UP IN ARMS

A GUIDE TO OREGON'S PATRIOT MOVEMENT

Spencer Sunshine
WITH
Jessica Campbell &
Rural Organizing Project
Political Research Associates
Daniel HoSang
Steven Besa
Chip Berlet

Rural Organizing Project (ROP) is a statewide network of locally based groups that work to create communities accountable to a standard of human dignity: the belief in the equal worth of all people, the need for equal access to justice, and the right to self-determination.

Political Research Associates (PRA) is a social justice think tank devoted to supporting movements that are building a more just and inclusive democratic society. We expose movements, institutions, and ideologies that undermine human rights.

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FOREWORD

BEHIND THE HEADLINES about armed standoffs with federal agents over public lands, there unfolds a largely untold drama of local democracy increasingly under siege by right-wing paramilitaries and associated groups. Oregon has become a particular hotbed for the paramilitary wing of this nationally resurgent Patriot movement. *Up In Arms: A Guide to Oregon's Patriot Movement* explores this drama close up. It should serve as a wake-up call to defenders of democracy across the country.

Designed for a wide audience including journalists, public officials, and social justice activists, this toolkit offers a detailed report on the so-called Patriot movement, case studies of community resistance to this armed and dangerous threat, and resources for local activists. As we go to press, the country is experiencing a broad resurgence in right-wing populist demagoguery, White nationalism, and xenophobia—conditions that inspire and embolden the Patriot movement. Indeed, as we approach the 2016 presidential elections, conditions appear favorable for continued and expanded Patriot organizing—regardless of who wins the White House. While residents of Oregon and surrounding states will find special value in the detailed accounts of local Patriot groups, figures, and strategies, the findings and resources herein are broadly relevant across communities and states.

The Patriot movement is not a new phenomenon. In the 1990s the movement galvanized millions of Americans around the idea that the most dire and imminent threat to their freedom and safety came from their own federal government. The Patriot movement peaked during—and in opposition to—the administration of President Bill Clinton. Animated by the Brady Bill's restrictions on assault weapons and the tragedies at Waco and Ruby Ridge, the movement spun conspiracy theories that warned of imminent foreign invasion, secret concentration camps, treasonous politicians, and a shadowy "New World Order." It drew participants and ideas from a wide range of right-wing movements, among them White supremacist "Christian Identity" followers, gun rights groups, anti-globalists of the John Birch Society, apocalyptic Christian evangelicals preparing for the coming millennium, and anti-environmental "wise use" campaigners.

Self-styled "militias" were the armed wing, and a key feature, of the 1990s Patriot movement. These paramilitaries became active in all 50 states, with a combined membership numbering in the tens of thousands. Ultimately, the world witnessed the destructive power of this movement and its ideologies in the April 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City by neo-Nazi Timothy McVeigh. That domestic terrorist attack claimed 168 lives.

The 2008 election of Barack Obama, the first Black president of the United States, sparked a national Patriot movement revival, with the formation of new organizations and networks. While overshadowed by the prominence of Tea Party groups until its 2014 standoff with Bureau of Land Management agents at the Nevada ranch of Cliven Bundy, the Patriot movement had nonetheless been building its capacity. With their occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Oregon for 41 days in the winter of 2016, Patriot movement groups again landed front-and-center on the national scene.

As PRA research fellow and lead author Spencer Sunshine, PhD, documents with exceptional diligence and detail, key contemporary groups and personnel trace back to Patriot movement mayhem in the 1970s and 1990s. Now as then, Oregon and the larger Northwest region plays a distinct and prominent role in the national Patriot movement. The legacy of the White supremacist group Posse Comitatus–with its convoluted constitutional theories, emphasis on building power at the county level, and strategy of creating fake courts

to pronounce judgment on its adversaries–continues to shape the ideology and strategy of Patriot organizing in the Northwest.

We are indebted to the researchers and activists who have informed our understanding of the Patriot movement—many of whose names and works can be found in the extensive endnotes. Sunshine's research builds on important earlier work on the 1990s "Patriots" by, among others, Political Research Associates' own former longtime senior analyst and *Right Wing Populism in America* co-author Chip Berlet. The research and publications of the Northwest Coalition for Human Dignity—a collaborator with Rural Organizing Project during the 1990s that has since closed its doors—likewise warrants special recognition.

This guide was produced in partnership between Political Research Associates (PRA) and the Oregon-based community organizing group Rural Organizing Project—continuing PRA's long tradition of supporting social justice change makers with research, analysis, and hands-on tools to understand and overcome organized threats to human rights and democracy. (PRA has previously published activist resource toolkits on such topics as reproductive justice, immigrant rights, public education, democracy, and criminal justice reform.) We stand with Rural Organizing Project and local activists who risk their personal safety in refusing to surrender democracy to its armed adversaries. Both the danger and stakes are high. Rural Oregon human dignity activists have had their meetings protested by armed opponents, received death threats too numerous to count, dealt with dangerous tampering of their cars, and seen local law enforcement officers sworn to defend their rights instead side with the right-wing paramilitaries.

This desperate struggle for democracy remains invisible in part because it plays out largely in poor rural counties on the margins of national concerns and electoral calculations. Such communities must not be treated as expendable. Those who choose to disregard the menace taking root there today run the risk of confronting an enlarged threat to the broader body politic tomorrow.

This guide both honors and carries on the legacy of Rural Organizing Project's late founder (and Political Research Associates board member) Marcy Westerling. Her forebears were active in the World War II Dutch resistance and Marcy was a community builder and freedom fighter in her own right. She launched ROP in the crucible of attacks on the human rights of LGBTQ Oregonians in the early 1990s and for over 20 years brought community activists from across the state together to advance democracy and social justice in the face of often relentless attacks on immigrants, poor people, and other marginalized populations. I believe Marcy would be incensed at the Patriot movement's destructive force in Oregon, furious at the neglect of rural communities by political leaders, and proud of the courage and tenacity with which her Rural Organizing Project successors have risen to meet the challenge.

For Political Research Associates,
Tarso Luís Ramos
Executive Director
September 2016

PREFACE

In April 2015, Rural Organizing Project received a call from a local leader from rural Josephine County in southwestern Oregon. The local media was reporting that militants were maintaining an armed roadblock to a gold mine as a way of taking on the federal government. The coverage was mostly positive, explaining that the Oath Keepers, the central group in leadership, was a mere veterans' organization.

Folks who reached out to us saw something very different—armed people from outside of Oregon coming into Josephine County claiming to speak for the community while openly wielding automatic rifles, putting forth conspiracy theories, and making demands of local agencies and elected officials. When those with the most guns assert the right to speak for any community, it is an affront to democracy. Many local residents and neighbors immediately recognized it as a serious threat to their sacred community. They asked us, "What can we do?"

Josephine County turned out to be the first in a string of small towns and rural communities in Oregon facing armed confrontations, attempts to take over local governments, and militants bullying political opponents with the aim of silencing criticism. We knew a struggle for the hearts and minds of rural Oregon was underway and our response needed to be swift and decisive. Our beloved communities were under siege.

Rural Organizing Project brings over 25 years of experience supporting rural Oregonians to respond to local threats to democracy. In order to equip communities to better understand and effectively engage with this new threat, we knew it was essential to do our research. We knew that context and information on the so-called Patriot movement's vision and goals, and tools and resources would be crucial companions as local leaders bravely organize and speak out for the greater good of their communities.

To that end, we asked longtime friends and allies at Political Research Associates (PRA) for background information to complement our organizing and the research already compiled by ROP staff and leaders. PRA offered support and

quickly produced profiles of key Patriot groups for us to use with local activists and media. As the threat from Patriot paramilitaries continued, we found ourselves in regular contact with PRA fellow Spencer Sunshine, a longtime analyst of White supremacist and neofascist movements. Together we conceived of the project that evolved into this toolkit to answer these key questions: Who are the players in the Patriot movement? What are their strategies and tactics, their vision for our communities, and their worldview? And how do we take on their demands of our communities and local governments?

In this toolkit, we share the collective expertise of our network of thousands of rural activists, including stories of courageous rural community organizing and practical suggestions for those who feel like they have fallen through the looking glass into a strange new world. Collected here are lessons our network has learned during the rise of the militia movement in the 1990s until now, from the fights before and the fight we are in now.

Serious challenges to human dignity occur all too frequently. Over the years, Rural Organizing Project's network has taken on the White supremacist Aryan Nations trying to take over small towns, religious fundamentalist groups trying to force schools to teach a narrow curriculum, anti-immigrant ballot measures that demonize immigrants, and the harassment of our neighbors for their race, religion, sexual orientation, gender, class, and political opinions.

This moment is no exception. Many rural Oregonians feel the tension of being perilously close to crisis or disaster. Every few months the news reports that we are overdue for a massive earthquake, and every summer brings another round of terrifying forest fires. Economic uncertainty looms large. Our communities have been systematically defunded and neglected for decades. Our libraries, schools, post offices, and small town businesses in many communities are closing, forcing residents to travel further and further to take their kids to school, buy groceries, find work, or to simply access services. Families are hurting and more vulnerable than ever, working multiple low-wage jobs to make ends meet. Within this climate of instability and fear, Patriot groups and paramilitaries are positioning themselves to be the solution.

NEVER DOUBT THAT A SMALL GROUP OF THOUGHTFUL, COMMITTED CITIZENS CAN CHANGE THE WORLD; INDEED, IT'S THE ONLY THING THAT EVER HAS.

MARGARET MEAD

When a few people try to advance the politics of fear and exclusion by using armed force in a small community, democracy is threatened. The network of autonomous, all volunteer, community-based human dignity groups that make up ROP act as moral compasses to lead their communities. Rooted in the values of self-determination, human dignity, and economic, racial, and social justice, we can chart a course forward that brings our neighbors together to develop collective solutions that benefit us all. Over the past 25 years, we have witnessed the power of ordinary people leading their communities through crisis, whether that crisis is a natural disaster, economic distress, or a hate crime. Today, as this guide goes to print, scores of rural Oregonians are coming together to battle for the well being of their communities, despite retaliatory threats and intimidation.

This toolkit is created in their honor; to offer our collective intelligence to help guide all who stand with them and to encourage them to carry forward the work of creating the tangible reality of an inclusive democracy and justice and liberty for all.

Rural Organizing Project

HOW TO USE THIS TOOLKIT

WE CREATED THIS toolkit to serve the needs of journalists, public officials, and—especially—those people who are most affected by the Patriot movement. In this toolkit you will find the resources that have allowed communities to effectively organize to take their communities back, including background information, economic and political context, studies of effective organizing, the organizing tools that have been successfully used, rebuttals for Patriot talking points, safety and security checklists, and more. Read this toolkit cover to cover, or jump to the sections that will support your best organizing.

Spencer Sunshine provides a study of the Patriot movement, profiling key groups and showing the movement's roots in earlier White supremacist organizing. To help community members navigate the challenge, Sunshine also provides detailed reporting on what the movement is doing now in six Oregon counties.

For a quick look at the claims of the Patriot movement and how to respond to them, use the "Taking on Patriot Movement Talking Points" by Rural Organizing Project .

Professors Dan HoSang and Steve Beda track the real economic and political crises facing our rural communities. They spell out how the Patriot movement's singular solution of putting public land in private hands simply will not work.

The section "Organizing for an Oregon Where Everyone Counts" shares case studies of and lessons learned from counties which have resisted this movement, as well as sample tools like signature ads and press statements. We hope these case studies help inspire and encourage the understanding of how different strategies and tactics can be used in a community facing the militia.

Use the resources and tools—from "Starting A Group and Planning Your First Meeting" to "Creating a Culture of Safety and Security"—to guide you through the steps of bringing people together, planning events and activities, and deciding on the best strategies that work for your community.

We hope that this toolkit will serve to inspire you, to offer concrete tools and resources, and to encourage you to join the thousands of Oregonians who are showing up for the greater good of their communities.

If this toolkit finds you because you are a community in crisis, we hope that this can offer you some support. We also encourage you to give Rural Organizing Project or Political Research Associates a call. We invite you to join us to build a vision for stronger, vibrant, and more just rural communities together.

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Spencer Sunshine would also like to thank Patriot movement activists Joseph Rice and Richard Mack for taking the time to explain their political views.

SECTION I

LOOKING AT THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT

by Spencer Sunshine

1 | INTRODUCTION

THE ARMED OCCUPATION of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge outside of Burns, Oregon, from January 2 to February 11, 2016, thrust Oregon's Patriot movement into the national headlines. While most of the occupiers were from out of state, Oregon's movement specifically provided the groundwork for the occupation and was in Burns to help build off it politically. All over the state, Oregonians are struggling to figure out how to handle the armed Hard Right activists in their midst who are building paramilitary units, making inroads into the Republican Party, and threatening those who criticize their movement.

Today's Patriot movement is the successor to the 1990s militia movement, which had also swept the Pacific Northwest. Today, the core groups are united by a common political origin: a radical, right-wing interpretation of the Constitution that derides federal power and is hostile to environmentalism, a political worldview based on conspiracy theories, a penchant for forming paramilitaries, and a strategy of refusing to implement various laws. They often set up parallel structures that mimic real governmental ones.

Patriot movement propaganda such as this popular social media meme is often based on vague threats of coming civil war and foreign invasion.

They are right-wing populists who feel that, as a group, they are losing power, and they embrace a "producerist" worldview that holds up "productive" citizens (such as ranchers or loggers), scoff at unproductive elites (like environmentalists and bankers), and deride others as lazy, sinful, or subversive (including immigrants, refugees, and Muslims). Their simple solution to the economic problems rural areas face is to transfer federally owned land to states or counties, which they hope will lift restrictions on its use. They say they represent "the people," but few people are actually involved. Some are apocalyptic, preparing for the collapse of governmental and business structures by learning subsistence farming and survivalist tactics and by creating their alternative faux-governmental structures, which they hope will take the place of existing ones after a natural disaster or economic meltdown. Using Patriot movement political rhetoric and imagery, they create undemocratic forms that bypass, rather than try to strengthen, the often weakened democratic structures that exist.

The movement seems to operate with an "inside/outside" strategy: some parts of the movement work inside of established government structures to change them, while others work outside the system to undermine it.

Definitions vary as to how broad the Patriot movement is; some scholars include groups as mainstream as parts of the Tea Party. To support the Oregonians struggling to understand this arcane movement, this report focuses on the core factions operating in their state today: the militias, Oath Keepers (who recruit former and current members of the military, law enforcement, and first responders), Three Percenters (a name drawn from the claim that only three percent of colonists fought in the American Revolution), and Sovereign

Citizens, as well as the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association, which seeks to recruit county sheriffs to the cause.

These groups are often armed and advocate defying federal laws they think are unconstitutional. In Oregon, they are often embedded in the political life of rural counties, including the six focused on in this report—Baker, Grant, Josephine, Harney, Crook, and Deschutes counties. And yet the specifics of their worldview are often not well understood, even by their neighbors. You will learn about the particularities here: their ideas about county sheriffs having the power to ignore federal law, their desire to promote the political dominance of county governments, their use of "community service" to present themselves as civically minded, the creation of their own "grand juries" and "judges" to wage their idea of justice, and about the history of the movement, which goes back decades.

Even before the Malheur occupation, the movement's influence had mainstreamed into local and state governments, aided by a lurch to the right inside the Republican Party. The Patriot movement's aggressive political actions are inspiring mainstream groups and emboldening new legislation and recruiting drives. This is especially worrisome as the Patriot movement's toxic politics negatively impact people of color, Muslims, refugees, immigrants, and LGBTQ people, and the Patriot movement is hostile to environmental and economic justice concerns.

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT: A BRIEF HISTORY & OVERVIEW

THERE ARE THOUSANDS of Patriot movement activists in Oregon and several dozen groups. This includes local affiliates of the Oath Keepers, Three Percenters, and militias as well as law enforcement members, elected officials, Sovereign Citizens, and fake judges and courts. Indeed, it seems that Oregon has one of the most developed, active grassroots movements in the country.

They regularly find allies among Tea Party groups, the John Birch Society, Gun Owners of America, the Tenth Amendment Center, and the American Lands Council—the latter of which is funded by the fossil fuel billionaires Charles and David Koch to promote the transfer of public lands out of federal hands.

But the armed movement is not new, and its history reaches back to the founding of Posse Comitatus in 1971. This racist and antisemitic group emerged from the right-wing tax protest movement, the racist Christian Identity religion, conspiratorial anticommunism, and armed Hard Right vigilantes like the 1960s Minutemen. Posse Comitatus helped forge an idiosyncratic reading of the Constitution, taught that the county sheriff was the highest official who could interpret the law, advocated paramilitary formations, and opposed environmental restrictions. It later had a revival when it recruited some members of the 1970s and 1980s farmers' protest movement.

The militias sprang into existence in the early 1990s after the devastation of some rural economies, including those like Oregon's relying on the timber industry, and standoffs with federal agents at Ruby Ridge and Waco. The militias, which picked up Posse Comitatus's basic political positions and organizing forms, were locally based paramilitaries. They often focused on conspiracy theories about the need to resist a global "New World Order," black helicopters, and a coming United Nations' invasion. The movement grew very quickly after 1994 and became infamous in 1995 when some members bombed a federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people. But the movement seemed to flourish under a Democratic president, and soon after George W. Bush's election, it faded to a murmur.

Immediately after Barack Obama's election in 2008, a new wave of the Patriot movement emerged. This reincarnation included new political forms alongside old-style militias. It also followed decades of the movement trying to make its politics appear more mainstream and palatable.

Originally the Patriot movement's 2008 revival was closely associated with the Tea Party, which emerged at the same time. In addition to President Obama's election, Texas congressman Ron Paul's 2008 Republican presidential primary campaign

was a major organizational spark, including for the Oath Keepers' founder Stewart Rhodes. The reasons for this revitalized movement include the economic collapse—and the federal bank bailouts and economic stimulus package which followed; the rise of the Tea Party and Sarah Palin's candidacy for vice president, which knocked a substantial part of the Republican Party off its regular moorings; a related revival of conspiracy theories, including "Birther" allegations that Obama was not born in the United States; and more general Islamophobia and anti-immigrant xenophobia—as well as a continuing irritation with the first Black president, and a liberal, to boot. Other grievances included neoconservative foreign policies (including a disenchantment with the Afghanistan and Iraq wars) and commitments to transnational free trade agreements. The Patriot movement has focused on recruiting returning veterans and from the new, more aggressive gun culture—fostered by the hysterical propaganda about "Obama is coming to take our guns!"

While embedded in almost all-White organizing, the movement lacks the open appeals to White racial purity that could still be heard in some of the 1990s militias; this may have been the result of a self-conscious shift. Current leaders who have links to organized racism are usually members of the older movement, such as Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association founder Richard Mack and Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America. While the Patriot movement's goals were consciously formulated as racist positions by Posse Comitatus—i.e., empowering county sheriffs to ignore Civil Rights laws as being unconstitutional—they are given a different reasoning by today's activists, but have the same potential effect. Many of the specific conspiracy theories that were only one step away from antisemitism are gone, buried deep underneath, or supplanted by the more socially acceptable Islamophobia. This allows the Patriot movement to dodge many of the accusations of White supremacy and antisemitism that continued to damage the reputations of the 1990s militias. This change adds an additional difficulty for progressives in developing talking points about the Patriot movement's race politics and alerting people to the problems it contains.

Meanwhile, the mainstream of the Republican Party has shifted dramatically to the right, and with it much of its base, creating a fertile organizing climate for the Patriot movement. The presidential candidacy of Donald Trump—in particular with his immigrant bashing and rabidly Islamophobic rhetoric—has mainstreamed ideas that used to be in the margins. A sense of unease over the future of the United States is prevalent at the end of Barack Obama's presidency. The rise, not just of Trump—but also the strong run of democratic socialist Bernie Sanders in the 2016 Democratic presidential primary—shows that Americans are looking outside the generally accepted parameters of U.S. political discourse and considering different options. On the Right, this means they are warming up to previously taboo expressions of bigotry and the use of political violence. The Patriot movement was long a political outlier on a national level, although in the West its ideas were more mainstream on the local and state levels. Now, in the national Republican Party, the Patriot movement's ideas are mainstream on a national level—even if its tactics are still on the fringe.

The new Patriot movement groups since 2008 are:

- **The Three Percenters**, cofounded by militia veteran Mike Vanderboegh in late 2008, was developed as a more decentralized version of the militias, in order to avoid government infiltration. Anyone can declare themselves a Three Percenter, although there are also regional and national groups. The name refers to the disputed number of American colonists who took up arms during in the Revolutionary War.
- **The Oath Keepers** was founded in 2009 by Stewart Rhodes, an aide to former Texas Congressman Ron Paul, and is the most mainstream of the Patriot movement groups. It is a traditionally organized membership-based group of current and

former law enforcement, military, and first responders. They pledge to disobey orders they see as unconstitutional. They embrace staple 1950s and 1960s anti-communist conspiracy theories, claiming that the federal government is preparing to seize privately held firearms, impose martial law on the states, and put Americans in "concentration camps" before allowing foreign armies to invade.

- **THE CONSTITUTIONAL SHERIFFS AND PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION (CSPOA)** was founded in 2010, and is led by former Arizona county sheriff Richard Mack, who is also on the board of the Oath Keepers. CSPOA is affiliated with the Oath Keepers. CSPOA says, "Sheriffs and Officers who follow the Constitution line by line possess the power to shield against the Federal assault on American Citizens rights." Mack believes that county sheriffs have the power to decide which laws are constitutional and therefore should be enforced. CSPOA says, "Very few people realize that the Sheriff has the legitimate authority to prevent federal agents from entering the county—or the power to throw them out once they are there." It looks like its members see themselves as a force inside the U.S. government trying to pull down the current system from within. In Oregon, Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer is a former leader in the organization; during the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, he met with some occupiers.

The influence of Sovereign Citizens also took off again after 2008; they follow the made-up legal theories of Posse Comitatus. They believe they are exempt from most laws, regulations, and taxes. They have been known to file false liens against judges and others who they have been in conflict with; some Sovereign Citizens declare themselves "judges" and/or establish "citizen's grand juries" or "common law grand juries," where they hold

Members of the Oath Keepers patrol the Sugar Pine mine near Grants Pass, Oregon in 2015. (Photo: Shawn Records)

kangaroo trials against government employees or others they disagree with. A guilty conviction can be a green light for kidnapping or assassination. Now even some former county sheriffs are declaring themselves to be Sovereign Citizen-style "marshals." Similar to these are the Committees of Safety, which are Patriot movement groups which mimic a local government structure and lay claim to any number of powers.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Patriot movement's peak was in 2011, and then declined for several years, before suddenly growing by a third in 2014.[1] The likely reason for this reversal is the conflict between Nevada rancher Cliven Bundy and the Bureau of Land Management in April 2014; when authorities came to seize his cattle due to nonpayment of grazing fees, he called in armed Patriot movement groups, which pointed weapons at federal officers, causing them to retreat. Until February 2016, no charges were filed in this standoff. During this delay, the movement portrayed the standoff as a successful case of them putting into action their plans to hold off the federal government with paramilitary units—something that had not happened before. This apparently helped revitalize the flagging Patriot movement, which in turn attempted to replicate the victory in Oregon.

The Patriot movement's presence in Oregon quickly became visible. In April 2015, the owners

of the Sugar Pine Mine in southwestern Oregon's Josephine County became involved in a dispute with the Bureau of Land Management. The agency had asked the miners to file a plan of operations, or appeal, if they wanted to continue to work the claim.[2] Instead of replying to the notice with their paperwork, the miners called in the Patriot movement activists, who flooded in from both the surrounding areas and out of state to establish armed camps. This spurred on the creation of the Pacific Patriots Network as an umbrella group to facilitate cooperation between Oregon and Idaho groups. Network members then traveled to Lincoln, Montana in August 2015 to help establish armed camps at the White Hope Mine there. They also organized the initial march in Burns, which the Malheur occupation came out of. They are now active in supporting those facing charges because of it, as well as supporting energized Patriot movement members in the Republican Party.

It was the Sugar Pine Mine armed camps that prompted the state's Rural Organizing Project to more closely track Oregon's Patriot movement with Political Research Associates, resulting in this report and activist resource kit.

For years, conservatives have attempted to either privatize or transfer federally owned lands—over 50 percent of the land in some western states—to state or county governments in order to circumvent environmental regulations regarding logging, mining, and ranching. On January 2, 2016 in Oregon, Patriot movement activists held a march in Burns, a remote town in Harney County near the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, to protest an unusual prison sentence against two ranchers who had long been wrangling with the federal government; Dwight and Steven Hammond, father and son, had been sentenced under terrorism laws for starting fires, one of which was on the federal refuge where they had grazing rights.

At the end of the march, a small group of armed activists from other states occupied the headquarters of the nearby Malheur National Wildlife Refuge—including Ammon and Ryan Bundy, brothers whose father's ranch in Nevada was home to an armed standoff against the Bureau of Land Management in 2014, and Jon Ritzheimer (a well-known Islamophobic organizer). They demanded the Hammonds be freed, and the refuge be transferred out of federal hands. The occupation lasted 41 days and attracted intense national media coverage. Two fake "grand juries" were held or planned by those associated with the occupation, and a number of self-proclaimed "judges" weighed in, arguing that federal laws had no power.

While most occupiers were from out-of-state, and no Oregon group officially supported the occupation, individual Oregonians joined it. Oregon supporters also channeled supplies to the occupiers.

Neighboring Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer also appeared supportive of the occupation. In January 2016, Sheriff Palmer, who had already met with occupation leadership twice, was slated to appear with Ammon Bundy and other Malheur occupiers who were traveling to Grant County to help establish another group to act as a shadow government. The occupiers were arrested en route, and Robert "LaVoy" Finicum was killed when he refused to surrender and charged at law enforcement.

More than two dozen people involved in the 2014 armed standoff at the Bundy Ranch, including Cliven Bundy, were then also arrested on conspiracy and weapons charges. The first trials for the Oregon occupation, including for Ammon and Ryan Bundy, started on September 13, 2016.[3]

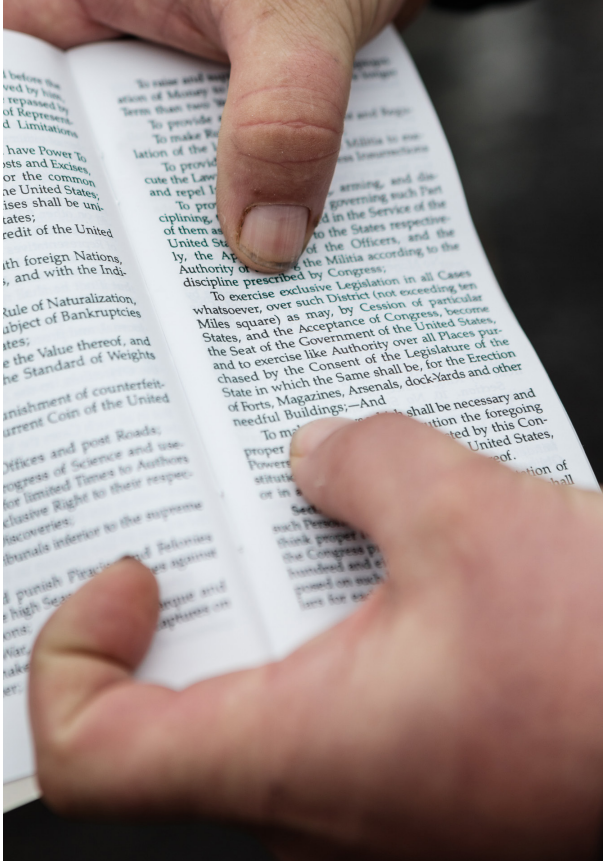
PATRIOT MOVEMENT BELIEFS

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CORE BELIEFS of the Patriot movement that are deeply problematic:

- **Transfer of federally-owned lands.** The Patriot movement believes that the Constitution does not permit the federal government to own most public land. They prefer transferring them to the county level as a way to circumvent environmental restrictions. The 2016 national Republican Party platform advocates the transfer of federal lands to the state.
- **Unrestricted gun ownership.** The Patriot movement opposes all new gun restrictions, and ideally would like to oppose all existing

ones. The Umpqua Community College mass shooting in October 2015 occurred in Roseburg, Oregon, where the county sheriff already signed a CSPOA-inspired letter and has publicly criticized gun regulation as a response to mass shootings.

- **Anti-immigrant xenophobia and Islamophobia.** Oath Keepers and Three Percenters have been actively involved in vigilante border patrols, blocking buses of immigrants who have already been detained, holding anti-refugee rallies, and spreading virulent anti-Muslim rhetoric. Now they add guns to this volatile mix; armed protests have been held outside mosques. Jon Ritzheimer, one of the high-profile Malheur occupiers, is a well-known Islamophobic organizer; and the 3% of Idaho, one of the paramilitaries active in Burns supporting the occupation, has organized several anti-Syrian refugee demonstrations in Idaho.
- **Nullification and coordination.** The notion that federal laws can be ignored by local governments, on either the county or state level, dates back to advocates of slavery in the 1820s. A similar idea that relies on this is known as "coordination." In the Hard Right reading of this concept, county-level governments can declare themselves legal equals to the federal government in land use matters, giving themselves veto power. In Oregon, several county commissions, two CSPOA sheriffs, and even a mining district have invoked this version of coordination.
- **Libertarian economics and hostility to the federal government.** The Patriot movement is hostile to most forms of federal government regulation and wealth redistribution, which correct for social and economic inequities. This includes, but is not limited to, progressive positions on racial equality, LGBTQ rights, and environmentalism. The Patriot movement is largely driven by libertarian economics and frequently devolves into conspiracy theories about the Federal Reserve. While social issues about LGBTQ rights and abortion are not a focus for them, they will occasionally intervene on the conservative side; for example, in September 2015 the Oath Keepers offered to guard Kim Davis, the Kentucky county clerk who refused to issue same-sex marriage licenses.
- **Implicit racism.** The Patriot movement is implicitly racist in its approach to social problems. Its members have become increasingly hostile to the Black Lives Matter movement. In one egregious example, in November 2015 a Three Percenter supporter shot five people at a Black Lives Matter encampment in Minneapolis. There is a consistent underlying idea that when the Patriot movement talks about the United States and the Constitution, it is assuming white, patriarchal, heterosexual, and Protestant norms—even if the movement does not explicitly organize around these notions. Their actions support the maintenance of the social status quo, while they



The Patriot movement claims that Article 1, Section 8, Clause 17 of the U.S. Constitution prohibits the federal government from owning most public lands. The courts do not back this view. (Photo: Shawn Records)

simultaneously oppose most attempts to address these power imbalances.

- **Anti-environmentalism and climate change denial.** In addition to their general opposition to environmental regulation, many Patriot movement activists deny human-created climate change. They frequently draw on a conspiracy theory that the non-binding United Nations resolution about sustainability called Agenda 21 dislodges U.S. sovereignty and is the secret power behind environmental and public land-use initiatives as simple as building local parks. Both the Oregon and national Republican Party platforms denounce Agenda 21.

SPREADING A CULTURE OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

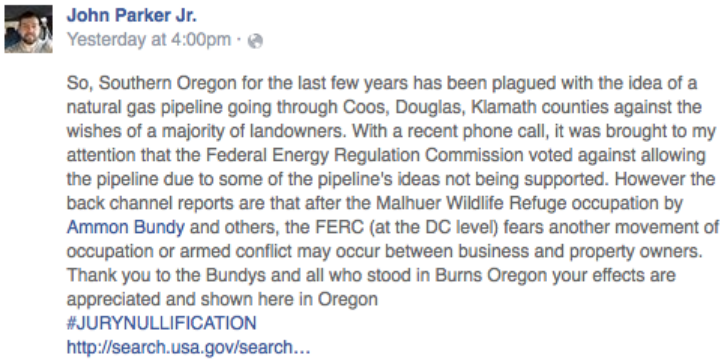
THE MALHEUR OCCUPATION is rooted in the political culture of violence that the Patriot movement is based on. Unregulated gun ownership is one of their primary goals, and many of their political forms are paramilitary units. Their political actions include occupations, protests, camps, and marches while armed; and there are frequent threats towards elected officials, progressive activists, critics, and even each other. One flashpoint has been SB 941, an Oregon law signed in May 2015 barring gun ownership on some mental health grounds and requiring background checks by licensed dealers even for individuals who receive a gun from another private person.

Many in the movement believe that there is a plot to disarm the civilian population as a first step in allowing a foreign invasion of the United States. To them, the militias are a last line of defense against a looming threat to the nation. They also believe that the Second Amendment is the cornerstone of the Constitution, and claim it does not allow for any kind of gun restrictions. Public displays of weaponry are therefore an affirmation of their political beliefs. Many see the Constitution as legally allowing the Malheur occupiers to have guns while occupying a federal building.

The organizing in Burns led to an epidemic of threats against community members, including the county sheriff and his family, a faith leader, federal employees, state troopers, a leader of the Burns Paiute Tribe, and even the Oregon governor. Many fled the county for their safety, including the sheriff's wife. The Malheur National Wildlife Refuge manager was whisked out of town and the employees were told to leave. Across the state, progressive political events, governmental hearings, and even community discussions have been disrupted and sometimes canceled. Rural Organizing Project has been the target of numerous threats. Where the Patriot movement goes, violence follows.

Beyond specific individuals who are targeted, this kind of activity has a chilling effect on political speech. One Oregon activist who was threatened, for example, told me that it was "just not worth it" to continue to speak out against the Patriot movement. As the occupation in Burns dragged on, many locals were too tired and too afraid to continue to speak out. And as a reputation for violence and intimidation precedes it, the movement can sometimes silence critics without even having to threaten them.

The Patriot movement also fosters a more general culture of violence outside of regular movement activism, which can be seen by the constant drumbeat of arrests of its members for various violent crimes—in addition to those related to the Bundy Ranch and Malheur Refuge conflicts. In December 2015, a Three Percenter was arrested with a firearm and homemade explosives on the Arkansas State University campus. Jerad and Amanda Miller, who had gone to the Bundy



A Patriot movement activist claims on Facebook that the Malheur occupation influenced a decision about a natural gas pipeline.

Ranch, killed three people in Las Vegas in June 2014, before dying in a shootout. In November 2015, Freddy Crisp is alleged to have murdered fellow Patriot movement activist Dale Potter, a veteran of the Bundy Ranch. And in a similar case, in January 2016, Vincent Smith shot and killed his friend, Charles Carter.[5] In Medford, Oregon a Three Percenter was arrested for threatening President Obama in April 2016.[6] These are just a tiny fraction of the total number of people arrested in the movement for violent crimes.

RIGHT-WING PARAMILITARIES & THE REPUBLICAN PARTY: A MOVEMENT/PARTY DYNAMIC

There is a complicated dynamic between the Republican Party and the Patriot movement. The Patriot movement shares many of the same political positions as a large part of the Republican Party. While the party's national leadership is largely distant from direct ties, as we will see, local and state Republicans are often integrated with the Patriot movement. The Malheur occupation drew the support of many Republican officials, a number of whom came to visit in person. Tim Smith, the former chair of the Harney County Republican County, was the head of the Ammon Bundy-formed Committee of Safety during the occupation. Ken Taylor—treasurer of the state-level Republican Party and chair of the Crook County GOP, at least until mid-2016—recorded the founding of the Committee of Safety and promoted the group, even as Ammon Bundy and his colleagues were threatening the Harney County sheriff. Josephine County Oath Keeper Joseph Rice, leader of the Sugar Pine Mine armed camps, went to the 2016 Republican Convention as an Oregon state party delegate. The Malheur occupation also seemed to spur legislative attempts to attempt to gain control over federal lands.

INROADS TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS & LAW ENFORCEMENT

The Patriot movement is having an outsized influence in comparison to its relatively small numbers on a national scale. Its talking points have spread so far that it is frequently difficult to tell which officials are actually adherents, which are influenced by their perspectives, and which have been influenced by these political positions through political movements similar to the Patriot movement.

At a Trump campaign stop in Eugene, Oregon, two of his supporters sport shirts with the brand of LaVoy Finicum's ranch. (Photo: Peter Walker)

The more mainstream elements of the Patriot movement are directly tied to a number of town, county, and state-level governments in Oregon and elsewhere. In Oregon, State Representative Dallas Heard visited occupied Malheur on January 9, 2016 on a trip organized by the Patriot-movement-aligned Coalition of Western States. Other members of the state house and senate appeared alongside Oath Keepers and Three Percenters at rallies opposing SB 941, the new gun control law, in May 2015. During his speech, Three Percenter cofounder Mike Vanderboegh threatened civil war against the Oregon state government over the new law. In a number of Oregon counties—including Josephine, Crook, Harney, Grant, and Baker—Patriot movement activists have run for office directly, and a few hold office.

Of particular concern is the influence of the Oath Keepers and CSPOA on law enforcement officers, especially county sheriffs; at one point,

For the Patriot movement, Harney County became part of their national agenda to shift political control to the county level. Sheriff Richard Mack, from Arizona, is a leader of the "Constitutional Sheriff" movement, that seeks that empower county sheriffs to decide which laws are constitutional. (Photo: Peter Walker)

two-thirds of Oregon county sheriffs appeared on a list of sheriffs who opposed gun control measures, earning accolades from the CSPOA. The Oath Keepers encourage sheriffs and police to practice a form of nullification, hoping to get them to refuse to enact gun-control laws in particular. Having lost many battles at the federal level on social issues, the Patriot movement is moving towards advocating local resistance to implementing progressive legislation and federal rules.

IMPACT ON RURAL SOCIETY

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT is laying deep roots in certain segments of rural society, especially in the West, as well as among veterans, many of whom feel abandoned by the government and are looking instead to community-based initiatives outside of a government structure. The stagnant economies of rural Oregon—whose wealth, largely based on natural resource extraction, dried up in the 1980s and 1990s—are prime areas for resentment. This is

especially true in counties where the federal government controls much of the land; in Oregon as a whole, it controls 53 percent, and in Harney County, where the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge is located, it controls a whopping 75 percent.[7] In Josephine County—due to a decline in federal funds and low property tax rates—county law enforcement is too understaffed to even respond to all emergency 911 calls. There the Oath Keepers are establishing disaster response teams, as well as forming and grooming community watches and militias as usable alternatives. In addition to the paramilitary units, their grassroots initiatives appear to be attracting a larger number of women and even families in comparison to the 1990s militia movement.

Patriot groups are clearly speaking to a social and psychological void in rural communities that feel abandoned by the federal government. But the movement's libertarian-style anti-tax, anti-federal government positions will only intensify the problems of unemployment, homelessness, and lack of social services that plague rural communities.

However, it should be noted that the movement is not an exclusively rural affair. The structures of the Oath Keepers and Three Percenters, and fixation on gun rights, can easily can adapt to urban settings. Even in New York City, one can find members of both groups—just as there were militias there in the 1990s.

Since the movement holds reactionary views on so many social issues, and its use of violence is so openly tolerated, we can expect its successes to further racial and economic inequality, environmental destruction, and antidemocratic processes—both for people in small towns and rural areas, as well as in the cities.

What follows shows the linkages between the national movement, its history, and the Patriot movement in Oregon to help progressive activists navigate this complex political terrain.

CONFRONTING WHITE NATIONALISM

IT WOULD BE EASY TO DISMISS racist White nationalism as limited to fringe groups on the extreme edges of civil society, but this is sadly not true. Organized White supremacist groups do not cause prejudice in the United States—they exploit it. What we clearly see as objectionable bigotry surfacing in racist social and political movements is actually the magnified form of oppressions that swim silently in the familiar yet obscured eddies of "mainstream" society. Racism, sexism, and fear of LGBTQ people, Mexicans, Muslims, and Jews still persists as forms of supremacy that create oppression. Thus these forms of prejudice defend and expand inequitable power and privilege whether or not there is activity by organized White supremacist groups.

White nationalism saturates our lives in the United States—from our major political parties, to the so-called Patriot movement—all the way out to violent armed insurgents. We need to confront the color line that bestows on White people unfair advantages. We need to revoke that grant of privilege by working to correct the injustice that still stains our nation with the spilling of blood. As the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. warned us, either we build community or we will face chaos.

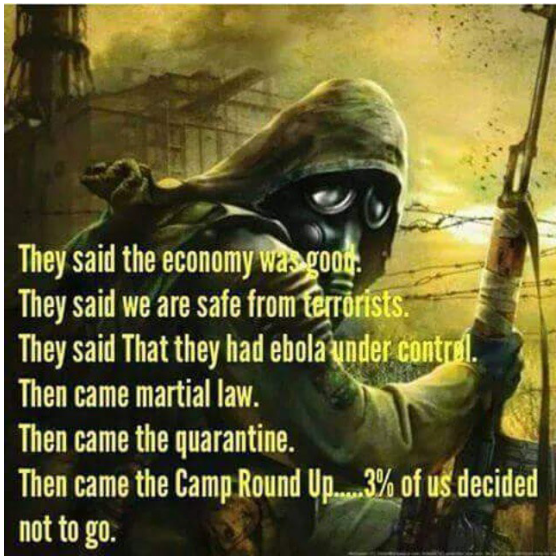
—Chip Berlet

2 | THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT NATIONALLY & HISTORICALLY

A. WHAT IS RIGHT-WING POPULISM?

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT is a form of "right-wing populism," a reaction to progressive social change by a group that sees itself as losing power, and challenges elites as well as minorities, both of which they see as unproductive, parasitic elements of society. While left-wing populists also challenge elites, right-wing populists instead seek to mobilize "the people" through demonization and scapegoating, conspiracy theories, and apocalyptic narratives and millennial visions.

They tap into a deep history of "producerist" thinking in U.S. life. The protagonists in the producerist story are the people in a society whose work involves creating tangible things. The bad guys are both "unproductive" elites, who lord over the producers, and groups socially beneath them, who may be seen as "lazy, sinful, or subversive."[8] Elites are said to be redistributing the wealth created by the producers' hard work to these undeserving groups as a form of political patronage. Different versions of this story have different political implications. In a common version, factory workers and farmers are the heroes, the elites are Wall Street bankers, and the lazy groups are poor people on welfare. In the White supremacist version, the producers are White, the elites are Jewish, and the lazy and sinful groups are people of color. The western Patriot movement sees the producers as farmers, ranchers, and loggers; the elites as socialists, the Federal Reserve, and the banking system; and the subversive groups as Syrian refugees and Black Lives Matter protestors.



The Three Percenters promote apocalyptic narratives in which they are the heroes of the story.

Demonization and scapegoating works by dehumanizing others and then blaming them for society's problems. Various groups have been demonized in U.S. history, including Native Americans, African-Americans, Jews, Catholics, and various immigrant groups. Today, Muslims and dark-skinned immigrants are demonized by Donald Trump and FOX News. The majority group's problems and frustrations are blamed on those being scapegoated, distracting attention from the actual social and economic causes of the problems. This process also acts to unify the main group and give them a sense of righteousness.[9]

Conspiracy thinking takes a scapegoated group and sees them as secretly plotting against common people. These secretive conspirators are seen as holding vast power, wielding it for evil purposes, and standing at the center of world events. Conspiracy thinking therefore sees social conflicts as a struggle between Good and Evil that transcends the actual situation at hand. Conspiracy theories are famous for their loose adherence to facts, which must be made fit into the story. There

is often some element of truth in a conspiracy theory, but it is followed by various leaps of logic.[10] In Burns, Oregon, Patriot movement activists claimed the United Nations, environmentalists, Chinese mining interests in cahoots with Hillary Clinton and that French mercenaries were conspiring to drive local ranchers off of the land.

Last, the apocalyptic narratives and millennial visions of right-wing populists anticipate an imminent showdown with these evil elites. This could be the start of a new Christian era, or a civil war to "reclaim the nation." Millennialism is the idea that a perfect society can be brought into being. While not a negative belief on its own, it can fuel dangerous situations when combined with these other elements of right-wing populism.[11] Some elements of the Patriot movement wish to launch a "second American revolution," which will overturn hundreds of years of American history and set the clock back to their ideal society of 1776. The implications of this for not just for the political system—but for racial, gender, and sexual inequalities—should not be overlooked.

Some people want to dismiss right-wing populists as people who are not in a normal mental state. This is not true; these are usually cross-class movements composed of people who are largely the same as everybody else. While their claims are sometimes bizarre or conspiratorial, they seek to address their grievances (whether real or perceived), by using different kinds of political tactics, including perfectly normal ones like running for office. However, as right-wing populists, they end up mobilizing people to defend an unequal distribution of social and economic power.[12] For example, a right-wing populist may claim there is a United Nations plot to disarm all Americans so that China can invade more easily. However, the political action they take to counteract this is to support a Republican candidate who opposes gun control. Wild ideas may motivate rather pedestrian political acts.

Right-wing movements are complex, and often involve fanning some form of popular resentment.[13] This report will use the term "Hard Right" as Berlet and Lyons conceive of it. The Hard Right is against a democratic vision of society, in which different groups are mobilized to have a voice and participate in the political system. The Hard Right may either be elitists or build mass movements; some call for authoritarian rule, which others stop short of trying to destroy democratic institutions.[14]

Keeping this framework in mind, this report will explore what the Patriot movement looks like today, on a both national level and in Oregon; how it has developed over several decades; the issues it organizes around and tactics it uses; the social and economic factors driving this movement; and what kind of positive actions we can take when Patriot movement groups organize in our communities.

B. THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT, PAST & PRESENT

THE EVOLUTION of the current Patriot movement can be viewed as having developed over the past several decades. This report will examine its evolution in three stages: 1) Posse Comitatus, 1971–mid-1980s; 2) militia movement, 1990s–early 2000s; 3) the present wave of the Patriot movement, 2008–2016.

Scholars describe how broad or narrow the Patriot movement is in different ways. For example, Berlet and Lyons include both right-wing conspiracy theory groups like the anticommunist John Birch Society and armed groups promoting antisemitic and White supremacist themes. For them, the 1990s militia movement was the "armed wing" of the Patriot movement.[15] Unless otherwise noted, this report will simply describe the post-2008 resurgence of militant right-wing groups as the "Patriot Movement" to differentiate it from the 1990s militia movement. These are primarily the five groups outlined below: the Oath Keepers, CSPOA, the Three Percenters, Sovereign Citizens, and militias. (There is a sixth group of Hard Right Mormons, as well.)

