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**A CHAORDIC THREAT: RIGHT WING  
TERRORISM IN THE UNITED STATES**

**BY**

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**USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT**

**A Chaordic Threat: Right Wing  
Terrorism In The United States**

by

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## ABSTRACT

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Future war is emerging in our own culture and language. The threat is chaordic and possesses unity of effort with little visible unity of command. Our nation is at risk but doesn't fully comprehend an enemy that is elusive, global, serious, survivable and effective. This paper focuses on the traits endemic to a threat that purposefully avoids definition, and is strategically targeting the United States Government portion of Clausewitz's remarkable trinity as an intermediate objective. Because its shared strategic purpose is global, this chaordic threat conducts superterrorism. This threat poses a learning opportunity about full dimension war, and suggests that points of departure to the new paradigm are flattening hierarchical organizations and redefining doctrinal battlespace as battlesystem awareness. Strategic success will depend on linking security battlesystems in real battlespace.

## Introduction

Future war is here today, emerging in our own culture and language. The enemy is elusive, global, serious, survivable, and effective. Our nation is at risk but doesn't fully comprehend. If we approach the United States portion of the emerging threat as a case study, we have opportunity to know our enemy and know ourselves. We can gather lessons that will help us adapt to defeat the same threat emerging in all cultures.

The source of power of this threat is a tightening weave of hatred, fear, ignorance, and a need to place blame for overwhelming economic and cultural change. Recruits to the threat are persons ignorant of the higher human core values that underlie or oppose cultural patterns they feel changing. Fear and hatred, combined with ignorance, is a powerful force generator. This is the enemy center of gravity.<sup>1</sup>

Personal accountability, tolerance, open communication, education, faith, hope and love can overwhelm this threat. Security battlesystems that maintain stability must have positive attitudes toward improved understanding. As Thomas Jefferson hoped,<sup>2</sup> our nation has become a state of mind and heart that we share with all peoples. The love we feel for our nation and our pride in citizenship will equip all of us networked together to stem the widening cycle of global violence.

## Definitions

Today's most serious threats are chaordics that enjoy unity of effort with little or no unity of command. A chaord is any self organizing, adaptive, nonlinear, complex system, whether physical, biological, or social, that exhibits characteristics of both order and chaos. Unity of effort combines with the volatility and global speed of information, technology, and wealth transfer to release previously untapped human ingenuity. With time and distance compression, chaordics routinely

outperform Industrial Age hierarchies unable to adapt.<sup>3</sup> To understand the threat, we have to understand chaos.

Chaos theory erupted in western scientific circles after 1970. Chaos is a science of the global nature of systems, and the universal behavior of complexity. As Clausewitz did, chaos thinkers look for the whole.<sup>4</sup> Clausewitz would now consider the conduct of war as science and art. In having to choose war as art only, Clausewitz concluded war must have purpose, as art has purpose.<sup>5</sup> If war is just another form of chaos, the perception of a remarkable trinity of purposeful state, creative army leaders, and primordial people may have been a passing phenomenon more reflective of Industrial Age organization. Today primordial force, creativity and purpose is less dependent on hierarchy and more easily found in small groups and individuals.

“Unity of effort” does not require “unity of command.” Strategic warfighters have never enjoyed the clean lines of authority we associate with tactics.<sup>6</sup> Tactical fighting is about habitual relationships and cooperation in the midst of chaos. Hiding bureaucracy behind “unity of command” is no longer acceptable. Interagency action must identify and address real problems faster. As the tactical and the strategic levels blend, coordinated interagency warfighters must at times become more like a single flattened battlesystem. Future unity of effort will depend on how well opened compartments reconfigure their resources to the realities of modern battlespace.

Battlespace is real. The outer limits of battlespace include the lifeless lithosphere, the living biosphere, space and the farthest reaches of the noosphere, the thinking layer superimposed on the earth’s surface.<sup>7</sup> Since our inner selves are included, battlespace is not an objective reality. Our military and civil security battlesystems, including our

minds and hearts and spirits, operate in every dimension.

Doctrinal battlespace has limits not found in real battlespace. Combat limits are: "The maximum capabilities of friendly and enemy forces to acquire and dominate each other by fires and maneuver and in the electromagnetic spectrum."<sup>8</sup> In military operations other than war combat power alone doesn't set the limits.

Battlesystems expand their awareness with liaison to other security battlesystems, agencies, host governments, and non-governmental organizations. As they do, they expand the "physical volume" of real battlespace within their influence.<sup>9</sup> Changed mental attitude will sufficiently connect the awareness of security battlesystems in real battlespace. In modern warfare this translates to "continuing appreciation of the battlespace."<sup>10</sup> "Once barriers, which in a sense consist only in man's ignorance of what is possible, are torn down, they are not so easily set up again."<sup>11</sup> A security battlesystem that senses a changing battlespace situation must be able to "pull down" what it needs from a sufficiently broadbased free and open flow of information. Elusiveness then becomes less of a defense for the threat.

Elusiveness is the enemy's essential survival characteristic. From the way it casually labels others, this chaordic knows intuitively that definition is an exercise of power.<sup>12</sup> Rather than liberate with effective explanation, this threat oppresses by jamming our shared ability to communicate. It purposefully evades being defined or fixed by a jurisdiction. In the 1960's, police officers learned not to overreact when called names like "pig". They were taught that "the word is not the thing." This chaordic avoids identification as friend or foe by being "a thing that is not the word." An example is: "I'm not a white supremacist. I'm a white separatist." In the age of television, when enemies have a

human face and a personality, sliding around under labels is a powerful tactic. Variations on this ruse have given whole new meaning to words like Christian, patriot, militia, populist, fully-informed jury, freemen, constitutional rights, and nationalism. This characteristic tends to neutralize the English language for fixing the threat in battlespace.

