no purely legal explanation can be provided. In theoretical terms, the idea of "sovereignty", historically, from Socrates to Thomas Hobbes, has always necessitated a moral imperative on the entity exercising it.

For centuries past, the idea that a state could be sovereign was always connected to its ability to guarantee the best interests of its own citizens. Thus, if a state could not act in the best interests of its own citizens, it could not be thought of as a "sovereign" state.\[^2\]

The concept of sovereignty has been discussed throughout history, from the time of the Romans through to the present day. It has changed in its definition, concept, and application throughout, especially during the Age of Enlightenment. The current notion of state sovereignty is often traced back to the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which, in relation to states, codified the basic principles:

- territorial integrity
- border inviolability
- supremacy of the state (rather than the Church)
- a sovereign is the supreme lawmaking authority within its jurisdiction.

History

Classical

The Roman jurist Ulpian observed that:

- The imperium of the people is transferred to the Emperor,
- The Emperor is not bound by the law,
- The Emperor's word is law. Emperor is the law making and abiding force.

Ulpian was expressing the idea that the Emperor exercised a rather absolute form of sovereignty, although he did not use the term expressly. Ulpian's statements were known in medieval Europe, but sovereignty was not an important concept in medieval times. Medieval monarchs were not sovereign, at least not strongly so, because they were constrained by, and shared power with, their feudal aristocracy. Furthermore, both were strongly constrained by custom.\[^1\]
Medieval

Sovereignty existed during the Medieval Period as the de jure rights of nobility and royalty, and in the de facto capability of individuals to make their own choices in life. In the medieval times, sovereignty was seen as absoluteness of the state; this is according to Thomas Hobbes in his text, 'leviathan'.

Around c. 1380–1400, the issue of feminine sovereignty was addressed in Geoffrey Chaucer's Middle English collection of Canterbury Tales, specifically in The Wife of Bath's Tale.[3]

A later English Arthurian romance, The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell (c. 1450),[4] uses much of the same elements of the Wife of Bath's tale, yet changes the setting to the court of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. The story revolves around the knight Sir Gawain granting to Dame Ragnell, his new bride, what is purported to be wanted most by women: sovereignty.

We desire most from men,
From men both lund and poor,
To have sovereignty without lies.
For where we have sovereignty, all is ours,
Though a knight be ever so fierce,
And ever win mastery.
It is our desire to have master
Over such a sir.
Such is our purpose.
—The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell (c. 1450), [4]

Reformation

Sovereignty reemerged as a concept in the late 16th century, a time when civil wars had created a craving for stronger central authority, when monarchs had begun to gather power into their own hands at the expense of the nobility, and the modern nation state was emerging. Jean Bodin, partly in reaction to the chaos of the French wars of religion; and Thomas Hobbes, partly in reaction to the English Civil War, both presented theories of sovereignty calling for strong central authority in the form of absolute monarchy. In his 1576 treatise Les Six Livres de la République ("Six Books of the Republic") Bodin argued that it is inherent in the nature of the state that sovereignty must be:[1]

• Absolute: On this point he said that the sovereign must not be hedged in with obligations and conditions, must be able to legislate without his (or its) subjects' consent, must not be bound by the laws of his predecessors, and could not, because it is illogical, be bound by his own laws.

• Perpetual: Not temporarily delegated as to a strong leader in an emergency or to a state employee such as a magistrate. He held that sovereignty must be perpetual because anyone with the power to enforce a time limit on the governing power must be above the governing power, which would be impossible if the governing power is absolute.

Bodin rejected the notion of transference of sovereignty from people to sovereign; natural law and divine law confer upon the sovereign the right to rule. And the sovereign is not above divine law or natural law. He is above (ie. not bound by) only positive law, that is, laws made by humans. The fact that the sovereign must obey divine and natural law imposes ethical constraints on him. Bodin also held that the lois royales, the fundamental laws of the French monarchy which regulated matters such as succession, are natural laws and are binding on the French sovereign. How divine and natural law could in practice be enforced on the sovereign is a problematic feature of Bodin's philosophy: any person capable of enforcing them on him would be above him.

Despite his commitment to absolutism, Bodin held some moderate opinions on how government should in practice be carried out. He held that although the sovereign is not obliged to, it is advisable for him, as a practical expedient,
to convene a senate from whom he can obtain advice, to delegate some power to magistrates for the practical administration of the law, and to use the Estates as a means of communicating with the people.

With his doctrine that sovereignty is conferred by divine law, Bodin predefined the scope of the divine right of kings.

**Age of Enlightenment**

Hobbes, in *Leviathan* (1651) introduced an early version of the social contract (or contractarian) theory, arguing that to overcome the "nasty, brutish and short" quality of life without the cooperation of other human beings, people must join in a "commonwealth" and submit to a "Soveraigne [sic] Power" that is able to compel them to act in the common good. This expediency argument attracted many of the early proponents of sovereignty. Hobbes deduced from the definition of sovereignty that it must be:

- **Absolute**: because conditions could only be imposed on a sovereign if there were some outside arbitrator to determine when he had violated them, in which case the sovereign would not be the final authority.
- **Indivisible**: The sovereign is the only final authority in his territory; he does not share final authority with any other entity. Hobbes held this to be true because otherwise there would be no way of resolving a disagreement between the multiple authorities.

Hobbes' hypothesis that the ruler's sovereignty is contracted to him by the people in return for his maintaining their safety, led him to conclude that if the ruler fails to do this, the people are released from their obligation to obey him.

Bodin's and Hobbes's theories would decisively shape the concept of sovereignty, which we can find again in the social contract theories, for example, in Rousseau's (1712–1778) definition of popular sovereignty (with early antecedents in Francisco Suárez's theory of the origin of power), which only differs in that he considers the people to be the legitimate sovereign. Likewise, it is inalienable – Rousseau condemned the distinction between the origin and the exercise of sovereignty, a distinction upon which constitutional monarchy or representative democracy are founded. Niccolò Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Montesquieu are also key figures in the unfolding of the concept of sovereignty.

The second book of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Du Contrat Social, ou Principes du droit politique* (1762) deals with sovereignty and its rights. Sovereignty, or the general will, is inalienable, for the will cannot be transmitted; it is indivisible, since it is essentially general; it is infallible and always right, determined and limited in its power by the common interest; it acts through laws. Law is the decision of the general will in regard to some object of common interest, but though the general will is always right and desires only good, its judgment is not always enlightened, and consequently does not always see wherein the common good lies; hence the necessity of the legislator. But the legislator has, of himself, no authority; he is only a guide who drafts and proposes laws, but the people alone (that is, the sovereign or general will) has authority to make and impose them.

Rousseau, in his 1763 treatise *Of the Social Contract*[^5] argued, "the growth of the State giving the trustees of public authority more and means to abuse their power, the more the Government has to have force to contain the people, the more force the Sovereign should have in turn in order to contain the Government," with the understanding that the Sovereign is "a collective being of wonder" (Book II, Chapter I) resulting from "the general will" of the people, and that "what any man, whoever he may be, orders on his own, is not a law" (Book II, Chapter VI) – and furthermore predicated on the assumption that the people have an unbiased means by which to ascertain the general will. Thus the legal maxim, "there is no law without a sovereign."[^6]

The 1789 French Revolution shifted the possession of sovereignty from the sovereign ruler to the nation and its people.

Carl Schmitt (1888–1985) defined sovereignty as "the power to decide the state of exception", in an attempt, argues Giorgio Agamben, to counter Walter Benjamin's theory of violence as radically disjoint from law. Georges Bataille's heterodox conception of sovereignty, which may be said to be an "anti-sovereignty", also inspired many thinkers, such as Jacques Derrida, Agamben or Jean-Luc Nancy.
Sovereignty

Definition and types

There exists perhaps no conception the meaning of which is more controversial than that of sovereignty. It is an indisputable fact that this conception, from the moment when it was introduced into political science until the present day, has never had a meaning which was universally agreed upon.

— Lassa Oppenheim, an authority on international law [7]

Absoluteness

An important factor of sovereignty is its degree of absoluteness. A sovereign power has absolute sovereignty when it is not restricted by a constitution, by the laws of its predecessors, or by custom, and no areas of law or policy are reserved as being outside its control. International law; policies and actions of neighboring states; cooperation and respect of the populace; means of enforcement; and resources to enact policy are factors that might limit sovereignty. For example, parents are not guaranteed the right to decide some matters in the upbringing of their children independent of societal regulation, and municipalities do not have unlimited jurisdiction in local matters, thus neither parents nor municipalities have absolute sovereignty. Theorists have diverged over the desirability of increased absoluteness.

Exclusivity

A key element of sovereignty in a legalistic sense is that of exclusivity of jurisdiction. Specifically, the degree to which decisions made by a sovereign entity might be contradicted by another authority. Along these lines, the German sociologist Max Weber proposed that sovereignty is a community's monopoly on the legitimate use of force; and thus any group claiming the same right must either be brought under the yoke of the sovereign, proven illegitimate, or otherwise contested and defeated for sovereignty to be genuine.[8] International law, competing branches of government, and authorities reserved for subordinate entities (such as federated states or republics) represent legal infringements on exclusivity. Social institutions such as religious bodies, corporations, and competing political parties might represent de facto infringements on exclusivity.

De jure and de facto

De jure, or legal, sovereignty concerns the expressed and institutionally recognised right to exercise control over a territory.

De facto, or actual, sovereignty is concerned with whether control in fact exists. Cooperation and respect of the populace; control of resources in, or moved into, an area; means of enforcement and security; and ability to carry out various functions of state all represent measures of de facto sovereignty. When control is practiced predominately by military or police force it is considered coercive sovereignty.

It is generally held that sovereignty requires not only the legal right to exercise power, but the actual exercise of such power. Thus, de jure sovereignty without de facto sovereignty has limited recognition.
Internal

Internal sovereignty is the relationship between a sovereign power and its own subjects. A central concern is legitimacy: by what right does a government exercise authority? Claims of legitimacy might refer to the divine right of kings or to a social contract (i.e. popular sovereignty).

With Sovereignty meaning holding supreme, independent authority over a region or state, Internal Sovereignty refers to the internal affairs of the state and the location of supreme power within it. A state that has internal sovereignty is one with a government that has been elected by the people and has the popular legitimacy. Internal sovereignty examines the internal affairs of a state and how it operates. It is important to have strong internal sovereignty in relation to keeping order and peace. When you have weak internal sovereignty organization such as rebel groups will undermine the authority and disrupt the peace. The presence of a strong authority allows you to keep agreement and enforce sanctions for the violation of laws. The ability for leadership to prevent these violations is a key variable in determining internal sovereignty. The lack of internal sovereignty can cause war in one of two ways, first, undermining the value of agreement by allowing costly violations and second requiring such large subsidies for implementation that they render war cheaper than peace. Leadership needs to be able to promise members, especially those like armies, police forces, or paramilitaries will abide by agreements. The presence of strong internal sovereignty allows a state to deter opposition groups in exchange for bargaining. It has been said that a more decentralized authority would be more efficient in keeping peace because the deal must please not only the leadership but also the opposition group. While the operations and affairs within a state are relative to the level of sovereignty within that state, there is still an argument between who should hold the authority in a sovereign state.

This argument between who should hold the authority within a sovereign state is called the traditional doctrine of public sovereignty. This discussion is between an internal sovereign or an authority of public sovereignty. An internal sovereign is a political body that possesses ultimate, final and independent authority; one whose decisions are binding upon all citizens, groups and institutions in society. Early thinkers believe sovereignty should be vested in the hands of a single person, a monarch. They believed the overriding merit of vesting sovereignty in a single individual was that sovereignty would therefore be indivisible; it would be expressed in a single voice that could claim final authority. An example of an internal sovereign or monarch is Louis XIV of France during the seventeenth century; Louis XIV claimed that he was the state. Jean-Jacques Rousseau rejected monarchial rule in favor of the other type of authority within a sovereign state, public sovereignty. Public Sovereignty is the belief that ultimate authority is vested in the people themselves, expressed in the idea of the general will. This means that the power is elected and supported by its members, the authority has a central goal of the good of the people in mind. The idea of public sovereignty has often been the basis for modern democratic theory.

Modern Internal Sovereignty: Within the modern governmental system you usually find internal sovereignty in states that have public sovereignty and rarely find it within a state controlled by an internal sovereign. A form of government that is a little different from both is the UK parliament system. From 1790–1859 it was argued that sovereignty in the UK was vested neither in the Crown nor in the people but in the “Monarch in Parliament”. This is the origin of the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty and is usually seen as the fundamental principle of the British constitution. With these principles of parliamentary sovereignty majority control can gain access to unlimited constitutional authority, creating what has been called "elective dictatorship" or "modern autocracy". Public sovereignty in modern governments is a lot more common with examples like the USA, Canada, Australia and India where government is divided into different levels.
External

External sovereignty concerns the relationship between a sovereign power and other states. For example, the United Kingdom uses the following criterion when deciding under what conditions other states recognise a political entity as having sovereignty over some territory;

"Sovereignty." A government which exercises de facto administrative control over a country and is not subordinate to any other government in that country or a foreign sovereign state.

— (The Arantzazu Mendi, [1939] A.C. 256), Strouds Judicial Dictionary

External sovereignty is connected with questions of international law, such as: when, if ever, is intervention by one country onto another's territory permissible?

Following the Thirty Years' War, a European religious conflict that embroiled much of the continent, the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 established the notion of territorial sovereignty as a norm of noninterference in the affairs of other nations, so-called Westphalian sovereignty, even though the actual treaty itself reaffirmed the multiple levels of sovereignty of the Holy Roman Empire. This resulted as a natural extension of the older principle of cuius regio, eius religio (Whose realm, his religion), leaving the Roman Catholic Church with little ability to interfere with the internal affairs of many European states. It is a myth, however, that the Treaties of Westphalia created a new European order of equal sovereign states.[14]

In international law, sovereignty means that a government possesses full control over affairs within a territorial or geographical area or limit. Determining whether a specific entity is sovereign is not an exact science, but often a matter of diplomatic dispute. There is usually an expectation that both de jure and de facto sovereignty rest in the same organisation at the place and time of concern. Foreign governments use varied criteria and political considerations when deciding whether or not to recognise the sovereignty of a state over a territory. Membership in the United Nations requires that "[t]he admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."[15]

Sovereignty may be recognized even when the sovereign body possesses no territory or its territory is under partial or total occupation by another power. The Holy See was in this position between the annexation in 1870 of the Papal States by Italy and the signing of the Lateran Treaties in 1929, a 59-year period during which it was recognised as sovereign by many (mostly Roman Catholic) states despite possessing no territory — a situation resolved when the Lateran Treaties granted the Holy See sovereignty over the Vatican City. Another case, sui generis, though often contested, is the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the third sovereign entity inside Italian territory (after San Marino and the Vatican City State) and the second inside the Italian capital (since in 1869 the Palazzo di Malta and the Villa Malta receive extraterritorial rights, in this way becoming the only "sovereign" territorial possessions of the modern Order), which is the last existing heir to one of several once militarily significant, crusader states of sovereign military orders. In 1607 its Grand masters were also made Reichsfürst (princes of the Holy Roman Empire) by the Holy Roman Emperor, granting them seats in the Reichstag, at the time the closest permanent equivalent to a UN-type general assembly; confirmed 1620). These sovereign rights never deposed, only the territories were lost. 100 modern states still maintain full diplomatic relations with the order[16] (now de facto "the most prestigious service club"), and the UN awarded it observer status.[17]

The governments-in-exile of many European states (for instance, Norway, Netherlands or Czechoslovakia) during the Second World War were regarded as sovereign despite their territories being under foreign occupation; their governance resumed as soon as the occupation had ended. The government of Kuwait was in a similar situation vis-à-vis the Iraqi occupation of its country during 1990–1991. The government of Republic of China was recognized as sovereign over China from 1911-1971 despite that its mainland China territory became occupied by Communist Chinese forces since 1949. In 1971 it lost UN recognition to Chinese Communist-led People's Republic of China and its sovereign and political status as a state became disputed and it lost its ability to use "China" as its
name and therefore became commonly known as Taiwan.

Commonly mistaken to be sovereign, the International Committee of the Red Cross, having been granted various
degrees of special privileges and legal immunities in many countries, that in cases like Switzerland are
considerable,\[^{18}\] which are described as amounting to de facto sovereignty, is a private organisation governed by
Swiss law.\[^{19}\]

**Shared**

Just as the office of head of state can be vested jointly in several persons within a state, the sovereign jurisdiction
over a single political territory can be shared jointly by two or more consenting powers, notably in the form of a
condominium.

**Nation-states**

A community of people who claim the right of self-determination based on a common ethnicity, history and culture
might seek to establish sovereignty over a region, thus creating a nation-state. Such nations are sometimes
recognised as autonomous areas rather than as fully sovereign, independent states.

**Federations**

In a federal system of government, sovereignty also refers to powers which a constituent state or republic possesses
independently of the national government. In a confederation constituent entities retain the right to withdraw from
the national body, but in a federation member states or republics do not hold that right.

Different interpretations of state sovereignty in the United States of America, as it related to the expansion of slavery
and Fugitive slave laws, led to the outbreak of the American Civil War. Depending on the particular issue,
sometimes the North and other times the South justified their political positions by appealing to state sovereignty.
Fearing that slavery would be threatened by federal election results, eleven states declared their independence from
the federal Union and formed a new confederation.\[^{20}\] The United States government rejected the secessions as
rebellion, declaring that secession from the Union by an individual state was unconstitutional, as the states were part
of an indissoluble federation.

**Acquisition**

A number of methods of acquisition of sovereignty are presently or have historically been recognised by
international law as lawful methods by which a state may acquire sovereignty over territory.

**Justifications**

There exist vastly differing views on the moral basis of sovereignty. A fundamental polarity is between theories that
assert that sovereignty is vested directly in the sovereign by divine or natural right and theories that assert it
originates from the people. In the latter case there is a further division into those that assert that the people transfer
their sovereignty to the sovereign (Hobbes), and those that assert that the people retain their sovereignty (Rousseau).

Absolute monarchies are typically based on concepts such as the divine right of kings in Europe or the mandate of
Heaven in China.

A republic is a form of government in which the people, or some significant portion of them, retain sovereignty over
the government and where offices of state are not granted through heritage.\[^{21}\][\[^{22}\] A common modern definition of a
republic is a government having a head of state who is not a monarch.\[^{23}\][\[^{24}\]

Democracy is based on the concept of popular sovereignty. In a direct democracy the public plays an active role in
shaping and deciding policy. Representative democracy permits a transfer of the exercise of sovereignty from the
people to a legislative body or an executive (or to some combination of legislature, executive and Judiciary). Many representative democracies provide limited direct democracy through referendum, initiative, and recall.

Parliamentary sovereignty refers to a representative democracy where the parliament is ultimately sovereign and not the executive power nor the judiciary.

**Views on**

- Realists view sovereignty as being untouchable and as guaranteed to legitimate nation-states.
- Rationalists see sovereignty similarly to Realists. However, Rationalism states that the sovereignty of a nation-state may be violated in extreme circumstances, such as human rights abuses.
- Internationalists believe that sovereignty is outdated and an unnecessary obstacle to achieving peace, in line with their belief of a 'global community'. In the light of the abuse of power by sovereign states such as Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Soviet Union, they argue that human beings are not necessarily protected by the state whose citizens they are, and that the respect for state sovereignty on which the UN Charter is founded is an obstacle to humanitarian intervention.\[14\]
- Anarchists and some libertarians deny the sovereignty of states and governments. Anarchists often argue for a specific individual kind of sovereignty, such as the Anarch as a sovereign individual. Salvador Dalí, for instance, talked of "anarcho-monarchist" (as usual for him, tongue in cheek); Antonin Artaud of *Heliogabalus: Or, The Crowned Anarchist*; Max Stirner of *The Ego and Its Own*; Georges Bataille and Jacques Derrida of a kind of "antisovereignty". Therefore, anarchists join a classical conception of the individual as sovereign of himself, which forms the basis of political consciousness. The unified consciousness is sovereignty over one's own body, as Nietzsche demonstrated (see also Pierre Klossowski's book on *Nietzsche and the Vicious Circle*). See also **self-ownership**.
- Imperialists hold a view of sovereignty where power rightfully exists with those states that hold the greatest ability to impose the will of said state, by force or threat of force, over the populace or other states with weaker military or political will. They effectively deny the sovereignty of the individual in deference to either the 'good' of the whole, or to divine right.

**Relation to rule of law**

Another topic is whether the law is held to be sovereign, that is, whether it is above political or other interference. Sovereign law constitutes a true state of law, meaning the letter of the law (if constitutionally correct) is applicable and enforceable, even when against the political will of the nation, as long as not formally changed following the constitutional procedure. Strictly speaking, any deviation from this principle constitutes a revolution or a coup d'état, regardless of the intentions.

**Sovereign as a title**

In some cases, the title sovereign is not just a generic term, but an actual (part of the) formal style of a Head of state. Thus from 22 June 1934, to 29 May 1953, (the title "Emperor of India" was dropped as of 15 August 1947, by retroactive proclamation dated 22 June 1948), the King of South Africa was styled in the Dominion of South Africa: "By the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India and Sovereign in and over the Union of South Africa." Upon the accession of Elizabeth II to the Throne of South Africa in 1952, the title was changed to Queen of South Africa and Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth, parallel to the style used in almost all the other Commonwealth realms. The pope holds ex officio the title "Sovereign of the Vatican City State" in respect to Vatican City.

The adjective form can also be used in a Monarch's full style, as in pre-imperial Russia, 16 January 1547 – 22 November 1721: *Bozhiyeyu Milostiuyu Velikiy/Velikaya Gosudar' Gosudarynya Tsar'/Tsaritsa i Velikiy Velikaya*
Sovereign Tsar/Tsarina and Grand Prince/Princess, N.N., of All Russia, Autocrat”.

References


[6] A society of states: or, Sovereignty, independence, and equality in a league of nations (http://books.google.com/books?id=GI9jAAAAMAAJ&dq="there+is+a+law++without+a+sovereign"+Seydel&hl=en&ei=6TsfVtbbeXr0gHLs37DQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q="there+is+no+law+without+a+sovereign"+Seydel&f=false), Secondary source
[16] Bilateral diplomatic relations of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (http://www.orderofmalta.int/diplomatic-relations/862/sovereign-order-of-malta-bilateral-relations/?lang=en)
[18] By formal agreement between the Swiss government and the ICRC, Switzerland grants full sanctity of all ICRC property in Switzerland including its headquarters and archive, grants members and staff legal immunity, exempts the ICRC from all taxes and fees, guarantees the protected and duty-free transfer of goods, services, and money, provides the ICRC with secure communication privileges at the same level as foreign embassies, and simplifies Committee travel in and out of Switzerland.
On the other hand Switzerland does not recognize ICRC issued passports (http://www.undiregelverk.no/~media/Images/Rettsskilder/Visa Code/Visa Code vedlegg 10 a.pdf)

About the International Committee of the Red Cross (http://www.icrc.org/eng/who-we-are/overview-who-we-are.htm)
Further reading


New World Order (conspiracy theory)

In conspiracy theory, the term *New World Order* or *NWO* refers to the emergence of a totalitarian one-world government.[2][3][4][5][6]

The common theme in conspiracy theories about a New World Order is that a secretive power elite with a globalist agenda is conspiring to eventually rule the world through an authoritarian world government—which replaces sovereign nation-states—and an all-encompassing propaganda that ideologizes its establishment as the culmination of history’s progress. Significant occurrences in politics and finance are speculated to be orchestrated by an unduly influential cabal operating through many front organizations. Numerous historical and current events are seen as steps in an on-going plot to achieve world domination through secret political gatherings and decision-making processes.[2][3][4][5][6]

Prior to the early 1990s, New World Order conspiracism was limited to two American countercultures, primarily the militantly anti-government right, and secondarily fundamentalist Christians concerned with end-time emergence of the Antichrist.[7] Skeptics, such as Michael Barkun and Chip Berlet, have observed that right-wing populist conspiracy theories about a New World Order have now not only been embraced by many seekers of stigmatized knowledge but have seeped into popular culture, thereby inaugurating an unrivaled period of people actively preparing for apocalyptic millenarian scenarios in the United States of the late 20th and early 21st centuries.[3][5] These political scientists are concerned that this mass hysteria could have what they judge to be devastating effects on American political life, ranging from widespread political alienation to escalating lone-wolf terrorism.[3][5]

History of the term

During the 20th century, many statesmen, such as Woodrow Wilson and Winston Churchill, used the term "new world order" to refer to a new period of history evidencing a dramatic change in world political thought and the balance of power after World War I and World War II. They all saw these periods as opportunities to implement idealistic proposals for global governance in the sense of new collective efforts to address worldwide problems that go beyond the capacity of individual nation-states to solve, while always respecting the right of nations to self-determination. These proposals led to the creation of international organizations, such as the United Nations and NATO, and international regimes, such as the Bretton Woods system and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which were calculated both to maintain a balance of power in favor of the United States as well as regularize cooperation between nations, in order to achieve a peaceful phase of capitalism. These creations in particular and
liberal internationalism in general, however, would always be criticized and opposed by American ultraconservative business nationalists from the 1930s on.\[^8\]

Progressives welcomed these new international organizations and regimes in the aftermath of the two World Wars, but argued they suffered from a democratic deficit and therefore were inadequate to not only prevent another global war but also foster global justice. The United Nations was designed in 1945 by U.S. bankers and State Department planners, and was always intended to remain a free association of sovereign nation-states, not a transition to democratic world government. Thus, activists around the globe formed a world federalist movement hoping in vain to create a "real" new world order.\[^9\]

British writer and futurist H. G. Wells would go further than progressives in the 1940s by appropriating and redefining the term "new world order" as a synonym for the establishment of a technocratic world state and planned economy.\[^10\] Despite the popularity of his ideas in some state socialist circles, Wells failed to exert a deeper and more lasting influence because he was unable to concentrate his energies on a direct appeal to intelligentsias who would, ultimately, have to coordinate a Wellsian new world order.\[^11\]

During the Red Scare of 1947–1957, agitators of the American secular and Christian right, influenced by the work of Canadian conspiracy theorist William Guy Carr, increasingly embraced and spread unfounded fears of Freemasons, Illuminati, and Jews being the driving force behind an "international communist conspiracy". The threat of "Godless communism" in the form of a state atheistic and bureaucratic collectivist world government, demonized as a "Red Menace", therefore became the main focus of apocalyptic millenarian conspiracism. The Red Scare would shape one of the core ideas of the political right in the United States which is that liberals and progressives with their welfare-state policies and international cooperation programs such as foreign aid supposedly contribute to a gradual process of collectivism that will inevitably lead to nations being replaced with a communist one-world government.\[^12\]

Right-wing populist advocacy groups with a producerist worldview, such as the John Birch Society, disseminated a multitude of conspiracy theories in the 1960s claiming that the governments of both the United States and the Soviet Union were controlled by a cabal of corporate internationalists, greedy bankers and corrupt politicians intent on using the United Nations as the vehicle to create the "One World Government". This right-wing anti-globalist conspiracism would fuel the Bircher campaign for U.S. withdrawal from the U.N.. American writer Mary M. Davison, in her 1966 booklet *The Profound Revolution*, traced the alleged New World Order conspiracy to the creation of the U.S. Federal Reserve System in 1913 by international bankers, who she claimed later formed the Council on Foreign Relations in 1921 as the shadow government. At the time the booklet was published, "international bankers" would have been interpreted by many readers as a reference to a postulated "international Jewish banking conspiracy" masterminded by the Rothschilds.\[^12\]

Claiming that the term "New World Order" is used by a secretive elite dedicated to the destruction of all national sovereignties, American writer Gary Allen, in his 1971 book *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, 1974 book *Rockefeller: Campaigning for the New World Order* and 1987 book *Say "No!" to the New World Order*, articulated the anti-globalist theme of much current right-wing populist conspiracism in the U.S.. Thus, after the fall of communism in the early 1990s, the main demonized scapegoat of the American far right shifted seamlessly from crypto-communists who plotted on behalf of the Red Menace to globalists who plot on behalf of the New World Order. The relatively painless nature of the shift was due to growing right-wing populist opposition to corporate internationalism but also in part to the basic underlying apocalyptic millenarian paradigm, which fed the Cold War and the witch-hunts of the McCarthy period.\[^12\]

In his 11 September 1990 *Toward a New World Order* speech to a joint session of the U.S. Congress, President George H. W. Bush described his objectives for post-Cold-War global governance in cooperation with post-Soviet states:

> Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided—a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict and cold war. Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real
prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a "world order" in which "the principles of justice and fair play ... protect the weak against the strong ...” A world where the United Nations, freed from cold war stalemate, is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations.

*The New York Times* observed that progressives were denouncing this new world order as a rationalization for American imperial ambitions in the Middle East, while conservatives rejected new security arrangements altogether and fulminated about any possibility of U.N. revival. However, Chip Berlet, an American investigative reporter specializing in the study of right-wing movements in the U.S., writes:

When President Bush announced his new foreign policy would help build a New World Order, his phrasing surged through the Christian and secular hard right like an electric shock, since the phrase had been used to represent the dreaded collectivist One World Government for decades. Some Christians saw Bush as signaling the End Times betrayal by a world leader. Secular anticommunists saw a bold attempt to smash US sovereignty and impose a tyrannical collectivist system run by the United Nations. American televangelist Pat Robertson with his 1991 best-selling book *The New World Order* became the most prominent Christian popularizer of conspiracy theories about recent American history as a theater in which Wall Street, the Federal Reserve System, Council on Foreign Relations, Bilderberg Group, and Trilateral Commission control the flow of events from behind the scenes, nudging us constantly and covertly in the direction of world government for the Antichrist.

Observers note that the galvanization of right-wing populist conspiracy theorists, such as Linda Thompson, Mark Koernke and Robert K. Spear, into militancy led to the rise of the militia movement, which spread its anti-government ideology through speeches at rallies and meetings, through books and videotapes sold at gun shows, through shortwave and satellite radio, and through fax networks and computer bulletin boards. However, overnight AM radio shows and viral propaganda on the Internet is what most effectively contributed to their extremist political ideas about the New World Order finding their way into the previously apolitical literature of many Kennedy assassinationists, ufologists, lost land theorists, and, most recently, occultists. The worldwide appeal of these subcultures then transmitted New World Order conspiracism like a "mind virus" to a large new audience of seekers of stigmatized knowledge from the mid-1990s on. Hollywood conspiracy-thriller televisions shows and films also played a role in introducing a vast popular audience to various fringe theories related to New World Order conspiracism (black helicopter, FEMA "concentration camps", etc.), which were previously confined to radical right-wing subcultures for decades. The 1993-2002 television series *X-Files*, the 1997 film *Conspiracy Theory* and the 1998 film *The X-Files: Fight the Future* are often cited as notable examples.

Following the turn of the 20th to 21st century, specifically during the late-2000s financial crisis, many politicians and pundits, such as Gordon Brown, and Henry Kissinger, used the term "new world order" in their advocacy for a comprehensive reform of the global financial system and their calls for a "New Bretton Woods", which takes into account emerging markets such as China and India. These declarations had the unintended consequence of providing fresh fodder for New World Order conspiracism, and culminated in talk show host Sean Hannity stating on his Fox News Channel program *Hannity* that "conspiracy theorists were right". Fox News in general, and its opinion show *Glenn Beck* in particular, have been repeatedly criticized by progressive media watchdog groups for not only mainstreaming the New World Order conspiracy theories of the radical right but possibly agitating its lone wolves into action.

American film directors Luke Meyer and Andrew Neel released *New World Order* in 2009, a critically acclaimed documentary film which explores the world of conspiracy theorists, such as American radio host Alex Jones, who are committed to exposing and vigorously opposing what they perceive to be an emerging New World Order. The growing dissemination and popularity of conspiracy theories has created an alliance between right-wing populist agitators, such as Alex Jones, and hip hop music’s left-wing populist rappers, such as KRS-One, Professor Griff of Public Enemy, and Immortal Technique, which illustrates how anti-elitist conspiracism creates unlikely political
allies in efforts to oppose the political system.\[^{22}\]

**Conspiracy theories**

There are numerous systemic conspiracy theories through which the concept of a New World Order is viewed. The following is a list of the major ones in relatively chronological order.\[^{23}\]

**End Time**

Since the 19th century, many apocalyptic millennial Christian eschatologists, starting with John Nelson Darby, have feared a globalist conspiracy to impose a tyrannical New World Order as the fulfillment of prophecies about the “end time” in the Bible, specifically in the Book of Ezekiel, the Book of Daniel, the Olivet discourse found in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Book of Revelation.\[^{24}\] They assert that people who have made a deal with the Devil to gain wealth and power have become pawns in a supernatural chess game to move humanity into accepting a utopian world government, which rests on the spiritual foundations of a syncretic-messianic world religion, that will later reveal itself to be a dystopian world empire, which imposes the imperial cult of an “Unholy Trinity” — Satan, the Antichrist and the False Prophet. In many contemporary Christian conspiracy theories, the False Prophet will either be the last pope of the Catholic Church (groomed and installed by an Alta Vendita or Jesuit conspiracy) or a guru from the New Age movement or even the leader of an elite fundamentalist Christian organization like the Fellowship, while the Antichrist will either be the president of the European Union or the secretary-general of the United Nations or even the caliph of a pan-Islamic state.\[^{5}\][\(^{24}\]

Some of the most vocal critics of end-time conspiracy theories come from within Christianity.\[^{12}\] In 1993, historian Bruce Barron wrote a stern rebuke of apocalyptic Christian conspiracism in the *Christian Research Journal*, when reviewing Robertson’s 1991 book *The New World Order*.\[^{25}\] Another critique can be found in historian Gregory S. Camp’s 1997 book *Selling Fear: Conspiracy Theories and End-Times Paranoia*.\[^{2}\] Religious studies scholar Richard T. Hughes argues that “New World Order” rhetoric libels the Christian faith since the “New World Order”, as defined by Christian conspiracy theorists, has no basis in the Bible whatsoever and that, in fact, this idea is not only unbiblical; it is anti-biblical and fundamentally anti-Christian because, by misinterpreting key passages in the Book of Revelations, it turns a comforting message about the coming kingdom of God into one of fear, panic and despair in the face of an allegedly approaching one-world government.\[^{24}\]

Progressive Christians, such as preacher-theologian Peter J. Gomes, caution Christian fundamentalists that a “spirit of fear” can distort scripture and history by dangerously combining biblical literalism, apocalyptic timetables, demonization, and oppressive prejudices;\[^{26}\][\(^{27}\] while Camp warns of the “very real danger that Christians could pick up some extra spiritual baggage” by credulously embracing conspiracy theories.\[^{2}\] They therefore call on Christians who indulge in conspiracism to repent.\[^{28}\][\(^{29}\]

**Freemasonry**

Freemasonry is one of the world’s oldest secular fraternal organizations, which arose in late 16th- to early 17th-century Britain. Over the years a number of allegations and conspiracy theories have been directed towards Freemasonry, including the allegation that Freemasons have a hidden political agenda and are conspiring to bring about a New World Order, a world government organized according to Masonic principles and/or governed only by Freemasons.\[^{12}\]

The esoteric nature of Masonic symbolism and rites led to Freemasons being first accused of secretly practicing Satanism in the late 18th century.\[^{12}\] The original allegation of a conspiracy within Freemasonry to subvert religions and governments in order to take over the world traces back to Scottish author John Robison, whose reactionary conspiracy theories crossed the Atlantic, and during the 19th century influenced outbreaks of Protestant anti-Masonry in the United States.\[^{12}\] In the 1890s, French writer Léo Taxil wrote a series of pamphlets and books, denouncing Freemasonry, charging their lodges with worshiping Lucifer as the Supreme Being. Despite the fact that
Taxil admitted that his claims were all a hoax, they were and are believed and repeated by numerous conspiracy theorists, and had a huge influence on subsequent anti-Masonic claims about Freemasonry. Some conspiracy theorists would eventually speculate that some of the Founding Fathers of the United States, such as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, of having Masonic sacred geometric designs interwoven into American society, particularly in the Great Seal of the United States, the United States one-dollar bill, the architecture of National Mall landmarks, and the streets and highways of Washington, D.C., as part of a master plan. Accordingly, colonial American Freemasons are portrayed as having embraced Bavarian Illuminism and used the power of the occult to bind their planning of a government in conformity with the plan of the "Masonic God" because of their belief that the "Great Architect of the Universe" has tasked the United States with the eventual establishment of the "Kingdom of God on Earth" — a Masonic world government with New Jerusalem as its capital city and the Third Temple as its holiest site — the initially utopian New World Order presided over by a Masonic Messiah.

Freemasons rebut these claims of Masonic conspiracy. Freemasonry, which promotes rationalism, places no power in occult symbols themselves, and it is not a part of its principles to view the drawing of symbols, no matter how large, as an act of consolidating or controlling power. Furthermore, there is no published information establishing the Masonic membership of the men responsible for the design of the Great Seal. The Latin phrase "novus ordo seclorum", appearing on the reverse side of the Great Seal since 1782 and on the back of the one-dollar bill since 1935, means "New Order of the Ages" and only alludes to the beginning of an era where the United States is an independent nation-state, but is often mistranslated by conspiracy theorists as "New World Order". Lastly, Freemasons argue that, despite the symbolic importance of the Temple of Solomon in their mythology, they have no interest in rebuilding it, especially since "it is obvious that any attempt to interfere with the present condition of things [on the Temple Mount] would in all probability bring about the greatest religious war the world has ever known".

Although the European continental branch of Freemasonry has organizations that allow political discussion within their Masonic Lodges and a few operate as active political lobbies for secularist causes, as exemplified by the Grand Orient of France, Masonic researcher Trevor W. McKeown argues:

The accusation that Freemasonry has a hidden agenda to establish a Masonic government ignores several facts. While agreeing on certain Masonic Landmarks, the many independent and sovereign Grand Lodges act as such, and do not agree on many other points of belief and practice. Also, as can be seen from a survey of famous Freemasons, individual Freemasons hold beliefs that span the spectrum of politics. The term "Masonic government" has no meaning since individual Freemasons hold many different opinions on what constitutes a good government.

**Illuminati**

The Order of the Illuminati was an Enlightenment-age secret society founded by university professor Adam Weishaupt on 1 May 1776, in Upper Bavaria, Germany. The movement consisted of advocates of freethought, secularism, liberalism, republicanism and gender equality, recruited in the German Masonic Lodges, who sought to teach rationalism through mystery schools. In 1785, the order was infiltrated, broken up and suppressed by the government agents of Charles Theodore, Elector of Bavaria, in his preemptive campaign to neutralize the threat of secret societies ever becoming hotbeds of conspiracies to overthrow the Bavarian monarchy and its state religion, Roman Catholicism.
In the late 18th century, reactionary conspiracy theorists, such as Scottish physicist John Robison and French Jesuit priest Augustin Barruel, began speculating that the Illuminati survived their suppression and became the masterminds behind the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. The Illuminati were accused of being subversives who were attempting to secretly orchestrate a revolutionary wave in Europe and the rest of the world in order to spread the most radical ideas and movements of the Enlightenment — anti-clericalism, anti-monarchism, and anti-patriarchalism — and create a world noocracy and cult of reason. During the 19th century, fear of an Illuminati conspiracy was a real concern of European ruling classes, and their oppressive reactions to this unfounded fear provoked in 1848 the very revolutions they sought to prevent.\[37\]

During the interwar period of the 20th century, fascist propagandists, such as British revisionist historian Nesta Helen Webster and American socialite Edith Starr Miller, not only popularized the myth of an Illuminati conspiracy but claimed that it was a subversive secret society which serves the Jewish elites that supposedly propped up both finance capitalism and Soviet communism in order to divide and rule the world. American evangelist Gerald Burton Winrod and other conspiracy theorists within the fundamentalist Christian movement in the United States — which emerged in the 1910s as a backlash against the principles of Enlightenment secular humanism, modernism, and liberalism — became the main channel of dissemination of Illuminati conspiracy theories in America. Right-wing populists, such as members of the John Birch Society, subsequently began speculating that some collegiate fraternities (Skull and Bones), gentlemen’s clubs (Bohemian Club) and think tanks (Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission) of the American upper class are front organizations of the Illuminati, which they accuse of plotting to create a New World Order through a one-world government.\[5\]

Skeptics argue that evidence would suggest that the Bavarian Illuminati was nothing more than a curious historical footnote since there is no evidence that the Illuminati survived its suppression in 1785.\[37\]

**Protocols of the Elders of Zion**

*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is an antisemitic canard, originally published in Russian in 1903, alleging a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy to achieve world domination. The text purports to be the minutes of the secret meetings of a cabal of Jewish masterminds, which has coopted Freemasonry and is plotting to rule the world on behalf of all Jews because they believe themselves to be the chosen people of God.\[38\] *The Protocols* incorporate many of the core conspiracist themes outlined in the Robison and Barruel attacks on the Freemasons, and overlay them with antisemitic allegations about anti-Tsarist movements in Russia. *The Protocols* reflect themes similar to more general critiques of Enlightenment liberalism by conservative aristocrats who support monarchies and state religions. The interpretation intended by the publication of *The Protocols* is that if one peels away the layers of the Masonic conspiracy, past the Illuminati, one finds the rotten Jewish core.\[12\]
Multiple polemicists, such as Irish journalist Philip Graves in a 1921 *The Times* article, and British academic Norman Cohn in his 1967 book *Warrant for Genocide*, have proven *The Protocols* to be both a hoax and a clear case of plagiarism. There is general agreement that Russian-French writer and political activist Matvei Golovinski fabricated the text for Okhrana, the secret police of the Russian Empire, as a work of counter-revolutionary propaganda prior to the 1905 Russian Revolution, by plagiarizing it, almost word for word in some passages, from *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, a 19th century satire against Napoleon III of France written by French political satirist and Legitimist militant Maurice Joly.[39]

Responsible for feeding many antisemitic and anti-Masonic mass hysterias of the 20th century, *The Protocols* has been influential in the development of some conspiracy theories, including some New World Order theories, and appears repeatedly in certain contemporary conspiracy literature.[5] For example, the authors of the 1982 controversial book *The Holy Blood and the Holy Grail* concluded that *The Protocols* was the most persuasive piece of evidence for the existence and activities of the Priory of Sion. They speculated that this secret society was working behind the scenes to establish a theocratic “United States of Europe”. Politically and religiously unified through the imperial cult of a Merovingian Great Monarch — supposedly descended from a Jesus bloodline — who occupies both the throne of Europe and the Holy See, this “Holy European Empire” would become the hyperpower of the 21st century.[40] Although the Priory of Sion, itself, has been exhaustively debunked by journalists and scholars as a hoax,[41] some apocalyptic millenarian Christian eschatologists who believe *The Protocols* is authentic became convinced that the Priory of Sion was a fulfillment of prophecies found in the Book of Revelation and further proof of an anti-Christian conspiracy of epic proportions signaling the imminence of a New World Order.[42]

Skeptics argue that the current gambit of contemporary conspiracy theorists who use *The Protocols* is to claim that they “really” come from some group other than the Jews such as fallen angels or alien invaders. Although it is hard to determine whether the conspiracy-minded actually believe this or are simply trying to sanitize a discredited text, skeptics argue that it doesn’t make much difference, since they leave the actual, antisemitic text unchanged. The result is to give *The Protocols* credibility and circulation when it deserves neither.[7]

**Round Table**

During the second half of Britain's “imperial century” between 1815 and 1914, English-born South African businessman, mining magnate, and politician Cecil Rhodes advocated the British Empire reannexing the United States of America and reforming itself into an "Imperial Federation" to bring about a hyperpower and lasting world peace. In his first will, of 1877, written at the age of 23, he expressed his wish to fund a secret society (known as the Society of the Elect) that would advance this goal:

To and for the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be for the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the Islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire and, finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to render wars impossible, and promote the best interests of humanity.[43]
In his later wills, a more mature Rhodes abandoned the idea and instead concentrated on what became the Rhodes Scholarship, which had British statesman Alfred Milner as one of its trustees. Established in 1902, the original goal of the trust fund was to foster peace among the great powers by creating a sense of fraternity and a shared world view among future British, American, and German leaders by having enabled them to study for free at the University of Oxford.\textsuperscript{[43]}

Milner and British official Lionel George Curtis were the architects of the Round Table movement, a network of organizations promoting closer union between Britain and its self-governing colonies. To this end, Curtis founded the Royal Institute of International Affairs in June 1919 and, with his 1938 book \textit{The Commonwealth of God}, began advocating for the creation of an imperial federation that eventually reannexes the U.S., which would be presented to Protestant churches as being the work of the Christian God to elicit their support.\textsuperscript{[44]} The Commonwealth of Nations was created in 1949 but it would only be a free association of independent states rather than the powerful imperial federation imagined by Rhodes, Milner and Curtis.