The terms "paramilitaries" and "militias" will also be used in specific ways. Militias are locally based, armed groups that claim to be the people's mechanism to defend the country and the

Right-Wing Populism in the United States of America

How the "Producerist" Narrative Fuels Demonization & Scapegoating

"Elite Parasites"

(Caricatures of dangerous threats from above)

Secret Elites, International Bankers, Jews, Illuminati, Freemasons, Liberals, Democrats, Socialists, Globalists, Godless Secular Humanists, Corrupt Politicians, Government Bureaucrats

Hard-Working "Productive" Populists Feel Squeezed From Above
So They Direct Anger & Conspiracism Upwards

Electoral Candidate pledges to Crush "Parasites" Above and Below for "Producers"

Insurgent Right praises Electoral Candidate, but warns of lies by "Elite Parasites"

Two-Way Recruitment

Two-Way Recruitment

Conservative Right

Reformist Electoral/Legislative Movements

CONSERVATIVE SECTOR

Politicians
Elections
Legislation
Policy Think Tanks
Media
Foundations
Wealthy Funders
Training Centers
Collegiate Press Network
Business Lobby Groups

Dissident Right Populism

Reformist Social Movements

HARD RIGHT SECTOR

Right-Wing Media Outlets
Anti-Union
Tax Revolt v. "Big Government"
Anti-Immigrant
English Only
Business Nationalist
"Red Menace," "Cultural Marxism," & "Political Correctness" Mythologies
Anti-Affirmative Action
Economic Libertarians
PropertyRights "Wise Use"
< alt-right > Networks
Anti-Welfare
"Patriot" & Militia Movements
Christian Nationalism & Dominionism
White Nationalists & Xenophobes
Anti-Feminists & Mysogynists
Tea Party & Town Hall Protest Groups
Antisemitic Conspiracist Theorists
Anti-Abortion
Generic Conspiracist Theorists
Anti-LGBTQ
Anti-Muslim
Christian Theocrats

Ultra Right

Insurgent Social Movements

Sometimes Called: Far Right or Extremist Right

HARD RIGHT SECTOR

Armed White Nationalists
White Aryan Resistance
Racist Skinheads
Posse Comitatus
Christian Identity
National Alliance
Aryan Nations
Ku Klux Klan
Neonazis

Hard-Working "Productive" Populists Feel Squeezed From Below
So They Direct Anger, and Rhetorical *and* Physical Attacks Downward

"Lazy, Sinful, Subversive Parasites"

(Stereotypes of dangerous threats from below)

Lazy: Blacks, People of Color, Welfare Mothers, "Undeserving Poor," Non-White Immigrants
Sinful: Feminists, Abortionists, Homosexuals (and their supporters); Non-Christians
Subversive: Social & Economic Justice Activists, Labor & Community Organizers, Immigrants, Muslims

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Constitution. Paramilitaries include militias, but also include other kinds of armed, political formations that are not part of any official governmental apparatus, including vigilante border patrols and decentralized forms like Three Percenters.

Stage 1: Posse Comitatus, 1971—1980s

THE POSSE COMITATUS (Latin for "power of the county") started in 1971 as a decentralized White supremacist and antisemitic movement; it set the original template that the militia and Patriot movements have continued to follow.[16] This group was conceptualized by William Potter Gale, a Christian Identity minister. (Christian Identity is a racist, antisemitic, and homophobic religion that teaches that the "real" Israelites are White people, that Jews are the "children of Satan," and that people of color are "mud people.") Gale fused his religious beliefs with ideas from anticommunist conspiracy theories, right-wing tax protesters, and Hard Right paramilitaries such as the 1960s Minutemen.

Unlike others in the organized White supremacist movement who were turning towards neo-Nazism, with its European symbols and references, Gale used traditional U.S. political and legal language. He claimed that the U.S. Constitution was a White, Christian document that had been perverted by the Jewish-controlled government. His other idiosyncratic readings of legal history later gave rise to the Sovereign Citizen movement, including schemes for counterfeiting and fraud.

Gale also apparently developed the proposition that the county sheriff was the "only legal law enforcement officer," and so could decide which laws to enforce.[17] This would allow them to ignore the new Civil Rights laws, in particular. This idea is common in the Patriot movement today, although its racist origins are overlooked. Posse Comitatus also advocated the formation of "citizens grand juries," made up of movement members. The group also advocated that its "Christian Patriot" members form "citizens militias" to help put their ideas into action.

Posse Comitatus was deeply anti-environmentalist as well. In 1974, the Posse Comitatus group in Klamath County, Oregon, threatened to have their fake grand juries try state legislators if they didn't repeal an environmental act.[18] Daniel Levitas, who has written the most complete history of the movement, said that, "Unlike most other right-wing groups that shared similar beliefs, the Posse succeeded at joining its conspiracy theories, bigotry, and zest for violence to more mainstream issues, such as banking, land-use planning, environmental regulations, property rights, gun ownership, and race."[19]

In the 1970s Posse Comitatus was popular in the western states, and its most important propagandist, Henry Lamont "Mike" Beach, was based in Portland, Oregon. In 1976, the FBI estimated there were between 12,000 to 50,000 Posse Comitatus members in 78 chapters across 23 states.[20]

A new wave of Posse Comitatus activism in the early 1980s gained traction during the farm crisis, when many small farmers lost their land due to inflation making their mortgage and other debts difficult to pay, and changes in the international agricultural industry. Some members of the American Agriculture Movement, which helped to lead protests, fell under the Posse Comitatus's spell and started blaming an international Jewish conspiracy for their problems. Members attended bomb-making and paramilitary trainings with Posse Comitatus members. High-profile shootouts with law enforcement ended up creating movement martyrs such as Gordon Kahl.[21] By the mid-1980s, the movement had as many as 15,000 activists and seven-to-ten times as many supporters,[22] but it soon faded as the Ku Klux Klan revival and neo-Nazi movement took center stage in White supremacist circles.

But the influence of the Posse Comitatus lingers today in the Patriot movement. Both movements see oppression not as something that happens based on race, sex, gender, or even class, but rather as happening to the (largely white, largely male part of the) rural population; conceive of the federal government as a tyrannical force acting against this group's interests; propose armed action to be taken against it; and share an end vision of a radically transformed legal and

political system. This is what gives the Patriot movement the *tone*—even when it has broken with the specific ideology—of the armed White supremacist underground.

In addition to the Posse Comitatus, the John Birch Society has had a significant influence on today's Patriot movement. While many of the political organizing forms were forged by the Posse Comitatus, many of the current movement's ideas are taken from the John Birch Society. Founded in 1958, it is the archetypical Hard Right anticommunist group. While using ideas based in antisemitism and White supremacy, the John Birch Society was careful never to blame Jews as such, and did not make open appeals to White racial purity, even while opposing the Civil Rights movement. They promoted the idea that there was a conspiracy to undermine the United States from within and without; John Birch Society founder Robert Welch called then-President Dwight D. Eisenhower a "conscious, dedicated agent of the Communist Conspiracy." One official John Birch Society publication said the "real nature" of the United Nations "is to build One World Government (New World Order)."[23] The John Birch Society is still around today, and its theories are staple Patriot movement beliefs. Starting in the early 1990s, it promoted anti-environmentalism and worked to limit federal land ownership.[24] Today it also champions the role of the county sheriff as interpreter of the Constitution.

The group has had a revival of interest in recent years; its president spoke at Ron Paul's "Rally for the Republic," a counter-rally against the 2008 Republican National Convention in Minneapolis. Another John Birch Society member spoke at the 2013 CSPOA conference.[25] The group also sponsored the 2012 "Utah's Freedom Conference," which featured many Patriot movement activists speaking about land transfer, "sound money," and religion.[26]

Stage 2: The Militia Movement, 1992—2001

In the early 1990s, many political ideas and organizational forms of Posse Comitatus were revived in what became known as the "militia movement" (which now dropped both the "Christian" from Patriot, and "citizens" from militias). The tragedies at Ruby Ridge and Waco became rallying cries for the movement.

White separatist Randy Weaver, an affiliate of the racist Aryan Nations group, lived in a remote part of the northeastern Idaho panhandle. Federal agents tried to turn him into an informant, using an illegal gun sale against him. When an arrest warrant was eventually issued, he retreated to his remote cabin with his wife and children. FBI agents laid siege to the cabin, and in a tragic series of events, Weaver's wife and son—as well as an FBI agent—were killed. The surviving Weaver family members eventually won a $3 million wrongful death lawsuit.

Then, in February 1993, the ATF raided the compound of David Koresh's Branch Davidian sect, located outside of Waco, Texas. Koresh had been accused of having illegal guns as well as sexually exploiting minors. The ATF raid led to a shootout in which four federal agents and six sect members were killed. This was followed by a siege, almost two months long; as part of it, federal authorities used psychological warfare on the Branch Davidians. In another terrible series of events, during the final assault the compound caught on fire; in the end, a total of 80 Branch Davidians (including 21 children) died, in addition to the four federal agents.[27]

The deaths at Waco and Ruby Ridge both involved raids for violations of guns laws and deaths at the hands of federal authorities. Together with the 1993 Brady Bill, which introduced strong new restrictions on gun sales, a variety of Hard Right activists became incensed at federal overreach, which was seen as advanced implementing a "New World Order" of global control.[28] Together, these events became the catalyst for the new militia movement.

This movement was based on Posse Comitatus's basic political positions and organizing forms. The "militias" were locally based paramilitaries, often organized at a state level and professing conspiracy theories about a global New World Order, black helicopters, and a coming United Nations

invasion. (Often these theories were derived from antisemitism, although usually they no longer named "the Jews" as the active agent of the conspiracy.) The militias also became intertwined with the "Wise Use" movement, which started as a corporate-funded backlash to the successes of environmentalism in the 1980s.[29]

The connection between organized White separatists and the 1990s militia movement has been hotly debated by scholars. Early meetings, such as the 1992 Estes Park meeting, brought together Aryan Nations' Louis Beam and Richard Butler, racist Christian Identity preachers like Pete Peters, and mainstream gun rights advocates like Larry Pratt. Also present was John Trochmann, who later founded the important Militia of Montana; he was part of the support group for Ruby Ridge's Randy Weaver—itself led by Beam.[30] However, as the movement got into full swing, only a minority of its members were followers of organized racist movements. The militia movement drew members from a variety of political trends, including gun rights activists, right-wing tax protestors, survivalists, Right libertarians, conspiracy theorists, anti-abortion activists, the Christian Right, Wise Use activists, Sovereign Citizens, and other advocates of county supremacy and states' rights.[31]

The movement grew very quickly starting in 1994 and became infamous on April 19, 1995 when two militia movement members, Timothy McVeigh (who was part of the neo-Nazi wing) and Terry Nichols (who was not), killed 168 people with a fertilizer bomb at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The attack was apparently a revenge attack for the Waco massacre, and possibly for the execution of racist Patriot movement member Richard Snell as well.[32] The militia movement had 20,000 to 60,000 members, and up to 5 million who sympathized with its core idea that secret elites had a plan for imminent tyranny.[33]

The mass casualty bombing scared off moderates and attracted radicals to the movement; its membership peaked in 1996, but declined soon after.[34] The more moderate members, however, took some of the militia ideas into mainstream circles.[35] It seems like the Patriot movement flourishes under a Democratic president whom it can claim is a secret traitor to the nation. Soon after George W. Bush's election, the militia movement faded into a murmur. The reasons for its collapse included a more robust economy in the later 1990s, increased attention from law enforcement, internal organizational issues, and the failure of its dire predictions to happen—not just of looming federal repression, but also millennial concerns around the year 2000. By the early 2000s, many members left the movement for other kinds of activism, such as libertarian economics, gun rights, and opposition to federal regulations and global trade agreements.[36]

Another important group at the time was Police Against the New World Order, founded by former police officer Jack McLamb. In the 1990s, he recruited police officers to refuse orders to enact what he claimed was a coming totalitarian system led by a secret global elite, which would be implemented in the year 2000 and would start by outlawing private gun ownership. In truth, his ideas were just thinly-veiled racist and antisemitic conspiracy theories. McLamb was present at Ruby Ridge and worked with Bo Gritz, an important paramilitary and survivalist leader.[37] Although creating secretive, subversive Hard Right political organizations which recruit police and military members is not a novel idea, McLamb's group is important as a direct precursor to the Oath Keepers and CSPOA.

Stage 3: The Patriot Movement, 2008–present

THREE PERCENTERS

WITH THE ELECTION of President Barack Obama, there was a sudden revival of the Patriot movement—a name that, by 1995, those inside the militia movement were using to refer to themselves.[38] This reincarnation included new political forms alongside the remaining old-style militias. The Three Percenters, co-founded by Alabama militia veteran Mike Vanderboegh in late 2008, was

David Samuel Hill ▶ Oregon III%
2 hrs •

The Oregon III% is a group at is about preserving our constitutional rights. We are also a group that is about prepping, patriotism, education, community support, volunteering and more.

We are a unique organization that has had a lot of ups and downs. We have come a long way in less than one year. Under a year ago we had less than 200 members, one president with no supporting executive staff, two zone leaders that where sharing zone 1 and no real way to respond to any situation other than a chaotic and unorganized effort. Today this organization looks very different. We have almost a complete executive staff, zone 1 and 4 are doing well, and zone 2 is coming up and our membership is about 1000 members with varying degrees of activity and abilities. We respond as a team to threats to our society both man made and natural. Our team extends beyond what you see as the Oregon III%. Oregon III% is also part of the 3%ers. The 3%ers is our national affiliation. Like us the national III% also went through a leadership change this year. And we have their support in what we need to run this state, free of interference and they offer support when larger issues present themselves. We are also part of the PPN or Pacific Patriot Network and have a close working relationship with other patriotic, prepper and training groups.

We have also made several big steps in our endeavor to preserve freedom for people in our group, in the PPN and other peoples' freedom. We have made a stand at 2A rallies, the 941 rally, Operation Gold Rush, Operation Big Sky, Operation Protect the Protectors/ Guardian Angel and more. We have also engaged in supporting our communities with having responded to a domestic issue and also a criminal trespassing issue. We are getting up to 3 calls a week for assistance from various members as our level of capability has increased and our reputation has grown. We should all be proud of these events.

Law enforcement is one area that we have to make the biggest gains on "the home front." These are the men and women that can say "I will not enforce unconstitutional laws, or other unlawful orders." On Operation Protect the Protectors we gained a lot of respect from the community law enforcement that we came into contact with. We gained this respect by our professional dress and conduct on site along with our discrete carry of firearms. The news even made a special mention of our conduct. And then there was the domestic event that we responded to. A few days after the event a report was filed with the local police department. In the report it claimed that a bunch of gun toting gangsters kidnapped subjects. As the investigation continued the report was filed as false because the officer investigating the event also was an officer that was at Operation Protect the Protector and knew the people that had responded to the domestic event. This officer, by knowing the good character and professional mindset of the individuals that perform security ops dismissed the charges.
Law enforcement is vital to our presence in our communities, to our operations and more. They have blocked the BLM, EPA and other agencies from committing illegal, immoral and unconstitutional acts. We want to have and support a constitutional law presence in our communities, counties and states. Most law enforcement individuals care very much about their job, their communities that they live and serve in and value our constitution. Yes, it is sad that we only hear the bad stories, and most of those stories are blown out of proportion by a reckless and careless reporting of the "news." Remember how we are portrayed in the media? So take another look and think about it before reacting. WE WILL NOT HAVE A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT IF WE BAD MOUTH THEM OR THREATEN THEM. They are not the king's servants, or the Gestapo or any of that other bad mouthing garbage. Talk like that will not be allowed on the site and if an individual resorts to behavior like that will be immediately dismissed from the group and will be blacklisted from the other groups in the PPN. Talk like that destroys our reputation, and the progress that we have made and may even negate what we have done to help others keep their freedoms and property. Talk like that also pushes away members of Oregon III% that are law enforcement members. Think before you act. Let's be the example of how to act. If you do encounter unconstitutional laws, or officers that need help with the constitution please don't get into a fight. Bring it to admins attention and we will get to work on it. We have a lot of resources and when we do things right we end up with more members, more freedom, and law enforcement that are constitutional allies.

David Samuel Hill, President of Oregon III%, explains the group's structure, membership numbers, and relationship to law enforcement on Facebook in September 2015.

developed as a more decentralized version of the militias in order to avoid government infiltration.[39] The name is based on their claim of the number of American colonists who actively fought in the Revolutionary War, and implies that a numerically small movement can engage in a successful armed revolutionary struggle.

Anyone can declare themselves a Three Percenter, although there are also state and national groups. Adherents say they will refuse any new gun restrictions.[40] The Three Percenters tend to be more aggressive and violent than other Patriot movement groups. For example, several took part in the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, and many more came to Burns at the time. Ideologically it is hard to tell them apart from the Oath Keepers, except that Three Percenters tend to be far more publicly Islamophobic.

Partly because of the decentralized nature of this movement, it is difficult to estimate how many people identify as Three Percenters. In September 2015, the president of Oregon III% claimed to have 1,000 members in the state.[41] The Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights analyzed 264 closed online Three Percenter groups. Before December 2014, there were an estimated 12,000 members, which increased to almost 70,000 by the end of 2015. In January 2016, during the Malheur occupation, the numbers jumped again to 85,000.[42]

Violence surrounds Three Percenters. A number of them were Malheur occupiers.[43] In 2010, Vanderboegh called for throwing bricks through Democratic Party office windows—a call that was acted on. Numerous adherents and sympathizers have been arrested for violent crimes—including the 2015 shooting of five Black Lives Matter activists in Minneapolis.[44] In December 2015, Three Percenter Brad Bartelt was charged with driving a truck onto the Arkansas State University campus with a homemade bomb while carrying a gun.[45] In April 2016, Oregon Three Percenter John Martin Roos was arrested for threatening President Obama.[46]

Idaho Three Percenter Sean Anderson was one of the last four people to surrender at the Malheur Refuge. (Photo: Spencer Sunshine)

OATH KEEPERS

The Oath Keepers were founded in 2009 by Stewart Rhodes, a lawyer (although he was disbarred in December 2015) and a former aide to U.S. Representative Ron Paul from Texas.[47] The group is registered as a 501(c)3.[48] It is a dues-paying, membership group of current and former law enforcement, military, and first responders—although others are allowed to join as "associate members."[49] The Oath Keepers claim to have 40,000 members, although the Anti-Defamation League estimates the real number is "at least" 2,000.[50]

Members pledge to disobey orders they see as unconstitutional. The Oath Keepers' ten "Orders We Will Not Obey" illustrates their reliance on 1960s anticommunist conspiracy theories which the John Birch Society made into staples of the Hard Right, and used by the militia movement as well. The Oath Keepers apparently believe the federal government is about to:

- seize all privately held guns;
- suspend privacy rights;
- detain right-wing activists as "unlawful enemy combatants";

- impose martial law on the individual states, before invading them;
- "blockade American cities, thus turning them into giant concentration camps";
- round citizens up and force them into "detention camps";
- allow foreign troops to invade the United States;
- confiscate privately held possessions—including food; and
- end the right to free speech.[51]

The Oath Keepers' national leadership is imbued with libertarian economics and conspiracy theories. They have locals all over the country, which have a high level of autonomy, although the national group will sometimes step in to direct their organizing or discipline local groups.

The Oath Keepers are the most mainstream of the Patriot movement groups, and they often intentionally soft-sell their actual politics. The group loudly denies being a "militia" but has increased its paramilitary activities in recent years. In Texas, they have held armed marches; in both 2014 and 2015, armed members went to Ferguson during the demonstrations; and members went to the armed encampments of the Bundy Ranch in Nevada, Sugar Pine Mine in Oregon, and Montana's White Hope Mine. They formed Community Preparedness Teams, which include armed members. In July 2014, they also sent members to Murrieta, California, to help right-wing activists who blocked buses transporting undocumented immigrants. (This, however, was not an armed action.)[52] In July 2015, the Oath Keepers' "Protect the Protectors" program had members "guard" military recruiting stations, including several in Oregon, after a possible Islamist "lone wolf" attack in Tennessee.[53]

Oath Keepers participated as individual members at the march in Burns on January 2, 2016 in support of the Hammond family, and many stayed in the town during the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in order to build support for their movement's politics.[54] The national group later lent its support those efforts. (See appendix II.)

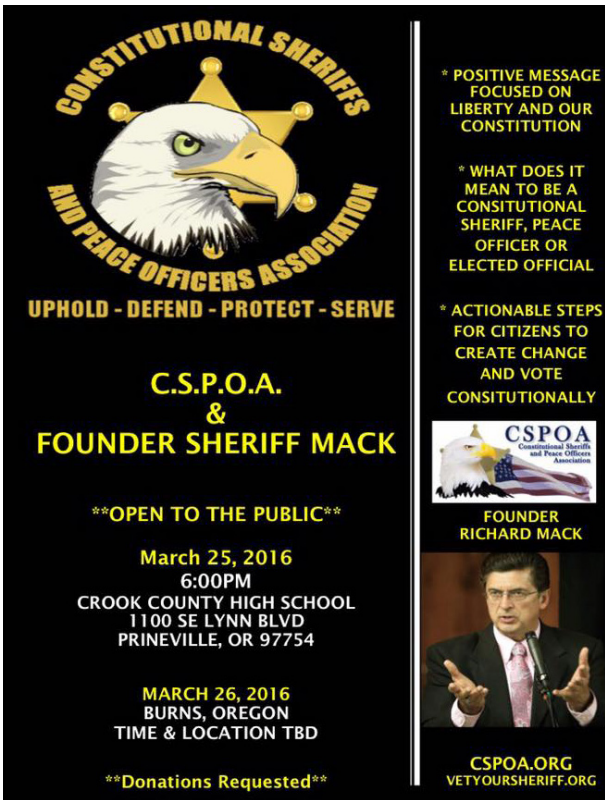
THE CONSTITUTIONAL SHERIFFS AND PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION (CSPOA)

The CSPOA was founded in 2010 by former Arizona Sheriff Richard Mack, who is also on the board of the Oath Keepers. (CSPOA is officially affiliated with the group as well.)[55] CSPOA says that, "Sheriffs and Peace Officers are the last line of defense standing between the overreaching Federal Government and your Constitutionally guaranteed rights."[56] Elsewhere, Mack is more explicit about what this means, saying that a sheriff:

> reports directly to We the People, and so he is sovereign in that regard, because he reports directly to the other sovereigns. And that's why the sheriff is the ultimate authority. He's not a bureaucrat from Washington, DC; the president of the United States cannot tell your sheriff what to do. And so certainly none of the other auxiliary departments underneath the president can tell the sheriff what to do, and that includes the IRS, the EPA, OHSA, FBI, DEA, any of those agencies cannot tell the sheriff what to do. But, when they're in *his* sovereign jurisdiction, he can tell *them* what to do. The question is: Will he?[57]

Mack says CSPOA is "the army to set our nation free."[58] In one of the CSPOA's early appeals, it said, "Very few people realize that the Sheriff has the legitimate authority to prevent federal agents from entering the county—or the power to throw them out once they are there."[59] Rather than upholding the law, the organization appears to be designed as a "fifth column" inside the U.S. government, aimed at pulling down the current system from within. Its vision for the country's future appears to one in which federal laws and regulations become like Swiss cheese. Instead of guarantees of equal treatment under the law and equal political participation, the country would resemble a *Mad Max* film, where the laws in each county will be based on the sheriff's whim.[60]

This approach to the law was formulated so that county sheriffs could reject the Civil Rights acts and environmental laws. It also implied that



Former sheriff, Oath Keeper, and CSPOA founder Richard Mack spoke in Burns, Oregon the day after the Malheur occupation ended, and is one of of several Patriot movement speakers who came to Prineville, Oregon after the occupation.

if sheriffs decided amendments after the original ten were unconstitutional, they could be rejected. This includes the Fourteenth, which guarantees citizenship to freed slaves and native-born children of immigrants; the Sixteenth, which allows the federal income tax; and the Nineteenth, which guarantees women the right to vote. Posse Comitatus's Gale, for example, thought that the Fourteenth Amendment was not ratified properly, and so a county sheriff could reject it—thereby denying citizenship to most African-Americans.[61] Starting in the 1980s, it became common for the Christian Patriot movement to argue that there were two classes of citizenship: white people were "sovereign," "organic" citizens; while most people of color were merely "Fourteenth Amendment citizens."[62]

It is difficult to say how today's Patriot movement activists see this question; it is not the subject of public discussion. Josephine County Oath Keeper Joseph Rice and Malheur Refuge occupier Joe O'Shaughnessy have both said that a sheriff must accept all the amendments.[63] Mack said the potential of a county sheriff to reject an amendment was "not part of what we do…it's not one of our key issues." However, he affirmed that in his schema, a county sheriff could reject the Fourteenth Amendment, although they "would have to investigate it and come up with a reason and show the public why he felt that way."[64]

Mack became a Patriot movement hero in the 1990s when the Supreme Court ruled in his favor in a lawsuit that said that local law enforcement did not need to conduct background checks required by the Brady Bill. He also ran, unsuccessfully, for both the House and Senate.[65] Like others of his political generation, he has direct connections with White separatists like Randy Weaver; Mack even contributed a foreword and a chapter to one of Weaver's books.[66] Mack was also close to the racist and antisemitic Jack McLamb, founder the Police Against the New World Order. In a 2014 obituary on the old CSPOA website, Mack calls

McLamb his "friend and mentor" and "the original Oath Keeper."[67]

Mack has mainstream ties as well. He is close with Utah State Representative Ken Ivory, a well-known advocate of transferring public lands out of federal hands. (Ivory is the former head of the American Lands Council and currently the head of Federalism In Action. He has spoken at a CSPOA conference and signed one of their resolutions about the proper role of federal employees.[68]) Mack has spoken at the annual Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Washington, D.C., and has run for office. He was a lobbyist for the Gun Owners of America, and is currently a member of the Coalition of Western States, a Patriot movement-aligned group made up of activists and elected officials.[69] Mack was in Burns, Oregon for the January 2, 2016 march that preceded the Malheur occupation. He spoke to Harney County Sheriff Dave Ward twice about the Hammonds—once in November, and once the day after the occupation started.[70]

The CSPOA claims to have the support of more than 400 sheriffs, and Mack boasts of 5,000 members (including citizens who are not law enforcement). At one point, their website hosted a list of 485 sheriffs who they saw as upholding the Constitution and opposing new gun restrictions—although the list's introduction made clear that not all were members; the last posted list has only 59 sheriffs, some of whom are no longer in office.[71] The resolution that Ivory signed has 908 signatories, including around 80 who were listed as current law enforcement.[72]

SOVEREIGN CITIZENS

The last of the Patriot movement groupings are the Sovereign Citizens, who continue the fake legal tradition of Posse Comitatus. They believe that their version of the law—usually a combination of Christian scripture, English common law, and the U.S. Constitution—is the true law, whereas the legal system, as we know it, is not. This was originally designed with a specifically racist intent; today, many Sovereign Citizens believe the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply to them and recognize only the "Organic Constitution" (which includes the preamble, and only the first ten amendments).[73]

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) says that, "Although not all sovereigns subscribe to or even know about the theory's racist basis, most contend that they do not have to pay taxes, are not subject to most laws, and are not citizens of the United States."[74] They are known to refuse using drivers licenses and file false liens against opponents. Sovereign Citizens have also created their own their parallel government courts and juries, which indict, try, and sentence (including to death) individuals which have crossed their path, usually elected officials or federal employees.

The movement also seemed to have revived around the 2008—possibly spurred by desperate homeowners and others hurt by economic recession. (In some cases, Sovereign Citizens have taken over foreclosed and other unoccupied houses and filed paperwork to claim them as their own.[75]) Around the country, Sovereign Citizens have been involved in numerous armed confrontations with police, including the killing of three Baton Rouge police officers in July 2016.[76] Sovereign Citizens have been active in Oregon for decades, and the Malheur occupation spurred on the creation of fake courts and actions by self-proclaimed judges. In 2011, the SPLC estimated there were 100,000 "hard-core sovereign believers" and twice as many sympathizers.[77]

HARD RIGHT MORMONS

The Malheur occupation thrust a small subgroup of the Patriot movement into view, as well. Cliven Bundy and his family—including sons Ammon and Ryan, who took part in the Malheur occupation—follow a Hard Right version of Mormonism, as did some other Malheur occupiers, including Robert "LaVoy Finicum."[78] It should be noted that while these political views align with standard Patriot movement ones, their reasoning and motivations apparently diverge. (Ryan Bundy, for example, told a

reporter at the refuge, "My Mormonism plays a large part in what I do…the biggest part.")[79] The linkage is so controversial that two days into the occupation, the Church of Latter Day Saints condemned it, saying the takeover "can in no way be justified on a scriptural basis."[80]

This politicized version of Mormonism was promoted by figures such as Ezra Taft Benson, a president of the Church of Latter Day Saints, and W. Cleon Skousen, author of the 1958 anticommunist book *The Naked Communist*. Both of them were close to the John Birch Society. CSPOA's Richard Mack said he was "converted" to his present day politics after hearing Skousen speak in 1984, and right-wing conspiracy theorist Glenn Beck is another fan of Skousen.[81] A popular version of the "Pocket Constitutions" that Patriot movement activists hand out was edited and annotated by Skousen.[82] "Skousenite" Mormonism appears to be more popular in Utah and Nevada, especially around the small Independent American Party; outside of the Malheur occupation, it has not been reported as having any influence in Oregon.

C. PROPERTY, GUNS, GOVERNMENT, & NATIVISM: KEY ORGANIZING THEMES IN THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT draws on images of the American Revolution and the related early period of the United States to root its credibility and power. One of its main claims is that its members are "defending the Constitution." But this is actually a duplicitous phrase; the "Constitution" they invoke is the movement's profoundly unusual interpretation of the document—one that is often in direct opposition to how Constitutional law has developed over the last two centuries. The movement uses their dubious appeals to the Constitution to attack federal and state laws regarding land ownership, regulatory authority, redistribution of wealth, programs for social equality, and gun restrictions. It should be noted that it is a broad movement with no real center, and differing factions may hold different views on any one topic.

Property: Opposing Federal Land Ownership & Environmentalism

LAND USE ISSUES are the Patriot movement's most popular organizing issue in the West. As part of their effort to oppose the powers of the federal government, they seek to either water down or abolish environmental and other restrictions on land use, as well as to transfer federally-held lands to state, county, or private control, as a scheme to circumvent use restrictions.

Even in the 1970s, Posse Comitatus was involved in conflicts over land use. More recently, the Patriot movement has taken up arms over land use issues.[83] The standoff at the Bundy Ranch in Nevada in 2014 led to a series of other armed confrontations. This included the Sugar Pine Mine in Josephine County, Oregon, in spring 2015; White Hope Mine near Lincoln, Montana in August 2015; and the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in January and February 2016. In Oregon, movement members also become involved in controversies over mining claims and the removal of a dam on private property.

It is a common belief in the Patriot movement that the federal government has no legal right to own most public land. The recent occupations are only the latest of decades of movements trying to wrest public lands away from federal control—especially as environmental groups were able to gain more influence over how they are managed. The first uprising, known as the Sagebrush Rebellion, emerged after the federal government decided in 1976 that it would not redistribute its remaining landholdings in the lower 48 states; this land makes up a total of 46.9 percent of 11 western states.[84]

The Patriot movement's opposition to environmentalism and land use restrictions goes hand-in-hand with the movement's widespread denial that human actions contribute to climate change.[85] This helps Patriot movement activists support increased destruction of the environment without feeling conflict over preserving the climate.

The most mainstream approach that challenges federal land holdings is championed by the American Lands Council and Federalism in Action, Patriot movement allies which are tied to

the Republican Party and have received funding from the billionaire Koch brothers, whose family made its fortune in the fossil fuel industry. Both groups seek to transfer federal lands to state governments via traditional political avenues.[86] The 2016 national Republican Party platform calls for Congress to "immediately pass universal legislation providing for a timely and orderly mechanism requiring the federal government to convey certain federally controlled public lands to states," as well as to increase exploitation of natural resources on the lands currently held.[87]

A more radical position regarding federal ownership, championed by many in the Patriot movement, is transfer to county control. Ammon Bundy, for example, stated he wanted the Malheur Refuge "turned over as public land to the county with private rights."[88] This idea was popular in the 1990s in the "county supremacy" movement. Many counties claimed that under the Tenth Amendment, they had authority over public lands, and by 1996, 70 counties, mostly in the West, had passed laws attempting to gain control.[89]

Although many advocates of transfer to both state and county control are sincere, others see it as a step towards privatization. Either the lower-level governments will be more sympathetic to selling lands off, or they will be unable to shoulder the costs of maintaining them and will be forced to sell them. For example, Idaho has sold 41 percent of its state lands.[90]

The American Stewards of Liberty, and the group's former President, Fred Kelly Grant, do not directly not seek to transfer federal lands; instead they promote the use of "coordination" clauses, asserting the legally novel idea that the federal government must comes to agreements with local governments—instead of merely consulting with them—in managing federal resources.[91] This way road maintenance, law enforcement, and fire suppression will continue be to subsidized by the federal government. Both transfer to county control and coordination fit in with other Patriot movement visions of empowering county-level officials, especially the notion that the county sheriff can interpret the U.S. Constitution.

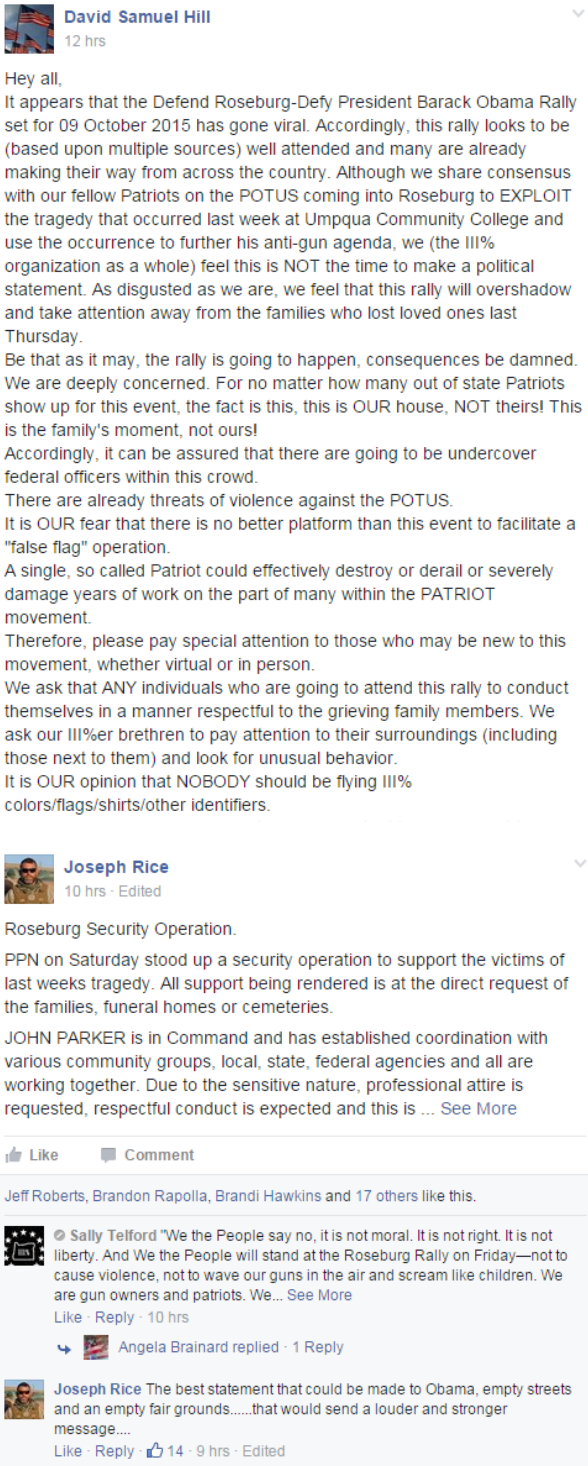
Some opponents of government ownership have advocated full privatization of public lands—although this is not heard so loudly in recent years.[92] Others appear to want federal ownership (and the subsidies that go with it) to remain, while individuals or groups can make claims and exploit the natural resources with fewer or no restrictions. This faction includes those who do not necessarily seek to transfer ownership out of federal hands, but argue that the 1872 Mining Act means that mining claims can be treated basically as private property, for example in regards to building cabins or other structures on them.

In addition to their general opposition to environmental regulations, many Patriot movement activists deny that humans have created climate change. They also frequently trot out a conspiracy theory regarding Agenda 21. This non-binding United Nations resolution, signed by George H.W. Bush in 1992, encourages new development to take environmental sustainability into consideration. Conspiracy theorists claim that the federal government, acting under United Nations control, seeks to use the rubric of environmentalism to seize land from rural people so it can control the country and institute a socialist dictatorship. (Some claimed the Hammonds were victims of the Agenda 21 conspiracy.) Rightists use it as an argument for opposing environmental and public land-use initiatives as simple as building local parks.[93]

Guns

GUN OWNERSHIP was a binding, central issue for the militia movement of the 1990s. This remains true for today's Patriot movement. A common belief in the movement is that there is a plot to disarm the civilian population, which is the first step in allowing a foreign invasion of the United States.

Opposition to gun restrictions are the central issue for the CSPOA and the Three Percenters. The latter, for example, pledge to resist attempts to end private gun ownership, implying this will be the signal for an armed uprising against the federal government. The CSPOA, meanwhile, has



David Samuel Hill
12 hrs

Hey all,
It appears that the Defend Roseburg-Defy President Barack Obama Rally set for 09 October 2015 has gone viral. Accordingly, this rally looks to be (based upon multiple sources) well attended and many are already making their way from across the country. Although we share consensus with our fellow Patriots on the POTUS coming into Roseburg to EXPLOIT the tragedy that occurred last week at Umpqua Community College and use the occurrence to further his anti-gun agenda, we (the III% organization as a whole) feel this is NOT the time to make a political statement. As disgusted as we are, we feel that this rally will overshadow and take attention away from the families who lost loved ones last Thursday.
Be that as it may, the rally is going to happen, consequences be damned. We are deeply concerned. For no matter how many out of state Patriots show up for this event, the fact is this, this is OUR house, NOT theirs! This is the family's moment, not ours!
Accordingly, it can be assured that there are going to be undercover federal officers within this crowd.
There are already threats of violence against the POTUS.
It is OUR fear that there is no better platform than this event to facilitate a "false flag" operation.
A single, so called Patriot could effectively destroy or derail or severely damage years of work on the part of many within the PATRIOT movement.
Therefore, please pay special attention to those who may be new to this movement, whether virtual or in person.
We ask that ANY individuals who are going to attend this rally to conduct themselves in a manner respectful to the grieving family members. We ask our III%er brethren to pay attention to their surroundings (including those next to them) and look for unusual behavior.
It is OUR opinion that NOBODY should be flying III% colors/flags/shirts/other identifiers.

Joseph Rice
10 hrs · Edited

Roseburg Security Operation.

PPN on Saturday stood up a security operation to support the victims of last weeks tragedy. All support being rendered is at the direct request of the families, funeral homes or cemeteries.

JOHN PARKER is in Command and has established coordination with various community groups, local, state, federal agencies and all are working together. Due to the sensitive nature, professional attire is requested, respectful conduct is expected and this is ... See More

Like Comment

Jeff Roberts, Brandon Rapolla, Brandi Hawkins and 17 others like this.

Sally Telford "We the People say no, it is not moral. It is not right. It is not liberty. And We the People will stand at the Roseburg Rally on Friday—not to cause violence, not to wave our guns in the air and scream like children. We are gun owners and patriots. We... See More
Like · Reply · 10 hrs

Angela Brainard replied · 1 Reply

Joseph Rice The best statement that could be made to Obama, empty streets and an empty fair grounds.....that would send a louder and stronger message....
Like · Reply · 14 · 9 hrs · Edited

Top: President of the Oregon III% admits Patriot movement involvement in the rally in Roseburg which opposed President Obama's visit after the UCC school massacre. Three Percenters were advised to attend but to not wear identifying organizational symbols. Bottom: Oath Keeper Joseph Rice also takes credit for the Pacific Patriots Network involvement in the Roseburg organizing. (Screenshots from Facebook)

promoted the notion of the "constitutional sheriff": county sheriffs who refuse to enforce laws they don't believe are constitutional. While this may range from sheriff-to-sheriff in how broad they interpret this power, the assumption is that their reading of the Constitution is consistent with Patriot movement political views. The Second Amendment, in particular, is to be interpreted in an extremely permissive way.

In 2013, the CSPOA started a campaign asking county sheriffs to send letters to Vice President Biden, saying they will not enforce new gun restrictions. This stance has only discouraged the sorely needed public discussion about how the United States will deal with the mass shootings phenomena.

For example, the Umpqua Community College mass shooting in October 2015 occurred in Roseburg, Oregon, where the county sheriff had written a CSPOA-inspired letter opposing new gun restrictions; he had previously publicly criticized gun regulation as a response to mass shootings and even made a social media post claiming the massacre at Sandy Hook elementary school in Newtown was a hoax. Patriot movement activists helped organize a well-publicized protest when President Obama visited Roseburg afterward. These sheriffs who refuse to enact new gun control laws, and CSPOA generally, seek to take options off the table regarding gun restrictions, and by doing so hurt our ability to have a frank national conversation on how to prevent these massacres.

Government

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT advocates a form of radical right-wing decentralization, rooted in libertarian economics. The movement does not just intervene on land use and gun issues; it wishes to diminish or dismantle the parts of the federal government which redistribute wealth and act to correct for inequalities between social groups—such as differences because of race and gender.

In order to accomplish these goals, there are several—sometimes overlapping and sometimes contradictory—strategies to promote local control.

The two main ones are nullification (the idea that lower governments do not need to obey state or federal governments); and promoting political power on the county level, in particular, with strategies like coordination and the supremacy of the county sheriff.

Nullification is the idea that lower-level governments have the power to legally set aside or ignore federal laws; this idea was forwarded by advocates of slavery in the 1820s.[94] In the 1970s, Posse Comitatus's claim that county sheriffs could ignore Supreme Court rulings, laws passed by Congress, executive orders, and federal arrest warrants were forms of nullification. Kim Davis's more recent refusal to register same-sex marriages in Kentucky was, in practice, an act of nullification. (The movement also promotes jury nullification, the longstanding idea in common law that juries do not need to follow a judge's instructions in finding a defendant guilty.) For many the vision is this: the federal government will still exist, but its power will be limited to foreign affairs, passing laws which counties will have the option to follow or not, and limited in property to owning military installations and Washington, D.C.

However, there appears to be a range of views on these matters, with some factions rejecting virtually any government authority, no matter how local. It is said that in some remote Oregon communities that are rife with Sovereign Citizens, even the authority of a constitutional sheriff isn't acknowledged. CSPOA's Richard Mack, who focuses on recruiting county sheriffs, is opposed to the self-proclaimed judges and Sovereign Citizen-style "Continental Marshals."[95] In Harney County, the Malheur occupiers refused to follow the orders of the county sheriff, whose authority they claimed they respected. Movement members adhere to a circular reasoning to justify this: If a sheriff disagrees with them, they must not be following their oath to the Constitution.

The other strategy, the Hard Right version of "coordination," holds that lower-level governments such as county commissions can declare themselves legal equals to the federal government in terms of land-use decisions, forcing it to "coordinate" with them. (See "Coordination: How the Patriot Movement Reimagines Governmental Ties" box.) While "coordination" appears as a concept in a number of federal acts, it promotes consultation and does not allow lower government to have veto over federal agencies or direct them to comply with local governments. In least six Oregon counties a Hard Right interpretation of coordination, or a version influenced by it, has been invoked, by county commissions, sheriffs, and even a mining district. However, if there is vigorous enough resistance from below, and a lack of resources or political will to enforce the law from above, sometimes local governments can get away with these tactics—or at least force compromises from the federal government. Sometimes it can be used in conjunction with other tactics in a "good cop, bad cop" scenario to pressure the federal government: for example, a county government might press for the Hard Right version of coordination; if ignored, the sheriff might (as happened in two recent instances) threaten to arrest federal agents who are performing their jobs, or imply that a Malheur Refuge-style armed takeover is in the wings.[96]

This strategy, too, can be contradictory. For example, if a county passes coordination, who has authority: the county government or the sheriff? What happens if multiple bodies in a county—for example, the county commission, sheriff, and mining districts—all proclaim coordination?

As part of their "inside" strategy, both the Oath Keepers and CSPOA recruit active law enforcement personnel who swear not to enact laws claimed to be "unconstitutional," which means they are being recruited to practice nullification. For CSPOA, nullifying gun laws is their most popular issue—just as the Three Percenters' central claim is to resist new gun laws.

The recruitment of law enforcement officers is especially worrisome since the Patriot movement

engages in armed politics and threats. This was one concern with Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer, a CSPOA member who met with the Malheur occupiers on two occasions. Will constitutional sheriffs like Palmer enforce the law against their political brethren, or will they see their threats against community members as "constitutional"? CSPOA leader Mack says his group will be "the army to set our nation free." While they claim they are merely trying to block federal overreach, it looks more and more like they are building a force inside the U.S. government to encourage officials to engage in seditious political actions.

There is also a tactical reason for the movement's fixation on the sheriffs. An *Oregon Public Broadcasting* reporter pointed out that, "even if state regulators were to revoke Palmer's law enforcement certification, it would not necessarily lead to him being removed from office. If he were to perform law enforcement duties without certification he would be breaking the law, but only a vote by Grant County citizens could force him from his job."[97] This insularity seems to be one of the reasons the Patriot movement gravitates towards county sheriffs as a vehicle for their anti-democratic politics.

Nativism: Islamophobia, Anti-Immigrant, & Anti-Refugee Activism

TODAY'S PATRIOT MOVEMENT does not organize by making appeals to White racial purity, which is the ideological hallmark of the organized racist movement. While individual Patriot movement members have associations with organized racist groups, they are fairly small in number and not usually in leadership positions. But the Patriot movement does directly engage in issues whose outcome is, by necessity, to support maintaining white racial demographics at current levels and to oppose a redistribution of social and economic power in society across racial lines.

Anti-immigrant organizing has a special centrality to the Patriot movement, linking it to the mainstream Republican Party as it has shifted right on these issues. As mentioned, the Oath Keepers sent members to Murrieta, California in 2014 to help block buses carrying immigrants being taken to a

The October 10, 2015 national "Global Rally for Humanity" was organized by Islamophobe John Ritzheimer. The Medford, Oregon event completely changed its Islamophobic theme (left) after opposition from Oregon Action.

detention center. The Patriot movement is linked with vigilante border patrols as well.

One article on the national Oath Keepers website says that "many" "Third World immigrants and refugees" have "later proven to harbor terrorist intentions," and therefore allowing them entry "is a form of assisted national suicide." Immigration is fueled by "various subversive agencies and foundations striving to 'consume the host' with 'seedlings'" [i.e., the United States and immigrants, respectively]. The article claims that these organizations are in turn controlled by liberal financier George Soros. In another, leader Stewart Rhodes declares that Mexican drug cartels are taking over towns on the U.S. border, while ISIS members "freely" cross into the country.[98]

Islamophobia has largely replaced the open and coded antisemitism that was common in the 1990s militia movement,[99] while using many of the same narratives—only now projected onto Muslims. This includes the widespread conspiracy theory on the Right claiming the President secretly belongs to a minority religion and is acting against his country's interests. Muslims are portrayed as a minority which refuses to assimilate and is actively undermining the nation's moral values from within.

Arizona's John Ritzheimer is a well-known Islamophobic organizer who came to Oregon as part of the Malheur occupation. Oregon Patriot movement organizers had picked up Ritzheimer's October 10, 2015 "Global Rally for Humanity" targeting Muslims (The Oregon group, under pressure from local progressive group Oregon Action, changed their rally's name).[100] Another participant at the Malheur occupation and Sugar Pine Mine action was Blaine Cooper, who made a video of himself wrapping pages of the Koran in bacon and setting them on fire.[101]

These two nativist strains of anti-immigration and Islamophobia come together in the movement as activism opposed resettlement of refugees fleeing the civil war in Syria. The 3% of Idaho group, which is influential in the Oregon Patriot movement and in activism in Burns, Oregon, held a number of public rallies in Boise and Twin Falls, Idaho, in 2015 opposing the potential settlement of Syrian refugees.