Elusiveness disarms analysts in friendly battlesystems with the false impression that this threat is too highly “fractionalized” to be serious. A variation plays both sides of jurisdictional boundaries under different names or different guises. Another operates visibly where acceptable and keeps a low profile where security battlesystems are sensitized and ready. This threat exploits the boundaries of Industrial Age organization and the language dependence of “low context” culture.<sup>13</sup>

Language shaped by the chaos and order of nature would be more useful. The Native American Pikuni dialect spoken by Blackfeet Indians is less rigid than English. One word, for example, will describe a potato that is dead and separated from the ground. Another word will describe a potato when its a living system still rooted in the earth.<sup>14</sup> The Blackfeet and other tribes also hook words together to make a growing or changing name. That practice seems appropriate here.

A Native American speaker might call this threat the Neo-Nazi, white supremacist, white separatist, Christian identity, right wing patriot, unorganized militia, skinhead, posse comitatus, barter and barrister, tax protest, anti-semitic, anti-government, freemen, gold warehousing, and more to come... chaordic. The name is too long, and there are certain to be non-hostile people who might refer to themselves by any one of the string in the name. The important essence of the threat has to be captured regardless of what it's called. Friendly battlesystems will have to learn to know the threat by its telltale traits.

## Case Study

1. This chaotic threat is emerging in the same way that fire sometimes rekindles with a right mixture of fuel, heat, and oxygen. The fuel is people who escape the stern criticism of their superegos, by adjusting reality to conform with their idealized view of themselves. Rather than adjust their fragile egos to equilibrium with hard reality, they screen unwanted facts but welcome information that flatters the role they prefer. They abuse or exploit objects, so that any conflict between ego satisfaction and the real identity of external reality is resolved in favor of the self. This is not normal self-regard, but an extreme or pathological social attitude. They revert to an earlier stage of self-love after experiencing personal disappointment or injury. Evolved to the extreme, this “narcissistic object manipulation” is a willingness to treat victims as valueless discardable objects.<sup>15</sup>

Overwhelming change is the heat. Decision stress, combined with sensory and cognitive overload, sometimes produces maladapted people. Consider the person whose old heroes and institutions are toppling, but needs a single neat equation to explain all of the threatening complexity.<sup>16</sup> Some can't adjust to the United States' loss in Vietnam in such sharp contrast to the way “good guys” perform in war movies. Some can't accept people they consider racially or sexually inferior having the same rights as they do. Some need an explanation for why they are not doing well in the job market, can't pay their taxes, can't maintain the farm, or couldn't keep a spouse or lover. Simple answers that place “racially inferior” blacks on the “inside” track, or conspiracies behind it all are welcome to those who can't adapt. A few become true believers.

The oxygen is ignorance, fear, and hate. This chaotic presents its many faces to the susceptible in much the same way as did Charlie

Manson, "a man of a thousand faces." There is a need "which lies inside the individual's themselves" and the chaotic seems to fulfill it. Charlie Manson turned members of "the family" into killers of 35 to 40 people. He isolated the susceptible to a society with its own value system.<sup>17</sup> He used repetition about the same subjects almost daily and once remarked in court: "You can convince anybody of anything if you just push it at them all of the time. They may not believe it 100 percent, but they will still draw opinions from it, especially if they have no other information to draw their opinions from." He exploited sexual hangups and the bond of genuine love that grew between members as they worked through daily problems. From control techniques he had seen and experienced between prison inmates, he used fear effectively even though his own fear bordered on paranoia. By raising the general level of fear, his own fear seemed more normal. He taught that it was always "us" versus "them." He surfaced their latent hatred and focused their sadistic violence on a common enemy, the establishment. He depersonalized the victims into symbols, because it's easier to stab a symbol than a person. He used religion by implying that he was the Second Coming of Christ.<sup>18</sup>

Charlie Manson and Adolf Hitler sought out the kind of people that comprise this chaotic threat. They surrounded themselves with sycophants, sought out and used weaknesses in others, and then programmed them with repetition and fear. This nation may have defeated The Third Reich and jailed Helter Skelter, but the fuel, heat and oxygen has come together again.

2. The members of this chaotic inflate their own numbers. They give the larger world an impression that their more restrained neighbors agree with their antics. Bloated numbers are more smoke in a screen of groundless rumors, absurd for even a supermarket tabloid. Using every

media opportunity to hoax, outrage and inflame, this tiny fringe element, in the context of a healthy community, gives real meaning to the phrase: cultists, criminals, crazies, and crusaders. Neighbors often like chaordic members personally but don't treat their distantly directed rantings seriously. The lesson here is that the chaordic rarely speaks for the culture around it.

This chaordic thrives in the gap between national and local perceptions. The dangerous nature of the threat emerges in light of both local context and distant effect. There needs to be a fusion of perceptions between citizens at the community level and authorities at the national systems level. Dealing across major cultural boundaries, for example into the Mid East, the problem is bound to be even more severe. Video conferencing between the National Command Authority and local authorities, or holistic analysts sensitized to the cultural context, is now essential.