The Council on Foreign Relations began in 1917 with a group of New York academics who were asked by President Woodrow Wilson to offer options for the foreign policy of the United States in the interwar period. Originally envisioned as a group of American and British scholars and diplomats, some of whom belonging to the Round Table movement, it was a subsequent group of 108 New York financiers, manufacturers and international lawyers organized in June 1918 by Nobel Peace Prize recipient and U.S. secretary of state, Elihu Root, that became the Council on Foreign Relations on 29 July 1921. The first of the council’s projects was a quarterly journal launched in September 1922, called \textit{Foreign Affairs}.\textsuperscript{[45]} The Trilateral Commission was founded in July 1973, at the initiative of American banker David Rockefeller, who was chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations at that time. It is a private organization established to foster closer cooperation among the United States, Europe and Japan. The Trilateral Commission is widely seen as a counterpart to the Council on Foreign Relations.

In the 1960s, right-wing populist individuals and groups with a producerist worldview, such as members of the John Birch Society, were the first to combine and spread an ultraconservative business nationalist critique of corporate internationalists networked through think tanks such as the Council on Foreign Relations with a grand conspiracy theory casting them as front organizations for the Round Table of the “Anglo-American Establishment”, which are financed by an “international banking cabal” that has supposedly been plotting from the late 19th century on to impose an oligarchic new world order through a global financial system. Anti-globalist conspiracy theorists therefore fear that international bankers are planning to eventually subvert the independence of the U.S. by subordinating national sovereignty to a strengthened Bank for International Settlements.\textsuperscript{[46]}

The research findings of historian Carroll Quigley, author of the 1966 book \textit{Tragedy and Hope}, are taken by both conspiracy theorists of the American Old Right (Cleon Skousen) and New Left (Carl Oglesby) to substantiate this view, even though he argued that the Establishment is not involved in a plot to implement a one-world government but rather British and American benevolent imperialism driven by the mutual interests of economic elites in the United Kingdom and the United States. Quigley also argued that, although the Round Table still exists today, its position in influencing the policies of world leaders has been much reduced from its heyday during World War I and slowly waned after the end of World War II and the Suez Crisis. Today the Round Table is largely a ginger group, designed to consider and gradually influence the policies of the Commonwealth of Nations, but faces strong opposition. Furthermore, in American society after 1965, the problem, according to Quigley, was that no elite was in charge and acting responsibly.\textsuperscript{[46]}

Larry McDonald, the 2nd president of the John Birch Society and a conservative Democratic member of the United States House of Representatives who represented the 7th congressional district of Georgia, wrote a forward for Allen’s 1976 book \textit{The Rockefeller File}, wherein he stated:

The drive of the Rockefeller and their allies is to create a one-world government, combining super-capitalism and Communism under the same tent, all under their control ... Do I mean conspiracy? Yes I do. I am convinced there is such a plot, international in scope, generations old in planning, and incredibly evil in
In his 2002 autobiography *Memoirs*, Rockefeller wrote:

For more than a century ideological extremists at either end of the political spectrum have seized upon well-publicized incidents ... to attack the Rockefeller family for the inordinate influence they claim we wield over American political and economic institutions. Some even believe we are part of a secret cabal working against the best interests of the United States, characterizing my family and me as 'internationalists' and of conspiring with others around the world to build a more integrated global political and economic structure—one world, if you will. If that's the charge, I stand guilty, and I am proud of it.  

Barkun argues that this statement is partly facetious (the claim of "conspiracy" and "treason") and partly serious — the desire to encourage trilateral cooperation among the U.S., Europe, and Japan, for example — an ideal that used to be a hallmark of the internationalist wing of the Republican Party — known as "Rockefeller Republicans" in honor of Nelson Rockefeller — when there was an internationalist wing. The statement, however, is taken at face value and widely cited by conspiracy theorists as proof that the Council on Foreign Relations uses its role as the brain trust of American presidents, senators and representatives to manipulate them into supporting a New World Order in the form of a one-world government.

In a 13 November 2007 interview with Canadian journalist Benjamin Fulford, Rockefeller countered:

I don't think that I really feel that we need a world government. We need governments of the world that work together and collaborate. But, I can't imagine that there would be any likelihood or even that it would be desirable to have a single government elected by the people of the world ... There have been people, ever since I've had any kind of position in the world, who have accused me of being ruler of the world. I have to say that I think for the large part, I would have to decide to describe them as crackpots. It makes no sense whatsoever, and isn't true, and won't be true, and to raise it as a serious issue seems to me to be irresponsible.

Some American social critics, such as Laurence H. Shoup, argue that the Council on Foreign Relations is an "imperial brain trust", which has, for decades, played a central behind-the-scenes role in shaping U.S. foreign policy choices for the post-WWII international order and the Cold War, by determining what options show up on the agenda and what options do not even make it to the table, while others, such as G. William Domhoff, argue that it is in fact a mere policy discussion forum, which provides the business input to U.S. foreign policy planning. The latter argue that it has nearly 3,000 members, far too many for secret plans to be kept within the group; all the council does is sponsor discussion groups, debates and speakers; and as far as being secretive, it issues annual reports and allows access to its historical archives. However, all these critics agree that historical studies of the council show that it has a very different role in the overall power structure than what is claimed by conspiracy theorists.

**Open Conspiracy**

In his 1928 book *The Open Conspiracy*, British writer and futurist H. G. Wells promoted cosmopolitanism and offered blueprints for a world revolution and world brain to establish a technocratic world state and planned economy. Wells warned, however, in his 1940 book *The New World Order* that:

... when the struggle seems to be drifting definitely towards a world social democracy, there may still be very great delays and disappointments before it becomes an efficient and beneficent world system. Countless people ... will hate the new world order, be rendered unhappy by the frustration of their passions and ambitions through its advent and will die protesting against it. When we attempt to evaluate its promise, we have to bear in mind the distress of a generation or so of malcontents, many of them quite gallant and graceful-looking people.

Wells' books were influential in giving a second meaning to the term "new world order", which would only be used by both state socialist supporters and anti-communist opponents for generations to come. However, despite the
New World Order (conspiracy theory)  42

popularity and notoriety of his ideas, Wells failed to exert a deeper and more lasting influence because he was unable to concentrate his energies on a direct appeal to intelligentsias who would, ultimately, have to coordinate the Wellsian new world order.[54]

New Age

British neo-Theosophical occultist Alice Bailey, one of the founders of the so-called New Age movement, prophesied in 1940 the eventual victory of the Allies of World War II over the Axis powers (which occurred in 1945) and the establishment by the Allies of a political and religious New World Order. She saw a federal world government as the culmination of Wells' Open Conspiracy but favorably argued that it would be synarchist because it was guided by the Masters of the Ancient Wisdom, intent on preparing humanity for the mystical second coming of Christ, and the dawning of the Age of Aquarius. According to Bailey, a group of ascended masters called the Great White Brotherhood works on the "inner planes" to oversee the transition to the New World Order but, for now, the members of this Spiritual Hierarchy are only known to a few occult scientists, with whom they communicate telepathically, but as the need for their personal involvement in the plan increases, there will be an "Externalization of the Hierarchy" and everyone will know of their presence on Earth.[55]

Bailey's writings, along with American writer Marilyn Ferguson's 1980 book The Aquarian Conspiracy, contributed to conspiracy theorists of the Christian right viewing the New Age movement as the "false religion" that would supersede Christianity in a New World Order.[56] Skeptics argue that the term "New Age movement" is a misnomer, generally used by conspiracy theorists as a catch-all rubric for any new religious movement that is not fundamentalist Christian. By their lights, anything that is not Christian is by definition actively and willfully anti-Christian.[57]

Paradoxically, since the 2000s (decade), New World Order conspiracism is increasingly being embraced and propagandized by New Age occultists, who are people bored by rationalism and drawn to stigmatized knowledge — such as alternative medicine, astrology, quantum mysticism, spiritualism, and Theosophy.[5] Thus, New Age conspiracy theorists, such as the makers of documentary films like Esoteric Agenda, claim that globalists who plot on behalf of the New World Order are simply misusing occultism for Machiavellian ends, such as adopting 21 December 2012 as the exact date for the establishment of the New World Order in order to take advantage of the growing 2012 phenomenon, which has its origins in the fringe Mayanist theories of New Age writers José Argüelles, Terence McKenna, and Daniel Pinchbeck.

Skeptics argue that the connection of conspiracy theorists and occultists follows from their common fallacious premises. First, any widely accepted belief must necessarily be false. Second, stigmatized knowledge — what the Establishment spurns — must be true. The result is a large, self-referential network in which, for example, some UFO religionists promote anti-Jewish phobias while some antisemites practice Peruvian shamanism.[5]

Fourth Reich

Conspiracy theorists often use the term "Fourth Reich" simply as a pejorative synonym for the "New World Order" to imply that its state ideology and government will be similar to Germany's Third Reich. However, some conspiracy theorists use the research findings of American journalist Edwin Black, author of the 2009 book Nazi Nexus, to claim that some American corporations and philanthropic foundations — whose complicity was pivotal to the Third Reich's war effort, Nazi eugenics and the Holocaust — are now conspiring to build a Fourth Reich.

Conspiracy theorists, such as American writer Jim Marrs, claim that some ex-Nazis, who survived the fall of the Greater German Reich, along with sympathizers in the United States and elsewhere, given safe haven by organizations like ODESSA and Die Spinne, have been working behind the scenes since the end of World War II to enact at least some of the principles of Nazism (e.g., militarism, imperialism, widespread spying on citizens, corporatism, the use of propaganda to manufacture a national consensus) into culture, government, and business worldwide, but primarily in the U.S.. They cite the influence of ex-Nazi scientists brought in under Operation
Paperclip to help advance aerospace manufacturing in the U.S. with technological principles from Nazi UFOs, and the acquisition and creation of conglomerates by ex-Nazis and their sympathizers after the war, in both Europe and the U.S. [58]

This neo-Nazi conspiracy is said to be animated by an "Iron Dream" in which the American Empire, having thwarted the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy and overthrown its Zionist Occupation Government, gradually establishes a Fourth Reich formally known as the "Western Imperium" — a pan-Aryan world empire modeled after Adolf Hitler's New Order — which reverses the "decline of the West" and ushers a golden age of white supremacy.[59]

Skeptics argue that conspiracy theorists grossly overestimate the influence of ex-Nazis and neo-Nazis on American society, and point out that political repression at home and imperialism abroad have a long history in the United States that predates the 20th century. Some political scientists, such as Sheldon Wolin, have expressed concern that the twin forces of democratic deficit and superpower status have paved the way in the U.S. for the emergence of an inverted totalitarianism which contradicts many principles of Nazism.[60]

**Alien Invasion**

Since the late 1970s, extraterrestrials from other habitable planets or parallel dimensions (such as "Greys") and intraterrestrials from Hollow Earth (such as "Reptilians") have been included in the New World Order conspiracy, in more or less dominant roles, as in the theories put forward by American writers Stan Deyo and Milton William Cooper, and British writer David Icke.[5][61][62]

The common theme in these conspiracy theories is that aliens have been among us for decades, centuries or millennia, but a government cover-up enforced by "Men in Black" has shielded the public from knowledge of a secret alien invasion. Motivated by speciesism and imperialism, these aliens have been and are secretly manipulating developments and changes in human society in order to more efficiently control and exploit human beings. In some theories, alien infiltrators have shapeshifted into human form and move freely throughout human society, even to the point of taking control of command positions in governmental, corporate, and religious institutions, and are now in the final stages of their plan to take over the world.[62] A mythical covert government agency of the United States code-named Majestic 12 is often imagined to be the shadow government which collaborates with the alien occupation and permits alien abductions, in exchange for assistance in the development and testing of military "flying saucers" at Area 51, in order for U.S. armed forces to achieve full-spectrum dominance.[5]

Skeptics, who adhere to the psychosocial hypothesis for unidentified flying objects, argue that the convergence of New World Order conspiracy theory and UFO conspiracy theory is a product of not only the era's widespread mistrust of governments and the popularity of the extraterrestrial hypothesis for UFOs but of the far right and ufologists actually joining forces. Barkun notes that the only positive side to this development is that, if conspirators plotting to rule the world are believed to be aliens, traditional human scapegoats (Freemasons, Illuminati, Jews, etc.) are downgraded or exonerated.[5]

**Brave New World**

Antiscience and neo-Luddite conspiracy theorists emphasize technology forecasting in their New World Order conspiracy theories. They speculate that the global power elite are reactionary modernists pursuing a transhumanist agenda to develop and use human enhancement technologies in order to become a "posthuman ruling caste", while change accelerates toward a technological singularity — a theorized future point of discontinuity when events will accelerate at such a pace that normal unenhanced humans will be unable to predict or even understand the rapid changes occurring in the world around them. Conspiracy theorists fear the outcome will either be the emergence of a Brave New World-like dystopia — a "Brave New World Order" — or the extinction of the human species.[63]

Democratic transhumanists, such as American sociologist James Hughes, counter that many influential members of the American Establishment are bioconservatives strongly opposed to human enhancement, as demonstrated by President Bush's Council on Bioethics's proposed international treaty prohibiting human cloning and germline
engineering. Furthermore, he argues that conspiracy theorists underestimate how fringe the transhumanist movement really is.\[64\]

**Postulated implementations**

Just as there are several overlapping or conflicting theories among conspiracists about the nature of the New World Order, so are there several beliefs about how its architects and planners will implement it:

**Gradualism**

Conspiracy theorists generally speculate that the New World Order is being implemented gradually, citing the formation of the U.S. Federal Reserve System in 1913; the League of Nations in 1919; the International Monetary Fund in 1944; the United Nations in 1945; the World Bank in 1945; the World Health Organization in 1948; the European Union and the euro currency in 1993; the World Trade Organization in 1998; the African Union in 2002; and the Union of South American Nations in 2008 as major milestones.\[5\]

An increasingly popular conspiracy theory among American right-wing populists is that the hypothetical North American Union and the amero currency, proposed by the Council on Foreign Relations and its counterparts in Mexico and Canada, will be the next milestone in the implementation of the New World Order. The theory holds that a group of shadowy and mostly nameless international elites are planning to replace the federal government of the United States with a transnational government. Therefore, conspiracy theorists believe the borders between Mexico, Canada and the United States are in the process of being erased, covertly, by a group of globalists whose ultimate goal is to replace national governments in Washington, D.C., Ottawa and Mexico City with a European-style political union and a bloated E.U.-style bureaucracy.\[65\]

Skeptics argue that the North American Union exists only as a proposal contained in one of a thousand academic and/or policy papers published each year that advocate all manner of idealistic but ultimately unrealistic approaches to social, economic and political problems. Most of these get passed around in their own circles and eventually filed away and forgotten by junior staffers in congressional offices. Some of these papers, however, become touchstones for the conspiracy-minded and form the basis of all kinds of unfounded xenophobic fears especially during times of economic anxiety.\[65\]

For example, in March 2009, as a result of the late-2000s financial crisis, the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation pressed for urgent consideration of a new international reserve currency and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development proposed greatly expanding the I.M.F.’s special drawing rights. Conspiracy theorists fear these proposals are a call for the U.S. to adopt a single global currency for a New World Order.\[66\][67]

Judging that both national governments and global institutions have proven ineffective in addressing worldwide problems that go beyond the capacity of individual nation-states to solve, some political scientists critical of New World Order conspiracism, such as Mark C. Partridge, argue that regionalism will be the major force in the coming decades, pockets of power around regional centers: Western Europe around Brussels, the Western Hemisphere around Washington, D.C., East Asia around Beijing, and Eastern Europe around Moscow. As such, the E.U., the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and the G-20 will likely become more influential as time progresses. The question then is not whether global governance is gradually emerging, but rather how will these regional powers interact with one another.\[68\]
Coup d’état

American right-wing populist conspiracy theorists, especially those who joined the militia movement in the United States, speculate that the New World Order will be implemented through a dramatic coup d’état by a "secret team", using black helicopters, in the U.S. and other nation-states to bring about a totalitarian world government controlled by the United Nations and enforced by troops of foreign U.N. peacekeepers. Following the Rex 84 and Operation Garden Plot plans, this military coup would involve the suspension of the Constitution, the imposition of martial law, and the appointment of military commanders to head state and local governments and to detain dissidents.\[69\]

These conspiracy theorists, who are all strong believers in a right to keep and bear arms, are extremely fearful that the passing of any gun control legislation will be later followed by the abolishment of personal gun ownership and a campaign of gun confiscation, and that the refugee camps of emergency management agencies such as F.E.M.A. will be used for the internment of suspected subversives, making little effort to distinguish true threats to the New World Order from pacifist dissidents.\[20\]

Before year 2000 some survivalists wrongly believed this process would be set in motion by the predicted Y2K problem causing societal collapse.\[70\] Since many left-wing and right-wing conspiracy theorists believe that the September 11 attacks were a false flag operation carried out by the United States intelligence community, as part of a strategy of tension to justify political repression at home and preemptive war abroad, they have become convinced that a more catastrophic terrorist incident will be responsible for triggering Executive Directive 51 in order to complete the transition to a police state.\[71\]

Skeptics argue that unfounded fears about an imminent or eventual gun ban, military coup, internment, or U.N. invasion and occupation are rooted in the siege mentality of the American militia movement but also an apocalyptic millenarianism which provides a basic narrative within the political right in the U.S., claiming that the idealized society (i.e., constitutional republic, Jeffersonian democracy, "Christian nation", "white nation") is thwarted by subversive conspiracies of liberal secular humanists who want "Big Government" and globalists who plot on behalf of the New World Order.\[12\]

Mass surveillance

Conspiracy theorists concerned with surveillance abuse believe that the New World Order is being implemented by the cult of intelligence at the core of the surveillance-industrial complex through mass surveillance and the use of Social Security numbers, the bar-coding of retail goods with Universal Product Code markings, and, most recently, RFID tagging via microchip implants.\[5\]

Claiming that corporations and government are planning to track every move of consumers and citizens with RFID as the latest step toward a 1984-like surveillance state, consumer privacy advocates, such as Katherine Albrecht and Liz McIntyre,\[72\] have become Christian conspiracy theorists who believe spychips must be resisted because they argue that modern database and communications technologies, coupled with point of sale data-capture equipment and sophisticated ID and authentication systems, now make it possible to require a biometrically associated number or mark to make purchases. They fear that the ability to implement such a system closely resembles the Number of the Beast prophesied in the Book of Revelation.\[5\]
In January 2002, the Information Awareness Office (IAO) was established by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) to bring together several DARPA projects focused on applying information technology to counter asymmetric threats to national security. Following public criticism that the development and deployment of these technologies could potentially lead to a mass surveillance system, the IAO was defunded by the United States Congress in 2003. The second source of controversy involved IAO’s original logo, which depicted the “all-seeing” Eye of Providence atop of a pyramid looking down over the globe, accompanied by the Latin phrase scientia est potentia (knowledge is power). Although DARPA eventually removed the logo from its website, it left a lasting impression on privacy advocates. It also inflamed conspiracy theorists, who misinterpret the “eye and pyramid” as the Masonic symbol of the Illuminati, an 18th-century secret society they speculate continues to exist and is plotting on behalf of a New World Order.

American historian Richard Landes, who specializes in the history of apocalypticism and was co-founder and director of the Center for Millennial Studies at Boston University, argues that new and emerging technologies often trigger alarmism among millenarians and even the introduction of Gutenberg's printing press in 1436 caused waves of apocalyptic thinking. The Year 2000 problem, bar codes and Social Security numbers all triggered end-time warnings which either proved to be false or simply were no longer taken seriously once the public became accustomed to these technological changes. Civil libertarians argue that the privatization of surveillance and the rise of the surveillance-industrial complex in the United States does raise legitimate concerns about the erosion of privacy. However, skeptics of mass surveillance conspiracism caution that such concerns should be disentangled from secular paranoia about Big Brother or religious hysteria about the Antichrist.

**Occultism**

Conspiracy theorists of the Christian right, starting with British revisionist historian Nesta Helen Webster, believe there is an ancient occult conspiracy — started by the first mystagogues of Gnosticism and perpetuated by their alleged esoteric successors, such as the Kabbalists, Cathars, Knights Templar, Hermeticists, Rosicrucians, Freemasons, and, ultimately, the Illuminati — which seeks to subvert the Judeo-Christian foundations of the Western world and implement the New World Order through a one-world religion that prepares the masses to embrace the imperial cult of the Antichrist. More broadly, they speculate that globalists who plot on behalf of a New World Order are directed by occult agencies of some sort: unknown superiors, spiritual hierarchies, demons, fallen angels and/or Lucifer. They believe that these conspirators use the power of occult sciences (numeurology), symbols (Eye of Providence), rituals (Masonic degrees), monuments (National Mall landmarks), buildings (Manitoba Legislative Building) and facilities (Denver International Airport) to advance their plot to rule the world.

For example, in June 1979, an unknown benefactor under the pseudonym “R. C. Christian” had a huge granite megalith built in the U.S. state of Georgia, which acts like a compass, calendar, and clock. A message comprising ten guides is inscribed on the occult structure in many languages to serve as instructions for survivors of a doomsday event to establish a more enlightened and sustainable civilization than the one which was destroyed. The “Georgia Guidestones” have subsequently become a spiritual and political Rorschach test onto which any number of ideas can be imposed. Some New Agers and neo-pagans revere it as a ley-line power nexus while a few conspiracy theorists are convinced that they are engraved with the New World Order’s anti-Christian “Ten Commandments”. Should the Guidestones survive for centuries as their creators intended, many more meanings could arise, equally unrelated to the designer’s original intention.

Skeptics argue that the demonization of Western esotericism by conspiracy theorists is rooted in religious intolerance but also in the same moral panics that have fueled witch trials in the Early Modern period, and satanic ritual abuse allegations in the United States.
Population control

Conspiracy theorists believe that the New World Order will also be implemented through the use of human population control in order to more easily monitor and control the movement of individuals.[5] The means range from stopping the growth of human societies through reproductive health and family planning programs, which promote abstinence, contraception and abortion, or intentionally reducing the bulk of the world population through genocides by mongering unnecessary wars, through plagues by engineering emergent viruses and tainting vaccines, and through environmental disasters by controlling the weather (HAARP, chemtrails), etc. Conspiracy theorists argue that globalists plotting on behalf of a New World Order are neo-Malthusians who engage in overpopulation and climate change alarmism in order to create public support for coercive population control and ultimately world government.

Skeptics argue that fears of population control can be traced back to the traumatic legacy of the eugenics movement’s "war against the weak" in the United States during the first decades of the 20th century but also the Second Red Scare in the U.S. during the late 1940s and 1950s, and to a lesser extent in the 1960s, when activists on the far right of American politics routinely opposed public health programs, notably water fluoridation, mass vaccination and mental health services, by asserting they were all part of a far-reaching plot to impose a socialist or communist regime.[81] Their views were influenced by opposition to a number of major social and political changes that had happened in recent years: the growth of internationalism, particularly the United Nations and its programs; the introduction of social welfare provisions, particularly the various programs established by the New Deal; and government efforts to reduce inequalities in the social structure of the U.S.[82]

Mind control

Social critics accuse governments, corporations, and the mass media of being involved in the manufacturing of a national consensus and, paradoxically, a culture of fear due to the potential for increased social control that a mistrustful and mutually fearing population might offer to those in power. The worst fear of some conspiracy theorists, however, is that the New World Order will be implemented through the use of mind control—a broad range of tactics able to subvert an individual’s control of his or her own thinking, behavior, emotions, or decisions. These tactics are said to include everything from Manchurian candidate-style brainwashing of sleeper agents (Project MKULTRA, "Project Monarch") to engineering psychological operations (water fluoridation, subliminal advertising, "Silent Sound Spread Spectrum", MEDUSA) and parapsychological operations (Stargate Project) to influence the masses.[83] The concept of wearing a tin foil hat for protection from such threats has become a popular stereotype and term of derision; the phrase serves as a byword for paranoia and is associated with conspiracy theorists.

Skeptics argue that the paranoia behind a conspiracy theorist's obsession with mind control, population control, occultism, surveillance abuse, Big Business, Big Government, and globalization arises from a combination of two factors, when he or she: 1) holds strong individualist values and 2) lacks power. The first attribute refers to people who care deeply about an individual's right to make their own choices and direct their own lives without interference or obligations to a larger system (like the government), but combine this with a sense of powerlessness in one's own life, and one gets what some psychologists call "agency panic", intense anxiety about an apparent loss of autonomy to outside forces or regulators. When fervent individualists feel that they cannot exercise their independence, they experience a crisis and assume that larger forces are to blame for usurping this freedom.[84][85]

Alleged conspirators

According to Domhoff, many people seem to believe that the United States is ruled from behind the scenes by a conspiratorial elite with secret desires, i.e., by a small secretive group that wants to change the government system or put the country under the control of a world government. In the past the conspirators were usually said to be crypto-communists who were intent upon bringing the United States under a common world government with the Soviet Union, but the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. in 1991 undercut that theory. Domhoff notes that most conspiracy
theorists changed their focus to the United Nations as the likely controlling force in a New World Order, an idea which is undermined by the powerlessness of the U.N. and the unwillingness of even moderates within the American Establishment to give it anything but a limited role.\[51\]

Although skeptical of New World Order conspiracism, political scientist David Rothkopf argues, in the 2008 book *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They Are Making*, that the world population of 6 billion people is governed by an elite of 6,000 individuals. Until the late 20th century, governments of the great powers provided most of the superclass, accompanied by a few heads of international movements (i.e., the Pope of the Catholic Church) and entrepreneurs (Rothschilds, Rockefellers). According to Rothkopf, in the early 21st century, economic clout—fueled by the explosive expansion of international trade, travel and communication—rules; the nation-state's power has diminished shrinking politicians to minority power broker status; leaders in international business, finance and the defense industry not only dominate the superclass, they move freely into high positions in their nations' governments and back to private life largely beyond the notice of elected legislatures (including the U.S. Congress), which remain abysmally ignorant of affairs beyond their borders. He asserts that the superclass' disproportionate influence over national policy is constructive but always self-interested, and that across the world, few object to corruption and oppressive governments provided they can do business in these countries.\[86\]

Viewing the history of the world as the history of warfare between secret societies, conspiracy theorists go further than Rothkopf, and other scholars who have studied the global power elite, by claiming that established upper-class families with "old money" who founded and finance the Bilderberg Group, Bohemian Club, Club of Rome, Council on Foreign Relations, Rhodes Trust, Skull and Bones, Trilateral Commission, and similar think tanks and private clubs, are illuminated conspirators plotting to impose a totalitarian New World Order—the implementation of an authoritarian world government controlled by the United Nations and a global central bank, which maintains political power through the financialization of the economy, regulation and restriction of speech through the concentration of media ownership, widespread use of state terrorism, and an all-encompassing propaganda that creates a cult of personality around a puppet world leader and ideologizes world government as the culmination of history's progress.\[5\]

Marxists, who are skeptical of right-wing populist conspiracy theories, also accuse the global power elite of not having the best interests of all at heart, and many intergovernmental organizations of suffering from a democratic deficit, but they argue that the superclass are plutocrats only interested in brazenly imposing a neoliberal or neconservative new world order—the implementation of global capitalism through economic and military coercion to protect the interests of transnational corporations—which systematically undermines the possibility of a socialist one-world government.\[87\] Arguing that the world is in the middle of a transition from the American Empire to the rule of a global ruling class that has emerged from within the American Empire, they point out that right-wing populist conspiracy theorists, blinded by their anti-communism, fail to see is that what they demonize as the "New World Order" is, ironically, the highest stage of the very capitalist economic system they defend.\[87\]

American intellectual Noam Chomsky, author of the 1994 book *World Orders Old and New*, often describes the new world order as a post-Cold-War era in which "the New World gives the orders". Commenting on the 1999 US-NATO bombing of Serbia, he writes:

> The aim of these assaults is to establish the role of the major imperialist powers—above all, the United States—as the unchallengeable arbiters of world affairs. The "New World Order" is precisely this: an international regime of unrelenting pressure and intimidation by the most powerful capitalist states against the weakest.\[88\]
Criticisms

Skeptics of New World Order conspiracy theories accuse its proponents of indulging in the furtive fallacy, a belief that significant facts of history are necessarily sinister; conspiracism, a world view that centrally places conspiracy theories in the unfolding of history, rather than social and economic forces; and fusion paranoia, a promiscuous absorption of fears from any source whatsoever.[5]

Domhoff, a research professor in psychology and sociology who studies theories of power, writes in a March 2005 essay entitled There Are No Conspiracies:

There are several problems with a conspiratorial view that don't fit with what we know about power structures. First, it assumes that a small handful of wealthy and highly educated people somehow develop an extreme psychological desire for power that leads them to do things that don't fit with the roles they seem to have. For example, that rich capitalists are no longer out to make a profit, but to create a one-world government. Or that elected officials are trying to get the constitution suspended so they can assume dictatorial powers. These kinds of claims go back many decades now, and it is always said that it is really going to happen this time, but it never does. Since these claims have proved wrong dozens of times by now, it makes more sense to assume that leaders act for their usual reasons, such as profit-seeking motives and institutionalized roles as elected officials. Of course they want to make as much money as they can, and be elected by huge margins every time, and that can lead them to do many unsavory things, but nothing in the ballpark of creating a one-world government or suspending the constitution.[51]

Partridge, a contributing editor to the global affairs magazine Diplomatic Courier, writes in a December 2008 article entitled One World Government: Conspiracy Theory or Inevitable Future?:

I am skeptical that "global governance" could "come much sooner than that [200 years]," as [journalist Gideon Rachman] posits. For one thing, nationalism—the natural counterpoint to global government—is rising. Some leaders and peoples around the world have resented Washington's chiding and hubris over the past two decades of American unipolarity. Russia has been re-establishing itself as a "great power"; few could miss the national pride on display when China hosted the Beijing Olympics this summer; while Hugo Chavez and his ilk have stoked the national flames with their anti-American rhetoric. The departing of the Bush Administration could cause this nationalism to abate, but economic uncertainty usually has the opposite effect. [...] Another point is that attempts at global government and global agreements have been categorical failures. The WTO's Doha Round is dead in the water, Kyoto excluded many of the leading polluters and a conference to establish a deal was a failure, and there is a race to the bottom in terms of corporate taxes—rather than an existing global framework. And, where supranational governance structures exist, they are noted for their bureaucracy and inefficiency: The UN has been unable to stop an American-led invasion of Iraq, genocide in Darfur, the slow collapse of Zimbabwe, or Iran's continued uranium enrichment. That is not to belittle the structure, as I deem it essential, but the system's flaws are there for all to see.[68]

Although some cultural critics see superconspiracy theories about a New World Order as "postmodern metanarratives" that may be politically empowering, a way of giving ordinary people a narrative structure with which to question what they see around them,[89] skeptics argue that conspiracism leads people into cynicism, convoluted thinking, and a tendency to feel it is hopeless even as they denounce the alleged conspirators.[90]

The activities of conspiracy theorists (talk radio shows, books, websites, documentary videos, conferences, etc.) unwittingly draw enormous amounts of energy and effort away from serious criticism and activism directed to real and ongoing crimes of state, and their institutional background. That is why conspiracy-focused movements (JFK, UFO, 9/11 Truth) are treated far more tolerantly by centers of power than is the norm for serious critical and activist work of truly left-wing progressives who are marginalized from mainstream public discourse.[12]

Marxists, such as the members of the U.S. Party for Socialism and Liberation, reject conspiracy theories in general and New World Order conspiracism in particular because it produces false consciousness and cultism.[87] They
argue:

Conspiracy "theories" lack any true analysis of the systemic class forces at work that oppress billions of people each day. They do not point to imperialism and capitalism as the main problems, instead ascribing society’s ills to a few leaders from imperialist countries that are somehow above the class systems under which we live. Such "theories" are not only false, anti-Marxist and truly reductive of history—they are dangerous diversions that keep people from aiming their anger and hatred toward the system that actually causes oppression throughout the world.[87]

Marxists conclude that the real solution is something right-wing populist conspiracy theorists would never advocate or contemplate: democratic socialism.[87]

Concerned that the improvisational millennialism of most conspiracy theories about a New World Order might motivate lone wolves to engage in leaderless resistance leading to domestic terrorist incidents like the Oklahoma City bombing,[91] Barkun writes:

The danger lies less in such beliefs themselves ... than in the behavior they might stimulate or justify. As long as the New World Order appeared to be almost but not quite a reality, devotees of conspiracy theories could be expected to confine their activities to propagandizing. On the other hand, should they believe that the prophesied evil day had in fact arrived, their behavior would become far more difficult to predict.[5]

Warning of the threat to American democracy posed by right-wing populist movements led by demagogues who mobilize support for mob rule or even a fascist revolution by exploiting the fear of conspiracies, Berlet writes:

Right-wing populist movements can cause serious damage to a society because they often popularize xenophobia, authoritarianism, scapegoating, and conspiracism. This can lure mainstream politicians to adopt these themes to attract voters, legitimize acts of discrimination (or even violence), and open the door for revolutionary right-wing populist movements, such as fascism, to recruit from the reformist populist movements.[12]

Hughes, a professor of religion, warns that no religious idea has greater potential for shaping global politics in profoundly negative ways than "the new world order". He writes in a February 2011 article entitled Revelation, Revolutions, and the Tyrannical New World Order:

The crucial piece of this puzzle is the identity of the Antichrist, the tyrannical figure who both leads and inspires the new world order. [...] for many years, rapture theologians identified the Soviet Union as the Antichrist. But after Sept. 11, they became quite certain that the Antichrist was closely connected with the Arab world and the Muslim religion. This means, quite simply, that for rapture theologians, Islam stands at the heart of the tyrannical "new world order." Precisely here we discover why the idea of a "new world order" has such potential to move global politics in profoundly negative directions, for rapture theologians typically welcome war with the Islamic world. As Bill Moyers wrote of the rapture theologians, "A war with Islam in the Middle East is not something to be feared but welcomed -- an essential conflagration on the road to redemption." Further, rapture theologians co-opt the United States as a tool in their cosmic vision -- a tool God will use to smite the Antichrist and the enemies of righteousness. This is why Tim LaHaye, co-author of the best-selling series of end-times books, could lend such strong support to the American invasion and occupation of Iraq. By virtue of that war, LaHaye believed, Iraq would become "a focal point of end-times events." Even more disturbing is the fact that rapture theologians blissfully open the door to nuclear holocaust. Rapture theologians have always held that God will destroy his enemies at the end of time in the Great Battle of Armageddon. But since World War II, they have increasingly identified Armageddon with nuclear weaponry, thereby lending biblical inevitability to the prospects of nuclear annihilation. As one prophecy writer put it, "The holocaust of atomic war would fulfill the prophecies."[24]

Criticisms of New World Order conspiracy theorists also come from within their own community. Despite believing themselves to be "freedom fighters", many right-wing populist conspiracy theorists hold views that are incompatible
with their professed libertarianism, such as dominionism, white supremacy, and even eliminationism. This paradox has led Icke, who argues that Christian Patriots are the only Americans who understand the truth about the New World Order (which he believes is controlled by a race of reptilians known as the "Babylonian Brotherhood"), to reportedly tell a Christian Patriot group:

I don't know which I dislike more, the world controlled by the Brotherhood, or the one you want to replace it with.\(^5\)

**Literature**

The following is a list of notable published non-fiction books by New World Order conspiracy theorists:

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Oklahoma City bombing conspiracy theories

A variety of conspiracy theories have been proposed regarding the Oklahoma City bombing. These theories reject all or part of the official government report. Some of these theories focus on the possibility of additional, unindicted co-conspirators or additional explosives planted inside the Murrah Federal building. Other theories allege that government employees and officials, including US President Bill Clinton, knew of the impending bombing and intentionally failed to act on that knowledge. Government investigations have been opened at various times to look into the theories.

Oklahoma City Bombing

At 9:02 a.m. CST April 19, 1995, a Ryder rental truck containing more than 6200 pounds (unknown operator: \textit{strong} kg\textsuperscript{1}) of ammonium nitrate fertilizer, nitromethane, and diesel fuel mixture was detonated in front of the north side of the nine-story Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.\textsuperscript{2} The attack claimed 168 lives and left over 800 people injured.\textsuperscript{3}

Shortly after the explosion, Oklahoma State Trooper Charlie Hanger stopped 26-year-old Timothy McVeigh for driving without a license plate, arresting him for that offense and for unlawfully carrying a weapon.\textsuperscript{4} Within days, McVeigh's old army friend Terry Nichols was arrested and both men were charged with committing the bombing. Investigators determined that they were sympathizers of a militia movement and that their motive was to retaliate against the government's handling of the Waco and Ruby Ridge incidents (the bombing occurred on the second anniversary of the Waco incident). McVeigh was executed by lethal injection on June 11, 2001 while Nichols was sentenced to life in prison.

Although the indictment against McVeigh and Nichols alleged that they conspired with "others unknown to the grand jury", prosecutors, and later McVeigh himself, portrayed the bombing as solely the work of McVeigh and Nichols. In this scenario, the two obtained fertilizer and other explosive materials over a period of months, and then assembled the bomb in Kansas the day prior to its detonation. After assembly, McVeigh alone drove the truck to Oklahoma City, lit the fuse and fled in a getaway car he had parked in the area days prior.