In contrast to the otherwise libertarian economics—but pandering to their base—some Patriot movement activists claim that the refugees should not be allowed in the country because the funds should go to veterans instead. Their slogan is "Vets Before Refugees."

D. RACISM & IDENTITY IN THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT

While casual observers sometimes dismiss Patriot groups as "racist militias," the movement's actual relationship to race and a systemic understanding of racism is more complex and requires some unpacking.

Most Patriot movement groups today have a "colorblind" approach, and say they are not racist. The Oath Keepers' bylaws specifically bar open racists.[127] And Patriot movement activists frequently compare themselves to Civil Rights movement activists who sought legal equality; Ammon Bundy even had the chutzpah to compare the armed Malheur occupation to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s protest activities.[128] Stewart Rhodes also compared the Malheur occupation to the Civil Rights movement, saying "Ammon Bundy's occupation of an empty building is essentially the same as civil-disobedience sit-ins that the political left has engaged in for decades, from anti-war and Civil Rights protesters in the 60s and 70s."[129] Against any historical knowledge of the active role southern sheriffs played in maintaining White supremacy, Richard Mack claims that constitutional sheriffs could have protected Rosa Parks and that, "Today, that constitutional sheriff does the same for Rosa Parks the gun owner, or Rosa Parks the rancher, or Rosa Parks the landowner, or Rosa Parks the homeschooler, or Rosa Parks the tax protester."[130]

Nonetheless, the movement radiates an unspoken White nationalism. (See "Confronting White Nationalism" box.) But since they don't verbalize it, and even go to some lengths to deny it, what is this unspoken underlying structure?

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COORDINATION:
HOW THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT REIMAGINES GOVERNMENTAL TIES

"COORDINATION" IS A PROCESS which allows state, county, and other lower-level governments to give input to federal agencies' land use plans, in an attempt to achieve consistency. While this process is mentioned in a number of federal acts, the Hard Right promotes an interpretation of it which is close to its doctrines of the county governments as holding more power than the federal government, including the notion that county sheriffs can decide what laws are constitutional.

Coordination is mentioned in federal acts including the Federal Land Management Planning Act (FLMPA), the National Forest Management Act (NFMA), and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).[102] The most commonly cited one is FLPMA. It says the Bureau of Land Management, should, to the "extent" it is "practical":

- "keep apprised of State, local, and tribal land use plans,"
- "assure that consideration is given to those State, local, and tribal plans that are germane in the development of land use plans for public lands,"
- "assist in resolving, to the extent practical, inconsistencies between Federal and non-Federal Government plans," and
- "provide for meaningful public involvement of State and local government officials, both elected and appointed, in the development of land use programs, land use regulations, and land use decisions for public lands, including early public notice of proposed decisions which may have a significant impact on non-Federal lands."[103]

The Hard Right changes the reading of this, following its tradition of redefining legal language for its own political ends. For instance, the American Stewards for Liberty, a Texas-based nonprofit which promotes coordination, claims that it provides local governments with "an equal position at the negotiating table with federal and state government agencies." Joseph Rice, an Oregon Oath Keepers leader, says federal agencies must "coordinate to consensus"—thereby giving "veto power" to the lower governments.[104]

Some individuals go further, claiming that federal agencies must accept the lower government's plans. And Hard Right activists have promoted the idea that "local governments" include not just states, counties, and tribes, but also cities, water and school districts, sheriffs departments, and mining districts. Rice even claims that Committees of Safety—Patriot movement shadow governments—can invoke coordination as well.[105]

The best-known promoters of the Hard Right version of coordination are the American Stewards of Liberty and its former president, Fred Kelly Grant, who keeps a busy speaking schedule. For them, coordination is a vehicle for anti-environmental politics; the Hard Right version seems to be invoked by local governments seeking to maximize resource extraction on federal lands, which they hope will revive moribund rural economies. The American Stewards of Liberty, for example, also tries to "delist" species from the Endangered Species Act, and encourages lower governments to commission their own environmental studies.[106] Grant also loudly promotes the Agenda 21 conspiracy theory.[107]

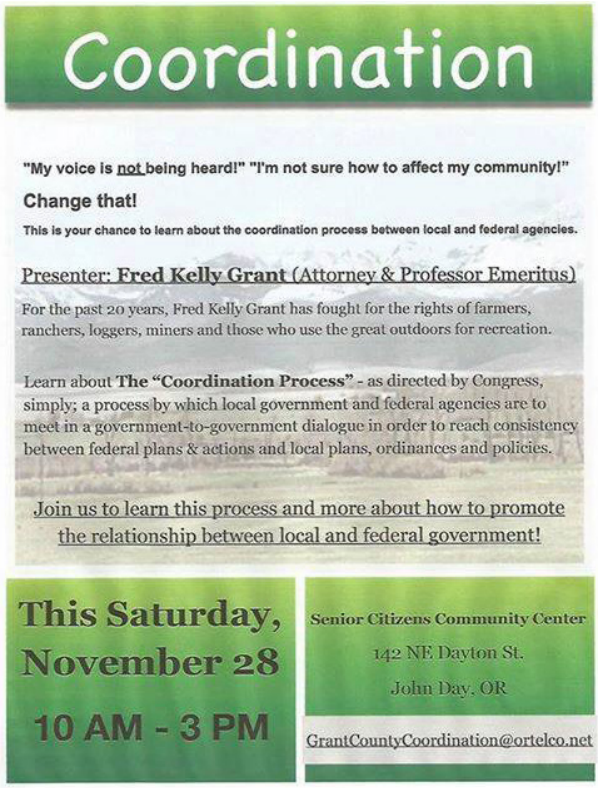
Federal agencies reject the Hard Right version. So does the Montana Human Rights Network, an independent watchdog, which says coordination means that federal agencies are required to take the opinions of local governmental entities into planning considerations, but only when *"it is practical, upholds the laws governing public lands,*

and is consistent with federal law."[108] They base this on a legal memo which affirms that neither the Forest Service, nor the Bureau of Land Management, are obligated to conform to local government land use plans. (The memo also notes that coordination obligations are limited to the "land planning process," and are not applicable to the "general decision making process.") And it points out that—despite attempts by Grant and American Stewards of Liberty to redefine the term "coordination" itself to mean an "equal position"—the courts will defer to the agencies' interpretation of terms used in their own acts, as long as they do not clash with Congress's intentions.[109]

Federal land-use agencies have also issued documents dispelling Far Right interpretations of coordination, and defining what the process entails. A Forest Service FAQ says:

> Under NFMA [National Forest Management Act] and the planning regulations, the Forest Service is required to coordinate land management planning for the National Forest System with land management planning conducted by state and local governments. However, the Forest Service is not required to adopt recommendations made by state and local entities. In particular, the Forest Service is not required to incorporate specific provisions of county ordinances or resolutions into land management plans or to comply with procedural requirements, such as a requirement to obtain county approval before amending or revising a land management plan. Neither the statutes governing Forest Service land management planning nor their implementing regulations provide for more than an advisory role for state and local governments.[110]

How coordination plays out in real life between federal agencies and local governments is more complex, however. It appears that local governments, like Oregon's Baker County, sometimes



Coordination advocate Fred Kelly Grant and others gave a three day seminar on coordination in Baker City, Oregon in August 2015. Grant also spoke in John Day, Oregon in November 2015.

invoke coordination, use their legally guaranteed entry point, and then—fuelled by Hard Right theories and tactics—attempt to widen the gap of how much say they have over land-use decisions on federal lands by insisting on the Hard Right reading. At other times—as with Oregon's Josephine County—it seems that they start the process with the Hard Right version in mind, and end up agreeing with the regularly-accepted one.

Pressures on under-budgeted federal agencies that oversee public lands—the employees of which are sometimes literally under attack from more radical Patriot movement and other land use activists—appears to have some level of success in wringing concessions to county land use desires, even though agencies are not legally obligated to provide them. *High Country News* writes that, "Federal managers acknowledge that they meet more frequently with local officials in counties that have passed coordination resolutions and drafted resource policies—but not because they're required to heed those plans." (They also report that the Bureau of Land Management has done joint trainings with the American Stewards of Liberty.)[111]

It's not clear why counties who invoke coordination get more attention. It may be a case of "the squeaky wheel gets the grease," where counties that have been ignored by federal agencies are now brought into dialogue. It may also be true that federal agencies are worried that a county that invokes coordination is already rife with Patriot movement politics, and it is better to make compromises rather than risk a Bundy Ranch or Malheur National Wildlife Refuge-style armed standoff.

However, other counties have not had such positive results. Craig Sullivan, the head of the County Supervisors Association of Arizona, testified during discussion about a 2011 coordination bill in the Montana legislature. Sullivan said a similar bill, passed in Arizona, did nothing to facilitate federal-local cooperation; its only effect was to give voters the idea that county supervisors could control federal agencies.[112] Counties that are insistent on pursuing the Hard Right interpretation may also empty their coffers on lawsuits that are bound to fail.

Travis McAdam, former executive director of the Montana Human Rights Network, says Hard Right advocates of coordination have "merely put a new face on the longtime anti-government doctrine of county supremacy."[113] During this movement, popular between 1991 and 1994, counties passed ordinances to try and gain control over federal lands—including six in Oregon.[114] Catron County, New Mexico, passed one saying the federal government had to have county approval to change public land use. On a more extreme note, Nye County, Nevada, challenged the legality of federal ownership altogether, claiming that these public lands belonged to the state. The Nye County ordinance was struck down by the courts, but Catron County rescinded their ordinance, and instead claimed "joint lead agency status" under coordination language in the Public Rangelands Improvement Act. The county said it gave them "equal footing" with the Forest Service; the agency claimed it did not diminish their authority, but signed a Memorandum of Understanding anyway.[115]

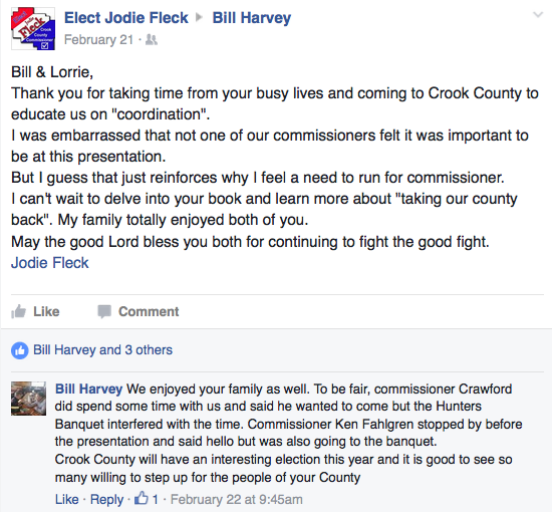
The American Stewards for Liberty makes the clever argument that coordination is completely different than county supremacy. The group turns arguments about local authority on their head, instead affirming that Congress has "exclusive power over the federal lands." They then argue that since the federal government is the highest authority, and coordination is based on federal laws, therefore federal agencies are obligated to coordinate with lower-level governments.[116] In reality, their views are a continuation of the second tactic employed by Catron County used during the County Supremacy movement: re-reading federal coordination clauses to give the counties more power than the agencies have granted them.

COORDINATION IN OREGON

THIS HARD RIGHT version of coordination has attracted very mainstream support, and the Oregon Republican Party includes it in its platform.[117] There are also at least six Oregon counties where the Hard Right version of coordination, or one influenced by that approach, has been pushed. The

proposal often bubbles up following one of Fred Kelly Grant's paid seminars to local governments.

The chair of the Josephine County Commission brought Fred Kelley Grant to town in July 2011, where he gave a two-day seminar on coordination, one for county sheriffs and one for the public. Immediately afterward, the county commission and county sheriff pursued coordination efforts—although to what extent these complied with the regularly accepted version of the concept varies. The county commission has pushed a version of coordination influenced by Grant numerous times, starting in at least 2010. As of August 2016, they currently have established cordial relations with the Forest Service but apparently have had no success with the Bureau of Land Management. The former sheriff, Gil Gilbertson, also invoked coordination in 2011, claiming the right to keep roads open. The Jefferson Mining District in southwestern Oregon also claims right to coordination.[118] It appears that while activists pressing the commission for coordination adhered to the Hard Right version, the current county legal counsel says that coordination does not mean that counties can dictate land use to the federal government.


Elect Jodie Fleck ▸ Bill Harvey
February 21 ·

Bill & Lorrie,
Thank you for taking time from your busy lives and coming to Crook County to educate us on "coordination".
I was embarrassed that not one of our commissioners felt it was important to be at this presentation.
But I guess that just reinforces why I feel a need to run for commissioner.
I can't wait to delve into your book and learn more about "taking our county back". My family totally enjoyed both of you.
May the good Lord bless you both for continuing to fight the good fight.
Jodie Fleck

Like · Comment

Bill Harvey and 3 others

Bill Harvey We enjoyed your family as well. To be fair, commissioner Crawford did spend some time with us and said he wanted to come but the Hunters Banquet interfered with the time. Commissioner Ken Fahlgren stopped by before the presentation and said hello but was also going to the banquet.
Crook County will have an interesting election this year and it is good to see so many willing to step up for the people of your County
Like · Reply · 1 · February 22 at 9:45am

Baker County Commission Chair Bill Harvey gave a seminar in Crook County to teach the Hard Right version of "coordination." He met with two county commissioners and one candidate.

In Baker County, County Commission Chair Bill Harvey has pushed coordination. After taking office in January 2015, Harvey and his supporters in the county's Natural Resources Advisory Committee created a Natural Resources Plan, usually the movement's first step in invoking coordination.[119] When Grant spoke at a Baker City banquet in May 2015, he said it was the seventh time he had come there. He returned in August 2015 to give a three-day seminar, which featured County Commission Chair Harvey as "emcee/moderator."[120]

In Grant County, Sheriff Glenn Palmer deputized eleven people to create a "Natural Resources Plan" modeled on Baker County's; all of this was apparently done in secret. In October 2015, Palmer announced to the county commission that he was invoking coordination and asked for the commission's support. They eventually turned him down for a more collaborative approach.[121] Fred Kelly Grant also spoke in John Day, the largest town in Grant County, at the end of November 2015.[122]

In Wallowa County, Commissioner Paul Castilleja has attended Fred Kelly Grant talks and has pushed for coordination.[123]

In Crook County in February 2016, a private group, the Crook County Natural Resources Political Action Committee (tied to the Central Oregon Patriots group), brought Baker's County's Harvey to Prineville to give a seminar on coordination.[124] The PAC developed a natural resource plan and attempted to get the county commission to adopt it. The scheme won the support of three county commissioners or judges at one point, although in August 2016 it was rejected.[125]

Last, the Harney County Committee of Safety was touted as having the powers of coordination. Josephine County Oath Keepers' leader Joseph Rice said, in the meeting held directly after the January 2, 2016 march (and while the occupation had just started), that, "The Committee of Safety that's formed, what's unique about that, is that is the establishment of a governmental entity. That forces BLM, in their own policy, they must coordinate with you. It becomes no different than a school district, a mining district, or a fire district; they're pseudo-government entities." It is unclear, however, if Committee members believed this themselves.[126]

RACISM & IDENTITY, CONTINUED

The origins of the Patriot movement tactics and approaches are tied up in organized racist currents. As mentioned, many of their beliefs were developed as a coherent political package by the racist Posse Comitatus. In the 1980s, one commentator described the Patriot movement as "half" racist.[131] By the 1990s militia movement, perhaps less than a quarter of members were connected to explicitly White separatist groups; Christian Identity members still held prominent positions.

By the 2008 movement revival, connections to organized racism were hard to find in the leadership. CSPOA's Richard Mack and Gun Owners of America's Larry Pratt both have public histories of working with White separatists, but both are also 1990s holdovers. Cliven Bundy's support from the national Republican Party evaporated when asked about "the Negro"—"I've often wondered, are they better off as slaves, picking cotton and having a family life and doing things, or are they better off under government subsidy? They didn't get no more freedom. They got less freedom." But Bundy is also a movement elder.[132]

Open racist expressions are more commonly found among local activists, however. For example, Malheur occupier Ryan Payne has said that slavery never really existed.[133] In response to a post on a Facebook saying, "I've yet to met a white supremacist" (assumedly in Oregon Patriot movement circles), Oregon Oath Keeper Sally Telford replied, "I am a proud white/Caucasian and I support and stand with all other white/Caucasians," and elaborated that, "I stand with free white people."[134] Many Patriot movement activists are part of the "White Culture and Heritage" Facebook group, the content of which is a continuous stream of White supremacist propaganda. Members include Tom McKirgan (former Southern Oregon Oath Keeper coordinator and current Three Percenter zone leader) and fake judge Bruce Doucette.[135]

In the 1990s militia movement, there were a small number of people of color, including leaders like J.J. Johnson and Leroy Crenshaw.[136] The same is true for today's Patriot movement—including those present at conflicts at the Bundy Ranch standoff, Sugar Pine Mine, and the Malheur Refuge. The Malheur occupiers included people of color such as Brandon Dowd, David Fry, and Eric Lee Flores.[137] Brandon Rapolla of the Oath Keepers and Pacific Patriots Network was at the Bundy Ranch, Sugar Pine Mine, and in Burns. There are also black Sovereign Citizens, often called "Moorish sovereigns,"[138] as well as "Native sovereigns," who are said to renounce federal tribal enrollment. Rhodes even makes a point to note that he is "1/4 Mexican."[139]

Oath Keeper Sally Telford declares her views about race in a Patriot movement Facebook group.

Nonetheless, the movement's organizational structures and political goals remain largely the same as in the days of open racism—even though the reasoning behind the arguments has changed. Movements for social justice and the environment have focused on making gains in federal law, and the Patriot movement wants to dismantle these protections, but offers nothing in their place. Here you can see that goals, which were consciously formulated as racist positions by Posse Comitatus (empowering county sheriffs to ignore Civil Rights laws as unconstitutional), are given a different reasoning by today's activists but have the same potential effect.

While the Patriot movement does not make *explicit* appeals to racial purity or interests, their sidestepping of racial issues seems to result in them reproducing images and themes of an all-white America, which then resembles White nationalist visions. They base their appeals to social groups that are some of the remaining vast majority-White sections of the United States: farm operators and what's left of logging and mining communities, for example.

Of course, merely appealing to the concerns of these communities is not racist; but this is

combined with an unreflective approach, a problematic history and imagery, and the centrality given to them. For example, even among farmers, they address their concerns to the owners (who are 96 percent White)—not to farm laborers.[140] At the Malheur occupation, a sign declared that the Bureau of Land Management was "Oppressing the Backbone of America." Economic fallacies aside, the implicit racial implications of declaring ranchers the "backbone" of America—and not to mention claiming that they are "oppressed"—should not go by unnoticed. It is here that we can see "white identity politics" at play.

In addition, a denial of both structural and interpersonal racism is common in the Patriot movement. To most members, "racism" must be a conscious, vocalized action, like segregating lunch counters. For example, one article on the Oath Keepers' national website instructs readers to **"Realize there is no such thing as white privilege or male privilege:** In reality, there is only institutionalized 'privilege' for victim-status groups. There is no privilege for whites, males, white males or straight white males."[141] (Emphasis in the original.)

Eric Flores (left) and Brand Thornton (right) at a Malheur occupation press conference. Flores is the only Native American known to be part of the occupation. Thornton reportedly holds antisemitic views. (Photo: Spencer Sunshine)

Gender, Sexuality, and Abortion

UNLIKE THE 1990S MILITIA movement, opposition to social issues like feminism, LGBTQ rights, and abortion are not an organizing focus for the Oath Keepers, Three Percenters, or CSPOA. While doubtlessly these views are held by the majority of movement participants, as a right-wing Protestant worldwide undergirds the movement, they are downplayed in public.

Some exceptions to this include in September 2015, when the Oath Keepers offered to guard Kim Davis, the Kentucky county clerk who refused to issue same-sex marriage licenses. In the same month, Oath Keepers kept watch over a sign saying "Jesus Welcomes You to Hawkins" at the entrance to Hawkins, Texas. The city had wanted to remove it, but others claimed it was on private property.[163]

Anti-abortion sentiment is also common among activists but is almost never an organizing issue for the main groups. The Constitution Party of Oregon opposes abortion even in cases of rape or incest, but is only on the fringes of the Patriot movement. The last Malheur occupier, David Fry, complained about his taxes paying for abortion just before he surrendered; this was specifically noted by commentators, as this issue had not come up in the occupation before.[164] Patriot movement propagandist Gavin Seim has denounced abortion, but his exception seems to prove the rule.[165]

Despite the movement's overwhelmingly macho tone, it is not an entirely male movement, and despite its hostility to feminism, women can take roles as either leaders or "helpers" in the movement. Lawyer KrisAnne Hall is a well-known movement lecturer regarding the Constitution. Brooke Agresta is the "intelligence officer" for the 3% of Idaho. Self-proclaimed judge Anna von Reitz of Alaska wrote a widely-read Sovereign Citizen letter to Harney County Sheriff Ward before the conflict. Nevada assemblywoman Michelle Fiore is the leader of the pro-Bundy COWS (Coalition of Western States) group, and

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THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT'S ENGAGEMENT WITH BLACK LIVES MATTER

AS A GENERAL RULE, the Patriot movement has a negative view of the demonstrations in Ferguson and ensuing Black Lives Matter movement, although a minority of Patriot activists have sought an alliance.

Rhetorical attacks on Black Lives Matter in particular are common and have escalated after the 2016 shootings of police in Dallas and Baton Rouge. The Oath Keepers reprinted an article claiming the Obama administration "orchestrated" the Baltimore riots in order to "advance a totalitarian agenda."[142]

Before the Oath Keepers started to demonize the movement, there were initial sympathies toward the protests in Ferguson, Missouri. These came after police killed unarmed black teenager Michael Brown, and the protest became the catalyst for the Black Lives Matter movement.[143] In August 2014 the Oath Keepers wrote a letter to the Missouri governor warning him to respect protestors' rights, and on November 24, 2014, even called on Black veterans to form armed self-defense groups.[144] However, Oath Keepers went to Ferguson immediately afterward where they deployed armed members on rooftops to defend stores—thereby pointing guns at demonstrators. While the Oath Keepers were still there, founder Stewart Rhodes said the government intentionally refused to suppress looting in Ferguson as part of a larger attempt "to justify a ratcheting up of police state power, and it will not end until all of our children have the boot of a totalitarian police state on the back of their necks." At the same time, he reiterated the call for black veterans to police the streets.[145]

In April 2015, the Oath Keepers reprinted an article that claimed the raucous Baltimore protests after the funeral of Freddie Gray were "staged for television." The article said "without a doubt, the mainstream media and many of our most prominent 'national leaders' are responsible for stirring up racial tensions to the boiling point."[146]

The Patriot movement frequently demonizes the Black Lives Matter movement. They falsely claim that the Malheur occupiers have been treated more harshly than Black Lives Matter activists.

In August 2015, some armed, white, St. Louis-based Oath Keepers led by Sam Andrew went to the Ferguson protests as bodyguards for a reporter from *Infowars*, a right-wing conspiracy website. After discussions with demonstrators, however, Andrew vowed to organize a mixed-race, armed carry march. He quickly fell out with the national organization over this, although his splinter group did hold an armed march in November 2015. However, it attracted only a few Black participants.[147]

By April 2016, Stewart Rhodes had completely changed his stance. He called on Oath Keepers'

"civil defense units" to "fight in the street" against "the jihadists and the cartels and the gangs and these radical Black Lives Matter people and the Black anarchists, the black flag anarchists; they are all just force multipliers and proxies, just as we saw during the Cold War with communism."[148] In July 2016, after the sniper killings of five police by a Black veteran during a Black Lives Matter demonstration, Rhodes wrote:

> Sadly, this sniper attack does not come as a surprise after the incessant cop killer inspiring rhetoric of Black Lives Matter and similar radical leftist groups, inciting violence against all police officers while alleging that any and all shootings of black or Hispanic suspects in this nation just must be driven by racism, with condemnation and cries of "racist!" coming before any investigation has a chance to even start. And it also does not come as a surprise given the incessant Marxist mantra that America is a "racist nation" and that police serve as the weapons of that racist nation against all "people of color"—all of which serves the Marxist agenda to divide and conquer along racial lines and inspire blind hatred against all police, and against this nation in general....[149]

Despite this, the Patriot movement has co-opted Black Lives Matter slogans and even tried to reach out to activists. In 2014, a Patriot movement-organized Cave Junction meeting included a presentation about fake courts, billing them as being a "people's answer to Ferguson."[150] After the Malheur occupation, there were a spate of "Rural Lives Matter" and "Rancher Lives Matter" rallies, which used various Black Lives Matter slogans. At the February 2016 rally in Harney County, Patriot movement activists held signs with Finicum's photo and the slogan "#AllLivesMatter," while chanting "Hands Up, Don't Shoot." At a March 2016 rally in Portland, Oregon, for Malheur occupation prisoners, Nate Seim (brother of Washington state internet broadcaster Gavin Seim), called on Black Lives Matter and Native American activists to join forces with them. His call was, unsurprisingly, rejected.[151]

RELATIONSHIP WITH NATIVE AMERICANS

WHERE THE CLAIMS of Patriot movement activists involve land-use issues, there are sometimes direct conflicts with Native American historical narratives and claims to the land.

The Patriot movement frequently relies on images of Manifest Destiny, westward expansion, and the independent settler on the rugged frontier—all central to American mythology. The movement appeals to these images as a recruiting strategy. It is also an approach which implicitly endorses Native American genocide, which was necessary for the creation of the colonial farming, ranching, and mining industries. In one case, protestors specifically invoked "Cowboy versus Indians" imagery: during 2001's Klamath Basin Water Crisis, a march of largely White farmers including protestors on horses—dubbed the "U.S. Freedom Cavalry, Headgate Detachment"—rode in opposition to the Native American tribes, whom they were battling over water rights.[152]

The occupation of the Malheur Refuge was a replay of this. The occupiers wore cowboy hats and other traditional western ranch clothes in their media appearances. At one point the occupiers asked that the publicly-owned land revert to the descendants of the previous owners, who were ranchers. (To them, the fact that the land was purchased by the federal government was irrelevant,

since they claimed the federal government had no right to own it in the first place.) However, before U.S. colonization, it was the Burns Paiute Tribe's land—many of whom still live in the area today, and hold certain rights on the refuge. The tribe's chairwoman said the land should remain in federal possession—but if it did change hands, it should go to the tribe.[153] This, of course, is not the Patriot movement's vision of dismantling federal land ownership. It suggested that their vision for federal lands is really to finish the project of settler-colonialism: a project of displacement and enclosure on the last remaining lands that were not parceled up and given to private (largely White) hands for commercial use.

Sometimes the words and actions of the occupiers were more explicit. Native Americans are termed "savages" in a document produced by the Harney County Committee of Safety, the faux-governmental structure originally set up by Ammon Bundy before the Malheur occupation.[154] In 2014, Ryan Bundy rode in an illegal Utah protest ride of all-terrain-vehicles on federal land that contained Native American artifacts.[155] At Malheur, he said that the occupiers would be "delighted" to give the thousands of artifacts stored at the refuge headquarters back to the tribe, but also said that the occupiers "recognize that the Native Americans had the claim to the land, but they lost that claim." Ryan Bundy added, "There are things to learn from cultures of the past, but the current culture is the most important."[156]

The Burns Paiute Tribe was clear from the very beginning that the occupiers should leave, and they refused to engage in dialogue with them. Late in the occupation, Ammon Bundy said he was trying to reach out to them; this was followed by a video of LaVoy Finicum rooting through the artifact storage area. This incensed the tribal council, who called on federal authorities to quash the occupation and prosecute them under antiquities laws (they feared artifacts were being looted and sold online). Last, the occupiers both made a new road and dug a latrine in areas where Native American artifacts were located.[157]

Jarvis Kennedy, a member of the Burns Paiute tribal council, was an outspoken opponent of the occupation. (Photo: Peter Walker)

Despite this, at least one Native American activist visited the occupation to show her support, and at least one occupier was also Native American.[158] Additionally, a Native American resident of Burns helped form a local Three Percenter group and blessed the ground where LaVoy Finicum was killed.[159] (However, none of the three are members of the Burns Paiute Tribe.)

Amongst the Oregon Patriot groups it is hard to find direct organizational connections between the Patriot movement groups addressed in this report and the anti-Native movement. However, the latter are often friends or "friends of friends" of the Patriot movement: for example, there is anti-Native organizing among opponents of federal land holdings and Tea Party groups, groups which are linked to the Patriot movement.[160]

The Pacific Patriots Network, in its attempt to mediate a solution during the Malheur occupation, proposed turning the refuge over to the joint control of the county and the Burns Paiute Tribe.[161] At least two Oregon Patriot movement activists interviewed regarding this issue, including Josephine County Oath Keepers leader Joseph Rice, unambiguously told me they have no interest in diminishing Native American reservations or water rights.[162]

RACISM & IDENTITY, CONTINUED

Montana State Senator Jennifer Fielder heads the American Lands Council. With her husband and two of her sons behind bars, Carol Bundy has spoken out and become a public figure. Maureen Peltier (better known as SSG Moe) has become a vocal supporter of those arrested at Malheur. Those arrested at Malheur include two women, Shawna Cox and Sandra Anderson, the latter of who was one of the last four occupiers to surrender. A number of other women were also present at the Malheur occupation, but stayed behind the scenes and took on traditional domestic roles cooking and cleaning, including Melissa Cooper, Kristi Jernigan, and Debra Bass.[166]

E. POLITICAL TOOLBOX

IN GENERAL, the Patriot movement seems to operate with an "inside/outside" strategy: some parts of the movement work inside of established government structures to change them, while at the same time other parts work outside the system to undermine it. The most dangerous elements of their political toolbox involve an obsession with armed political action and threatening their political opponents.

Armed Politics

THE ESTABLISHMENT of armed camps when movement supporters are in conflict with the federal government, is the most visible tactic. However, movement activists have also brandished weapons at many other political events which otherwise would be familiar to the political mainstream.

The movement holds armed marches, including many "open carry" marches to publicly exercise their legal rights to brandish firearms in public. (In the movement's jargon these are called "2A" events, after the Second Amendment of the Constitution.) As already mentioned, in July 2015, the Oath Keepers called for their armed followers to "guard" military recruiting stations around the country, including several in Oregon. The Oath Keepers also had people in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014 and 2015. They also offered to guard Kentucky county clerk Kim Davis; she refused the offer, however. The Patriot movement's armed demonstrations outside mosques have become more frequent, and the movement is involved with vigilante border patrols, especially in Arizona.

Shawna Cox, one of the Malheur occupiers, speaking at a press conference. (Photo: Spencer Sunshine)

THREATS & INTIMIDATION

THE HEAVILY-ARMED Patriot movement is well-known for threatening its opponents. This was also a feature of the Posse Comitatus and militia movements. Oregonians have been flooded with threats from movement members; targets include Rural Organizing Project staff and board, environmentalists, the Harney County sheriff and his family, other law enforcement officials, federal employees, a Native American leader, Oregon legislators that support gun laws, and the Oregon Governor.

The threats come in the context of wild calls for armed resistance against looming tyranny. A combination of accessible video recording on smart

phones, services like YouTube and Facebook that can host video, and distribution via social media helps facilitate these violent calls, which often originate from grassroots activists who are under less pressure than top leaders to constrain their rhetoric. One example is a video of a man with an assault rifle—filmed at night and shared over 2,000 times on Facebook—who calls President Obama a Nazi and a traitor, and says, "I openly advocate armed, deadly and, lethal force against any future national gun confiscation."[167]

These recent threats follow a broader trend of violent threats and acts against employees of federal agencies which handle public lands in the West, including the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service. They average 214 incidents a year across agencies, with 359 incidents reported in 2015 alone.[168] The *High Country News* series "Defuse the West"—based on records obtained through the Freedom of Information Act—includes many examples of the violent attacks against federal employees. They include two instances of shots being firing at Forest Service employees. Several other documented incidents occurred in Oregon.[169]

Rural Organizing Project's Co-Director Jessica Campbell was the focus of a multiple-month campaign of threats and harassment from the movement. After she joined community members at a Josephine County press conference denouncing the Patriot movement's armed camps around Sugar Pine Mine in spring 2015, and then facilitated a community meeting to respond to a militia recruitment flyer dropped in Eugene in summer 2015, Patriot activists distributed her home address in their political circles. She was tailed while driving her car on multiple occasions, stalked in restaurants and coffee shops, and people came to her house in the middle of the night. Patriot movement activists have threatened to attempt to gain entry and/or to disrupt internal Rural Organizing Project meetings on multiple occasions.[170]

Burns Paiute tribal chair Charlotte Roderique said she was texted, emailed, and mailed threats during the Malheur occupation. "If it has a Colorado prefix," she said, "I can be sure it's one of the militia people here on their cell phone."[171]

Many were armed at the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in 2016. (Photo: Shawn Records)

In May 2014, before the Sugar Pine Mine occupation, local miners threatened members of an Oregon environmental group. They had clashed over a proposed new law which would ban suction dredge mining. "Wanted" posters with pictures of the environmental group's employees—at least one included a home address—were put up at a gold show and in a store in Applegate Valley, and also circulated online. Kerby Jackson, an apparent Sovereign Citizen who at the time was

the spokesperson for the mining district which included Sugar Pine Mine, also circulated the posters on Facebook.[172]

At the start of the Sugar Pine Mine armed camps, Bureau of Land Management (BLM) employees were apparently flooded with threats, prompting one of the mine's co-owners, Rick Barclay, to make a public call to "Please stop calling the BLM and threatening their personnel." But it apparently was so bad that, "One BLM staffer, who received anonymous email threats and believes he was followed home once, temporarily moved his family out of their home."[173]

The threats reached their high point with the Malheur occupation. Threats against the Harney County Sheriff Dave Ward started in November 2015, after he met with some future Malheur occupiers and refused their request to protect the Hammond family from being taken to prison by federal authorities. Patriot movement activists conducted surveillance on police and their families, as well as refuge employees, and harassed them at their homes. Ward received death threats over email. Additionally, the *Guardian* reported that, "his wife had left town for her safety after strangers followed her home one night and someone slit her car tire. He said he had received anonymous letters with numerous misspellings that included death threats. Worse still, the sheriff said, strangers had come to town to harass his elderly parents."[174]

The situation was especially dire for the 16 employees of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. On December 30, 2015, refuge workers were told not to come to work "until further notice." Because of threats, the refuge manager left Burns under police escort shortly after the occupation began; soon the others were told to leave town, as well. The situation intensified when the occupiers broke into the computer files at the refuge, accessing employees' personal information.[175] Additionally, Malheur was not the only refuge threatened; 13 other wildlife refuges reported vandalism or threatening behavior during the period of the occupation.[176]

Ten days into the occupation, more than a dozen Burns residents filed police reports about harassment, including being followed in their vehicles. They included a pastor, the wife of a local police officer, high school students, and Bureau of Land Management employees and their families.[177] Threats deluged Oregon Governor Kate Brown—as well as law enforcement—after the death of LaVoy Finicum, and then again when officials announced the details of his killing. These included death threats against the governor, state police, and FBI agents, and an Oregon state trooper's house was vandalized.[178] The Department of Homeland Security went so far as to issue a national advisory to "law enforcement and security personnel" after Finicum was killed, warning of potential retaliatory attacks.[179] The threats against Governor Brown, which included but are not limited to the those related to the Malheur occupation, have forced her office to be secretive about her movements and to beef up her security detail.[180]

Dual Power

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT deploys a variety of structures which mimic the role of government and/or which take its place. These include courts and judges, local government structures, border patrols, and emergency services. They all are aimed at dislodging the governmental authority the movement thinks is illegitimate, and perhaps even to create institutions that will be in operation when it succeeds in dismantling federal power. They challenge the structures created out of the U.S. Constitution in the name of defending the Constitution.

FAKE COURTS & JUDGES

OFTEN, threats against law enforcement and judges come from Sovereign Citizens, who do not acknowledge most legal authority. Sovereign Citizens are known to harass judges, sheriffs, and other officials with false liens, and in a number of cases have killed law enforcement in shootouts. Another tactic involves establishing their own, parallel legal system of citizens' juries and self-appointed judges. These kangaroo courts can "try" law enforcement, actual

judges, government employees, or others who are claimed to be acting "unconstitutionally." A conviction by one of their courts can be a threatening given the movement's violence. During the Malheur occupation at least two fake grand juries were initiated.

These fake courts—as well as other tactics that mimic legal filings and governmental structures, such as Sovereign Citizen legal filings and Committees of Safety—frequently perplex observers. It is not clear how much the participants themselves believe in them. They may feel they are engaged in clever hacks exploiting backdoors in the normal legal structures. They may be consciously creating a reality on the ground, with the hope that when enough people support it, it will achieve legitimacy or legality. Or they may be intentionally misleading people, hoping to con them into joining the movement with false promises. Or it may be some combination of all three.[181]

COMMITTEES OF SAFETY

SINCE THE CONFLICT in Harney County, the idea of the Committee of Safety has suddenly gained traction. At a December 15, 2015 public meeting in Burns, Ammon Bundy and Ryan Payne helped establish the Harney County Committee of Safety. Like the movement's fake courts and militias, the Committee of Safety mimics a real governmental form, even though it is vague and loosely defined.

Payne described the Committee as an "executive branch" which is "formed directly from the people, in the same manner that you elect county commissioners, the sheriff, you elect members to the Committee of Safety. "[182] He allied it to the committees formed by rebellious colonists in the period leading up to the American Revolution—while British rule was still in place—and pointedly said that "from these Committees, greater government structures can be formed." He also said they had (and, by implication, still have) the power to imprison a governor, force judges to resign, and call a Congress of the States.[183] They are also useful in a natural disaster situation, or if a "foreign country or the UN were to invade the United States."[184]

During the December 2015 meeting, Ammon Bundy was more concerned with the Committee's immediate utility. There appears to be a series of steps Patriot movement activists take to give these structures legitimacy, in their eyes. The first was to file a redress of grievance, present it to the (real) sheriff, then form a Committee—which could "call in the militia"—and set up a common law grand jury, before making arrests.[185] Ammon Bundy said the Committee is an elected local body that "is in charge of those that will come in and assist from across the country in defending the rights of this people and enforcing the rights of this Constitution. And I'm not going to dance around what we're talking about, we're talking about removing these unconstitutional agencies from Harney County. And freeing the people back up to go ranching, logging, or whatever else."[186] Payne also says the Committee can challenge the Constitutional right of federal courts to sentence the Hammonds by establishing an "evidentiary review board," and that,

> the Committee of Safety, as the executive, can call forth people to defend this county form any foreign incursion. So you can empower yourselves to order to defend against any retribution which is taken against yourselves or the Hammonds, preliminarily. And what that means is to provide a sanctuary for the Hammonds…and for yourselves as you go about this process of an evidentiary review board and deciding to free yourselves.[187]

These statements show that it was Bundy and Payne's clear intention: a community-based dual power structure, vested with authority over judicial and military matters.

It is unclear what powers the Committee itself thought it possessed either before or after the occupation.[188] Josephine Oath Keeper Joseph Rice has forwarded a different vision of the Committees; he has said that they are quasi-governmental bodies, like school boards or fire districts, serving as a mediator between individual citizens and county governments. Like these structures, he believes they can also invoke coordination, which to him means the federal government would have to agree with their land use wishes.[189]

During the Malheur occupation, Ammon Bundy tried to spread his messages to local ranchers during a meeting in Crane, Oregon. (Photo: Peter Walker)

During the Malheur occupation, the one job that was actually floated by the Harney County Committee of Safety was to research the deeds of those who owned the land right before it was made into the refuge (some occupiers wanted these families to resume ownership). The Malheur occupiers were on the way to Grant County to help set up another Committee there when they were arrested. Idaho's Koontai County Committee of Safety was formed in February 2016, and was promoted by Sovereign Citizen Lee Arthur Rice II, who had gone to the Malheur occupation. More recently, the National Liberty Alliance, a Sovereign Citizen-like organization, has two Oregon organizers setting up Committees; as of August 2016, meetings for one are being held in Cave Junction, in southern Josephine County.[190]

BORDER PATROLS

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT is closely tied with vigilante border patrols, especially in Arizona. These patrols have been around for decades. For example, in 1977, then-Klan leader David Duke held one in southern California.[191] However the Minuteman Project, founded in 2004, revitalized the patrols. Today there are many independent vigilante border patrols; in the Phoenix area they are part of a loosely organized armed Hard Right milieu that mixes together armed carry marches, Islamophobic and anti-immigrant organizing, and vigilante border patrols. Several of the Malheur occupiers came from this scene, including Jon Ritzheimer, Blaine Cooper, and Joe O'Shaughnessy.[192]

EMERGENCY SERVICES

IN RURAL OREGON, some areas lack local emergency services. In their place, Patriot movement activists have offered their own militias to do this service, and/or have helped militarize community watch groups—providing an entry point into the movement's political orbit.

In Josephine County, former Sheriff Gil Gilbertson (now a member of the Oath Keepers) cultivated community watches to take the place of sheriff's deputies, as the county did not provide funding for 24-hour dispatch.

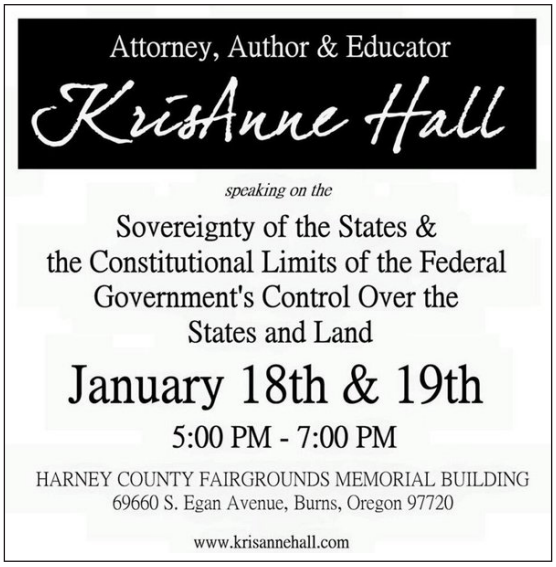
The Oath Keepers also encourage it members to form Community Preparedness Teams; these are volunteer disaster response teams which are instructed to include armed members. This, in particular, is a popular outreach tactic. The Oath Keepers mobilize people's natural desires to engage in volunteer mutual aid in rural areas that lack services and harness them to their political project. They also see it as part of the political image they want to project. One Idaho Oath Keeper, for example, complained that media did not report on their support for firefighters, running security for churches, and educational programs on canning, sustainable living, and wilderness survival.[193]

POLITICAL EDUCATION

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT offers an array of courses, training, videos, and websites which indoctrinate movement members into their ideology. The Oath Keepers in particular seem to be structured in a classical vanguard model utilized

by many Communist parties. They have a secretive leadership core (in Communist parlance, a central committee), who are driven by a particular ideological perspective. They disseminate their theoretical positions using media under their direct control (the Oath Keepers website), and they attempt to use high-profile issues to gain attention and recruits for their organization—for example by trying to recruit from Occupy Wall Street and guarding stores in Ferguson.

They stress ideological training, and the Oath Keepers' website even has its own "school" one can attend. The Sovereign Citizen movement, as well, is based on many educational videos, readings, and courses. Patriot movement activists famously hand out "Pocket Constitutions"; they will then point out passages and explain how the text supports their specific political position. The movement also has many traveling ideological speakers. During and after the Malheur occupation, many of them traveled to Burns, Prineville, and other Oregon small towns. Speakers included lawyer and author KrisAnne Hall, former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack (an Oath Keeper who also helped found the CSPOA), and broadcaster Gavin Seim.



KrisAnne Hall is the best known Patriot movement propagandist about the movement's views on the Constitution. She spoke in Burns, Oregon during the occupation.

INFLUENCING ELECTED OFFICIALS

Despite the Patriot movement's threatening and oppositional tactics, many issues that traditionally were the province of the Hard Right are now found in the mainstream of the Republican Party. However, it can be difficult to determine where the Patriot movement has exerted an influence. One *Newsweek* article during the summer of 2015 showed that state and national Republican officials had tapped into conspiracy theories like Agenda 21 and Operation Jade Helm and had made attempts at nullification of gun laws, the National Security Agency, Common Core, environmental standards, drug laws, and tracking license plates.[194]

However, a number of direct links are visible. Texas Senator Ted Cruz appeared in front of Oath Keepers flags at a Tea Party rally at the National Mall in Washington, D.C. during the October 2013 budget crisis.[195] He made guardedly sympathetic comments about the Malheur occupation, and during the 2016 Nevada Republican presidential primary ran a TV ad nodding to the occupation and calling for lands to be taken out of federal hands.[196] Cruz has also praised the Gun Owners of America, whose founder Larry Pratt was involved in the inception of the militia movement and has worked openly with White separatists; he continues to be involved with the Patriot movement today.[197]

Ahead of the Nevada Republican presidential primary, Trump said that "faceless, nameless bureaucrats" were part of the "draconian rule of the BLM" (Bureau of Land Management) that is "damaging the economy, lowering the standard of living and inhibiting natural economic growth." However, elsewhere Trump said public lands should remain in federal hands.[198] (The New Hampshire "Veterans for Trump" co-chair, Gerald DeLemus, went to the Malheur occupation, and was later arrested for his participation in the 2014 Bundy Ranch standoff.)[199]

Meanwhile, in 2013 Maine Governor Paul LePage had multiple meetings with a group of Sovereign

Citizens. LePage was apparently entranced by the idea of using their tactics against his political opponents. Allegedly, the Sovereign Citizens suggested that Democratic Party lawmakers could be charged with treason and executed with the help of the county sheriff.[200]

In Oregon's state capitol, State Representatives Mike Nearman and Bill Post, and State Senator Kim Thatcher spoke on the same podium as the Oath Keepers' Stewart Rhodes and Three Percenters' Mike Vanderboegh in opposition to SB 941, a state bill which requires background checks for private gun sales. On the stage at this "I Will Not Comply" rally on May 30, 2015, Vanderboegh openly called for the state government to be overthrown through a revolutionary uprising. (That same month, Rhodes—while speaking to a crowd that included the Arizona State Senate president—called for Arizona Senator John McCain to be tried for treason and executed.)

The land use issue has gotten the movement the most traction with ties long predating the Malheur occupation. In Montana, John Trochmann, one of the main leaders of the 1990s militia movement, is now involved in a land use group which includes Montana State Senator Jennifer Fielder, who leads the American Lands Council. She replaced Utah State Representative Ken Ivory, who became director of the Koch Brothers-funded Federalism in Action.[201] In 2014, both Ivory and Fielder discussed land transfer with Texas Senator Ted Cruz.[202] Most recently, just weeks after the Malheur occupation ended, Congressional representatives submitted two bills in committee to transfer federal lands to state hands.[203] In March 2016, a bill was introduced in Congress which would strip the Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service of law enforcement functions, instead giving block grants to states. The bill designates county law enforcement as one of the agencies which will enforce the laws—a classic Patriot movement position of usurping federal law enforcement.[204] The 2016 national Republican Party platform, adopted in July, also advocates land transfer.