When there is a gap between perceptions at the local and the national level, this chaordic turns it to an advantage. Randy Weaver's reason to the U.S. Senate for always being armed was the grizzly bears in his neighborhood. He played to the urban viewers' fears and false Marlborough Country image of the West. The same justification makes Weaver unbelievable to neighbors, who rarely even think of grizzly bears.

3. The threat uses the "big lie" technique in a way reminiscent of Adolf Hitler. Big lies said over and over again gather a reality of their own. The mysterious black U.N. helicopters, the C.I.A. conspiracy to bomb the federal building in Oklahoma City, the missing front door at Waco, and the endless other claimed conspiracies are all big lies. Big lie attacks on institutions or individuals leave the assaulted in a role of having to disprove an assertion or an insinuation. This clearly reverses the innocent

until proven guilty tradition.

One straightfaced tax protester in Eastern Montana told a conscientious journalist, "Black men have one less rib than white men." The journalist checked with two different physicians to get an expert's view. The concept was so outrageous that neither had ever stopped to make such a rib count, and couldn't comment with certainty. The journalist finally had to check with a university anthropologist, who asked the journalist if he had lost his mind for even considering the matter seriously. Watch a concerned citizen try to disprove an unfounded absurd negative, and one begins to understand why the technique is so dangerous. The big lie is a definite mark of this chaordic.

4. This chaordic evolved from a longstanding domestic threat.<sup>19</sup> Torchbearers like Richard Butler, who brought the Aryan Nations to northern Idaho, and William Potter Gale, who brought the Posse Comitatus to Kansas, were disciples of inter-war Nazi, Wesley Swift. The Ku Klux Klan thread of the chaordic goes back to Nathan Bedford Forrest, the slave trader who showed military aptitude in irregular warfare during the Civil War. In its evolution, this chaordic is experiencing a phase change to something virulent and different from the hometown right-wingers of the 1950's and 1960's. Crisis means phase change. We usually capture this kind of phase change in nature with time elapsed snapshots of changing plants and animals. In the short-visioned way of our hierarchical organizations, we have not returned persistently enough over time to capture the emerging pattern. Our systems will see the crisis when it forces its way into our awareness and is unnecessarily too late.

5. This chaordic has a global strategic purpose. Overthrowing the United States government and its subordinate jurisdictions is just an intermediate objective. The formal Declaration of War against the Zionist

Occupational Government,<sup>20</sup> signed by members of The Order, November 25, 1984, is still active.<sup>21</sup> Hatred of Jews and free floating racism, are the higher unifying purpose. As an example, the Church of Jesus Christ Aryan Nations teaches that Jewish people are decedents of Eve being mated to the Devil, and all people of color are like “beasts in the field.” People commonly dismiss this as placing the blame for one’s problems on someone else. Scapegoating is at work, but more importantly for this chaordic, transferring blame to the Jews serves as a unifying strategic purpose. Louis Beam, the leader of the violent wing of the Ku Klux Klan, best expressed the chaordic’s strategic priorities in 1984:

“Throughout the millenniums of warfare between the Aryan and the Jew, neither we nor they have ever won. The victories each has in turn known, when spread over the centuries, equal stalemate. However, Aryan technology has shrunk the whole earth to the size of one battlefield. The eternal war, which can most properly be called a Conflict of the Ages, has taken a final turn...”<sup>22</sup>

Another lesson here is that calling oneself Christian, and being a Christian are clearly two different matters. Great care must always be taken not to lump the peoples of a faith, or a race, or a culture under some title that the chaordic gives itself.

6. This chaordic shares a three sided military doctrine. In the last few years Louis Beam spread “Leaderless Resistance.”<sup>23</sup> Leaderless resistance purposefully avoids pyramidal shaped organization. Beam, who likes to call himself Nathan Bedford Forrest, opts for the chaordic form, because it’s too easy for federal agents to infiltrate hierarchical structures. Beam likens a survivable organization to the “committees of correspondence” of the American Revolution. One subgrouping of the chaordic disavowing any connection to another subgrouping a few miles

down the road is a telltale indicator of joint effort.

Pete Peters, of LaPorte, Colorado, teaches "Biblical Vigilantism." Peters was a minor figure in the chaordic when he got the worst end of an abusive verbal exchange with a Jewish American talk show host in Denver. A short time later the host's name, Alan Berg, appeared on an anonymously authored computerized hit list. Berg was then killed by members of The Order. Several of the hit team were members of Peters' congregation, as has been Randy Weaver of Ruby Ridge fame.<sup>24</sup> According to Peters, the Bible tells us to warn the government of its transgressions several times, then take matters into our own hands.<sup>25</sup>

The chaordic understands and applies low intensity conflict doctrine of the United States Army. The enemy "center of gravity" is the "legitimacy of the government" in the people's eyes.<sup>26</sup> An example of how this has worked in the past with the use of paramilitary militia or combat groups is the overthrow of the Weimar Republic and the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany.<sup>27</sup> Every indicator of the low intensity conflict template is present in the Montana-Idaho region. Every indicator of Special Forces unconventional warfare doctrine is there as well.<sup>28</sup> Quotes from the doctrine have shown up in local letters to the editor from chaordic members. Many have substantial practical military experience applying the theory.