Additional conspirators

Several witnesses reported seeing a second person around the time of the bombing; investigators would later call him "John Doe 2". In 1997, the FBI arrested Michael Brescia, a member of Aryan Republican Army who resembled an artist's rendering of John Doe 2 based on the eyewitness accounts. However, they later released him, reporting that their investigation had indicated he was not involved with the bombing.\textsuperscript{5} One reporter for \textit{The Washington Post} reflected on the fact that a John Doe 2 has never been found: "Maybe he'll (John Doe 2) be captured and convicted someday. If not, he'll remain eternally at large, the one who got away, the mystery man at the center of countless conspiracy theories. It's possible that he never lived. It's likely that he'll never die..."\textsuperscript{5}

There are several theories that McVeigh and Nichols had a possible foreign connection or coconspirators.\textsuperscript{6}\textsuperscript{7} This was due to the fact that Terry Nichols traveled through the Philippines while terrorist mastermind Ramzi Yousef of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing was planning his Project Bojinka plot in Manila\textsuperscript{6}\textsuperscript{8} Ramzi Yousef also placed the bomb used in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing inside a rented Ryder van, the same rental company used by McVeigh, indicating a possible foreign link to Al-Qaeda.\textsuperscript{9} Other theories link McVeigh with Islamic terrorists, the Japanese government and German neo-Nazis.\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{11}

There has also been speculation that an unmatched leg found at the bombing site may have belonged to an unidentified, additional bomber.\textsuperscript{12} It was claimed that this bomber was either in the building when the bombing occurred, or had previously been murdered, and McVeigh had left his body in the back of the Ryder truck to hide the body in the explosion.\textsuperscript{13}\textsuperscript{14}
Additional explosives

One theory focuses on a cover-up of the existence of additional explosives planted within the Murrah building.[15] The theory focuses on the local news channels reporting the existence of a second and third bomb within the first few hours of the explosion.[15][16][17] Conspiracy theorists say that there are several discrepancies, such as an inconsistency between the observed destruction and the bomb used by McVeigh. Theorists point to nearby seismographs that recorded two tremors from the bombing, believing it to indicate two bombs had been used.[18] Experts disputed this, stating that the first tremor was a result of the bomb, while the second was due to the collapse of the building.[10][18][19] Many critics of the official explanation point to a blast effects study published in 1997, utilizing test results from the Eglin Air Force Base. It concluded that "it is impossible to ascribe the damage that occurred on April 19, 1995 to a single truck bomb containing 4,800 lbs. of ANFO" so that the damage to the Murrah building was "not the result of the truck bomb itself, but rather due to other factors such as locally placed charges within the building itself". [20] Some experts ascribe the unusually large blast pattern to a thermobaric weapon, utilizing highly flammable metal particles (such as aluminium) mixed with a liquid high explosive (such as nitromethane). When ignited in a two-stage process, the device creates a super-high heat and pressure blast capable of flattening buildings. [21] There's also the fact that a pillar closer to the Ryder truck was mostly intact, while a pillar further away was destroyed in the blast.

US federal government involvement

Another theory alleged that President Bill Clinton had either known about the bombing in advance or had approved the bombing.[22][23] It is also believed that the bombing was done by the government to frame the militia movement or enact antiterrorism legislation while using McVeigh as a scapegoat.[10][22][23][24] Still other theories claim that McVeigh conspired with the US CIA in plotting the bombing.[10][11]

Investigations

In 2006, US Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, (Republican, California), said that the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the U.S. House Committee on International Relations, which he chaired, would investigate whether the Oklahoma City bombers had assistance from foreign sources.[9] On December 28, 2006, when asked about fueling conspiracy theories with his questions and criticism, Rohrabacher told CNN: "There's nothing wrong with adding to a conspiracy theory when there might be a conspiracy, in fact."[25] In March 2007, Danny Coulson, who served as deputy assistant director of FBI at the time of attacks, voiced his concerns and called for reopening of investigation.[26]

On September 28, 2009, Jesse Trentadue, a Salt Lake City attorney, released security tapes that he obtained from the FBI through the Freedom of Information Act that show the Murrah building before and after the blast from four security cameras. The tapes are blank at points before 9:02 am, the time of detonation. Trentadue said that the government's explanation for the missing footage is that the tape was being replaced at the time. Said Trentadue, "Four cameras in four different locations going blank at the same time on the morning of April 19, 1995. There ain't no such thing as a coincidence."[27][28] Trentadue became interested in the case when his brother, Kenneth Michael Trentadue, died in federal custody during what Trentadue believes was an interrogation because Kenneth was mistaken for a possible conspirator in the Oklahoma City bombing.[29]
References


Further reading


External links

- The Opinions of General Partin and Other Bomb Experts (http://100777.com/node/106)
- The Oklahoma City Bombing (http://whatreallyhappened.com/RANCHO/POLITICS/OK/ok.html) at What Really Happened
- The Oklahoma City Bombing: A Morass of Unanswered Questions (http://www.lewrockwell.com/yates/yates33.html)
- Coverup in Oklahoma (http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-7268764172883869415) - A documentary that explores credible witness testimony that was videotaped during the day of the bombing as well as evidence that contradicts the government's official story surrounding the Oklahoma City bombing.
- - 9/11 Practice (http://september11th.org/Oklahoma_City_Truth)

Photographs

- grahamphoto5ca.jpg (http://www.inlibertyandfreedom.com/images/grahamphoto5ca.jpg) - Taken shortly after the blast.
Oklahoma City bombing conspiracy theories

John F. Kennedy assassination conspiracy theories

The circumstances surrounding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963 quickly spawned suspicions of a conspiracy. These suspicions were mitigated somewhat when an official investigation by the Warren Commission concluded the following year that there was no conspiracy. Since then, serious doubts have arisen regarding the Commission's findings. Critics have argued that the Commission, and even the government, covered-up crucial information pointing to a conspiracy.

Subsequent official investigations confirmed most of the conclusions of the Warren Commission. However, the United States House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) ruled that Kennedy's assassination was likely the result of a conspiracy, with: "...a high probability that two gunmen fired at [the] President."[1] No person or organization was identified by the HSCA as being a co-conspirator of Lee Harvey Oswald. Most current theories put forth a criminal conspiracy involving parties as varied as the CIA, the KGB, the American Mafia, the Israeli government, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, sitting Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Cuban president Fidel Castro, anti-Castro Cuban exile groups, the Federal Reserve, or some combination of those entities.
Background

President John F. Kennedy was assassinated as he traveled in an open-top car in a motorcade in Dallas, Texas at 12:30 pm, CST (1:30 pm EST) November 22, 1963; Texas Governor John Connally was also injured. Within two hours, Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested for the murder of Dallas policeman J.D. Tippit and arraigned that evening. At 1:35 am Saturday, Oswald was arraigned for murdering the President. At 11:21 am, Sunday, November 24, 1963, nightclub owner Jack Ruby shot and killed Oswald as he was being transferred to the county jail.

Immediately after the shooting, many people suspected that the assassination was part of a larger plot. Ruby's shooting of Oswald compounded initial suspicions. Mark Lane has been described as writing "the first literary shot" among conspiracy theorists with his article in the December 19, 1963 edition of the National Guardian, "Defense Brief for Oswald". Published in May 1964, Thomas Buchanan's Who Killed Kennedy? has been credited as the first book alleging a conspiracy.

In 1964, the Warren Commission concluded that Oswald acted alone and that no credible evidence supported the contention that he was involved in a conspiracy to assassinate the president. The Commission also indicated that Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State; Robert S. McNamara, the Secretary of Defense; C. Douglas Dillon, the Secretary of the Treasury; Robert F. Kennedy, the Attorney General; J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the FBI; John A. McCone, the Director of the CIA; and James J. Rowley, the Chief of the Secret Service, each independently reached the same conclusion on the basis of information available to them.

In 1979, the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) agreed with the Warren Commission that Oswald assassinated Kennedy, but concluded that the Commission's report and the original FBI investigation were both seriously flawed. The HSCA also concluded that at least four shots were fired with a "high probability" that two gunmen fired at the President, and that a conspiracy was probable. The HSCA also stated that "the Warren Commission failed to investigate adequately the possibility of a conspiracy to assassinate the president."

The Ramsey Clark Panel and the Rockefeller Commission both supported the Warren Commission's conclusions, while New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison unsuccessfully prosecuted Clay Shaw for conspiring to assassinate Kennedy.

Public opinion

According to John McAdams: "The greatest and grandest of all conspiracy theories is the Kennedy assassination conspiracy theory." Others have frequently referred to it as "the mother of all conspiracies." The number of books written about the assassination of Kennedy has been estimated to be in the range of one thousand to two thousand. According to Vincent Bugliosi, 95% of those books are "pro-conspiracy and anti-Warren Commission".

Kennedy assassination enthusiasts have been described as belonging to "conspiracy theorists" on one side and "debunkers" on the other. The great amount of controversy surrounding the event has led to bitter disputes between those who support the conclusion of the Warren Commission and those who reject it or are critical of the official explanation, with each side leveling accusations of "naivete, cynicism, and selective interpretation of the evidence" toward the other.
Public opinion polls have consistently shown that a majority of Americans believe there was a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy. However, on the question of a government cover-up, different polls show both a minority and majority of Americans who believe the government engaged in one.[14] These same polls also show that there is no agreement on who else may have been involved. A 2003 Gallup poll reported that 75% of Americans do not believe that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone.[15] That same year an ABC News poll found that 70% of respondents suspected that the assassination involved more than one person.[16] A 2004 Fox News poll found that 66% of Americans thought there had been a conspiracy while 74% thought there had been a cover-up.[17]

Possible evidence of a cover-up
Numerous researchers, including Mark Lane,[18] Henry Hurt,[19] Michael L. Kurtz,[20] Gerald D. McKnight,[21] Anthony Summers,[22] and others have pointed out what they characterize as inconsistencies, oversights, exclusions of evidence, errors, changing stories, or changes made to witness testimony in the official Warren Commission investigation, which they say could suggest a cover-up.

Michael Benson wrote that the Warren Commission received only information supplied to it by the FBI, and that its purpose was to rubber stamp the lone gunman theory.[23]

James H. Fetzer took issue with a 1998 statement from Federal Judge John R. Tunheim, the Chair of the Assassination Records Review Board (ARRB), who stated that no "smoking guns" indicating a conspiracy or cover-up were discovered during their efforts in the early 1990s to declassify documents related to the assassination. Fetzer identified 16 "smoking guns" which he claims prove the official narrative is impossible, and therefore a conspiracy and cover-up occurred. He claims that evidence released by the ARRB substantiates these concerns. These include problems with bullet trajectories, the murder weapon, the ammunition used, inconsistencies between the Warren Commission's account and the autopsy findings, inconsistencies between the autopsy findings and what was reported by witnesses at the scene of the murder, eyewitness accounts that conflict with x-rays taken of the President's body, indications that the diagrams and photos of the President's brain in the National Archives are not the President's, testimony by those who took and processed the autopsy photos that the photos were altered, created, or destroyed, indications that the Zapruder film had been tampered with, allegations that the Warren Commission's version of events conflicts with news reports from the scene of the murder, an alleged change to the motorcade route which facilitated the assassination, an alleged lax Secret Service and local law enforcement security, and statements by people who claim that they had knowledge of, or participated in, a conspiracy to kill the President.[24]

Allegations of witness tampering, intimidation, and foul play

Witness intimidation
Richard Buyer wrote that over 500 witnesses were interviewed by the Warren Commission and many of those whose statements pointed to a conspiracy were either ignored or intimidated.[25] Bill Sloan wrote in his 1992 biography of Jean Hill, JFK: The Last Dissenting Witness, that Hill said Arlen Specter, then an assistant counsel for the Warren Commission, attempted to humiliate, discredit, and intimidate her into changing her story.[26] According to Sloan, Hill also indicated she had been abused by Secret Service agents, harassed by the FBI, and was the recipient of death threats.[26]

In his book Crossfire, Jim Marrs gave accounts of several people who claimed they were intimidated by FBI agents, or anonymous individuals, into altering or suppressing what they knew about the assassination, including Richard Carr, Acquilla Clemmons, Sandy Speaker, and A. J. Millican.[27] Marrs also wrote that Texas School Book Depository employee Joe Molina "...was intimidated by authorities and lost his job soon after the assassination,"[28] and witness Ed Hoffman was warned by an FBI agent that he "might get killed" if he revealed what he had observed in Dealey Plaza on the day of the assassination.[29]
Witness deaths

Allegations of mysterious or suspicious deaths of witnesses connected with the Kennedy assassination originated with Penn Jones, Jr. and were brought to national attention by the 1973 film Executive Action. Jim Marrs later presented a list of 103 people he believed died "convenient deaths" under suspicious circumstances. He noted that the deaths were grouped around investigations conducted by the Warren Commission, New Orleans D.A. Jim Garrison, the Senate Intelligence Committee, and the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Marrs pointed out that "these deaths certainly would have been convenient for anyone not wishing the truth of the JFK assassination to become public."

Vincent Bugliosi has described the death of Dorothy Kilgallen as "perhaps the most prominent mysterious death" cited by assassination researchers. According to Jerome Kroth, Mafia figures Sam Giancana, John Roselli, Carlos Prio, Jimmy Hoffa, Charles Nicoletti, Leo Moceri, Richard Cain, Salvatore Granello, and Dave Yaras were murdered to prevent them from revealing their knowledge. According to Matthew Smith, others with some tie to the case who have died suspicious deaths include Lee Bowers, Gary Underhill, William Sullivan, David Ferrie, Clay Shaw, George de Mohrenschildt, four showgirls who worked for Jack Ruby, and Ruby himself.

Another oft-cited "suspicious death" was that of Rose Cherami. Louisiana State Police Lieutenant Francis Fruge traveled to Eunice, Louisiana on November 20, 1963—two days before the assassination—to pick up Cherami, who had sustained minor injuries after she was thrown from a car. Fruge drove Cherami to the hospital and said that on the way there, she "...related to [him] that she was coming from Florida to Dallas with two men who were Italians or resembled Italians." Fruge asked her what she planned to do in Dallas, to which she replied: "...number one, pick up some money, pick up [my] baby, and ... kill Kennedy." Cherami was admitted and treated at State Hospital in Jackson, Louisiana for alcohol and heroin addiction. State Hospital physician, Dr. Victor Weiss later told a House Select Committee investigator that on November 25—three days after the assassination—one of his fellow physicians told him "...that the patient, Rose Cherami, stated before the assassination that President Kennedy was going to be killed." Dr. Weiss further reported that Cherami told him after the assassination that she had worked for Jack Ruby and that her knowledge of the assassination originated from "word in the underworld." After the assassination, Lt. Fruge contacted Dallas Police Captain Will Fritz regarding what he had learned from Cherami, but Captain Fritz told him he "wasn't interested." Cherami was found dead by a highway near Big Sandy, Texas on September 4, 1965; she had been run over by a car.

Allegations of evidence suppression, tampering, and fabrication

According to Bugliosi, allegations that the evidence against Oswald was planted, forged, or tampered with is a main argument among those who believe a conspiracy took place.

Suppression of evidence

Ignored testimony

Some assassination researchers assert that witness statements indicating a conspiracy were ignored by the Warren Commission. In 1967, Josiah Thompson stated that the Commission ignored the testimony of seven witnesses who saw gunsmoke in the area of the stockade fence on the grassy knoll, as well as an eighth witness who smelled gunpowder at the time of the assassination. In 1989, Jim Marrs wrote that the Commission failed to ask for the testimony of witnesses on the triple overpass whose statements pointed to a shooter on the grassy knoll.
Confiscated film and photographs

Other researchers report that witnesses who captured the assassination in photographs or on film had their cameras and/or film confiscated by police or other authorities. Jim Marrs gives the account of Gordon Arnold who said that his film of the motorcade was taken by two policemen shortly after the assassination.[29] Another witness, Beverly Oliver, came forward in 1970 and said she was the "Babushka Lady" who is seen, in the Zapruder film, filming the motorcade. She said that after the assassination she was contacted at work by two men who she thought "...were either FBI or Secret Service agents." According to Oliver, the men told her that they wanted to develop her film and would return it to her within ten days, but they never returned the film.[47][48]

Withheld documents

Richard Buyer and others have complained that many documents pertaining to the assassination have been withheld over the years, including documents from the Warren Commission investigation, the House Select Committee on Assassinations investigation, and the Church Committee investigation.[25] These documents at one time included the President's autopsy records. Some documents are still not scheduled for release until 2029. Many documents were released during the mid-to-late 1990s by the Assassination Records Review Board under the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992. However, some of the material released contains redacted sections. Tax return information, which would identify employers and sources of income, has not yet been released.[49]

The existence of large numbers of secret documents related to the assassination, and the long period of secrecy, suggests to some the possibility of a cover-up. One historian noted, "There exists widespread suspicion about the government's disposition of the Kennedy assassination records stemming from the beliefs that Federal officials (1) have not made available all Government assassination records (even to the Warren Commission, Church Committee, House Assassination Committee) and (2) have heavily redacted the records released under FOIA in order to cover up sinister conspiracies."[50] According to the Assassination Records Review Board, "All Warren Commission records, except those records that contain tax return information, are (now) available to the public with only minor redactions."

In response to a Freedom of Information Act request filed by Jefferson Morley, the CIA stated that it had approximately 1,100 JFK assassination-related documents, about 2,000 pages in total, that have not been released for reasons of national security.[52]

Tampering of evidence

Among the items of physical evidence alleged by various researchers to have been tampered with are the "single bullet", also known as the "magic bullet" by critics of the official explanations, various bullet cartridges and fragments, the limousine's windshield, the paper bag in which the Warren Commission said Oswald carried the rifle within, the so-called "backyard" photos which depict Oswald holding the rifle, the Zapruder film, the photographs and radiographs obtained at Kennedy's autopsy, and Kennedy's body itself.[53]

The "backyard" photos

Among the evidence against Oswald are the photographs of Oswald posing in his backyard with a Carcano rifle — the weapon identified by the Warren Commission as the assassination weapon. Some researchers, including Robert Groden, assert that these photos are fake.[54] However, the House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded that the photographs of Oswald are genuine[55] and Oswald's wife, Marina says that she took them.[56]

The Zapruder film

The House Select Committee on Assassinations described the Zapruder film as "the best available photographic evidence of the number and timing of the shots that struck the occupants of the Presidential limousine."[57] The Assassination Records Review Board said it "is perhaps the single most important assassination record."[58] According to Vincent Bugliosi, the film was "originally touted by the vast majority of conspiracy theorists as
incontrovertible proof of [a] conspiracy" but is now believed by many assassination researchers to be a "sophisticated forgery." Among those who believe the Zapruder film has been altered are John Costello, James H. Fetzer, David Lifton, David Mantik, Jack White, Noel Twyman, and Harrison Livingstone, who has called it "the biggest hoax of the twentieth century".\textsuperscript{[59]}

David Lifton wrote that the Zapruder film was in the possession of the CIA's National Photographic Interpretation Center, the night of the assassination. Jack White, researcher and photographic consultant to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, claimed that there are anomalies in the Zapruder film, including an "unnatural jerkiness of movement or change of focus ... in certain frame sequences."\textsuperscript{[62]}

### Kennedy's body

In his 1981 book \textit{Best Evidence}, David Lifton presented the thesis that President Kennedy's body (i.e., the "best evidence") had been altered between the Dallas hospital and the autopsy site at Bethesda for the purposes of creating erroneous conclusions about the number and direction of the shots.\textsuperscript{[63]}

### Fabrication of evidence

#### Murder weapon

The Warren Commission found that the shots which killed Kennedy and wounded Connally were fired from the Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5-millimeter Italian rifle owned by Oswald. Deputy Sheriff Eugene Boone and Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman both initially identified the rifle found in the Texas School Book Depository as a 7.65 Mauser. Weitzman signed an affidavit the following day describing the weapon as a "7.65 Mauser bolt action equipped with a 4/18 scope, a thick leather brownish-black sling on it". Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig claimed that he saw "7.65 Mauser" stamped on the barrel of the weapon.\textsuperscript{[67]}

Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade told the press that the weapon found in the Book Depository was a 7.65 Mauser, and this was reported by the media. But investigators later identified the rifle as a 6.5 Italian Mannlicher Carcano. According to Mark Lane:

"The strongest element in the case against Lee Harvey Oswald was the Warren Commission's conclusion that his rifle had been found on the 6th floor of the Book Depository building. Yet Oswald never owned a 7.65 Mauser. When the FBI later reported that Oswald had purchased only a 6.5 Italian Mannlicher-Carcano, the weapon at police headquarters in Dallas miraculously changed its size, its make and its nationality. The Warren Commission concluded that a 6.5 Mannlicher-Carcano, not a 7.65 German Mauser, had been discovered by the Dallas deputies."\textsuperscript{[71]}

In \textit{Matrix for Assassination}, author Richard Gilbride suggested that both weapons were involved and that Dallas Police Captain Will Fritz and Lieutenant J. Carl Day might have been conspirators.\textsuperscript{[72]}

Addressing "speculation and rumors", the Commission identified Weitzman as "the original source of the speculation that the rifle was a Mauser" and stated that "[p]olice laboratory technicians subsequently arrived and correctly identified the weapon as a 6.5 Italian rifle."\textsuperscript{[73]}

#### Bullets and cartridges

The Warren Commission determined that three bullets were fired at Kennedy: one of the three bullets missed the vehicle entirely, one hit Kennedy, passed through him and struck Governor John Connally, and the third bullet was the fatal head shot to the President. The weight of the bullet fragments taken from Connally and those remaining in his body, some claim, totaled more than the missing mass of the bullet found at Parkland Hospital on Connally's stretcher – dubbed by critics of the Commission as the "magic bullet". However, witness testimony seems to indicate that only tiny fragments, of less total mass than was missing from the bullet, were left in Connally.\textsuperscript{[74]}
Allegations of multiple gunmen

The Warren Commission concluded that "three shots were fired [from the Texas School Book Depository] in a time period ranging from approximately 4.8 to in excess of 7 seconds." Some assassination researchers, including Anthony Summers, dispute the Commission’s findings and point to evidence that brings into question the number of shots fired, the origination of those shots, or the ability of Oswald to accurately fire three shots in a short amount of time, suggesting the involvement of multiple gunmen.

Governor Connally, seated in the limousine’s jump seat directly in front of Kennedy, testified before the Warren Commission that "...the thought immediately passed through my mind that there were either two or three people involved, or more, in this—or someone was shooting with an automatic rifle."

Number of shots

Based on the "consensus among the witnesses at the scene" and "in particular the three spent cartridges", the Warren Commission determined that "the preponderance of the evidence indicated that three shots were fired". In 1979, the House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded there were four shots, one coming from the direction of the grassy knoll.

The Warren Commission, and later the House Select Committee on Assassinations, concluded that one of the shots hit President Kennedy in "the back of his neck", exited his throat, continued on to strike Governor Connally in the back, exited Connally’s chest, shattered his right wrist, and embedded itself in his left thigh. This conclusion came to be known as the "single bullet theory".

Mary Moorman said in a TV interview immediately after the assassination that there were three or four shots close together, that shots were still being fired after she took her photograph of the President being hit, and that she was in the line of fire. In 1967, Josiah Thompson concluded that four shots were fired in Dealey Plaza, with one wounding Connally and three hitting Kennedy.

Origin of the shots

The Warren Commission cited that the "cumulative evidence of eyewitnesses, firearms and ballistic experts and medical authorities", including onsite testing as well as analysis of films and photographs conducted by the FBI and Secret Service, pointed to the sixth-floor window at the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository as the origination of the shots.

In 1979, the House Select Committee on Assassinations agreed to publish a report from Warren Commission critic Robert Groden, in which he named "nearly [two] dozen suspected firing points in Dealey Plaza". These sites included multiple locations in or on the roof of the Texas School Book Depository, the Dal-Tex Building, and the Dallas County Records Building, as well as the railroad overpass, a storm drain located along the north curb of Elm street, and various spots near the "grassy knoll". Josiah Thompson concluded that the shots fired on the motorcade came from three locations: the Texas School Book Depository, the area of the grassy knoll, and the Dal-Tex Building.
Testimony of eyewitnesses

According to some assassination researchers, the grassy knoll was identified by the majority of witnesses as the area from where shots were fired. In March 1965, Harold Feldman wrote that there were 121 witnesses to the assassination with 51 indicating that the shots that killed Kennedy came from the area of the grassy knoll. In 1967, Josiah Thompson examined the statements of 64 witnesses and found that 33 of them thought that the shots emanated from the grassy knoll.

In 1966, *Esquire* magazine credited Feldman with "advanc[ing] the theory that there were two assassins: one on the grassy knoll and one in the Book Depository." Jim Marrs also wrote that the weight of evidence suggested shots came from both the grassy knoll and the Texas School Book Depository.

Lee Bowers operated a railroad tower that overlooked the parking lot on the north side of the grassy knoll. He reported that he saw two men behind the picket fence at the top of the grassy knoll before the shooting. The men did not appear to be acting together and did not appear to be doing anything suspicious. After the shooting, Bowers said that one of the men remained behind the fence. Bowers said that he lost track of the second man whose clothing blended into the foliage. When interviewed by Mark Lane, Bowers noted that he saw something that attracted his attention, either a flash of light, or maybe smoke, from the knoll, leading him to believe "something out of the ordinary" had occurred there. Bowers told Lane he heard three shots, the last two in quick succession. Bowers opined that they could not have come from the same rifle.

William and Gayle Newman were standing at the curb on the north side of Elm St. with their two children. Mr. Newman said that a shot was fired from behind him (from the knoll) and that it hit Kennedy in the head.

Jesse Price was the building engineer for the Terminal Annex Building, located across from the Texas School Book Depository on the opposite side of Dealey Plaza. On November 22, 1963, Price viewed the presidential motorcade from the Terminal Annex Building's roof. In an interview with Mark Lane, Price said that he believed the shots came from "just behind the picket fence where it joins the underpass." He claimed to have seen a "...man run towards the passenger cars on the railroad siding after the volley of shots.

Numerous witnesses reported hearing gunfire coming from the Dal-Tex Building, which is located across the street from the Texas School Book Depository and in alignment with Elm Street in Dealey Plaza. Several conspiracy theories posit that at least one shooter was located in the Dal-Tex Building.

Physical evidence

According to L. Fletcher Prouty, the position of James Tague when he was injured by a fragment is not consistent with the trajectory of a missed shot from the Texas School Book Depository, leading Prouty to theorize that Tague was instead wounded by a missed shot from the second floor of the Dal-Tex Building.

Some assassination researchers state FBI photographs of the limousine show a bullet hole in its windshield above the rear-view mirror, and a crack in the windscreen itself. When Robert Groden, author of *The Killing of a President*, asked for an explanation, the FBI responded that what Groden thought was a bullet hole "occurred prior to Dallas.

Film and photographic evidence

Film and photographic evidence of the assassination lead viewers to different conclusions regarding the origin of the shots. In the Zapruder film, the President's head and upper torso move backwards after the last, fatal shot, an indication to some that a bullet was fired from the front. However, close inspection of frames 312 and 313 show Kennedy's head moving forward by as much as 2.3 inches, before his head moves backwards. Researchers, including Robert Groden and Cyril Wecht, state that the film is evidence of a "double hit" to Kennedy's head. Wecht believes that the film depicts the President's head being "struck twice in a synchronized fashion, from the rear and the right front side." Another theory says that it was the braking of the car by the driver William Greer which caused Kennedy's head to move forward in the moment before a frontal shot, which caused Kennedy's head and torso
to violently move backwards and to the left.

**Acoustical evidence**

According to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, a Dictabelt recording of the Dallas Police Department radio dispatch transmissions from November 22, 1963 was analyzed to "resolve questions concerning the number, timing, and origin of the shots fired in Dealey Plaza". The Committee concluded that the source of the recording was from an open microphone on the motorcycle of H.B. McLain escorting the motorcade and that "the scientific acoustical evidence established a high probability that two gunmen fired at President John F. Kennedy".

The acoustical analysis firm hired by the committee recommended that the committee conduct an acoustical reconstruction of the assassination in Dealey Plaza to determine if any of the six impulse patterns on the dispatch tape were fired from the Texas School Book Depository or the grassy knoll. The reconstruction would entail firing from two locations in Dealey Plaza – the depository and the knoll – at particular target locations and recording the sounds through numerous microphones. The purpose was to determine if the sequences of impulses recorded during the reconstruction would match any of those on the dispatch tape. If so, it would be possible to determine if the impulse patterns on the dispatch tape were caused by shots fired during the assassination from shooter locations in the depository and on the knoll.

An article which appeared in *Science & Justice*, a quarterly publication of Britain's Forensic Science Society, found there was a 96% certainty, based on analysis of audio recordings made during the assassination, that a shot was fired from "the grassy knoll" in front of and to the right of the President's limousine.

On August 20, 1978, members of the Dallas Police Department Police Pistol Team, including Officer Jerry Compton, Officer Tom Knighten, and Officer Rick Stone participated in the acoustical reconstruction by firing both rifles and pistols from the locations selected by the researchers. During the acoustical reconstruction performed for the committee in August, the Dallas Police Department marksmen in fact used iron sights and had no difficulty hitting the targets.

**Medical evidence**

Some assassination researchers have pointed to testimony or medical evidence suggesting that at least one of shots fired at President Kennedy came from a location other than the Book Depository. Roy Kellerman, the Secret Service agent seated next to the driver in the presidential limousine, testified that he saw a 5-inch-diameter hole in the back right-hand side of the President's head. Clint Hill, the Secret Service agent who sheltered the President with his body on the way to the hospital, said: "[A] portion of the President's head on the right rear side was missing." Later, in a National Geographic Channel documentary, he described the wound as a "gaping hole above his right ear, about the size of my palm."

Robert McClelland, one of the Parkland Hospital doctors who attended to Kennedy, testified that the back right part of Kennedy's head was blown out, with posterior cerebral tissue and some cerebellar tissue missing. He indicated that the wound was an exit wound, and that a second shooter from the front delivered the fatal head shot.

Some critics skeptical of the official "single bullet theory" state that the trajectory of the bullet, which hit Kennedy above the right shoulder blade and passed through his neck (according to the autopsy), would have had to change course to pass through Connally's rib cage and wrist. Kennedy's death certificate located the bullet at the third thoracic vertebra—which some claim is too low to have exited his throat. Moreover, the bullet was traveling downward, since the shooter was in a sixth floor window. The autopsy cover sheet had a diagram of a body showing this same low placement at the third thoracic vertebra. The hole in back of Kennedy's shirt and jacket are also claimed to support a wound too low to be consistent with the "single bullet theory."

On the day of the assassination, Nellie Connally was seated in the presidential car next to her husband, Governor John Connally. In her book *From Love Field: Our Final Hours*, Nellie Connally said that she believed that her husband was hit by a bullet that was separate from the two that hit Kennedy.
There is conflicting testimony about the autopsy performed on Kennedy's body, particularly as to when the examination of his brain took place, who was present, and whether or not the photos submitted as evidence are the same as those taken during the examination.\[112\] Douglas Horne, the Assassination Record Review Board's chief analyst for military records, said he was "90 to 95% certain" that the photographs in the National Archives are not of President Kennedy's brain. Dr. Gary Aguilar, assisted by pathologist Dr. Cyril Wecht, wrote in a 1999 piece for The Consortium News, "According to Horne's findings, the second brain—which showed an exit wound in the front—allegedly replaced Kennedy's real brain—which revealed much greater damage to the rear, consistent with an exit wound and thus evidence of a shot from the front."\[113\]

Paul O'Connor, a laboratory technologist who assisted in the autopsy of President Kennedy, claimed that the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital was conducted in obedience to a high command.\[114\] O'Connor stated:

There were kind of mysterious civilian people, in civilian clothes—were there [at Bethesda]. It seemed like they commanded a lot of respect and attention—sinister looking people. They would come up and look over my shoulder, or look over Dr. Boswell's shoulder, and run back, and they'd have a little conference in the corner. Then all at once the word would come down: "Stop what you're doing and go on to the other procedure." And that's the way it was all along. We just jumped back-and-forth, back-and-forth. There was no smooth flow of procedure at all.\[115\]

In his book JFK and the Unspeakable, James Douglass cites Dr. Pierre Finck's testimony at the trial of Clay Shaw as evidence that Finck was "...a reluctant witness to the military control over the doctors' examination of the president's body":

Question: "Was Dr. Humes running the show?"

Finck: "Well, I heard Dr. Humes stating that—he said, 'Who is in charge here?' and I heard an Army General, I don't remember his name, stating, 'I am.' You must understand that in those circumstances, there were law enforcement officers, military people with various ranks, and you have to co-ordinate the operation according to directions."

Question: "But you were one of the three qualified pathologists standing at that autopsy table, were you not, Doctor?"

Finck: "Yes, I am."

Question: "Was this Army General a qualified pathologist?"

Finck: "No."

Question: "Was he a doctor?"

Finck: "No, not to my knowledge."

Question: "Can you give me his name, Colonel?"

Finck: "No, I can't. I don't remember."\[116\]\[117\]

**Oswald's marksmanship**

The Warren Commission examined the capabilities of the Carcano rifle and ammunition, as well as Oswald's military training and post-military experience, and determined that Oswald had the ability to fire three shots within a time span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds.\[118\] According to their report, an army specialist using Oswald's rifle was able to duplicate the feat and even improved on the time. The report also states that the Army Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch test fired Oswald's rifle 47 times and found that it was "quite accurate", comparing it to the accuracy of an M-14 rifle. Also contained in the Commission report is testimony by Marine Corps Major Eugene Anderson confirming that Oswald's military records show that he qualified as "sharpshooter" in 1956. Conspiracy theorists such as Walt Brown and authors such as Richard H. Popkin contend that Oswald was a notoriously poor shot, his rifle was inaccurate, and that no one has ever been able to duplicate his ability to fire three shots within the time
frame given by the Warren Commission.\[119][120]

**Role of Oswald**

Assassination researchers differ as to the role of Oswald in the assassination of President Kennedy. Some researchers believe that Oswald was an uninvolved patsy, while other believe he was actively involved in a plot. Oswald's ability to move to Russia, then return as an avowed Communist to the United States with help from the State Department has led some theorists to speculate that he was working for the CIA and/or the FBI.\[121][122]

Senator Richard Schweiker, who was a member of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, stated: "We do know Oswald had intelligence connections. Everywhere you look with him, there're fingerprints of intelligence."\[123] Richard Sprague, interim staff director and chief counsel to the U.S. House Select Committee on Assassinations, said: "If he had it to do over again, he would begin his investigation of the Kennedy assassination by probing Oswald's ties to the Central Intelligence Agency."\[124] In 2003, Robert Blakey, staff director and chief counsel for the U.S. House Select Committee on Assassinations, stated: "I no longer believe that we were able to conduct an appropriate investigation of the [Central Intelligence] Agency and its relationship to Oswald."\[125]

According to Richard Buyer, Oswald never fired a shot at the President.\[126] James W. Douglass described Oswald as "a questioning, dissenting CIA operative who had become a security risk" and "the ideal scapegoat".\[127] According to Josiah Thompson, Oswald was in the Texas School Book Depository during the assassination, but it is "quite likely" he was not the shooter on the sixth floor.\[36]

**Alternative gunmen**

In addition to Oswald, Jerome Kroth has named 26 people as "Possible Assassins In Dealey Plaza".\[128] They include: Orlando Bosch\[128], James Files\[129][128], Desmond Fitzgerald\[128], Charles Harrelson\[130][128], Gerry Hemming\[128], Chauncey Holt\[128], Howard Hunt\[128], Charles Nicoletti\[130][128], Charles Rogers\[128], Johnny Roselli\[128], Lucien Sarti\[130][128], and Frank Sturgis\[128].

**Three tramps**

The three tramps are three men photographed by several Dallas-area newspapers under police escort near the Texas School Book Depository shortly after the assassination. Since the mid-1960s, various allegations have been made about the identities of the men and their involvement in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy. Records released by the Dallas Police Department in 1989 identified the men Gus Abrams, Harold Doyle, and John Gedney.\[131]

**Allegations of other conspirators**

**E. Howard Hunt**

The theory that former CIA agent and Watergate burglar, E. Howard Hunt, was a participant in the assassination of Kennedy garnered much publicity from 1978 to 2000.\[132] Separately, he denied complicity in the murder of JFK while accusing others of being involved.

Others have suggested that Hunt was one of the men known as the three tramps who were arrested and then quickly released shortly after the assassination.

In 1976, a magazine called The Spotlight ran an article accusing Hunt of being in Dallas on November 22, 1963, and of having a role in the assassination. Hunt won a libel judgment against the magazine in 1981, but this was thrown out on appeal, and the magazine was found not liable when the case was retried in 1985 in Hunt's libel suit against Liberty Lobby.\[133] During that suit, defense attorney Mark Lane introduced doubt as to Hunt's location on the day of the Kennedy assassination through depositions from David Atlee Phillips, Richard Helms, G. Gordon Liddy, Stansfield Turner, and Marita Lorenz, plus a cross-examination of Hunt.\[134][135]
Former KGB archivist Vasili Mitrokhin indicated in 1999 that Hunt was made part of a fabricated conspiracy theory disseminated by a Soviet "active measures" program designed to discredit the CIA and the United States.[136][137] According to Mitrokhin, the KGB created a forged letter from Oswald to Hunt implying that the two were linked as conspirators, then forwarded copies of it to "three of the most active conspiracy buffs" in 1975.[136] Mitrokhin indicated that the photocopies were accompanied by a fake cover letter from an anonymous source alleging that the original had been given to FBI Director Clarence Kelley and was apparently being suppressed.[136]

**J.D. Tippit**

Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit has been named in conspiracy theories as a renegade CIA operative sent to silence Oswald[138][139] and as the "badge man" assassin on the grassy knoll.[139] According to some Warren Commission critics, Oswald was set-up to be killed by Tippit, but that Tippit was killed by Oswald before he could carry out his assignment.[140] Others critics doubt that Tippit was killed by Oswald and assert he was shot by other conspirators.[138][140] (See section below.) Some critics have alleged that Tippit was associated with organized crime or right-wing politics.[138]

**Bernard Weissman**

According to the Warren Commission, the publication of a full page, paid advertisement critical of Kennedy in the November 22, 1963, *Dallas Morning News*, which was signed by "The American Fact-Finding Committee" and noted Bernard Weissman as its chairman, was investigated to determine whether any members of the group claiming responsibility for it were connected to Oswald or to the assassination.[141] The Commission stated that "The American Fact-Finding Committee" was a fictitious sponsoring organization and that there was no evidence linking the four men responsible for the genesis of the ad with either Oswald or Ruby, or to a conspiracy to assassinate Kennedy.[141] During the Commission's hearings, Mark Lane testified that an informant whom he refused to name told him that Weismann had met with Tippit and Ruby eight days before the assassination.[141][142] In *Rush to Judgment*, Lane disputed the government's findings and indicated that the source of his information was reporter Thayer Waldo of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. [133]

**Roscoe White**

In 1990, Ricky Don White claimed that his father, Roscoe White, was one of three people ordered by the CIA to assassinate Kennedy.[143] According to the son, Oswald, who was involved in the plot but did not fire any shots, was picked up after the assassination by Roscoe White and J.D. Tippit to be transported to Red Bird Airport.[143] Ricky White stated that Tippit, who had no knowledge of the assassination or plot, became suspicious after Oswald panicked and got out of the car.[143] He indicated that his father shot Tippit after Tippit indicated that he would need to take Oswald to police headquarters for questioning.[143] Jack Shaw, Roscoe White's pastor, said that Roscoe White had spoken to him about the assassination on several occasions and was "killed by a witness elimination team activated after Kennedy's death."[143] According to Shaw, Roscoe White's wife, Geneva, said to him she had overheard conversations between White and Jack Ruby in which White would "take care of" Kennedy and Tippit and that Ruby would "take care of Oswald".[143] The allegations were denied as "ludicrous" by a CIA spokesman.[143] The FBI released a statement indicated that they had investigated the allegations in 1988 and determined that the information was not credible.[143]
Unnamed accomplice in the murder of J. D. Tippit

The Warren Commission concluded that Oswald "...killed Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit in an apparent attempt to escape."[144] The evidence that formed the basis for this conclusion was: "(1) two eyewitnesses who heard the shots and saw the shooting of Dallas Police Patrolman J. D. Tippit and seven eyewitnesses who saw the flight of the gunman with revolver in hand positively identified Lee Harvey Oswald as the man they saw fire the shots or flee from the scene, (2) the cartridge cases found near the scene of the shooting were fired from the revolver in the possession of Oswald at the time of his arrest, to the exclusion of all other weapons, (3) the revolver in Oswald's possession at the time of his arrest was purchased by and belonged to Oswald, and (4) Oswald's jacket was found along the path of flight taken by the gunman as he fled from the scene of the killing."[145]

Some researchers have alleged that the murder of Officer Tippit was part of a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy. Jim Marrs hypothesized that "the slaying of Officer J.D. Tippit may have played some part in [a] scheme to have Oswald killed, perhaps to eliminate co-conspirator Tippit or simply to anger Dallas police and cause itchy trigger fingers."[146] Researcher James Douglass said that "...the killing of [Tippit] helped motivate the Dallas police to kill an armed Oswald in the Texas Theater, which would have disposed of the scapegoat before he could protest his being framed."[147] Harold Weisberg offered a simpler explanation: "Immediately, the [flimsy] police case [against Oswald] required a willingness to believe. This was proved by affixing to Oswald the opprobrious epithet of 'cop-killer.'"[147] Jim Garrison alleged that evidence was altered to frame Oswald, stating: "If Oswald was innocent of the Tippit murder the foundation of the government's case against him collapsed."[148]

Some critics doubt that Tippit was killed by Oswald and assert he was shot by other conspirators.[138][140] They allege discrepancies in witness testimony and physical evidence which they feel calls into question some of the Commission's conclusions regarding the murder of Tippit. According to Jim Marrs, Oswald's guilt in the assassination of Kennedy is placed in question by the presence of "a growing body of evidence to suggest that [he] did not kill Tippit".[149] Others say that multiple men were directly involved in Tippit's killing. Conspiracy researcher Kenn Thomas has alleged that the Warren Commission omitted testimony and evidence that two men shot Tippit and that one left the scene in a car.[150]

William Alexander—the Dallas assistant district attorney who recommended that Oswald be charged with the Kennedy and Tippit murders—later became skeptical of the Warren Commission's version of the Tippit murder. He stated that the Commission's conclusions on Oswald's movements "don't add up," and that "certainly [Oswald] may have had accomplices."[151]

According to Brian McKenna's review of Henry Hurt's book, Reasonable Doubt, Hurt reported that "Tippit may have been killed because he impregnated the wife of another man" and that Dallas police officers lied and altered evidence to set-up Oswald to save Tippit's reputation.[152]

Allegations regarding witness testimony and physical evidence

The Warren Commission identified Helen Markham and Domingo Benavides as two witnesses who actually saw the shooting.[153] Conspiracy theorist Richard Belzer criticized the Commission for, in his description, "relying" on the testimony of Markham whom he described as "imaginative".[154] Marrs has also taken issue with Markham's testimony, stating that her "credibility ... was strained to the breaking point".[149] Joseph Ball, senior counsel to the Commission, referred to Markham's testimony as "full of mistakes," characterizing her as an "utter screwball."[155] The Warren Commission addressed concerns on her reliability as a witness and concluded: "However, even in the
absence of Mrs. Markham’s testimony, there is ample evidence to identify Oswald as the killer of Tippit.”[153] Domingo Benavides initially said that he did not think he could identify the assailant and was never asked to view a police lineup,[156] even though he was the person closest to the killing.[157] Benavides later testified that the killer resembled pictures he had seen of Oswald.[158] Other witnesses were taken to police lineups. However, critics have questioned these lineups in that they consisted of people who looked very different from Oswald.[157][159]

Additionally, witnesses who did not appear before the Commission identified an assailant who was not Oswald. Acquilla Clemons saw two men near Tippit’s car just before the shooting.[160] After the shooting, she ran outside of her house and saw a man with a gun whom she described as "kind of heavy." He waved to the second man, urging him to "go on."[161] Frank Wright emerged from his home and observed the scene seconds after the shooting. He described a man standing by Tippit's body who had on a long coat and who ran to a parked car and drove away.[162][163] There have also been concerns about ballistic evidence and fingerprint evidence on the police car that seemed to make it less likely that Oswald was the killer.