CANDIDATES IN 2016 ELECTIONS

As we will see in the next section, many Patriot movement activists and sympathizers ran in the May 2016 GOP primaries in Oregon, and a few will be candidates in the November 2016 general election. After the election, many Patriot movement members entered into the Oregon Republican Party apparatus itself. While having their own people in office will give them greater power—especially if a CSPOA sheriff or other law enforcement officers are in their county—this will create tension with the more radical elements of their movement.

3 | OREGON'S HARD RIGHT HISTORY

OREGON'S CONTEMPORARY PATRIOT movement does not come out of a local void. Despite its reputation as a liberal stronghold, the state has a long history of Hard Right politics—including large grassroots movements. These include the racial exclusion laws the state was founded on; a large Ku Klux Klan presence; various Nazi and White supremacist groups; Posse Comitatus recruiting and activism; Roy Masters's foundation and media activities; the homophobic and anti-abortion Oregon Citizens Alliance; and Christian Patriot and militia movement in the 1980s and 1990s. Just like the Oath Keepers, Three Percenters, and Malheur occupiers did in 2015 and 2016, in the 1970s to early 2000s Hard Right groups in Oregon—including the Posse Comitatus, Aryan Nations, the Oregon Citizens Alliance, and Southern Oregon Militia—all hitched their horses to land-use issues. And numerous Sovereign Citizens have been arrested in the state for years, especially in Jackson County.

Racial Exclusion Laws

OREGON WAS FOUNDED on racial exclusion laws. In 1844, when it was still a territory, a law was passed subjecting to lashings any free black citizen who did not leave. This was repealed, but an 1849 law prohibited African-Americans from coming to the territory; this too was repealed. Oregon was accepted into the union as a non-slave state, but its 1857 Constitution prohibited any African-Americans from moving to the state who were not already residents. Voters overturned the law in 1926.[205] The state also ratified the Fourteenth Amendment (which granted citizenship to freed slaves) in 1866, but rescinded it in 1868; it was only re-ratified in 1973. And Black Oregonians were not the only group persecuted; in 1893, LaGrande's Chinatown was burned down, and its residents fled.[206] Today, the state is 77 percent White (non-Hispanic/Latino)—one of the most white in the country, which is currently 62 percent.[207]

Ku Klux Klan

OREGON'S KU KLUX KLAN had meteoric rise and fall; it was founded in 1921, dominated the 1923 state election, and by 1925 had fallen apart. Lawrence J. Saalfield, author of a book about the Oregon Klan, described Portland as "the virtual headquarters of the Klan west of the Rocky Mountains."[208] There were 14,000 to 20,000 Klan members in the state by the early 1920s, and before the decade's end as many as 50,000 may have passed through the organization's ranks.[209]

Oregon's Klan was an overtly White supremacist organization; however, while it occasionally campaigned against people of color—in particular those of Japanese descent—its main focus was against Roman Catholics, many of whom were recent immigrants. At the time, they were demonized in the same way Jews often are: as a fifth column in the nation, who dominate its institutions, but whose real loyalties are to a foreign power. Scholar Eckard V. Toy wrote, "The racial and moralistic attitudes of Klansmen were not significantly different from those of other Oregonians"—who were overwhelmingly white, Protestant, and native-born.[210]

The 1922 vote was a two-fold victory for the Klan. First, the Republican candidate they backed, Walter Pierce, was elected governor; and second, a referendum they supported, aimed at crippling the Roman Catholic private school system, was passed. In March 1923, both Pierce and Portland Mayor George L. Baker paid their political dues by attending a banquet for Klan leader Frederick L. Gifford. Klan-backed legislation was also passed, banning

teachers from wearing religious headgear in public schools (aimed at Catholics), and limiting land ownership by non-citizens (aimed at Japanese). But other bills failed. Beset by internal faction-fighting, the state Klan faded from sight in 1925, although there was a brief revival in 1926.[211] But the Klan's power had declined so much that, the same year, the African-American exclusion clause was repealed from the state constitution. The private school referendum they had backed was also struck down the year before by the Supreme Court.

Silver Shirts & Japanese Internments

In the 1930s, the state had a visible membership in the Silver Legion of America (better known as the Silver Shirts), a pro-Nazi organization. Former Oregon Klan leaders Gifford and Luther I. Powell even joined the group, which in 1939 had 750 members in the state.[212]

The pro-Nazi group was suppressed by the U.S. government during the war—but the federal government turned around and enacted its own racist policies in the state. In 1942, the federal government forcibly interned 4,000 Oregonians of Japanese descent (including both Japanese expatriates and native-born citizens) in camps. When they returned after the war, 75 percent of the land they had owned before 1942 was no longer in their hands.[213]

Posse Comitatus

In the 1970s, Oregon also became a center for the Posse Comitatus movement, centered around Portland's Henry Lamont "Mike" Beach. A former member of the Silver Shirts, Beach became a key link between Oregon's past and future Hard Right.

Many of the tactics and organizing approaches used by the 1970s Oregon Posse Comitatus can be seen in use today by the Patriot movement; these includes establishing relationships with radical gun rights groups, establishing fake courts, anti-environmental activism, and armed takeovers. In 1974, a "citizens grand jury" was organized by the Lane County Posse Comitatus. The same group also made links with a gun rights group, the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms (NAKBA).[214]

In 1973, Beach plagiarized the writings of Posse Comitatus founder William Potter Gale into a short booklet, the *Blue Book*, and started issuing his own charters for groups. Soon there were at least nine Oregon counties with chartered Posse Comitatus groups.[215] Many were in the same areas where the 1920s Klan had been strong, in Oregon's south and east—the same political strongholds of today's various Patriot movement groups.[216]

In 1975, the Klamath County Posse Comitatus chairman sent threatening letters to state legislators, saying they would be tried for treason by his movement's fake grand juries if they did not repeal a 1973 land conservation act. The threats were discussed on the floor of the state senate, and the Oregon state attorney general was consulted.[217]

Posse Comitatus activists sued Josephine County for accepting paper money for tax payments.[218] And foreshadowing the Malheur takeover, in 1976 Posse Comitatus activist Everett Thoren claimed (falsely) that he owned half of a farm in rural Umatilla County. He recruited Posse Comitatus activists from California and Portland and engineered an armed takeover of the farm—although Thoren himself did not join in. Like at Malheur, none of the occupiers were locals, but unlike Malheur, they surrendered the same day to authorities.[219]

Josephine County: Roy Masters & the State of Jefferson

Many communes, cults, and alternative religious communities set up shop in Oregon in the 1970s and 1980s. One of those was Roy Masters' Foundation of Human Understanding, which came to Josephine County in 1979. Masters promotes a right-wing brand of Christianity deeply infused with libertarian economics as well as patriarchal and homophobic views. The group allegedly tried to take over the county government. Locals soon dubbed his followers "Roybots," and he was embroiled in numerous lawsuits.[220]

Masters—host of the radio show *Advice Line*—later established the right-wing Talk Radio Network, which included Art Bell's popular overnight conspiracy show *Coast to Coast AM*. The network passed to Roy's son Mark Masters and featured Michael Savage and Laura Ingraham.[221] *WorldNetDaily (WND)*, one of the most popular right-wing conspiracy theory websites today, was originally based at Roy Masters' headquarters.[222] The right-wing conspiracy website *News With Views*, based in Merlin, appears to be part of Roy Masters' orbit as well; the site features many of his talks. County officials, including former Sheriff Gil Gilbertson, have written for the site while in office. (See Josephine County section.)

Josephine County is also one of the centers for the regional separatist State of Jefferson movement. Covering parts of northern California and southwestern Oregon, the proposed state's flag has two X's to symbolize it being "double-crossed" by Salem and Sacramento. The State of Jefferson idea dates back to 1852, but today many activists who are involved in the libertarian-leaning secessionist project are closely aligned with the Patriot movement.[223] State of Jefferson flags are commonly seen at many Patriot movement rallies.

The "State of Jefferson" is a movement in southwestern Oregon and northern California to form a new state. Its activists often crosspollinate with the Patriot movement.

Nazi Skinheads & Aryan Nations

Oregon was one of the centers of the neo-Nazi movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the mid-1980s, racist leaders floated a plan called the Northwest Territorial Imperative, which sought to establish a White ethnostate in the region. The Nazi skinhead movement in particular established a strong following in the state, and in 1988 members of a Portland Nazi skinhead gang—loosely connected to Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR)—murdered Ethiopian immigrant Mulugeta Seraw. (The SPLC won a major lawsuit against Metzger for inspiring the murder, bankrupting WAR.)[224] In 1990, the American Front, one of the largest national Nazi skinhead organizations, relocated their operations to Portland. Elsewhere in the state, other neo-Nazis were active; these included the National Socialist Vanguard and the national organization Volksfront, which was founded in 1994.[225] Followers of Christian Identity, an openly racist and antisemitic version of Christianity, were also active in the state, and sometimes served as a bridge between the neo-Nazi and Christian Patriot groups.[226]

The Aryan Nations, based in Idaho and led by Richard Butler, targeted the state. Butler had been in the same Christian Identity church as Posse Comitatus founder Gale; Butler took the church over, moved it from southern California to northern Idaho and renamed it Aryan Nations. However, he continued to have a long, on-again-off-again relationship with the Patriot movement.[227]

In 1991, Aryan Nations targeted Oregon for a recruiting drive, attempting to exploit public resentment against environmental restrictions to save the spotted owl, which was then a federally recognized endangered species. The group's plan to make Josephine County the center of an organizing drive in 1995 was canceled after an anti-racist march in Grants Pass drew 1,500 people. After Butler died in 2004, a number of splinter groups formed which all took the group's name. In 2010, one of these splinter groups tried to move its headquarters to John Day, Oregon. This, too, was scrapped after strong local opposition, aided by Rural Organizing Project.[228]

Oregon Citizens Alliance

THE HOMOPHOBIC, ANTI-ABORTION Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) became a powerful force in Oregon politics in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a local manifestation of Christian Right-driven culture wars. Formed in 1986 by Lon Mabon, the OCA repeatedly employed Oregon's accessible ballot referendum system to push a reactionary social agenda. In 1988 the OCA won Measure 8, which repealed the state rule against sexual orientation discrimination and prohibited any new protections from being implemented. (This was their only state referendum victory, however, and the courts would later overturn it.) Turning to abortion issues, Measure 10 in 1990 required parental notification for abortion for minors, but it was defeated. OCA's major battle, which attracted national attention, was Measure 9 in 1992, which would have amended the state constitution forcing schools and government agencies to discourage "homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism and masochism."

The measure eventually failed—and opposition to it led to the formation of Rural Organizing Project. But similar measures were passed in several localities before being overturned by state legislation.[229] In addition, the OCA closely aligned itself with the corporate-funded, anti-environmental Wise Use movement, incorporated its views into the OCA platform, and sponsored a land-use ballot initiative.[230]

1980s–2000s MILITIA & PATRIOT MOVEMENT

BY THE 1980S, post-Posse Comitatus groups operating under the banner of the "Christian Patriot" movement started to appear in Oregon. These were succeeded by a number of militias in the early 1990s.

Republic v. Democracy Redress

IN THE 1980S a number of individuals and groups in the state continued to employ the fake legal strategies that were pioneered by Posse Comitatus. In Oregon City, this included the racist and antisemitic group Republic v. Democracy Redress, publishers of *BEHOLD!* They held that only white people could be full U.S. citizens.[231]

The tactics of the newly emerging Sovereign Citizen movement had a more general following in the state, as well. In just nine months of 1982, 15 to 20 "cases which involved combinations of harassing lawsuits and common law liens and common law 'signature' liens had been filed" in the state.[232]

Medford Citizens' Bar Association

TWO HARD RIGHT GROUPS, with an intertwined history, ran a politically-based tax scam in Oregon for decades: the Medford Citizen's Bar Association (MCBA) and the Christian Patriot Association. The MCBA published a paper called the *CBA Bulletin*, which promoted fake legal, racist, and antisemitic writings.[233] The group also ran a warehouse bank—an illegal private service which provided checking services to members while hiding its paperwork from the IRS, thereby enabling tax evasion. (Opposition to the federal income tax has long been a popular issue on the Hard Right, and the right-wing tax protest movement was one of the currents that fed into Posse Comitatus.) The bank was raided by the government in 1985. Several members were convicted in 1990, although one, Art Hollowell, fled.[234] (He was caught and sentenced in 1996; in 2010 he reappeared in Patriot circles.)[235]

By 1994 the MCBA's periodical had changed its name to *The American's Bulletin*, and was run by Robert Kelly.[236] Two years later, the group itself was reported to be defunct, although the periodical continued under Kelly's editorship.[237] *The American's Bulletin* defended the militia movement, and in the late 1990s was a leading promoter of the "redemption movement"—a Sovereign Citizen financial scheme to defraud banks.[238] *The American's Bulletin* is still published today out of Central Point, Oregon, just outside of Medford, and in early 2016 ran Sovereign Citizen articles defending the Hammond family in Burns.[239]

Christian Patriot Association

THE 1985 IRS RAID of the MCBA did not stop the illegal banking activities, which were handed over to the Christian Patriot Association, run by Richard Flowers, the following year.[240] The Christian Patriot Association published a periodical (*The Patriot Review*) and books as well as distributing other titles. They distributed fake legal works as well as racist, antisemitic, and Christian Identity texts, and weapons manuals.[241] In 1996, it was also raided by authorities, and in 2000 a number of members were arrested. In 2002 they were convicted, and after a lengthy appeals process, the main sentences were handed down in 2005. The Department of Justice claimed that between 1986 and 2000, the Christian Patriot Association had "provided anonymous banking for 900 members nationwide and handled deposits totaling over $186 million."[242]

In addition, many people connected to the MCBA and Christian Patriot Association made headlines for violent criminal activity. Maynard Campbell, from Ashland, advertised his how-to guides for making biological weapons like ricin in the *CBA Bulletin*. In 1992 he was arrested after a standoff with police, and was murdered in prison in 1997.[243]

In 1996, during the Justus Township standoff, two armed men—Mike Bartee and Tad Silveira—tried to reinforce the compound with food and ammunition; they said they had *The American's Bulletin* press credentials. Bartee also identified himself as associated with the Embassy of Heaven church.[244] In 1997, this church—which was *also* utilizing these fake legal strategies—was foreclosed on in Sublimity, Oregon. Scott Roeder, who murdered abortion provider George Tiller in 2009, had previously received instruction from the church, although he did not receive "citizenship"—which the church granted its followers—from them. (The church, which today is in Stayton, Oregon, opposes violence.)[245]

In 1997 in Damascus, Oregon, a bomb was set off at a pornographic video store as a diversionary tactic before a bank robbery. In 2002, two men—Fritz Springmeier and Forrest E. Bateman, Jr.—were arrested in connection to this. They had met at a meeting of the Christian Patriot Association, and both were also connected to the violent anti-abortion group Army of God.[246] Springmeier was the author of several conspiracy theory books, and after his release spoke in the Portland neighborhood of Sellwood, hosted by the 9/11 Truth Alliance, in both 2011 and 2012.[247]

Despite their obsession with fabricated paperwork and secret banks, the Christian Patriot movement didn't ignore land use issues. A 1990 report by Portland's Coalition for Human Dignity quotes a Christian Patriot movement activist as saying, "Oregon is 50% controlled by the Federal Government—by those who control the Federal Government—because 50% of the land is natural forest. So this state is dominated by a foreign power… [look at] the spotted owl and the lack of funding for industry, and the movement of industry down south…." The report also noted that all the MCBA members worked in the wood products industry.[248]

Fake Courts

IN THE MID-TO-LATE 1990S, a number of fake courts based on Posse Comitatus/Sovereign Citizen ideas sprang up around Oregon. Rodney Elliot Askelson, who helped run the Christian Patriot Association in the 1980s, was a founder of the Common Law Supreme Court of Oregon.[249] The other courts included Our One Supreme Court of Wasco County, the United States District Court of Oregon, and the Multnomah County Common Law Court.[250] The latter pledged support for the Embassy of Heaven when it ran afoul of the law.[251]

Other Sovereign Citizen Activity

THE OREGON OBSERVER is a Patriot newspaper founded in 1992, and is still published today as the *US~Observer*. Referred to as "Oregon's premier patriot organ," publisher Ed Snook of Josephine County took part in hanging a black lawmaker in effigy in Salem in 1998. In 1999 he was involved in campaigns to recall elected officials in southwestern Oregon.[252]

Herbert Crawford was arrested in March 1996 arrest for drug manufacturing; he had been an

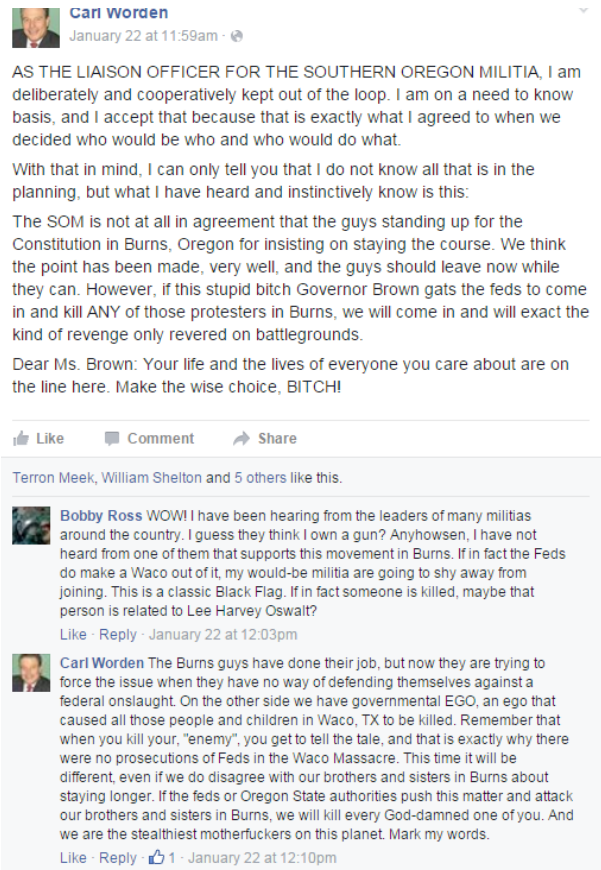
associate of the Montana Freemen.[253] In March 1998, Ronald A. Griesacker, who was affiliated with a range of Patriot-style groups, was arrested on fraud charges in Oregon.[254]

Other arrests and threatening activity by Sovereign Citizens in Oregon include:

- In 1999, the Jackson County sheriff complained he was harassed by activists associated with Freedom Bound International, a Sovereign Citizen group.[255] Led by Brent Johnson (host of the radio show *American Sovereign*, which is now the *Voice of Freedom*), Freedom Bound International is based in Klamath Falls and still around today. They sell DVDs and books, including Johnson's *The American Sovereign: How to Live Free From Government Regulations*. You can even buy an "international driver permit."[256]
- In 2001, two Sovereign Citizens in Medford, Donald Harley Carter and Floyd Bradley Howe, received three-year sentences for their participation in redemption schemes.[257]
- In 2005, Oregon's John David Van Hove, a.k.a. Johnny Liberty, was arrested while in Hawaii on tax fraud, wire fraud, and obstruction charges, and sentenced to two years. In the 1990s, he had been noted for promoting Sovereign Citizen theories to progressives and environmentalists. Van Hove wrote a number of books, including the massive *Global Sovereign's Handbook*, which includes many conspiracy theories and a focus on Native American sovereignty. Today he runs the Global Source Center in Ashland, and still sells his old books and audio courses.[258]
- In March 2010, people involved in Pinnacle Quest International were convicted of tax and wire fraud, and money laundering. They included Ashland restaurant owner Eugene "Gino" Joseph Casternovia, who had run a group called Southern Oregon Resource Center for Education, which advocated Sovereign-style tax evasion strategies.[259]
- In October 2011, a "*de jure* Grand Jury" sent every Oregon district attorney an indictment for "treason, kidnapping, and slave trafficking. The documents also called on 'provost marshals' to arrest the officials and suggested that in some cases the death penalty might be appropriate."[260]
- In October 2011, Ronald and Dorothea Jolings from Coos Bay were indicted for tax evasion; apparently afterwards they embraced Sovereign Citizen ideology, filing false liens against federal officials and claiming each one owed them $100 million. In 2015 they skipped their sentencing, although were caught soon after; Ronald received eight years and Dorothea four for tax evasion. In February 2016, they pled guilty to new charges related to filing the false liens.[261]
- In June 2014, Gary Lewis, a Sovereign Citizen, was arrested for murdering a tenant in his fortified Northeast Portland house.[262]
- Also in June 2014, a police SWAT team killed 73-year-old Ashland resident Earl Cranston Harris after he greeted police efforts to enter his house to serve an eviction notice with a shotgun. Harris spent years filing Sovereign Citizen documents in an attempt to prevent his home's foreclosure.[263]
- In December 2015, Winston Shrout, a Hillsboro, Oregon, Sovereign Citizen "guru" who traveled around the world teaching his legal theories, was charged with 19 counts of tax evasion. He later received additional charges for attempting to defraud banks with fake documents. An advocate of the redemption scheme, Shrout gave seminars in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain.[264]

Militias

MILITIAS WERE PART of the same political milieu of illegal banks, Sovereign Citizen periodicals, and pretend courts that dotted Oregon in the 1990s.



Carl Worden
January 22 at 11:59am ·

AS THE LIAISON OFFICER FOR THE SOUTHERN OREGON MILITIA, I am deliberately and cooperatively kept out of the loop. I am on a need to know basis, and I accept that because that is exactly what I agreed to when we decided who would be who and who would do what.

With that in mind, I can only tell you that I do not know all that is in the planning, but what I have heard and instinctively know is this:

The SOM is not at all in agreement that the guys standing up for the Constitution in Burns, Oregon for insisting on staying the course. We think the point has been made, very well, and the guys should leave now while they can. However, if this stupid bitch Governor Brown gats the feds to come in and kill ANY of those protesters in Burns, we will come in and will exact the kind of revenge only revered on battlegrounds.

Dear Ms. Brown: Your life and the lives of everyone you care about are on the line here. Make the wise choice, BITCH!

Like Comment Share

Terron Meek, William Shelton and 5 others like this.

Bobby Ross WOW! I have been hearing from the leaders of many militias around the country. I guess they think I own a gun? Anyhowsen, I have not heard from one of them that supports this movement in Burns. If in fact the Feds do make a Waco out of it, my would-be militia are going to shy away from joining. This is a classic Black Flag. If in fact someone is killed, maybe that person is related to Lee Harvey Oswalt?
Like · Reply · January 22 at 12:03pm

Carl Worden The Burns guys have done their job, but now they are trying to force the issue when they have no way of defending themselves against a federal onslaught. On the other side we have governmental EGO, an ego that caused all those people and children in Waco, TX to be killed. Remember that when you kill your, "enemy", you get to tell the tale, and that is exactly why there were no prosecutions of Feds in the Waco Massacre. This time it will be different, even if we do disagree with our brothers and sisters in Burns about staying longer. If the feds or Oregon State authorities push this matter and attack our brothers and sisters in Burns, we will kill every God-damned one of you. And we are the stealthiest motherfuckers on this planet. Mark my words.
Like · Reply · 1 · January 22 at 12:10pm

Carl Worden of the Southern Oregon Militia threatens on Facebook to kill "stupid bitch" Oregon Governor Kate Brown if any of the Patriot movement activists in Burns are killed.

The Southern Oregon Militia, founded by Ralph Bowman and based in Jackson and Josephine Counties, was formed in 1993; the secretive group still exists today. It threatened to intervene during the 1996 Justus Township standoff in Montana.[265] In 2001 they also threatened to intervene in the Klamath Basin Water Crisis (see below).

Carl F. Worden, the group's liaison officer, describes the Southern Oregon Militia as a "clandestine" group. However, its secrecy does not preclude the group from endorsing candidates for office, and in May 2014 the militia gave its seal of approval to Corey Falls's successful bid for Jackson County sheriff, which it later revoked. It refused to join the Sugar Pine action or support the ongoing Malheur occupation. However, Worden defended Malheur's occupiers from repression, saying, "If this stupid bitch Governor Brown gets the feds come in and kill ANY of those protestors in Burns, we will come in and will exact the kind of revenge only revered on battlegrounds. Dear Ms. Brown: Your life and the lives of everyone you care about are on the line here. Make the wise choice, BITCH!"[266]

In the summer of 1994, the Portland suburb of Hillsboro was home to the Oregon Militia.[267] The larger Northwest Oregon Regional Militia, led by Mike Cross, formed in October 1994. It claimed members in 18 counties, but was disbanded following the shock of the Oklahoma City bombing.[268] The smaller Central Oregon Regional Militia, based in Prineville, but also active in neighboring Deschutes County, was founded the same month and also disbanded following the bombing.[269] (Kenneth Medenbach claimed he was a member of this latter group when he ran into legal problems in 1995 for claiming rights to federal land. In 2016, he was the first person arrested in connection with the Malheur Refuge takeover, after driving into Burns in a stolen Refuge truck.)[270] In 1996, the Eastern Oregon Militia made an appearance by also threatening to intervene in the Justus Township standoff.[271] In conjunction with other groups, they also suggested setting up a common law court to resolve the standoff—similar to how the Pacific Patriots Network offered to intervene between the FBI and the Malheur occupiers in 2016, and using almost the exact same language—to prevent the government from "trying to instigate another Waco-type situation."[272]

Klamath Basin Water Crisis

In the Klamath Basin water crisis of 2001–2002, militias capitalized on land-use conflicts to forward a much broader political agenda, just like what happened at the Malheur Refuge occupation.

The Klamath River Basin (which spans southern Oregon and northern California) is more than 60 percent federal land and is the site of a still-unresolved dispute over water rights.[273] There are multiple parties involved, including farmers dependent on river irrigation, local governments, Native American tribes with water rights, fishers, environmentalists, and the federal government.

In April 2001 the federal government bowed to pressure from the tribes, reducing the water flow significantly in order to reverse fish die-off. In

response local farmers organized a protest in the form of a "bucket brigade," where they symbolically drew water from the river. They specifically relied on cowboy imagery, riding on horses dressed up as cowboys, to show their opposition to the Native tribes' water claims.

While these protests were rooted in the local community, outside Patriot movement groups joined in. The Southern Oregon Militia sent an email which fantasized about killing Bureau of Land Management employees. The local sheriff refused to enforce trespassing laws against the protestors, and a local police officer was put on leave after an incendiary speech threatening violence against local environmentalists. One man who was arrested claimed to be part of a fake court which was involved in "proceedings" against real officials. An out-of-state convoy that came there in August 2001 was organized by Patriot movement activists, including the Militia of Montana. While this militia did not actually follow the convoy into Oregon, in order to downplay tensions, at least one member did on his own. And just as in the Malheur conflict in 2016, Patriot movement activist Richard Mack made an appearance, and U.S. Representative Greg Walden weighed in on the farmers' side.[274]

KEY EVENTS IN OREGON'S PATRIOT MOVEMENT

January 2013
Oregon county sheriffs sign Patriot movement-inspired letter to Vice President Biden opposing new gun restrictions after the Sandy Hook massacre

2013
People Against the National Defense Authorization Act (PANDA), in alliance with the Oath Keepers, convinced a number of counties to pass resolutions opposing the National Defense Authorization Act

April 2014
Bundy Ranch standoff in Nevada

February & May 2015
Oregon rallies against new state gun control law SB 941

April 2015
Sugar Pine Mine armed camps

July 2015
"Protect the Protectors" campaign to guard military recruiting stations

August 2015
Oath Keepers oppose removal of Fielder Dam on private land in Jackson County

August 2015
Oregon Patriot movement activists join White Hope Mine armed camp in Montana

October 2015
Global Rally for Humanity event in Medford shifts theme under pressure from progressives

October 2015
Anti-Obama rally in Roseburg after UCC massacre

December 2015
Organizing for pro-Hammonds march in Burns

January 2016
Armed Patriot movement activists from out-of-state occupy Malheur National Wildlife Refuge HQ

February 2016
Oregon and out-of-state activists rally in support of Malheur occupiers

February 2016
Rural Lives Matter rally in Halfway, Oregon supports Malheur occupiers

February & April 2016
LaVoy Finicum memorial rallies

May 2016
Oregon Patriot movement activists run in GOP primaries

June 2016
Oregon Patriot movement activists enter state GOP apparatus

4 | OREGON'S PATRIOT MOVEMENT TODAY

OREGON'S ROBUST PATRIOT movement provided the groundwork for one of the most visible actions by the movement nationally—the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in January 2016 by out-of-state activists. As detailed in this section, the movement is also embedded in the everyday life of some rural counties like Harney in southeastern Oregon, where the Malheur Refuge is located; in Josephine County, the home of Sugar Pine Mine in southwest Oregon, where miners allied with armed Patriot movement activists to oppose the Bureau of Land Management; and in Grant County, also in eastern Oregon, whose constitutional sheriff Glenn Palmer asserted the authority of his office make decisions on public land use. You also will find Patriot movement action in nearby Baker County, as well as in Crook and Deschutes counties in central Oregon.

The movement embraces an "inside/outside" strategy. It can be active in normal civic affairs, contributing emergency infrastructure for instance in Josephine County where austerity has hit hard. And it works within the Republican Party, actively pursuing office in GOP primaries and allying with federal land transfer and gun groups to lobby politicians, some of whom openly support the movement. At the same time, its network of rural paramilitaries attempt to create alternative "dual power" structures that some hope will replace the current government. It sets up Committees of Safety it claims represent "We the People." Its fake courts threaten to try public officials, challenging their legitimacy. It makes strange claims about Constitutional law, not least about the supposed power of counties over federal authority. And all this is wrapped up in conspiracy theories and antidemocratic social conservatism.

While Oregon's Patriot movement goes back to the Posse Comitatus groups of the early 1970s, the latest wave got three big boosts in recent years.

- Oath Keepers locals appeared immediately after the organization formed in 2009 following President Obama's election—joining a handful of existing Patriot movement groups in the state.
- The movement gained more traction after the Sandy Hook mass shooting in Connecticut set off an exaggerated fear that the federal government was going to take away its guns. In January 2013, twelve of Oregon's sheriffs signed letters organized by the CSPOA to Vice President Joseph Biden, calling for no new gun restrictions. Eventually 21 Oregon county sheriffs (out of 36 counties) would appear on the group's list of those who shared the CSPOA's basic values.[275]
- The April 2014 standoff at the Bundy Ranch in Nevada set off a new surge in the Patriot movement, and many new Oath Keepers and Three Percenter groups started in Oregon.

The new and established Patriot movement groups soon found causes to rally around in the months before Malheur. They rallied in protest of the state's SB 941 bill, which would require background checks for private gun sales. Their first event in Salem in February 2015 garnered very little attention but featured Oregon Patriot movement leaders and sympathetic state-level elected officials.[276]

In May 2015, a little more than a couple weeks after SB 941 became law, a more successful rally in Salem attracted a Who's Who of the Patriot movement and won more attention. Mike Vanderboegh threatened "civil war" as a response to the

John Parker Jr. ▸ The William Tell Project
March 15 ·

Hi, I'm John Parker Jr, running for PCP in Oregon, Douglas County Precinct 4 though I live in neighboring Precinct 12.
In an election that actually means something, since it's only PCP'S who can become delegates to cast votes for President, I would like your help by sharing this post.
I admit, it's too late for anyone else to run but awareness should be made.
If you want your support for a presidential candidate to mater, support your local PCP candidates.
#JURYNULLIFICATION

John Parker Jr. was one of many Oregon Patriot movement activists who ran in May 2016 to become a Republican Party Precinct Committee Person (PCP).

new law—just as he did when he was at the Bundy Ranch standoff. Other scheduled speakers included national Patriot movement activists Stewart Rhodes, a former aide to ex-Rep. Ron Paul of Texas who founded the Oath Keepers, and Gavin Seim, of the Bundy-aligned Coalition of Western States. A number of elected officials were there as well: State Senator Kim Thatcher, Oregon State Representatives Mike Nearman and Tea Party radio host Bill Post, and Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer.[277]

This new law generated fierce opposition and the Patriot movement and its allies won some success at the county level to spurn it. The Lane County Commission refused to fund enforcement of the measure and was supported by their sheriff, Byron M. Trapp, who called the law "unenforceable"—although he said it should be obeyed.[278] County commissions in Yamhill, Linn, and Douglas also passed resolutions refusing to fund enforcement of the law, and Coos County passed a referendum allowing their county sheriff to ignore it.[279] The Oregon Firearms Federation lists 24 Oregon counties, and several towns, which have issued various "ordinances, resolutions or letters defending gun rights," regarding both SB 941 and other issues.[280]

The movement seized other heated organizing opportunities, some of which we will explore further in the county sections.

- In Josephine County in April 2015, armed activists traveled to Sugar Pine Mine in support of miners' whose longstanding disagreement with the Bureau of Land Management had come to a head.[281] Some of those present had been at the Bundy Ranch in Nevada the year before, and would later be at the Malheur occupation. The Bureau of Land Management backed off, and after a couple of months the camps disbanded. After this event, a number of Oregon and Idaho groups formed the Pacific Patriots Network.
- In July 2015, the Oath Keeper's "Protect the Protectors" program sent members to "guard" military recruiting stations, including in Bend, Oregon, after an alleged Islamist "lone wolf" attack against a Tennessee recruiting station and military installation killed five people.[282]
- In August 2015, many armed Oregon Patriot movement activists with the newly formed Pacific Patriots Network traveled to White Hope Mine in Lincoln, Montana, for an encampment in support of miners who were in conflict with the U.S. Forest Service.[283]
- Also in August 2015, Oregon Patriot movement members showed up during the removal of Jackson County's Fielder Dam; although it was on private land, it hampered salmon migration. The Patriot movement members claimed the removal unleashed toxins in into the water stream and lobbied county governments to intervene; independent tests did not show elevated toxin levels, however.[284]
- On October 9, 2015, Three Percenters and Oath Keepers helped organize a protest against President Obama's visit to Umpqua Community College near Roseburg, Oregon after a mass shooting—although they kept their participation out of public view. Located in Douglas County, its sheriff, John Hanlin had previously signed the CSPOA letter to Biden against gun laws and promoted conspiracy theories about 9/11 and Sandy Hook.[285]

So the movement was generating steam in the months before the Malheur occupation and, as we will see, embedding itself in the life of many counties. It also had elected officials it could rely upon.

A. THE OREGON GOP & PATRIOT MOVEMENT INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

IN OREGON TODAY, there are a number of local and state elected officials who are known to be sympathetic to the Patriot movement, including sheriffs like former Josephine County sheriff Gil Gilbertson and Douglas County's John Hanlin. But newcomers are also seeking office in November 2016, and many ran in the May 2016 Republican primary. The most prominent new wins for the Patriot movement are Mark Callahan getting through the GOP primary to run against incumbent Democrat Ron Wyden for the U.S. Senate, while Dennis Linthicum is the Republican candidate for state senate.

It is not new for the movement to have connections with Republican elected officials. In the 1990s, militia movement sympathizers included U.S. Representatives Steve Stockman from Texas and Helen Chenoweth-Hage from Idaho, as well as state and local legislators like Colorado State Representative and Senator Charlie Duke.[286] Others were also involved in the U.S. Taxpayers Party (which changed its name to the Constitution Party in 2000).

However, in Oregon today, the Patriot movement is attempting to use the Republican Party as a political vehicle—its "inside" strategy. You will find Patriot movement activists inside the county party structures. These include Tim Smith, chair of the Harney County Committee of Safety, who is the former chair of the Harney County Republican Party. A leading figure in the Central Oregon Patriots (and a supporter of the Harney County Committee of Safety, founded by Ammon Bundy) is Ken Taylor, who through mid-2016 was treasurer and budget chairman or the Oregon Republican Party, and was also the chair of the Crook County Republican Party.[287] Oath Keeper Kody Justus is the vice chair of the Baker County Republican Party, and Jeff Heyen is the vice chair of Marion County Republican Party.[288]

In the run-up to the May 2016 primary, state Patriot movement leaders encouraged activists to become a Precinct Committee Person (PCP) in the Republican Party. (PCPs are the lowest-level position in the party; although not a government position, PCP elections are overseen by the county Board of Elections.) This is a strategy known as "entryism," in which smaller, usually more radical, political factions enter into larger political parties or groups and attempt to either take them over entirely, or capture part of them, in order to turn it into a vehicle for their own ends. Many Patriot movement activists are now Oregon Republican PCPs—at least 50, and quite possibly double that—including leaders like John Parker, Jr., David Samuel Hill, Jeff Heyen, Joseph Rice, and Colby Damon Olsen.[289] Some had to be write-in candidates because they had only recently switched their affiliation so that they could infiltrate the party; party rules require those running to be registered as party members for 180 days before the election.

These new PCPs came to the June 20, 2016 Republican state convention to help the Patriot

2016 Oregon GOP Delegate Selection Convention

Delegates/Electors/CD Officers - Official Election Results 6/21/16 7pm

At Large Delegates	At Large Alternates
Bill Post	Jeff Kubler
Chris Barreto	Marc Estes
Tim Nashif	Marilyn Shannon
Kim Thatcher	Dan Mason
Larry Talbert	Kevin Moss
Kevin Hoar	Bob Tiernan
Cynthia Kendoll	Ray Sessler
Betsy Close	Kristie Hernandez
Russ Walker	Janice Dysinger
Joseph Rice	TJ Reilly

Electors
Tyler Smith
Kevin Hoar
Jeff Grossman
Jo Rae Perkins
Michael Early
Jacob Daniels
Vicki Olson

CD1

Pledged Candidate	Delegates	Alternates
Cruz	Maria Teresa Mayer	Nathan Dahlin
Kasich	Bruce Starr	Norman Frink
Trump	Tracy Honl	Brian McDowell

CD1 Position	Officer Name
Chair	Kevin Hoar
Vice Chair	Gordon Fiddes
Alt Chair	Larry Ericksen
Alt Vice Chair	Adam Mayer
Secretary	Jason Yates
Treasurer	Christian Honl

CD2

Pledged Candidate	Delegates	Alternates
Cruz	Greg Barreto	Vivian Kirkpatrick-Pilger
Kasich	Suzan Ellis Jones	Mike McLane
Trump	Patti Adair	Kevin Keating

CD2 Position	Officer Name
Chair	Joseph Rice
Vice Chair	Greg Barreto
Alt Chair	Suzan Ellis Jones
Alt Vice Chair	Donna Cain
Secretary	Gretchen Bates
Treasurer	Scott Waters

CD3

Pledged Candidate	Delegates	Alternates
Cruz	Narlina Duke	Mark Nashif
Kasich	Jeff Reynolds	Julia Rabadi
Trump	Mark Fitz	Wayne Trosino

CD3 Position	Officer Name
Chair	John Lee
Vice Chair	Jeff Reynolds
Alt Chair	Kevin Moss
Alt Vice Chair	Anne Marie Gurney
Secretary	Janice Dysinger
Treasurer	Julia Rabadi

CD4

Pledged Candidate	Delegates	Alternates
Cruz	Art Robinson	Denny Morgan
Kasich	Larry Campbell	David Jaques
Trump	Tom Stewart	Noah Robinson

CD4 Position	Officer Name
Chair	David Jaques
Vice Chair	Joshua Robinson
Alt Chair	Chris Ruck
Alt Vice Chair	Keith Frome
Secretary	Kathy Shindler
Treasurer	John Detweiler

CD5

Pledged Candidate	Delegates	Alternates
Cruz	David Darnell	Jessica Davidson
Kasich	Kevin Mannix	Samantha Beeler
Trump	Becky Mitts	Betsy Burns

CD5 Position	Officer Name
Chair	David Darnell
Vice Chair	Jeff Heyen
Alt Chair	Margie Hughes
Alt Vice Chair	Stephen Mannenbach
Secretary	Allen Barker
Treasurer	Greg Tenney

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Official

The 2016 Oregon GOP delegates (to the national convention), electors, and congressional district officers included a number of Patriot movement leaders, such as Joseph Rice.

Brandi Hawkins
February 3, 2015 ·

Speaker List for 9-Feb, 2015. Please note, this is a list, not a schedule. Times will be determined as the event draws closer.

Rick Halle: Gun Rights Coalition
Kevin Starret: Oregon Firearms Federation
Duke Lakeland/Chelby Rose: Author
Kari Fassett: Purple
Mary Starret: Yamhill Co. Commissioner
Mike Nearman: State Rep HD23
Bill Post: State Rep HD25
Kim Thatcher: State Senator
Matt Trattner: Veterans Issues
Manny Martinez:
Jeanni Cochran: Victims rights
B.J. Soper
Tom McKirgan: Police Officer (Ret.)
Sal Esquivel: State Rep HD06 Tentative
Dennis Linthicum: Tentative
James Buchal: Tentative

More TBA...

Reuben Eliason
May 26, 2015 ·

Speaker List UPDATED:

The list of speakers at the event is as follows! If you should be speaking and do not see your name on the list, please get into contact with me ASAP!

1. Kit Lange, With The Washington LFA III%
2. Rep Mike Nearman, From the Oregon House of Representatives
3. Senator Thatcher, From the Oregon senate (Tentative)
4. Casey Runyan, President of the Heirs of Patrick Henry NW
5. Sheriff Glenn Palmer, Testified Against SB 941
6. Anthony Bosworth, With The Washington LFA III%
7. Rep Bill Post, From the Oregon House of Representatives.
8. Mike Vanderbough, Inventor of the III%
9. Kevin Starrett, President of the OFF
10. Gavin Seim, Liberty Activist and organizer for I-594 i will not comply.
11. Rick Halle, With the Gun Rights Coalition, and more!
12. Jeff Ford, Oregon Coordinator for the Oathkeepers
13. Jeff Krpof, With Petunia the Spending Pig! (Tentative)
14. Ian Houston, Youtube: TheHossUSMC
15. Tom Mckirgan, With the Oregon III%
16. Stewart Rhodes, Founder and President of the Oathkeepers

The list may still change, but it looks like we will have a solid block of speakers with a range of good topics relating to SB 941 and the second amendment!

Speaker lists for the Patriot movement organized rallies in Salem, Oregon against SB 941 in February and May 2015.

movement activists gain party positions. Oath Keeper Joseph Rice became an "at-large delegate" to the national convention; he is also the party chair of CD2 (the second congressional district). Oregon State Representative Bill Post and State Senator Kim Thatcher are at-large delegates. Jo Rae Perkins, who unsuccessfully ran in the May 2016 primary for U.S. Representative, became an "elector," and the CD5 commission vice chair is now Jeff Heyen.[290]

While this level of interaction may seem surprising to some, many of the Patriot movement's political positions are now standard planks in the GOP. The Oregon Republican Party platform calls for "coordination" and transferring federal lands to "local control," and denounces Agenda 21, a non-binding United Nations resolution that some see as a conspiracy, as well as the supposed "United Nations efforts to subvert" Second Amendment rights.[291] The platform of the national Republican Party says, "We emphatically reject UN Agenda 21 as erosive of American sovereignty, and we oppose any form of Global Tax." It also calls for the immediate transfer of federal land to state governments.[292]

These developments may have long-term implications for the Republican Party in the state, and suggests a possible trend to watch for elsewhere in the country.

State-Level Officials

TODAY, YOU WILL FIND state-level elected officials who are sympathetic to the Patriot movement—in addition to U.S. Representative Greg Walden, who champions some movement causes. They sponsor legislation to pursue movement goals and speak publicly on activists' behalf even when they take up arms.

When Patriot movement activists established armed camps around Sugar Pine Mine, State Representative Carl Wilson (District 3) wrote a letter in support of the miners—earning the praise of the Oath Keepers.[293] Wilson also sponsored a failed measure to transfer federal lands to state control; it was cosponsored by State Senators Kim Thatcher (District 13) and Tim Knopp (District 27)

and State Representative Duane Stark (District 4).[294] Wilson also cosponsored a bill, HB 3240 to establish a task force on federal land transfer; it, too, went nowhere.[295] In 2015, Wilson received a $2,500 election donation from Koch Industries (owned by the politically-influential Koch Brothers, who help fund the land transfer movement).[296] After an uncontested primary, Wilson is up for reelection in November 2016.[297]

State Representative Dallas Heard (District 2) represents Roseburg, where a lone gunman killed nine people at Umpqua Community College and whose county sheriff appears sympathetic to the Patriot movement. Heard visited occupied Malheur on January 9, 2016 on a trip organized by Coalition for Western States (COWS), a Patriot movement-affiliated group which includes elected officials and prominent movement members. (Heard said he is not a member, however.)[298] He was uncontested in the May 2016 primary, and is up for re-election in November.[299]

Three Republican state legislators were willing to appear at Patriot movement rallies against state gun control law SB 941: State Senator Thatcher and State Representatives Post (District 25) and Nearman (District 23) The first, a February 9, 2015 "Patrick Henry Rally," was organized by the Oregon group Heirs of Patrick Henry; the Central Oregon Constitutional Guard provided "security."[300] The second rally, "SB 941 I Will Not Comply," on May 30, 2015 provided a platform for national Patriot movement leaders and Sheriff Glenn Palmer; Tom McKirgan from the Oregon III%; Casey Runyan from the Heirs of Patrick Henry, Northwest; and Jeff Ford, then still Coordinator of the Oregon Oath Keepers.[301] It was on stage at this rally that Vanderboegh threatened "civil war" (as he did at the Bundy Ranch) as a response to the new law, calling Oregon Governor Kate Brown and others in the state government "tyrants" and "domestic enemies of the Constitution." Vanderboegh concluded, "this country has long had a remedy for tyrants—a Second Amendment remedy. So be careful for what you wish for, Madam—you may get it."[302]

None of the state representatives seem harmed politically by their appearances: Thatcher is not up for reelection until 2018 and Post had an uncontested primary—while Nearman won his by 57.5 percent.[303]

U.S. Representative Greg Walden (District 2) took advantage of the Malheur occupation to make a rousing speech on the floor of Congress on January 5, 2016. While perfunctorily denouncing the illegal armed action, he noted that he had known the Hammond family, who the occupiers said they were defending, for "close to 20 years." Walden supported the occupier's demands and spent most of his speech attacking federal land ownership. He failed to mention the Department of Justice's account of the fires that the Hammonds' were convicted for setting, or the family's history of threatening federal officials.[304] Both the Oath Keepers and the Pacific Patriots Network promoted his speech.[305]

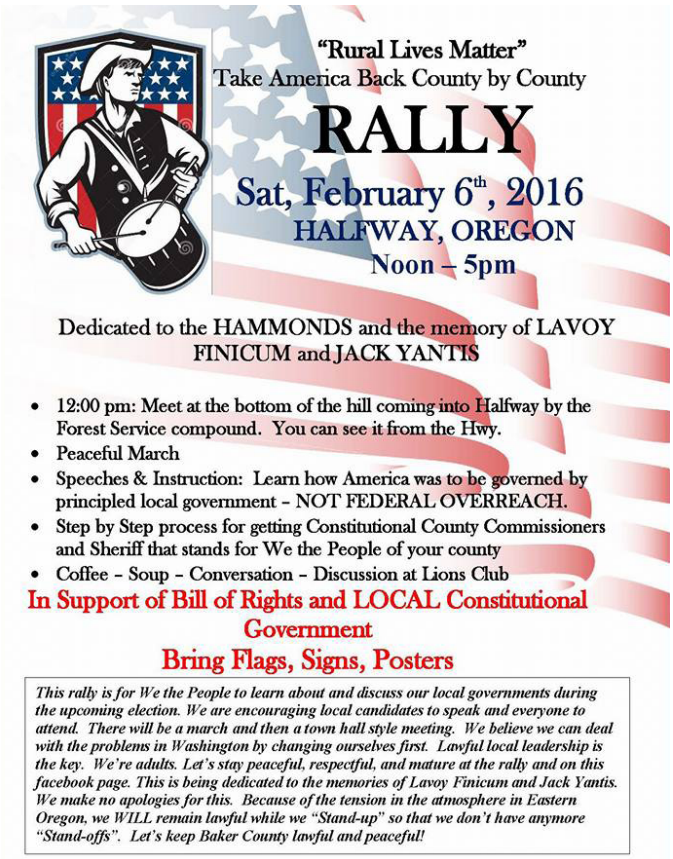
Walden has also said that he is working on legislation that will exempt arsons that occur during farm work from the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996—which, in practice would mean creating an exemption from this egregious legislation only for a group that is largely white and leans strongly to the right.[306] Walden played a similar role in 2001 in the Klamath Basin Water Crisis, taking the side of the farmers who damaged federal property and defied federal land use regulations by opening irrigation channels.[307] In May 2016, Walden won his primary by 80 percent.[308]

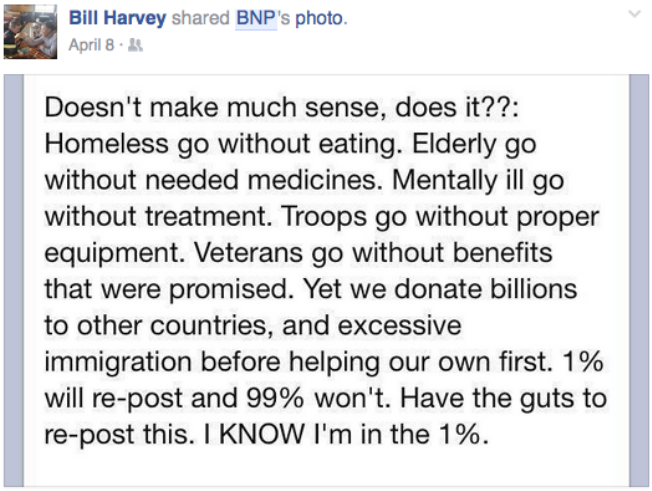
Current County and City Level Officials

WOVEN THROUGH southern, central, and eastern Oregon are local elected officials who are members or supporters of the Patriot movement.