Former U.S. Army Special Forces LTC James Bo Gritz is particularly knowledgeable about low intensity conflict and special operations. He lost his bid for public office as Ku Klux Klansman David Duke's vice presidential candidate in 1988. He ran again unsuccessfully as the Populist Party candidate in 1992, and then announced he would no longer work through the system. The phrasing has a double meaning. He similarly phrased his statement that the "Oklahoma City Bombing is a Rembrandt...."

meaning, he later said, that it must be the work of a C.I.A. specialist. Gritz has completed training a large, but unknown number, of persons in his eight phase S.P.I.K.E. program in a number of cities around the West. S.P.I.K.E. means Special Preparedness for Key Events, which may be tied to the confrontations he expects will continue to happen between the chaordic and civil authorities. In a 1994 newsletter, Gritz said, "The tyrants who ordered the assault on Waco deserve to be tried and executed as traitors."<sup>29</sup> Gritz has actively worked with other members of the chaordic.<sup>30</sup> The first three phases of S.P.I.K.E. training is now available for \$300 in gold on the upper west side of Manhattan in New York City.<sup>31</sup> Gritz and his staff screen and select trainees to continue phases four through eight. The day of the Oklahoma bombing Gritz was speaking from the final phase of his Dallas, Texas, group when he made the Rembrandt remark.

7. The chaordic shares operational objectives. One obvious example is the "Northwest Imperative," also known as the "great trek" or "10 percent solution." The "northwest imperative" establishes the five states of the Northwest - Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming - and southern portions of Alberta and British Columbia as a separate territory which the white race can occupy. This is Richard Butler's Aryan Nation. Butler's contemporary, the late Robert Miles of the Church of the Mountain in Cohoctaw, Michigan, called the objective the "great trek." Robert Matthews, one of Butler's early security chiefs and leader of The Order, called it the "10 percent solution" before he died as an "aryan warrior" in a gunfight with the F.B.I. Butler and Miles knighted dozens more aryan warriors and widely instilled the notion of the northwest imperative.

In the states of the Northwest, where tolerance and citizenship is prized by the people, the relatively small numbers that have arrived

carrying the chaordic's malignancy has become a disturbing reality.<sup>32</sup> Dozens of interlocked organizations and hundreds of individuals have actually made the move in the last ten years. Notable relocations plotted in the four passes along the Montana-North Idaho state line portray what may be the cephalization of the threat chaordic. The best description of this mountainous area just south of the Canadian border is "rough terrain ... in an isolated border region between jurisdictions."<sup>33</sup>

While Butler, who arrived in Hayden Lake, Idaho, in 1973, was suffering through his legal misfortunes in the mid 1980's, Pete Peters built up his congregation in Colorado and invested heavily in satellite broadcasting equipment. One congregation member, Randy Weaver, had a satellite dish at his rental house in Naples, Idaho, a thousand miles distance. Peters has had a "Summer Bible Camp" at Hungry Horse, Montana, every year since 1985. Hungry Horse is one of two possible meeting places where the Secret Service investigated courtroom disclosed allegations of a possible plot to assassinate President Clinton.<sup>34</sup> From a diary presented as evidence in a Detroit federal courtroom, the plotters from New York, Wyoming, and Idaho were to meet in July, 1994. Louis Beam was Peters' featured speaker there in 1995.

The brothers John and David Trochman and nephew Randy arrived at Noxon, Montana, with their Minnesota group about 1980.<sup>35</sup> They claim to have sold their snowmobile parts-making business, with 60 employees and millions invested, and moved to Montana. Locals boycotted the first cafe they had in Heron, Montana, because they thought it a center of white supremacist activity. Robert Fletcher came to Montana from Miami, after losing a 1990 bid for Congress against Florida Representative Bill McCollum,<sup>36</sup> Co-chairman of the Congressional Waco hearings. Fletcher invited himself to the Noxon, Montana, area in January, 1994, and serves

now as the chaordic's "investigative researcher" and occasional spokesman. Bo Gritz claims to have sold all of his development lots in his Christian covenant communities near Kamiah, Idaho, where he recently moved from Nevada. There he advocates that members of the chaordic "get off the grid."<sup>37</sup> Louis Beam has moved to Sandpoint, Idaho, from Texas in 1995.<sup>38</sup> His strategic view best articulates the entire chaordic's. His tactical view is that the aspiring Aryan Warrior needs to kill "common street niggers," federal agents and "rich Jews."<sup>39</sup> Beam is activating his long dormant title, Ambassador at Large of the Church of Jesus Christ Aryan Nation.<sup>40</sup>

8. This chaordic's unity of effort comes not from a rigid mission type order, but from the equivalent of a more flexible and effective "commander's intent." The Turner Diaries, in parable form, tells how The Organization destroyed The System. In it the liquor store owners robbed and killed for ready cash are Jewish; the clerks and delivery truck drivers, casually killed and discarded for the assets they tend are always blacks. When the "controlled" media focus on the mutilated corpse of some poor girl or F.B.I. agent in the wreckage of The Organization's bombings, rank and file member Earl Turner notes, "It is a terrible, terrible task we have before us."