Critics have questioned whether the cartridge cases recovered from the scene were the same as those that were subsequently entered into evidence. Two of the cases were recovered by witness Domingo Benavides and turned over to police officer J.M. Poe. Poe told the FBI that he marked the shells with his own initials, "J.M.P." to identify them.[164] Sergeant Gerald Hill later testified to the Warren Commission that it was he who had ordered police officer Poe to mark the shells.[165] However, Poe’s initials were not found on the shells produced by the FBI six months later.[164][166][167] Testifying before the Warren Commission, Poe said that although he recalled marking the cases, he "couldn’t swear to it."[166][168] The identification of the cases at the crime scene raises more questions. Sergeant Gerald Hill examined one of the shells and radioed the police dispatcher, saying: "The shell at the scene indicates that the suspect is armed with an automatic .38 rather than a pistol."[169] However, Oswald was reportedly arrested carrying a non-automatic .38 Special revolver.[162][170]

**Allegations regarding timeline**

The Warren Commission also investigated Oswald’s movements between the time of the assassination and the shooting of Tippit, to ascertain whether Oswald might have had an accomplice who helped him flee the Book Depository.[171] According to their final report, Oswald was seen by his housekeeper leaving his rooming house shortly after 1:00 pm and had enough time to travel nine-tenths of a mile to the scene where Tippit was killed around 1:16 pm.[172][173][174] The Commission reported that the time of the shooting was determined by police tapes that logged Domingo Benavides’ use of the radio in Tippit’s car.[175]

Some Warren Commission critics believe that Oswald did not have enough time to get from his house to the scene where Tippit was killed.[138] The Commission’s own test and estimation of Oswald’s walking speed demonstrated that one of the longer routes to the Tippit shooting scene took 17 minutes and 45 seconds to walk.[176] No witness ever surfaced who saw Oswald walk from his rooming house to the murder scene.[177]

Conspiracy researchers Anthony Summers and Robert Groden believe that Tippit’s murder may have occurred earlier than the time given in the Warren Report.[178][179] They note that the Commission established the time of the shooting as 1:16 pm. However, Benavides testified that he did not approach the car until "a few minutes" after the shooting, because he was afraid that the gunman might return.[180] He was assisted in using the radio by witness T.F. Bowley who testified to Dallas police that he arrived at the scene after the murder, and that the time was 1:10 pm.[178][181]
Witness Helen Markham initially told the FBI that the shooting occurred "possibly around 1:30 pm," but she later told the Warren Commission: "I wouldn't be afraid to bet it wasn't 6 or 7 minutes after 1." In an unpublished manuscript titled *When They Kill a President*, Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig stated that when he heard the news that Tippit had been shot, he noted that the time was 1:06 pm. However, in a later statement to the press, Craig seemed confused about the time of the shooting.

Warren "Butch" Burroughs, who ran the concession stand at the Texas Theater where Oswald was arrested, told author James Douglass in 2007 that Oswald came into the theater between 1:00 and 1:07 pm, which if true would make Oswald's alleged 1:16 pm shooting of Officer J.D. Tippit impossible. This was a claim that Burroughs had made earlier in the documentary, *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*.

**Conspiracy theories**

According to researchers, conspiracy theorists consider four or five groups, alone or in combination, to be the primary suspects in the assassination of Kennedy: the CIA, the military-industrial complex, organized crime, the government of Cuba, and Cuban exiles. Other domestic individuals, groups, or organizations implicated in various conspiracy theories include Lyndon Johnson, George H. W. Bush, Sam Giancana, J. Edgar Hoover, Earl Warren, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the United States Secret Service, the John Birch Society, and far-right wealthy Texans. Some other alleged foreign conspirators include Fidel Castro, Nikita Krushchev, Aristotle Onassis, the government of South Vietnam, and international drug lords including a French heroin syndicate.

**New Orleans conspiracy**

Soon after the assassination, allegations began to surface of a conspiracy between Oswald and persons with whom he was or may have been acquainted, while living in New Orleans. On November 25, 1963, New Orleans attorney Dean Andrews told the FBI that he received a telephone call three days earlier (the day of the assassination) from a man named Clay Bertrand, asking him to defend Oswald. Andrews would later repeat this claim in testimony to the Warren Commission.

Also, in late November 1963, an employee of New Orleans private investigator Guy Banister named Jack Martin began making accusations of possible involvement in the assassination by fellow Banister employee David Ferrie. According to witnesses, in 1963 Ferrie and Banister were working for lawyer G. Wray Gill on behalf of Gill's client, New Orleans Mafia boss Carlos Marcello. Ferrie had also attended Civil Air Patrol meetings in New Orleans in the 1950s that were also attended by a teenage Lee Harvey Oswald.

In 1966, New Orleans D.A. Jim Garrison began an investigation into the assassination of President Kennedy. Garrison's investigation led him to conclude that a group of right-wing extremists, including David Ferrie and Guy Banister, were involved in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy. Garrison also came to believe that New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw was part of the conspiracy and that Clay Shaw used the pseudonym "Clay Bertrand." Garrison further believed that Shaw, Banister, and Ferrie conspired to set up Oswald as a patsy in the JFK assassination. On March 1, 1967, Garrison arrested and charged Shaw with conspiring to assassinate President Kennedy. On January 29, 1969, Clay Shaw was brought to trial on these charges, and the jury found him not guilty.
In 2003, Judyth Baker—whose employment records show that she worked at the Reily Coffee Company in New Orleans at the same time Oswald did—appeared in an episode of Nigel Turner's documentary television series, *The Men Who Killed Kennedy.* Baker claimed that in 1963 she was recruited by Dr. Canute Michaelson to work with Dr. Alton Ochsner and Dr. Mary Sherman on a clandestine CIA project to develop a biological weapon that could be used to assassinate Fidel Castro. According to Baker, she and Oswald were hired by Reily in the spring of 1963 as a "cover" for the operation. Baker further claimed that she and Oswald began an affair, and that later Oswald told her about Merida, Mexico—a city where he suggested they might begin their lives over again. According to John McAdams, in the years since Baker first made her allegations public, she has failed to produce hard evidence that she was acquainted with Oswald, and the research community has widely dismissed her claims. However, other researchers, including Jim Marrs and James Fetzer, have concluded the opposite—that Baker's claims are credible.

**CIA conspiracy**

The House Select Committee on Assassinations reported that "[t]here was no indication in Oswald's CIA file that he had ever had contact with the Agency" and concluded that the CIA was not involved in the assassination of Kennedy.

Gaeton Fonzi, an investigator for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, wrote that investigators were pressured not to look into the relationship between Lee Harvey Oswald and the CIA. He stated that CIA agent David Atlee Phillips, using the pseudonym "Maurice Bishop", was involved with Oswald prior to the Kennedy assassination in connection with anti-Castro Cuban groups.

In 1995, former U.S. Army Intelligence officer and National Security Agency executive assistance John M. Newman published evidence that both the CIA and FBI had deliberately tampered with their files on Lee Harvey Oswald both before and after the assassination. Furthermore, he found that both had withheld information that might have alerted authorities in Dallas that Oswald posed a potential threat to the President. Subsequently, Newman has expressed a belief that James Angleton was probably the key figure in the assassination. According to Newman, only Angleton, "had the access, the authority, and the diabolically ingenious mind to manage this sophisticated plot." However the control of the cover operation was not under James Angleton, but under Allen Dulles (the former CIA director who had been dismissed by Kennedy after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion). Among senior government officials, only James Angleton continued expressing his belief that Kennedy assassination was not carried out by a lone gunman.

**Shadow government conspiracy**

One conspiracy theory suggests that a secret or shadow government including wealthy industrialists and right-wing politicians ordered the assassination of Kennedy. Peter Dale Scott has indicated that Kennedy's death allowed for policy reversals desired by the secret government to escalate the United States' military involvement in Vietnam.

**Military-industrial complex**

Some conspiracy theorists have argued that Kennedy planned to end the involvement of the United States in Vietnam and was therefore targeted by those who had an interest in sustained military conflict, including the Pentagon and defense contractors.

According to author James Douglass, Kennedy was assassinated because he was turning away from the Cold War and seeking a negotiated peace with the Soviet Union. Douglass argues that this "was not the kind of leadership the CIA, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the military-industrial complex wanted in the White House."

In his farewell speech, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had warned, "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this
combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted."[216]

Oliver Stone's 1991 movie JFK explored the possibility that Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy involving the military-industrial complex.[217] L. Fletcher Prouty, Chief of Special Operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Kennedy, and the person who inspired the character "Mr. X" in Stone's movie, has written that he believes Kennedy's assassination was actually a coup d'état.[218]

Secret Service conspiracy

The House Select Committee on Assassinations reported that it investigated "alleged Secret Service complicity in the assassination" and concluded that the Secret Service was not involved.[207] However, the HSCA declared that "the Secret Service was deficient in the performance of its duties."[219] Among its findings, the HSCA noted: that President Kennedy had not received adequate protection in Dallas; that the Secret Service possessed information that was not properly analyzed, investigated or used by the Secret Service in connection with the President's trip to Dallas; and finally that the Secret Service agents in the motorcade were inadequately prepared to protect the President from a sniper.[220] The HSCA specifically noted:

No actions were taken by the agent in the right front seat of the Presidential limousine [ Roy Kellerman ] to cover the President with his body, although it would have been consistent with Secret Service procedure for him to have done so. The primary function of the agent was to remain at all times in close proximity to the President in the event of such emergencies.[221]

Some argue that the lack of Secret Service protection occurred because Kennedy himself had asked that the Secret Service make itself discreet during the Dallas visit.[222] However, Vince Palamara, who interviewed several Secret Service agents assigned to the Kennedy detail, disputes this. Palamara reports that Secret Service driver Sam Kinney told him that requests—such as removing the bubble top from the limousine in Dallas, not having agents positioned beside the limousine's rear bumper, and reducing the number of Dallas police motorcycle outriders near the limousine's rear bumper—were not made by Kennedy.[223][224][225]

In The Echo from Dealey Plaza, Abraham Bolden—the first African American on the White House Secret Service detail—claimed to have overheard agents say that they would not protect Kennedy from would-be assassins:

[President Kennedy] alienated Southerners and conservatives around the country, most of whom were already suspicious of him. In this, the Secret Service reflected the more backward elements of America. Many of the agents with whom I worked were products of the South.... I heard some members of the White House detail say that if shots were fired at the president, they'd take no action to protect him. A few agents vowed that they would quit the Secret Service rather than give up their lives for Kennedy.[226]

Questions regarding the forthrightness of the Secret Service increased in the 1990s when the Assassination Records Review Board—which was created when Congress passed the JFK Records Act—requested access to Secret Service records. The Review Board was told by the Secret Service that in January 1995, in violation of the JFK Records Act, the Secret Service destroyed protective survey reports that covered JFK's trips from September 24 through November 8, 1963.[227][228]
Cuban exiles

The House Select Committee on Assassinations wrote: "The committee believes, on the basis of the evidence available to it, that anti-Castro Cuban groups, as groups, were not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy, but that the available evidence does not preclude the possibility that individual members may have been involved".\[207]\]

With the 1959 Cuban Revolution that brought Fidel Castro to power, thousands of Cubans left their homeland to take up residence in the United States. Many exiles hoped to overthrow Castro and return to Cuba. Their hopes were dashed with the failed Bay of Pigs Invasion in 1961, and many exiles blamed President Kennedy for the failure.\[229]\]

The House Select Committee on Assassinations believed evidence existed implicating certain violent Cuban exiles may have participated in Kennedy's murder. These exiles worked closely with CIA operatives in violent activities against Castro's Cuba. In 1979, the committee reported this:

President Kennedy's popularity among the Cuban exiles had plunged deeply by 1963. Their bitterness is illustrated in a tape recording of a meeting of anti-Castro Cubans and right-wing Americans in the Dallas suburb of Farmer's Branch on October 1, 1963.\[230]\]

Holding a copy of the September 26 edition of The Dallas Morning News, featuring a front-page account of the President's planned trip to Texas in November, the Cuban exile vented his hostility:

CASTELLANOS...we're waiting for Kennedy the 22d, [the date Kennedy was murdered] buddy. We're going to see him in one way or the other. We're going to give him the works when he gets in Dallas. Mr. good ol' Kennedy. I wouldn't even call him President Kennedy. He stinks.\[230]\]

Author Joan Didion explored the Miami anti-Castro Cuban theory in her 1987 non-fiction book "Miami."\[231]\][232]\]

In "Miami," she emphasizes the questions that investigators raised to Marita Lorenz regarding Guillermo Novo, a Cuban exile who was involved in shooting a bazooka at the U.N. building from the East River during a speech by Che Guevara. Allegedly, Novo was affiliated with Lee Harvey Oswald and Frank Sturgis and carried weapons with them to a hotel in Dallas just prior to the assassination. These claims, though put forth to the House Assassinations Committee by Lorenz, were never substantiated by a conclusive investigation.

Organized crime conspiracy

The House Select Committee on Assassinations wrote: "The committee believes, on the basis of the evidence available to it, that the national syndicate of organized crime, as a group, was not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy, but that the available evidence does not preclude the possibility that individual members may have been involved".\[207]\]

Documents never seen by the Warren Commission have revealed that some Mafiosi worked with the CIA on assassination attempts against Cuban leader Fidel Castro.\[233]\] CIA documents released in 2007 confirmed that in the summer of 1960, the CIA recruited ex-FBI agent Robert Maheu to approach the West Coast representative of the Chicago mob, Johnny Roselli. When Maheu contacted Roselli, Maheu hid the fact that he was sent by the CIA, instead portraying himself an advocate for international corporations. He offered to pay $150,000 to have Castro killed, but Roselli declined any pay. Roselli introduced Maheu to two men he referred to as "Sam Gold" and "Joe." "Sam Gold" was Sam Giancana; "Joe" was Santo Trafficante, Jr., the Tampa, Florida boss and one of the most powerful mobsters in pre-revolution Cuba.\[234]\][235]\] Glenn Kessler of The Washington Post explained: "After Fidel Castro led a revolution that toppled a friendly government in 1959, the CIA was desperate to eliminate him. So the agency sought out a partner equally worried about Castro—the Mafia, which had lucrative investments in Cuban casinos."\[236]\]

In his memoir, Bound by Honor, Bill Bonanno, son of New York Mafia boss Joseph Bonanno, disclosed that several Mafia families had long-standing ties with the anti-Castro Cubans through the Havana casinos operated by the Mafia before the Cuban Revolution. Many Cuban exiles and Mafia bosses disliked President Kennedy, blaming him for the
failed Bay of Pigs Invasion. They also disliked his brother, the young and idealistic Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who had conducted an unprecedented legal assault on organized crime. This was especially provocative because several Mafia “families” had allegedly worked with JFK’s father, Joseph Kennedy, to get JFK elected, and there was speculation about voting irregularities during the 1960 election. Both the Mafia and the anti-Castro Cubans were experts in assassination—the Cubans having been trained by the CIA. Bonanno reported that he recognized the high degree of involvement of other Mafia families when Jack Ruby killed Oswald, since Bonanno was aware that Ruby was an associate of Chicago mobster Sam Giancana.

Carlos Marcello allegedly threatened to assassinate the President to short-circuit his younger brother Bobby, who was serving as attorney general and leading the administration’s anti-Mafia crusade. Information released in 2006 by the FBI has led some to conclude that Carlos Marcello confessed to having organized Kennedy’s assassination, and that the FBI covered-up this information which it had in its possession. This version of events is supported by a House Select Committee on Assassinations finding that Marcello was likely part of a Mafia conspiracy behind the assassination, and that the Mafia had the means and opportunity to carry it out. The assassination came less than two weeks prior to a coup against Castro in Cuba by the Kennedy brothers, related to the Missile Crisis and Bay of Pigs Invasion.

James Files claims to be a former assassin working for both the Mafia and the CIA who participated in the assassination along with Johnny Roselli and Charles Nicoletti at the behest of Sam Giancana. He is currently serving a 30-year jail sentence for the attempted murder of a policeman.

Judith Campbell Exner, an alleged girlfriend of President Kennedy was also Sam Giancana's mistress; she was interviewed (apparently live) by Maria Shriver (daughter of Eunice Kennedy and Sargent Shriver) on ABC's Good Morning America. The woman was asked if she ever carried messages between JFK and Giancana because she knew them both. The woman confirmed that and said no to the question by saying, "Sam would never write anything down."

David E. Kaiser has also suggested mob involvement in his book, The Road to Dallas. Investigative reporter Jack Anderson concluded that Castro worked with organized crime figures to arrange the JFK assassination. In his book Peace War and Politics, Anderson claimed that Johnny Roselli gave him extensive details of the plot. Anderson said that although he was never able to independently confirm Roselli's entire story, many of Roselli's details checked out. Anderson said that Oswald may have played a role in the assassination, but that more than one gunman was involved.

The History Channel program, The Men Who Killed Kennedy presented additional evidence for organized crime involvement. Christian David was a Corsican Mafia member interviewed in prison. He said that he was offered the assassination contract on President Kennedy, but that he did not accept it. However, he said that he knew the men who did accept the contract. According to David, there were three shooters. He provided the name of one—Lucien Sarti. David said that since the other two shooters were still alive, it would break a code of conduct for him to identify them. When asked what the shooters were wearing, David noted their modus operandi was to dress in costumes such as official uniforms. Much of Christian David's testimony was confirmed by former Corsican member, Michelle Nicole who was part of the DEA witness protection program.

The book Ultimate Sacrifice, by Lamar Waldron and Thom Hartman, synthesizes these theories with new evidence. The authors argue that government officials were (unwillingly) obliged to help the assassins cover up the truth, because the assassination conspiracy had direct ties to American government plots to assassinate Castro. Outraged at Robert Kennedy's attack on organized crime, mob leaders had President Kennedy killed to remove Robert from power. However, a government investigation of the plot was thwarted, because it would have revealed evidence of mob participation in the government's plot to kill Castro.
John F. Kennedy assassination conspiracy theories

Lyndon B. Johnson conspiracy

A 2003 Gallup poll indicated that nearly 20% of Americans suspected Lyndon Johnson of being involved in the assassination of Kennedy.[247] Critics of the Warren Commission have accused Johnson of plotting the assassination because he hated the Kennedys and feared being dropped from the Democratic ticket for the 1964 election.[248] With his 1968 book The Dark Side of Lyndon Baines Johnson, Joachim Joesten is credited as being the first conspiracy author to accuse Johnson of having a role in the assassination.[249] According to Joesten, Johnson "played the leading part" in a conspiracy that involved "the Dallas oligarchy and... local branches of the CIA, the FBI, and the Secret Service". [249] Other assassination authors who have indicated there was complicity on the part of Johnson include Jim Marrs,[249] Ralph D. Thomas,[249] J. Gary Shaw,[249] Larry Harris,[249] Walt Brown,[249] Noel Twyman,[249] Barr McClellan,[249] Craig Zirbel,[32] Penn Jones, Jr.,[32] and Madeleine Brown.[250]

In 2003, researcher Barr McClellan published the book, Blood, Money & Power[251] McClellan claims that Lyndon Johnson, motivated by the fear of being dropped from the Kennedy ticket in 1964 and the need to cover up various scandals, masterminded Kennedy's assassination with the help of his friend, attorney Edward Clark. The book suggests that a smudged partial fingerprint from the sniper's nest likely belonged to Johnson's associate Malcolm "Mac" Wallace, and that Mac Wallace was, therefore, on the sixth floor of the Depository at the time of the shooting. The book further claims that the killing of Kennedy was paid for by oil magnates including Clint Murchison and H. L. Hunt. McClellan's book subsequently became the subject of an episode of Nigel Turner's ongoing documentary television series, The Men Who Killed Kennedy. The episode, entitled "The Guilty Men", drew angry condemnation from the Johnson family, President Johnson's former aides, and ex-Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter following its airing on The History Channel. The History Channel assembled a committee of historians who concluded the accusations in the documentary were without merit; the History Channel apologized to the Johnson family and agreed not to air the series in the future.[252]

Madeleine Brown, who alleged she was the mistress of Lyndon Johnson, also implicated Johnson in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy. In 1997, Brown said that Johnson, along with H. L. Hunt, had begun planning Kennedy's demise as early as 1960. Brown claimed that by its fruition in 1963, the conspiracy involved dozens of persons, including the leadership of the FBI and the Mafia, as well as prominent politicians and journalists.[253] In the documentary The Men Who Killed Kennedy, Madeleine Brown and May Newman (an employee of Texas oilman Clint Murchison) both placed J. Edgar Hoover at a social gathering at Murchison's mansion the night before the assassination.[254] Also in attendance, according to Brown, were John McCloy, Richard Nixon, George Brown, R. L. Thornton, and H. L. Hunt.[255] Madeleine Brown claimed that Johnson arrived at the gathering late in the evening and, in a "grating whisper," told her that the "...Kennedys will never embarrass me again—that's no threat—that's a promise."[255][256][257] In addition, Brown said that on New Years Eve 1963, Lyndon Johnson confirmed the conspiracy to kill Kennedy, insisting that "the fat cats of Texas and [U.S.] intelligence" had been responsible.[258] Brown reiterated her allegations against Johnson in the 2006 documentary, Evidence of Revision. In the same documentary, several other Johnson associates also voiced their suspicions of Johnson.

Johnson was also accused of complicity in the assassination by former CIA agent and Watergate figure E. Howard Hunt.[259] Shortly before his death in 2007, Hunt authored an autobiography which suggested that Johnson had orchestrated the killing with the help of CIA agents who had been angered by Kennedy's actions as President.[260][261] Hunt repeated these claims in deathbed confessions to his son, published in a 2007 edition of Rolling Stone magazine. Hunt implicated CIA agents David Atlee Phillips, Cord Meyer, Bill Harvey, Frank Sturgis, and David Sánchez Morales, as well as a French gunman, Lucien Sarti, who purportedly shot at Kennedy from the grassy knoll.[262][263][264]

Historian Michael L. Kurtz wrote that there is no evidence suggesting that Johnson ordered the assassination of Kennedy.[265] According to Kurtz, Johnson believed Fidel Castro was responsible for the assassination and that Johnson covered-up the truth because he feared the possibility that retaliatory measures against Cuba might escalate to nuclear war with the Soviet Union.[265]
Cuban conspiracy

The Warren Commission reported that they investigated "dozens of allegations of a conspiratorial contact between Oswald and agents of the Cuban Government" and that they found no evidence that Cuba was involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. The House Select Committee on Assassinations also wrote: "The committee believes, on the basis of the evidence available to it, that the Cuban Government was not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy".

Conspiracy theories frequently implicate Fidel Castro as having ordered the assassination of Kennedy in retaliation for the CIA's previous attempts to assassinate him.

In the early 1960s, Clare Booth Luce, wife of Time-Life publisher Henry Luce, was one of a number of prominent Americans who sponsored anti-Castro groups. This support included funding exiles in commando speedboat raids against Cuba. In 1975, Clare Luce said that on the night of the assassination, she received a call from a member of a commando group she had sponsored. According to Luce, the caller's name was "something like" Julio Fernandez and he claimed he was calling her from New Orleans.

According to Luce, Fernandez told her that Oswald had approached his group with an offer to help assassinate Castro. Fernandez further claimed that he and his associates eventually found out that Oswald was a communist and supporter of Castro. He said that with this new-found knowledge, his group kept a close watch on Oswald until Oswald suddenly came into money and went to Mexico City and then Dallas. Finally, according to Luce, Fernandez told her, "There is a Cuban Communist assassination team at large and Oswald was their hired gun." Luce said that she told the caller to give his information to the FBI. Subsequently, Luce would reveal the details of the incident to both the Church Committee and the HSCA. Both committees investigated the incident, but were unable to uncover any evidence to corroborate the allegations.

President Lyndon Johnson informed several journalistic sources of his personal belief that the assassination had been organized by Castro. Johnson claimed to have received in 1967 information from both the FBI and CIA that in the early 1960s, the CIA had tried to have Castro assassinated, had employed members of the Mafia in this effort, and that Attorney General Robert Kennedy had known about both the plots and the Mafia's involvement.

On separate occasions, Johnson told two prominent television newsmen that he believed that JFK's assassination had been organized by Castro as retaliation for the CIA's efforts to kill Castro. In October, 1968, Johnson told veteran newsmen Howard K. Smith of ABC that "Kennedy was trying to get to Castro, but Castro got to him first." In September, 1969, in an interview with Walter Cronkite of CBS, Johnson said that in regard to the assassination he could not, "honestly say that I've ever been completely relieved of the fact that there might have been international connections." Finally, in 1971, Johnson told Leo Janos of Time magazine that he, "never believed that Oswald acted alone".

In 1977, Castro was interviewed by newsman Bill Moyers. He denied any involvement in Kennedy's death, saying:

- It would have been absolute insanity by Cuba... It would have been a provocation. Needless to say, it would have been to run the risk that our country would have been destroyed by the United States.
- Nobody who's not insane could have thought about [killing Kennedy in retaliation].

Lyndon Johnson also implicated the CIA in the assassination. According to a FBI document released in 1977, Johnson's postmaster general, Marvin Watson told the FBI "...that [President Johnson] was now convinced there was a plot in connection with the assassination. Watson stated the President felt the CIA had something to do with this plot."
Soviet conspiracy

The Warren Commission reported that they found no evidence that the Soviet Union was involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. The House Select Committee on Assassinations also wrote: "The committee believes, on the basis of the evidence available to it, that the Soviet Government was not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy".

According to some theorists, the Soviet Union, with Nikita Khrushchev motivated by having to back down during the Cuban Missile Crisis, was responsible for the assassination.

According to a 1966 FBI document, Colonel Boris Ivanov—chief of the KGB at the time of the assassination—stated that it was his personal opinion that the assassination had been planned by an organized group, rather than a lone individual. The same document stated, "...officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union believed there was some well-organized conspiracy on the part of the 'ultraright' in the United States to effect a 'coup'".

Much later, the highest-ranking Soviet Bloc intelligence defector, Lt. Gen. Ion Mihai Pacepa described his conversation with Nicolae Ceauşescu who told him about "ten international leaders the Kremlin killed or tried to kill": "László Rajk and Imre Nagy of Hungary; Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu and Gheorghiu-Dej in Romania; Rudolf Slánský, the head of Czechoslovakia, and Jan Masaryk, that country's chief diplomat; the Shah of Iran; Palmiro Togliatti of Italy; American President John F. Kennedy; and Mao Zedong." Pacepa provided some additional details, such as a plot to kill Mao Zedong with the help of Lin Biao organized by KGB and noted that "among the leaders of Moscow's satellite intelligence services there was unanimous agreement that the KGB had been involved in the assassination of President Kennedy."

New information regarding the murder of Mary Meyer—a confidante of John F. Kennedy—has led to a reinterpretation of a statement by her husband, CIA officer Cord Meyer, shortly before his death. Some think that Cord Meyer's statement suggests that the CIA learned that the KGB organized the assassination of Kennedy, most likely as revenge for the humiliation of the Cuban missile crisis. However, Cord Meyer himself has been mentioned as a possible conspirator in the JFK assassination, most notably by CIA officer E. Howard Hunt.

Israeli conspiracy

This theory alleges that the Israeli government was displeased with Kennedy for his pressure against their pursuit of a top-secret nuclear program at the Negev Nuclear Research Center (commonly called "Dimona") and/or the Israelis were angry over Kennedy's sympathies with Arabs. Gangster Meyer Lansky and Lyndon B. Johnson often play pivotal roles in this conspiracy theory as organizing and preparing the hit, thus bleeding into and possibly catalyzing many of the other conspiracies as well.

In July 2004 Israel's nuclear whistleblower Mordechai Vanunu claimed in the London-based Al-Hayat newspaper that the state of Israel was complicit in the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Vanunu, a former technician at the Dimona plant who was jailed for 18 years for revealing its inner workings to Britain's Sunday Times in 1986, made the statement after his 2004 release. He claimed there were "near-certain indications" Kennedy was assassinated in response to "pressure he exerted on Israel's then head of government, David Ben-Gurion, to shed light on Dimona's nuclear reactor."

Federal Reserve conspiracy

Jim Marrs speculated that the assassination of Kennedy might have been partially motivated by Kennedy's issuance of Executive Order 11110. The order, which was not officially repealed until the Reagan Administration, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to print additional silver certificates, up to the maximum previously set by Congress. Since the President himself already possessed the same authority, the order did not endanger the careers of anyone working at the Federal Reserve.
This theory was further explored by U.S. Marine sniper and police officer Craig Roberts in the book, *Kill Zone.*[287] Roberts theorized that the executive order was the beginning of a plan by Kennedy to permanently do away with the Federal Reserve, and that Kennedy was murdered by a cabal of international bankers determined to foil this plan. According to actor and author Richard Belzer, the plot to kill Kennedy was a response to a postulated attempt by the President to shift power from the Federal Reserve to the U.S Treasury Department.[288]

**Decoy hearse and wound alteration**

David Lifton presented a scenario in which conspirators on Air Force One removed Kennedy's body from its original bronze casket and placed it in a shipping casket, while en route from Dallas to Washington. Once the presidential plane arrived at Andrews Air Force Base, the shipping casket with the President's body in it was surreptitiously taken by helicopter from the side of the plane that was out of the television camera's view. Kennedy's body was then taken to an unknown location—most likely Walter Reed Army Medical Center[289]—to surgically alter the body to make it appear that he was shot only from the rear.[290][291][292][293]

Part of Lifton's theory comes from a House Select Committee on Assassinations report of an interview of Lt. Richard Lipsey on January 18, 1978 by committee staff members Donald Purdy and Mark Flanagan. According to the report, Richard Lipsey said that he and General Wehle had met President Kennedy's body at Andrews Air Force Base. Lipsey "...placed [the casket] in a hearse to be transported to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Lipsey mentioned that he and Wehle then flew by helicopter to Bethesda and took [the body of] JFK into the back of Bethesda." Lipsey said that "a decoy hearse had been driven to the front [of Bethesda]."[294] With Lipsey's mention of a "decoy hearse" at Bethesda, Lifton theorized that the coffin removed from Air Force One—from the side of the plane exposed to television—was probably also a decoy and was likely empty.[295][296]

Laboratory technologist Paul O'Connor was one of the major witnesses supporting another part of David Lifton's theory that somewhere between Parkland and Bethesda the President's body was made to appear as if it had been shot only from the rear. O'Connor said that President Kennedy's body arrived at Bethesda inside a body bag in "a cheap, shipping-type of casket", which differed from the description of the ornamental bronze casket and sheet that the body was wrapped in at Parkland Hospital.[293] O'Connor said that the brain had already been removed by the time it got to Bethesda,[293] and that there were "just little pieces" of brain matter left inside the skull.[297]

Researcher David Wrone dismissed the theory that Kennedy's body was surreptitiously removed from the presidential plane, stating that as is done with all cargo on airplanes for safety precautions, the coffin and lid were held by steel wrapping cables to prevent shifting during takeoff and landing and in case of air disturbances in flight.[292] According to Wrone, the side of the plane away from the television camera "was bathed in klieg lights, and thousands of persons watched along the fence that bent backward along that side, providing, in effect, a well-lit and very public stage for any would-be body snatchers."[292]

**Other published theories**

- *Appointment in Dallas* (1975) by Hugh McDonald suggests that Oswald was lured into a plot that he was told was a staged fake attempt to kill JFK to embarrass the Secret Service and to alert the government of the necessity for beefed-up Secret Service security. Oswald's role was to shoot at the motorcade but deliberately miss the target. The plotters then killed JFK themselves and framed Oswald for the crime. McDonald claims that, after being told the "truth" about JFK's death by CIA agent Herman Kimsey in 1964, he spent years trying to locate a man known as "Saul." Saul was supposedly the unidentified man who was photographed exiting the Russian embassy in Mexico City in September 1963, whose photos were subsequently sent to the FBI in Dallas on the morning of November 22, 1963 (before the assassination), and mislabelled "Lee Harvey Oswald". McDonald claims to have finally tracked Saul down in London in 1972 at which time Saul revealed the details of the plot to him.

- *Reasonable Doubt* (1985) by Henry Hurt, who writes about his Warren Commission doubts. Mr. Hurt pins the plot on professional crook Robert Easterling, along with Texas oilmen and the supposed Ferrie/Shaw alliance.
John F. Kennedy assassination conspiracy theories

- **Behold a Pale Horse** (1991) by William Cooper alleges that Kennedy was shot by the Presidential limousine's driver, Secret Service agent William Greer. In the Zapruder film, Greer can be seen turning to his right and looking backwards just before speeding away from Dealey Plaza. This theory has come under severe criticism from others in the research community.[298] ISBN 0-929385-22-5.

- Mark North's *Act of Treason: The Role of J. Edgar Hoover in the assassination of President Kennedy,* (1991) implicates the FBI Director. North documents that Hoover was aware of threats against Kennedy by organized crime before 1963, and suggests that he failed to take proper action to prevent the assassination. North also charges Hoover with failure to work adequately to uncover the truth behind Kennedy's murder. ISBN 0-88184-877-8.

- **Mortal Error: The Shot That Killed JFK** (1992) by Bonar Menninger (ISBN 0-312-08074-3) alleges that while Oswald did attempt to assassinate JFK and did succeed in wounding him, the fatal shot was accidentally fired by Secret Service agent George Hickey, who was riding in the Secret Service follow-up car directly behind the Presidential Limousine. The theory alleges that after the first two shots were fired the motorcade sped up while Hickey was attempting to respond to Oswald's shots and he lost his balance and accidentally pulled the trigger of his AR-15 and shot JFK. Hickey's testimony says otherwise: "At the end of the last report (shot) I reached to the bottom of the car and picked up the AR 15 rifle, cocked and loaded it, and turned to the rear." (italics added).[299] George Hickey sued Menninger in April 1995 for what he had written in *Mortal Error.* The case was dismissed as its statute of limitations had run out.

- **Who Shot JFK? : A Guide to the Major Conspiracy Theories** (1993) by Bob Callahan and Mark Zingarelli explores some of the more obscure theories regarding JFK's murder, such as "The Coca-Cola Theory." According this theory, suggested by the editor of an organic gardening magazine, Oswald killed JFK due to mental impairment stemming from an addiction to refined sugar, as evidenced by his need for his favorite beverage immediately after the assassination. ISBN 0-671-79494-9.

- **Passport to Assassination** (1993) by Oleg M. Nechiporenko, the Soviet consular official (and highly placed KGB officer) who met with Oswald in Mexico City in 1963. He was afforded the unique opportunity to interview Oswald about his goals including his genuine desire for a Cuban visa. His conclusions were (1) that Oswald killed Kennedy due to extreme feelings of inadequacy versus his wife’s professed admiration for JFK, and (2) that the KGB never sought intelligence information from Oswald during his time in the USSR as they did not trust his motivations. ISBN 1-55972-210-X.

- Norman Mailer's *Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery* (1995) concludes that Oswald was guilty, but holds that the evidence may point to a second gunman on the grassy knoll, who, purely by coincidence, was attempting to kill JFK at the same time as Oswald. "If there was indeed another shot, it was not necessarily fired by a conspirator of Oswald's. Such a gun could have belonged to another lone killer or to a conspirator working for some other group altogether."[300] ISBN 0-679-42535-7.

- **The Kennedy Mutiny** (2002) by Will Fritz (not the same as police captain J. Will Fritz), claims that the assassination plot was orchestrated by General Edwin Walker, and that he framed Oswald for the crime. ISBN 0-9721635-0-6.

- **JFK: The Second Plot** (2002) by Matthew Smith explores the strange case of Roscoe White. In 1990, Roscoe's son Ricky made public a claim that his father, who had been a Dallas police officer in 1963, was involved in killing the president. Roscoe's widow Geneva also claimed that before her husband's death in 1971 he left a diary in which he claims he was one of the marksmen who shot the President, and that he also killed Officer J. D. Tippit. ISBN 1-84018-501-5.

- David Wrone's *The Zapruder Film* (2003) concludes that the shot that killed JFK came from in front of the limousine, and that JFK's throat and back wounds were caused by an in-and-through shot originating from the
grassy knoll. Three shots were fired from three different angles, none of them from Lee Harvey Oswald's window at the Texas School Book Depository. Wroe is a professor of history (emeritus) at the University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point. ISBN 0-7006-1291-2.

- The Gemstone File: A Memoir (2006), by Stephanie Caruana, posits that Oswald was part of a 28-man assassination team which included three U.S. Mafia hitmen (Jimmy Fratianno, John Roselli, and Eugene Brading). Oswald's role was to shoot John Connally. Bruce Roberts, author of the Gemstone File papers, claimed that the JFK assassination scenario was modeled after a supposed attempted assassination of President F.D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt was riding in an open car with Mayor Anton Cermak of Chicago. Cermak was shot and killed by Giuseppe Zangara. In Dallas, JFK was the real target, and Connally was a secondary target. The JFK assassination is only a small part of the Gemstone File's account. ISBN 1-4120-6137-7.

- Joseph P. Farrell's LBJ and the Conspiracy to Kill Kennedy (2011) attempts to show multiple interests had reasons to remove President Kennedy: The military, CIA, NASA, anti-Castro factions, Hoover's FBI and others. He concludes that the person that allowed all of these groups to form a "coalescence of interests" was Vice President Lyndon Johnson. ISBN 978-1-935487-18-0

Notes

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[28] Marrs 1989, p. 87

[29] Marrs 1989, p. 88


[31] Bugliosi 2007, p. 1012

[32] Bugliosi 2007, p. 1276


[35] Bugliosi 2007, p. 1014


[38] Marrs 1989, pp. 401


[45] Bugliosi 2007, p. 984


[116] Douglass 2010, p. 311-312
[120] Bugliosi 2007, p. xxxviii
[126] Buyer 2009, p. 207
[127] Douglass 2010, p. 367
[133] Lane 1992
[135] The book, Plausible Denial explores the defamation case brought by E. Howard Hunt against a newspaper, the Spotlight, and its publisher, an organization named Liberty Lobby, Inc. Lane, Mark.Lane 1992
[137] Trahair 2009, p. 188-190
[138] Perry 2003, p. 391
[141] Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 6 1964, pp. 293–299
[142] Addressing Lane's testimony alleging a meeting between Ruby, Tippit, and Weissman, the Commission reported that they "found no evidence that such a meeting took place anywhere at any time".Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 6 1964, p. 298
[144] Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 4 1964, p. 195
[145] Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 4 1964, p. 176
[146] Marrs 1989, p. 585
[147] Douglass 2010, p. 287
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[151] Summers 1998, pp. 74–75


[153] Report of the President’s Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 4 1964, pp. 166–167


[155] Summers 1998, p. 68


[161] Summers 1998, pp. 70–71


[166] Marrs 1989, p. 343

[167] Summers 1998, p. 69


[170] Summers 1998, p. 70

[171] Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 6 1964, p. 252

[172] Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 6 1964, p. 254


[174] According to the Warren Commission, after Earlene Roberts saw Oswald standing near the bus stop outside his rooming house, "[he] was next seen about nine-tenths of a mile away at the southeast corner of 10th Street and Patton Avenue, moments before the Tippit shooting."Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 4 1964, p. 165

[175] Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 4 1964, p. 165


[178] Summers 1998, p. 72


[185] Craig, Roger. When They Kill a President. 1971. ASIN B00072DT18

[186] Roger Craig (http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/craig.htm), Mcadams.posc.mu.edu.