In Josephine County, Grants Pass City Councilor Roy Lindsay is the treasurer of the Josephine County Oath Keepers. Incumbent County Commissioner Keith Heck rode in a Memorial Day weekend Boatnik Parade with the group.[309] In the May 2016 primary, Heck came in first with 4,810 votes (19.49 percent)—beating out Hard Right challengers, including Joseph Rice.[310]

In Dallas, Polk County, city councilor Micky Garus achieved notoriety after his transphobic and Islamophobic outbursts in November 2015.[311] His





Top: Memorial rally in Halfway, Oregon for LaVoy Finicum, attended by two Baker County commissioners, the head of the local Oath Keepers, and the current candidate for county sheriff. Bottom: Baker County Commission Chair Bill Harvey shares a Facebook post from the fascist British National Party (BNP).

Facebook account shows that he "Likes" the pages of the Oath Keepers, Bundy Ranch, Three Percenter Nation, and Oregon Firearms Federation.[312]

Mary Starrett, the Chair of the Yamhill County Board of Commissioners, is a fervent supporter of the Patriot movement's politics. In 2006, as the Constitution Party of Oregon's candidate for governor she garnered 3.6 percent of the ballots cast—over 50,000 votes.[313] At a January 2016 board of commissioners' meeting, she blamed the Bureau of Land Management for LaVoy Finicum's death.[314] Starrett was slated to appear at the February 2016 anti-SB 941 rally.

Baker County Commission Chair Bill Harvey is one of the most powerful local politicians with Patriot movement-style politics, although he has largely escaped the media glare. He is a proponent of the Hard Right reading of "coordination," which asserts that local governments have huge power to help govern federal lands, and has close ties to the local Oath Keepers. Since taking office in January 2015, Harvey and his supporters on the county's Natural Resources Advisory Committee have created a Natural Resources Plan, a first step in the Patriot movement's made-up process for invoking their version of coordination with the Forest Service.[315]

Harvey is influenced by the coordination advocate Fred Kelly Grant, who visited Baker County to promote coordination in January 2009 and returned to give a three-day seminar in August 2015, which featured Harvey as "emcee/moderator."[316] Harvey, a climate change denier, also attended the 2014 American Lands Council conference. In 2015 he, his wife Lorrie, and Ken Ivory (then still head of the American Lands Council) came up with the idea to create a video blaming local wildfires on federal government ownership of land. (The website for the video originally promoted Patriot movement propagandist KrisAnne Hall's organization and sold a coordination book; today it links to the American Lands Council.)[317] In May 2016, he came under fire for refusing to name who was going to donate $1,000 to the county so it could purchase information from the American Stewards of Liberty, which promotes a Hard Right version of coordination.[318]

Harvey described the Malheur occupation as "ill-timed and ill-advised" because it will "hurt our efforts [as] rural communities trying to take a stand against the federal government."[319] Despite his apparent concern that the occupation would reflect poorly on his efforts to transfer federal lands, Harvey spoke at the Rural Lives Matter rally in the town of Halfway on February 6, 2016—which was the first post-occupation attempt to rally mass support for the Patriot movement cause.[320] That same month he traveled to Central Oregon to give the Crook County Natural Resources PAC a seminar on "coordination," where he drew the interest of Crook County Commissioner Seth Crawford.[321]

Harvey's fellow Baker County Commissioner, Mark Bennet, has also gone along with the coordination scheme and joined him at the Rural Lives Matter rally.[322]

Current Crook Commissioner Seth Crawford has also endorsed the coordination. He apparently believes that coordination means that federal "agencies would be forced to follow our plan."[323] Crawford came in second in the May 2016 primary with 2,852 votes (37.9 percent) for county judge, and so will be up for election in November; he beat out Central Oregon Patriots member Craig Brookhart, who came in third.[324]

May 2016 Primary

MANY PATRIOT MOVEMENT ACTIVISTS ran in the May 2016 Republican primary, often seeking county commission seats. Many of these candidacies were profiled in the Political Research Associates and Rural Organizing Project article, "Gunning for Office: Oregon's Patriot Movement and the May 2016 Primary."[325]

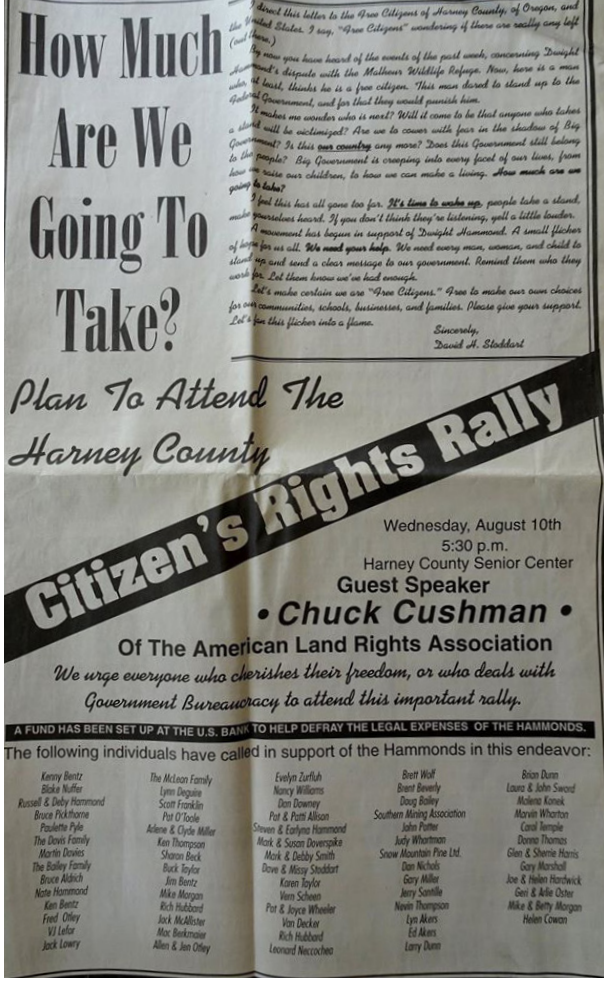
Two non-incumbents won their primaries. Salem tech consultant Mark Callahan—who made a show of visiting the memorial where Finicum died and called him a "great patriot"—won the Republican primary for U.S. Senate and is running against Democratic incumbent Jeff Merkley. Patriot movement supporter Dennis Linthicum was unchallenged in the District 28 Republican state senate primary.[326]

Signs promote Patriot movement May 2016 Republican primary candidate Bruce Cuff at a rally in Portland. (Photo: Daniel Vincent)

Also running in the November 2016 general election are CSPOA member John Hoopes for Baker County sheriff and Patriot movement activist Mandi Jacobs for Sutherlin city council, in Douglas County.[327]

Most non-incumbents aligned with the Patriot movement lost the primary:

- Bruce Cuff for governor and Jo Rae Perkins for U.S. Representative. Both have aligned themselves closely to the Patriot movement, spoke to their groups, and participated in the movement's social media.
- In Harney County, Charmaign "Sis" Edwards and Anna Jo Surber ran for county commission and judge; both were supportive of the Malheur occupation and held Patriot movement views. Three in the commissioner and judge races said they had attended Committee of Safety meetings, including Surber and Rob Frank.[328]
- The head of the Josephine County Oath Keepers, Joseph Rice, was one of many Hard Right candidates who ran for county commission.
- Three people affiliated with the Central Oregon Patriots ran for the Crook County commission or judge office.



How Much Are We Going To Take?

I direct this letter to the Free Citizens of Harney County, of Oregon, and the United States. I say, "Free Citizens" wondering if there are really any left (and there.)

By now you have heard of the events of the past week, concerning Dwight Hammond's dispute with the Malheur Wildlife Refuge. Now, here is a man who, at least, thinks he is a free citizen. This man dared to stand up to the Federal Government, and for that they would punish him.

It makes me wonder who is next? Will it come to be that anyone who takes a stand will be victimized? Are we to cower with fear in the shadow of Big Government? Is this our country any more? Does this Government still belong to the people? Big Government is creeping into every facet of our lives, from how we raise our children, to how we can make a living. How much are we going to take?

I feel this has all gone too far. It's time to wake up, people take a stand, make yourselves heard. If you don't think they're listening, yell a little louder.

A movement has begun in support of Dwight Hammond. A small flicker of hope for us all. We need your help. We need every man, woman, and child to stand up and send a clear message to our government. Remind them who they work for. Let them know we've had enough.

Let's make certain we are "Free Citizens." Free to make our own choices for our communities, schools, businesses, and families. Please give your support. Let's fan this flicker into a flame.

Sincerely,
David H. Stoddart

Plan To Attend The Harney County

Citizen's Rights Rally

Wednesday, August 10th
5:30 p.m.
Harney County Senior Center
Guest Speaker
• Chuck Cushman •
Of The American Land Rights Association

We urge everyone who cherishes their freedom, or who deals with Government Bureaucracy to attend this important rally.

A FUND HAS BEEN SET UP AT THE U.S. BANK TO HELP DEFRAY THE LEGAL EXPENSES OF THE HAMMONDS.

The following individuals have called in support of the Hammonds in this endeavor:

Kenny Bentz, Blake Nuffer, Russell & Deby Hammond, Bruce Pickthorne, Paulette Pyle, The Davis Family, Martin Davies, The Bailey Family, Bruce Aldrich, Nate Hammond, Ken Bentz, Fred Otley, VJ Lefor, Jack Lowry, The McLean Family, Lynn Deguire, Scott Franklin, Pat O'Toole, Arlene & Clyde Miller, Ken Thompson, Sharon Beck, Buck Taylor, Jim Bentz, Mike Morgan, Rich Hubbard, Jack McAllister, Max Berkmaier, Allen & Jan Otley, Evelyn Zurfluh, Nancy Williams, Don Downey, Pat & Patti Allison, Steven & Earlyne Hammond, Mark & Susan Doverspike, Mark & Debby Smith, Dave & Missy Stoddart, Karen Taylor, Vern Scheen, Pat & Joyce Wheeler, Van Decker, Rich Hubbard, Leonard Naccochea, Brett Wolf, Brent Beverly, Doug Bailey, Southern Mining Association, John Potter, Judy Whartman, Snow Mountain Pine Ltd., Don Nichols, Gary Miller, Jerry Santillo, Nevin Thompson, Lyn Akers, Ed Akers, Larry Dunn, Brian Dunn, Laura & John Sward, Melena Konek, Marvin Wharton, Carol Temple, Donna Thomas, Glen & Sherrie Harris, Gary Marshall, Joe & Helen Hardwick, Geri & Julie Oster, Mike & Betty Morgan, Helen Cowan

Wise Use propagandist Chuck "Rent-A-Riot" Cushman came to Burns, Oregon in 1994 to speak at a rally after the arrest of members of the Hammond family — more than 20 years before the Malheur Refuge occupation. (Archival photo: Peter Walker)

- Hardline Patriot movement activist J.d. Parks sought a commissioner seat in Douglas County.
- In Baker County, Kody Justus, head of his county Oath Keepers chapter, ran for county commission.

Most received less than 20 percent of the primary vote. There were a few exceptions: for example. Justus received 46 percent and Perkins received 32 percent.[329]

A recall attempt against an opponent of the Patriot movement was also overwhelmingly defeated. Harney County Judge Steve Grasty, an outspoken opponent of the Malheur occupation, won against a recall vote by 70 percent in June 2016. The recall was launched by Patriot movement sympathizers who were angered that the Grasty did not allow the Malheur occupiers to use county buildings in Burns to hold a public meeting during the occupation.[330]

Now let's take a closer look at what is happening in six key counties.

B. HARNEY COUNTY

In November 2015, Patriot movement activists started to travel, and sometimes move, to Harney County to work on the case of Dwight and Steven Hammond, who are father and son. [331] The Hammond family are ranchers near Burns, Oregon, and have grazing rights on the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, which is outside of town. For decades they had been in conflict with the Refuge managers. Dwight Hammond had allegedly made multiple death threats against the managers, and both he and his son had been arrested several times. When the two Hammonds were arrested in 1994 after another conflict with Refuge employees, a support rally for them in Burns attracted 500 people, including national Wise Use spokesperson Chuck "Rent-A-Riot" Cushman, who once declared that environmentalists were engaging in "systematic, cultural genocide of rural America."[332] (The anti-environmental Wise Use movement was a right-wing phenomenon of the Pacific Northwest in the 1990s which was often funded by timber, mining, and chemical companies.) During that same period, businesses in Burns had put signs up refusing service to federal employees.[333]

Their past seemed to have finally caught up with them when in 2010 they were charged with arsons on federal land, as well as related charges. These included charges relating to fires in 2001 and 2006; the second fire burned part of the Malheur Refuge. These crimes carry a five-year mandatory minimum sentence under the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996. (The act is a sentencing multiplier which applies to any arson occurring on federal property, whether or not it is politically motivated.)

In 2012, they were convicted of the 2001 arson. While some charges were already dismissed or they were found not guilty, the jury was still deliberating on four more charges when a plea agreement was made. In return for the dismissal of the remaining charges, the two Hammonds agreed to a sentence of at least five years. (Steven was also

convicted of the 2006 arson.) However, the sentencing judge gave Dwight Hammond a mere three months and Steven Hammond one year.[334]

The Hammonds had claimed that 2001 arson was an attempt to burn invasive species, while the second was an emergency backfire to prevent a nearby forest fire. However, the Department of Justice said the first fire was intentionally set to cover illegal poaching, and the second was set without permission, and threatened a nearby firefighting team. The Hammonds served their sentences and were released, but the government appealed the sentences, as they failed to meet the mandatory minimums. In October 2015, the Hammonds were ordered to return to prison and serve the remainder of their full five-year sentences.[335]

The Bundys, Oath Keepers, & Pacific Patriots Network Get Involved

THE CASE QUICKLY ATTRACTED the attention of the Patriot movement. It cleanly fit into the conspiracy theories that drive the movement: rural patriots (and staunch right wingers) like the Hammonds were victims of the nefarious plot Agenda 21. The case also fit into the movement narrative that patriotic Americans would be imprisoned as "terrorists" as a prelude to a foreign invasion.

Patriot movement activists and media repeated and elaborated on various parts of this narrative around the events in Burns. This ranged from claims that the federal government was trying to seize the Hammonds' land, to signs at the January 2, 2016 Burns rally denouncing Agenda 21, to claims that the FBI were "French mercenaries."[336]

Soon after the Hammonds were ordered back to prison, the Bundy family reached out to the Hammond family. Law enforcement says that in October, Patriot movement activists were already moving to Burns.[337] In November, Ammon Bundy and others met with Harney County Sheriff David Ward twice, asking him to prevent the Hammonds from being taken into custody and returning to prison; Ward refused.[338] On December 15, 2015, the Ammon Bundy, Ryan Payne, and others helped set up a shadow government group—the Harney County Committee of Safety—and on January 2, 2016 Pacific Patriots Network activists held a march to support the Hammonds. At the march's end, a small, armed splinter group led by Ammon Bundy—and primarily comprised of activists from Nevada and Arizona—occupied the headquarters of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Attracting national attention, the 41-day occupation drew many supporters. On January 27, 2015, Ammon Bundy and other leaders were arrested (and LaVoy Finicum killed) while attempting to spread their tactics to a neighboring county. The last occupiers at the refuge surrendered on February 11, 2016.

Participant in the January 2, 2016 march in Burns, Oregon claims that the Hammond family is a victim of the Agenda 21 conspiracy theory. (Photo: Jason Wilson)

While Oregon Patriot movement groups went to Burns, none directly participated in the

occupation. A number of individual Oregonians did join it, however, including Flipp Todd, Duane Ehmer, Michael Stettler, Travis Cox, and Ken Medenbach.[339] Still the Oregon groups later rallied for the imprisoned Malheur occupiers and participated in memorials for Finicum, who has since been turned into a martyr.

Because of the Malheur occupation, a number of Patriot movement activists have moved to Harney County, and some locals have been won over to the movement's politics. But before December 2015, *no* documented Patriot movement groups were active in the county.

The most famous Patriot movement group in Harney County lasted just forty-one days: the Malheur Refuge occupiers called themselves the Citizens for Constitutional Freedom. The occupation also attracted activists from around the state and country to come—in particular the Pacific Patriots Network, as well as some self-proclaimed judges.

Patriot movement activists created the "Redress of Grievance" document on December 11, 2015—signed by many Patriot movement groups—and then held a public meeting on December 15, where they convinced locals to form the Harney County Committee of Safety.[340] This shadow government group originally had seven residents, although one left soon after the founding, including some prominent citizens. They include Tim Smith, former chair of the Harney County Republican Party, and Chris Briels, the county fire marshall, until he resigned during the occupation.[341] Smith said:

> Basically our two founding principles that we wanted to get done and our goals were to help the Hammond family and to see if we could not help make a transition from federal ownership and federal management to local, county and/or state, management of our so-called public lands.[342]

However, others claimed they had much greater powers. At the January 2, 2016 meeting after the Burns march, Oath Keeper Joseph Rice claimed that:

> The Committee of Safety that's formed, what's unique about that, is that is the establishment of a governmental entity. That forces BLM, in their own policy, they must coordinate with you. It becomes no different than a school district, a mining district, or a fire district; they're pseudo-government entities.[343]

The Patriot movement activists also said the Committee had the power to "call in the militia" if they wanted. Ammon Bundy set up a website for the group, although after being given the password the Committee removed from it some material they objected to.[344] The site also used the county seal on the website, making it look like an official government agency; eventually this too was removed.[345]

During the first week of the occupation, the Committee held a meeting in Burns, which drew about one hundred people; Committee members also spoke during the comment sessions at the large public gatherings for county residents held during the takeover.[346] The occupation split the committee; all of them drafted a letter asking the occupiers to leave, but only three wanted it delivered, which it was.[347]

The refusal of the local elected government to give the occupiers a meeting space in town pushed

CONTINUED ON PAGE 76

Chris Briels (Harney County Committee of Safety), speaks at a press conference during the Malheur Refuge occupation. (Photo: Spencer Sunshine)

NATIONAL GROUP

NATIONAL LIBERTY ALLIANCE

THE NATIONAL LIBERTY ALLIANCE is a Sovereign Citizen-style group that has been setting up a network of fake "common law grand juries" in all fifty states, and now are promoting Committees of Safety, the popular shadow governments favored by the movement. They claim not to be Sovereign Citizens but promote the same fake legal structures of that movement. Oregon's Robert Bristow, a National Liberty Alliance national coordinator, has spoken to the Columbia County Oath Keepers several times.[493]

The Oregon Oath Keepers website linked to National Liberty Alliance, which supported the Oath Keepers' call for armed members to go to Sugar Pine Mine. The Alliance interviewed Ammon Bundy a few days after the Malheur occupation started.[494] It later made a series of legal filings in Oregon federal courts regarding both the Hammonds and the Malheur occupation.[495]

In May 2016, the National Liberty Alliance started promoting the formation of Committees of Safety under the group's banner, and in Oregon two contacts are listed, in Washington and Josephine Counties. One is Guenter Ambron, who promoted fake grand juries at a 2014 Josephine County community watch meeting attended by both the former and current county sheriffs, Gilbertson and Daniel.[496]

A slideshow on the National Liberty Alliance website, promoting the formation of these Committees, says they will help stop the New World Order, the supposed U.N. environmental conspiracy Agenda 21, federal Common Core education standards, "moral decline," FEMA camps, chemtrails, compulsory vaccinations, and Child Protective Services. It is noted that the historical committees forced the resignation of judges and threatened to declare independence. The role of the Committees includes forming militias, cultivating relationships with the county sheriff, attending local government meetings to "Serve them with the Committee of Safety Resolutions" and "Require their obedience to the *Law of the Land* (the Constitution)." It also notes that, "The Committee of Safety may Petition the Common Law Grand Jury to resolve issues of 'bad behavior'" by local politicians.[497]

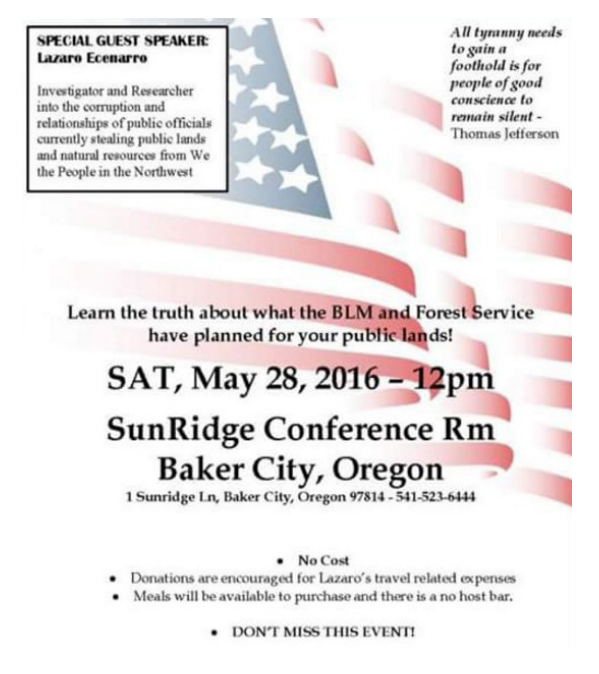
The National Liberty Alliance promotes Committees of Safety as an alternative to wide variety of perceived social ills. (Screenshot from National Liberty Alliance YouTube video "Committees of Safety," youtube.com/watch?v=oYwq_BV_mgI)

REGIONAL GROUP

CONTINENTAL COURT SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES

A NUMBER OF FIGURES involved in Sovereign Citizen-style politics have recently joined together to form the Continental Court System of the united States. These include former Josephine County Sheriff Gil Gilbertson and several fake judges involved in the Malheur occupation.

At least two fake grand juries—Patriot movement kangaroo courts—were planned or enacted in Harney County during the occupation. The first was inaugurated by self-proclaimed "U.S. Superior Court Judge" (there is no such title in the actual legal system) Bruce Doucette, a Colorado resident who came to the refuge around January 12, 2016 to set up a "citizens grand jury." Although he was there during the day (many people slept in town at night, apparently including Doucette), his "grand jury" never received a public sanction by Ammon Bundy or the other occupation leaders, although apparently it was tolerated.[498] On February 1,



Top: Patriot movement livestreamer Pete Santilli (right) at the Malheur occupation. (Photo: Spencer Sunshine) Bottom: Lazaro Ecenarro has made his name as a Sovereign Citizen-style speaker in Oregon after the Malheur occupation.

Doucette posted that his "Constitutional Common Law Grand Jury" was ordering militia members to "search for, locate, and arrest" the law enforcement agents involved in the arrest when LaVoy Finicum was killed.[499]

The occupiers did, however, ask self-proclaimed "Statewide Common Law Grand Jury Administrator" Joaquin Mariano DeMoreta-Folch to establish a "common law grand jury." On January 23, 2016, Susan Hammond (wife and mother of the imprisoned Hammonds) signed one of DeMoreta-Folch's documents, and the next day the Committee's Briels did as well.[500] DeMoreta-Folch was originally associated with the National Liberty Alliance; however, Bristow publicly distanced the organization from DeMoreta-Folch, saying "he's too extreme for us."[501]

Other fakes judges weighed in on the situation. A month before the occupation, self-proclaimed "Alaska State Judge" Anna von Reitz wrote an "An Open Letter to Sheriff Ward of Harney County Oregon." Hitting Sovereign Citizen talking points, she claimed that the IRS and the American Bar Association are part of privately-owned, foreign corporations, and U.S. federal courts are their subcontractors. The federal employees who have insisted the Hammonds must complete their sentence "are private corporate employees of a franchise or subcontractor of the District of Columbia Municipal Corporation having no more authority than a floorwalker at JC PENNY." She told Ward he should convene a Common Law Grand Jury to decide the accusations against the Hammonds, and furthermore that he has the authority to demand their release if they are taken in federal custody. The letter was widely reproduced in Patriot movement circles. Patriot movement online broadcaster Pete Santilli read it on his show on December 1, 2015, and the YouTube video of this has received over 100,000 views.[502]

Gary-dean: Darby—the unusual spelling is common among Sovereign Citizens—is a self-proclaimed "Constitutional Judge." In early February 2016, he sent a letter to Oregon National Guard officials, and then called them on the phone, asking them deploy their troops to expel the "foreign

agents/forces or FBI cloaked mercenaries (Blackwater)" from Harney County. (He recorded the phone call and put it online.)[503] Strangely, the Guard ignored his request. Additionally, in recent months a new Sovereign Citizen-style legal expert, Lazaro Ecenarre (also spelled Lazare Ecenarro), has appeared at a rallies in Portland and speaking engagements, including in Baker City.[504]

All of these fake judges—Bruce Doucette, Anna von Reitz, Gary-dean: Darby, and Joaquin Mariano DeMoreta-Folch—are now affiliated with each other in a new group, the Continental Court System of the united States, which has members in six states. In Oregon, two (actual) former county sheriffs are listed as "Continental Marshals"—Gil Gilbertson (Josephine) and Robert Hudspeth (Wheeler). Two "Continental Superior Court Judges" are listed for the state, Darby and Mathisen (no first name given for the latter). The "Oregon Eastern Statewide Superior Court Grand Jury" appears to consist of videos posted by DeMoreta-Folch, which address happenings in Harney County, and span from January to June 2016. Docuette is listed as a Colorado "Superior Court Judge," and Anna as an Alaska "Continental Superior Court Judge."[505] Also of interest is that the Continental Court System of the united States takes pains to separate itself from, and denounce the leadership of, the National Liberty Alliance.[506]

NATIONAL GROUP

AMERICAN LANDS COUNCIL

THE AMERICAN LANDS COUNCIL is a national group, founded in 2012, that advocates for transferring federal lands to the states. It was led by Utah State Representative Ken Ivory until February 2016, when he was replaced by Montana State Senator Jennifer Fielder. Both of them have ties to Patriot movement groups: Ivory has spoken to the CSPOA and signed one of their pledges, while Fielder was part of the Sanders Natural Resources Council, an Idaho group that included the founder of the Militia of Montana, John Trochmann.[507] Ivory has spoken in Oregon a number of times, and has ties to Oregon Hard Right movement figures like Baker County Commissioner Bill Harvey, while Fielder wrote an article approving of the goals of the Malheur occupation.[508]

The American Lands Council has other ties in Oregon, as well. In 2014, two Oregon counties, Wallowa and Klamath, had memberships; today, the group no longer lists member counties publicly.[509] State Representative Carl Wilson from District 3 (which represents part of Josephine county, including Grants Pass) is described by the *Oregonian* as an "ally" of the group.[510] Wallowa County Commissioner and Fred Kelly Grant fan Paul Castilleja is a member of the group.[511]

Despite some similarities in view, the American Lands Council did not have any direct role in the Malheur occupation. According to *High Country News*, in November 2015, LaVoy Finicum had "rallied southern Utah ranchers to take part in a 'Cowboy Uprising' by refusing to pay grazing fees, a la Cliven Bundy, and asked for militia support. His speech to them repeatedly invoked the American Lands Council."[512] But the future occupiers were moving far beyond the organization's reformist tactics. At the December 15, 2015 meeting where the Harney County Committee of Safety was formed, Ammon Bundy said the American Lands Council was legitimizing the federal government's claims by going into federal court in the first place. He said, "I disagree with their position, because it's not Constitutional, although I'm glad they're bringing the issue up, but we cannot allow ourselves to get sucked up into a federal court and expect to win. It will not happen."[513]

NATIONAL GROUP

AMERICAN STEWARDS OF LIBERTY/STAND & FIGHT CLUB

THE BEST KNOWN GROUPS promoting coordination asserting local parity with or supremacy over federal control of public lands are the American Stewards of Liberty and Fred Kelly Grant's Stand and Fight Club. The American Stewards of Liberty was founded in 2009 from the merger of American Land Foundation and Stewards of the Range. Grant was the president of Stewards of the Range, and then the American Stewards of Liberty.[514]

Bill Harvey
May 27 ·

I would like to personally say "Thank You" for the American Stewards of Liberty's precise and in-depth comments from the coalition regarding BLM 2.0 planning. The document submitted on our behalf was over 60 pages long.

NACo's comments were submitted on Tuesday and were also very helpful for Baker County. The American Stewards of Liberty's comments were also well received by NACo membership.

The final ASL document has been released by Baker County to the NRAC Committee and the local newspapers.

Baker County Commission Chair Bill Harvey thanks the American Stewards of Liberty for shaping county land use planning policy.

Despite his claims to be deploying the law correctly, Grant has Patriot movement-style views about radical right decentralization. "County governments hold the 10th Amendment in their hands," he has said. "County governments and sheriffs together make an absolutely impenetrable wall."[515] Grant also promotes Agenda 21 conspiracy theories about the United Nations, claiming coordination will help fight them.[516]

He has come to Oregon many times to speak, including in Josephine, Baker, and Grant Counties.[517] In addition to his coordination work, he represents the miners from the White Hope Mine, where armed camps were established in 2015.[518] Grant wrote a withering letter in defense of the Hammonds.[519] He was originally tapped as the lawyer for Jeanette Finicum, the widow of LaVoy Finicum who is planning to sue the government for wrongful death.[520]

REGIONAL GROUP

COALITION OF WESTERN STATES

The Coalition of Western States (COWS) was formed directly after the 2014 Bundy Ranch standoff. It claims to represent "over 50 legislators, elected delegates and grassroots leaders" in several western states, including Oregon; it focuses on federal land transfer. COWS members include Nevada State Assemblywoman Michelle Fiore, CSPOA founder and Oath Keepers board member Richard Mack, and Patriot movement propagandists Gavin Seim and KrisAnne Hall. COWS was the first signatory on the initial "Redress of Grievance" document before the occupation, and members made several trips to the occupied refuge. (One included Oregon State Representative Dallas Heard, although he claims he is not a member of COWS.) They met with law enforcement and attempted to get the federal authorities to compromise with the occupiers by agreeing to discussions about federal land transfer. They even sent a member into the occupation, who helped several occupiers flee the refuge after the police arrested or killed the leadership, and then COWS members helped negotiate the surrender of the final remaining occupiers.[521]

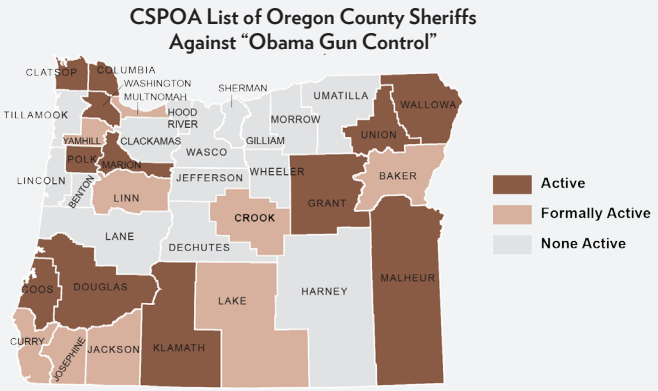
NATIONAL GROUP

CONSTITUTIONAL SHERIFFS & PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION (CSPOA)

The CSPOA appears to have a healthy following in Oregon. It was founded in 2010 former Arizona county Sheriff Richard Mack, who believes that county sheriffs have the power to decide which laws are constitutional and therefore should be enforced. He is a frequent visitor to the state. In 2013, a number of Oregon sheriffs, including Glenn Palmer, Gil Gilbertson, and John Hanlin, sent CSPOA-initiated letters to Vice President Biden, saying they would not enforce new gun laws that were being discussed after the Sandy Hook school massacre. After the gun control law SB 941 was signed, the CSPOA listed 21 Oregon sheriffs as embracing the group's idea of constitutional principles. (Inclusion on the list did not mean that sheriffs were CSPOA members, however.)[522] Today, eleven are on the list—although only six of them are currently in office, including Grant County's Glenn Palmer.[523] Josephine County's Gil Gilbertson was defeated. Other Oregon county sheriffs, who were not on the list, have also used similar language about SB 941, including Tim Svenson (Yamhill), Bruce Riley (Linn), and John Ward (Curry).[524]

Palmer, who in 2011 was listed as a CSPOA board member, from 2012 to 2015 was on the CSPOA Council of Sheriffs, Peace Officers and Public Officials, along with Gil Gilbertson.[525] In 2012, the CSPOA

Right, top: Oregon counties with sheriffs that appeared on the CSPOA's "List of Oregon County Sheriffs Saying 'No' to Obama Gun Control." Sheriffs are not necessarily CSPOA members, but the group says that they have made: "A reaffirmation that the sheriff will follow his or her oath and uphold the Constitution" and "An affirmation to support the constitutional second amendment rights of citizens in his or her jurisdiction." (Sources: "Growing List of Sheriffs, Associations and Police Chiefs Saying 'NO' to Obama Gun Control by CSPOA," originally February 1, 2014, archived August 12, 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20150812112805/http://cspoa.org/sheriffs-gun-rights; CSPOA, "Growing List of Sheriffs Saying 'No' to Obama Gun Control," Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association, May 14, 2016, http://cspoa.org/sheriffs-gun-rights). Right, bottom: Douglas County Sheriff John Hanlin promotes the notion that President Obama should be compared to Hitler, Stalin, and Mao.



gave Palmer its "Sheriff of the Year" award at their founding conference, where Gilbertson also spoke.[526]

One of the original 21 sheriffs listed, Marion County's Jason Myers, was the president of the Oregon State Sheriffs' Association (OSSA) in 2015. He was replaced by Brian Wolfe in 2016—who is on the current CSPOA list, and whose county borders Grant County, where Palmer is sheriff.[527] It is worth noting that the OSSA received misconduct complaints against Palmer, and the organization issued a strongly worded statement condemning the Malheur occupation.[528] Clearly, just because a sheriff appears in the CSPOA list or has engaged in some movement activities, such as writing a letter to Biden or even meeting with local Patriot movement activists, it does not mean that they necessarily will support the larger aims of the different Patriot movement factions—or other sheriffs who do.

Douglas County Sheriff John Hanlin has views similar to those of a constitutional sheriff. Hanlin achieved national notoriety after the mass shooting on October 1, 2015 at Umpqua Community College (UCC) in Roseburg, Oregon. A student murdered nine people and then committed suicide. Hanlin was already on the CSPOA's list of sheriffs who had sent a letter to Vice President Biden, vowing to refuse to endorse gun laws they considered to be unconstitutional. (However, Hanlin's office says he is not a CSPOA member.[529]) The letter was a response to possible executive orders regarding gun restrictions after the December 2012 Sandy Hook massacre; but after the Umpqua Community College massacre, it was made public that Hanlin had posted both a video claiming that the Sandy Hook massacre was a hoax as well as 9/11 conspiracy material.[530] The Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence called for Hanlin's resignation.[531] He is up for reelection in November 2016.

STATE LAWSUITS

ASSOCIATION OF O&C COUNTIES & FOREST TRUST LANDS LAWSUITS

Association of O&C Counties Lawsuit

THE ASSOCIATION OF O&C COUNTIES (AOCC) represents all but one of the 18 Oregon counties with O&C Lands. These lands—originally belonging to the Oregon & California Railroad, but transferred to the federal government in 1916—include over 2.5 million acres of forests in western Oregon.[532] Douglas, Josephine, Jackson, and Lane counties all have over 350,000 acres of O&C lands in them.[533]

The AOCC have announced plans to sue the Bureau of Land Management over its new proposed Resource Management Plan—the first time the 1994 Northwest Forest Plan will be updated. The AOCC argue

that the Bureau of Land Management is obligated to log a certain amount of land, which will result in revenues to the counties.[534] The AOCC wants at least 500 million board feet cut per year—far more than Bureau of Land Management's proposed plan of 278 million.[535] The Bureau of Land Management signed the Resource Management Plan Record of Decision on August 5, 2016.[536] By August 15, the AOCC and a wood industry trade group, well as a number of environmental groups, and had filed suit.[537]

A number of Oregon counties have agreed to help fund the AOCC lawsuit, including Lane ($84,000), Linn ($24,000), and Curry ($20,000).[538] The plan is also supported by the Oregon State Sheriffs' Association, who blame financial crises in rural counties on the decline of O&C funding.[539]

Forest Trust Lands Lawsuit

THERE IS A SECOND LAWSUIT from Oregon counties over forest revenues unrelated to AOCC. Linn County is leading a 15-county class action lawsuit over claims that Oregon officials failed to generate enough timber revenue on Forest Trust Lands.[540]

The Constitution Party of Oregon demonizes the Black Lives Matter movement while claiming that the Patriot movement is treated more harshly.

The $1.4 billion lawsuit was announced in January 2016 during the Malheur occupation and filed in March. It names Oregon Governor Kate Brown and the State Forester Doug Decker.[541] It differs from the AOCC lawsuit in that it targets the state and not the federal government, and seeks direct payments to the counties rather than an increase in logging. The lawsuit contends that a 1998 management plan, which took a variety of environmental factors into consideration, resulted in reduced harvests to the tune of $35 million per year. The *Polk County Itemizer-Observer* has written that, "According to the suit, the state's responsibility upon taking the land was to manage them in a way that maximizes the revenues going to counties."[542] Environmental groups are challenging the suit.[543]

STATE GROUP

THE CONSTITUTION PARTY OF OREGON

IN THE 1990S, militias did not just attract electoral party support from Republicans; they were also involved with the small, Hard Right theocratic U.S. Taxpayers Party. In the mid-1990s, one prominent member, Reverend Matthew Trewhella of Wisconsin, advocated forming church-based militias. In 2000 the group renamed itself the Constitution Party.[544]

The Constitution Party of Oregon was affiliated with the party's national organization until 2006, although it has the option to place the national party's candidate on the ballot, which it did in 2008. In 2013 the Constitution Party of Oregon became part of the National Alliance of Independent American Parties.[545] The Alliance includes the Nevada state Independent American Party, which Cliven Bundy joined after the Republican leadership dumped him for making racist comments.[546] (A rift in the Utah state Constitution Party happened after the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which many party members are involved in, denounced the Malheur occupation.[547])

The Constitution Party of Oregon platform calls for the transfer of federal public lands, the right of the county sheriff to interpret the Constitution, and for taxes to be paid in gold or silver. During the occupation, the party called for the Malheur Refuge to be transferred out of federal hands.[548] Oregon III% Vice President Jeff Roberts said he "gathered hundreds of signatures at gun shows and malls to establish the Constitution Party of Oregon."[549] For the November 2016 election, the Constitution Party of Oregon's gubernatorial candidate is Aaron Auer. They are also running candidates for two U.S. representative seats, the Oregon Secretary of State, and for Josephine County clerk.[550] Auer ran for Oregon governor in 2014 and received 15,929 votes.[551]

STATE GROUP

OREGON FIREARMS FEDERATION

THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT, going back to Posse Comitatus in the 1970s, has frequently been tied to gun rights groups. In Oregon today this is no exception, and the group most closely tied to movement is the Oregon Firearms Federation (OFF).

OFF was founded with the help of the Gun Owners of America, one of the biggest of the gun rights groups to the right of the National Rifle Association.[552] Gun Owner of America's former director Larry Pratt was a pivotal figure in launching the 1990s militia movement, and he helped move it out of organized racist circles by building bridges to theocratic Christian groups and guns rights activists. In fact, Pratt himself has had no qualms appearing alongside open racist leaders, which he did at the 1992 Estes Park meeting alongside White separatist leaders. The CSPOA and Oath Keepers' Richard Mack was a lobbyist for Gun Owners of America, and Pratt in turn spoke at the 2012, 2013, and 2014 CSPOA conferences.[553]

OFF is led by Kevin Starrett, the brother of Mary Starrett, current Yamhill County Commissioner and former Constitution Party of Oregon gubernatorial candidate. They were both slated to speak at the February 30, 2015 anti-SB 941 rally in Salem alongside a host of other Patriot movement activists. Kevin Starrett also spoke at the May 2015 anti-SB 941 rally in Salem.[554] In its typical hyperbolic rhetoric, OFF said SB 941, which they strongly campaigned against, "eviscerates due process and turns Oregon into a Soviet style collection of secret snitches!" The national Oath Keepers' website cited this claim approvingly.[555] In 2004, Kevin Starrett had also addressed the Constitution Party's national convention, held in Clackamas, Oregon.[556]

OFF's website was linked to on the main Oregon Oath Keepers website, and one local activist, Chris Brumbles, is the Columbia County coordinator for both OFF and the Oath Keepers.[557] OFF's May 2016 call for donations for embattled Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer was reproduced on the national Oath Keepers website, and the organization's PAC donated $5,000 to him.[558]

NATIONAL GROUP—PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK

OATH KEEPERS: OREGON CHAPTERS

OATH KEEPERS CHAPTERS have been active in Oregon since the national organization was founded in 2009.[559] However, most chapters seem to have been established since 2014 in the wake of the events at Bundy Ranch. Oregon Oath Keepers came to the December 2014 gun rights rally in Washington state, where then Oregon Oath Keepers Coordinator Jeff Ford spoke.[560] They were also involved in both the February and May 2015 anti-SB 941 Salem rallies, and the Josephine County chapter was the main organizer of the Sugar Pine Mine action. However, as of August 2016, the organization seems to be losing its position in Oregon, with the disaffiliation of its most prominent group, the Oath Keepers of Josephine County.

From late 2013 to late 2014, Jeff Ford was the Northern Oregon Coordinator and Tom McKirgan was Southern Oregon Coordinator; Ford then became the sole state coordinator until after the May rally.[561] (Currently the Oregon coordinator position is listed as "TBA.")[562] Brandon Rapolla is the state Community Preparedness Team coordinator. He is also the leader of Oregon Tactical, a founder of Pacific Patriots Network, and was

part of the Sugar Pine Mine camps, Bundy Ranch standoff, and was in Burns, Oregon.[563]

The state Oath Keepers took most of its public communications offline around the time of the Sugar Pine Mine encampments; their Facebook group has only been updated once since June 2015, and the sparse website (which went offline in May 2016) does not list staff or even local chapters.[564] All of this is a rather odd public face for an organization that takes great pains to claim not to be a clandestine paramilitary. With the disaffiliation of the Josephine County chapter in August 2016 there is only one public website in the state, run by the Baker County chapter.[565]

The Oath Keepers have chapters around the state, generally organized by county. Chapters that announced meetings in 2015 or 2016 include Josephine; Central Oregon (including Crook); Douglas; Baker; Linn and Benton; Marion, Polk, and Yamhill; Washington; Columbia; Lane; Malheur; and Klamath. (Chapters that held public meetings in 2014 or earlier include Jackson, Deschutes, Union, Coos, Curry, and Clackamas, and city chapters in Salem and Portland and/or Gresham.)[566]

The Oregon Oath Keepers website listed links to organizations like PANDA (People Against the NDAA), Tenth Amendment Center, Oregon Firearms Federation, American Lands Council, and National Liberty Alliance.[567] In Oregon, the Oath Keepers have been building a grassroots movement, partly based on community service work and the creation of emergency-based response teams. The state website said that some of their actions included, "Building wheel chair ramps for the disabled," "Repairing school playgrounds for disabled access," and "Community Preparedness Teams to assist in emergencies."[568]

In August 2015, the national Oath Keepers leadership—who had previously focused on high-profile, media-friendly actions—was promoting the Oregon's volunteer service approach. According to the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, national founder Stewart Rhodes called on chapters to both promote militias, as well as to join local "volunteer fire departments and churches, neighborhood watch groups, search and rescue and other first responder groups, and VFW groups."[569] At the same time, many Oregon Oath Keepers—fresh from the conflict at Sugar Pine Mine—also traveled to Lincoln, Montana to help establish armed camps at the White Hope Mine.[570]

In July 2016, Joseph Rice, leader of the Oath Keepers of Josephine County, said that "in the last year or so a lot of the Oregon Oath Keeper chapters have stopped and they've disbanded. But it doesn't mean those individuals are no longer participating in securing and preserving Constitutional rights. They've just named themselves something else." The next month, his organization website announced they were no longer with the national Oath Keepers, and unveiled their new name: the Citizen Patriots of Josephine County.[571]

STATE GROUP—PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK

OREGON III%

Oregon Three Percenters are very active and seem to have eclipsed the Oath Keepers as the locus of Patriot movement organizing in the state.