"The corruption of our people by the Jewish-liberal-democratic-equalitarian plague which afflicts us is more clearly manifested in our soft-mindedness, our unwillingness to recognize the harder realities of life, than in anything else. Liberalism is an essentially feminine, submissive world view ... in which the lions lie down with the lambs and everyone lives happily ever after. Nor should spiritually healthy men of our race even want the world to be like that, if it could be so. That is an alien, essentially Oriental approach to life, the world view of slaves

rather than of free men of the West."<sup>41</sup>

This story is the diary of Earl Turner, martyred during the cataclysmic conflict that destroyed The System and created the New Era. In it are lessons on command structure, cellular organization, communication capability when the electricity grid is gone, counterfeiting, arms selection and safekeeping, manufacturing explosive devices and timers, target selection, procurement of crew served weapons, use of costume and disguise, contamination of significant targets using mortar launched radio active materials, corrupting public officials, infiltrating the hated "human relations councils," coordinating the activities of "legal" and "illegal" members, turning some white soldiers against The System to render their units "unreliable," and creating suspicion about National Guard Units in the minds of regular military commanders. Turner stresses the importance of first attacking The System directly, and then creating general unrest among Americans by destroying the electric, communication, and transportation systems.

The Day of the Rope in California is a grim and bloody day, "but an unavoidable one." Tens of thousands of race traitors are hung from lamp posts and street signs, wearing "I-defiled-my-race" placards. Dangling white women far outnumber the dangling men because so many are married to or living with Blacks, or Jews, or other non-white males. The overall numbers of dangling male bodies equal female when those wearing "I-betrayed-my-race" placards are added. These are the bodies of politicians, lawyers, businessmen, television newscasters, newspaper reporters and editors, judges, teachers, school officials, civic leaders, bureaucrats, preachers, and all others who for some reason helped The System implement its racial program.<sup>42</sup>

The Organization modifies U.S. Air Force nuclear warheads procured

from the California “liberated zone,” so that they can be detonated by coded radio signal, and disperses them around the United States. Every twelve hours a nuclear device detonates unless the President satisfies The Organization’s demands. “We knew the fat was really in the fire; we were in the middle of a nuclear civil war, and within the next few days the fate of the planet would be settled for all time. Now it was either the Jews or the White race, and everyone knew the game was for keeps.”<sup>43</sup>

Earl Turner is killed on a suicide mission flying a nuclear warhead at the Pentagon to stop the issuance of an order for the planned invasion of the California “liberated zone.” “What I do today will be of more weight in the annals of the race than all the conquests of Caesar and Napoleon--if I succeed!”<sup>44</sup>

According to the Epilog, The Organization expanded its control from scattered enclaves of order and security amidst anarchy and savagery to liberation of Europe. A final chemical, biological, and radiological attack eliminated the remaining global power center: China, which Pierce calls “the yellow peril.” “Thus was the Great Eastern Waste created.”<sup>45</sup>

9. The chaordic’s transition to unorganized militias was not a spontaneous expression of popular will, but rather a transition to a new level of organization. “Unorganized” is a necessary qualifier that fits the leaderless resistance doctrine. More importantly “unorganized” fits a loophole in the Montana Constitution and statutes that classify militia into organized and unorganized. Constitutional drafters never dreamed the word “unorganized” would be used to organize. Again, the word is not the thing. In reality, unorganized militias are organized private armies,<sup>46</sup> recruitment pools and cover for more serious ongoing chaordic activity.

The transition began around the time of the Ruby Ridge standoff, when Beam began advocating this general type of organization. He had

previously organized the Texas Emergency Reserve, for the Ku Klux Klan to intimidate Vietnamese born fishermen on the Gulf Coast.

The State of Texas joined a class action suit against the Klan for violating the Texas law against unauthorized military organizations. The U.S. Federal District Court viewed hours of video showing Beam instructing uniformed personnel in psychological warfare, ambush and counterambush, reconnaissance patrols and other military movements. In 1982, the court concluded that the Texas Emergency Reserve was an arm of the Ku Klux Klan, and that it violated the law against private armies.

"... Louis Beam, in his individual capacity and as Grand Dragon of the Knights of the KKK for the state of Texas; and all others acting in concert ... are permanently enjoined from:

- Continuing to maintain or to associate themselves into private military or paramilitary companies or organizations, including, but not limited to, the Texas Emergency Reserve;

- Carrying on military or paramilitary training, including all forms of combat and combat-related training;

- Parading in public on land or water, with firearms in any city or town of the State of Texas; and

- Engaging in any other activities which have as their purpose or reasonably foreseeable effect the use or threatened use of military or paramilitary force to infringe upon the civil rights of the plaintiff class."<sup>47</sup>

After a boost from Pete Peters' meeting of 150 "Christian" men in Estes Park, Colorado, in October, 1992, Beam's idea of a Weaver support organization took shape. This became the United Citizens for Justice based in Noxon, Montana, with Trochman and Gritz's speech writer, Chris Temple, of Polson, Montana, at its head.<sup>48</sup> It aimed first at recruiting more

mainstream types of members with any issue that might get more balanced persons to join. In 1994, United Citizens for Justice suddenly transitioned into the Militia of Montana, with John Trochman still at its head. Militia organizing packets and video cassettes, mailed from Noxon, Montana laid ground work for the pervasive militias that first dawned on the American public with the Oklahoma City bombing a year later. In 1994/95, there was particularly constant contact between the militias in Montana and Michigan,<sup>49</sup> with Mark Koernke of the Michigan Militia touring Montana Militia locations in December and Trochman appearing in Michigan. This continued the connection of ten years between Butler's warriors along the Montana-Idaho line and Miles' warriors in the Michigan triangle of Lansing, Ann Arbor, and Jackson.