[187] Doughlass 2010, pp. 290, 466


[189] Benson 2003, p. xiv
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[235] Douglass 2010, p. 34


[238] Broderick 2008, p. 208


[247] Bugliosi 2007, p. 1273


[249] Bugliosi 2007, p. 1275

[250] Bugliosi 2007, p. 1280


[266] Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Chapter 6 1964, pp. 305, 374

[267] Summers 1989, p. 154


[270] Summers 1989, p. 323


[277] Summers 1989, p. 450


[279] "The Kremlin's Killing Ways" (http://article.nationalreview.com/?a=MzY4NWU2ZJY3YWYxMDIINWQ5MjQZGJmMzg3MmQyNjQ=), Ion Mihai Pacepa, National Review Online, November 28, 2006


[291] Knight 2007, p. 95


[298] JFK Lancer, Did the Limousine driver shoot JFK? (http://www.jfklancer.com/greer.html),
References

External links

- The Kennedy Assassination Home Page by John McAdams (http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/home.htm)
- Frontline: Who was L.H. Oswald (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/oswald/view/) — PBS documentary on the man and his life
- "Oswald's Ghost" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/oswald/), an episode of PBS series American Experience, which aired January 14, 2008
- Was Lee Harvey Oswald really guilty? (http://giljesus.com/) by Gill Jesus

The **Oklahoma City bombing** was a terrorist bomb attack on the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in downtown Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. It would remain the most destructive act of terrorism on American soil until the September 11, 2001 attacks. The Oklahoma blast claimed 168 lives, including 19 children under the age of 6,[1] and injured more than 680 people.[2] The blast destroyed or damaged 324 buildings within a sixteen-block radius, destroyed or burned 86 cars, and shattered glass in 258 nearby buildings.[3][4] The bomb was estimated to have caused at least $652 million worth of damage.[5] Extensive rescue efforts were undertaken by local, state, federal, and worldwide agencies in the wake of the bombing, and substantial donations were received from across the country. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) activated eleven of its Urban Search and Rescue Task Forces, consisting of 665 rescue workers who assisted in rescue and recovery operations.[6][7]

Within 90 minutes of the explosion, Timothy McVeigh was stopped by Oklahoma State Trooper Charlie Hanger for driving without a license plate and arrested for unlawfully carrying a weapon.[8][9] Forensic evidence quickly linked McVeigh and Terry Nichols to the attack; Nichols was arrested,[10] and within days both were charged. Michael and Lori Fortier were later identified as accomplices. McVeigh, an American militia movement sympathizer who was a Gulf War veteran, had detonated an explosive-filled Ryder truck parked in front of the building. McVeigh's co-conspirator, Terry Nichols, had assisted in the bomb preparation. Motivated by his hatred of the federal

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<td>Target</td>
<td>U.S. federal government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack type</td>
<td>Truck bomb, domestic terrorism, mass murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths</td>
<td>168–169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured</td>
<td>680+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrators</td>
<td>Timothy McVeigh, Terry Nichols, Michael and Lori Fortier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motive</td>
<td>Retaliation for the Ruby Ridge and Waco sieges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building two days after the bombing
government and angered by what he perceived as its mishandling of the Waco Siege (1993) and the Ruby Ridge incident (1992), McVeigh timed his attack to coincide with the second anniversary of the deadly fire that ended the siege at Waco.[11][12]

The official investigation, known as "OKBOMB", was the largest criminal investigation case in American history; FBI agents conducted 28,000 interviews, amassing 3.5 short tons (unknown operator: u'strong' t) of evidence, and collected nearly one billion pieces of information.[13][14][15] The bombers were tried and convicted in 1997. McVeigh was executed by lethal injection on June 11, 2001, and Nichols was sentenced to life in prison. Michael and Lori Fortier testified against McVeigh and Nichols; Michael was sentenced to 12 years in prison for failing to warn the U.S. government, and Lori received immunity from prosecution in exchange for her testimony. As with other large-scale terrorist attacks, conspiracy theories dispute the official claims and allege the involvement of additional perpetrators.

As a result of the bombing, the U.S. government passed the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which tightened the standards for habeas corpus in the United States,[16] as well as legislation designed to increase the protection around federal buildings to deter future terrorist attacks. On April 19, 2000, the Oklahoma City National Memorial was dedicated on the site of the Murrah Federal Building, commemorating the victims of the bombing. Annual remembrance services are held at the same time of day as the original explosion occurred.

Planning

Motivation

The chief conspirators, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, met in 1988 at Fort Benning during basic training for the U.S. Army.[17] Michael Fortier, McVeigh's accomplice, was his Army roommate.[18] The three shared interests in survivalism, opposed gun control, and supported the militia movement.[19][20] They expressed anger at the federal government's handling of the 1992 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) standoff with Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge as well as the Waco Siege—a 1993 51-day standoff between the FBI and Branch Davidian members which began with a botched ATF attempt to execute a search warrant leading to a fire fight (it is unknown whether ATF agents or Branch Davidians fired the first shot) and ended with the burning and shooting deaths of David Koresh and 75 others.[21] In March 1993, McVeigh visited the Waco site during the standoff, and then again after its conclusion.[22] McVeigh later decided to bomb a federal building as a response to the raids.[12][23][24][25]

Target selection

McVeigh initially intended only to destroy a federal building, but he later decided that his message would be better received if many people were killed in the bombing.[26] McVeigh's criterion for potential attack sites was that the target should house at least two of three federal law-enforcement agencies: the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), or the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). He regarded the presence of additional law-enforcement agencies, such as the Secret Service or the U.S. Marshals Service, as a bonus.[27]

McVeigh, a resident of Kingman, Arizona, considered targets in Missouri, Arizona, Texas, and Arkansas.[27] McVeigh stated in his authorized biography that he wanted to minimize nongovernmental casualties, so he ruled out
The nine-story building, built in 1977, was named for a federal judge and housed fourteen federal agencies including the DEA, ATF, Social Security Administration, and recruiting offices for the Army and Marine Corps. The Murrah building was chosen for its glass front—which was expected to shatter under the impact of the blast—and its adjacent large, open parking lot across the street, which might absorb and dissipate some of the force, and protect the occupants of nearby non-federal buildings. In addition, McVeigh believed that the open space around the building would provide better photo opportunities for propaganda purposes. The attack was planned to take place on April 19, 1995, to coincide with the anniversary of the Waco Siege and the 220th anniversary of the Battles of Lexington and Concord.

**Gathering materials**

"The truck rental — $250. The fertilizer was about... it was either $250 or $500. The nitro methane was the big cost. It was like $1,500. Actually, lemme see, 900, 2,700,... we're talking $3,500 there... Lets round it up. I just gave you the major expenses, so go to like five grand... what's five grand?"

—Timothy McVeigh, on the cost of the preparations

McVeigh and Nichols purchased or stole the materials they needed to manufacture the bomb, which they stored in rented sheds. In August 1994, McVeigh obtained nine Kinestiks from gun collector Roger E. Moore, and ignited the devices with Nichols outside Nichols' home in Herington, Kansas. On September 30, 1994, Nichols bought forty 50-pound bags of ammonium nitrate from Mid-Kansas Coop in McPherson, Kansas, an amount regarded as unusual even for a farmer. Nichols bought an additional 50-pound bag on October 18, 1994. McVeigh approached Fortier and asked him to assist with the bombing project, but he refused. McVeigh and Nichols purchased or stole the materials they needed to manufacture the bomb, which they stored in rented sheds. In August 1994, McVeigh obtained nine Kinestiks from gun collector Roger E. Moore, and ignited the devices with Nichols outside Nichols' home in Herington, Kansas. On September 30, 1994, Nichols bought forty 50-pound bags of ammonium nitrate from Mid-Kansas Coop in McPherson, Kansas, an amount regarded as unusual even for a farmer. Nichols bought an additional 50-pound bag on October 18, 1994. McVeigh approached Fortier and asked him to assist with the bombing project, but he refused. McVeigh had previously visited Moore's ranch, but doubts have been raised about Nichols and McVeigh's involvement in the robbery for several reasons. The robbers wore ski masks (making a positive identification impossible), and the physical description given did not match Nichols. Also, Aryan Republican Army robbers were operating in the area of Moore's ranch at the time. McVeigh did not need to raise money for the bomb, which only cost about $5,000. In all, the truck rental cost about $250, the fertilizer less than $500, and the nitromethane $2,780, with a cheap car being used as a getaway vehicle. McVeigh wrote a letter to Moore in which he claimed that the robbery had been committed by government agents. Despite these doubts, items that were stolen from Moore were later found in Nichols' home and in a storage shed that he had rented.

In October 1994, McVeigh showed Michael Fortier and his wife, Lori, a diagram he had drawn of the bomb he wanted to build. McVeigh planned to construct a bomb containing more than 5000 pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer, mixed with about 1200 pounds of liquid nitromethane and 350 pounds of liquid nitromethane and 350 pounds of Tovex. Including the weight of the sixteen 55-U.S.-gallon drums in which the explosive mixture was to be packed, the bomb would have a combined weight of about 7000 pounds. McVeigh had originally intended to use hydrazine rocket fuel, but it proved to be too expensive. In October 1994, posing as a motorcycle racer, McVeigh obtained three 55-U.S.-gallon drums of
nitromethane on the pretense that he and some fellow bikers needed the fuel for racing. McVeigh rented a storage space, in which he stockpiled seven crates of 18-inch-long Tovex sausages, 80 spools of shock tube, and 500 electric blasting caps, which he and Nichols had stolen from a Martin Marietta Aggregates quarry in Marion, Kansas. He decided not to steal any of the 40000 pounds (unknown operator: u'strong' kg) of ANFO (ammonium nitrate fuel oil) he found at the scene, as he did not believe it to be powerful enough (although he did obtain seventeen bags of ANFO from another source for use in the bomb). McVeigh made a prototype bomb using a plastic Gatorade jug containing ammonium nitrate prills, liquid nitromethane, a piece of Tovex sausage, and a blasting cap.[47] The prototype was detonated in the desert to avoid detection.[47]

"Think about the people as if they were storm troopers in Star Wars. They may be individually innocent, but they are guilty because they work for the Evil Empire."
—McVeigh reflecting on the deaths of victims in the bombing[48]

Later, speaking about the military mindset with which he went about the preparations, he said, "You learn how to handle killing in the military. I face the consequences, but you learn to accept it." He compared his actions to the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, rather than the attack on Pearl Harbor, reasoning it was necessary to prevent more lives from being lost.[48]

On April 14, 1995, McVeigh paid for a motel room at the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, Kansas.[49] The following day he rented a 1993 Ford F-700 truck from Ryder under the name Robert D. Kling, an alias he adopted because he knew an Army soldier named Kling with whom he shared physical characteristics, and because it reminded him of the Klingon warriors of Star Trek.[49][50][51] On April 16, 1995, he drove to Oklahoma City with fellow conspirator Terry Nichols where he parked a getaway car several blocks away from the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. The nearby Regency Towers Apartments' lobby security camera recorded images of Nichols' pickup truck as it drove to the federal building.[53] After removing the license plate from the car, he left a note covering the Vehicle Identification Number (VIN) plate that read, "Not abandoned. Please do not tow. Will move by April 23. (Needs battery & cable)."[23][54] Both men then returned to Kansas.

Building the bomb
On April 17–18, 1995, McVeigh and Nichols removed their supplies from their storage unit in Herington, Kansas, where Nichols lived. They loaded 108 bags of high-grade ammonium nitrate fertilizer weighing 50 pounds (unknown operator: u'strong' kg) each, three 55-U.S.-gallon (unknown operator: u'strong' imp gal; unknown operator: u'strong' L) drums of liquid nitromethane, several crates of explosive Tovex, seventeen bags of ANFO, and spools of shock tube and cannon fuse into a Ryder rental truck.[55] The two then drove to Geary Lake State Park, where they nailed boards onto the floor of the truck to hold the thirteen barrels in place and mixed the chemicals using plastic buckets and a bathroom scale.[56] Each filled barrel weighed nearly 500 pounds (unknown operator: u'strong' kg).[57] McVeigh added more explosives to the driver's side of the cargo bay, which he could ignite (killing himself in the process) at close range with his Glock 21 pistol in case the primary fuses failed.[58] During McVeigh's trial, Lori Fortier (the wife of Michael Fortier) stated that McVeigh claimed to have arranged the barrels in order to form a shaped charge.[44] This was achieved by tamping the aluminum side panel of the truck with bags of ammonium nitrate fertilizer to direct the blast laterally towards the building.[59] Specifically, McVeigh arranged the barrels in the shape of a backwards J; he later said that for pure destructive power, he would have put the barrels on the side of the cargo bay closest to the Murrah Building; however, such an unevenly distributed 7000-pound (unknown operator: u'strong' kg) load might have broken an axle, flipped the truck over, or at least caused it to lean to one side, which could have drawn attention.[57]

McVeigh then added a dual-fuse ignition system accessible from the truck's front cab. He drilled two holes in the cab of the truck under the seat, while two holes were also drilled in the body of the truck. One green cannon fuse was run through each hole into the cab. These time-delayed fuses led from the cab of the truck, through plastic fish-tank tubing conduit, to two sets of non-electric blasting caps.[57] The tubing was painted yellow to blend in with the
truck's livery, and duct-taped in place to the wall to make them harder to disable by yanking from the outside. The fuses were set up to initiate, through shock tubes, the 350 pounds (unknown operator: u'strong' kg) of Tovex Blastrite Gel "sausages", which would in turn set off the configuration of barrels. Of the thirteen filled barrels, nine contained ammonium nitrate and nitromethane, and four contained a mixture of the fertilizer and about 4-U.S.-gallon (unknown operator: u'strong' imp gal; unknown operator: u'strong' L) of diesel fuel. Additional materials and tools used for manufacturing the bomb were left in the truck to be destroyed in the blast. After finishing the truck bomb, the two men separated; Nichols returned home to Herington and McVeigh with the truck to Junction City.

**Bombing**

McVeigh's original plan had been to detonate the bomb at 11:00 am CST, but at dawn on April 19, 1995, he decided instead to destroy the building at 9:00 am CST. As he drove toward the Murrah Federal Building in the Ryder truck, McVeigh carried with him an envelope containing pages from *The Turner Diaries*—a fictional account of white supremacists who ignite a revolution by blowing up the FBI headquarters at 9:15 one morning using a truck bomb. McVeigh wore a printed T-shirt with the motto of the Commonwealth of Virginia, *Sic semper tyrannis* ("Thus always to tyrants", which was shouted by John Wilkes Booth immediately after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln) and "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants" (from Thomas Jefferson). He also carried an envelope of anti-government materials that included a bumper sticker with Thomas Jefferson slogan, "When the government fears the people, there is liberty. When the people fear the government, there is tyranny." Underneath, McVeigh had scrawled, "Maybe now, there will be liberty!" and a hand-copied quote by John Locke asserting that a man has a right to kill someone who takes away his liberty.

McVeigh entered Oklahoma City at 8:50 am CST. At 8:57 am CST the Regency Towers Apartments' lobby security camera that had recorded Nichols' pickup truck three days earlier recorded the Ryder truck heading towards the Murrah Federal Building. At the same moment, McVeigh lit the five-minute fuse. Three minutes later, still a
block away, he lit the two-minute fuse. He parked the Ryder truck in a drop-off zone situated under the building's
day-care center, exited and locked the truck, and as he headed to his getaway vehicle, dropped the keys to the truck a
few blocks away.[64]

At 9:02 am CST, the Ryder truck, containing in excess of 4800 pounds (unknown operator: u'strong' kg) of
ammonium nitrate fertilizer, nitromethane, and diesel fuel mixture, detonated in front of the north side of the
nine-story Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.[44] Hundreds of people were killed or injured. One third of the
building was destroyed by the explosion,[66] which created a 30-foot (unknown operator: u'strong' m) wide, 8-foot
(unknown operator: u'strong' m) deep crater on NW 5th Street next to the building.[67] The blast destroyed or
damaged 324 buildings within a sixteen-block radius, and shattered glass in 258 nearby buildings.[3][4] The broken
glass alone accounted for 5% of the death total and 69% of the injuries outside the Murrah Federal Building.[4] The
blast destroyed or burned 86 cars around the site.[3][68] The destruction of the buildings left several hundred people
homeless and shut down multiple offices in downtown Oklahoma City.[69] The explosion was estimated to have
caused at least $652 million worth of damage.[70]

The effects of the blast were equivalent to over 5000 pounds (unknown operator: u'strong' kg) of TNT,[59][71] and
could be heard and felt up to 55 miles (unknown operator: u'strong' km) away.[69] Seismometers at Science
Museum Oklahoma in Oklahoma City, 4.3 miles (unknown operator: u'strong' km) away, and in Norman,
Oklahoma, 16.1 miles (unknown operator: u'strong' km) away, recorded the blast as measuring approximately 3.0
on the Richter scale.[72]

**Arrests**

Initially, the FBI had three hypotheses regarding who might have been responsible for the bombing. The first was
international terrorists, possibly the same group that had carried out the World Trade Center bombing two years
earlier. The FBI also thought that a drug cartel might have been carrying out an act of vengeance against DEA
agents, as the building held a DEA office. The last hypothesis was that the bombing was done by Christian fascists
acting on conspiracy theories.[73]

McVeigh was arrested within 90 minutes of the explosion,[74] as he was traveling north on Interstate 35 near Perry in Noble County,
Oklahoma. Oklahoma State Trooper Charlie Hanger stopped McVeigh for driving his yellow 1977 Mercury Marquis without a license plate,
and arrested him for having a concealed weapon.[8][75] For his home address, McVeigh falsely claimed he resided at Terry Nichols' brother
James' house in Michigan.[76] After booking McVeigh, Hanger searched his police car and found a business card McVeigh had hidden
while he was handcuffed.[77] Written on the back of the card, which was from a Wisconsin military surplus store, were the words "TNT at
$5 a stick. Need more.”[78] The card was later used as evidence during

While investigating the VIN from an axle of the truck used in the explosion and the remnants of the license plate,
federal agents were able to link the truck to a specific Ryder rental agency in Junction City. Using a sketch created
with the assistance of Eldon Elliot, owner of the agency, the agents were able to implicate McVeigh in the
bombing.[13][23][79] McVeigh was also identified by Lea McGown of the Dreamland Motel, who remembered him
parking a large yellow Ryder truck in the lot; McVeigh had signed in under his real name at the motel, using an
address that matched the one on his forged license and the charge sheet at the Perry Police Station.[9][23] Before
signing his real name at the motel, McVeigh had used false names for his transactions. However, McGown noted,
"People are so used to signing their own name that when they go to sign a phony name, they almost always go to
write, and then look up for a moment as if to remember the new name they want to use. That's what [McVeigh] did,
and when he looked up I started talking to him, and it threw him.\textsuperscript{[23]}

After an April 21, 1995, court hearing on the gun charges, but before McVeigh’s release, federal agents took him into custody as they continued their investigation into the bombing.\textsuperscript{[23]} Rather than talk to investigators about the bombing, McVeigh demanded an attorney. Having been tipped off by the arrival of police and helicopters that a bombing suspect was inside, a restless crowd began to gather outside the jail. McVeigh’s requests for a bulletproof vest or transport by helicopter were denied.\textsuperscript{[80]}

Federal agents obtained a warrant to search the house of McVeigh’s father, Bill, following which they broke down the door and wired the house and telephone with listening devices.\textsuperscript{[81]} FBI investigators used the resulting information gained, along with the fake address McVeigh had been using, to begin their search for the Nichols brothers, Terry and James.\textsuperscript{[76]} On April 21, 1995, Terry learned that he was being hunted, and turned himself in.\textsuperscript{[10]} Investigators discovered incriminating evidence at his home: ammonium nitrate and blasting caps, the electric drill used to drill out the locks at the quarry, books on bomb-making, a copy of \textit{Hunter} (a 1989 novel by William Luther Pierce, the founder and chairman of the white nationalist National Alliance) and a hand-drawn map of downtown Oklahoma City, on which was marked the Murrah Building and the spot where McVeigh’s getaway car was hidden.\textsuperscript{[82],[83]} After a nine-hour interrogation, Terry Nichols was formally held in federal custody until his trial.\textsuperscript{[84]} On April 25, 1995, James Nichols was also arrested, but he was released after 32 days due to lack of evidence.\textsuperscript{[85]} McVeigh’s sister Jennifer was accused of illegally mailing bullets to McVeigh,\textsuperscript{[86]} but she was granted immunity in exchange for testifying against him.\textsuperscript{[87]}

Ibrahim Ahmad, a Jordanian-American traveling from his home in Oklahoma City to visit family in Jordan on April 19, 1995, was also arrested in what was described as an ”initial dragnet.” There was concern that Middle Eastern terrorists could have been behind the attack. Further investigation cleared Ahmad of any involvement in the bombing.\textsuperscript{[88],[89]}

\section*{Casualties}

It is estimated that 646 people were inside the building when the bomb exploded.\textsuperscript{[90]} By the end of the day of the bombing, twenty were confirmed dead, including six children, and over one hundred injured.\textsuperscript{[91]} The toll eventually reached 168 confirmed dead, not including an unmatched leg that could have belonged to a possible, unidentified 169th victim.\textsuperscript{[92]} Most of the deaths resulted from the collapse of the building, rather than the bomb blast.\textsuperscript{[93]} Those killed included 163 who were in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, one person in the Athenian Building, one woman in a parking lot across the street, a man and woman in the Oklahoma Water Resources building, and a rescue worker struck on the head by debris.\textsuperscript{[94]}

The victims ranged in age from three months to seventy-three years, in addition to the fetuses of three pregnant women.\textsuperscript{[1],[94]} Of the dead, 99 worked for the federal government.\textsuperscript{[95]} Eight of the victims were federal law enforcement agents; 4 from the United States Secret Service, 2 from the United States Customs Service, 1 from the United States Drug Enforcement Agency, and 1 from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. Nineteen of the victims were children, fifteen of whom were in the
The bodies of the 168 victims were identified at a temporary morgue set up at the scene. A team of 24 identified the victims using full-body X-rays, dental examinations, fingerprinting, blood tests, and DNA testing. More than 680 people were injured. The majority of the injuries were abrasions, severe burns, and bone fractures.

McVeigh later justified his killing of children in the bombing: "I didn't define the rules of engagement in this conflict. The rules, if not written down, are defined by the aggressor. It was brutal, no holds barred. Women and kids were killed at Waco and Ruby Ridge. You put back in [the government's] faces exactly what they're giving out."

Response and relief

Rescue efforts

At 9:03:25 am CST, the first of over 1,800 9-1-1 calls related to the bombing was received by Emergency Medical Services Authority (EMSA). By that time, EMSA ambulances, police, and firefighters were already headed to the scene, having heard the blast. Nearby civilians, who had also witnessed or heard the blast, arrived to assist the victims and emergency workers. Within 23 minutes of the bombing, the State Emergency Operations Center (SEOC) was set up, consisting of representatives from the state departments of public safety, human services, military, health, and education. Assisting the SEOC were agencies such as the National Weather Service, the Air Force, the Civil Air Patrol, and the American Red Cross. Immediate assistance also came from 465 members of the Oklahoma National Guard, who arrived within the hour to provide security, and from members of the Department of Civil Emergency Management.

Within the first hour, 50 people were rescued from the Murrah Federal Building. Victims were sent to every hospital in the area. At the end of the first day of rescue efforts, 153 had been treated at St. Anthony Hospital, eight blocks from the blast, over 70 at Presbyterian, 18 at University, and 18 at Children's. Temporary silences were observed so that sensitive listening devices capable of detecting human heartbeats could be used to locate survivors. In some cases, limbs had to be amputated without anesthetic (avoided due to its potential to cause a deadly coma) in order to free those trapped under rubble. Periodically the scene had to be evacuated after police received tips claiming that other bombs had been planted in the building.

At 10:28 am CST rescuers found what they believed to be a second bomb. Some rescue workers refused to leave until police ordered the mandatory evacuation of a four-block area around the site. The device was determined to be a three-foot (.9-m) long TOW missile used in the training of federal agents and bomb-sniffing dogs; although actually inert, it had been marked "live" in order to mislead arms traffickers in a planned law enforcement sting. On examination the missile was determined to be inert, and relief efforts resumed 45 minutes later. The last survivor, a fifteen-year-old girl found under the base of the collapsed building, was rescued at about 7:00 pm CST.

In the days following the blast, over 12,000 people participated in relief and rescue operations. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) activated eleven of its Urban Search and Rescue Task Forces, which consisted of a team of 665 rescue workers. One nurse was killed in the rescue attempt after she was hit on the head by debris, and 26 other rescuers were hospitalized because of various injuries. Twenty-four K-9 units and out-of-state dogs were brought in to search for survivors and bodies in the building debris. In an effort to recover additional bodies, 100 to 350 short tons of rubble were removed from the site each day from April 24 to April 29, 1995.
Rescue and recovery efforts were concluded at 12:05 am CST on May 5, by which time the bodies of all but three of the victims had been recovered. For safety reasons, the building was initially slated to be demolished shortly afterward. McVeigh's attorney, Stephen Jones, filed a motion to delay the demolition until the defense team could examine the site in preparation for the trial. More than a month after the bombing, at 7:02 am CST on May 23, the Murrah Federal building was demolished. The final three bodies, those of two credit union employees and a customer, were recovered. For several days after the building's demolition, trucks hauled 800 short tons of debris a day away from the site. Some of the debris was used as evidence in the conspirators' trials, incorporated into memorials, donated to local schools, or sold to raise funds for relief efforts.

**Humanitarian aid**

The national humanitarian response was immediate, and in some cases even overwhelming. Large numbers of items such as wheelbarrows, bottled water, helmet lights, knee pads, rain gear, and even football helmets were donated. The sheer quantity of such donations caused logistical and inventory control problems until drop-off centers were set up to accept and sort the goods. The Oklahoma Restaurant Association, which was holding a trade show in the city, assisted rescue workers by providing 15,000 to 20,000 meals over a ten-day period. The Salvation Army served over 100,000 meals and provided over 100,000 ponchos, gloves, hard hats, and knee pads to rescue workers. Local residents and those from further afield responded to the requests for blood donations. Of the 9,000 units of blood donated 131 units were used, the rest were stored in blood banks.

**Federal and state government aid**

At 9:45 am CST, Governor Frank Keating declared a state of emergency and ordered all non-essential workers in the Oklahoma City area to be released from their duties for their safety. President Bill Clinton learned about the bombing around 9:30 am CST while he was meeting with Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller at the White House. Prior to addressing the nation, President Clinton wanted to ground all planes in the Oklahoma City area to prevent the bombers from escaping by air, but decided against it. At 4:00 pm CST, President Clinton declared a federal emergency in Oklahoma City and spoke to the nation:

> The bombing in Oklahoma City was an attack on innocent children and defenseless citizens. It was an act of cowardice and it was evil. The United States will not tolerate it, and I will not allow the people of this country to be intimidated by evil cowards.

He ordered that flags for all federal buildings be flown at half-staff for 30 days in remembrance of the victims. Four days later, on April 23, 1995, Clinton spoke from Oklahoma City.
No major federal financial assistance was made available to the survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing, but the Murrah Fund set up in the wake of the bombing attracted over $300,000 in federal grants. Over $40 million was donated to the city to aid disaster relief and to compensate the victims. Funds were initially distributed to families who needed it to get back on their feet, and the rest was held in trust for longer-term medical and psychological needs. By 2005, $18 million of the donations remained, some of which was earmarked to provide a college education for each of the 219 children who lost one or both parents in the bombing. A committee chaired by Daniel Kurtenbach of Goodwill Industries provided financial assistance to the survivors.

**International reaction**

International reactions to the bombing varied. President Clinton received many messages of sympathy, including those from Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom, Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Narasimha Rao of India. Iran condemned the bombing as an attack on innocent people, but also blamed U.S. policy for inciting it. Kuwaiti parliament member Ahmed Baqer stated "This is a criminal act. No religion and no law permit such acts. A lot of civilians and children were killed. This is against human rights. This is against logic. We as a movement reject this kind of action." Other condolences came from Russia, Canada, Australia, the United Nations, and the European Union, among other nations and organizations.

Several countries offered to assist in the rescue efforts and investigation. France offered a special rescue unit and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin offered to send agents with anti-terrorist expertise to help in the investigation. President Clinton declined Israel's offer, believing that to accept it would increase anti-Muslim sentiments and endanger Muslim-Americans.

**Children terrorized**

In the wake of the bombing, the national media seized upon the fact that nineteen of the victims had been babies and children, many in the day-care center. At the time of the bombing, there were 100 day-care centers in the United States in 7,900 federal buildings. McVeigh later stated that he was unaware of the day-care center when choosing the building as a target, and if he had known "... it might have given me pause to switch targets. That's a large amount of collateral damage." The FBI stated that McVeigh scouted the interior of the building in December 1994 and likely knew of the day-care center before the bombing. In April 2010, Joseph Hartzler, the prosecutor at McVeigh's trial, questioned how he could have decided to pass over a prior target building because of an included florist shop but at the Murrah building not "... notice that there's a child day-care center there, that there was a credit union there and a Social Security office?"

Schools across the country were dismissed early and ordered closed. A photograph of firefighter Chris Fields emerging from the rubble with infant Baylee Almon, who later died in a nearby hospital, was reprinted worldwide and became a symbol of the attack. The photo, taken by utility company employee Charles H. Porter IV, won the 1996 Pulitzer Prize for Spot News Photography. The images and media reports of children dying terrorized many children who, as demonstrated by later research, showed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.

President Clinton stated that after seeing images of babies being pulled from the wreckage, he was "beyond angry" and wanted to "put [his] fist through the television". Clinton and his wife Hillary requested that aides talk to child care specialists about how to communicate with the children regarding the bombing. President Clinton spoke to the nation three days after the bombing, saying: "I don't want our children to believe something terrible about life and the future and grownups in general because of this awful thing ... most adults are good people who want to protect our children in their childhood and we are going to get through this." On April 22, 1995, the Clintons spoke in the White House with over 40 federal agency employees and their children, and in a live nationwide television and radio broadcast, addressed their concerns.
Media coverage

"Why? McVeigh told us at eloquent length, but our rulers and their media preferred to depict him as a sadistic, crazed monster...who had done it for the kicks".

—Gore Vidal, 2002

Hundreds of news trucks and members of the press arrived at the site to cover the story. The press immediately noticed that the bombing took place on the second anniversary of the Waco incident. Many initial news stories hypothesized the attack had been undertaken by Islamic terrorists, such as those who had masterminded the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Some responded to these reports by attacking Muslims and people of Arab descent.

As the rescue effort wound down, the media interest shifted to the investigation, arrests, and trials of Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, and on the search for an additional suspect named "John Doe Number Two." Several witnesses claimed to have seen a second suspect, who did not resemble Nichols, with McVeigh.

Trials and sentencing of the conspirators

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) led the official investigation, known as OKBOMB, with Weldon L. Kennedy acting as Special Agent in charge. Kennedy oversaw 900 federal, state, and local law enforcement personnel including 300 FBI agents, 200 officers from the Oklahoma City Police Department, 125 members of the Oklahoma National Guard, and 55 officers from the Oklahoma Department of Public Safety. The crime task force was deemed the largest since the investigation into the assassination of John F. Kennedy. OKBOMB was the largest criminal case in America's history, with FBI agents conducting 28,000 interviews, amassing 3.5 short tons of evidence, and collecting nearly one billion pieces of information. Federal judge Richard Paul Matsch ordered the venue for the trial be moved from Oklahoma City to Denver, Colorado, citing that the defendants would be unable to receive a fair trial in Oklahoma. The investigation led to the separate trials and convictions of McVeigh, Nichols, and Fortier.

Timothy McVeigh

Opening arguments in McVeigh's trial began on April 24, 1997. The United States was represented by a team of prosecutors led by Joseph Hartzler. In his opening statement Hartzler outlined McVeigh's motivations, and the evidence against him. McVeigh, he said, had developed a hatred of the government during his time in the army, after reading The Turner Diaries. His beliefs were supported by what he saw as the militia's ideological opposition to increases in taxes and the passage of the Brady Bill, and were further reinforced by the Waco and Ruby Ridge incidents. The prosecution called 137 witnesses, including Michael Fortier and his wife Lori, and McVeigh's sister, Jennifer McVeigh, all of whom testified to confirm McVeigh's hatred of the government and his desire to take militant action against it. Both Fortiers testified that McVeigh had told them of his plans to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. Michael revealed that McVeigh had chosen the date, and Lori testified that she created the false identification card McVeigh used to rent the Ryder truck.

McVeigh was represented by a defense counsel team of six principal attorneys led by Stephen Jones. According to law professor Douglas O. Linder, McVeigh wanted Jones to present a "necessity defense"—which would argue
that he was in “imminent danger” from the government (that his bombing was intended to prevent future crimes by the government, such as the Waco and Ruby Ridge incidents).\[^{153}\] McVeigh argued that “imminent” does not mean “immediate”: "If a comet is hurtling toward the earth, and it's out past the orbit of Pluto, it's not an immediate threat to Earth, but it is an imminent threat."\[^{155}\] Despite McVeigh's wishes, Jones attempted to discredit the prosecution’s case in an attempt to instill reasonable doubt. Jones also believed that McVeigh was part of a larger conspiracy, and sought to present him as "the designated patsy".\[^{153}\] but McVeigh disagreed with Jones arguing that rationale for his defense. After a hearing, Judge Matsch independently ruled the evidence concerning a larger conspiracy to be too insubstantial to be admissible.\[^{153}\] In addition to arguing that the bombing could not have been carried out by two men alone, Jones also attempted to create reasonable doubt by arguing that no one had seen McVeigh near the scene of the crime, and that the investigation into the bombing had lasted only two weeks.\[^{153}\] Jones presented 25 witnesses over a one-week period, including Dr. Frederic Whitehurst. Although Whitehurst described the FBI's sloppy investigation of the bombing site and its handling of other key evidence, he was unable to point to any direct evidence that he knew to be contaminated.\[^{153}\]

A key point of contention in the case was the unmatched left leg found after the bombing. Although it was initially believed to be from a male, it was later determined to be that of Lakesha Levy, a female member of the Air Force who was killed in the bombing.\[^{156}\] Levy's coffin had to be re-opened so that her leg could replace another unmatched leg that had previously been buried with her remains. The unmatched leg had been embalmed, which prevented authorities from being able to extract DNA to determine the leg's owner.\[^{92}\] Jones argued that the leg could have belonged to another bomber, possibly John Doe #2.\[^{92}\] The prosecution disputed the claim, saying that the leg could have belonged to any one of eight victims who had been buried without a left leg.\[^{157}\]

Numerous damaging leaks, which appeared to originate from conversations between McVeigh and his defense attorneys, emerged. They included a confession said to have been inadvertently included on a computer disk that was given to the press, which McVeigh believed seriously compromised his chances of getting a fair trial.\[^{153}\] A gag order was imposed during the trial, prohibiting attorneys on either side from commenting to the press on the evidence, proceedings, or opinions regarding the trial proceedings. The defense was allowed to enter into evidence six pages of a 517-page Justice Department report criticizing the FBI crime laboratory and David Williams, one of the agency's explosives experts, for reaching unscientific and biased conclusions. The report claimed that Williams had worked backward in the investigation rather than basing his determinations on forensic evidence.\[^{158}\]

The jury deliberated for 23 hours. On June 2, 1997, McVeigh was found guilty on eleven counts of murder and conspiracy.\[^{159}\]\[^{160}\] Although the defense argued for a reduced sentence of life imprisonment, McVeigh was sentenced to death.\[^{161}\] In May 2001, the FBI announced that it had withheld over 3,000 documents from McVeigh's defense counsel.\[^{162}\] The execution was postponed for one month for the defense to review the documents. On June 6, federal judge Richard Paul Matsch ruled the documents would not prove McVeigh innocent and ordered the execution to proceed.\[^{163}\] After President George W. Bush approved the execution (McVeigh was a federal inmate and federal law dictates that the President must approve the execution of federal prisoners), he was executed by lethal injection at the Federal Correctional Complex, Terre Haute in Terre Haute, Indiana, on June 11.\[^{164}\]\[^{165}\]\[^{166}\] The execution was transmitted on closed-circuit television so that the relatives of the victims could witness his death.\[^{167}\] McVeigh's execution was the first federal execution in 38 years.\[^{168}\]

**Terry Nichols**

Nichols stood trial twice. He was first tried by the federal government in 1997 and found guilty of conspiring to build a weapon of mass destruction and of eight counts of involuntary manslaughter of federal officers.\[^{169}\] After he was sentenced on June 4, 1998 to life without parole, the State of Oklahoma in 2000 sought a death-penalty conviction on 161 counts of first-degree murder (160 non-federal agent victims and one fetus).\[^{170}\] On May 26, 2004 the jury found him guilty on all charges, but deadlocked on the issue of sentencing him to death. Presiding Judge Steven W. Taylor then determined the sentence of 161 consecutive life terms without the possibility of parole.\[^{171}\] in
March 2005, FBI investigators, acting on a tip, searched a buried crawl space in Nichols' former house and found additional explosives missed in the preliminary search after Nichols was arrested.[172] In 2009 Nichols was being held in the ADX Florence Federal Prison.[173]

Michael Fortier

Michael and Lori Fortier were considered accomplices for their foreknowledge of the planning of the bombing. In addition to Michael assisting McVeigh in scouting the federal building, Lori had helped McVeigh laminate a fake driver's license which was later used to rent the Ryder truck.[144] Michael agreed to testify against McVeigh and Nichols in exchange for a reduced sentence and immunity for his wife.[174] He was sentenced on May 27, 1998 to twelve years in prison and fined $75,000 for failing to warn authorities about the attack.[175] On January 20, 2006, after serving ten and a half years of his sentence, including time already served, Fortier was released for good behavior into the Witness Protection Program and given a new identity.[176]

Others

No "John Doe #2" was ever identified, nothing conclusive was ever reported regarding the owner of the unmatched leg, and the government never openly investigated anyone else in conjunction with the bombing. Although the defense teams in both McVeigh's and Nichols trials suggested that others were involved, Judge Steven W. Taylor found no credible, relevant, or legally admissible evidence, of anyone other than McVeigh and Nichols having directly participated in the bombing.[153] When McVeigh was asked if there were other conspirators in the bombing, he replied: "Because the truth is, I blew up the Murrah Building, and isn't it kind of scary that one man could wreak this kind of hell?"[177] On the morning of McVeigh's execution a letter was released in which he had written "For those die-hard conspiracy theorists who will refuse to believe this, I turn the tables and say: Show me where I needed anyone else. Financing? Logistics? Specialized tech skills? Brainpower? Strategy? ... Show me where I needed a dark, mysterious 'Mr. X'!"[178]

Aftermath

The Oklahoma City bombing was the deadliest act of terrorism against the U.S. on American soil until the September 11 attacks.[179] However, the deadliest act of terror against the U.S. prior to September 11 was the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, which killed 189 Americans in an explosion over the United Kingdom.[180] It has been estimated that about 387,000 people in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area (a third of the population) knew someone who was directly affected by the bombing.[127][181][182]

Within 48 hours of the attack, and with the assistance of the General Services Administration (GSA), the targeted federal offices were able to resume operations in other parts of the city.[183] According to Mark Potok, director of Intelligence Project at the Southern Poverty Law Center, his organization tracked another 60 domestic smaller-scale terrorism plots from 1995 to 2005.[184][185] Several of the plots were uncovered and prevented while others caused various infrastructure damage, deaths, or other destruction. Potok revealed that in 1996 there were approximately 858 domestic militias and other antigovernment groups but the number had dropped to 152 by 2004.[186] Shortly after the bombing, the FBI hired an additional 500 agents to investigate potential domestic terrorist attacks.[187]
Legislation

In the wake of the bombing the U.S. government enacted several pieces of legislation, notably the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996. In response to the trials of the conspirators being moved out-of-state, the Victim Allocation Clarification Act of 1997 was signed on March 20, 1997 by President Clinton to allow the victims of the bombing (and the victims of any other future acts of violence) the right to observe trials and to offer impact testimony in sentencing hearings. In response to passing the legislation, Clinton stated that "when someone is a victim, he or she should be at the center of the criminal justice process, not on the outside looking in."

In the years since the bombing, scientists, security experts, and the ATF have called on Congress to develop legislation that would require customers to produce identification when purchasing ammonium nitrate fertilizer, and for sellers to maintain records of its sale. Critics argue that farmers lawfully use large quantities of the fertilizer, and as of 2009, only Nevada and South Carolina require identification from purchasers. In June 1995, Congress enacted legislation requiring chemical taggants to be incorporated into dynamite and other explosives so that a bomb could be traced to its manufacturer. In 2008, Honeywell announced that it had developed a nitrogen-based fertilizer that would not detonate when mixed with fuel oil. The company got assistance from the Department of Homeland Security to develop the fertilizer (Sulf-N 26) for commercial use. It uses ammonium sulfate to make the fertilizer less explosive.

Building security and construction

In the weeks following the bombing the federal government ordered that all federal buildings in all major cities be surrounded with prefabricated Jersey barriers to prevent similar attacks. As part of a longer-term plan for United States federal building security most of those temporary barriers have since been replaced with permanent security barriers, which look more attractive and are driven deep into the ground for sturdiness. Furthermore, all new federal buildings must now be constructed with truck-resistant barriers and with deep setbacks from surrounding streets to minimize their vulnerability to truck bombs. FBI buildings, for instance, must be set back 100 feet (unknown) m from traffic. The total cost of improving security in federal buildings across the country in response to the bombing reached over $600 million.

The Murrah Federal Building had been considered so safe that it only employed one security guard. In June 1995, the GSA issued Vulnerability Assessment of Federal Facilities, also known as The Marshals Report, the findings of which resulted in a thorough evaluation of security at all federal buildings and a system for classifying risks at over 1,300 federal facilities owned or leased by the federal government. Federal sites were divided into five security levels ranging from Level 1 (minimum security needs) to Level 5 (maximum). The Alfred P. Murrah Building was deemed a Level 4 building. Among the 52 security improvements were physical barriers, closed-circuit television monitoring, site planning and access, hardening of building exteriors to increase blast resistance, glazing systems to reduce flying glass shards and fatalities, and structural engineering design to prevent progressive collapse.