The Three Percenters have a complex structure. Anyone can call themselves a Three Percenter, and there are also competing national organizations. But there is also a statewide group, called simply, "Oregon III%," which functions as a group-based network, albeit with a central leadership.[572] (This seems to run contrary to cofounder Vanderboegh's original vision for the Three Percenters as a decentralized form of the militia that was harder to infiltrate and disrupt. However, these more organized Three Percenter groups, in Oregon and Idaho, have been very successful.) There is significant overlap between Oath Keepers and Three Percenters, as well.

The President of Oregon III% is David Samuel Hill, and the Vice President is Jeff Roberts; the group registered as a 501(c)4 in November 2015.[573] Roberts claims that in 1993, as a 15-year-old, he drove to the Ruby Ridge standoff with Bo Gritz.[574] In September 2015, Hill said the group had 1,000

members and a full "executive staff"—up from 200 members and no staff, except its president, less than a year before.[575] These numbers have undoubtedly grown since the Malheur occupation. Oregon III% divides the state up into seven "Zones," plus an independent eighth section.

Hill says, in addition to participating in the Pacific Patriots Network, Oregon III% has "a close working relationship with other patriotic, prepper and training groups."[576] Oregon III% co-organized the February 2015 Salem anti-SB 941 rally, was active in the Sugar Pine Mine and White Hope Mine armed camps, were at May 2015 anti-SB 941 rallies, and were part of "Protect the Protectors" campaign to "guard" U.S. military recruiting stations in July 2015.[577]

One flyer indicates that BJ Soper and the Oregon III% were the organizers of the initial January 2, 2016 march in Burns, Oregon (Rice claims it as Pacific Patriots Network and Oregon III%). Soper, and both Oregon and Idaho Three Percenters, spoke at the rally.[578] As part of the Pacific Patriots Network, they were active in Burns during the occupation. At least one Oregon Three Percenter, Flipp Todd, was part of the occupation early on.[579]

Some members of the Oregon III% are reportedly involved with an anti-immigrant vigilante group, which does street patrols, called the Soldiers of Odin. The group was founded in Finland by white supremacists, and it has recently spread across the United States.[580]

As of August 2016, the Oregon III% Zone divisions and leaders are:

- **Zone 1** (Columbia, Clatsop, Tillamook, Washington, Multnomah, Clackamas, Marion, Polk, Yamhill, Lincoln, Linn, and Benton counties) — Ron McCue
- **Zone 2** (Hood River, Wasco, Sherman, and Gilliam) — Trevor Anders
- **Zone 3** (Morrow, Umatilla, Union, Baker, and Wallowa) — Damon Locke
- **Zone 4** (Douglas, Jackson, Josephine, Coos, and Curry) — Tom McKirgan
- **Zone 5** (Crook, Deschutes, Jefferson, Wheeler) — Jerrad Tyrea Robison
- **Zone 6** (Klamath, Lake) — Tim Harris

Jeff Roberts added 6 new photos.
April 22, 2015 ·

Friends, countrymen, and brothers in Christ.

I am a Christian, father, construction worker, cowboy, and a Patriot. I'm not a professional warrior, but I'm a fighter, and Liberty is a just cause.

I re-opened my Facebook account for the purpose of connecting with friends and family, having no idea that the current events would move themselves to the forefront of my mind and posts. But this situation warrants my time and concern.

Many of you are aware that there is a situation taking place in southern Oregon, between American citizens with the help of Patriots, against out-of-control tyrannical Government.

For the record, no one on our side is down there hoping to start the second American Revolution, or kill fellow Americans. This is a peaceful, defensive role only, to preserve Life, Liberty and Property and to ensure that the miners receive due process.

Contrary to the outright fabrications that the mainstream media are spreading, the Oath Keepers were actually requested by the mine owners to help secure the mine against unwarranted search and seizure by federal agencies without "due process" and a court order.

If we would have had Oath Keepers at Ruby Ruby Ridge in 1992, we wouldn't have had a innocent mother and her only son murdered in cold blood...
If we would have had Oath Keepers in the town of Waco, Texas in 1993 we wouldn't have had 70+ Americans burned and shot to death (a third of them children.)...
If we would have had Oath Keepers on site during Hurricane Katrina, we wouldn't have seen elderly women assaulted and disarmed, only to be left defenseless against roving bandits, or have seen fellow countrymen locked in stadiums by FEMA, reminiscent of Nazi detention camps.
Many of you know me, and know I have stood for Liberty and Freedom for over two decades, just as my father and forefathers did. From the base of a mountain in Northern Idaho in 1992 as a 15 year old American, I witnessed out of control government murder an innocent 14-year-old boy and his mother. I stood and held signs to protest such atrocities from day two of that standoff till it ended.
I rode in a 1985 Chevy with Lt. Colonel Bo Gritz from Spokane, Washington to Ruby Ridge, where he eventually negotiated the surrender of Randy Weaver .

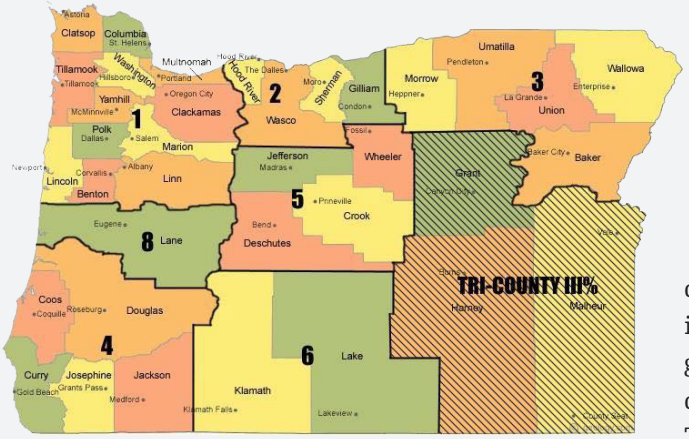
I have gathered hundreds of signatures at gun shows and malls to establish the Constitution Party of Oregon, written letters to the editor protesting gun control in Colorado, gave opening speeches for conservative congressional candidates in Phoenix, Arizona, have spoken on the radio to encourage Americans to make survival preparations In Grants Pass, Oregon, have organized support groups for Liberty candidates in election races. Have stood with other Patriots to protest taxes and move towards freedom at Tea parties across the Northwest. Have spoken to newspaper reporters in defense of conservative groups such as the John Birch Society.

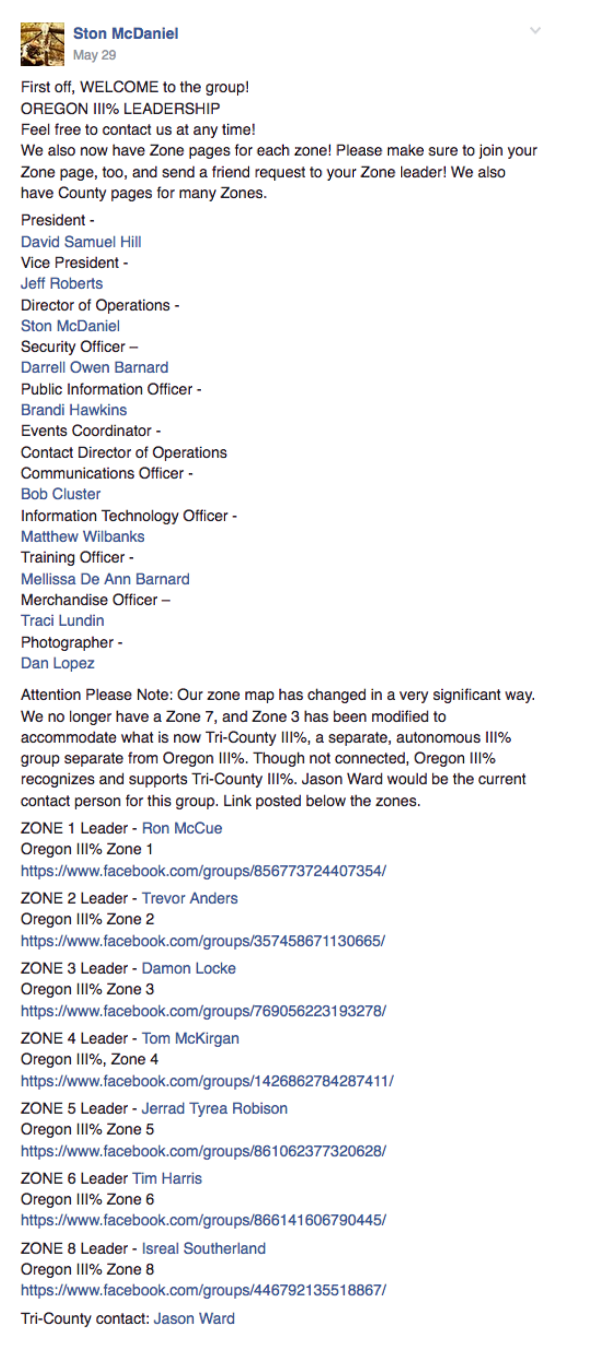
All these things and more to bring a peaceful return of government back under Constitutional restraint. All the while my Country continued to fall headlong into tyranny. My Freedoms and Liberty eroded away by thousands of small incremental steps towards slavery. I am a father, husband ,and a son, I would love to live out my days in peace and watch my children grow to be free men and women in a society that knows only personal Liberty...

I doubt that dream will materialize. I fear we could protest and carry signs for years to come, only to find our selves cowering under the tyrannical rule of a government that sees it's citizens as resources to be plundered and controlled.

As I write this, many of our country men have said "Enough!". They aren't declaring war on anyone, they aren't attacking or threatening violence, they are simply saying "we will not sit idly aside as you trample the constitutional rights of our fellow countrymen" ,"we will not bow before you in fear and go along with your unlawful demands merely because YOU say we must!"

Oregon III% Vice President Jeff Roberts says he went to Ruby Ridge standoff with Bo Gritz, and helped found the Constitution Party of Oregon.





Ston McDaniel
May 29

First off, WELCOME to the group!
OREGON III% LEADERSHIP
Feel free to contact us at any time!
We also now have Zone pages for each zone! Please make sure to join your Zone page, too, and send a friend request to your Zone leader! We also have County pages for many Zones.

President -
David Samuel Hill
Vice President -
Jeff Roberts
Director of Operations -
Ston McDaniel
Security Officer –
Darrell Owen Barnard
Public Information Officer -
Brandi Hawkins
Events Coordinator -
Contact Director of Operations
Communications Officer -
Bob Cluster
Information Technology Officer -
Matthew Wilbanks
Training Officer -
Mellissa De Ann Barnard
Merchandise Officer –
Traci Lundin
Photographer -
Dan Lopez

Attention Please Note: Our zone map has changed in a very significant way. We no longer have a Zone 7, and Zone 3 has been modified to accommodate what is now Tri-County III%, a separate, autonomous III% group separate from Oregon III%. Though not connected, Oregon III% recognizes and supports Tri-County III%. Jason Ward would be the current contact person for this group. Link posted below the zones.

ZONE 1 Leader - Ron McCue
Oregon III% Zone 1
https://www.facebook.com/groups/856773724407354/

ZONE 2 Leader - Trevor Anders
Oregon III% Zone 2
https://www.facebook.com/groups/357458671130665/

ZONE 3 Leader - Damon Locke
Oregon III% Zone 3
https://www.facebook.com/groups/769056223193278/

ZONE 4 Leader - Tom McKirgan
Oregon III%, Zone 4
https://www.facebook.com/groups/1426862784287411/

ZONE 5 Leader - Jerrad Tyrea Robison
Oregon III% Zone 5
https://www.facebook.com/groups/861062377320628/

ZONE 6 Leader Tim Harris
Oregon III% Zone 6
https://www.facebook.com/groups/866141606790445/

ZONE 8 Leader - Isreal Southerland
Oregon III% Zone 8
https://www.facebook.com/groups/446792135518867/

Tri-County contact: Jason Ward

- **Tri-County III%** (Grant, Harney, Malheur) — Jason Ward (contact)
- **Zone 8** (Lane) — Isreal Southerland

What was Zone 7—Harney, Malheur, and Grant counties—became the Tri-County III%, which is described as "a separate, autonomous III% group separate from Oregon III%. Though not connected, Oregon III% recognizes and supports Tri-County III%."[581]

The county chapters include Multnomah, Washington, Marion and Polk, Linn and Benton, Clatsop and Columbia, Clackamas, Lincoln, Josephine, Jackson, Douglas, Coos, and Curry.[582]

REGIONAL GROUP

PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK

THE PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK is made up of the most active Patriot movement paramilitary groups in Oregon. It stepped into the spotlight by its attempts to establish an armed "buffer" between the Malheur Refuge occupiers and the FBI during the occupation.

The Pacific Patriots Network consists of the Josephine County Oath Keepers, Oregon III%, Southern Oregon Constitutional Guard (SOCG), Central Oregon Constitutional Guard (COCG), West Valley Constitutional Guard, Bearded Bastards, and Heirs of Patrick Henry. Pacific Patriots Network groups that are not based in Oregon include 3% of Idaho and the Oath Keepers National.[583]

The Pacific Patriots Network is an "umbrella" organization that was founded to help facilitate regional Patriot movement cooperation after Sugar Pine Mine in April 2015. Four of the five founders have gained public notoriety: Joseph Rice (Oath Keepers of Josephine County), BJ Soper (COCG), Brandon Curtiss (3% of Idaho), and Brandon Rapolla (Oregon Tactical and Oregon Oath Keepers Community Preparedness Team coordinator). The fifth founder, Chino Ruiz of

Left, top: The Oregon III%, like many other states, divides the state into different Zones. TriCounty III% is autonomous from the larger group. Left, bottom: The leadership structure of the Oregon III%. Each Zone of the Oregon III% has a leader and a Facebook page.

the Bearded Bastards, keeps a much lower profile, and is reported to be no longer actively involved.[584]

Since the Pacific Patriots Network is merely a network, it is not always clear which are actions are of the Pacific Patriots Network proper and which are those of its constituent groups. Some individuals, for example, seem to claim that any action done by a member group is a Pacific Patriots Network action. Pacific Patriots Network loudly trumpeted its participation in the White Hope Mine armed encampment.[585] However, their participation in the Malheur occupation and activities in Burns is complex. (See appendix II.)

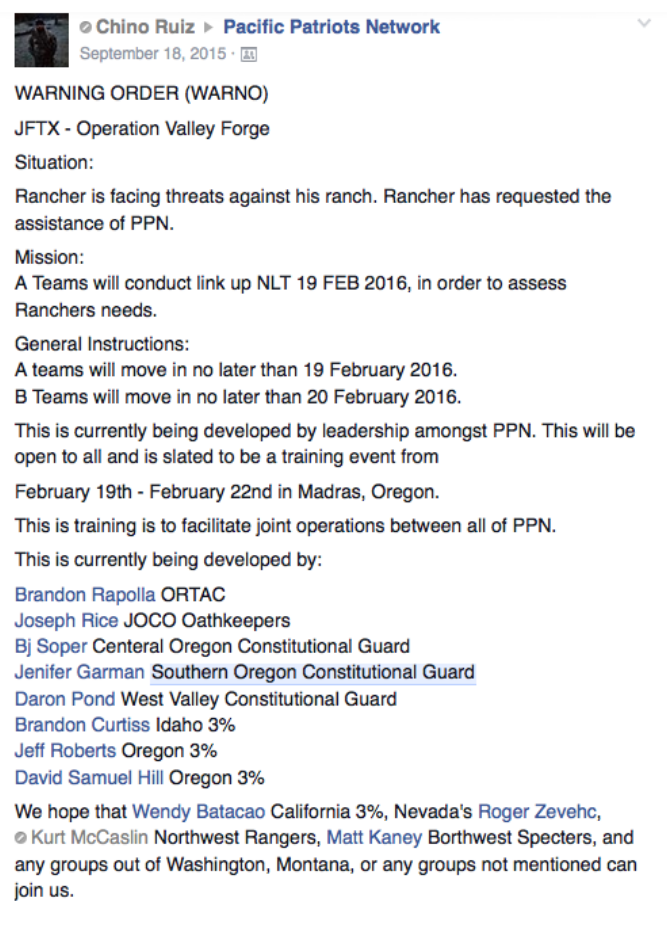
Since the Malheur occupation, the Pacific Patriots Network has largely been involved in support activities for those arrested and in electoral activity, as some prominent members have run for election, and then entered the Republican Party apparatus.

IDAHO GROUP—PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK
3% OF IDAHO

WHILE THIS REPORT IS FOCUSED on Oregon groups, the 3% of Idaho deserves a mention. It is part of the Pacific Patriots Network, and Oregon III% leaders gave credit to the 3% of Idaho for helping set up the Oregon structure.[586] The group was in Burns before and during the occupation—which was physically closer to Boise than to the homes of many Oregon Patriot movement activists. 3% of Idaho members were also present at the Sugar Pine Mine and White Hope Mine actions.[587]

3% of Idaho President Brandon Curtiss founded the organization after being inspired by the 2014 Bundy Ranch standoff.[588] The group's former Vice President, Eric "EJ" Parker, is famous for being photographed pointing a rifle at federal agents during the standoff. He was arrested in March 2016 in connection with the events, and his trial is scheduled for February 6, 2017.[589] He resigned alongside many other 3% of Idaho members in late September 2016 after he alleged that Curtiss stole funds meant for political arrestees—including Parker himself.

In its home state, the 3% of Idaho is best-known for organizing anti-Syrian refugee demonstrations, which combine xenophobia



Chino Ruiz ▸ Pacific Patriots Network
September 18, 2015 ·

WARNING ORDER (WARNO)

JFTX - Operation Valley Forge

Situation:

Rancher is facing threats against his ranch. Rancher has requested the assistance of PPN.

Mission:
A Teams will conduct link up NLT 19 FEB 2016, in order to assess Ranchers needs.

General Instructions:
A teams will move in no later than 19 February 2016.
B Teams will move in no later than 20 February 2016.

This is currently being developed by leadership amongst PPN. This will be open to all and is slated to be a training event from

February 19th - February 22nd in Madras, Oregon.

This is training is to facilitate joint operations between all of PPN.

This is currently being developed by:

Brandon Rapolla ORTAC
Joseph Rice JOCO Oathkeepers
Bj Soper Centeral Oregon Constitutional Guard
Jenifer Garman Southern Oregon Constitutional Guard
Daron Pond West Valley Constitutional Guard
Brandon Curtiss Idaho 3%
Jeff Roberts Oregon 3%
David Samuel Hill Oregon 3%

We hope that Wendy Batacao California 3%, Nevada's Roger Zevehc, Kurt McCaslin Northwest Rangers, Matt Kaney Borthwest Specters, and any groups out of Washington, Montana, or any groups not mentioned can join us.

Top: The leadership of the Pacific Patriots Network, as of September 2015. Bottom: The 3% of Idaho had supported then-Vice President EJ Parker, currently awaiting trial for pointing a weapon at federal agents during the 2014 Bundy Ranch standoff.

Brandon Curtiss (3% of Idaho) speaking at the January 2, 2016 rally for the Hammonds in Burns, Oregon. (Photo: Jason Wilson)

and Islamophobia. One was held in Twin Falls on October 2015, and two in Boise in November 2015. The second Boise rally was a counter-demonstration against a pro-refugee demonstration; the Three Percenters were greatly outnumbered by the pro-refugee crowd.[590] (In comparison, in Oregon in 2015 there was a single announced Patriot movement-organized anti-Muslim demonstration.) In April 2016 the Idaho group also held a demonstration in Boise to support Idahoans arrested in connection with the Malheur and Bundy Ranch incidents.[591] The website *The Voice of Idaho*, run by Mike Emry, is affiliated with the 3% of Idaho. Emry said he was the group's "embedded" reporter at the Malheur occupation, but afterwards was arrested on weapons charges in Oregon.[592]

The 3% of Idaho has also been embroiled in accusations of financial improprieties. Curtiss, who runs a property management business, has filed for bankruptcy three times, and in May 2016, the Idaho State Police started investigating him for defrauding clients.[593] Meanwhile, his group claims to be a registered nonprofit, but the Center for American Progress reported there was no record of this.[594]

STATE GROUPS—PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK

HEIRS OF PATRICK HENRY, NORTHWEST & SOUTHERN OREGON CONSTITUTIONAL GUARD

The Heirs of Patrick Henry, Northwest is one of the Pacific Patriots Network member groups; and in turn, the organization's membership overlaps with the Oath Keepers, Three Percenters, Central Oregon Constitutional Guard, and Southern Oregon Constitutional Guard. The Heirs of Patrick Henry were formed in fall 2014 to organize a February 2015 demonstration for gun rights in Salem.[595] According to J.d. Parks, "The Heirs of Patrick Henry Northwest exists for coordinating grassroots, local activism in the Pacific Northwest."[596] Their members have also been active in the "railroad" systems which ran supplies to the different Patriot movement armed camps and standoffs.

The President of the Heirs of Patrick Henry, Northwest is Casey Runyan, who spoke at the May 2015 anti-SB 941 rally.[597] In 2014, he won the Republican primary for Oregon representative in District 9, but the party pulled their support after his previous conviction for felony assault became known.[598] Runyan lost in the general election to Democrat Caddy McKeown, 13,746 to 8,983 (57.7 percent to 37.7 percent).[599]

The Southern Oregon Constitutional Guard is one of the smaller groups in the network. It is led by Colby Damon Olsen, who was at Sugar Pine Mine.[600] One of its few public acts was marching at the May 23, 2015 Boatnik Parade in Grants Pass with other Patriot movement groups.[601] Olsen was also involved in the Fielder Dam controversy, and Souther Oregon Constitutional Guard members were present in Burns, as well.[602]

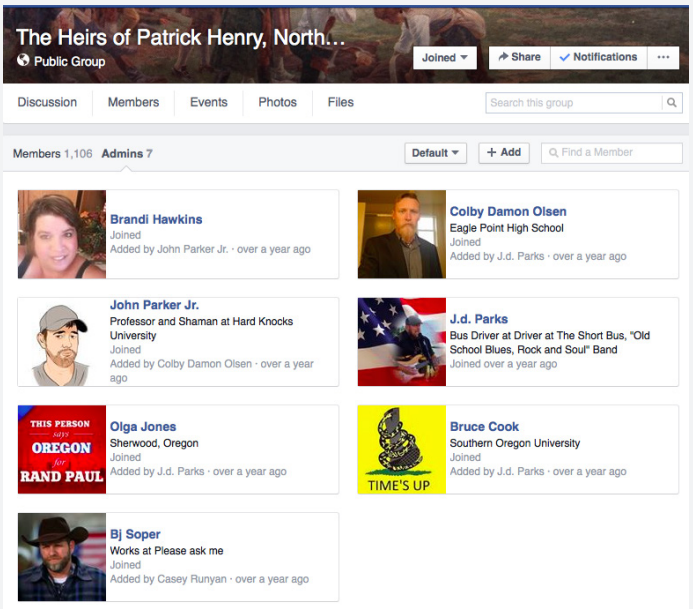
STATE GROUP

THE LIBERATORS

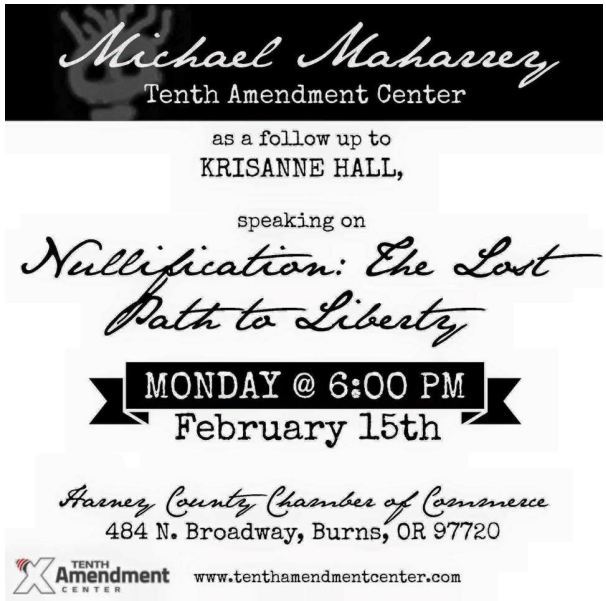
THE LIBERATORS deserve attention as a behind-the-scenes Patriot movement group that has had an outsized influence on the constitutional sheriffs movement in Oregon. They are older than most of the other Patriot movement groups existing today. Based in Roseburg, Douglas County, and led by Loma Wharton and Rae Copitka, its describes itself as "a central clearinghouse for a plethora of information that is useful to both elected officials and the public."[603]

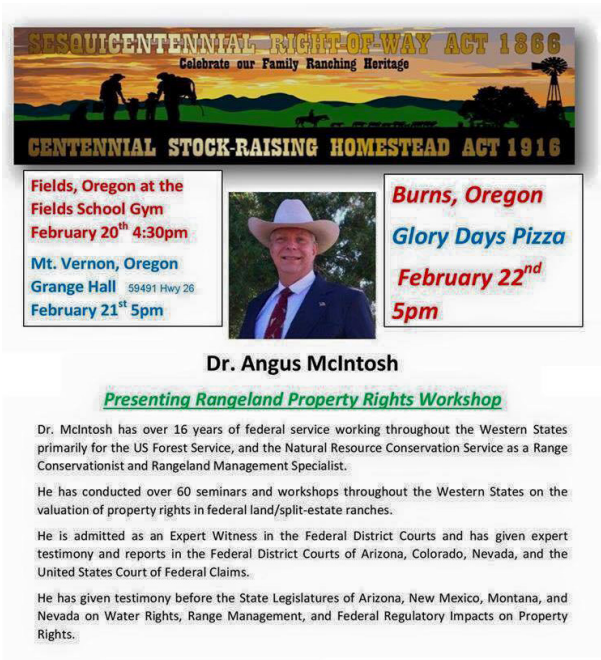
The group claims that in 2009, it brought former Arizona sheriff and CSPOA founder Richard Mack to Roseburg, and 600 people attended two of his classes. In 2010, the Liberators say they brought Mack back to the state, and that event, hosted by then-Josephine County Sheriff Gil Gilbertson, was attended by then-Oregon county sheriffs Dennis Dotson (Lincoln) and John Hanlin (Douglas), and then-sheriff candidate Craig Zanni (Coos)—all of whom "attended the private class with Sheriff Mack."[604]

When the CSPOA website first went online in 2010, the Liberators were one of only two Patriot groups that it linked to. The group is closely tied to former Josephine County Sheriff Gil Gilbertson; during his speech at the first CSPOA conference in 2012, he thanked Wharton for her research help.[605] The Liberators' website hosts writings by both Gilbertson and Sheriff Palmer.[606] Wharton and Copitka also were both deeply involved in National Constitutional Sheriffs' Association, which Gilbertson was on the board of.[607] In Grants Pass on July 7, 2014, the Liberators cosponsored, with Gilbertson, a talk billed as "The Solution Revolution," featuring land transfer advocate Ken Ivory. On July 19, 2014, Copitka and Wharton also spoke at the Patriots Gathering in North Bend in Coos County, alongside Oath Keeper leaders and the *News With Views* editor. The group also attended a support rally on February 16, 2016 for the Malheur occupiers which was held outside the Bureau of Land Management office in Roseburg.[608]



Top: The administrators of the Heirs of Patrick Henry, Northwest Facebook group. Many are leaders in other Patriot movement organizations. Bottom: A 2014 gathering in Coos County which featured a number of Oregon Hard Right figures, including members of the Liberators, Oath Keepers, and News With Views.





Left: Burns, Oregon was flooded with Patriot movement speakers during and after the Malheur occupation.

HARNEY COUNTY, CONTINUED

Committee member Chris Briels (who originally had said felt "betrayed" by the Bundy's occupation of the refuge) further to the occupier's side. Briels gave a press conference at the occupation, accompanied by at least one other committee member.[348] When the occupiers started talking about redistributing the refuge to those who had owned it before it was established by the federal government in 1908, the Committee was tapped to research the old land deeds.[349]

While the occupation was going on, Committee Chair Tim Smith traveled to Boise, Idaho, to speak at Storm Over the Rangelands conference—a collection of opponents of federal land holdings.[350] Currently he is involved in the *Malheur Redress*, a new newspaper in Harney County.[351]

As of August 2016, the Committee is still active in Harney County and holds weekly meetings. Candidates in the May 2016 primary were asked what they thought about the Committee. Three in the commissioner and judge races said they had attended Committee meetings: Barbara Cannady, Rob Frank, and Anna Jo Surber.[352]

In addition, at the beginning of the occupation, a Facebook page for a Harney County Three Percenter chapter was started. In late February 2016, the Oregon III% vice president said there was a new group initiated by local residents for Grant, Malheur, and Harney counties, called the Tri-County Three Percent.[353] At least five Patriot movement speakers also came to Burns during and after the occupation, including KrisAnne Hall and Richard Mack.[354]

C. BAKER COUNTY

IN REMOTE BAKER COUNTY in the northeastern part of Oregon, the Patriot movement-style politics occupy the minds of the county commission. The commission's chair, Bill Harvey, is an advocate for a slew of Patriot movement-inspired initiatives. Because of the penetration of these issues

into the Baker County government, that county's movement seems to focus on electoral work.

Harvey's friend Kody Justus, who unsuccessfully ran for county commissioner in the May 2016 primary, is coordinator of the county's Oath Keepers chapter. One blog post puts Justus and another member at the founding meeting of the Harney County Committee of Safety.[355] He brought supplies to the Malheur occupation, along with his nine-year-old daughter, earning a mention in the *New York Times*.[356] His campaign video promoted "aggressively engaging federal agencies through coordination and pursuing the transfer of public lands to local control."[357]

The Baker County Oath Keepers focus on two things: community preparedness, and Sovereign Citizen-style claims about the federal government. One article on their blog asks "Do Presidential Orders Apply to YOU?" The post says, "The question can be answered 'Yes' IF you are an employee of the corporate 'United States' or IF you voluntarily and knowingly allowed yourself to be subjected to the jurisdiction of the private, foreign corporation called 'United States'."[358] They also denounce Baker County's status as a "sanctuary county" (a broad term used for any Oregon county where a judge or sheriff has decided that local or county law enforcement holding anyone detained for Immigration and Customs Enforcement, ICE, violates their Fourth Amendment rights). They write, "it is clear to everyone with half a brain that we are in the middle of a cultural/financial/moral/spiritual WAR! And it is already lost." They call on county officials to take action against the federal government on this—despite the fact that the decision was made on the county level, which is usually recognized in Patriot movement political ideology as a legitimate venue for deciding what is Constitutional.[359]

The Baker County Oath Keepers also heavily promote community preparedness, giving classes and saying they've held meetings with "several county Emergency Management professionals."[360] The Oath Keepers were part of an Emergency Preparedness Fair on May 30, 2015 put on by Baker County Emergency Management and, ironically, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.[361]

Additionally, Bill Harvey, Kody Justus, Baker County commissioner Mark Bennet, and CSPOA member (and county sheriff candidate) John Hoopes all attended the Rural Lives Matter rally in Halfway, Oregon on February 6, 2016—one of the first post-Malheur occupation support events.[362]

D. GRANT COUNTY

GLENN PALMER IS Oregon's most famous constitutional sheriff and has been in office since 2000.[363] He had a leadership role in the CSPOA for several years and has refused to enforce state gun laws. In 2002 a Grant County ballot passed declaring it a "UN-Free Zone." According to the Associated Press, "The measure states that the United Nations wants to take away people's guns, seize private property, control the education of children and establish 'one world religion-Pantheism (and) world taxation.'"[364]

In 2011, Palmer wrote to the Malheur National Forest supervisor and refused to enter into a cooperative policing agreement, claiming that the Forest Service's jurisdiction "is limited in nature to the Federal Building in John Day."[365] Soon afterward, he claimed that county sheriffs have the power to determine whether laws are constitutional or not.[366]

In 2011, Palmer was listed as member of CSPOA Board of Directors, and between 2012 and August 2015, he was listed on the CSPOA Council of Sheriffs, Peace Officers, and Public Officials—along with Josephine County's Gil Gilbertson.[367] In 2012, the CSPOA gave Palmer its "Sheriff of the Year" award at their founding conference. In 2013, he was among those sheriffs who wrote to Vice President Joe Biden announcing their refusal to enact "unconstitutional" gun controls passed by the

CSPOA Board of Directors

Sheriffs Dean Wilson CA, John D'Agostini CA, Jon Lopey CA, Ron Bruce CO, Brad Rogers IN, Chuck Korzenbom KY, Donnie Smith ME, Billy McGee MS, Christopher Conley NH, Tony Demeo NV, Glenn Palmer OR, Gil Gilbertson OR, Bunny Welsh PA, David Medlin TX, Mark Gower UT, **County Commissioner** Cornel Rasor ID, **Chief of Police** Robert Douglas FL

Flyer for 2012 CSPOA conference shows Oregon county sheriffs Glenn Palmer and Gil Gilbertson on the board of directors.

Ammon Bundy (at microphone) and Jon Ritzheimer (left) at a Malheur Refuge occupation press conference. (Photo: Spencer Sunshine)

federal government. In May 2015, Palmer said he would not enforce SB 941, the state law requiring registration of private gun sales.[368]

In September 2015, he went even further, invoking "coordination" between the sheriff's office and the federal government regarding public lands. This plan was devised in secret; Palmer deputized eleven people to create and adopt it; only afterward did he ask for the county commission's support. The courts refused to allow it to be voted on as a referendum for technical reasons, and it was turned down by the commission for a more collaborative approach.[369]

The Malheur occupation in neighboring Harney County thrust Palmer into the national spotlight. Two occupiers, Ryan Payne and Jon Ritzheimer, left the refuge to meet with him on January 12, 2016; Palmer claims he was asked to attend a lunch, but did not know the occupiers would be present until he arrived. He attended a second meeting with Payne "two days or so" later.[370]

On January 26, 2016, the leadership of the Malheur occupation was captured and one killed when two cars of occupiers were stopped by law enforcement on the way to a community meeting in John Day. The local hosts were promoting the formation of a Committee of Safety, and Palmer was present. Just before his death, LaVoy Finicum shouted at law enforcement: "I'm going over to meet with the sheriff in Grant County" and "You can come along with us, and talk with us over there." Upon hearing the news of the confrontation, Palmer attempted to drive to the scene, but was turned back at a roadblock.[371]

In March 2016, the Oregon state Justice Department opened an investigation into Palmer.[372] The same month, news broke that Palmer had deputized a total of 69 citizens to serve under him. "I can tell you it's not a standard practice in Oregon," according to Malheur County Sheriff (and president of the Oregon State Sheriffs' Association) Brian Wolfe.[373] As of July 2016, Palmer had raised $20,000 in donations for his defense fund.[374] Up for reelection in November election, Palmer is being challenged by Todd McKinley, who has denounced the "audacity of individuals who think they can dictate the course of Grant County, without the input of all."[375]

A packed town hall in John Day waited for the Malheur occupiers that January day in response to a call to "consider forming a Committee of Safety."[376] The meeting was attended by members of the Harney County Committee of Safety, and—initially at least—by a uniformed Sheriff Palmer. The meeting was met by protests from the local community.[377] This proposed new shadow government was the first direct attempt to spread the politics of the Malheur occupation outside of Harney County.

While Grant County did not form a Committee of Safety, it did attract new residents: Michael Emry and his wife Becky Hudson, who had been running *The Voice of Idaho*, a media outlet close to the 3% of Idaho. Emry came to Oregon in December and stayed with Ammon Bundy and others.[378] Emry was "embedded" with this Three Percenter group at Malheur and reported from the occupation.[379]

After moving to John Day, he started a new online media project, *The Voice of Grant County*.[380] Emry also started to establish a "Committee of Correspondence" with several men that Palmer had deputized. A flyer stated, "The goal is to provide a venue for verifying, through public discussion, the accuracy of information published by the various news agencies of Grant County."[381] He later told local businesses that he was starting a print

Top: Michael Emry (The Voice of Idaho), an "embedded" reporter with the 3% of Idaho, speaking at a Malheur occupation daily press conference. (Photo: Spencer Sunshine). Bottom: The Voice of Grant County seeks people interested in "vetted facts.""

newspaper. However, this project seems to have been put on hold by his arrest in May 2016 for illegal possession of a stolen machine gun that had its serial numbers removed.[382]

Emry was the second person affiliated with the Malheur occupation who was later arrested in Grant County. Scott A. Willingham was arrested in March 2016 after demanding that he be arrested or else he would start shooting law enforcement; he was held on weapons charges and later charged with destroying property at the Malheur refuge. He reportedly had asked Sheriff Palmer to grant him protection, but was refused.[383]

E. CROOK & DESCHUTES COUNTIES

THE PRINEVILLE-REDMOND AREA of Crook County and northwest Deschutes County are hotbeds for Patriot movement activity in Oregon, revolving around three intertwined local groups. The Central Oregon Constitutional Guard (COCG) is a militia-style group that is a member of the Pacific Patriots Network, while the Central Oregon Patriots (COP) is a more moderate group that has overlapped with the county's Republican Party; additionally, the local chapter of the Oath Keepers has cross-membership with both groups.

Central Oregon Patriots

THE CENTRAL OREGON PATRIOTS is an influential local political organization in Prineville, in Crook County. The group's politics are similar to the Patriot movement, although its tactics are more mainstream; the group says its "genesis" was in a September 2009 Tea Party march.[384] The Central Oregon Patriots is also an independent affiliate of the Western Liberty Network, along with the Bend Patriots, the Liberators (see box, p. 75), and a number of Tea Party groups.[385] The Central Oregon Patriots has had two well-known leaders: Ken Taylor and Craig Brookhart.

Ken Taylor is the former chair of the Central Oregon Patriots, and, until August 2016, the co-coordinator of the Central Oregon Oath Keepers. He was also the Crook County Republican Party

The day before the Malheur occupation, a number of prominent Oregon Patriot movement members discussed a possible scenario: What if the Harney County Committee of Safety asked the Patriot movement paramilitaries (including the Bundys) to leave, and they refused? This is exactly what happened. Participants include Ken Taylor (Central Oregon Patriots), Jeff Roberts and David Samuel Hill (Oregon III%), and BJ Soper (COCG).

Ken Taylor
December 30, 2015 at 11:11pm

I have a question regarding the Harney County situation. A good effort was made to establish the Committee of Safety and they were told they could control what happens there. Watch the videos and you'll see assurances that they would be assisted if they requested help. The following question has come up. If the COS asks militia/patriots/Bundy group to leave will they?

What's the plan if this comes to pass?

Like · Comment

Tracey Roberts, Michael Drummond, Larene Long and 3 others like this.

Kathleen Brady great question!
Like · Reply · December 30, 2015 at 11:15pm

John Walker I think that will be decided if it comes to pass .
Like · Reply · December 30, 2015 at 11:20pm

Alex Castellanos Pfeiffer Should post this question on the Oregon 3% group. I added you to the group. Pending admin approval.
Like · Reply · 2 · December 30, 2015 at 11:28pm

Chino Ruiz If they are asked to it would fall under doing the will of the People
Like · Reply · 1 · December 30, 2015 at 11:32pm

Tana Condit Jeff Roberts Bj Soper David Samuel Hill
Like · Reply · 1 · December 30, 2015 at 11:37pm

Brea L Carico But how many people would have to ask?
Would they create their own protest against ours to prove a point? Or do the cops have to ask us?
I'm on the fence about this entire thing, honestly.
Something just doesn't add up.
Like · Reply · 2 · December 30, 2015 at 11:38pm

Jenna Lynn I'm confused we were called to action to be there in a peaceful really/walk. Why would we be asked to leave? We are not there to do anything wrong? We have a right to be peaceful don't we? Or did I miss something.
Like · Reply · 2 · December 30, 2015 at 11:45pm

Ken Taylor I've never operated without contingencies and I don't think the question is out of order. It's just a question. The Committee on Safety was created to have legitimate local control. Please correct me if I am wrong.
Like · Reply · 2 · December 30, 2015 at 11:48pm

Bj Soper The cos was created to be a new form of government so that the voice of the people could be heard as I understand it.
Like · Reply · 1 · Yesterday at 5:15am

Bj Soper It was created because the existing form of gov would not listen or act in the name of the people
Like · Reply · 1 · Yesterday at 5:16am

Jeff Roberts Bj Soper is sponsoring this rally with me and is closely connected with the COS, and the people of Burns. I cannot speak for other organizations, but we are there to peacefully support the Hammonds, and give backup to the locals as well as the COS. And their desires would be transmitted to us through BJ or a public announcement. But to clarify, Oregon iii% isn't a militia, and we're showing up to peacefully show support to the Hammonds.
Like · Reply · 7 · December 30, 2015 at 11:54pm

Brea L Carico Jeff, to make this clear with me, because I've been following the posts, but there's so much out there.
Do the Hammonds want our help? Will they think negative towards the protest this Saturday?
Like · Reply · December 30, 2015 at 11:59pm

Jeff Roberts The Hammonds do not want us to intervene, so we will honor that, but we will be present so that America can hear their story, and to show the Hammonds that they aren't alone.
Like · Reply · 1 · Yesterday at 12:08am

Jeff Roberts We will also help keep the peace and reign in anyone out of line
Like · Reply · 4 · Yesterday at 12:11am · Edited

Brea L Carico Do we have a channel for coms?
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 12:11am

Jeff Roberts We'll announce that as it gets closer
Like · Reply · 3 · Yesterday at 12:12am

Bj Soper I think ken is referring to the entire situation not the rally specifically. We had this discussion last night. Harney county has 2 separate issues that is being blurred into one. The HAMMONDS are one issue. The simple answer here is we support the Hammonds in any decision and choice they make. Period. We support it and do what we can to assist them in that decision. If they needed a ride to prison I would drive them if they asked.

Secondly, and this is not just a HARNEY issue its an American issue. The land needs to be restored back to local control. That's the head of the snake and the cause of the hammonds plight in the first place. They are separate issues but related. So the cos is the voice of the community. We can work our tails off to put plans in place to work at this restoration all day and night. But if the horse won't drink the water, not much you can do. I will respect the wishes of the COS. To date, I have not seen or heard a single request come from their mouths. The only thing I have heard is they are working on solutions...
Like · Reply · 5 · Yesterday at 5:14am

David Samuel Hill We are there to peacefully protest the injustices against the Hammonds.

I beleive that the community of Burns doesn't want the extreme militias coming in and attempting to arrest their local elected leaders. And to my knowledge there has been no requests for that. So the very negative feedback that we are receiving is from idiots that are making stupid threats to do stupid things that the locals don't want and haven't asked for. So, let's ext

And we should be spending as much time studying the constitution, the articles of confederation and the authors of these documents and the works and writings of the founding fathers of this great nation as we can.
Like · Reply · 5 · Yesterday at 8:31am

Verlin Belcher This has become not just about the Hammonds but all Americans. But we need to be sensitive to the Hammonds. And let them know we are here for them. There not alone.
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 hrs

Chair, and, until he submitted his resignation in July 2016, the treasurer and budget chairman for the Oregon Republican Party. Taylor was an early supporter of the Harney County Committee of Safety, and recorded Ammon Bundy's December 15, 2015 meeting, when it was formed.[386]

Craig Brookhart is the former chair of both the Central Oregon Patriots and the Crook County Natural Resources Political Action Committee (CCNR-PAC), as well as the former secretary of the Crook County Republican Party.[387]

The Central Oregon Patriots is mainly focused on electoral politics; the organization formed a PAC in 2012 called the Central Oregon Patriots Political Action Committee (COP-PAC). As of August 2016, the Central Oregon Patriots chair is Tom Case.[388]

In the May 2016 primary race, it donated to three Crook County Commission or Judge candidates: Brookhart, Jodie Fleck, and Pete Sharp.[389] In the last year the Central Oregon Patriots has hosted community discussions, including ones about a new jail, and a controversial meeting regarding the tax assessor. Hundreds of local residents came to their January 2016 discussion about the proposed new Ochoco Mountains National Recreation Area (OMNRA) to voice opposition to the plan, and the commission has denounced it.[390]

Out of the recreation area discussions, the Crook County Natural Resources Political Action Committee (CCNR-PAC) was founded.[391] Originally chaired by Craig Brookhart, the position passed to Jodie Fleck in June 2016.[392] Following what appears to be a typical Hard Right "coordination" strategy to assert local control in federal lands, CCNR-PAC developed a land use plan, and has asked the county commission pass a coordination resolution and to adopt the plan. It quickly won the support of at least one County Commissioner, Seth Crawford, who—according to the minutes from a public meeting—believes it will mean that federal "agencies would be forced to follow our plan."[393] (Later Commissioner Ken Fahlgren and Judge Mike McCabe also voiced support, but eventually voted against it.[394])

On February 20, 2016, CCNR-PAC brought Baker County Commission Chair Bill Harvey to Prineville to give a seminar on coordination.[395] CCNR-PAC then gave a 63-page natural resources plan to the county court to adopt.[396] However, at a July 20, 2016 meeting, the county attorney said it could lead to legal challenges. In August 2016, the CCNR-PAC's plan was rejected by a vote of the county court.[397] COP has also asked that the closed Rager Ranger Station be transferred from the Forest Service to the county government so that it can reopen it.[398]

In the May 2016 primary, three candidates associated with COP ran for county positions. Brookhart ran for Crook County Judge—a position that, like in Harney County, is roughly equivalent to a county commission chair—and came in third with 1,611 votes (21.4 percent). Central Oregon Patriots member Pete Sharp also ran for Crook County commission; he received 1,071 votes (14.9 percent), coming in third place. Jodie Fleck, the former treasurer of the COP-PAC, ran for the same commission seat as Sharp, coming in fourth with 689 votes (9.6 percent).[399]

Central Oregon Constitutional Guard

THE CENTRAL OREGON CONSTITUTIONAL GUARD (COCG), a Pacific Patriots Network member group, was founded in April 2014.[400] The group is unusual in that is, at least in part, compromised of twelve families.[401] Its leader, BJ Soper of Redmond, was at the Sugar Pine Mine and White Hope Mine actions, and was one of the main organizers of the

Flyer for the January 2, 2016 march in Burns, Oregon—"Sponsored by Oregon III% and B.J. Soper"—to support the Hammond family. Ammon Bundy and other gunmen left the march to take over the headquarters of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.

initial January 2, 2016 march in Burns in support of the Hammonds.