10. This chaordic is recently increasing its tactical operations tempo in the state of Montana. Since so many of the nationally known members live in Idaho, the common misconception is that Idaho is where they agitate. In their book on future warfare, for example, the Tofflers caution readers to at least think about the consequences of Idaho's Neo-Nazis breaking that state and its nuclear weapons away from the rest of the United States.<sup>50</sup> The leaders of the chaordic aren't fouling their own nest. Idaho has no warheads.

However, there are 250 nuclear warheads<sup>51</sup> in central Montana. One of the five states of the proposed Aryan Nation has to be targeted first to fall.<sup>52</sup> If "fissionable states" like the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia become the norm, a separate Aryan Nation even in a remote place like Montana poses serious global threat.

11. This chaordic supports itself financially from activities that contribute to its operational and strategic purposes. Generally this translates into activities at the edge of criminality. Which side of the

line depends usually on the laws of a given jurisdiction. Propaganda video tapes on fascism, for example, are legal in the United States, but contraband in Germany. Repackaged military manuals on everything from maintenance of machineguns and jeeps to sniper techniques and special operations doctrine are legal in Montana but not so in other places.<sup>53</sup> Mail order video and audio cassettes range from anti-government conspiracy theories and rambling pseudo-legal advice to packing an Alice Pack. Cassette technology in support of insurgency had telling effect against dictatorships in Iran and the Phillipines.<sup>54</sup> It remains to be seen how effective it will be against open democracies in America.

One noteworthy money making venture is the 200 page M.O.D. Training Manual. At \$75 a copy, it is one of the costliest items in the Militia of Montana's extensive catalog of video tapes, audio tapes and literature. No expert on the chaordic knows what M.O.D. means. The Trochmans say they don't know who wrote the manual. M.O.D. directs:

- a campaign of terrorism by urban guerrillas executed with utmost coldbloodedness;
- coordinated sabotage of government, industry, transport, communications, military and police systems;
- recruitment of industrial workers, because they know these systems better than the layman;
- destruction of firms and properties owned by foreign nationals;
- conducting a "war of nerves" with authorities consisting of false reports and deceptions purposefully placed in the hands of authorities;
- raiding armories to obtain arms, ammunition, and explosives;
- kidnapping well known personalities who have no known political interest for the propaganda that comes with public sympathy;
- developing weather forecasting, sniper, ambush, survival, booby

trap, night vision device, hand grenade, and other ordnance skills;

-keeping militia activities and the M.O.D.. manual itself secret from family members, unless they are cleared by the cell leader for actual recruitment.<sup>55</sup>

The emotional and mental attitude conditioned to receive these kinds of instructions, and those in The Turner Diaries that Tim McVeigh sold at gun shows<sup>56</sup> has been developing for a long time. Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America is one sociological survey that shows the influences that are shaping the “New War” mentality of the chaordic’s recruitment and marketing pool.<sup>57</sup>

There is a huge trade among chaordic members in weapons, ammunition, NBC protective suits, Nazi paraphernalia and support gear ranging from sniper scopes to night vision devices. Randy Weaver’s financial agreement with an undercover agent to saw off the barrels of shotguns for inner city skinheads, was thoroughly discussed on CSPAN. Gritz and his associates publicly exchange the high quality training they got from our government for gold. There is common overlap into drug trafficking. Cocaine cartel member, Carlos Ledher, is an avowed Neo-Nazi.<sup>58</sup> The bubonic plague virus confiscated from a Neo-Nazi lab technician in Columbus, Ohio, would command a good price in this market.<sup>59</sup>

Gold warehousing and property shell schemes are handy for hiding money from illegal transactions. The U.S. portion of the chaordic is still amateurish compared to mideastern groups, who have profited from laundering services for less adept personalities like Noriega and his chaordic associates in North and South America.<sup>60</sup> Now the Russian Mafyia is outpacing even B.C.C.I. as a money laundering standard setter.<sup>61</sup>

12. This chaordic is an ethnic nationalism comparable to the

Serbian<sup>62</sup> in that it recognizes no civic nation's boundaries. The wife of West German national, Manfred Roeder, received honors on his behalf from the Aryan Nations' World Congress in Idaho. Roeder, at the time, was still in German prison for the Munich Oktoberfest bombing. Now he is again active in the German Neo-Nazi movement.<sup>63</sup> After nearly 10 dormant years the Aryan Nations is experiencing explosive growth to units in 30 states. "Today with strong international connections to European Neo-Nazis it is more powerful and dangerous than ever."<sup>64</sup> Gary Rex Lauck from Lincoln, Nebraska, has recently been arrested by Danish authorities for his Nazi activities in Europe. He has now been extradited to Germany to stand trial. He has been actively inciting the Skinhead and Neo-Nazi movement that has inflamed that nation and provided Serbian killing German skinhead mercenaries to the Croatian forces in Bosnia.<sup>65</sup> Several hundred Neo-Nazis have reportedly traveled to South Africa to help white supremacists overthrow the government there.<sup>66</sup>

Gritz has numerous international connections from his activities in Southeast Asia and his time with the Special Forces in Central and South America. From federal trial testimony in Seattle, several members of The Order were arrested with Costa Rican driver's licenses in their possession. The Order's counterfeiters testified they manufactured the driver's licenses and first met some of The Order at a Contra training camp in Costa Rica. Conspiracy theorist Fletcher claims his puppet making company in Marietta, Georgia, was drawn into Oliver North's covert arms smuggling in 1985.<sup>67</sup> Fletcher also claims he worked as a "gumshoe for the Noriega defense."<sup>68</sup> Beam enjoys part of his reputation in the chaotic from being in a gun fight with federales in Mexico and having a wide range of contacts throughout Central America.