The attack led to engineering improvements allowing buildings to better withstand tremendous forces, improvements which were incorporated into the design of Oklahoma City's new federal building. The National Geographic Channel documentary series Seconds From Disaster suggested that the Murrah Federal Building would probably have survived the blast had it been built according to California's earthquake design codes.
Discussion of the nature of dissent

Even many who agreed with some of McVeigh's politics viewed his act as counterproductive, with much of the criticism focused on the deaths of innocent children; critics expressed chagrin that McVeigh had not assassinated specific government leaders. McVeigh had indeed contemplated the assassinations of Attorney General Janet Reno, Lon Horiuichi, and others in preference to attacking a building, and after the bombing he said that he sometimes wished he had carried out a series of assassinations instead. Those who expressed sympathy for McVeigh typically described his deed as an act of war, as in the case of Gore Vidal's essay The Meaning of Timothy McVeigh. Other journalists compared him to John Brown.

McVeigh believed that the bomb attack had a positive impact on government policy. In evidence he cited the peaceful resolution of the Montana Freemen standoff in 1996, the government's $3.1 million settlement with Randy Weaver and his surviving children four months after the bombing, and April 2000 statements by Bill Clinton regretting his decision to storm the Branch Davidian compound. McVeigh stated, "Once you bloody the bully's nose, and he knows he's going to be punched again, he's not coming back around."

Conspiracy theories

A variety of conspiracy theories have been proposed about the events surrounding the bombing. Some theories allege that individuals in the government, including President Bill Clinton, knew of the impending bombing and intentionally failed to act on that knowledge. Other theories focus on the possibility of additional explosives within the building and additional conspirators involved with the bombing. Additional theories claim the bombing was done by the government to frame the militia movement or to provide the impetus for new antiterrorism legislation while using McVeigh as a scapegoat. Other conspiracy theories suggest that foreign agents, particularly Islamic terrorists, were involved in the bombing. Experts have disputed the theories and government investigations have been opened at various times to look into the theories.

Memorial observances

Oklahoma City National Memorial

For two years after the bombing the only memorials to the victims were plush toys, crucifixes, letters, and other personal items left by thousands of people at a security fence surrounding the site of the building. Many suggestions for suitable memorials were sent to Oklahoma City, but an official memorial planning committee was not set up until early 1996, when the Murrah Federal Building Memorial Task Force, composed of 350 members, was set up to formulate plans for a memorial to commemorate the victims of the bombing. On July 1, 1997 the winning design was chosen unanimously by a 15-member panel from 624 submissions. The memorial was designed at a cost of $29 million, which was raised by public and private funds. The memorial is part of the National Park Service and was designed by Oklahoma City architects Hans and Torrey Butzer and Sven Berg. It was dedicated by President Clinton on April 19, 2000, exactly five years after the bombing. Within the first year, it had 700,000 visitors.
The memorial includes a reflecting pool flanked by two large gate, one inscribed with the time 9:01, the other with 9:03, the pool representing the moment of the blast. On the south end of the memorial is a field of symbolic bronze and stone chairs—one for each person lost, arranged according to what floor of the building they were on. The chairs represent the empty chairs at the dinner tables of the victims' families. The seats of the children killed are smaller than those of the adults lost. On the opposite side is the "survivor tree", part of the building's original landscaping that survived the blast and fires that followed it. The memorial left part of the foundation of the building intact, allowing visitors to see the scale of the destruction. Part of the chain link fence put in place around the site of the blast, which had attracted over 800,000 personal items of commemoration later collected by the Oklahoma City Memorial Foundation, is now on the western edge of the memorial. North of the memorial is the Journal Record Building, which now houses the Oklahoma City National Memorial Museum, an affiliate of the National Park Service. The building also contains the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, a law enforcement training center.

St. Joseph's Old Cathedral

On a corner adjacent to the memorial is a sculpture titled "And Jesus Wept", erected by St. Joseph's Old Cathedral. St. Joseph's, one of the first brick and mortar churches in the city, was almost completely destroyed by the blast. The statue is not part of the memorial itself.

Remembrance observance

An observance is held each year to remember the victims of the bombing. An annual marathon draws thousands, and allows runners to sponsor a victim of the bombing. For the tenth anniversary of the bombing, the city held 24 days of activities, including a week-long series of events known as the National Week of Hope from April 17 to April 24, 2005. As in previous years, the tenth anniversary of the bombing observances began with a service at 9:02 am CST, marking the moment the bomb went off, with the traditional 168 seconds of silence—one second for each person who was killed as a result of the blast. The service also included the traditional reading of the names, read by children to symbolize the future of Oklahoma City. Vice President Dick Cheney, former president Clinton, Oklahoma Governor Brad Henry, Frank Keating, Governor of Oklahoma at the time of the bombing, and other political dignitaries attended the service and gave speeches in which they emphasized that "goodness overcame evil". The relatives of the victims and the survivors of the blast also made note of it during the service at First United Methodist Church in Oklahoma City.

President George W. Bush made note of the anniversary in a written statement, part of which echoed his remarks on the execution of Timothy McVeigh in 2001: "For the survivors of the crime and for the families of the dead the pain goes on. Bush was invited but did not attend the service because he was en route to Springfield, Illinois, to dedicate the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum. Vice President Cheney attended the service in his place.

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Notes


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Oklahoma City bombing


Oklahoma City bombing


Bibliography

Oklahoma City bombing


**Further reading**


**External links**

• Oklahoma City National Memorial official website (http://www.oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/)

• *The Denver Post*: Oklahoma City Bombing Trial (http://extras.denverpost.com/bomb/bomb.htm)


• Images of the bombing (http://web.archive.org/web/20090607180129/http://members.cox.net/reconokc/bomb/)

• Text, audio, and video of President Clinton's Oklahoma Bombing Memorial address (http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wjcoklomabombingspeech.htm)

• Interactive timeline of the bombing events (http://www.news9.com/global/Category.asp?c=185433)
2010 Austin suicide attack

Location | 9430 Research Boulevard  
| Austin, Texas, United States
Coordinates | 30°23′6″N 97°44′37″W
Date | February 18, 2010  
| 9:56 local (15:56 UTC) (UTC-6)
Target | Internal Revenue Service field office in Austin, Texas
Attack type | Suicide attack
Weapon(s) | Fixed-wing aircraft
Deaths | 2
Injured | 13
Victim | Vernon Hunter
Perpetrator | Andrew Joseph Stack III

The 2010 Austin suicide attack occurred on 18 February 2010, when Andrew Joseph Stack III, flying his Piper Dakota, crashed into Building I of the Echelon office complex in Austin, Texas, United States,[4] killing himself and Internal Revenue Service manager Vernon Hunter.[5] Thirteen others were injured, two seriously. The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) field office was located in a four-story office building along with other state and federal government agencies.[8] Prior to the crash, Stack had posted a suicide note dated 18 February 2010 to his business website.

Incident

Approximately an hour before the crash, Stack allegedly set fire to his $230,000[9] house located on Dapplegrey Lane in North Austin.[10][11] He then drove to a hangar he rented at Georgetown Municipal Airport, approximately 20 miles to the north.[12] He boarded his single-engine Piper Dakota airplane and was cleared to take off around 9:45 a.m. Central Standard Time.[8][13][14][15] He indicated to the control tower his flight would be "going southbound, sir."[16] After taking off his final words were "thanks for your help, have a great day."[17] About ten minutes later his plane descended and collided at full speed into Echelon I, a building containing offices for 190 IRS employees, resulting in a large fireball and explosion.[8][18][19] The building is located near the intersection of Research Boulevard (U.S. Route 183) and Mopac Exppressway (Loop 1).
Pilot

The plane was piloted by Andrew Joseph Stack III of the Scofield Farms neighborhood in North Austin, who worked as an embedded software consultant. He grew up in Pennsylvania and had two brothers and two sisters, was orphaned at age four, and spent some time at a Catholic orphanage. He graduated from the Milton Hershey School in 1974 and studied engineering at Harrisburg Area Community College from 1975 to 1977 but did not graduate. His first marriage to Ginger Stack, which ended in divorce, produced a daughter, Samantha Bell. In 2007 Stack had remarried to Sheryl Housh who had a daughter from a previous marriage.

In 1985, Stack, along with his first wife, incorporated Prowess Engineering. In 1994, he failed to file a state tax return. In 1998, the Stacks divorced and a year later his wife filed Chapter 11 Bankruptcy, citing IRS liabilities totaling nearly $126,000. In 1995, Stack started Software Systems Service Corp, which was suspended in 2004 for non-payment of state taxes. It was revealed in CNN and ABC news broadcasts by another software consultant who testified that the IRS had taken away a tax status for software consultants, which might have set off the incident with Stack.

Stack obtained a pilot's license in 1994 and owned a Velocity Elite XL-RG plane, in addition to the Piper Dakota (aircraft registration N2889D) he flew into the Echelon building. He had been using the Georgetown Municipal Airport for four and a half years and paid $236.25 a month to rent a hangar. There has been speculation that Stack replaced seats on his aircraft with extra drums of fuel prior to the collision.

Stack's accountant confirmed that he was being audited by the IRS for failure to report income at the time of the incident.

Suicide note

On the morning of the crash, Stack posted a suicide note on his website, embeddedart.com. The HTML source code of the web page shows the letter was composed using Microsoft Word starting two days prior, February 16, at 19:24Z (1:24 p.m. CST). The document also shows that it was saved 27 times with the last being February 18 at 06:42Z (12:42 a.m. CST).

In the suicide note, he begins by expressing displeasure with the government, the bailout of financial institutions, politicians, the conglomerate companies of General Motors, Enron and Arthur Andersen, unions, drug and health care insurance companies, and the Catholic Church. He then describes his life as an engineer; including his meeting with a poor widow who never got the pension benefits she was promised, the effect of the Section 1706 of Tax Reform Act of 1986 on independent contractor engineers, the September 11 attacks airline bailouts that only benefited the airlines but not the suffering engineers and how a CPA he hired seemed to side with the government to take extra tax money from him. His suicide note included criticism of the Federal Aviation Administration, the George W. Bush administration, and a call for violent revolt.

The suicide note also mentions, several times, Stack's having issues with taxes, debt, and the IRS and his having a long-running feud with the organization. While the IRS also has a larger regional office in Austin, the field office located in Echelon I performed tax audits, seizures, investigations and collections.

The suicide note ended with:
Aftermath

Killed in the incident along with Stack was Vernon Hunter, a 68-year-old Revenue Officer Group Manager for the IRS. Thirteen people were reported as injured, two of them critically. Debris from the crash reportedly struck a car being driven on the southbound access road of Route 183 in front of the building, shattering the windshield. Another driver on the southbound access road of Route 183 had his windows and sunroof shattered during the impact, and had debris fall inside his car, yet escaped uninjured.

Robin Dehaven, a glass worker and former combat engineer for the United States Army, saw the collision while commuting to his job, and used the ladder on his truck to rescue five people from the building. By coincidence, the Travis County Hazardous Materials Team — an inter-agency group of firefighters from outside the City of Austin — had just assembled for training across the freeway from the targeted building, observed the low and fast flight of Stack's plane, and heard the blast impact. They immediately responded, attacking the fire and initiating search-and-rescue.

Several City of Austin fire engines for the area of the Echelon building were already deployed at the fire at Stack's home at the time of the impact.

Stack's North Austin home was mostly destroyed by fire. Georgetown Municipal Airport was temporarily evacuated while a bomb disposal team searched Stack's abandoned vehicle.

An inspection into the Echelon building's structural integrity was concluded six days after the incident and a preliminary decision was made to repair the building rather than demolish it. Those repairs were substantially complete by December 2011.

Reaction

The United States Department of Homeland Security issued a statement saying that the incident did not appear to be linked to organized international terrorist groups. White House spokesman Robert Gibbs reaffirmed what Homeland Security said, and that President Barack Obama was briefed on the incident. The President expressed his concern and commended the courageous actions of the first responders.

The North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) launched two F-16 fighter aircraft from Ellington Airport in Houston, Texas, to conduct an air patrol in response to the crash. That action was reported as standard operating procedure in this situation.

The company hosting embeddedart.com, T35 hosting, took Stack's website offline "due to the sensitive nature of the events that transpired in Texas this morning and in compliance with a request from the FBI." Several groups supporting Stack on the social networking website Facebook appeared following the incident and the news of the accompanying manifesto. These were immediately shut down by Facebook staff.

Austin police chief Art Acevedo stated that the incident was not the action of a major terrorist organization. He also cited "some heroic actions on the part of federal employees" that "will be told at the appropriate time."

The Federal Bureau of Investigation stated that it was investigating the incident "as a criminal matter of an assault on a federal officer" and that it was not being considered terrorism at this time.

However, two members of the United States House of Representatives, both of whose districts include the Austin area, made statements to the contrary. Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-Texas) stated, "Like the larger-scale tragedy in Oklahoma City, this was a cowardly act of domestic terrorism." Mike McCaul (R-Texas), told a reporter that, "it sounds like it [was a terrorist attack] to me." Nihad Awad, the Executive Director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), is also asking the federal government to classify this as an act of terrorism. In a statement on February 19, he said, "Whenever an individual or group attacks civilians in order to make a political statement, that is an act of terror. Terrorism is terrorism, regardless of the faith, race or ethnicity of the perpetrator or the victims. If a Muslim had carried out the IRS attack, it would have surely been labeled an act of terrorism."

Georgetown University Professor Bruce Hoffman stated that for this to be considered an act of terrorism, "there has
to be some political motive and it has to send a broader message that seeks some policy change. From what I've heard, that doesn't appear to be the case. It appears he was very mad at the [IRS] and this was a cathartic outburst of violence. His motivation was the key."[50] A USA Today headline used the term "a chilling echo of terrorism."[19]

Citing the copy of Joseph Stack's suicide note posted online,[31] the liberal Daily Kos website observed that, "Obviously Stack was not a mentally healthy person, and he was embittered at capitalism, including crony capitalism, and health insurance companies and the government." They also stated that Stack could not be connected with the popular Tea Party movement, but argued that the incident "should inject a bit of caution into the anti-government flame-throwers on the right."[51] The website Ace of Spades HQ disputed any connection to the movement and additionally stated Stack was not "right wing", citing Stack's criticism of politicians for not doing anything about health care reform.[52]

In an interview with ABC's Good Morning America, Joe Stack's adult daughter, Samantha Bell, who now lives in Norway, stated that she considered her father to be a hero, because she felt that now people might listen. While she does not agree with his specific actions involving the plane crash, she does agree with his actions about speaking out against "injustice" and "the government."[24] Bell subsequently retracted aspects of her statement, saying her father was "not a hero" and adding, "We are mourning for Vernon Hunter."[53]

Five days after her husband Vernon Hunter's death, Valerie Hunter filed a wrongful death lawsuit against Sheryl Mann Stack, Andrew Joseph Stack's widow in District Court. The lawsuit alleges that Sheryl had a duty to "avoid a foreseeable risk of injury to others," including her late husband and failed to do so by not warning others about her late husband. The lawsuit also mentions that Stack was required by law to fly his plane at an altitude 1,000 feet above the highest obstacle.[54] At a March 8, 2010 benefit event, Stack's widow Sheryl publicly offered condolences for the victims of the attack.[55]

Iowa congressman Steve King (R-Iowa) has made several statements regarding Stack including "I think if we'd abolished the IRS back when I first advocated it, he wouldn't have a target for his airplane. And I'm still for abolishing the IRS, I've been for it for thirty years and I'm for a national sales tax (in its place)."[56][57]

Noted libertarian socialist American intellectual Noam Chomsky cited Joe Stack's suicide letter as indicative of some of the public sentiment in the U.S., stated that several of Stack's assertions are accurate or based on real grievances, and urged people to "help" the Joseph Stacks of the world get involved in constructive popular movements instead of letting the Joseph Stacks "destroy themselves, and maybe the world," in order to prevent a process similar to how legitimate and valid popular grievances of the German people in the 1920s and 1930s were manipulated by the Nazis towards violence and away from constructive ends.[58][59]

The Internal Revenue Service formally designates certain individuals as potentially dangerous taxpayers (PDTs). In response to an inquiry after the attack, an IRS spokesperson declined to state whether Stack had been designated as a PDT.[60]

References

2010 Austin suicide attack


External links

• "Well Mr. Big Brother IRS man... take my pound of flesh and sleep well." (http://www.webcitation.org/5ndnnvnrP) - Archive of Stack's suicide note from his website, Embeddedart.com (http://web.archive.org/*/Embeddedart.com)

• News related to Plane crashes into office block in Austin, Texas at Wikinews

• News related to Facebook takes down groups supporting Austin crash pilot at Wikinews

League of the South

The League of the South is a Southern nationalist organization, headquartered in Killen, Alabama, which states that its ultimate goal is "a free and independent Southern republic."[1] The group defines the Southern United States as the states that made up the former Confederacy.[2] It claims to be also a religious and social movement, advocating a return to a more traditionally conservative, Christian-oriented Southern culture. It advocates a "natural societal order of superiors and subordinates", using as an example, "Christ is the head of His Church; husbands are the heads of their families; parents are placed over their children; employers rank above their employees; the teacher is superior to his students, etc."[3] The organization is labeled a Neo-Confederate hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center[4] and has been accused of being white supremacist[5] and white nationalist.[6] The group also claims to have 'personal ties' to the Italy based political group Lega Nord.[7]

History

The organization was formed in 1994 by Michael Hill and others, including attorney Jack Kershaw.[8] The League of the South was named in reference to the League of United Southerners, a group organized in 1858 to shape Southern public opinion and the Lega Nord (Northern League), a very successful populist movement in northern Italy.[7]

Views

As noted, the League promotes the "independence of the Southern people" from the "American empire"[9] and this on a variety of levels: culturally, economically, socially, and politically. It has been described as using English and Celtic mythology "belligerently against what is perceived as a politically correct celebration of multicultural Southern diversity".[10][11][12]

Culture

The League defines Southern culture "in opposition to the corrupt mainstream American culture."[9] It sees Southern culture as profoundly Christian and pro-life.[13] Furthermore, the League believes that Southern culture places a greater emphasis on immediate relationships than on abstract ideas (the nation, the environment, the global community, etc.) and that Southern geography "defines character and worldview."[9] The League describes Southern Culture as being in inherently Anglo-Celtic in nature, and they believe the South's core Anglo-Celtic culture should be preserved.[7]

Social

According to the League, Southern society differs greatly from what it sees as the Marxist and egalitarian society lacking "any grace or charm" that its "alien [American] occupier" seeks to "impress upon it."[9] Southern culture, for the League, is hierarchical, based on the Bible, and decidedly anti-feminist.[14] While the League's Core Beliefs Statement does not mention gay rights, it notes that Southern culture "stigmatizes perversity".[9] It also values politeness — which it characterizes as "Southern Hospitality."
Economics

The League of the South's economic views are best characterized as free market. It is opposed to fiat currency, personal income taxation, central banking, property taxes and most state regulation of business. The League supports sales taxes and user fees. However, some League members, such as John Cobin, support the use of voluntary taxes like user fees and lotteries to finance government.

Politics

Seeking support in the United States Declaration of Independence, the League believes the "Southern people" have the right to secede from the United States, and that they "must throw off the yoke of imperial [federal, or central government] oppression." The League promotes a Southern Confederation of sovereign, independent States that "work together... to conduct foreign affairs". It believes that the South's foreign policy should favor neutrality and trade with all states. Furthermore, the League favors strictly limited immigration, opposes standing armies and any regulation whatsoever of firearms. Though the ultimate goal of the League is to create an independent Southern nation, it sees this aim as the final step in an ongoing process:

"Once we have planted the seeds of cultural, economic, and social renewal, then (and only then), should we begin to look to the South's political renewal. Political independence will come only when we have convinced the Southern people that they are indeed a nation in the historical, organic, and Biblical sense of the word, namely, that they are a distinct people with language, mores, and folkways that separate them from the rest of the world."

The League's current official activities focus on recruiting and encouraging "cultural secession" and "withholding our support from all institutions and objects of popular culture that are antithetical to our beliefs and heritage." In November 2006 its representatives attended the First North American Secessionist Convention which brought together secessionists from a broad political spectrum. In October 2007 it co-hosted the Second North American Secessionist Convention in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The issue of race has become a source of controversy about, and dispute within, the League of the South. In the summer of 2000 the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) labeled League of the South a "racist hate group" and issued a report filled with allegations of racist statements, especially by the League's President Michael Hill.

According to a news article, Hill "welcomed the designation as a 'badge of honor'" and stated SPLC has "a very leftist agenda, these sorts of things are designed to discredit you publicly."

During the 2006 First North American Secessionist Convention, when the issue of the League of the South and racism was raised, Don Kennedy, identified as "a leader of the League of the South", stated: "How can you believe in liberty and discriminate against your neighbor? Equality before the law is something we want, and we're on the record for that." News stories about the Second North American Secessionist Convention also mentioned the SPLC's allegations, as well as skeptical responses from convention attendees. Convention organizer Kirkpatrick Sale responded: "They call everybody racists. There are, no doubt, racists in the League of the South, and there are, no doubt, racists everywhere."

According to an excerpt from the groups website:

"The LS disavows a spirit of malice and extends an offer of good will and cooperation to Southern blacks in areas where we can work together as Christians to make life better for all people in the South. We affirm that,
while historically the interests of Southern blacks and whites have been in part antagonistic, true Constitutional government would provide protection to all law-abiding citizens — not just to government-sponsored victim groups.[7]

Members

The League’s Board of Directors is composed of Michael Hill, Franklin Sanders, Rev. Eugene Cas, Mark Thomey, Mike Tuggle, Mike Crane and Dr. John Cook.[27] Among the founding members were Thomas Fleming, Grady McWhiney and Clyde Wilson. Other prominent individuals who have been LoS members include Constitution Party presidential candidate Michael Peroutka (who was endorsed by the League), and Michael Andrew Grissom.

References

[1] League of the South website (http://dixienet.org)
[5] Pavia, Will (04 Dec 2010). ""They call us rednecks and crackers but we can govern ourselves". The Times (London (UK)): p. 35.
[9] League Core Beliefs Statement (http://dixienet.org/rights/corebeliefs.shtml)
[13] "Southerners have respect for human life, in all its stages, as a gift from God." This language is often used by groups opposed to legal abortion and euthanasia.
[14] ibid — "Husbands are the heads of their families," "Perpetuates the chivalric ideal of manhood"
[16] ibid — "commerce and friendship with all, entangling alliances with none"
[22] League webpage on Confederate flags (http://leagueofthesouth.net/static/homepage/intro_articles/csa-flags.html)
[23] SPLC article on League of South (http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/groups/league-of-the-south); also see SPLC article on Michael Hill (http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?pid=8454#).
The Militia of Montana (MOM) is an organized paramilitary organization founded by John Trochmann, a retired maker of snowmobile parts, of Noxon, Montana, USA. The organization formed from the remnants of the United Citizens for Justice in late 1992 in response to the standoff between agents of the Federal Government during the siege in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. The Militia of Montana reached their member high point in 1999 and largely disbanded after the Y2K problems turned out to be minor.

**History**

Officially formed by John Trochmann and his brother David in January 1994, MOM received significant assistance from self-styled analyst, Robert Fletcher. Trochmann's wife, Carolyn, had delivered food to the Weaver family during the several months preceding the Federal standoff in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. The Waco Siege solidified MOM's standing as one of the first established militia groups. John Trochmann stated that people needed to arm and organize themselves in order to prevent future incidents from occurring.

MOM grew in membership and notoriety which culminated in a gathering in Kalispell, Montana, of over 800 people to listen to an address by John Trochmann in June, 1994. In a 1995 interview, John Trochmann stated, "Gun control is people control," and MOM claimed to have more than 12,000 members trained in guerilla warfare, survivalist techniques, and other unconventional tactics in preparation for withstanding the perceived federal government onslaught to seize their weapons presaged by the Waco Siege.

In March 1995, MOM's newsletter, *Taking Aim*, reprinted a lengthy letter from Richard Wayne Snell, a convicted murderer of an Arkansas State Trooper and a pawn shop owner, asserting that his coming execution related to a series of Arkansas scandals allegedly connected with President Bill Clinton, in which twenty-five victims were said to have met strange deaths. Snell was to die, according to MOM, because he "was and still is heavily involved in exposing Clinton for his trail of blood to the White House."

MOM organized against the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act and the Federal Assault Weapons Ban which increased membership who believed that "threats" to the Second Amendment were orchestrated by financial and corporate elites in a global conspiracy. After Oklahoma City bombing, Robert Fletcher declared to the press, "Expect more bombs!" As fears that the Y2K computer meltdown would provoke social collapse, MOM capitalized on these anxieties through its catalog and John Trochmann's frequent appearances at preparedness expos. After 2000, membership dwindled, however MOM continued to fuel conspiracy theories surrounding the September 11 attacks in 2001 and the 2007 Financial crisis.
**Ideology**

MOM proposes several points:

1. The New World Order conspiracy theory combined with the belief that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was designed to impoverish and enslave Americans.[9]
2. The Second Amendment to the United States Constitution is designed to provide for armed insurrection against the established government.[10]
3. The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and affirmative action is racist, and therefore should be repealed.[10]
4. Allodial title applies to individuals who own land outright can be considered sovereign in accordance to groups such as the Montana Freeman in Jordan, Montana.[11]

The Volume 6, Issue No. 10 April 2000 of Taking Aim made references against peace officers:

"Why do you suppose your leaders lead you to oppose the very rights you swore to protect? Why do they want a disarmed public? You know the reason. It has nothing to do with controlling crime. It has everything to do with using you to disarm, fine and control your fellow American Citizens. Don't fall for it. Don't force me to kill you."[12]

John Trochmann on the passage of Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act:

"Health care was one more straw in the camel's back. Perhaps it's the one that breaks it."[13]

Robert Fletcher on anti-Semitic rhetoric:

"If the bulk of the banking elite are Jewish, is that anti-Semitic? The people who are doing this are the international banking elite, and if they are all Jews, so be it, but that's not the case. I don't care if they're Arabs or monkeys."[14]

**Decline and current status**

The excitement of military exercises and drilling declined as few were willing to support taking up arms against the government since the height of MOM's membership in 1999. In March, 2000, Randy Trochmann, David Trochmann's son and an instrumental leader, left the group for financial reasons. The free e-mail bulletin mass circulated by MOM began charging its subscribers, which decreased readership. John Trochmann mainly speaks at regional gun shows, seldom traveling outside the Pacific Northwest.[15] MOM continues to publish Taking Aim and still publishes their product catalog which includes firearms manuals, videos, and other books to "help you prepare for an uncertain future."[16] According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, MOM remains an active militia group.

**References**

[8] Philadelphia Trumpet newsmagazine (http://www.thetrumpet.com/?q=255.0.21.0)
[10] Second Amendment Foundation (http://www.saf.org/LawReviews/Neiwert1.htm)
A paramilitary is a force whose function and organization are similar to those of a professional military, but which is not considered part of a state's formal armed forces. [1]

The term paramilitary is subjective, depending on what is considered similar to a military force, and what status a force is considered to have. The nature of paramilitary forces therefore varies greatly according to the speaker and the context.

Examples of paramilitaries

Depending on context, paramilitaries can include:

- Irregular military forces: militias, guerrillas, insurgents, and so forth
- The auxiliary forces of a state's military
- Private military companies
- Mercenaries
- Some kinds of police forces, e.g. auxiliary police
- Gendarmeries, e.g. Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Gendarmerie royale du Canada), Egyptian Central Security Forces and India's Central Reserve Police Force
- Border guards, e.g. Russia's Border Guard Service
- Security forces of ambiguous military status, e.g. Russia's Internal Troops
- Armed units of US national intelligence services such as the Special Activities Division of the CIA or the Hostage Rescue Team of the FBI
- Youth cadet organizations with no wartime role, e.g. India's National Cadet Corps
- The Patriotic Guards of Communist Romania.
- The Schutzstaffel (SS), Sturmabteilung (SA), and Hitlerjugend (HJ) of Nazi Germany
- The Blackshirts of Fascist Italy
- The AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia), United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia.
References


External links

- Human Rights Watch, Colombia and Military-Paramilitary Links (http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/colombia/)
- Paramilitary News (http://www.paramilitarynews.com/)
- List of Terrorist Groups (http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/terrorist-groups.cfm)

Michigan Militia

The Michigan Militia was an organized paramilitary organization founded by Norman Olson, a former U.S. Air Force Non-Commissioned Officer, of Alanson, Michigan, USA.[1] The organization formed around 1994 in response to perceived encroachments by the Federal Government on the rights of citizens. The Michigan Militia Corps (MMC) declined during the late 1990s and was essentially defunct as a statewide organization by 2000. Splinter groups continue to meet and train. In 2009 the Michigan Militia Corps was re-founded and they elected a new State Commander, they are slowly growing in numbers again with about 14 counties claiming to be part of the Michigan Militia Corps.

Formation

The two events that contributed to the formation and growth of the Michigan Militia were the Federal standoff at the Branch Davidian church in Waco, Texas (see Waco Siege) and the Federal standoff with the Weaver family in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. Members of the Michigan Militia believed these events, which involved agents of the FBI and BATF, were alarming shows of force by the Federal Government against citizens who had not committed any federal crimes, but were targeted for simply having views contrary to those in government at the time. In addition, several gun control laws passed during the early Clinton Administration increased fears amongst citizens that Second Amendment rights were being severely curtailed by the Federal Government.

Organization

The Michigan Militia was formally organized in the name Michigan Militia Corps, with the mascot of the wolverine, Michigan's state animal. The MMC was initially divided into four divisions, each having a regional name. The division names were:

1. Superior Michigan Regional Militia (named for Lake Superior)
2. Northern Michigan Regional Militia
3. Central Michigan Regional Militia
4. Southern Michigan Regional Militia

Each militia division consisted of several brigades, which were organized by county.

Each brigade had a commander, generally of the rank of lieutenant colonel, that was elected by the membership of that brigade. Each division was headed by a division commander with the rank of colonel, who was elected by the brigade commanders. The Michigan Militia Corps was headed by a commanding officer with the rank of brigadier
At its peak the Michigan Militia Corps claimed membership of 10,000. Major areas of focus for the Michigan Militia were paramilitary training and emergency response.

**Significant Events**

On June 15, 1995, Norman Olson, along with militia leaders from other states, testified before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism. Olson's opening statement included the following:

> Not only does the Constitution specifically allow the formation of a Federal Army, it also recognizes the inherent right of the people to form militia. Further, it recognizes that the citizen and his personal armaments are the foundation of the militia. The arming of the militia is not left to the state but to the citizen. However, should the state choose to arm its citizen militia, it is free to do so (bearing in mind the Constitution is not a document limiting the citizen, but rather limiting the power of government). But should the state fail to arm its citizen militia, the right of the people to keep and bear arms becomes the source of the guarantee that the state will not be found defenseless in the presence of a threat to its security. It makes no sense whatsoever to look to the Constitution of the United States or that of any state for permission to form a citizen militia since logically, the power to permit is also the power to deny. If brought to its logical conclusion in this case, government may deny the citizen the right to form a militia. If this were to happen, the state would assert itself as the principle of the contract making the people the agents. Liberty then would depend on the state's grant of liberty. Such a concept is foreign to American thought.

On Martial Law in America:

> One other important point needs to be made. Since The Constitution is the limiting document upon the government, the government cannot become greater than the granting power. That is, the servant cannot become greater than its master. Therefore, should the chief executive or the other branch of government or all branches together act to suspend The Constitution under a rule of martial law, all power granted to government would be cancelled and differed back to the granting power. That is the people.

> And I'll conclude with this statement:

> Martial law shall NOT be possible in this country as long as the people recognize the bill of rights as inalienable.

Norman Olson retained the position of Commander of the MMC until after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, where he published a press release blaming the Japanese for the bombing, supposedly in retaliation for a clandestine US-sponsored gas attack in the Tokyo subway system. (See: Sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway.) This press release was seen as an embarrassment by the MMC membership and Lynn Van Huizen of Nunica, Michigan was elected state commander in 1996.

Van Huizen was listed in the FBI's report entitled Project Megiddo as a more moderate militia leader, "A number of militia leaders, such as Lynn Van Huizen of the Michigan Militia Corps - Wolverines, have gone to some effort to actively rid their ranks of radical members who are inclined to carry out acts of violence and/or terrorism."
Decline
In the years after the Oklahoma City bombing, the Michigan Militia Corps slowly declined and the leadership fell into infighting. The organization was essentially defunct on a statewide basis by 2000, but several militia groups continue to operate independently. In 2009 the Michigan Militia Corps was re-founded and they elected a new State Commander, they are slowly growing in numbers again with about 14 counties claiming to be part of the Michigan Militia Corps.

Emergency Response
Starting in 2010, The Michigan Militia started actively training in natural and man-made disaster response, search & rescue and volunteering with the American Red Cross. The Michigan Militia, as of July 2011, has seen call outs for 2 natural disaster responses and 3 search & rescue operations.

References

External links
- MichiganMilitia.com (http://www.michiganmilitia.com)
- Michigan Militia Corps 8th Division (http://mmcw8thdiv.22web.net/)
- Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines (http://mmcw.org/)- Current as of 2011
Oath Keepers

Oath Keepers is an American nonprofit organization\cite{1} that advocates that its members (current and former U.S. military and law enforcement) uphold the Constitution of the United States should they be ordered to violate it.\cite{2} The Oath Keepers’ motto is "Not On Our Watch!", and their stated objective is to resist those actions taken by the U.S. Government that overstep Constitutional boundaries.\cite{3}

Organizational history

The Oath Keepers were founded on March 2009 by Stewart Rhodes and incorporated in Las Vegas, Nevada as a non-profit corporation.\cite{4}\cite{5} Rhodes is a Yale Law School graduate, a former US Army paratrooper, and a former staffer of Congressman Ron Paul.\cite{6} The Oath Keepers as a group have grown to include chapters in many states across America.\cite{7}

List of refused orders

The Oath Keepers feel that their sworn oath to the American Constitution, grants them not only the right, but the duty to refuse unconstitutional orders. The Oath Keepers organization has published a list of orders that they claim they will not obey:

1. Orders to disarm the American people.
2. Orders to conduct warrantless searches of the American people.
3. Orders to detain American citizens as "unlawful enemy combatants" or to subject them to military tribunal.
4. Orders to impose martial law or a "state of emergency" on a state.
5. Orders to invade and subjugate any state that asserts its sovereignty.
6. Any order to blockade American cities, thus turning them into giant concentration camps.
7. Any order to force American citizens into any form of detention camps under any pretext.
8. Orders to assist or support the use of any foreign troops on U.S. soil against the American people to "keep the peace" or to "maintain control."
9. Any orders to confiscate the property of the American people, including food and other essential supplies.
10. Any orders which infringe on the right of the people to free speech, to peaceably assemble, and to petition their government for a redress of grievances.

Constitutional basis

The 10 points of the Oath Keepers Oath are based on fundamental language in the United States Constitution, including the 2nd Amendment, popularly known as the 'right to bear arms'. They also have basis in upholding the 4th Amendment, which protects the people from warrantless searches and seizures of their property, the 6th Amendment, which guarantees a speedy trial, the right to confront witnesses and to have the assistance of counsel in a criminal trial, and the 10th Amendment, which provides for states rights and sovereignty.

Report by the Southern Poverty Law Center

In the Southern Poverty Law Center's (SPLC) 2009 report The Second Wave: Return of the Militias, Larry Keller, a writer for the SPLC, wrote that the Oath Keepers "may be a particularly worrisome example of the Patriot revival.\cite{8} Keller described Richard Mack, an Oath Keeper, as a "longtime militia hero\cite{8}\cite{7}\cite{9}" and quoted him as having said, "The greatest threat we face today is not terrorists; it is our federal government... One of the best and easiest solutions is to depend on local officials, especially the sheriff, to stand against federal intervention and federal criminality.\cite{8}\cite{7} Mack, a former sheriff, responded by denouncing the SPLC's claims.\cite{10}\cite{11} Rhodes, the founder
Rhodes has appeared on several TV and radio shows to discuss Oath Keepers. Lou Dobbs talked with Rhodes on his radio show and criticized the SPLC for "perpetuating the same kind of intolerance it claims to condemn. On Hardball with Chris Matthews, Matthews and Rhodes discussed both the SPLC report and issues involving the Oath Keepers and extremists.

**Additional reports**

MSNBC's political commentator, Patrick J. Buchanan, quoted Alan Maimon in the Las Vegas Review-Journal, as saying "Oath Keepers, depending on where one stands, are either strident defenders of liberty or dangerous peddlers of paranoia." Mr. Buchanan explained their existence on the alienation of white America, concluding that "America was once their country. They sense they are losing it. And they are right."

**References**

Italian Fascism

Italian Fascism also known as Fascism (Italian: Fascismo) refers to the original fascist ideology in Italy. This ideology is associated with the National Fascist Party which under Benito Mussolini ruled the Kingdom of Italy from 1922 until 1943, the Republican Fascist Party which ruled the Italian Social Republic from 1943 to 1945, the post-war Italian Social Movement, and subsequent Italian neo-fascist movements. Italian Fascism is based upon Italian nationalism and the restoration of "Italia Irredenta" (claimed unredeemed Italian territories) to Italy as well as territorial expansionism that Italian Fascists deemed necessary for a nation to assert its superiority and strength to avoid succumbing to decay.\(^{[1]}\) Italian Fascists claim that modern Italy is the heir to ancient Rome and its legacy, and support the creation of an Italian Empire to provide "vital space" for colonization by Italian settlers and establishing control over the Mediterranean Sea as Italy's Mare Nostrum as it had been under the Roman Empire.\(^{[2]}\) Fascism promotes political violence and war as actions that create national regeneration, spirit and vitality.\(^{[3]}\)\(^{[4]}\)

Italian Fascism promotes a corporatist economic system whereby employer and employee syndicates are linked together in corporative associations to collectively represent the nation's economic producers and work alongside the state to set national economic policy.\(^{[5]}\) Italian Fascists claim that this economic system resolves and ends class conflict by creating class collaboration.\(^{[6]}\) It supports criminalization of strikes by employees and lockouts by employers as illegal acts it deems these acts as prejudicial to the national community as a whole.\(^{[7]}\)

Italian Fascism was declared by its leadership figures to be opposed to mainstream socialism because of its typical opposition to nationalism.\(^{[8]}\) It was declared to be opposed to liberalism, but made clear that it did not admire the political situation of Europe prior to the entrenchment of liberalism after the French Revolution of 1789, and stated that it was not seeking a reactionary restoration of the pre-1789 world that it considered to have been flawed, and that had been the cause of the rise of liberalism, but had a forward-looking direction.\(^{[9]}\) Italian Fascism was declared to be opposed to the reactionary conservatism developed by Joseph de Maistre.\(^{[10]}\)
**Doctrine**

*The Doctrine of Fascism (La dottrina del fascismo, 1932)*, by the Actualist philosopher Giovanni Gentile, is the official formulation of **Italian Fascism**, published under Benito Mussolini’s name in 1933.\[11\] Gentile was intellectually influenced by Hegel, Plato, Benedetto Croce, and Giambattista Vico, as such, his Actual Idealism philosophy was the basis for Fascism.\[11\] Hence, the *Doctrine’s Weltanschauung* proposes the world as *action* in the realm of Humanity — *beyond* the quotidian constrictions of contemporary political trend, by rejecting “perpetual peace” as fantastical, and accepting Man as a species continually at war; those who meet the challenge, achieve nobility.\[11\] To wit, Actual Idealism generally accepted that conquerors were the men of historical consequence, e.g., the Roman Julius Caesar, the Greek Alexander the Great, the German Charlemagne, and the French (Corsican) Napoleon; the philosopher–intellectual Gentile was especially inspired by the Roman Empire (27 BC – AD 476, 1453), from whence derives Fascism, thus:\[11\]

”The Fascist accepts and loves life; he rejects and despises suicide as cowardly. Life as he understands it means duty, elevation, conquest; life must be lofty and full, it must be lived for oneself but above all for others, both near bye and far off, present and future.\[15px|15px|Benito Mussolini, The Doctrine of Fascism, 1933.\[12\]

Therefore, in 1925, Benito Mussolini assumed the title *Duce* (Leader), derived from the Latin *dux* (leader), a Roman Republic military-command title. Moreover, although Fascist Italy (1922–43) is historically considered an authoritarian–totalitarian dictatorship, it retained the original “liberal democratic” government façade: the Grand Council of Fascism remained active as administrators; and King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy could — at his Crown’s risk — discretionarily dismiss Mussolini as Italian Prime Minister, as, in the event, he did.\[13\]

*La dottrina del fascismo* proposed an Italy of greater living standards under a single-party Fascist system, than under the multi-party liberal democratic government of 1920.\[14\] As the Leader of the National Fascist Party (PNF — *Partito Nazionale Fascista*), Benito Mussolini said that democracy is "beautiful in theory; in practice, it is a fallacy",\[15\] and spoke of celebrating the burial of the "putrid corpse of liberty."\[14\] In 1923, to give Deputy Mussolini control of the pluralist parliamentary government of the Kingdom of Italy (1861–1946), an economist, the Baron Giacomo Acerbo proposed — and the Italian Parliament approved — the Acerbo Law, changing the electoral system from proportional representation to majority representation. The party who received the most votes (provided they possessed at least 25 per cent of cast votes), won two-thirds of the parliament; the remaining third was proportionately shared among the other parties — thus the Fascist manipulation of liberal democratic law that rendered Italy a single-party State.

In 1924, the PNF won the election with 65 per cent of the votes;\[16\] yet the United Socialist Party refused to accept such a defeat — especially Deputy Giacomo Matteotti who, on 30 May 1924, in Parliament formally accused the PNF of electoral fraud, and reiterated his denunciations of PNF Blackshirt political violence, and was publishing *The Fascisti Exposed: A Year of Fascist Domination*, a book substantiating his
Consequently, on 24 June 1924, the Ceka (PNF secret police) assassinated the Parliament Deputy; of the five men arrested, Amerigo Dumini, aka *Il Sicario del Duce* (*The Leader’s Assassin*), was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment, yet served only eleven months, and was freed under amnesty from King Victor Emmanuel III. Moreover, when the King supported Prime Minister Mussolini, the socialists cried “Foul!”, and unwisely quit Parliament in protest — leaving the Fascists to govern Italy. In that time, assassination was not yet the *modus operandi* norm; the Italian Fascist *Duce* usually disposed of opponents in the Imperial Roman way: political arrest punished with island banishment.