COCG members did "security" at the February 9, 2015 anti-SB 941 rally, where Soper also spoke.[402] Soper and the COCG were involved in the Sugar Pine Mine action in April 2015.[403] In June 2015, he declared himself to be a Sovereign Citizen on social media.[404] Around the same time, COCG also participated in the Adopt-A-Highway program.[405]

The COCG—along with Oath Keepers, Southern Oregon Constitutional Guard, and a group of Sugar Pine miners—were part of a Grants Pass Memorial Day weekend parade in 2015, called the Boatnik Parade.[406] On July 9, 2015, a new Central Oregon Oath Keepers group held its first meeting in Redmond. Originally Soper was the group's Coordinator, but in September 2015 Kathleen Brady and Central Oregon Patriot's Ken Taylor took over as co-coordinators.[407] In July and August, the Oath Keepers participated in the "Protect the Protectors" action at the Bend recruiting station; both Soper and Taylor participated.[408]

Soper spent the end of 2015 planning the January 2, 2016 Burns demonstration, and spoke at it. (Oregon III% Vice President Jeff Roberts said, "BJ Soper is sponsoring this rally with me and is closely connected with the COS" [Committee of Safety].)[409] When a Patriot movement caravan left from Bend on the morning of January 2 to join the march in Burns, it was met by a counterprotest organized by Rural Organizing Project.[410]

Soper was upset that the Bundys' occupation of the Malheur refuge ruined months of planning and attempts to cultivate support from the community's residents. He told a local paper, "Not only was the community's trust hijacked by what happened, but mine was."[411] On social media, he was a more explicit, saying: "I DO NOT SUPPORT THIS FOOLISH ACTION. You have put myself and my family at risk and destroyed what was a wonderful rally. You have set this movement back decades by taking a stupid step." He also said, "Absolutely disgusting! I worked exceptionally hard to work and gain the trust of this community and know this!!! I will back this community 100% and not leave here until it's fixed."[412]

Soper was in Burns during most of the occupation.[413] On January 28, the day after the occupation leadership was arrested, he called for thousands to come to Burns, force the FBI out of Oregon, and make county officials resign.[414] He attended the rally at the Harney County Courthouse on February 1, 2016—and again was met by a counter-rally that Rural Organizing Project supported.[415] Spring 2016 found Soper to be mostly preoccupied with support work for his fellow activists who have been imprisoned following the Malheur occupation.

Prineville also became a hot spot for Hard Right speakers. In 2016, these have included CSPOA's Richard Mack on March 25; Harney County Committee of Safety member Chris Briels on March 26; COWS's Gavin Seim on April 5; and the Central Oregon Patriots-sponsored April 18 talk by lawyer and author KrisAnne Hall.[416] Rallies and memorials were held for LaVoy Finicum on several occasions.[417] In nearby Bend, a rally in March attracted 100 people, and about another 40 attended a June demonstration waving signs saying "No more land grabs" and "Justice for LaVoy."[418]

These Prineville and Redmond Patriot movement groups—some of which are more secretive than others, and some of which are armed—have caused unease in the community. "I think there's more going on here than we know about," one Crook County resident interviewed for this report said. Others said it was not unusual for activists from this general milieu to attend public political meetings with firearms, creating a more generalized climate of fear and intimidation.

One particularly disturbing incident involved a November 2014 talk on the Second Amendment, by Pancho Savery, a professor at Portland's Reed College. Attendees apparently came to the Crook County Public Library armed and constantly disrupted the talk, although Savery himself was not threatened.[419]

F. JOSEPHINE COUNTY

JOSEPHINE COUNTY is one of the hotspots for Hard Right activism in the Oregon, and was home to the state's most important Oath Keeper chapter, led

by Joseph Rice. As we will see, former Sheriff Gil Gilbertson was a prominent constitutional sheriff before his ouster. It also is home to the Sugar Pine Mine, a recent flashpoint for the movement.

In April 2015, armed activists traveled to Sugar Pine Mine in support of mine owners whose longstanding disagreement with the Bureau of Land Management had come to a head. Two miners on an unpatented claim were reported to have created a large enough operation for the Bureau to require a plan of operations to ensure environmental protections were being met. The agency sent a letter telling them to stop mining, file a plan of operations, or file an appeal. Instead the miners called in Patriot movement activists, who established three armed camps.[420] (Some of those present had been at the Bundy Ranch, and would later be at the Malheur occupation.) The Bureau of Land Management backed off, and after a couple of months the camps disbanded. After this event, a collection of Oregon and Idaho groups formed the Pacific Patriots Network.

Oath Keepers of Josephine County / Citizen Patriots of Josephine County

BOTH THE OATH KEEPERS CHAPTER and its coordinator Joseph Rice made their names during the Sugar Pine Mine armed camps in the spring of 2015. The chapter helped launch the Pacific Patriots Network, and was active in Burns, Oregon during the Malheur Refuge occupation. Its founding in late 2012 predates the wave of chapters founded after the Bundy Ranch standoff in 2014 in Nevada—where some of its members traveled to stand guard.[421]

However, in late August 2016, just as this report was getting ready to be printed, the Oath Keepers of Josephine County announced they had broken from the national group, and renamed themselves the Citizen Patriots of Josephine County.[422] (Because of the late nature of this, the group will be referred to in this report by its former name.)

The national Oath Keepers' Media Director Jason Van Tatenhove once called the Josephine County chapter the "flagship" for the organization.[423] And the national organization groomed it; national founder Stewart Rhodes held weekly phone meetings with the chapter even before Sugar Pine Mine, and traveled to Oregon multiple times. Josephine Oath Keeper Mary Emerick said Rhodes's goal was "to turn this group into a model nationally."[424] Rice claims to have 1,200 members in his chapter, although you rarely see more than a few dozen at any public event.[425]

The Josephine group has a very strong inside/outside approach: establishing armed camps when local miners were in conflict with federal authorities, while simultaneously cultivating ties with elected officials. A Grants Pass city councilor and former county sheriff are members, and a county commissioner has appeared at their public events. But the Josephine group is distinct in promoting parallel institutions to compete with (or replace dysfunctional) governmental services. Basic services like 911 and fire are lacking in rural Josephine. There is widespread fear that a catastrophe could leave the area isolated; while right-wing apocalyptic conspiracy theories are undoubtedly fueling this fear, so is legitimate scientific evidence that a massive earthquake in the Cascadia Subduction Zone could be imminent.[426]

The Josephine Oath Keepers are taking advantage of all these factors by engaging in community service actions to win grassroots support, getting government support for their preparedness plans, and building their own armed organizations—which include community watches to replace absent law enforcement, and "Community Preparedness Teams" for emergency situations. The Oath Keepers are also connected to Sovereign Citizen-style groups to set up their own judicial systems, which can "indict" officials, as well as be used in a post-collapse setting. They are doing these things with the collusion of local elected officials, and sometimes with the specific support of the county sheriff.

Relations with Elected Officials

THE JOSEPHINE OATH KEEPERS has studiously cultivated good relationships with local elected officials. Then-sheriff Gil Gilbertson was one of three people who came to their first meeting, and he is

Bj Soper ▸ **Pacific Patriots Network**
5 hrs

Dear US Congress, Supreme Court justices, and Mr. president.....

It is blaringly clear that you no longer represent the will of the people of this Country. Through lies, deceit, and corruption you have achieved your goal to fundamentally change our direction. Congratulations on the destruction of the greatest Country the planet has ever seen.

Understand this..... Congress has made itself irrelevant through its own actions. The supreme court justices over step their bounds and rewrite laws and the president acts as if there is no recourse to his decisions. All of this is not within the bounds of the Constitution and therefor unlawful and quite frankly, unacknowledged. We choose to disregard your claims to power, ruling status and law making ability. We The People are the sole leaders of this Country and we say NOT ONE MORE INCH...

For whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

It is our right and duty to say you are done. We will not stand to see your destructive, self enabling practices ruin the wondrous experiment that is the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

So, for myself and I am sure for the many that will join in hear me loud and clear.....

I DECLARE myself and my family sovereign individuals living upon sovereign land. This is my god given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I will not agree to any CONTRACT written, spoken or assumed where any treaty, administrative rule, law, resolution, or ordinance contradict the Constitution of the United Sates of America. This constitution is considered the supreme law of the land and anything to the contrary is not considered law and hereby null, void and ignored....

Above: BJ Soper (COCG) declares himself a Sovereign Citizen. Below: At first, he had angrily denounced the Malheur occupation.

Chris Robertson
So what do we do...
10 minutes ago • Like • Reply

Bj Soper
I DO NOT SUPPORT THIS FOOLISH ACTION. You have put myself and my family at risk and destroyed what was a wonderful rally. You have set this movement back decades by taking a stupid step..
4 minutes ago • Like • Reply

Bj Soper Absolutely disgusting. I worked...

currently a member. Grants Pass City Councilor Roy Lindsay is the group's treasurer, while County Commissioner Keith Heck has ridden in the Memorial Day weekend Boatnik Parade with the group.[427] State Representative Carl Wilson from District 3 (which represents part of the county, including Grants Pass) has received praise from the group.

However, relations with local officials are not always cordial. In May 2014, the Oath Keepers were accused of disrupting a county commission meeting.[428] And in June 2014, they forwarded a "petition for redress of grievance" and demanded that Commissioner Cherryl Walker resign.[429] After the Malheur occupation, Rice ran in the crowded race for the Position 2 County Commission seat, against a number of other Hard Right figures, including a commissioner who had appeared in public with his group before. Rice came in fifth, with 2,332 votes (9.45 percent).[430]

Community Service Approach

THE OATH KEEPERS of Josephine County takes pains to portray itself as something like a veteran's group engaged in community service, instead of a paramilitary—more Elks Club than militia. Rice volunteered at Hidden Valley High School, in the Applegate Valley outside of Grants Pass, talking with students as part of a school-sponsored lunch program.[431] He also attempted to require parental permission for students to borrow Marjane Satrapi's graphic novel *Persepolis* from the school library.[432] Regarding the community service work and building a bottom-up political movement, Rice has said:

> We really advocate development of community. Work within your community, protect it—because if everything goes down the tubes, or whatever may happen, that's where you live, that's where your family is, that's where you can have the greatest impact. And we're always focused at trying to change from the top-down, the outrage—we need to start from the bottom-up, we need to start on the street we live in, then the town we live in, then the county we live in, and that's how we enact real, lasting change.[433]

Rice has also said:

> We're very service-based, everybody tends to report—oh those are the guys who are militia, they go to guns—80 percent of what the Oath Keepers of Josephine County do is public service. We have painted the Josephine County fairgrounds, we have cleaned out horse stalls, we have maintained buildings, we've done structural repairs, we have a ramps program—that every month we build a ramp at no cost to a disabled veteran, senior citizen, handicapped. We do a veteran's outreach, we've built a handicapped playground, we do trash pickup, we just do a variety of things. But, as we saw with the Sugar Pine Mine, when the community needs us, we'll also stand in harm's way, protecting that individual Constitutional right from governmental encroachment and overreach.[434]

Post-Sugar Pine Mine

On May 23, 2015, part of Memorial Day weekend, the Patriot movement took a kind of victory lap by being part Boatnik Parade in Grants Pass. Participants included the Josephine County Oath Keepers, national founder Stewart Rhodes, the Central Oregon Constitutional Guard, the Southern Oregon Constitutional Guard, and the Sugar Pine owners.[435]

In July 2015, the Josephine Oath Keepers announced they would be part of the "Protect the Protectors" plan to guard military recruiting centers, and that they had spoken to Grants Pass police chief Bill Landis about this.[436] In August, they became involved in the opposition to removing the Fielder Dam from private land to protect salmon, and Rice approached the county commission regarding the issue. In the fall, the group became involved in the planning for the march in Burns in support of the Hammonds. Rice was at the January 2, 2016 march in Burns, spoke at the large meeting afterward, and spoke at the January 8 Committee of Safety town hall.[437] He was at the Malheur refuge twice, but was in Burns for a number of days during the occupation.[438]

Community Watches & Preparedness Fairs

In pursuit of these goals, the Josephine Oath Keepers were able to gain a high level of collaboration with the county sheriff's department, especially under Gil Gilbertson. At a preparedness fair it organized in Grants Pass in September 2014, national founder Stewart Rhodes spoke alongside Gilbertson, and a number local government groups tabled, including the county sheriff's department. The flyer for event contains the logos of both the sheriff's department and the local Oath Keepers, giving the public perception that it was co-sponsored by both.[439]

The Oath Keepers also have supported the various Josephine community watches, including the Cave Junction Neighborhood Watch which hosted a disturbing meeting on December 15, 2014 that reveals the extent of collaboration between the Josephine County government and potential vigilante action. Outgoing Sheriff Gilbertson and incoming Sheriff Dave Daniel presided over the local Oath Keepers's announcement that it was forming Community Watch of Josephine County as a 501(c)3. By presiding, the sheriffs created the impression that the new group was being officially sanctioned by local law enforcement. [440] Gilbertson also was said to be part of the new group, although it does not seem to have gotten off the ground. [441] Also in attendance were local Oath Keeper Joseph Rice, a local Fire Chief, and ninety people total who, according to the minutes, mostly spoke about emergency preparedness.

Most concerning was the talk by the meeting's organizer, National Liberty Alliance activist Guenter Ambron. He said the meeting was to be a presentation on a newly formed fake grand jury in Oregon. The meeting announcement said these faux-juries could indict standing officials, while the meeting's minutes stressed the juries' potential role in a post-collapse situation where the judiciary had broken down.[442] At the event, Ambron:

> gave a 6 minute introductory talk on the recently registered 'Unified Josephine County Common

Public · Hosted by Guenter Ambron

Monday, December 15, 2014 at 5 PM in PST
More than a year ago

Wild River Brewing & Pizza co. "Pizza Deli"
249 N Redwood Hwy, Cave Junction, Oregon 97523
Show Map

Details

Neighborhood Watch is hosting a "COMMUNITY MEETING" in Cave Junction. Sheriff Gil Gilbertson and Sheriff (elected) Dave Daniel will be our Main Guests to talk about the Sheriff's Department, campaigns to blanket the County with Neighborhood Watch groups, FIRE and emergency preparedness, leadership training, and more. Also Joining the Panel will be Dennis Hoke - IVFD Chief, and Joseph Rice - JoCo Oath Keepers. There will also be a a presentation on the newly formed Oregon Unified Common Law Grand Jury. A direct action people's Lawful entity, under the US constitution, administering indictments to corruption by government officials, the corporate and private sector. A people's answer to Ferguson, it's lack of accountability. It's time for real justice.

We will have a celebration, thanking sheriff Gilbertson for his service and welcoming in Dave Daniel. Desertluck... Music too. 4:30 - 5:30pm Dinner & Music / 5:30 - 8pm Presentations - Discussion - Celebration

A Neighborhood Watch meeting in Cave Junction, Oregon featured the outgoing and incoming Josephine County sheriffs. There was also a presentation of fake courts, which claimed to be "Lawful" entities that could indict public officials and business owners.

> Law Grand Jury', and the formation, of these "citizen organized" Unified Grand Juries established in 3133 counties and in 50 states. This Grand Jury system is also factored in with the drafted "County District Structure". During an emergency it can investigate and aid in advise on lawful intervention upon unlawful activities.[443]

"Common law grand juries" are vigilante courts, typically set up to indict standing officials. In this case, it was promoted for use in an emergency situation.[444] Ambron is now one of two Oregon contact points for the National Liberty Alliance Committees of Safety, a shadow government structure. (See National Liberty Alliance box, p. 63.)

When contacted in July 2016 about the meeting, standing Sheriff Daniel said that these self-proclaimed court have no legal standing, cannot act as a replacement for existing legal mechanisms—even in an emergency situation—and have "Zero authority of the Sheriff's Office ever. Should such a thing come into place or interfere, they will be arrested appropriately and according to law."[445] Joseph Rice, for his part, denied setting up dual power structures in the county, saying that these groups were additions to existing structures—not replacements for them.[446]

Miners, Masters, and Media

THERE ARE NUMEROUS OTHER Hard Right groups in Josephine. The owners of the Sugar Pine Mine, Rick Barclay and George Backes, called in armed Patriot movement activists to establish armed camps in April 2015. The mine is in the Galice Mining District, near Merlin, outside of Grants Pass in Josephine County. Barclay is also the CEO of the Galice Mining District, and he came to Burns to protest during the Malheur occupation.[447] The Galice Mining District itself has a history of filing legal paperwork filled with markings that denote that the officers of the district are Sovereign Citizens.[448] The South West Oregon Mining Association and Jefferson Mining District also have ties to Hard Right politics, and the latter also promotes the Hard Right reading of "coordination."[449]

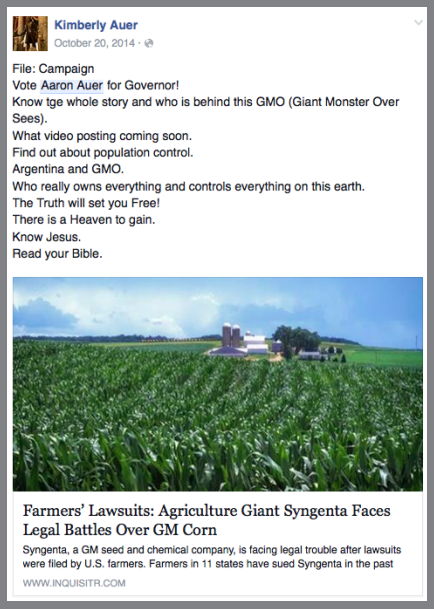
News With Views is an important Hard Right website; its publisher, Paul Walter, has ties to Roy Masters.[450] The site promotes many right-wing conspiracy theories, including conspiracy theories that are either thinly disguised antisemitism (or are derived from antisemitic conspiracy theories) regarding international banking cartels, "Cultural Marxism," and the New World Order.[451] Nonetheless, in Josephine County this is no barrier for standing public officials to publish on the site. Former Sheriff Gil Gilbertson published several articles, and the site endorsed him in his failed 2014 reelection bid.[452] Current Josephine County Legal Counsel Wally Hicks has published four articles on the site.[453] (Note that neither Gilbertson's nor Hicks's articles reflect these kinds of conspiratorial views.) Paul Walter himself ran in

RIGHT WOOS LEFT

Sometimes Patriot movement groups reach out to progressive activists in an attempt to recruit them to their cause. As you would expect, they typically downplay their reactionary social views and stress the more libertarian parts of their ideology. This is what Political Research Associates calls the "sucker punch."[609] Various right-wing populists reach out to progressives with rhetoric that seems to match their beliefs. But once they are drawn in, the real agenda of the Patriot movement comes into play: dismantling progressive social gains and reestablishing conservative racial, gender, and sexual hierarchies—as well creating unrestrained capitalism and greenlighting the destruction of the environment.

The Oath Keepers have been particularly keen on reaching out to progressives. They went to several Occupy Wall Street events, including in Oregon.[610] In the state, the Oath Keepers worked hand-in-glove with the group PANDA (People Against the National Defense Authorization Act)—who were able in turn to work with Occupy Wall Street and other progressive groups. Many progressives were disturbed by the National Defense Authorization Act, originally passed in 2011; according to the American Civil Liberties Union, it "contains a sweeping worldwide indefinite detention provision."[611]

PANDA received support from some progressives during their successful campaign to get several Oregon counties to pass resolutions against National Defense Authorization Act; according to the Oath Keepers, these included Lane, Klamath, Josephine, Douglas, and Coos counties.[612] Yet in the familiar bait-and-switch, after Patriot activists established armed encampments at the Sugar Pine Mine at the invitation of its owners, one PANDA leader denounced Rural Organizing Project and defended both the Patriot movement in general and militia organizing specifically.



Top: There are a number of issues which interest both progressives and Hard Right activists, including opposition to Monsanto. Bottom: Aaron Auer, gubernatorial candidate of the theocratic Constitution Party of Oregon, opposes GMOs.

The Patriot movement's interests overlap with a few other issues usually associated with progressives: They oppose intrusive government surveillance; the Oath Keepers have even praised Edward Snowden.[613] The Patriot movement often supports alternative energy sources and energy independence—positions which are consistent with its xenophobic nationalism. It is also opposed to eminent domain, used by the energy companies while building the fracking pipelines, as a violation of private property rights. Other popular sites of crossover include opposition to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and GMOs (genetically modified organisms).

There is widespread anti-vaccine sentiment in the Patriot movement. There is also a strong emphasis on the home canning, rainwater collection, and other subsistence activities. On the Right, this is part of the survivalist/prepper movement, and on the Left, crosses over with the interests in D.I.Y. (do-it-yourself) culture and radical environmentalism.

The Patriot movement has spoken out of both sides of its mouth about Ferguson and Black Lives Matter. (See box on p. 35.) You hear some argue the conspiracy that Obama is stirring up racial tensions so martial law can be declared, or ludicrously claim that Black Lives Matter protestors are treated with leniency compared to the Malheur occupiers.

On the other hand, a Black member of the Malheur occupation, Brandon Dowd, hoped to recruit Black Lives Matter activists. "I would encourage more Black people to come here to get educated," he said. "They could learn a lot being here and talking to these constitutional lawyers."[614] One speaker at a Portland rally for the Malheur arrestees called on Black Lives Matters protestors to join them.[615] And at the Cave Junction neighborhood watch meeting Sovereign Citizen-style fake courts were promoted as, "A people's answer to Ferguson."[616] (See Josephine County section.) The person heading up the fake courts seems to be quite socially liberal in his views—as are a number of Sovereign Citizens.

And despite its origins in open White supremacy, today the Sovereign Citizen movement has a large number of Black members, as well as an increasing number of Latinos and even Native Americans. Gavin Long, the veteran who shot six Baton Rouge police officers in July 2016, killing three of them, embraced membership in the group Empire Washita de Dugdahmoundyah, which is influenced by Sovereign Citizen ideas. According to JJ MacNab, an expert on Sovereign Citizens, this ideology is most common among African-Americans in east coast cities such as Philadelphia and Washington, DC, and in the South—particularly Florida, Tennessee, and around New Orleans.

Lastly, one Marxist group rallied to the Malheur occupiers' side during the Malheur occupation. The Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyist sect, has called to: "Free Dwight and Steven Hammond! No to another Waco! Drop the charges against Ammon Bundy and others who occupied the Malheur reserve!"[617]

the May 2016 primary for County Commission; in a crowded race he came in ninth, receiving 1,274 votes (5.16 percent).[454]

Josephine also is also home to the *Bad County* website, run by Dale Matthews, which makes videos of practically every open county meeting. Matthews also ran for County Commission in the May 2016 primary; he came in eighth out of ten candidates with 1,741 votes (7.05 percent).[455] The *US~Observer*, which started in the 1990s as the militia movement paper the *Oregon Observer*, is still run today by Edward Snook.[456] The We're for A Constitutional Government PAC funds Hard Right candidates in local elections.[457] The John Birch Society has a Grant Pass chapter, which sponsors candidate forums.[458] And the contact information for four of the five officers of the Constitution Party of Oregon is in Grants Pass, including Chair Jack Alan Brown, Jr.[459]

Continuing Coordination

IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, the coordination process has been brought up numerous times in the Josephine County Commission. They have invoked it in ways which have included the regularly accepted interpretation of the concept (where local governments advise federal agencies), as well as the Hard Right version (which seeks to give county government's the upper hand in land use decisions)—sometimes, apparently, at the same time.

In 2010, coordination was already being discussed by Josephine County Commissioners; notes show that they were reading a document, influenced by Hard Right coordination proponent Fred Kelly Grant, from a citizen's group in neighboring Jackson County.[460] In July 2011, Grant himself was brought to Josephine County by then-Commission Chair Sandi Cassanelli to give two talks: one for county sheriffs, and one for the public.[461] Immediately afterward, the county commission pursued coordination, and in August, then-Sheriff Gil Gilbertson also invoked coordination—an unusual move for a sheriff's department.[462] However, in September 2011, the county's legal counsel, Steve Rich, expressed doubts to Cassanelli about Grant's claims of legal successes with the tactic.[463]

In fall 2013, local right-wing activist Jack Swift started pushing the idea that Josephine County should sue because its coordination requests had been ignored.[464] Wally Hicks ran for Josephine County legal council in 2014 on a platform that included promoting coordination; once elected, he followed through on this. He consulted on coordination guides both from federal agencies, as well the American Stewards of Liberty.[465] In March 2015, the county sent letters to the Bureau of Land Management and U.S. Forest Service, and friendly relations were established with the latter.[466] In August, county officials were still complaining that the Bureau of Land Management was refusing to coordinate with them.[467] And during the May 2016 primary, two Hard Right candidates for county commission seats promoted coordination: Joseph Rice and Ronald A. Smith.[468] Rice believes in the Hard Right version of coordination—but Wally Hicks does not.[469]

It appears that, although the Josephine County Commission's path to coordination was influenced by the Hard Right version, it currently pursues its legal rights to meetings with federal agencies in an appropriate way.

Former Josephine County Sheriff Gil Gilbertson

GIL GILBERTSON was Josephine County sheriff from 2007 to 2014, but his two terms have cast a long shadow on the state's Patriot movement. During this time, the county fell into a deep budget crisis; the sheriff's department was unable to respond to all 911 calls and had to release inmates from jail. Gilbertson took the opportunity to travel around the West as a star on the right-wing sheriffs' circuit, helping form one right-wing sheriffs' association while also serving as an officer on another.

Immediately after his election in 2007, Gilbertson was already writing for *News With Views*, a local Hard Right website that features thinly-veiled antisemitic material and other wild

conspiracy theories.[470] But Gilbertson says it was a conflict between local miners and the Forest Service that drove him into Patriot movement politics starting in 2009.[471] He started writing letters to the Forest Service, asking seemingly legitimate questions about obligations to enforce federal agency regulations, but also making claims such as, "The sheriff is the highest law enforcement official for that county. My understanding is that there is no other authority that supersedes the sheriff's office for that county."[472]

Shortly after coordination proponent Fred Kelly Grant visited Josephine in July 2011, Sheriff Gilbertson wrote the Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service, saying he had to authority to keep roads open, claiming miners had been harassed, and claiming that his office had equal rights as federal agencies via the coordination process.[473] In November 2011 he published a paper called "Unraveling Federal Jurisdiction within a State," outlining his legal beliefs, which followed Patriot movement arguments about the limited authority of federal agencies.[474]

In January 2012, Gilbertson (accompanied by Sheriff Palmer) met with U.S. Attorney S. Amanda Marshall in Portland. Later that month, Marshall sent Gilbertson a letter, which is worth quoting at length as it eloquently displays the differences between the federal judiciary and constitutional sheriffs:

> In your capacity as the Josephine County Sheriff, you have publicly disavowed the federal government's authority to regulate public lands. You have incorrectly stated in your public comments and writings that federal agency regulations are not valid because only Congress can make laws and Congress cannot give federal agencies the ability to write rules and regulations and enforce them as if they were law. As sheriff, you also claim that Forest Service officers have no law enforcement authority on public lands and their existence violates the 10th Amendment. We discussed these issues with you at the January 12, 2012 Sheriff's Association meeting and provided you with additional legal authorities showing that your position is incorrect.
>
> …it appears that you have also stated that unpatented mining claims are private property not subject to federal regulation, and that federal officers may be arrested if they trespass onto these claims.
>
> …you do the miners a disservice by promoting, under the color of *the office of Josephine County Sheriff*, a clearly erroneous interpretation of *federal* law. **As a result, miners are becoming increasingly confrontational with federal officers, citing your erroneous legal advice. Your continued misguided crusade will only increase the safety risks to our federal officers and members of the public who want shared access to public lands.**[475] [emphasis in bold added]

Her letter eerily prefigured the later armed camps established at Sugar Pine Mine and, eventually, the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.

On January 30, 2012, Gilbertson spoke at the first CSPOA conference.[476] Before the conference, he was listed as a member of the CSPOA Board of Directors, and from 2012 to August 2015 he was on the group's Council of Sheriffs, Peace Officers and Public Officials.[477] *High Country News* also reported that Gilbertson was one of three people who came to the first Josephine County Oath Keepers' meeting in Grants Pass in late 2012.[478]

The collapse of federal funding had a crushing effect on the Josephine County sheriff's department. On May 3, 2012, a safety levy—designed to replace the lost revenue—failed. Afterward, Gilbertson said, "We went from a $12 million budget to a $5.2 million budget… We reduced our workforce from, I think we had 98 down to 34, so 65 percent of our personnel were laid off." Unable to afford to house them, dozens of inmates were released, and the county cut back to one deputy on patrol. Some residents stopped showing up for court dates, feeling that repercussions were unlikely. Emergency calls to 911 were still answered, but in many cases no deputies were available to respond. One article recounted the details of a woman who was raped after she called 911; no officers were available to respond. In

the next two years, at least four armed community watches were established in the region.[479]

In the middle of this crisis, Gilbertson's attention was focused on his newfound role as a celebrity in the world of radical right-wing sheriffs. He attended a couple California sheriffs' forums hosted by Support Rural America, and hosted his own gathering in Grants Pass in September 2012. Out of this came a new organization, the National Constitutional Sheriff's Association, of which Gilbertson was a board member.[480] (However, the group apparently folded after their August 2013 national convention was canceled due to lack of interest.)[481] In January 2013, Gilbertson also sent a CSPOA-inspired letter to Vice President Biden.[482]

In May 2013, another county safety levy failed, leaving Gilbertson's office $645,000 short of the amount required to operate at its already reduced capacity.[483] With only one officer to patrol the county, in April 2014 Gilbertson considered recruiting volunteers to collect evidence at crime scenes.[484]

In May 2014 another tax levy, which would have allowed the sheriff's department to hire more patrol deputies, failed as well. Up for re-election that November, Gilbertson continued to spend his time cavorting with Hard Right groups. In Grants Pass in June 2014—in conjunction with The Liberators, a Douglas County-based group with politics similar to the Patriot movement—Gilbertson cohosted an event called "The Solution Revolution" that featured land transfer advocate Ken Ivory.[485]

In November 2014, Gilbertson lost his election to Dave Daniel, 18,282 to 14,385 (56 to 44 percent).[486] Along with vowing to be part of the Oath Keepers' Community Watch of Josephine County after his term ended, he also remained or became a member of the Oath Keepers, the Pacific Patriots Network, and the CSPOA.[487] During the Sugar Pine Mine incident, he expressed his support for the miners. One of his former employees, Mary Emerick, was the local Oath Keepers' press contact during this time.[488] When residents, concerned about the sudden influx of paramilitaries, held a press conference, Oath Keeper Joseph Rice disrupted it—while Gilbertson told media, "If I were still Sheriff, I would be right where the Oath Keepers are."[489]

Although Gilbertson has kept a lower profile since then, his signature appears on the December 11, 2015, "Redress of Grievance" that Patriot movement activists and groups—including the Bundy family and the Oath Keepers—were distributing in support of the Hammond family before the Malheur occupation.[490]

In April 2016, Gilbertson reappeared, asking that the Josephine County clerk's office record his "Marshal of the Continental uNited States of American Oath of Office" [sic]. This made-up title is part of his affiliation with a new Sovereign Citizen-style group, the Continental Court System of the united States, which includes a number of fake judges who also played roles in the Malheur occupation.[491] (See box on group on p. 63) In April and June July 2016, Gilbertson appeared at Cave Junction Neighborhood Watch meetings organized by Guenter Ambron. At one, the agenda included "sending a representative" to a new Committee of Safety.[492] Apparently, any tension between the National Liberty Alliance and Continental Court System of the united States is not stopping Gilbertson and Ambron from working together.

APPENDIX
MIXED RESPONSE OF PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK & NATIONAL OATH KEEPERS TO THE MALHEUR OCCUPATION

THE NATIONAL OATH KEEPERS' RESPONSE

THE NATIONAL OATH KEEPERS had a different relationship to the Malheur occupation than the Josephine County chapter did. The national had signed the December 11, 2015 "Redress of Grievance," and promoted it on their website, while praising Ammon Bundy.[618]

This memorialization combines the logo of the Three Percenters, the brand of LaVoy Finicum's ranch, and the coordinates of the remote area where he was killed.

At this point, it seems that Ammon Bundy, the national Oath Keepers, and the Pacific Patriots Network were all working together without major conflict. However, differences emerged, and by December 31, 2015 national President Stewart Rhodes made it clear that the Oath Keepers were not going to go to Burns, because the Hammond family had not asked for their help.[619] (A haggard Ammon Bundy replied with a video on January 1, 2016, begging people to come.)[620]

One video, apparently from a member of the national Oath Keepers organization, implied that members who helped organize the march under the Oath Keepers's Banner would be expelled. The man in it said, "there will be repercussions" for making a national callout without the green light from the national leadership. "If you wanna use our name, and you are not an Oath Keeper, bad things are coming your way." He added that "individual state leadership" had gone "rogue."[621]

The national Oath Keepers were unhappy with the takeover, and the day after it began, they republished Three Percenter founder Mike Vanderboegh's article calling the occupiers "Provocateurs, Sociopaths And Idiots."[622] However, the national group acted in tandem with their Josephine County local during the rest of the occupation. The Pacific Patriots Network's January 3, 2016 press release appeared on the national's website—albeit a couple days later.[623] On January 5, the national released the first of a number of claims of insider information about military deployments in the area, and also called on the occupiers to evacuate all women and children from the refuge. They also warned, in Vanderboegh's words, that there would be "No Free Wacos"—threatening the federal government to "Treat this with kid gloves or risk a civil war."[624] (The Waco tragedy had been a catalyst for the 1990s militia movement, whose members had proclaimed that if militias had been in place, they could have prevented the tragedy by attacking the federal agents.)

Rhodes tried to insert himself as a dealmaker on January 6, penning an open letter to Ammon Bundy, asking him "to submit yourself to the authority of the Committee of Safety and the people of Harney County at large, and let them know, in no uncertain terms, that they are now

in charge, and you *will* comply with whatever they decide must be done, whether you agree with it or not." Ammon wasn't having it.[625] The national Oath Keepers had been publicly backing the new Committee of Safety for several days, and posted a live feed of the Committee's January 8 meeting. Rhodes says, "This is exactly what needs to be done in every county in the West—the people coming together to take the bull by the horns and stand together with THEM in charge."[626] National Oath Keepers Media Director Jason Van Tatenhove spoke during the public section of the meeting, showing that the national leadership was already on the ground in Burns at that early date.[627] On January 9, the Pacific Patriots Network (including Rice) held a press conference at the refuge; it was interrupted by a clearly annoyed LaVoy Finicum, who asked them to put their rifles away for image reasons. Tatenhove filmed the event; later, Oath Keepers National Operations NCO Joseph Santoro also came to Burns.[628]

By January 12, the national Oath Keepers began a more vigorous defense of the armed occupation; Rhodes says it was "essentially a civil disobedience sit-in like the left has been doing for decades.... People need to get over it and chill out."[629] They then started pushing the line that the Hammonds were being driven off their land as part of the supposed Agenda 21 conspiracy.[630] On January 15, the Oath Keepers national made an appeal to U.S. military and FBI agents, repeating the "No Free Wacos" slogan, and threatening civil war again.[631]

On January 19, the national made the first call up of members to come to Harney County—something that tellingly hadn't happened until then. Members were told to engage in a campaign to win the "hearts and minds" of local residents, taking actions like shoveling snow from sidewalks.[632] On January 24, the Oath Keepers national issued the first of several "Situation Reports"—military-style analyses of what the government was doing in the area.[633] On the same day LaVoy Finicum was also on a radio show with Rhodes, who advised Finicum to leave the refuge and seek the protection of a county sheriff. Finicum was killed two days later en route to a meeting in Grant County attended by its constitutional sheriff, Glenn Palmer.[634]

It should be noted that the Oath Keepers came under heavy criticism from other Patriot movement factions for their initial denunciation of, and then later lackluster support for, the occupation.[635]

THE PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK'S RESPONSE

PACIFIC PATRIOTS NETWORK also signed the December 11, 2015 "Redress of Grievance" document.[636] Members organized the January 2, 2016 march in Burns in support of the Hammonds, and several spoke at the march. They had also met with Harney County community members before the January 2, 2016 march, to calm their fears of violence. "We are not coming into your town to shoot it up," Brandon Curtiss said. "We won't fire anything unless we're fired upon."[637]

After Ammon Bundy and fewer than a dozen others broke out of the march and took over the refuge headquarters, the Pacific Patriots Network-led march continued on to the Harney County Fairgrounds in Burns, where most of the group's leadership was present and expressed their opposition to the occupation. Brandon Curtiss went so far as to call Ammon Bundy, Jon Ritzheimer, Ryan Payne, and Blaine Cooper "bad apples."[638]

However, the Pacific Patriots Network position on the occupation evolved quickly, and they attempted to insert themselves between the occupiers and law enforcement authorities. A January 3, 2016 press release said they "in no way condone nor support" the occupation, nor had they "planned or advocated for any form of armed uprising." But the next day, a new press release suddenly described the occupation as "no different than a sit in protest at a college."[639]

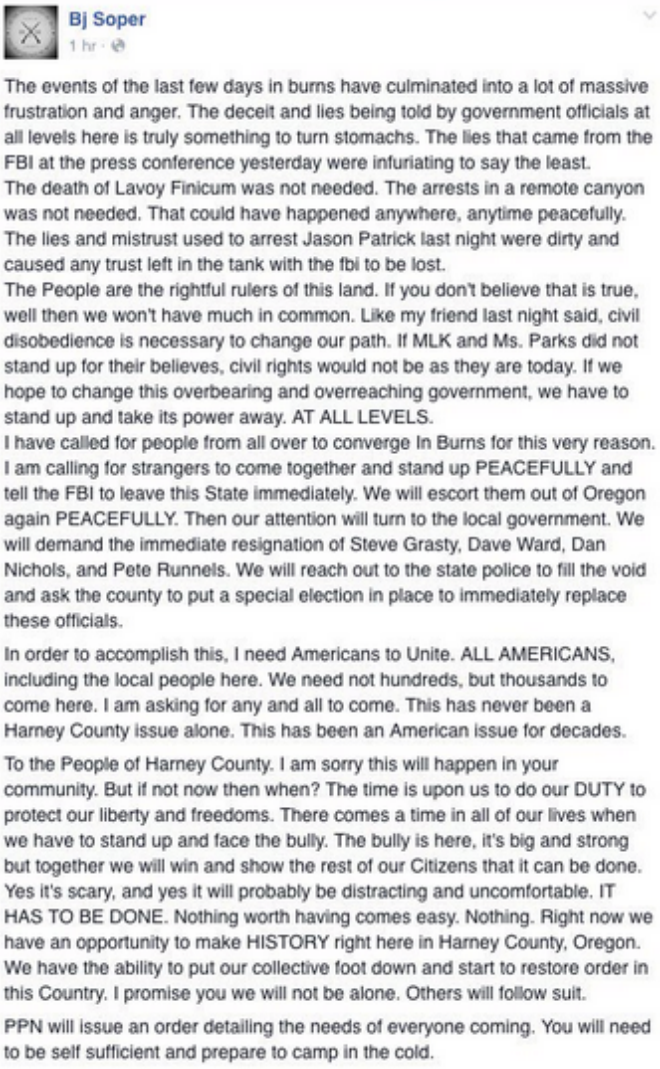
By January 7, they issued a "Call to Action," asking that members come to Burns "to establish a safety perimeter of protection for the occupiers so as to prevent a Waco-style situation from unfolding during this peaceful occupation."[640] Pacific

Patriots Network leaders, including Joseph Rice, Brandon Rapolla, and Brandon Curtiss spoke the Harney County Committee of Safety's town hall meeting in Burns on January 8.[641]

The Pacific Patriots Network leaders showed up on January 9, and held a press conference at the refuge, which LaVoy Finicum interrupted to tell them to put their long guns away.[642] Then they drove into Burns and deployed their armed members on the block around the county courthouse, where they met with Sheriff Ward and delivered their "Articles of Resolution"—a document which suggested a series of actions to be taken by both sides to end the conflict.[643] (Neither party accepted it.) The Pacific Patriots Network then went to the airport, where the FBI was stationed, and—while armed—met with some agents; this was trumpeted by the Oath Keepers as a "Historic 'militia' moment."[644]

On January 20, they called on Governor Brown to send a mediator in, but denounced her the next day when, instead, she called on federal authorities to "immediately" end the occupation.[645] After the arrests and shooting of Finicum on January 26, the Pacific Patriots Network initially held off responding, saying "No mobilization of any kind is to take place until every piece of speculation and hearsay have been verified or dismissed."[646] But by January 28, Pacific Patriots Network leader BJ Soper was calling for "thousands" of people to come to Burns to "peacefully" force the FBI out of Oregon and force several Harney County leaders to resign.[647] The Pacific Patriots Network issued a "call to action" the next day, with slightly watered down demands. They called for the Oregon State Police to detain the FBI agents involved in the Finicum shooting, and for the FBI to leave Harney County (as well as for the same county officials to resign).[648]

February 1, 2016 saw dueling rallies at the Harney County Courthouse. The Pacific Patriots Network held one, largely consisting of out of towners and drawing 150 people. A counter-rally, organized with support from Rural Organizing Project, was attended almost entirely by locals; with 350 people, they outnumbered the Patriot movement



Bj Soper
1 hr

The events of the last few days in burns have culminated into a lot of massive frustration and anger. The deceit and lies being told by government officials at all levels here is truly something to turn stomachs. The lies that came from the FBI at the press conference yesterday were infuriating to say the least.
The death of Lavoy Finicum was not needed. The arrests in a remote canyon was not needed. That could have happened anywhere, anytime peacefully. The lies and mistrust used to arrest Jason Patrick last night were dirty and caused any trust left in the tank with the fbi to be lost.
The People are the rightful rulers of this land. If you don't believe that is true, well then we won't have much in common. Like my friend last night said, civil disobedience is necessary to change our path. If MLK and Ms. Parks did not stand up for their believes, civil rights would not be as they are today. If we hope to change this overbearing and overreaching government, we have to stand up and take its power away. AT ALL LEVELS.
I have called for people from all over to converge In Burns for this very reason. I am calling for strangers to come together and stand up PEACEFULLY and tell the FBI to leave this State immediately. We will escort them out of Oregon again PEACEFULLY. Then our attention will turn to the local government. We will demand the immediate resignation of Steve Grasty, Dave Ward, Dan Nichols, and Pete Runnels. We will reach out to the state police to fill the void and ask the county to put a special election in place to immediately replace these officials.

In order to accomplish this, I need Americans to Unite. ALL AMERICANS, including the local people here. We need not hundreds, but thousands to come here. I am asking for any and all to come. This has never been a Harney County issue alone. This has been an American issue for decades.

To the People of Harney County. I am sorry this will happen in your community. But if not now then when? The time is upon us to do our DUTY to protect our liberty and freedoms. There comes a time in all of our lives when we have to stand up and face the bully. The bully is here, it's big and strong but together we will win and show the rest of our Citizens that it can be done. Yes it's scary, and yes it will probably be distracting and uncomfortable. IT HAS TO BE DONE. Nothing worth having comes easy. Nothing. Right now we have an opportunity to make HISTORY right here in Harney County, Oregon. We have the ability to put our collective foot down and start to restore order in this Country. I promise you we will not be alone. Others will follow suit.

PPN will issue an order detailing the needs of everyone coming. You will need to be self sufficient and prepare to camp in the cold.

Jenna Lynn
February 3 at 1:31pm

We heard people wanted to go to the court house today for 11:30/1200. No locals attended. We went. Can someone contact me about this please. Either about a time change or date change. Thank you. Enjoy your day

Top: BJ Soper (COCG) calls for supporters to converge in Harney County to drive out the FBI and force the resignation of elected officials opposed to his movement. Bottom: Patriot movement rally in Burns, Oregon during the Malheur occupation fails to attract any local residents.

crowd substantially. Then daily rallies in Burns called by Patriot movement groups were canceled due to lack of participation.[649]

Last, it should be noted that media connected to these two groups was important in publicizing the Malheur occupiers' version of events. Internet broadcaster Pete Santilli, who is close to the Oath Keepers, was a key figure in livestreaming events from the refuge. *The Voice of Idaho's* Michael Emry, who said he was an "embedded" reporter with the 3% of Idaho (a Pacific Patriots Network member group), also provided coverage from a Patriot movement perspective.[650] Both were arrested after the occupation.

Patriot movement live broadcaster Pete Santilli (left) at the Malheur occupation in January 2016, sporting the insignia of the 3% of Idaho. He is arguing with Kierán Suckling (right), executive director of the Center for Biological Diversity, who was part of counter-protests at the refuge. (Photo: Peter Walker)

SECTION II

WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND OUR HISTORY!

The Roots of Rural Oregon's Economic & Political Crisis

by Daniel HoSang and Steven Beda

ALL OF THE ECONOMIC and political transformations shaping rural Oregon come into striking view in Josephine County, tucked in the southwest corner of the state. If you are a motorist driving from California through the Siskiyou Pass toward Eugene, Portland, or Seattle, you will travel through Grants Pass, the county seat. Josephine County encompasses an area larger than Rhode Island but with only 8 percent of the population. You might stop in Grants Pass for to fill your tank or your stomach. Perhaps you will take a detour to the new money wineries rising in the nearby Applegate Valley, planted with Merlot, Cabernet Sauvignon, and Syrah. Spend the night and you might have time to take a whitewater rafting or fishing trip from one of the tour operators along the Rogue River; tourism lifts parts of the Josephine economy for a few months each summer.

But visitors to Josephine County should know what every one of its 84,745 residents understand with certainty. If you find yourself in an emergency, especially outside of Grants Pass, you may be on your own. Emergency 911 service across much of the county is spotty at best. In 2013, years of budget cuts left the sheriff's office with a single deputy to respond to general calls across the entire county; a few years earlier there were 22. Patrol service takes place for only eight hours a day, five days a week; those are the only times the Sheriff's Office can respond to life-threatening emergencies. (State police may provide a limited response after hours if this involves "eliminating the current threat.") In 2012, the Sheriff's Office offered residents the grim advice that "if you know you are in a potentially volatile situation (for example, you are a protected person in a restraining order that you believe the respondent may violate), you may want to consider relocating to an area with adequate law enforcement services."

Passing through Grants Pass with a view of the Siskiyou Mountains in the background (Photo: Shawn Records)

In Cave Junction, a city of 1,900 residents 45 minutes west of Grants Pass, three people were killed within a single week in late 2013. There were few resources for any sustained investigation after the sheriff closed its major crimes unit. The Records Division was also closed; residents who wish to report crimes can go online and log the information themselves, but only for the purposes of record-keeping. No investigation or response will necessarily follow. As reported burglaries and theft cases increased by more than 70 percent, applications in the county for concealed handguns rose 50 percent.[651]

In May 2007, all four public libraries in Josephine County were closed due to lack of funding. They eventually reopened as privately-run public libraries, relying primarily on a volunteer staff and contributions from members.[652] Since then, several mental health and transportation programs were privatized or eliminated. Both unionized and nonunion county workers have seen pay and benefits reduced; cost of living increases were eliminated. The county's operating budget was cut another 9 percent in July 2015, eliminating millions from public works and public transit projects, and requiring even deeper cuts to the Public Safety Fund.

Even more than their neighbors in other economically-strapped counties, voters have cast ballots against raising the funds needed to run their government. At the same time, the federal government's subsidies to their piece of the rural United States grow ever smaller. But the story about the economic challenges facing Josephine and other rural counties in Oregon is not a simple one.