The German Neo-Nazi connection leads to the Russian-Ukrainian

weapons Mafyia, and selling weapons to Serbians for use against Bosnians.<sup>69</sup> The Russian Mafyia in New York have organized “combat brigades” to collect tribute from legitimate business worldwide.<sup>70</sup> The concept tracks Vladimir Zhirinovsky’s notion of paramilitary guard formations, organized into “agitation and propaganda groups” and “protection-assault groups” for street operations.<sup>71</sup> In April, 1995, John Trochman in Montana highlighted the Russian ultranationalist’s apocalyptic views about the United States. Referring to a Los Angeles Times article, he said, Zhirinovsky is “simply letting the cat out of the bag.”<sup>72</sup>

13. The chaordic shares legal counsel. Joe Holland, of Booneville, Indiana, self proclaimed leader of the North American Militia group that had several armed confrontations with law enforcement in Darby, Montana, hired the same attorney as John Trochman.<sup>73</sup> Trochman had earlier referred to the Darby group as a “bunch of ding dongs.”

Trochman and six heavily armed men with \$60,000 in gold was arrested by county law enforcement officers in Eastern Montana.<sup>74</sup> Trochman pleaded that they had driven 400 miles to Roundup, Montana “to file papers” for a freeman with whom he earlier claimed no connection. The Montana Attorney General dropped charges for lack of sufficient evidence that the group intended to hang a district court judge.

Montana tax protester Gordon Sellner, wounded during arrest for earlier shooting a sheriff’s deputy, also has Trochman’s attorney.<sup>75</sup> The commonly shared legal counsel is John DeCamp, from Gary Rex Lauck’s hometown, Lincoln, Nebraska. DeCamp will only say that he is being paid by “supporters.”<sup>76</sup>

14. This chaordic knows the importance of the electricity grid. Gritz’s admonition to “get off the grid” speaks for itself. The region wide

alert from the core of engineers that twenty men had left Medford, Oregon, for Montana to attack the electric power system was no drill.<sup>77</sup> This was to be in protest of the Trochman group's arrest in Roundup, Montana. At least two other power outages have been investigated by the FBI in Western Montana.<sup>78</sup> The specific victims of the extended outages in those cases were the Blackfeet Indians, isolated at the end of the line. Several sets of plans associated with the electricity system were found in the possession of Order members years earlier. In South Africa, there is frequent talk by white supremacists of forcing an electricity outage to trap thousands of black miners underground.<sup>79</sup> All this added to the M.O.D. Training Manual directives heightens the likelihood of an effective attack on this nation's electricity infrastructure.

15. This chaordic uses technology well. It narrowcasts a variety of message formats over shortwave radio.<sup>80</sup> Selling the receivers is a source of funds to still other members of the chaordic. The Internet is a natural ally. Cyberspace is "characterized by no geographic, national or temporal boundaries and no ownership, laws, or identity cards,"<sup>81</sup> German and Austrian Neo-Nazi use the encryption software Pretty Good Privacy<sup>82</sup> to encode Internet communications. U.S. members of the chaordic probably use it for important communications. In 1984, Beam originated the chaordic's first widespread use of computerized communication. He operates in cyberspace in a variety of guises.

Since the chaordic can reach into the mind and heart of anyone, it's safe to assume that any technical or communications system is open to the chaordic. A lesson in this regard is the testimony of the A.T.F. about Ruby Ridge in front of the U.S. Senate. The A.T.F. undercover agent working inside of the Church of Jesus Christ Aryan Nation Compound at Hayden Lake, Idaho, knew he was compromised. The security guard there informed

him that the license plate on his car did not match his Vehicle Identification Number (VIN). This means that the chaordic is using the Law Enforcement Teletype system for its own security purposes. Information compartmentalization eventually will only hamper friendly users.

16. Fear, paranoia, narcissistic rage projected to others, and distrust are prevalent psychological traits in this chaordic. The chaordic preys on and recruits people who feel they are victims and potential victims of some other vague force or evil.<sup>83</sup> Instead of taking responsibility and addressing their own problems, members consistently place the blame somewhere else. Beneath the blame and hate is fear and distrust of anything unfamiliar. More than anything else, guns symbolize the individuals' fear and need for control, often over just a bad sex life.<sup>84</sup>

Warrior Dreams underscores the obvious. People have guns, because they are afraid. "The paramilitary warrior lives inside ... concentric rings of power."<sup>85</sup> At the outer ring of his knife arm, he needs a pistol. At maximum pistol range he needs a rifle. At maximum rifle range he needs a long gun. Ironically, even if he's a risk taker, the knife and the gun can't protect him against that which he fears most: the changes that have made him feel weak, denigrated and helpless.<sup>86</sup>

The chaordic's aspiring leaders manipulate the fear and rage of others as selfish power seekers always do, arranging reality to salve their own injured self-esteem and serve their narcissistic selves.<sup>87</sup> Fear and paranoia are strong organizing tools. Distrust and paranoia are severe challenges that slow the chaordic's gains to the imperceptible crawl.

17. The final characteristic of this chaordic is cunning. "Cunning is the use of a trick or strategem that permits the intended victim to make his own mistakes, which combined in a single result, suddenly change the nature of the situation before his very eyes."<sup>88</sup> Television viewers

watching the CSPAN performance of Randy Weaver should pay close heed to his neighbor who said, "This is as though he planned to have this happen." Similarly, Louis Beam's active presence around the Waco compound at the time of the standoff, and effective trumpeting of his version of what happened, seem a clear lesson in cunning.