**Conditions precipitating Fascism**

**Nationalist discontent**

After the First World War (1914–18), despite the Kingdom of Italy (1861–1946) being a full-partner Allied Power against the Central Powers, Italian nationalism claimed Italy was cheated in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919), thus the Allies had impeded Italy’s progress to becoming a “Great Power”. Thenceforth, the PNF successfully exploited that “slight” to Italian nationalism, in presenting Fascism as best-suited for governing the country, by successfully claiming that democracy, socialism, and liberalism were failed systems. The PNF assumed Italian government in 1922, consequent to the Fascist Leader Mussolini’s oratory and Blackshirt paramilitary political violence.

In 1919, at the Paris Peace Conference, the Allies compelled the Kingdom of Italy to yield to Yugoslavia the Croatian seaport of Fiume (Rijeka), a mostly-Italian city of little nationalist significance, until early 1919. Moreover, elsewhere, Italy then was excluded from the wartime secret Treaty of London (1915) it had concorded with the Triple Entente; wherein Italy was to leave the Triple Alliance and join the enemy, by declaring war against the German Empire and Austria-Hungary, in exchange for territories, at war’s end, upon which the Kingdom of Italy held claims. (see *Italia irredenta*)

In September 1919, the nationalist response of outraged war hero Gabriele d’Annunzio was declaring the establishment of the Italian Regency of Carnaro. To his independent Italian state, he installed himself as the Regent *Duce* (Leader), and promulgated the *Carta del Carnaro* (*Charter of Carnaro*, 8 September 1920), a politically-syncretic constitutional amalgamation of right-wing and left-wing anarchist, proto-fascist, and democratic republican politics, which much influenced the politico-philosophic development of early Italian Fascism. Consequent to the Treaty of Rapallo (1920) the metropolitan Italian military deposed the Regency of *Duce* D’Annunzio on Christmas 1920. In the development of the fascist model of government, Gabriele d’Annunzio was a nationalist, not a fascist, whose legacy of political–praxis (“Politics as Theatre”) was stylistic (ceremony, uniform, harangue, chanting), not substantive, which Italian Fascism artfully developed as a government model.
**Labor unrest**

Given Italian Fascism's pragmatic political amalgamations of left-wing and right-wing socio-economic policies, discontented workers and peasants proved an abundant source of popular political power, especially because of peasant opposition to socialist agricultural collectivism. Thus armed, the former socialist Benito Mussolini oratorically inspired and mobilized country and working-class people: “We declare war on socialism, not because it is socialist, but because it has opposed nationalism...” Moreover, for campaign financing, in the 1920–21 period, the National Fascist Party also courted the industrialists and (historically-feudal) landowners, by appealing to their fears of left-wing socialist and Bolshevik labor politics and urban and rural strikes; the Fascists promised a good business climate of cost-effective labor, wage, and political stability; the Fascist Party was *en route* to power; the historian Charles F. Delzell reports:

"At first, the Fascists [PNF] were concentrated in Milan and a few other cities. They gained ground quite slowly, between 1919 and 1920; not until after the scare, brought about by the workers “occupation of the factories” in the late summer of 1920 did fascism become really widespread. The industrialists began to throw their financial support to it. Moreover, toward the end of 1920, fascism began to spread into the countryside, bidding for the support of large landowners, particularly in the area between Bologna and Ferrara, a traditional stronghold of the Left, and scene of frequent violence. Socialist and Catholic organizer of farm hands in that region, Venezia Giulia, Tuscany, and even distant Apulia, were soon attacked by [Black Shirt] squads of Fascists, armed with castor oil, blackjacks, and more lethal weapons. The era of *Squadrismo*, and nightly expeditions to burn Socialist and Catholic labor headquarters had begun."

**Fascism empowered**

The First World War (1914–18) inflated Italy’s economy with great debts, unemployment (aggravated by thousands of demobilised soldiers), social discontent featuring strikes, organised crime,[18] and anarchist, Socialist, and Communist insurrections.[24] When the elected Italian Liberal Party Government could not control Italy, the Revolutionary Fascist Party (*Partito Fascista Rivoluzionario*, PFR) Leader Benito Mussolini took matters in hand, combating those societal ills with the Blackshirts, paramilitary squads of First World War veterans and ex-socialists; Prime Ministers such as Giovanni Giolitti allowed the Fascists taking the law in hand.[25]

The Liberal Government preferred Fascist class collaboration to the Communist Party of Italy’s bloody class conflict, should they assume government, as had Vladimir Lenin’s Bolsheviks in the recent Russian Revolution of 1917.[25] *The Manifesto of the Fascist Struggle* (June 1919) of the PFR presented the politico-philosophic tenets of Fascism; it included women's suffrage, a minimum wage, an eight-hour workday, and reorganisation of public transport.[26]

Appeasing its initially strong feminist wing, the Fascist party actually bowed in November 1925, allowing the introduction of limited women's suffrage, much to the dismay of Fascist feminists.[27]
By the early 1920s, popular support for the PFR’s fight against Bolshevism numbered some 250,000 people. In 1921, the Fascisti (Fascists) metamorphosed into the PNF, and achieved political legitimacy when Benito Mussolini was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1922. Although the Liberal Party retained power, the governing prime ministries proved ephemeral, especially that of the fifth Prime Minister Luigi Facta, whose government proved vacillating.

To depose the weak parliamentary democracy, Deputy Mussolini (with military, business, and liberal right-wing support) launched the PNF March on Rome (27–29 October 1922) coup d’État, to oust Prime Minister Luigi Facta, and assume the government of Italy, to restore nationalist pride, re-start the economy, increase productivity with labor controls, remove economic business controls, and impose law and order. On 28 October, whilst the “March” occurred, King Victor Emmanuel III withdrew his support of Prime Minister Facta, and appointed PNF Leader Benito Mussolini as the sixth Prime Minister of Italy.

The March on Rome became a victory parade, the Fascists believed their success was revolutionary and traditionalist.

**Economy**

Until 1925, when the liberal economist Alberto de Stefani ended his tenure as Minister of Economics (1922–25), after having re-started the economy and balanced the national budget, the Italian Fascist Government’s economic policies were aligned with classical liberalism principles; inheritance, luxury, and foreign capital taxes were abolished; life insurance (1923), and the state communications monopolies were privatised, et cetera. Yet such pro-business enterprise policies apparently did not contradict the State’s financing of banks and industry.

One of Prime Minister Mussolini’s first acts was the 400-million-Lira financing of Gio. Ansaldo & C., one of the country’s most important engineering companies. Subsequent to the 1926 deflation crisis, banks such as the Banco di Roma (Bank of Rome), the Banco di Napoli (Bank of Naples), and the Banco di Sicilia (Bank of Sicily) also were state-financed. In 1924, a private business enterprise established the Unione Radiofonica Italiana (URI — Italian Radiophonic Union), as part of the Marconi group, to which the Italian Fascist Government granted official radio-broadcast monopoly; after the Second World War, URI became the Radio Audizioni Italiane (RAI — Italian Radio Audience, 1954–54), then the Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI — Italian Radiotelevision).
In addition, given the overwhelmingly rural nature of Italian economy in the period, agriculture was vital to Fascist economic policies and propaganda. To strengthen the domestic Italian production of grain, in 1925, the Fascist Government established protectionist policies that ultimately failed (see: the Battle for Grain); historian Denis Mack Smith reports that: “Success in this battle was... another illusory propaganda victory, won at the expense of the Italian economy in general, and consumers in particular.... Those who gained were the owners of the Latifondia, and the propertied classes in general.... [Mussolini’s] policy conferred a heavy subsidy on the Latifondisti.” [33]

After 1929, the Fascist regime countered the Great Depression with massive public works programs, such as the draining of the Pontine Marshes, hydroelectricity development, railway improvement, and rearmament.[34] In 1933, the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (IRI — Institute for Industrial Reconstruction) was established to subsidize failing companies, and soon controlled important portions of the national economy via government-linked companies, among them Alfa Romeo. The Italian economy’s Gross National Product increased 2 per cent; automobile production was increased, especially that of the Fiat motor company,[35] and the aeronautical industry was developing.[18] Especially after the 1936 Society of Nation's sanctions against Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Mussolini strongly advocated agrarianism and autarchy as part of his economic “battles” for Land, the Lira, and Grain. As Prime Minister, Benito Mussolini physically participated with the workers in doing the work; the “politics as theatre” legacy of Gabriele D’Anunzio yielded great propaganda images of Il Duce as “Man of the People”.[36][37]

**Internal relations**

In 1929, as Italian Head of Government, Benito Mussolini concluded the unresolved Church–State conflict of the Roman Question (La Questione romana, pending since the Risorgimento, 1815–71) with the Lateran Treaty (February 1929), between the Kingdom of Italy and the Holy See, establishing the Vatican City microstate in Rome. In exchange for diplomatic recognition of the Vatican City and compensated territorial losses, the Fascist Government established Roman Catholic religious education in every education level; the Vatican would diplomatically recognize the Italian Fascist State.[14][38]

Moreover, to render the Italian people cosmopolitan, the Fascist Government applied every cultural artefact — from postage stamps to monumental architecture to sculpture — in making every social class conscious of Italy’s cultural heritage, namely the Roman, Mediæval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods, and the modern age.[39]

Mussolini’s establishment of law and order to Italy and its society was praised by Winston Churchill,[40] Sigmund Freud,[41] George Bernard Shaw,[42] and Thomas Edison,[43] as the Fascist Government combated organised crime and the Mafia with violence and vendetta (honour).[44]
The first victims of Fascism

Influenced by the Roman Empire, *Il Duce*, Prime Minister Benito Mussolini, perceived himself as a contemporary Roman Emperor, and set to establishing a new Italian Empire. With an expansionist and militarist agenda, Italian colonialism penetrated Africa in competition with the British and French empires. The first Italian Fascist colony was Eritrea, in East Africa; then Libya, Somalia, and Ethiopia. The Fascists ruled via authoritarian government, especially in combating insurgents and guerrillas attempting to expel the Italians from their colonized countries; Omar Mukhtar was a notable Libyan example.

Moreover, Italian Fascism was (officially) neither atheist nor racist — provided the colonized folk agreed to Italianisation and swore fealty to *Il Duce*, (See: Racial classification). Just as Italian Jews were allowed membership in the National Fascist Party, in metropolitan Italy, in the Libyan colony, Muslims were Fascist Party members via the Muslim Association of the Lictor. In a unity ceremony, a Libyan chief awarded Prime Minister Mussolini an ancient Yemeni Sword of Islam artefact. East Africans were allowed to serve with Italians in the MVSN Colonial Militia.

To fulfil Italian unification, Fascist imperialism included the *Italia irredента* (Irredentist Italy) demand of Italian ethnic integrity — recovering all lands previously annexed to the states incorporated to Italy. Said revanchism included the County of Nice, part of the Kingdom of Sardinia until 1860, the Duchy of Savoy, Corsica, part of the Republic of Genoa until 1768, Istria and Dalmatia which were until 1797 part of the Republic of Venice, and the island of Malta, part of the Kingdom of Sicily until 1530.

To prepare the Italians for military conquest, Mussolini's agenda became radical in the 1930s; seeking a physically fit and psychologically tough imperialist people to establish a modern Italian Empire, like the Roman Empire, he advocated discarding formalities of language, thought, and action; a coarse mind and hard body suited for aggressive war.

After Benito Mussolini came to power (1922), the forced Italianization of Slovene and Croatian populations in the 1920s and 1930s was under no international restraint in the areas that were given to Italy in exchange for joining Great Britain in the World War I.

In September 1920, Mussolini stated:

> When dealing with such a race as Slavic - inferior and barbarian - we must not pursue the carrot, but the stick policy ... We should not be afraid of new victims ... The Italian border should run across the Brenner Pass, Monte Nevoso and the Dinaric Alps ... I would say we can easily sacrifice 500,000 barbaric Slavs for 50,000 Italians ...

—Benito Mussolini, speech held in Pula, 20 September 1920

Running the *ethnic cleansing* policy, Fascist Italy brought Italian teachers from South Italy to Italianize ethnic Slovene and Croatian children, while the Slovene and Croatian teachers, poets, writers, artists and clergy were exiled to Sardinia and elsewhere to South Italy. After complete destruction of all Slovene and Croatian cultural, financial and other organizations, resistance followed with anti-fascist TIGR movement, but it was followed by more Fascist repression. Acts of Fascist violence were not hampered by the authorities, such as the burning down of the Slovene *Narodni dom* (National House) in Trieste, carried out at night by Fascists with the connivance of the police on 13 July 1920.
In 1926, claiming that it was restoring surnames to their original Italian form, the Italian government announced the Italianization of German, Slovene and Croatian surnames, giving this program open legislative form, adding further pressure to these ethnic groups. There was no exception for first names. Some Slovenes and Croatians have under these circumstances "willingly" accepted Italianization in order to stop being a second-class citizens without upward social mobility.

The radical social change to Italian society signalled greater ideological affinity with Nazi Germany in international diplomacy, given Nazi approval of Italian Fascist imperial ambitions. Moreover, whilst in Germany, on 27 January 1938, an impressed Mussolini observed Wehrmacht soldiers march in goose-step. Upon returning to Italy, he adopted that marching style for his military, and also promulgated legal Anti-Semitism in the Manifesto of Race in July 1938, stripping Jews of Italian citizenship and with it any position in the government or previously held professions. The changes were partly unwelcome, because the Italians were not especially hateful of Jews, and thus were wary of such a cultural imposition, because of a strong German Nazi–Italian Fascist relations. Despite parallels between Nazi Germany's racist domestic and foreign policies with those of Italy, Il Duce Mussolini was inconsistent about the application of racism in society. Despite, in the 1920s, having emphasized the importance of "race", speaking in racialist terms about white–coloured relations, stating that the races are in continual competition:

"[When the] city dies, the nation — deprived of the young life, [the] blood of new generations — is now made up of people who are old and degenerate and cannot defend itself against a younger people which launches an attack on the now unguarded frontiers.... This will happen, and not just to cities and nations, but on an infinitely greater scale: the whole White race, the Western race can be submerged by other coloured races which are multiplying at a rate unknown in our race."

Yet in the 1933–34 period, when political tensions between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany occurred over Austrian independence, PM Mussolini opportunistically contradicted his earlier claims about the importance of race, by dismissing it as insignificant:

"Race! It is a feeling, not a reality: ninety-five percent, at least, is a feeling. Nothing will ever make me believe that biologically pure races can be shown to exist today.... National pride has no need of the delirium of race."

Slovene Anti-Fascist resistance and Italian war crimes

On February 25, 1942, only two days after Italian Fascist regime established Gonars concentration camp that the first transport of 5,343 internees (1,643 of whom were children) arrived from - at the time already overpopulated - Rab concentration camp, from the Province of Ljubljana and from another camp in Monigo (near Treviso). In the occupied Slovenia with the emergence of the resistance, the Province of Ljubljana was subjected to brutal repression. Under the commander Mario Roatta's watch the violence against the Slovene civil population easily matched the German. To suppress the mounting resistance led by the Slovene Partisans, Italian soldiers adopted "draconian measures to intimidate the Slovene populations into silence by means of summary executions, hostage-taking, reprisals, internments into Rab and Gonars concentration camps and the burning of houses and villages". Mario Roatta's merciless suppression of partisan insurgency was not mitigated by his having saved the lives of Jews and Serbs (from the persecution of German Nazis and NDH). The "3C" pamphlet, tantamount to a declaration of war on civilians, involved him in war crimes.
External influence

The Italian Fascism government model was very influential beyond Italy; in the twenty-one-year intermarium of the First and Second world wars, many political scientists and philosophers sought ideological inspiration from Italy. Italian Fascism was copied by Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party, the Russian Fascist Organization, the Romanian National Fascist Movement (the National Romanian Fascia, National Italo-Romanian Cultural and Economic Movement), the Dutch fascists based upon the *Verbond van Actualisten* journal of H. A. Sinclair de Rochemont and Alfred Haighton. The Sammarinese Fascist Party established an early Fascist government in San Marino, their politico-philosophic basis essentially was Italian Fascism.

**Switzerland** — pro-Nazi Colonel Arthur Fonjallaz of the National Front, became an ardent Mussolini admirer after visiting Italy in 1932. He advocated the Italian annexation of Switzerland, whilst receiving Fascist foreign aid. The country was host for two Italian politico-cultural activities: the International Centre for Fascist Studies (CINEF — *Centre International d’Études Fascistes*), and the 1934 congress of the Action Committee for the Universality of Rome (CAUR — *Comitato d’Azione della Università de Roma*).

**Spain** — The writer Ernesto Giménez Caballero, in *Genio de España* (*The Genius of Spain*, 1932) called for the Italian annexation of Spain, led by Mussolini presiding an international Latin Roman Catholic empire. He then progressed to close associated with Falangism, leading to discarding the Spanish annexation to Italy.

**Italian Fascist mnemonics**

- *Me ne frego* ("I don’t give a damn!"): the Italian Fascist motto.
- *Libro e moschetto — fascista perfetto* (*Book and Musket — Perfect Fascist*)
- *Viva la Morte* (*Long live Death!*): sacrifice.
- *Tutto nello Stato, niente al di fuori dello Stato, nulla contro lo Stato* (*Everything in the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State*). [66]
- *Credere, Obbedire, Combattere* (*Believe, Obey, Fight*)
- *Se avanzo, seguitemi. Se indietreggio, uccidetemi. Se muoio, vendicatemi* (*If I advance, follow me. If I retreat, kill me. If I die, avenge me*) Borrowed from French Royalist Gen. Henri de la Rochejaquelein.
- *Viva Il Duce* (*Long live the Leader*)
- *La guerra è per l’uomo come La maternità è donna* (*War is to Man as Motherhood is to Woman*). [67]
- *Boia chi molla* (*who abandons the struggle is a hangman/executioner*), leaving the fight is seen as killing your own comrades. "Boia" was commonly used as an insult in Italy for centuries.
- *Molti nemici. Molto onore* (*Many enemies. Much Honor*)
- *E’ l’aratro che traccia il solco, ma è la spada che lo difende* (*The plough cuts the furrow, but the sword defends it*)
- *Dux mea lux* (*The Leader is my light*), Latin phrase.
- *Duce a noi* (*Duce, to us*) [68]
- *Mussolini ha sempre ragione* (*Mussolini is always right*) [69]
- *Vincere e vincercemo* (*To win, and we shall win!*).
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Japanese nationalism

*Japanese nationalism* (国家主義 Kokka shugi) encompasses a broad range of ideas and sentiments harbored by the Japanese people over the last two centuries regarding their native country, its cultural nature, political form and historical destiny. It is useful to distinguish Japanese cultural nationalism (see, nihonjinron) from political or state-directed nationalism (i.e., Japanese imperialism), since many forms of cultural nationalism, such as those associated with folkloric studies (i.e., Yanagita Kunio), were hostile to state-fostered nationalism.

In Meiji period Japan, nationalist ideology consisted of a blend of native and imported political philosophies, initially developed by the Meiji government to promote national unity and patriotism, first in defense against colonization by European powers, and later in a struggle to attain equality with the Great Powers. It evolved through the Taishō period and Shōwa periods to justify an increasingly totalitarian government and overseas expansionism, and provided a political and ideological foundation for the actions of the Japanese military (Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy forces) in the years leading up to World War II. Despite its distinctive features (Emperor worship and the ethno-religious character of the state), Japanese nationalism served the same function as and drew inspiration from similar ideologies developed under Western Fascism.
Meiji period beginnings 1868-1911

During the final days of the Tokugawa shogunate, the perceived threat of foreign encroachment, especially since the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry and the signing of the Kanagawa Accord led to increased prominence to the development of nationalist ideologies. Some prominent daimyo promoted the concept of fukko (a return to the past), while others promoted osei (the Emperor's supreme authority). The terms were not mutually exclusive, merging into the sonno joi (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians) concept, which in turn was a major driving force in starting the Meiji Restoration.

The Meiji Constitution of 1889 defined allegiance to the State as the citizen's highest duty. While the Constitution itself contained a mix of political Western practices and traditional Japanese political ideas, government philosophy increasingly centered on promoting social harmony and a sense of the uniqueness of the Japanese people (kokutai).

Basis of economic growth

The extreme disparity in economic and military power between Japan and the western colonial powers was a great cause for concern for the early Meiji leadership. The motto Fukoku kyohei (Enrich the Country and Strengthen the Military) symbolized Meiji period nationalistic policies to provide government support to strengthen strategic industries. Only with a strong economic base could Japan afford to build a strong, modern military along western lines, and only with a strong economy and military could Japan force a revision of the unequal treaties, such as the Kanagawa Accords. Government policies also laid the basis of later industrialist empires known as the zaibatsu.

Bushido (武士道)

As a residue of its widespread use in propaganda during the 19th century, military nationalism in Japan was often known as bushido (the way of the warrior). The word, denoting a coherent code of beliefs and doctrines about the proper path of the samurai, or what is called generically 'warrior thought' (武家思想, buke shisō), is rarely encountered in Japanese texts before the Meiji era, when the 11 volumes of the Hagakure of Yamamoto Tsunetomo, compiled in the years from 1710 to 1716 where the character combination is employed, was finally published.

Constituted over a long time by house manuals on war and warriorship, it gained some official backing with the establishment of the Bakufu, which sought an ideological orthodoxy in the Neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi tailored for military echelons that formed the basis of the new shogunal government. An important early role was played by Yamaga Sokō in theorizing a Japanese military ethos. After the abolition of the feudal system, the new military institutions of Japan were shaped along European lines, with Western instructors, and the codes themselves modeled on standard models adapted from abroad. The impeccable behaviour, in terms of international criteria, displayed by the Japanese military in the Russo-Japanese war was proof that Japan finally had a modern army whose techniques, drilling and etiquette of war differed little from that of what prevailed among the Western imperial powers.

The Imperial Rescript for Seamen and Soldiers (1890), presented Japan as a "sacred nation protected by the gods". An undercurrent of traditional warrior values never wholly disappeared, and as Japan slid towards a cycle of repeated crises from the mid-Taishō to early Shōwa eras, the old samurai ideals began to assume importance among more politicized officers in the Imperial Japanese Army. Sadao Araki played an important role in adapting a doctrine of seishin kyōiku (spiritual training) as an ideological backbone for army personnel. As Minister of Education, he supported the integration of the samurai code into the national education system.
Role of Shinto

In developing the modern concepts of State Shintoism (国家神道 kokka shintō) and emperor worship, various Japanese philosophers tried to revive or purify national beliefs (kokugaku) by removing imported foreign ideas, borrowed primarily from Chinese philosophy. This "Restoration Shintoist Movement" began with Motoori Norinaga in the 18th century. Motoori Norinaga, and later Hirata Atsutane, based their research on the Kojiki and other classic Shinto texts which teach the superiority of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. This formed the basis for State Shintoism, as the Japanese emperor claimed direct descent from Amaterasu. The emperor himself was therefore sacred, and all proclamations of the emperor had thus a religious significance.

After the Meiji Restoration, the new imperial government needed to rapidly modernize the polity and economy of Japan, and the Meiji oligarchy felt that those goals could only be accomplished through a strong sense of national unity and cultural identity, with State Shintoism as an essential counterweight to the imported Buddhism of the past, the Christianity and other western philosophies of the present.

In 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued, and students were required to ritually recite its oath to "offer yourselves courageously to the State" as well as protect the Imperial family. The practice of emperor worship was further spread by distributing imperial portraits for esoteric veneration. All of these practices used to fortify national solidarity through patriotic centralized observance at shrines gave pre-war Japanese nationalism a tint of mysticism and cultural introversion.[2]

The hakko ichiu philosophy came to be regarded by militarists as a doctrine that the emperor was the center of the phenomenal world, lending religious impetus to ideas of Japanese territorial expansion.

Education

The principal educational emphasis from the Meiji period was on the great importance of traditional national political values, religion and morality. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 promoted a return to traditional Confucian values in the hierarchal nature of human relations, with the State superior to the Individual, and the Emperor superior to the State. The Japanese state modernized organizationally, but preserved its national idiosyncrasies. Japan was to be a powerful nation, equal at least to the Western powers, an attitude reinforced from 1905. During the Shōwa period the educational system was used for supporting the militarized state and preparing future soldiers.

The government published official text books for all levels of student, and reinforced that with cultural activities, seminars, etc. Emphasis on the texts such as the Kokutai-no-shugi in schools was intended to emphasize the "uniqueness of Japan" from ancient centuries. These cultural courses were supplemented with military and survival courses against foreign invasion.

Apart from indoctrination in nationalism and religion, children and school students received military drills (survival, first aid). These were taken further by the Imperial Youth Federation; college students were trained, and some recruited, for home defense and regular military units. Young women received first aid training. All of these actions were taken to ensure Japan's safety, and protect against larger and more dangerous countries.
Nationalist politics

Origin of nationalist structures and parties

In 1882, the Japanese Government organized the Teiseito (Imperial Gubernative Party), one of first nationalist parties in the country. Starting from the Russo-Japanese War, Japan was called “Dai Nippon Teikoku”, setting up a real empire, with the inclusions of Formosa (1895), the Liaodong Peninsula and Karafuto (1905), the South Pacific Mandate islands (1918–19) and Joseon (Korea) (1905–10).

The wars against China and Russia were total wars, and required a nationalistic focus of patriotic sentiment. From this period, the Yasukuni Shrine was converted into a center of the new patriotic sense.

Between 1926 and 1928, the central government organized the "Peace Preservation Department" (an antisubversive police section), and prosecuted all local communists who proposed a socialist form of government. The Japanese Army organized the Kempeitai (military police service) and the Japanese Navy an equivalent. Opposition to the nationalist ideology was controlled by the simultaneous development of political and press repression, with the Peace Preservation Law permitting police control of freedom of expression and freedom to assemble.

Realities of political power

Since the Meiji restoration, the central figure of the state was the emperor. According to the constitution, the emperor was Head of State (article 4) and Supreme Commander of the Army and the Navy (article 11). Emperor Shōwa was also, from 1937, the commander of the Imperial General Headquarters. Japanese citizens were rallied to the "Defensive State" or "Consensus State", in which all efforts of the nation supported collective objectives, by guidance from national myths, history and dogma, obtaining a "national consensus".

About who really held the political power in Japan, there are three versions. One says that real control was exerted by the Emperor over the military; another validates a "consensus leadership" between the Emperor the other members of the Imperial General Headquarters, the government and the zaibatsu. There is also the 'militarist' position, denying politics as a factor. It argues that real control did lie with the military, behind a front formed by the Emperor and Government (as certainly occurred in Manchukuo with the Kangde Emperor Puyi).

For many historians such as Akira Fujiwara, Akira Yamada, Peter Wetzler, Herbert Bix and John Dower, the work done by Douglas MacArthur and SCAP during the first months of the occupation of Japan to exonerate Hirohito and all the imperial family from criminal prosecutions in the Tokyo tribunal was the predominant factor in the successful campaign to diminish in retrospect the role played by the emperor during the war. They argue that post-war view focused on the imperial conferences and missed the numerous "behind the cysanthemum curtain" meetings where the real decisions were made between Emperor Shōwa, his chiefs of staff and the cabinet. For Fujiwara, "the thesis that the Emperor, as an organ of responsibility, could not reverse cabinet decision, is a myth fabricated after the war."[3]
Political ideas

The novel political elements were "exalted militarism" and "State Socialism". Compounded they made a distinctive Militarism-Socialism right-wing ideology.

During the 1920s Right wing-Nationalist beliefs became a major force. The state support for Shinto encouraged a semi-religious belief in the mythological history of Japan (and thus to mysticism and cultural introversion). Some nationalist secret societies took up ultranationalism, Japan-centred radical ideas, and a new conception of State Socialism. They included: Genyōsha (Black Ocean Society, 1881), Kokuryu-kai (Amur Society, or Black Dragon Society, 1901), movements dedicated to overseas Japanese expansion to the north; Nihon Kokusui Kai (Japanese Patriotic Society, 1919), founded by Tokoname Takejiro; Sekka Boshidan (Anti-Red League) founded at the same time as the Japanese Communist Party; and the Kokuhonsha (State Basis Society) founded in 1924 by Baron Hiranuma, for the preservation of the unique national character of Japan and its special mission in Asia.

The introduction of the distinctive theory of "State Socialism" is attributed to Kita Ikki (1885–1937), an Amur Society member and Asian mainland expert, in his 1919 book Nihon kaizo hoan taiko (General Plan for National Reorganization of Japan). He proposed a military coup d'état to promote the supposed true aims of the Meiji Restoration. This book was banned, but certain military circles read in it in the early 1930s.

Kita's plan was phrased in terms of freeing the Emperor from weak and treasonous counsellors. After suspending the Constitution, and dissolving the Diet, the Emperor and his military defenders should work for a "collectivist direct voluntarism" to unify people and leaders. Harmony with the working classes would be sought by the abolition of the aristocracy and austerity for the Imperial House. Overseas, Japan would free Asia of Western influence.

Political nationalist movements

The Japanese Navy was in general terms more traditionalist, in defending ancient values and the sacrality of the Emperor; the Japanese Army was more forward-looking, in the sense of valuing primarily strong leadership, as is evidenced by the use of the coup and direct action. The Navy typically preferred political methods. The Army, ultimately, was the vehicle for the anticapitalists, hypernationalists, anticommunists, antiparliamentarians, Extreme Right-Socialists and Nationalist-Militarist ideals.

The military were considered politically "clean" in terms of political corruption, and assumed responsibility for 'restoring' the security of the nation, too. The armed forces took up criticism of the traditional democratic parties and regular government for many reasons (low funds for the armed forces, compromised national security, weakness of the leaders). They were also, by their composition, closely aware of the effects of economic depression on the middle and lower classes, and the communist threat.

Both branches gained in power as they administered the exterior provinces and military preparations.

Nationalist right in the 1920s

Other nationalist-rightist groups in the 1920s were the Jinmu Kai (Emperor Jimmu Society), Tenketo Kai (Heaven Spade Party), Ketsuimeidan (Blood Fraternity) and Sakura Kai (Cherry Blossom Society). This last was founded by Dr. Shūmei Ōkawa, professor of the Colonization Academy, and radical defender of expansionism and military armed revolution at home. Amongst members were Army officers implicated in the Manchuria Affair, such as Kingoro Hashimoto, and Ishikawa Kanishi. Okawa served as a conduit by which Kita Ikki's ideas reached young nationalist officers on the right.

Violent coups took place, and the Kwantung Army made, in effect unilaterally, the decision to invade Manchuria. This was then treated as a fait accompli by Government and Emperor.
Doctrines

The Amau Doctrine (the "Asian Monroe Doctrine") stated that Japan assumed the total responsibility for peace in Asia. Minister Kōki Hirota proclaimed "a special zone, anti-communist, pro-Japanese and pro-Manchukuo" and that Northern China was a "fundamental part" of Japanese national existence, in announcing a "holy war" against the Soviet Union and China as the "national mission".

During 1940 Prince Konoe proclaimed the Shintaisei (New National Structure), making Japan into an "advanced state of National Defense", and the creation of the Tasei Yokusankai (Imperial Authority Assistance Association), for organizing a centralized "consensus state". Associated are the government creation of the Tonarigumi (residents' committees). Other ideological creations of the time were the book "Shinmin no Michi"(臣民の道), the "Imperial Way" or "War Party" (Kodoha) Army party, the "Yamato spirit" (Yamato-damashii), and the idea of hakko ichiu (whose directly translation is "4 walls and 4 corners under one roof", that means, "one house in which every people can live" or "everyone is family"), "Religion and Government Unity" (Saisei itchi), and Kokka Sodoin Ho (General Mobilization Right).

The official academic texts included Kokutai no Hongi and Shinmin no Michi. Both presented a view of Japan's history and the Japanese ideal to unite East and West.

Geostrategy

The economic doctrines of the "Yen block" were in 1941 transformed to the "Great Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" Plan, as a basis for the Japanese national finances, and conquest plans. There was a history of perhaps two decades behind these moves.

The Japanese theorists, such as Saneshige Komaki, concerned with Mainland Asia, knew the geostrategic theory of Halford Mackinder, expressed in the book Democratic Ideas and Reality. He discussed why the 'World Island' of Eurasia and Africa was dominant, and why the key to this was the 'Central Land' in Central Asia. This is protected from sea attack, by deserts and mountains, and is vulnerable only on its west side, and to advanced technology from Europe.

Mackinder declared that: "Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; Who rules the heartland commands the World Island; Who rules the World Island commands the World". These central Asiatic lands included: all of the Soviet Union, except the Pacific coast, west of the Volga river; all Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet and Iran. This zone is vast and possesses natural resources and raw materials, does not possess major farming possibilities, and has very little population. Mackinder thought in terms of land and sea power: the latter can outflank the former, and carry out distant logistical operations, but needs adequate bases.

These geopolitical ideas coincided with the theories of Lieutenant Colonel Kanji Ishiwara, sent in 1928 to Manchuria to spy. The Army adopted them, in some form. The Navy, on the other hand, was interested in the southerly direction of expansion. An extended debate ensued, resolved in the end by the stern experience of Japan's armed conflicts with the Soviet Union in 1938-39. This tipped the balance towards the 'South' plan, and the Pearl Harbor attack that precipitated the Pacific War in 1941.
The Showa Studies Society was another "think tank" for future leaders of a radical totalitarian Japan, led by Count Yoriyasu Arima. He was a supporter of radical political experiments. He read Karl Marx and Max Stirner, and other radical philosophers. With Fumimaro Konoe and Fusanosuke Kuhara, they created a revolutionary radical-right policy.

These revolutionary groups later had the help of several important personages, making reality to some certain ideas of the Socialist-Militarist policy with practical work in Manchukuo. They included General Hideki Tōjō, chief of Kempeitai and leader of Kwantung Army; Yosuke Matsuoka, who served as president of the (South Manchuria Railway Company) and Foreign Affairs minister; and Naoki Hoshino, an army ideologist who organized the government and political structure of Manchukuo. Tojo later became War Minister and Prime Minister in the Konoe cabinet, Matsuoka Foreign Minister, and Hoshino chief of Project departments charged with establishing a new economic structure for Japan. Some industrialists representative of this ideological strand were Ichizō Kobayashi, President of Tokio Gasu Denki, setting the structure for the Industry and Commerce ministry, and Shōzō Murata, representing the Sumitomo Group becoming Communication Minister.

Other groups created were the Government Imperial Aid Association. Involved in both was Colonel Kingoro Hashimoto, who proposed a Nationalist single party dictatorship, based on state socialism. The militarists had strong industrial support, but also socialist-nationalist sentiments on the part of radical officers, aware of poor farmers and workers who wanted social justice.

The "New Asia Day" celebration was to remember the sacred mission of extending influence to nearby Asian nations.

The Japanese government, possibly following the German example of a "Worker's Front" State Syndicate, ultimately organized the Nation Service Society to group all the trades unions in the country. All syndicates of the "Japanese Workers Federation" were integrated into this controlling body.

**Control of communications media**

The Press and other communication media were managed under the Information Department of the Home Ministry. Radio Tokyo was charged with disseminating all official information around the world. The radio transmitted in English, Dutch, three Chinese dialects, Malay, Thai, as well Japanese to Southeast Asia; and the Islamic world had programs broadcast in Hindi, Burmese, Arabic, English and French. In Hawaii, there were radio programs in English and Japanese. Other daily transmissions were to Europe, South and Central America, eastern areas of South America and the USA, with Australia and New Zealand receiving broadcasts too.

The official press agency Domei Tsushin was connected with the Axis powers' press agencies such as DNB, Transoceanic, the Italian agency Stefani and others. Local and Manchukoan newspapers such as Manchurian Daily News (Japanese-owned) were under the control of these institutions and only published officially approved notices and information.
Nationalist symbology

Shiragiku (the chrysanthemum)

The *shiragiku* (literally white chrysanthemum) or more common chrysanthemum flower was much used as an imperial symbol. It alludes to the Chrysanthemum Throne, the traditional throne of Japanese emperors.

Banzai

The traditional cheer given to the Emperor and other dignitaries, or on special commemorations, was *Tenno Heika Banzai* (天皇陛下萬歳 [or 万歳] - long live the Emperor), or the shortened form, *Banzai*. This latter term, which literally means "ten thousand years", is an expression of Chinese origin (萬歳) adopted by the Japanese in the Meiji period. In its original sense, it is meant to represent an indeterminably lengthy period of time and is used to wish long life to a person, state, or project. As co-opted by the Japanese, it originally was simply used in this sense to wish long life to the Emperor (and by extension the Japanese state), but as the war progressed, it became the typical Japanese war cry or victory shout and was used to encourage Imperial troops in combat.

Other nationalist symbols

- Hinomaru flag
- Kyokujitsu-ki war flag
- Nisshoki signed war banner
- Five point Star badge (Imperial Japanese Army symbol)
- Cherry blossom badge (with or without anchor) (Imperial Japanese Navy symbol)
- Hachimaki headband
- Senninbari ("Thousand Stitch Belt")
- *Kimi ga Yo*
Post-war developments

In February 1946, General Douglas MacArthur was set the task of drafting a model constitution to serve as a guide for the Japanese people. The U.S. intention was to ensure that the sources of Japanese militarism were rooted out through fundamental reforms of the Japanese government, society, and economic structure. Perhaps the most lasting effect that came out of this constitution is Article 9 that reads:

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right to belligerency of the state will not be recognized."

With the renunciation of war and military power, Japan looked to the United States for security. As the Cold War began, the United States fostered a closer relationship with Japan due to the latter's strategic location in respect to the USSR. Japan became, as stated by the Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" for the United States. Ensuing from this close relationship with the United States, Japan hoped that in time their country would become the "third leg in a triangle involving two superpowers." The seventies witnessed Japan's adoption of three fundamental tenets that would seek to define and direct Japanese internationalism, all concerning the need for Japanese initiatives in fostering a liberal internationalism. Japan's economic miracle of the late 20th century distracted its citizens' attention away from nationalism.

Today, Japanese nationalism is perceived by some to be on the rise. Some lawmakers in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) seek to revise the constitution with the focus on Article 9. Another example are two history textbooks, one in 2001 another in 2005 that downplay Japan's role in World War II (see Japanese history textbook controversies). The 1998 adoption of the national anthem and flag as state symbols (some believe them to be symbolic of Japanese nationalism during World War II) and previous Prime Minister Koizumi's six visits to the Yasukuni Shrine have also been viewed by some as an increase of nationalism.

Nationalist right-wing groups

In 1996, the National Police Agency estimated that there are over 1,000 right-wing groups in Japan, with about 100,000 members in total. These groups are known in Japanese as Uyoku dantai. While there are political differences among the groups, they generally carry a philosophy of anti-leftism, hostility towards People's Republic of China and North Korea and justification of Japan's role in World War II. Uyoku dantai groups are well known for their highly visible propaganda vehicles fitted with loudspeakers and prominently marked with the name of the group and propaganda slogans.

Activists affiliated with such groups have used Molotov cocktails and time bombs to intimidate moderate politicians and public figures, including former Deputy Foreign Minister Hitoshi Tanaka and Fuji Xerox Chairman Yotaro Kobayashi. An ex-member of a right-wing group set fire to LDP politician Koichi Kato's house. Koichi Kato and Yotaro Kobayashi had spoken out against Koizumi's visits to Yasukuni Shrine. [4]
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List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups

The following is a list of U.S.-based organizations classified by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) as hate groups, excluding those that appear to exist only on the Internet. The SPLC is named as a resource by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Bureau's fight against hate crimes.[1]

The SPLC defines hate groups as those which "... have beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics". The SPLC states that hate group activities may include speeches, marches, rallies, meetings, publishing, leafleting, and criminal acts such as violence, although not all groups listed by the SPLC engage in criminal activity.[2]

The SPLC reported that 926 hate groups were active in the United States in 2008, up from 888 in 2007. These included:

- 186 separate Ku Klux Klan (KKK) groups with 52 websites
- 196 neo-Nazi groups with 89 websites
- 111 white nationalist groups with 190 websites
- 98 white power skinhead groups with 25 websites
- 39 Christian Identity groups with 37 websites
- 93 neo-Confederate groups with 25 websites
- 113 black separatist groups with 40 websites
- 159 patriot movement groups
- 90 general hate groups subdivided into anti-gay, anti-immigrant, Holocaust denial, racist music, radical traditionalist Catholic groups, and other groups espousing a variety of hateful doctrines,[3][4] which maintained another 172 hate websites.[5] Only organizations active in 2008 were counted, excluding those that appear to exist only on the Internet. In addition, SPLC reported there were 159 patriot movement groups active in the United States in 2008, up from 131 in 2007, with at least one such group in every state. They maintain 141 websites.[6]

Since 1981 the SPLC's Intelligence Project has published a quarterly Intelligence Report that monitors what the SPLC considers radical right hate groups and extremists in the United States.[7][8] The Intelligence Report provides information regarding organizational efforts and tactics of these groups, and is cited by scholars as reliable and as the most comprehensive source on U.S. right-wing extremism and hate groups.[9][10][11][12] In addition to the Intelligence Report, the SPLC publishes the HateWatch Weekly newsletter that follows racism and extremism, and the Hatewatch blog whose subtitle is "Keeping an Eye on the Radical Right".[13] Two articles published in Intelligence Report have won Green Eyeshade Excellence in Journalism awards from the Society of Professional Journalists: Communing with the Council written by Heidi Beirich and Bob Moser took third place for Investigative Journalism in the Magazine Division in 2004,[14][15] and Southern Gothic by David Holthouse and Casey Sanchez, which took second place for Feature Reporting in the Magazine Division in 2007.[16][17] On March 20, 2009 the Intelligence Project received a Distinguished Public Service Award from the American Immigration Law Foundation for its "outstanding work" covering the anti-immigration movement.[18]
By ideology

Anti-LGBT

Anti-LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) or anti-gay can refer to activities which fall into any (or a combination) of categories: attitudes against or discrimination against LGBT people, violence against LGBT people, LGBT rights opposition and religious opposition to homosexuality.