The actions of federal law enforcement authorities at both Waco and Ruby Ridge has been turned to powerful effect against the primary domestic security battlesystems of our nation. With the use of cunning and semantic devices like "patriot," "Christian," and "militia," our congressional leaders were drawn into furthering the cause of sworn and armed enemies. This chaordic used cunning well.

#### The Broader Picture

This chaordic roams most of battlespace at will, and has a strategic objective beyond just the overthrow of our national government. This threat exhibits none of the political, moral or practical constraints that keep most terrorist groups from causing massive destruction. There are striking parallels between this chaordic and religiously motivated Islamic extremists in the Middle East and even the Aum Shinrikyo.<sup>89</sup> Larger purpose, delusionary or not, places terrorist acts by members of this chaordic under the heading of superterrorism. Whether by loosing a weapon of mass destruction, attacking the electricity network, conducting disinformation campaigns against prominent personalities, or continuing to discredit the government portion of this nation's Clauswitzian trinity, this chaordic threatens us strategically. We need to learn from it and adapt our battlesystems to real battlespace.

The World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime, convened by the United Nations, and held in Naples, in November, 1994, produced a Global Action Plan Against Organized Transnational Crime. "To

effectively combat organized crime, States should take its structural characteristics and modus operandi into account: group organization to commit crime; hierarchical links or personal relationships which permit leaders to control the group; violence, intimidation and corruption to earn profits or control territories or markets; laundering of illicit proceeds both in furtherance of criminal activity and to infiltrate the legitimate economy; potential expansion into new activities and beyond national borders; and cooperation with other organized transnational criminal groups.”<sup>90</sup> Right now the chaotic form of organization is faster than the international community’s cumbersome law enforcement and military hierarchies.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusion

Battlespace, like knowledge, may be a sphere. The larger the sphere, the greater the ratio of knowing volume to ignorant surface.<sup>92</sup> Our challenge is to apply the relatively gaining knowledge against still increasing ignorance. That requires free and open internal flows of spiritual, emotional, rational, social, and cultural information about what we do know. The battlesystems that possess part of the necessary knowledge, range across cultures from school houses to families, from prisons to wilderness programs, from military staffs to community councils. The minds that best see and convey patterns in chaos are artistic.<sup>93</sup> As commanders sense culminating points in battle or painters capture clouds, poets and singers convey what we all share.

In Future Shock, Alvin Toffler, says that “black extremists and white vigilantes both employ violence to narrow their choices and clarify their lives.” They are already victims of information overload. More information alone is not the solution. For those who lack an intelligent, comprehensive program for coping with the complexities of change,

terrorism substitutes for thought.<sup>94</sup>

Unless we aid each other to cope with local environments that are bound to change, and retain a clear set of values and priorities in spite of difficulty, we become part of the problem. Our adaptive difficulties and those of our children deepen, and together we widen the recruitment pool for the chaordic threat. Nation-states' inability to deal with results of political, economic, and social instability in the face of change is a "foundational strategic reality."<sup>95</sup>

We need to synergize our ability to analyze vastly increasing information flows on everything from money laundering to electricity transmission.<sup>96</sup> We need to distribute our resources by including "on location" analysts who consider a wider range of information about context. The repeated low keyed successes of local authorities in Montana, have shown that patience, firmness, and caring support from communities work well to deflate the chaordic. Its abundantly clear that real counterterror experts are unsung, home grown, networked, and violent only as an absolute last resort. National authorities, including experts, must communicate with citizens near an incident before taking action that may just feed a growing cycle of unnecessary violence.<sup>97</sup>

As there is a difference between information and intelligence, there is a difference between knowledge and understanding. Tolerance, communication, education, faith, hope and love are the processes that convert knowledge to understanding. Security battlesystems want to bring stability but must be prepared to use understanding as well as force. Preventive strategies may be as important as response strategies to violence<sup>98</sup> to ultimately defeat a chaordic threat.

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# Montana Code Annotated 1995

**MCA Contents**

**Search**

**Part Contents**

**45-8-105. Criminal syndicalism.** (1) "Criminal syndicalism" means the advocacy of crime, malicious damage or injury to property, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends.

(2) A person commits the offense of criminal syndicalism if he purposely or knowingly:

(a) orally or by means of writing, advocates or promotes the doctrine of criminal syndicalism;

(b) organizes or becomes a member of any assembly, group, or organization which he knows is advocating or promoting the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or

(c) for or on behalf of another whose purpose is to advocate or promote the doctrine of criminal syndicalism, distributes, sells, publishes, or publicly displays any writing advocating or advertising such doctrine.

(3) A person convicted of the offense of criminal syndicalism shall be imprisoned in the state prison for a term not to exceed 10 years.

(4) Whoever, being the owner or in possession or control of any premises, knowingly permits any assemblage of persons to use such premises for the purpose of advocating or promoting the doctrine of criminal syndicalism shall be fined not to exceed \$500 or imprisoned in the county jail for a term not to exceed 6 months, or both.

**History:** En. 94-7-503 by Sec. 1, Ch. 513, L. 1973; amd. Sec. 29, Ch. 359, L. 1977; R.C.M. 1947, 94-7-503.

 **Previous Section**

**Help**

**Next Section** 

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