- Abiding Truth Ministries, (see Scott Lively)
- American Family Association
- American Vision
- Americans for Truth About Homosexuality
- Bethesda Christian Institute
- Chalcedon Foundation
- Faithful Word Baptist Church
- Family Research Council
- Family Research Institute
- Heterosexuals Organized for a Moral Environment (H.O.M.E.)
- Illinois Family Institute
- MassResistance
- Mission: America
- Parents Action League
- Public Advocate of the United States (see Eugene Delgaudio)
- Save California
- Sons of Thundr (Faith Baptist Church)
- Tom Brown Ministries
- Traditional Values Coalition
- True Light Pentecost Church
- United Families International
- Westboro Baptist Church
- Windsor Hills Baptist Church
- You Can Run But You Cannot Hide International

Anti-immigration

Anti-Immigration typically means opposition to immigration or efforts to lower the political or legal status of specific ethnic or cultural groups because the groups are considered hostile or alien to the natural culture, and it is assumed that they cannot be assimilated. Nativism favors the interests of certain established inhabitants of an area or nation as compared to claims of newcomers or immigrants. It may also include the re-establishment or perpetuation of such individuals or their culture.

- American Border Patrol, (see Glenn Spencer)
- American Immigration Control Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control
- American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together (see Glenn Spencer)
- Border Guardians
- California Coalition for Immigration Reform
- Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement
- Federation for American Immigration Reform
- Save Our State
- Social Contract Press
List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups

- United for a Sovereign America (USA)
- US Border Guard & Border Rangers

**Anti-Muslim**

Anti-Muslim or Islamophobia is prejudice against, hatred or fear of Islam or Muslims.\(^{[22]}\)[\(^{[23]}\)] The term seems to date back to the late 1980s,\(^{[24]}\) but came into common usage after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States to refer to types of political dialogue that appeared prejudicially opposed to Muslims.\(^{[25]}\)

- 9/11 Christian Center at Ground Zero
- Aggressive Christianity
- Atlas Shrugs
- Bare Naked Islam
- Barnhardt Capital Management, Inc.
- Casa D'Ice Signs
- Christian Action Network
- Christian Guardians
- Christian Phalange
- Citizen Warrior
- Concerned American Citizens
- Concerned Citizens for the First Amendment
- Escaping Islam
- Faith Freedom
- Freedom Defense Initiative (FDI)
- Gold is Money
- Insight USA
- Islam: the Religion of Peace (and a big stack of dead bodies)
- Jihad Watch
- Political islam
- Radio Jihad
- Sharia Awareness Action Network
- Silver Bullet Gun Oil
- Stop Islamization of America (SIOA)
- Sultan Knish (a blog by Daniel Greenfield)
- Tennessee Freedom Coalition
- The American Defense League
- The United West
- United States Justice Foundation

**Black separatist**

The term black supremacy is a blanket term for various racist ideologies which hold that Africans are superior to other races. A common manifestation is bigotry towards persons not of African ancestry. Many of these theories espouse an ideology of a past Black Supremacy in the world that has been lost. Some focus on claiming this supremacy by claiming they are the chosen people in one religion or another. Due to some commonly held separatist ideologies, some black supremacist organizations have found limited common cause with white supremacist or extremist organizations.

- Israelite Church of God in Jesus Christ
- Nation of Islam
List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups

- National Black Foot Soldier Network
- New Black Panther Party
- United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors/All Eyes on Egypt Bookstore

**Christian Identity**

Christian Identity (CI) is a label applied to a wide variety of loosely affiliated believers and churches with a racialized theology. Many promote a Eurocentric interpretation of Christianity. CI emerged as an offshoot sect from British Israelism in the 1920s and 1930s.\[^{26}\][\[^{27}\]\] According to Chester L. Quarles, professor of criminal justice at the University of Mississippi, some of the CI movement's followers hold that non-Caucasian peoples have no souls, and can therefore never earn God's favor or be saved.\[^{28}\]\[28]\ Believers in the theology affirm that Jesus Christ paid only for the sins of the House of Israel and the House of Judah and that salvation must be received through both redemption and race. No single document expresses the CI belief system; however, adherents draw upon arguments from linguistic, historical, archaeological and Biblical sources to support their beliefs. Estimates are that these groups have 2,000 to 50,000 members in the United States of America,\[^{29}\]\[29]\ and an unknown number in Canada and the rest of the British Commonwealth. Christian Identity believers reject the beliefs of most contemporary Christian denominations. In turn, most modern Christian denominations and organizations denounce Christian Identity as heresy and condemn the use of the Christian Bible as a basis for promoting anti-Semitism.

- 11th Hour Remnant Messenger
- Abundant Life Fellowship
- America's Promise Ministries
- By Yahweh's Design
- Christian Identity Church - Aryan Nations
- Christ's Gospel Fellowship
- Church of Jesus Christ (Arkansas)
- Church of the Sons of YHWH
- Church of True Israel
- Covenant People's Ministry
- Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel
- Fellowship of God's Covenant People
- First Century Christian Ministries
- Kingdom Identity Ministries
- Kinsman Redeemer Ministries
- Mission to Israel
- Non-Universal Teaching Ministries
- Reformed Church of Israel
- Scriptures for America Ministries
- Shepherd's Call Ministries, The
- The Church of Jesus Christ Christian / Aryan Nations
- The Covenant, The Sword, and the Arm of the Lord
- United Church of YHWH
- Virginia Publishing Company
- Watchmen Bible Study Group
- Weisman Publications
- Yahweh's Truth
Holocaust denial

Holocaust denial is the act of denying the genocide of Jews in World War II, usually referred to as the Holocaust.[30]

The key claims of Holocaust denial are: the German Nazi government had no official policy or intention of exterminating Jews, Nazis did not use extermination camps and gas chambers to mass murder Jews, and the actual number of Jews killed was an order of magnitude lower than the historically accepted figure of 5 to 6 million.[31][32][33] Holocaust deniers generally do not accept the term "denial" as an appropriate description of their activities, and use the term "revisionism" instead.[34] Scholars use the term "denial" to differentiate Holocaust deniers from historical revisionists, who use established historical methodologies.[35] The methodologies of Holocaust deniers are criticized as based on a predetermined conclusion that ignores extensive historical evidence to the contrary.[36] Most Holocaust denial claims imply, or openly state, that the Holocaust is a hoax arising out of a deliberate Jewish conspiracy to advance the interest of Jews at the expense of other peoples.[37] For this reason, Holocaust denial is generally considered to be an antisemitic[38] conspiracy theory.[39]

- Campaign for Radical Truth in History
- Castle Hill Publishers
- Inconvenient History
- Institute for Historical Review/IHR Store
- International Conspiratological Association, The
- Noontide Press

Ku Klux Klan

Ku Klux Klan, often abbreviated "KKK" and informally known as "The Klan", is the name of three distinct past and present far-right[40][41][42][43] organizations in the United States, which have advocated extremist reactionary currents such as white supremacy, white nationalism, and anti-immigration, historically expressed through terrorism.[44] Since the mid-20th century, the KKK has also been anti-communist.[44] The current manifestation is splintered into several chapters and is classified as a hate group.[45]

- Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Association of Georgia Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Association of Independent Klansmen Knights Of The Ku Klux Klan
- Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Dixie Rangers Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, The
- Fraternal White Knights of the KKK
- Imperial Klans of America
- International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (W. Va.)
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Ku Klux Klan/KKK
- Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Mountain State Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Original Knights of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Supreme White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Traditional Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- True Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
• United Knights of Tennessee KKK
• United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
• United Realms of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
• United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
• Virgil's White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

**Neo-Confederate**

Neo-Confederate is a term used by academics to describe the views of various groups and individuals who have a positive belief system concerning the historical experience of the Confederate States of America, the Southern secession, and the Southern United States including proslavery ideology. Neo-Confederacy usually expresses veneration for Confederate leaders, soldiers, writers, and other supporters for the Confederacy and its symbols. It advocates alternative interpretations of the Civil War, the history of the South, and American history in general, particularly the American founding. It sees the South as victims of war crimes and Constitutional violations by Lincoln, the North, and the Union armies. Proslavery ideology arose in the antebellum United States as a reaction to the growing antislavery movement in the United States in the late 18th century and early 19th century. The SPLC is the principal group reporting on the "neo-Confederate movement". A special report by the SPLC’s Mark Potok in *Intelligence Report* described a number of groups as "neo-Confederate" in 2000. The SPLC has carried subsequent articles on the neo-confederate movement. "Lincoln Reconstructed," published in 2003 in the *Intelligence Report*, focuses on the resurgent demonization of Abraham Lincoln in the South. "Whitewashing the Confederacy" was a review that alleged that the movie *Gods and Generals* presented a false, pro-Confederate view of history.

• Dixie Republic
• Kingdom Treasure Ministries
• League of the South
  • South Carolina League of the South
  • League of the South Institute
  • League of the South/Southern Patriot Shop
  • League of the South/Southern Patriot Super Store
• Mary Noel Kershaw Foundation

**Neo-Nazi**

Neo-Nazism consists of post-World War II social or political movements seeking to revive Nazism or some variant thereof. The term neo-Nazism can also refer to the ideology of these movements. Although it does not have a single coherent philosophy, Neo-Nazism borrows elements from Nazi doctrine, including militant nationalism, fascism, racism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism. Holocaust denial is a common feature, as is incorporation of Nazi symbols, admiration of Adolf Hitler, and hateful rhetoric. It is related to the white nationalist and white power skinhead movements in many countries. Due to the odious history of Nazism and the violence associated with neo-Nazis, these movements tend to operate in isolated or underground factions that attract disaffected individuals. Neo-Nazi activity appears to be a global phenomenon, with organized representation in many countries, as well as international networks. Some European and Latin American countries have laws prohibiting the expression of pro-Nazi, racist, anti-Semitic or homophobic views. In an effort to curtail neo-Nazism, Germany's legal code bans many Nazi-related symbols, as do the laws of other European countries.

• American National Socialist Party
• American Nazi Party
• Aryan Nation (offshoot)
• Aryan Nation
• Aryan Nations 88
List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups

- Battalion 14
- Christian Defense League
- The Creativity Alliance
- Creativity Movement
- Gallows Tree Wotansvolk Alliance
- Knights of the Nordic Order
- Maryland National Socialist Party
- National Alliance
- National Socialist American Labor Party
- National Socialist Aryan Order
- National Socialist German Workers Party (Nebraska)
- National Socialist Movement
- National Vanguard Books
- Nationalist Coalition
- Nordwave
- SS Regalia
- White Brothers of America
- White Knights of America
- White Revolution

**Racist music**

Racist music is music associated with and promoting neo-Nazism and white supremacy ideologies. Although musicologists point out that many, if not most, early cultures had songs to promote themselves and denigrate any perceived enemies, the origin of racist music is tied to the early 1970s. By 2001, there were many music genres with white power rock, the most commonly represented band type, followed by National Socialist black metal. Racist country music is mainly an American phenomenon while Germany, Great Britain, and Sweden have higher concentration of white power bands. Other music genres include fascist experimental music and racist folk music. Contemporary white-supremacist groups include "subcultural factions that are largely organized around the promotion and distribution of racist music". According to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission "racist music is principally derived from the far-right skinhead movement and, through the Internet, this music has become perhaps the most important tool of the international neo-Nazi movement to gain revenue and new recruits." The news documentary *VH1 News Special: Inside Hate Rock* (2002) noted that racist music (also called "hate music" and "skinhead rock") is "a breeding ground for home-grown terrorists". In 2004 a neo-Nazi record company launched "Project Schoolyard" to distribute free CDs of the music into the hands of up to 100,000 teenagers throughout the U.S., their website stated, "We just don't entertain racist kids ... We create them.

- Diehard Records
- Desastrous Records
- DJ GOR®
- Fetch the Rope
- Final Stand Records
- Get Some 88
- Heritage Connection
- ISD Records
- Life Rune Industries
- Micetrap Distribution
List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups

- MSR Productions
- Poker Face (music group)
- Resistance Records
- Tightrope (music group)
- Unholy Records

White power skinheads

White power skinheads are a white supremacist and anti-Semitic offshoot of the skinhead subculture. Many of them are affiliated with white nationalist organizations. The original skinhead subculture started in the late 1960s, and had heavy British mod and Jamaican rude boy influences— including an appreciation for ska, early reggae and soul music. The identity of skinheads in the 1960s was neither based on white power nor neo-Nazism, but some skinheads (including black skinheads) had engaged in "gay-bashing", "hippy-bashing" and/or "Paki bashing" (violence against random Pakistanis and other Asian immigrants). The original scene had mostly died out by 1972, and a late-1970s revival came partly as a backlash against the commercialization of punk rock. This revival coincided with the development of the 2 Tone and Oi! music genres. The skinhead revival in Britain included a sizeable white nationalist faction. Because of this, the mainstream media began to label the whole skinhead identity as neo-Nazi. The racist subculture eventually spread to North America, Europe and other areas of the world. In 1988, there were approximately 2,000 neo-Nazi skinheads in the US. According to a 2007 report by the Anti-Defamation League, groups such as white power skinheads, neo-Nazis, and the Ku Klux Klan, have been growing more active in the United States in recent years, with a particular focus on opposing non-white immigration, specifically from Mexico.

- AC Skins
- American Front
- Aryan Terror Brigade
- Bergen County Hooligans
- Blood and Honor, America Division
- California Skinheads
- Connecticut White Wolves
- Coors Family Skinheads
- Crew 38
- Firm 22
- Folkish Women Front
- Golden State Skinheads
- Confederate Hammerskins, Midland Hammerskins, Northern Hammerskins, Western Hammerskins
- Independent Skins Southwest
- Keystone United
- Maryland State Skinheads
- Old Glory Skinheads
- Retaliator Skinhead Nation
- Skinhead Stormtroopers
- Supreme White Alliance
- United Society of Aryan Skinheads
- Vinlanders
- Volksfront
**Radical traditional Catholicism**

Integrism is a term to describe those who adhere to radical traditional Catholicism. It is used derisively in modern times by some who believe that certain Catholics have falsely elevated theological differences into differences in dogma, by degrees. For example, the term was used by liberal Catholics at the time of St. Pius X (Papacy 1903 to 1914) to deride those who defended his encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*. These include those who separate the Holy See from the governance of Catholic faith, especially where it concerns the Latin Mass and reject what since 1970 is the normative form of the Mass in favor of the Mass of the 1962 Missal (which is recognized as an extraordinary form of the Roman Rite), but the term also is used toward some who believe and practice other forms of traditional Catholicism. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center radical traditionalist Catholics who "may make up the largest single group of serious anti-Semites in America, subscribe to an ideology that is rejected by the Vatican and some 70 million mainstream American Catholics and many of their leaders have been condemned and even excommunicated by the official church." Adherents of radical traditional Catholicism "routinely pillory Jews as 'the perpetual enemy of Christ'”, reject the ecumenical efforts of the Vatican, and sometimes assert all recent Popes are illegitimate. Adherents are also "incensed by the liberalizing reforms" of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) which condemned hatred for Jewish people and "rejected the accusation that Jews are collectively responsible for deicide in the form of the crucifixion of Christ". Radial traditional Catholics also embrace "extremely conservative social ideals with respect to women". In certain cultures the term 'integrism' has become synonymous with fundamentalism or religious fanaticism and is used in a broader sense.

- Alliance for Catholic Tradition
- Catholic Apologetics International Publishing, Inc.
- Catholic Counterpoint
- Catholic Family News/Catholic Family Ministries, Inc.
- Culture Wars (group)/Fidelity Press
- The Fatima Crusader/International Fatima Rosary Crusade
- IHM Media
- IHS Press
- In the Spirit of Chartres Committee
- Legion of St. Louis
- Most Holy Family Monastery
- OMNI Christian Book Club
- The Remnant/The Remnant Press
- Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
- St. Joseph Forum
- St. Michael’s Parish/Mount St. Michael
- Tradition in Action

**White nationalist**

White nationalism is a political ideology which advocates a racial definition of national identity for white people, as opposed to multiculturalism, and a separate all-white nation state. White separatism and white supremacism are subgroups within white nationalism. The former seek a separate white nation state, while the latter add ideas from social Darwinism and National Socialism to their ideology. The vast majority of white nationalists are separatists, and only a smaller number are supremacists. Both schools of thought generally avoid the term *supremacy*, saying it has negative connotations. The contemporary white nationalist movement in the United States could be regarded as a reaction to what is perceived as a decline in white demographics, politics and culture. According to Samuel P. Huntington, the contemporary white nationalist movement is increasingly cultured, intellectual and academically trained. Some have suggested that rather than espousing violence, White Nationalists use statistics
and social science data to argue for a self-conscious white identity. By challenging established policy on immigration, civil rights and racial integration, they seek to build bridges with moderately conservative white citizens.

- American Nationalist Union
- *American Renaissance/New Century Foundation*
- American Third Position
- Aryan Wear
- Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
- Bay Area National Anarchists
- British National Party Overseas Unit
- Center for Perpetual Diversity
- Charles Darwin Research Institute
- Council for Social and Economic Studies
- Council of Conservative Citizens/Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc
- Do Right Foundation
- East Coast White Unity
- Euro Pride Apparel
- European American Issues Forum
- European Americans United
- European-American Unity and Rights Organization
- Folk and Faith
- Free American
- Free Edgar Steele
- Freedom 14
- Iron Rain Nationalists
- Kinist Institute, The
- League of American Patriots, The
- National Policy Institute
- Nationalist Movement
- New Century Productions - A Conversation About Race
- North East White Pride
- Northern Voice Bookstore
- Occidental Quarterly/Charles Martel Society
- Pacifica Forum
- Patriotic Flags
- Pioneer Fund
- Proud Aryan Brothers
- Racial Nationalist Party of America
- Representative Government Education Foundation
- Scott-Townsend Publishers
- Stormfront
- Temple 88
- The Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation
- The Political Cesspool
- Tip of the Spear Consulting Services
- VDARE Foundation
- Voice of Reason Broadcast Network
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Other

- a2z Publications
- American Free Press
- Artisan Publishers
- As-Sabiqun
- Bill Keller Ministries
- Chick Publications
- Christian Anti-Defamation Commission
- Christian Books and Things
- The Church at Kaweah
- Cross Bearer Ministry
- Crusaders for Yahweh
- Cultural Studies Press
- The Dakota Voice
- DefendStudents.org
- Dove World Outreach Center
- Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints
- Geauga Constitutional Patriot
- Georgia Militia
- HIT Movement (Native American)
- Holy Nation of Odin
- Illinois United
- Invictus Books
- Jamaat al-Muslimeen
- Jewish Defense League
- Jewish Task Force
- M.A.C.S. Klan Merchandise
- Maşjid Al-Islam
- National Prayer Network
- Official Street Preachers
- Ozark Craft LC
- Power of Prophecy
- Redneck Shop
- Reformation-Bible Puritan-Baptist Church
- Repent or Burn in Hell Ministry
- Society for the Practical Establishment and Perpetuation of the Ten Commandments
- Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club
- Sovereign citizens
- Tea Party Nation
- Tony Alamo Christian Ministries
• Truth Triumphant
• Vinland Folk Resistance
• Voz de Aztlan
• White Pride Home School Resource Center

References


List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups

- Rima Berns McGowan writes in *Muslims in the Diaspora* (University of Toronto Press, 1991, p. 268) that the term "Islamophobia" was first used in an unnamed American periodical in 1991.


[31] "How many Jews were murdered in the Holocaust? How do we know? Do we have their names?" (http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/resource_center/faq.asp), The Holocaust Resource Center Faqs, Yad Vashem website. Accessed February 17, 2011. See also appropriate section of the Holocaust article for the death toll.

[32] Key elements of Holocaust denial:

- "Before discussing how Holocaust denial constitutes a conspiracy theory, and how the theory is distinctly American, it is important to understand what is meant by the term "Holocaust denial." Holocaust deniers, or "revisionists," as they call themselves, question all three major points of definition of the Nazi Holocaust. First, they contend that, while mass murders of Jews did occur (although they dispute both the intentionality of such murders as well as the supposed undeservedness of these killings), there was no official Nazi policy to murder Jews. Second, and perhaps most prominently, they contend that there were no homicidal gas chambers, particularly at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where mainstream historians believe over 1 million Jews were murdered, primarily in gas chambers. And third, Holocaust deniers contend that the death toll of European Jews during World War II was well below 6 million. Deniers float numbers anywhere between 300,000 and 1.5 million, as a general rule." Mathis, Andrew E. *Holocaust Denial, a Definition* (http://www.holocaust-history.org/denial/abc-elix/), The Holocaust History Project, July 2, 2004. Retrieved December 18, 2006.

- "In part III we directly address the three major foundations upon which Holocaust denial rests, including... the claim that gas chambers and crematoria were used not for mass extermination but rather for doling out clothing and disposing of people who died of disease and overwork;... the claim that the six million figure is an exaggeration by an order of magnitude—that about six hundred thousand, not six million, died at the hands of the Nazis;... the claim that there was no intention on the part of the Nazis to exterminate European Jewry and that the Holocaust was nothing more than the unfortunate by-product of the vicesitudes of war." Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman. *Denying History: : who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and why Do They Say It?*, University of California Press, 2000, ISBN 0-520-23469-3, p. 3.

- "Holocaust Denial: Claims that the mass extermination of the Jews by the Nazis never happened; that the number of Jewish losses has been greatly exaggerated; that the Holocaust was not systematic nor a result of an official policy; or simply that the Holocaust never took place." What is Holocaust Denial (http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/faq/), Yad Vashem website, 2004. Retrieved December 18, 2006.

- "Among the outrights routinely promoted are the claims that no gas chambers existed at Auschwitz, that only 600,000 Jews were killed rather than six million, and that Hitler had no murderous intentions toward Jews or other groups persecuted by his government." Holocaust Denial (http://www.adl.org/hate-patrol/holocaust.asp), Anti-Defamation League, 2001. Retrieved June 28, 2007.

[33] "The kinds of assertions made in Holocaust-denial material include the following:

- Several hundred thousand rather than approximately six million Jews died during the war.
- Scientific evidence proves that gas chambers could not have been used to kill large numbers of people.
- The Nazi command had a policy of deporting Jews, not exterminating them.
- Some deliberate killings of Jews did occur, but were carried out by the peoples of Eastern Europe rather than the Nazis.
- Jews died in camps of various kinds, but did so as the result of hunger and disease. The Holocaust is a myth created by the Allies for propaganda purposes, and subsequently nurtured by the Jews for their own ends.
- Errors and inconsistencies in survivors’ testimonies point to their essential unreliability.
- Alleged documentary evidence of the Holocaust, from photographs of concentration camp victims to Anne Frank’s diary, is fabricated.

[34] Refer to themselves as revisionists:

- "Dressing themselves in pseudo-academic garb, they have adopted the term "revisionism" in order to mask and legitimate their enterprise.” Introduction: Denial as Anti-Semitism (http://www.adl.org/holocaust/theory.asp), *Holocaust Denial: An Online Guide to Exposing

- "Holocaust deniers often refer to themselves as 'revisionists', in an attempt to claim legitimacy for their activities. There are, of course, a great many scholars engaged in historical debates about the Holocaust whose work should not be confused with the output of the Holocaust deniers. Debate continues about such subjects as, for example, the extent and nature of ordinary Germans’ involvement in and knowledge of the policy of genocide, and the timing of orders given for the extermination of the Jews. However, the valid endeavour of historical revisionism, which involves the re-interpretation of historical knowledge in the light of newly emerging evidence, is a very different task from that of claiming that the essential facts of the Holocaust, and the evidence for those facts, are fabrications." The nature of Holocaust denial: What is Holocaust denial? (http://www.jpr.org.uk/Reports/CS_Reports/no_3_2000/index.html), JPR report No. 3, 2000. Retrieved May 16, 2007.

[35] Denial vs. "revisionism":

- "This is the phenomenon of what has come to be known as 'revisionism', 'negationism', or 'Holocaust denial', whose main characteristic is either an outright rejection of the very veracity of the Nazi genocide of the Jews, or at least a concerted attempt to minimize both its scale and importance... It is just as crucial, however, to distinguish between the wholly objectionable politics of denial and the fully legitimate scholarly revision of previously accepted conventional interpretations of any historical event, including the Holocaust." Bartov, Omer. The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation and Aftermath, Routledge, pp.11–12. Bartov is John P. Birkelund Distinguished Professor of European History at the Watson Institute, and is regarded as one of the world’s leading authorities on genocide (Omer Bartov (http://www.watsoninststitute.org/contacts_detail.cfm?id=97), The Watson Institute for International Studies).

- "The two leading critical exposés of Holocaust denial in the United States were written by historians Deborah Lipstadt (1993) and Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman (2000). These scholars make a distinction between historical revisionism and denial. Revisionism, in their view, entails a refinement of existing knowledge about an historical event, not a denial of the event itself, that comes through the examination of new empirical evidence or a reexamination or reinterpretation of existing evidence. Legitimate historical revisionism acknowledges a "certain body of irrefutable evidence" or a "convergence of evidence" that suggest that an event, like the black plague, American slavery, or the Holocaust—did in fact occur (Lipstadt 1993:21; Shermer & Grobman 2000:34). Denial, on the other hand, rejects the entire foundation of historical evidence..." Ronald J. Berger. Fathoming the Holocaust: A Social Problems Approach, Aldine Transaction, 2002, ISBN 0-202-30670-4, p. 154.


- "This essay describes, from a methodological perspective, some of the inherent flaws in the "revisionist" approach to the history of the Holocaust. It is not intended as a polemic, nor does it attempt to ascribe motives. Rather, it seeks to explain the fundamental error in the "revisionist" approach, as well as why that approach of necessity leaves no other choice. It concludes that "revisionism" is a misnomer because the facts do not accord with the position it puts forward and, more importantly, its methodology reverses the appropriate approach to historical investigation... "Revisionism" is obliged to deviate from the standard methodology of historical pursuit, because it seeks to mold facts to fit a preconceived result; it denies events that have been objectively and empirically proved to have occurred; and because it works backward from the conclusion to the facts, thus necessitating the distortion and manipulation of those facts where they differ from the preordained conclusion (which they almost always do). In short, "revisionism" denies something that demonstrably happened, through methodological dishonesty." McFee, Gordon. "Why 'Revisionism' Isn't" (http://www.holocaust-history.org/revisionism-isnt/), The Holocaust History Project, May 15, 1999. Retrieved December 22, 2006.

- "Crucial to understanding and combating Holocaust denial is a clear distinction between denial and revisionism. One of the more insidious and dangerous aspects of contemporary Holocaust denial, a la Arthur Butz, Bradley Smith and Greg Raves, is the fact that they attempt to present their work as reputable scholarship under the guise of 'historical revisionism'. The term 'revisionist' permeates their publications as descriptive of their motives, orientation and methodology. In fact, Holocaust denial is in no sense 'revisionism', it is denial... Contemporary Holocaust deniers are not revisionists — not even neo-revisionists. They are Deniers. Their motivations stem from their neo-nazi political goals and their rampant antisemitism." Austin, Ben S. "Deniers in Revisionists Clothing" (http://www.mtsu.edu/~baustin/revision.htm), The Holocaust/Shoah Page, Middle Tennessee State University. Retrieved March 29, 2007.

- "Holocaust denial can be a particularly insidious form of antisemitism precisely because it often tries to disguise itself as something quite different: as genuine scholarly debate (in the pages, for example, of the innocuous-sounding Journal for Historical Review). Holocaust deniers often refer to themselves as ‘revisionists’, in an attempt to claim legitimacy for their activities. There are, of course, a great many scholars engaged in historical debates about the Holocaust whose work should not be confused with the output of the Holocaust deniers. Debate continues about such subjects as, for example, the extent and nature of ordinary Germans’ involvement in and knowledge of the policy of genocide, and the timing of orders given for the extermination of the Jews. However, the valid endeavour of historical revisionism, which involves the re-interpretation of historical knowledge in the light of newly emerging evidence, is a very different task from that of claiming that the essential facts of the Holocaust, and the evidence for those facts, are fabrications." The nature of Holocaust denial: What is Holocaust denial? (http://www.jpr.org.uk/Reports/CS_Reports/no_3_2000/index.html), JPR report No. 3, 2000. Retrieved May 16, 2007.
"The deniers' selection of the name revisionist to describe themselves is indicative of their basic strategy of deceit and distortion and of their attempt to portray themselves as legitimate historians engaged in the traditional practice of illuminating the past. For historians, in fact, the name revisionism has a resonance that is perfectly legitimate – it recalls the controversial historical school known as World War I "revisionists," who argued that the Germans were unjustly held responsible for the war and that consequently the Versailles treaty was a politically misguided document based on a false premise. Thus the deniers link themselves to a specific historiographic tradition of reevaluating the past. Claiming the mantle of the World War I revisionists and denying they have any objective other than the dissemination of the truth constitute a tactical attempt to acquire an intellectual credibility that would otherwise elude them." Deborah Lipstadt. Denying the Holocaust – The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory, Penguin, 1993, ISBN 0-452-27274-2, p. 25.

Predetermined conclusion:

"Revisionism is obliged to deviate from the standard methodology of historical pursuit because it seeks to mold facts to fit a preconceived result, it denies events that have been objectively and empirically proved to have occurred, and because it works backward from the conclusion to the facts, thus necessitating the distortion and manipulation of those facts where they differ from the preordained conclusion (which they almost always do). In short, "revisionism" denies something that demonstrably happened, through methodological dishonesty." McFee, Gordon. "Why Revisionism Isn't" (http://www.holocaust-history.org/revisionism-isnt/), The Holocaust History Project, May 15, 1999. Retrieved December 22, 2006.


A hoax designed to advance the interests of Jews:


"Jews are thus depicted as manipulative and powerful conspirators who have fabricated myths of their own suffering for their own ends. According to the Holocaust deniers, by forging evidence and mounting a massive propaganda effort, the Jews have established their lies as 'truth' and reaped enormous rewards from doing so: for example, in making financial claims on Germany and acquiring international support for Israel." The nature of Holocaust denial: What is Holocaust denial? (http://www.jpr.org.uk/Reports/CS_Reports/no_3_2000/index.htm), JPR report No. 3, 2000. Retrieved May 16, 2007.

"Why, we might ask the deniers, if the Holocaust did not happen would any group concoct such a horrific story? Because, some deniers claim, there was a conspiracy by Zionists to exaggerate the plight of Jews during the war in order to finance the state of Israel through war reparations." Michael Shemer & Alex Grobman. Denying History: : who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and why Do They Say It?, University of California Press, 2000, ISBN 0-520-23469-3, p. 106.


"The central assertion for the deniers is that Jews are not victims but victimizers. They 'stole' billions in reparations, destroyed Germany's good name by spreading the 'myth' of the Holocaust, and won international sympathy because of what they claimed had been done to them. In the paramount miscarriage of injustice, they used the world's sympathy to 'displace' another people so that the state of Israel could be established. This contention relating to the establishment of Israel is a linchpin of their argument." Deborah Lipstadt. Denying the Holocaust – The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory, Penguin, 1993, ISBN 0-452-27274-2, p. 27.

"They [Holocaust deniers] picture a vast shadowy conspiracy that controls and manufactures the institutions of education, culture, the media and government in order to disseminate a pernicious mythology. The purpose of this Holocaust mythology, they assert, is the inculcation of a sense of guilt in the white, Western Christian world. Those who can make others feel guilty have power over them and can make them do their bidding. This power is used to advance an international Jewish agenda centered in the Zionist enterprise of the State of Israel." Introduction: Denial as Anti-Semitism (http://www.adl.org/holocaust/theory.asp), "Holocaust Denial: An Online Guide to Exposing and Combating Anti-Semitic Propaganda", Anti-Defamation League, 2001. Retrieved June 12, 2007.

"Deniers argue that the manufactured guilt and shame over a mythological Holocaust led to Western, specifically United States, support for the establishment and sustenance of the Israeli state — a sustenance that costs the American taxpayer over three billion dollars per year. They assert that American taxpayers have been and continue to be swindled...", "Holocaust Denial: An Online Guide to Exposing and Combating Anti-Semitic Propaganda", Anti-Defamation League, 2001. Retrieved June 12, 2007.

"The stress on Holocaust revisionismunderscored the new anti-Semitic agenda gaining ground within the Klan movement. Holocaust denial refurbished conspiratorial anti-Semitism. Who else but the Jews had the media power to hoodwink unsuspecting masses with one of the greatest hoaxes in history? And for what motive? To promote the claims of the illegitimate state of Israel by making non-Jews feel guilty, of course." Lawrence N. Powell, Troubled Memory: Anne Levy, the Holocaust, and David Duke's Louisiana, University of North Carolina Press, 2000, ISBN 0-8078-5374-7, p. 445.

Antisemitic:

"Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include ... denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust)."
"It would elevate their antisemitic ideology — which is what Holocaust denial is — to the level of responsible historiography — which it is not." Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, ISBN 0-14-024157-4, p. 11.


"Contemporary Holocaust deniers are not revisionists — not even neo-revisionists. They are Deniers. Their motivations stem from their neo-nazi political goals and their rampant antisemitism." Austin, Ben S. "Deniers in Revisionists Clothing" (http://www.mtsu.edu/~baumustin/revision.htm), The Holocaust/Shaoh Page, Middle Tennessee State University. Retrieved March 29, 2007.


"This books treats several of the myths that have made antisemitism so lethal... In addition to these historic myths, we also treat the new, maliciously manufactured myth of Holocaust denial, another groundless belief that is used to stir up Jew-hatred." Schweitzer, Frederick M. & Perry, Marvin. *Anti-Semitism: myth and hate from antiquity to the present*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, ISBN 0-312-16561-7, p. 3.


"After the Yom Kippur War an apparent reappearance of antisemitism in France troubled the tranquility of the community; there were several notorious terrorist attacks on synagogues, Holocaust revisionism appeared, and a new antisemitic political right tried to achieve respectability." Howard K. Wettstein, *Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identity*, University of California Press, 2002, ISBN 0-520-22864-2, p. 169.


"In a number of countries, in Europe as well as in the United States, the negation or gross minimization of the Nazi genocide of Jews has been the subject of books, essay and articles. Should their authors be protected by freedom of speech? The European answer has been in the negative: such writings are not only a perverse form of anti-semitism but also an aggression against the dead, their families, the survivors and society at large." Roger Errera, "Freedom of speech in Europe", in Georg Nolte, *European and US Constitutionalism*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, ISBN 0-521-85401-6, pp. 39—40.


"The primary motivation for most deniers is anti-Semitism, and for them the Holocaust is an infuriatingly inconvenient fact of history. After all, the Holocaust has generally been recognized as one of the most terrible crimes that ever took place, and surely the very emblem of evil in the modern age. If that crime was a direct result of anti-Semitism taken to its logical end, then anti-Semitism itself, even when expressed in private conversation, is inevitably discredited among most people. What better way to rehabilitate anti-Semitism, make anti-Semitic arguments seem once again respectable in civilized discourse and even make it acceptable for governments to pursue anti-Semitic policies than by convincing the world that the great crime for which anti-Semitism was blamed simply never happened — indeed, that it was nothing more than a frame-up invented by the Jews, and propagated by them through their control of the media? What better way, in short, to make the world safe again for anti-Semitism than by denying the Holocaust?" Reich, Walter. "Erasing the...
List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups

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53 organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups.

- "There is now a creeping, nasty wave of anti-Semitism ... insinuating itself into our political thought and rhetoric ... The history of the Arab world ... is disfigured ... by a whole series of outmoded and discredited ideas, of which the notion that the Jews never suffered and that the Holocaust is an obfuscatory conception created by the elders of Zion is one that is acquiring too much, far too much, currency." Edward Said, "A Desolation, and They Called it Peace" in Those who forget the past, Ron Rosenbaum (ed), Random House 2004, p. 518.

39
Conspiracy theory:

- "Before discussing how Holocaust denial constitutes a conspiracy theory, and how the theory is distinctly American, it is important to consider what is meant by the term 'Holocaust denial'." Mathis, Andrew E, Holocaust Denial, A Definition (http://www.holocaust-history.org/denial/abc-eliyo), The Holocaust History Project, July 2, 2004. Retrieved December 18, 2006.

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Charles Quailes, The Ku Klux Klan and related American racist and antisemitic organizations: a history and analysis (http://books.google.com/books?id=fhmmDQIOW8C&pg=PA100&lpg=PA100&dq=klan+communism&source=bl&ots=2xXlqfL211&s sig=IM27IAKeG6asC3CLVlXgud588D&hl=en&c¼vPfJOOOD41f4swPC14CzBA&sa=X&oi¼book_result&ct¼result&resnum¼7&ved¼0CCQ6AEWBg#v=onepage&q=klancommunism&f=false), McFarland, 1999

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Both the Anti-Defamation League (http://www.adl.org/learn/ext_us/kkkk/) and the Southern Poverty Law Center (http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/ideology/ku-klux-klan/) include it in their lists of hate groups. See also Bfrian Levin, Brian "Cyberhate: A Legal and Historical Analysis of Extremists' Use of Computer Networks in America" in Perry, Barbara, editor. Retrieved January 24, 2012. "Cyberhate: A Legal and Historical Analysis of Extremists' Use of Computer Networks in America" in Perry, Barbara, editor. "Right-wing extremism can be equated neither with National Socialism nor with neo-Fascism or neo-Nazism. Neo-Nazism, a legal term, is understood as the attempt to propagate, in direct defiance of the law (Verbotsgesetz), Nazi ideology or measures "..." Before discussing how Holocaust denial constitutes a conspiracy theory, and how the theory is distinctly American, it is important to consider what is meant by the term 'Holocaust denial'." Mathis, Andrew E, Holocaust Denial, A Definition (http://www.holocaust-history.org/denial/abc-eliyo), The Holocaust History Project, July 2, 2004. Retrieved December 18, 2006.

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http://vastpublicindifference.blogspot.com/2008/05/confederate-monumental-landscape_26.html Confederate Monumental Landscape: Literate Sources

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Brigitte Bailier-Galanda; Wolfgang Neugebauer. "Right-Wing Extremism in Austria: History, Organisations, Ideology" (http://www.dow.at/english/rightske.html). . "Right-wing extremism can be equated neither with National Socialism nor with neo-Fascism or neo-Nazism. Neo-Nazism, a legal term, is understood as the attempt to propagate, in direct defiance of the law (Verbotsgesetz), Nazi ideology or measures such as the denial, playing-down, approval or justification of Nazi mass murder, especially the Holocaust."

51
Martin Frost. "Neo Nazism" (http://www.martinfrost.ws/htmlfiles/neonazism1.html). . "The term neo-Nazism refers to any social or political movement seeking to revive National Socialism or a form of Fascism, and which postdates the Second World War. Often, especially internationally, those who are part of such movements do not use the term to describe themselves."

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Peter Vogelsang & Brian B. M. Larsen (2002). "Neo-Nazism" (http://www.holocaust-education.dk/eftertit/ynynazisme.asp). The Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. . Retrieved December 8, 2007. "Neo-Nazism is the name for a modern offspring of Nazism. It is a radically right-wing ideology, whose main characteristics are extreme nationalism and violent xenophobia. Neo-Nazism is, as the word suggests, a modern version of Nazism. In general, it is an incoherent right-extremist ideology, which is characterised by 'borrowing' many of the elements that constituted traditional Nationalism."

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Ondřej Čalík & Klára Kalibová (2002). "Neo-Nazism" (http://czechkid.eu/si1310.html). Faculty of Humanities at Charles University in Prague, Department of Civil Society Studies. . Retrieved December 8, 2007. "Neo-Nazism: An ideology which draws upon the legacy of the Nazi Third Reich, the main pillars of which are an admiration for Adolf Hitler, aggressive nationalism ("nothing but the nation") and hatred of Jews, foreigners, ethnic minorities, homosexuals and everyone who is different in some way."
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[91] "Radical Traditional Catholicism", Intelligence Files, Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011
[92] "Active Radical Traditional Catholicism Groups", Intelligence Files, Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011.
[94] The New Nativism; The alarming overlap between white nationalists and mainstream anti-immigrant forces. The American Prospect November, 2005
[96] The Hispanic challenge. Foreign Policy March 1, 2004
[97] Despite new leaders, and with them new tactics and new ideas, the goal of white separatists remains to convince Americans that racial separation is the only way to survive. National Public Radio (NPR) August 14, 2003 Thursday

External links

• Intelligence Files (http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files) published by the SPLC


List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=499608637 Contributors: AV3000, Alan Liefting, Allison333, BARENAKEDTRUTH, BID2412, Cat10001a, DS Belgium, Dale Annett, Docmccurty, Dudeman5685, FandHappy, Giljamesh, Goethen, Haymaker, Jenkarkarsff, Joon1, John Nevard, Ken JP Stucznyski, Kinn0Linde, Lionelt, MastCell, Matt Deres, Mewsings, NatGerdler, Night Goblin, Ofconfluens, Penbat, RayneVanDunem, Roscelrese, Shadowfast0, Shavevsey33, Spylab, StAnsehni, The PiPe, Toussaint, Trivialist, Türelh, Venerator, Will Bebach, 29 anonymous edits