THE IRONIES OF GOVERNMENTAL ABANDONMENT

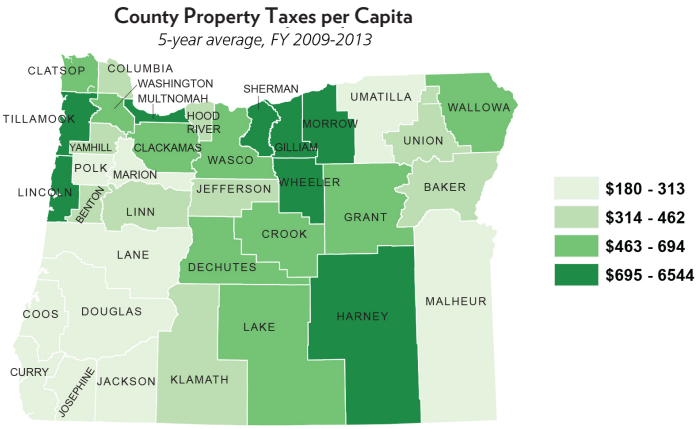
THE CONSERVATIVE ZEALOT Grover Norquist famously explained, "I don't want to abolish government. I simply want to reduce it to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub." As much as any place in the country, in Josephine County, the government thrashes about in the tub, appearing to gasp its last. The only revenue source keeping the Sheriff's Office open now is the federal government.

For much of the twentieth century, a portion of revenues of timber harvests funded public services. From 1957 to 1980, these revenues were so abundant that the county charged no property taxes at all; from 1981 to 1994, it charged a mere 30 cents per $1,000 of assessed value.

At the end of the 1990s, as environmental protections expanded and timber sales declined, the federal government formulated a safety net payment program that provided direct payments to timber-dependent counties for schools and other public services. Josephine County once had 22 timber mills. The last closed this year. In 2007–2008, Josephine County received $14 million annually from the federal government in such payments. But those payments have declined steadily since then, and continually face the prospect of being eliminated altogether. In 2014–2015, the county received only $2 million in such funding. Still one-third of the county budget comes from an array of federal subsidies.[653]

The same trends have taken place in every timber-dependent county in Oregon. Large rural counties with few inhabitants, high levels of unemployment and underemployment, and a diminished tax base cannot meet basic funding needs, especially for public safety. And while the Oregon delegation tries to lobby the U.S. Congress to restore federal funding, rural residents have been much more ambivalent about their perceived dependence on the government. In the early 1990s, Oregon voters passed a series of ballot measures to amend the state Constitution to severely limit local property tax rates. Josephine County today has the lowest permanent property tax rate of any county in the state at 59 cents per $1,000 of assessed value. (The average among all 36 counties is $2.59.) Since November 2004, Josephine County voters have considered 10 property tax levies to restore modest funding to public safety or libraries. Only one levy passed: a May 2014 measure to fund an animal shelter.[654]

Here then is the great paradox of governmental abandonment for rural Oregon in a moment of deep economic crisis. As rural counties and communities become more dependent than ever on the federal and state governments redistributing income their way, organized antigovernment currents only sharpen and multiply. Budget cuts that sharply reduced 911 and emergency response services have created the space for Patriot movement groups to offer "emergency preparedness training" to vulnerable communities. The extraction economies that shaped the legacy of these regions no longer demand the labor of those living there, and the government does little to address their precarious situation. Meanwhile real estate values and many employment sectors in the Portland metropolitan area prosper. The depth and impact of the economic shifts and governmental neglect in places like Josephine County is unprecedented. To read the rise of paramilitary activity at this moment as solely an expression of White nationalism risks missing the ways that changing political



Local property tax revenue divided by county population; average from 2009 to 2013. (Data source: sos.oregon.gov/audits/Documents/2014-19.pdf)

and economic conditions during the last 30 years provide such fertile ground for paramilitary and other Patriot movement organizing.

THE DECLINE OF THE RURAL ECONOMY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

TO UNDERSTAND how so many parts of the rural economy in southern and eastern Oregon have grown so desperate, we need to look at the economic and political origins of the timber industry in particular and of extraction economies in general. Many militia and Patriot movement groups claim to advocate for a "return" to local control of the land and its resources, suggesting that if federal regulation of rural lands were relinquished, rural communities could reassume a control over their livelihoods and lands that was taken from them.

But these claims rely on a false understanding of the region's political and economic history, and an equally flawed account of the current conditions facing many rural communities today. As we will see:

1. They ignore the long dispossession of Native and tribal claims to the land, as well as the contemporary interests and experiences of Native Americans today.
2. These stories obscure the historic role of industrialists, land speculators, and other business owners in extracting profits from rural communities and workers and making them more vulnerable to economic crisis.
3. They grossly misunderstand the history of movements for "local control" and rural people's willingness and desire to work with the state.

IGNORING THE CONTINUED DISPOSSESSION OF NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

MILITIA GROUPS FREQUENTLY demand that the federal government should "return" publicly regulated lands to "the people" so that local communities can have autonomy over their political and economic future. However, as leaders of the Burns Paiute Tribe pointed out during the occupation of the Malheur Refuge, all of the land seized by the occupiers was originally part of the 1.5 million acres constituting the tribe's ancestral homelands and appropriated by the U.S. government in 1879. Today, the tribe has only 760 acres on the outskirts of Burns. Tribal members waited more than 90 years to receive a paltry $743 each as compensation for the theft of their land by the government. As Burns Paiute tribal chair Charlotte Rodrique explained her tribe's view at a press conference after the occupation began, "This is still our land, no matter who is living on it."[655]

The land taken from the Burns Paiute exemplifies the dominant story across Oregon, in which hundreds of indigenous communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were forcibly displaced by the U.S. Army and groups of White settlers. In the 1950s, the federal policy of "termination" stripped 62 Oregon tribes and bands of control and sovereignty of their land. In the decades that followed, individual tribes and bands struggled continuously to have at least some of their land claims restored. Today, Oregon's nine federally recognized tribes have authority over some 875,000 acres (about 1.4 percent of the total land in the state) and there are more than 100,000 Oregonians who self-identify as Native American or Alaska Native. Just as importantly, Oregon's tribal governments and leadership maintain complex and dynamic relationships to this land and the related ecosystems, relationships central to their economic, spiritual, and cultural survival. Paramilitary and other Patriot movement leaders who claim they want a return of the land to "the people" while making no acknowledgement of these historic ties and relationships are essentially repeating one of the foundational actions colonial genocide: the disappearance and erasure of Native peoples.[656]

Similarly, demands for return of the land to "the people" often ignore the long-standing labor, lives, and contributions of a diverse group of Latino/a Oregonians who played a vital role in building the rural economy in the last 75 years. Since World War II, families and workers with origins in Mexico have labored in the forests, vineyards, orchards, and fields of across the Willamette Valley and through

Much of the public land in and near the Malheur Refuge was originally part of the Burns Paiute ancestral homelands. (Photo: Shawn Records)

much of eastern Oregon. They have struggled in the face of low wages, discrimination, and harsh working conditions to build thriving communities and families. Yet their experiences, ideas, and voices are often ignored in discussions about the economic crisis and abandonment of rural Oregon, a dynamic which must change for these areas to thrive to build a sustainable and lasting future.

EXTRACTING PROFITS FROM RURAL COMMUNITIES

WHILE LOGGING and other extraction industries have been central to the rural Oregon economy for much of the twentieth century, it is important to remember the outsize role that elite business interests played in organizing the structure of this economy and profiting from its gains. Here's a bit of history.

> Early White settlement in the Pacific Northwest largely revolved around agriculture. There certainly were fish in the rivers, timber in the hills, and ore in the ground, and some amount of commercial fishing, mining, and logging did take place. But because the trees were so large and the terrain was so difficult to work, resource extraction was, throughout the late-nineteenth century, a very small part of the region's economy.[657]
>
> This began to change in the late nineteenth century. The arrival of the transcontinental railroads throughout the 1870s and 1880s linked the Pacific Northwest to markets in the east and created new demands for the region's natural resources.[658] And while mining for gold and other minerals formed an important part of the state's pioneer culture and was an early driver of White migration to Oregon, mining did not shape the political and economic character of the state in the long-term. For example, in 1903, the peak production year for gold mining in Oregon, the state accounted for less than two percent of the total gold production in the entire western United States.[659]

HISTORY OF A COUNTY

JOSEPHINE COUNTY is today more than 92 percent White. The area's original inhabitants include the Tututni, part of a diverse people whose settlement spanned the Rogue River as it descends from the Cascade Mountains en route to the Pacific. Gold first drew White miners into the region to take the land (backed by the munitions of the U.S. Army's First Pacific Division) but it was the dense forests of Douglas Fir and Western Hemlock that came to dominate the economic, political, and social trajectory of the region. In the late nineteenth century, after the Army and White settlers seized the land from indigenous people, the federal government dispersed large parcels through the Oregon and California Railroad Company intended for White homesteaders.

But in the early twentieth century, a massive fraud by the railroad companies was uncovered; railroads had distributed less than 25 percent of the properties to individuals. In the wake of the national public outcry that followed, the federal government reasserted its control over the land through the newly created U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.

Today 62 percent of the land in Josephine County is managed by an agency of the federal government. It is one of nine Oregon counties in which more than half of the land is under federal control; 53 percent of the land in the entire state is federally managed.

Instead it was industrialists who bought up Pacific Northwest forestland in the early twentieth century that would come to shape much of the state's rural political economy. These industrialists did not initially intend to harvest the timber they'd purchased or even hold onto their lands for very long. Rather, these were speculative ventures and investors hoped to buy land cheap, wait for the price of standing timber to rise, and then sell off their lands at a healthy profit, all without having to do anything more than sign their names to a few bills of sale. However, a series of fires in the early twentieth century sent insurance prices skyrocketing. States and local municipalities also started raising taxes on standing timber. Soon, the carrying costs of holding timberland became too steep to guarantee profits and so speculators began harvesting timber as a way to recoup their investments. Since the overwhelming majority of these speculators had no interest in long-term landownership but were rather in the Pacific Northwest to make a quick profit, they wanted to harvest the timber as quickly as possible and then release their interest in the land. Sawmills sprang up nearly overnight. Forests were transformed into giant outdoor factories. This was, to use the popular phrase, the era of "cut out and get out."

In 1899, Washington and Oregon combined produced less than a billion board feet of lumber. By 1920, Washington and Oregon's annual cut averaged close to 20 billion board feet.[660] The rapid pace of cutting led to wholesale destruction of forests. Between 1909 and 1929, Pacific Northwest lumbermen cut through more than 15,258 square miles of forestland, or, the approximate area of Delaware, New Jersey, and Connecticut combined.[661]

The near complete stripping of the forests would have long-term consequences and it critically shaped the conflicts to come in the 1970s and 1980s. When new constituent groups, such as the modern environmental movement, began to argue for more forest protection in the 1960s and 1970s, the near complete loss of forests in the earlier part of the century meant that there wasn't enough forest left to support production *and* preservation.

To draw workers to these remote areas in the early years, employers built entirely new communities. Some were company towns, owned entirely by the bosses. Others were so-called "independent towns"—technically independent municipalities but controlled by employers.[662] Whether they were company-owned or "independent," these towns had one thing in common: they were built entirely around lumber production. These were not diverse economies with multiple ways to make a living. Every working-age man in town worked

in lumber and the few that didn't worked in an industry or job sector that supported the lumber industry. In other words, these communities tied their residents' fates and fortunes to the fates and fortunes of the timber economy.

When times were good no one seemed to notice. But the collapse of the lumber economy in the late part of the twentieth century left people in these communities with few options. An early sign of trouble for Northwest timber workers came in the early 1970s, when sawmills undertook an aggressive plan of automation. Advanced saws run by computers, automatic lumber sorters, new machines for moving logs through the mills, and the combination of many stages of the milling process dramatically reduced the need for workers. While these innovations arguably made the industry much safer, reducing the devastating levels of workplace injury and fatality associated with timber harvesting and processing, automation also effectively rendered thousands of workers dispensable. Problems in the sawmills were also driven by raw log exports to Asian countries. By the late 1960s, Japanese importers found that it was easier to build sawmills in their own country and import unmilled ("raw") logs than pay for milled lumber that bore the high cost of union labor. By the early 1970s, as much as 16 percent of Pacific Northwest lumber was being shipped abroad, raw. This meant more layoffs for sawmill workers.[663]

Manipulation of commodity markets throughout the 1970s also sent lumber prices falling, encouraging many companies to abandon logging altogether and instead make money on real estate development and sales. For most of the twentieth century, the value of timberland had been in its trees. But when Northwest real estate prices started their rapid rise in the 1970s—and as timber prices drastically fell—landowners could make more money developing their land and selling it off. Loggers also suffered when many logging companies left the region altogether in the 1970s, relocating to union-free labor markets in the South.[664]

At the same time the Northwest's rural working class was being pinched by automation, capital flight, and structural changes to the economy, it was also facing pressures from a new environmental movement. For much of the twentieth century, rural working-class communities saw themselves as stewards and caretakers of the land. Accordingly, loggers and environmental groups worked together closely to protect wilderness areas *and* maintain a healthy and sustainable resource extraction economy. But in the 1960s the environmental movement became more closely associated with the urban affluent who were less willing to partner with the rural working class and who increasingly saw *all* logging as inherently destructive. The most famous episode, of course, was the conflict over the endangered spotted owl. In 1990, environmental groups successfully won a series of court cases that resulted in the owl being listed under the Endangered Species Act, which meant that no logging would be allowed within 10,000 acres of a spotted owl nest. In the early 1990s, environmental groups sought additional protections for the owl, which culminated with President Bill Clinton's Northwest Forest Plan, which closed off an additional 6 million acres of public land from timber harvest.

All these factors drove down employment dramatically throughout the 1970s. In 1978, the timber industry employed more than 136,000 people. By 1982 that number had fallen to less than 95,000. The massive layoffs throughout the 1970s led to rapid declines in unionization.[665]

By 1981, federal deficits due to the Vietnam War combined with two major oil boycotts to unleash a terrible round of inflation in the United States. To bring inflation under control, interest rates were raised to over 18 percent, making mortgages more expensive. Home building crashed, along with the entire timber industry. When the economy recovered by the mid 1980's, the timber industry was crippled. In the new Reagan era of deregulation and easy credit, the timber industry was attacked by corporate raiders who sold off whole production lines, broke the unions, cut wages, and eliminated job security, while saddling the companies they bought with debt.

Faced with the collapse of the logging industry and unable to court new industries, several rural

communities began to transition to a tourist economy in the 1980s and 1990s, simply because few other options existed. Yet, for many rural communities, tourism represents what historian Hal Rothman has called a "devil's bargain."[666] Jobs in tourism are rarely unionized, as jobs in the timber industry had been, pay extremely poorly, and come without the occupational prestige. Moreover, as large condos, resorts, and vacation homes spring up, rural people are priced out of their homes. For instance, in the former logging and agricultural town of Mount Hood, Oregon, which began aggressively courting tourists in the late 1980s, affluent Portlanders and Californians have cornered the real estate market. By 2006, the median home price in Mount Hood was $400,000.[667]

The longtime residents in these tourist economies end up losing control of their towns and resources to the affluent newcomers. Indeed, what these communities sold to tourists was the natural beauty of their landscapes. Towns like Bend, Oregon promoted their pristine forests, rivers, and mountains and promised affluent urbanites fun in the wilderness.

In short, the Northwest was changing, from a rural resource extraction economy to an urban industrial and high-tech economy. Throughout the 1980s, as Washington and Oregon's timber economy lost more than 25,000 jobs, the two states as a whole gained more than 600,000 jobs, mostly in Seattle and Portland.[668] The economy, and political power, was shifting to urban areas. The rural resource economy was in free fall. Layoffs were routine and the unemployment rate in some logging towns topped 30 percent.

Corporations and owners who profited from generations of rural labor and resources were not required to reinvest any of their profits into these communities. And they didn't.

If the history of the Northwest's rural working class reveals anything, it's that these are communities that have never been in control of the land on which their lives depend on. They've always been at the whims and wants of businesses running the show. The problems in the rural Northwest are more than a century in the making and solving those problems will entail a host of complex and complicated social and economic policies. But, if any of these policies are going to succeed, in whatever form they may take, we must all shift the way we think about rural people and rural industries. We all use and benefit from the products of rural people. Our homes are built of lumber, our newspapers made of pulp.

THE FANTASY OF RETURN TO "LOCAL CONTROL" & EXTRACTION ECONOMIES

PARAMILITARY AND OTHER Patriot movement groups imply that if the federal government gives the public land it manages to local control, then logging, mining, and other extraction industries would revive and could revitalize rural communities. But these claims are grounded more in nostalgic fantasies. While rural Pacific Northwesterners have long argued for local control of natural resources, for most of the twentieth century this has meant developing partnerships with the state, regulators, and government foresters. For instance, in 1947, loggers sought (but failed to achieve) legislation that would have established community boards—composed of workers, community members, and environmentalists—for overseeing timber harvests and setting responsible harvest quotas to be *enforced* by the state. Or, in 1964, several logging communities supported the Wilderness Act because they believed it would democratize the process of seeking wilderness designations and give working people the ability to more effectively lobby their legislators for expanded forest protections. In other words, for much of the twentieth century, local control for timber-working communities meant creating a working partnership with environmentalists and the state, *not* simply turning control of lands over to rural people.

At the same time, Patriot movement groups overemphasize the role that a renewal of logging could play in the modern economy. Even setting aside the critical issues of protecting the

ecosystem and environmental sustainability, the global timber market, which is affected by complex forces of supply and demand, simply cannot sustain or support a massive increase in logging in Oregon's forests. The county decided not to harvest the timber, however, because the market had fallen so sharply it would not be profitable. In addition, automation and the decline of unionization means that an expansion of this industry will not result in many well-paying jobs.

While market forces and current economic conditions suggest that rural economies can no longer be *entirely* dependent on resource extraction, logging can and should occupy a place in the modern resource economy. New plans should revolve around conservation-based logging, domestic production, clean energy production, and restoring the forests and waterways that everyone depends on, including city people.

There are other historical experiences and lessons that can serve as an inspiration for the health and well-being of rural communities. First, the area has an important tradition of working-class people fighting together for social justice, especially during the middle decades of the twentieth century. The Northwest's rural working class had emerged from the Great Depression with strong unions. Founded in 1937, by the 1950s the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) had grown into the Northwest's largest and most politically powerful union, with well over 100,000 members. Its rival, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, was smaller, representing about 50,000 Northwest timber workers but still among the largest unions in the region. Other unions also represented workers in the timber industry, such as the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers. These unions were premised on an understanding that workers in rural areas did not always have the same interests as corporations and landowners, and that strong organizations of working people were necessary to hold such companies accountable. As the region faces new economic opportunities and challenges, this history holds lessons for workers today. While the industries and economic sectors have certainly changed, the basic underlying insights about power and economic conflict remain the same.[669]

Second, rural America has an important environmentalist history of its own protecting public forests, and this can help guide current debates over balancing extraction, sustainability, and environmental protection. With the near complete stripping of private forestland before the war, logging mostly moved to public land afterward, in particular on U.S. Forest Service lands.

Though the Forest Service had been founded with the noblest intensions—to manage public forests for the greatest good—political pressure placed on the agency by employers and politicians who wanted housing to remain affordable in the postwar period shifted the agency's priorities. It was turned, more or less, into the public management wing of private industry, a bureaucracy that managed forestlands less for the public good and more for private harvest. The Forest Service plays an important role in making public lands accessible in Oregon's rural communities, but the agency has also faced significant criticism over several issues, including its facilitation and management of timber sales and ecological restoration projects.[670]

Both environmentalists and workers worried that this threatened the future of the lumber industry, the economic health of rural communities, and continued access to outdoor recreational opportunities. Together, throughout the 1950s, the two groups partnered to protest Forest Service policy and timber sales, and protect parts of the forest designated as wilderness. Indeed, before the 1960s, loggers and environmentalists were allies who worked in close partnership to preserve and protect the longevity of the forests.[671]

This history invites us to think about the historic role rural communities have played as caretakers of the land. Because their fates and fortunes are tied to the land, many used—and can continue to use—that land wisely and responsibly. Rural people who use the land for their economic livelihood have deep stakes in this battle and so, an important role in it.

SECTION III

ORGANIZING FOR AN OREGON WHERE EVERYONE COUNTS

Tools and Lessons from Rural Organizing Project

When the so-called Patriot movement comes to rural Oregon, we at Rural Organizing Project work with communities on the frontlines to defend our communities' right to self-determination. We support ordinary Oregonians to bring together broad community coalitions to name their communities' real priorities, to organize a base of neighbors who will show up and publicly name their communities' values, and to expose the deeply anti-democratic tactics paramilitaries use to silence the rural Oregonians they claim to speak for.

We have been on the ground during national Patriot movement mobilizations that drew activists from across the country to armed camps and occupations in rural Oregon, terrorizing and ripping apart rural communities to advance a national narrative that helps them fundraise and recruit. We also have witnessed the ways this movement undermines local democracy, which includes creating fake, unelected bodies which claim to have power over the federal government and the right to make decisions on the behalf of the community. This so-called Patriot movement funnels out-of-state money into local elections, supporting candidates for county commission, sheriff, and other local positions, creating a dynamic where candidates and local politicians are more accountable to national Patriot groups than the people and the communities they are supposed to serve.

What we have learned is that when communities organize around their shared values and publicly resist attempts by outside groups to speak for them, paramilitaries lose support and move on.

A few key strategies are:

- **Break isolation and build a group.** Bring people together to share concerns, information, and ideas, including those who are on the fence about taking action.
- **Put small town and rural values front and center.** We do not need outside groups to dictate what we want most for our communities. Clearly naming our priorities and how we want to interact with our neighbors is key. What we value most should be the center of our work and our message.
- **Silence is complicity.** Paramilitaries thrive in communities that remain silent. Without opposition, they claim to speak and act on the behalf of the entire community, and the loudest and most persistent narrative wins. We must speak out and change the story being told to our neighbors.

This section offers the success stories of ordinary Oregonians who decided to organize, as well as practical guides to building a group, holding a meeting, and security, which will all contribute to the hard but critical work of building community and quickly responding to these crises. We hope the bravery and organizing brilliance of the many communities in rural Oregon who have taken action will inspire you and provide a roadmap of how to respond to the Patriot movement in your community.

1 | STORIES FROM THE FIELD

HOW RURAL OREGONIANS ON THE FRONTLINES HAVE SUCCESSFULLY ORGANIZED

A. They are the Oath Keepers, We are the Peace Makers: Josephine County Offers a Different Vision for the Community

In April 2015, the Oath Keepers of Josephine County began a month-long armed encampment at the Sugar Pine Mine in the rural Oregon county, putting out a national call for "patriots" to come with their guns to support gold miners who were in a dispute with the Bureau of Land Management. The Josephine County Oath Keepers claimed that without their help, the federal agency would burn the miners' cabins down. A slew of paramilitaries and other Hard Right groups from across the country began posting Twitter updates and YouTube videos of themselves driving out to Josephine County for another Bundy Ranch-style standoff.

Alarmed Josephine County residents, as well as Rural Organizing Project, began calling neighbors, friends, and community leaders to get their sense of the situation. Some hadn't heard anything about it, while others were so scared of retaliation that they were unwilling to even come to a meeting. Several folks agreed that, at a minimum, they should learn more about who was coming out to Josephine County and get a grasp on the situation. A meeting time was set and they got to work talking to anyone who would answer the phone, researching the background of Oath Keepers inside and outside of Josephine County, and reaching out to Political Research Associates for support. They formed a group, Together for Josephine, that shared information, news, and updates; invited and brought in new people to every meeting; created resources for the community struggling to understand what was going on; and took action that demonstrated that the community opposed the politics of fear and division.

At the time Josephine County was in the middle of a funding crisis, leading to the slow but thorough dismantling and privatization of important parts of the public infrastructure. The libraries had already become privately operated. County and local police forces outside of Grants Pass, the county's largest city, were defunded to the point that they were understaffed, ineffective, and, in some cases, dissolving completely. The Oath Keepers of Josephine County were key players in manufacturing this crisis, providing leadership for the No New Taxes campaigns against public safety levies that would fund the Sheriff's Department. They then argued the lack of public safety infrastructure was an example of government failing the people.

The Oath Keepers' next step was to help create Community Preparedness Teams, which respond to natural and "other" disasters. Superficially, creating any kind of neighborhood response to natural disasters is a great idea. Realistically, these teams really serve as an entry point for concerned residents into Patriot movement activism and ideology.

Initially, the local media coverage of the armed camp at the Sugar Pine Mine parroted the Oath Keepers' talking points, even as the right-wing media maintained a constant call for more armed volunteers to show up. The result was that many locals thought the standoff involved one miner and maybe a handful of folks causing a stink, while in reality Hard Right groups and paramilitaries were being called to action from around the country. The Oath Keepers used the silence from the community as justification of their actions, saying, "Do you hear anyone complaining? We have the community's support."

When the Oath Keepers called a rally outside the Bureau of Land Management's district office in Medford, Josephine County leaders considered different ways to respond. A counter-rally? What

about leafleting neighborhoods? They decided on holding a press conference the day after the rally to ensure that an alternative vision and some critical questions made it into the media.

Over 20 community leaders stood on the steps of the Josephine County Courthouse in front of every newspaper and TV station in the area. Five people spoke: a local business leader, a retired dean of Rogue Community College, a faith leader, a recent transplant to the area, and a long-time resident.

The first speaker started with, "I want to acknowledge that it takes courage to be here today. One thing I think we all agree on is that we should not be afraid or intimidated within our own communities to speak to our neighbors. But that's where we find ourselves today, and that in itself tells you that what's happening here is wrong."

Each speaker took the time to emphasize that there are many, many southern Oregonians working hard to make their communities a better place to live, and that it is a step backward to call for further dismantling of our services when Josephine County is already struggling to stay connected. Each shared their commitment to creating a thriving Josephine County and their vision of the community—a place where folks work together to resolve problems civilly and democratically. The conclusion was clear: let's end this before anyone gets hurt so we can get back to solving our real problems.

Instead of letting the community hold a press conference unimpeded, the Oath Keepers arrived, including the previous sheriff, Gil Gilbertson, who was also a national leader within the Patriot movement-aligned CSPOA. The Oath Keepers interrupted the press conference and then followed the press conference speakers, shoving cell phones in the their faces while recording videos of the interactions, all in full view of the local media.

The speakers left the press conference galvanized. The press saw that the people who claim to defend the Constitution attempted to shut down community members trying to speak by intimidating them and shouting over them. They had described how the Oath Keepers were exploiting a local situation to advance a national agenda to recruit, make a name for themselves, and fundraise. Instead, the speakers had offered an alternative vision for the community. The Patriot movement itself saw that paramilitaries weren't being welcomed into Josephine County as heroes, damaging the Oath Keepers' ability to recruit supporters. Every TV station and local paper ran a story that not only covered the great points made by community members, but also the disruption by the Oath Keepers.

Other people in the community were inspired by their neighbors boldly naming their values and asked how they could help, as well as offered to write letters to the editor and attend the next meetings. Multiple letters to the editor made it into the local papers calling for neighbors to "disagree without being disagreeable," encouraging a quick and peaceful resolution that sends the "patriots" back to their home communities, and rallying neighbors to come together to have a longer conversation about how we can create lasting change together.

Together for Josephine created a signature ad for the local paper that began,

> We are Josephine County residents working to build a prosperous local economy and a safe environment in which to raise our families. We are active community members, including teachers, farmers, business owners, faith leaders and parents who love our children. Some of us have lived in this beautiful county our entire lives, while many of us have settled here after falling in love with it. We may have diverse opinions, backgrounds and experiences, but we are all privileged to call this place home.

It went on to say:

> The events surrounding the Sugar Pine Mine are troubling to us, since it appears that what is in actuality a legal dispute has been construed by some individuals from outside our community as an opportunity to advance their own agenda. Now is not the time for division, fragmentation, or an "every man for himself" attitude, but rather a time for us to come together to create the Josephine County we want and need.

Together for Josephine County

We are Josephine County residents working to build a prosperous local economy and a safe environment in which to raise our families. We are active community members, including teachers, farmers, business owners, faith leaders and parents who love our children. Some of us have lived in this beautiful county our entire lives, while many of us have settled here after falling in love with it. We may have diverse opinions, backgrounds and experiences, but we are all privileged to call this place home.

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We support a vision of a county where

- All can live in safety and without fear or intimidation
- Democracy thrives and those living in the community decide who represent and speak for us
- Problems are resolved peacefully through negotiation and with respect for all parties involved

Please join us in making this vision a reality.

Alan Southwick
Alex Budd
Andy Dalisa
Anita Dalisa
Annette McGee Rasch
Antonio Melendez
Babs Eggleston
Barbara Allen
Barbara Paulson
Becky Randall
Betty Davis
Bob Bath
Bonnie Banks
Buck Newmann
Carol Valentine
Cheryl Bruner
Cheryl Luke
Christine H. Mallette
Constance Palaia
Daniel Dalegowski
Dave Maize
Dave Strahan
David Sligar
Denny Frey
Donna Chickering
Donna Lee Andrews
Donna Lee Reese
Ellile Pulikonda
Emily DiGennavo
Eric Day
Erik Petersen
George Shook
Georgia Applegage
Gina Roberti
Gitta Ziegler
Greg Walter
Gretchen G. Heth
Gwen Sky
Harm Kraai
Harry Abrams
Heather Kahn
Heidi Hansen
Helene Stone
Henry Guerrero
Jack Dwyer
Jack Shipley
Jacob Cannon
Jan Walker
Jerry Reed
Jim Diefenderfer
Jim Woods
Joan Diefenderfer
Joan Zumwalt
John Carsten
John Gardiner
Joleen Melendez
Joyce Abrams
Joyce Loomis
Judy Hoyle
Karen Kjelgaard
Karen Rogers
Kathy Burkey
Kelpie Wilson
Kenny Houck
Kevin Marr
Laura Guerrero
Laurel Samson
Leigh Cimino
Lester Hoyle
Linda Smith
Mae Beth Williams
Malcolm Drake
Marian Kraai
Marilyn Mooshie
Mark G. Zumwalt
Nancy Rogers
Patricia Mersman
Patty Downing
Pattye Ingren
Paul Porner
Penney Shipley
Randall Homan
Redge Heth
Regina Castellon
Rev. B. Alan Little
Rev. Fred Keip
Rev. Margaret Keip
Rhonda Hampton
Rita Day
Robert Loomis
Ronnie Chittum
Roxanne Hunnicutt
Ruth Dailey
Sarah Mclain
Scott Swindells
Sharon Porner
Stacey Williams
Stephen Kirkland
Sue Orris
Suzan Shipley
Teresa Northcross
Terry Crawford
Tom Crawford
Tommi Drake
Tristan Stocker
Trudy Dobson
Valente Ornelas
Velma Woods
Wanda Reed

Paid for by Velma Woods - togetherforjosephine@gmail.com

We support a vision of a county where:

- All can live in safety and without fear or intimidation
- Democracy thrives and those living in the community decide who represent and speak for us
- Problems are resolved peacefully through negotiation and with respect for all parties involved

Please join us in making this vision a reality.

Over 100 people signed onto the signature ad within 24 hours.

Finally, after over a month of armed encampments, threats to Bureau of Land Management employees, and intimidation of community members and local elected officials, the Oath Keepers announced they were "standing down." The Interior Board of Land Appeals issued a stay that prevents the Bureau of Land Management from enforcing its regulations until the process in court is complete, a normal procedure, which the Oath Keepers lauded as a victory. A real victory for all concerned was that there was no loss of life.

KEY LESSONS:

- People are frightened when they are isolated. Reaching out, bringing them into a safe place for discussion and action, and sharing information is empowering and builds community for the long haul.
- The Patriot movement's strategy is to speak for the local community. An organized community group can expose how this is false and change the narrative.
- Proving that locals aren't welcoming the paramilitaries as heroes hurts their ability to recruit and sustain their actions.

B. We Are Our Own Voice: Harney County's Local Organizing & Statewide Solidarity Actions

RURAL OREGON MADE NATIONAL NEWS after militia and Patriot groups from across the country descended on Harney County, which led to

Hundreds gathered in front of the Harney County Courthouse to send the message that militias weren't welcome in their community. (Photo: Peter Walker)

the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. (For more background on the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, see the Introduction to this report.)

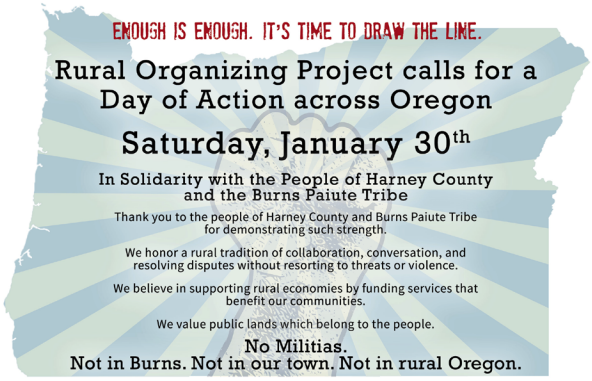
For weeks preceding the occupation, brave Harney County residents repeatedly and publicly asked for militia and other Patriot groups to not invade their community. They held community meetings in areas where paramilitary groups refused to stop mobilizing. Local residents were even more alarmed when they saw Patriot movement activists from out of state show disturbing enthusiasm at the prospect of entering into shootouts with law enforcement. They targeted the Harney County sheriff because he was not a Patriot-aligned "constitutional sheriff," calling for his death, harassing his family, vandalizing his wife's vehicle, and monitoring his and his family's movements. Even when the Hammonds, the Harney County ranchers whom the Patriot movement claimed to be supporting, publicly asked them to respect the community's wishes, they kept on.

On January 2, 2016, a rally in downtown Burns split and an armed group of out-of-state activists, led by members of the Bundy family of Nevada, occupied the headquarters of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.

Harney County residents and community leaders began convening to figure out what to do next, and human dignity leaders from around the state organized in response to the occupation and calls of support coming from their communities.

RESISTANCE FROM THE VERY BEGINNING

WHILE THE MEDIA REPORTED support for the occupation by a handful of vocal locals, hundreds and hundreds of local residents raised their voices in unison: the armed outsiders need to go home NOW and they can take their tactics of threats, violence, and intimidation with them. Community



meetings, led by the local county judge and sheriff, drew hundreds of people, all speaking out and calling upon the occupiers to go home. The Burns Paiute Tribe also spoke out against the occupiers and their goals.

When Rural Organizing Project learned that paramilitaries and other Patriot groups would converge on Bend before traveling down to the Malheur occupation in Harney County, we reached out to local groups who organize for human dignity in the area. They organized a peaceful demonstration of 20 folks who "greeted" the groups and showed through the local media that some rural Oregonians have a different idea about how we solve problems in our state! They held signs reading "Build Community not Encampments," "We

Top: A billboard donated to Harney County features imagery of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. (Photo: Peter Walker). Bottom two: Rallies on the January 30, 2016 Day of Action called by Rural Organizing Project in Burns, Scappose, and Albany. (Photo: Rural Organizing Project)

are a Welcoming Community," and "We Solve Our Problems Peacefully."

STATEWIDE SOLIDARITY ACTIONS

RURAL ORGANIZING PROJECT also mobilized solidarity actions with the Burns community recognizing the very real needs of those who live near the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Supporters across the state were invited to donate to the local cancer support program, Communities Assisting Neighbors with Cancer, and the Burns Paiute Tribe's Tu-Wa-Kii-Nobi after-school "Kid's House" program. Supporters were also asked to submit a letter to the editor or ad in the local paper expressing their community's support for the people of Burns and against the armed occupation.

In a Day of Action called by Rural Organizing Project on January 30, 2016, thousands of people across Oregon took to the streets to tell paramilitaries and other Patriot groups to leave Harney County and to show support for Burns county residents and the Burns Paiute Tribe. Among the communities who stood together to Free Occupied Burns were Roseburg, Prineville, Cottage Grove, Scappoose, Eugene, and Portland, joining Bend, La Grande, and Ashland, all of which held actions during previous weeks.

As one local volunteer with the Communities Assisting Neighbors with Cancer program wrote, "Words cannot express how appreciative our community is for your support. Just the mere mention of your concern brought many of my coworkers, cancer survivors, and community members to tears (and goosebumps)!"

Day of Action in Harney County

ON FEBRUARY 1, 2016, hundreds of Harney County residents closed their businesses, took the day off from work, or showed up during their lunch breaks to stand in front of the Harney County Courthouse to make it clear that the paramilitaries were not welcome, did not represent them, and needed to leave. Three hundred and fifty people chanted a simple message to those occupying

SAMPLE PRESS STATEMENT

STATEMENT FROM THE RURAL ORGANIZING PROJECT ON THE OCCUPATION IN HARNEY COUNTY

JANUARY 7TH, 2016

RURAL ORGANIZING PROJECT condemns the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge as a publicity stunt by militia groups from outside of Oregon to further their own ideologically driven agenda. The activities of the occupiers ignore and disrespect the local community's calls to handle the situation peacefully.

This stunt distracts from the real and pressing economic crisis that the residents of Harney County and much of rural Oregon face. Jobs have disappeared and no new economic engine has replaced the old economies based on natural resources. Public services like schools, libraries, public safety, and public transportation have been defunded for years, leaving communities without basic services. Militia groups in many parts of rural Oregon are using this crisis as an opportunity to grow and recruit new members in the vacuum left from the destabilized infrastructure, positioning themselves as alternatives to public services.

Communities who have been suffering from this economic crisis are now being subjected to an increasing atmosphere of tension and potential violence. We need to focus on meaningful investment in rebuilding public infrastructure so that the residents of Harney County have the support they need on a day-to-day basis. In a county that is so underfunded that many areas do not have reliable access to basic public services, we need real solutions for the community, not distractions.

SAMPLE OP-ED

WHAT HAPPENED IN HARNEY COUNTY SHOULD NOT SURPRISE OREGONIANS

IN 2015, A JOSEPHINE COUNTY domestic violence prevention advocate joined her client in court to seek a restraining order against an abusive ex-husband. The judge granted the order, and then said that he hoped the woman had a gun—because, with only one sheriff's deputy serving the entire county, the government had no means of enforcing the order.

Following the occupation of the Malheur Wildlife Refuge, and now more recently the investigation of Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer, I have heard from countless Oregonians who were surprised at the level of anger and frustration among rural Oregonians. Working in rural communities for the last 25 years, we were not. What happened in Harney County is not an isolated event, nor is it even the first such standoff to happen here within the last year. Militias and so-called patriot groups have grown in power in rural communities in Oregon, largely because of vacuum left from years of woefully underfunded public services and out-of-state groups' successful anti-tax campaigns.

A succession of permanent funding cuts set the stage for Oregon's rural crises. In the 1980s, Reagan eliminated federal funding programs for the working poor. In 1990, anti-tax forces won the passage of Measure 5, which fundamentally changed Oregon's property taxes and public school funding. More recently, rural counties have lost federal timber payments after Congress failed to renew the Secure Rural Schools and Community Self-Determination Act.

While the economies in the Portland Metro, Eugene, and Corvallis are humming again, jobs have not bounced back in rural communities. What this means is in some rural counties 911 calls ring and ring without an answer, because rural counties can't afford a 24-hour dispatcher. And in some communities, militias like the Oath Keepers and the Three Percenters are responding to residents' requests for emergency services. Imagine having to decide between inviting an armed militia into your house in an emergency, or simply going without any help.

Funding public services in rural Oregon is significantly more challenging for officials. In Harney County, for example, the effective tax rate has dropped a whopping 25 percent since 1996, reducing resources that would have been used for fire, public safety, schools, and libraries.

As state leaders assess the damage done by the 41-day occupation of the wildlife refuge and reflect on how to prevent such crises in the future, it's time our leaders create a new covenant for Oregon. Living in our state must come with a shared commitment to fund a baseline level of vital services in every Oregon county. Every Oregonian, regardless of their address, is entitled to 24-hour a day, seven-day a week 911 service with publicly funded law enforcement, public education, and a public library.

No Oregonian should have to fear that a loved one will be followed by a militiaman or worry that their 911 call will go unanswered. It's time we usher in a new Oregon pact and end the outsized influence armed militias hold in our state.

their community: "You are not our voice!" They held their ground as around 150 supporters of the occupation, the vast majority of whom were from out of town, assembled in the street. Carrying signs condemning local county commissioners and the Harney County sheriff, some people with the paramilitaries began harassing, threatening, and intimidating locals, including shouting in their faces and sticking yellow shooting targets on them. Locals stuck close together, holding the courthouse steps, chanting, drinking hot coffee provided by the local coffee shop, and exchanging stories of what the last month had been like for them.

As a result of this big, bold, and loud action that directly confronted and dispelled the armed occupiers' claim that they had local buy-in, paramilitaries and other Patriot groups struggled to keep morale up within their own ranks. The Pacific Patriots Network had called for daily rallies at the courthouse, but after a couple of events that received zero local support, out-of-towners decided to head home.

These actions and the organizing that made these actions possible created the foundation for future local organizing against the Patriot movement around the state.

KEY LESSONS:

- Demonstrations create very clear and visible opposition to the militias, dispelling the fairy tales militia groups tell their supporters. We saw people who were recruited to come in from out of town quickly pack up and leave, frustrated because they were promised they'd be welcomed as heroes by locals.
- Actions and support from around the state breaks isolation and shows the community most impacted that they are not alone.

C. Grant County Makes Its Opposition Visible

On January 26, 2016, more than seventy Grant County residents showed up with signs to protest a meeting organized by so-called Patriot groups featuring Ammon and Ryan Bundy as well as Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer. The meeting was publicly billed as an informational meeting about the Constitution, though it became clear their intention was to set up a "Committee of Safety," a shadow government that they had attempted to form in Harney County before occupying the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. (For more context, see Section 4D, "Grant County.")

Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer's involvement as a proud member of the CSPOA raised alarm that a similar occupation could happen in his county, with his support. Locals were already nervous about the sudden influx of visitors who shared the occupiers' and sheriff's ideals. Several community leaders decided they could not let this meeting go on unchallenged and put out the call for their neighbors to join them in protest. Their goal was to send a message that Grant County wouldn't be "easy" for the Patriot movement to organize, and together they succeeded, making it clear that "Grant County says no to militias!"

As the meeting was about to begin, out of state militiamen tried barring the doors to prevent the protesters from entering the meeting hall—but after an exchange about public meeting laws, the concerned local citizens made their way inside. The protesters silently held their signs up high at the beginning of the meeting as people from Nebraska, Wyoming, Arizona, and Kansas got up to speak multiple times in support of the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, the Bundys, and against the Bureau of Land Management and various other government agencies.

Organizers and attendees of the demonstration were amazed to see how many of their neighbors felt compelled to be there and to speak out against the militia. They reached out to each other in the following days and formed a group later adopting the name Grant County Positive Action (GCPA). They came together to set priorities, including the formation of a team to research and stay on top of what the local Patriot groups are doing. GCPA, with support from Rural Organizing Project, created a leadership team

and systems to communicate with their supporters, as well as an action plan that included going to the county court (their equivalent of a county commission) to pass a resolution condemning the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.

A first priority was to get county officials to make an official statement against the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation and the arrival of armed militia groups in Grant County. In February 2016, within a week of their demonstration, GCPA members traveled to Harney County to participate in their rally on the courthouse steps, which faced 150 armed protesters with various paramilitary groups and their sympathizers. The Patriot movement's affront to Harney County and their elected officials spurred GCPA to pursue a strong statement against the spread of Patriot movement presence into their own communities.

Immediately, GCPA began to attend several county court sessions to relay the intimidation they experienced in Harney County and at the January 26, 2016 meeting, and to ask the commissioners to pass a resolution. The county court drafted and, after three contentious county court sessions, passed the resolution unanimously.

The Patriot movement activists' next move was to run their own candidate to replace a sitting commissioner. This came as a major blow and a wake-up call for the broader community that had not yet been aware of the external forces acting within the county. GCPA had been investing time in the gradually successful process of educating their neighbors about who was operational in local politics. They created a paid for ad to introduce GCPA to county residents, modeled after Together for Josephine's signature ad. They started a letters to the editor campaign in their county newspaper. They also scheduled group members to attend and report back on all public meetings, as well as meetings sponsored by Patriot groups who began bringing national spokespeople to Grant County.

In the midst of these actions, Patriot movement groups filed a recall petition against a county commissioner after campaigning hard for 90 days and gathering over 500 signatures. The targeted commissioner chose to not contest the recall and instead let

Anti-occupation protesters hold signs in the back of room during a town hall meeting at the senior center in John Day. (Photo: East Oregonian)

the voters have a say; if the recall were to be defeated, it would send a clear message to those working so diligently to change the sitting county court.

GCPA decided to play a role in the No Recall campaign. They soon learned they needed to register as a political action committee and established a working relationship with the Oregon Secretary of State Office Election Division in Salem so they could follow the election laws and guidelines. GCPA took a role in the vote count process by training and volunteering members to oversee the count. This provided reassurance and support to the county clerk who felt under attack by Patriot movement petition circulators. Additionally, the Harney County clerk chose to come and help observe as a support to Grant County's clerk. Both of these actions helped to thwart threatening efforts to challenge the vote counting process.

Happily, the recall of the Grant County commissioner was strongly defeated two-to-one. It was a win for democracy and GCPA!

GCPA's impact was fast and profound in the community. In just a few short months, they raised awareness in the community, shared information so their neighbors could also critically analyze what Patriot groups were saying, and informed the media about why they opposed the Patriot movement coming to town. They successfully shifted the public conversation! Their efforts made it

impossible for anyone to think that Grant County unanimously supported their local sheriff and the Patriot movement. What once appeared to national Patriot movement leadership as an "easy" county to take over now became known for its significant, organized resistance to their plans.

Some of their activities included:

- Consistent presence at county court and city council meetings, public events, and meetings where they publicly condemned the tactics of the Patriot movement.
- Presenting evidence to county court of the threatening and intimidating letters that residents from Harney County received, revealing the undemocratic and abusive activity that comes to town along with the Patriot movement.
- Dozens of letters to the editor.
- Tracking Patriot group activities in Grant County and sharing information via an email list that served as a clearinghouse for news, updates on local organizing, and action alerts.
- A public declaration of group values through an ad in the local paper.

Key lessons:

- Immediate public opposition to Patriot movement activity sends a message that the community will not be easy to organize or to speak for.
- Using multiple strategies, including engaging the county court and organizing public demonstrations, builds support and credibility across the community.
- Forming a group creates structure for many people to help make short and long-term plans, actions, and campaigns successful.

D. Building Community in Baker County: An Electoral Strategy

In February 2016, supporters of the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge called for a "Rural Lives Matter" rally in Halfway, a small community of just a few hundred residents in Baker County. The rally was organized to memorialize armed occupier Robert "LaVoy" Finicum, who had been killed by police at a roadblock while traveling from the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge to Grant County for a public meeting. The rally attracted several dozen supporters, many from out of town, who listened to speeches by Baker County Commissioners and a deputy in the sheriff's department who would likely be challenging the current sheriff for his seat.

Community members were shocked to learn of the rally and became afraid they might be the next center of Patriot movement organizing. Inspired by those in neighboring Harney and Grant counties who had taken action, concerned residents held a living room discussion with a dozen folks who shared their concerns to discuss their options. They decided to form the Panhandle Community Alliance.

Panhandle Community Alliance members wrote letters to the editor challenging the ideology of the Patriot movement, and called on community members to support ideas and candidates which brought the community together.

One of the most prominent of the dozens of Patriot-aligned candidates in Oregon's May 2016 primary was Kody Justus, coordinator of the Baker County Oath Keepers, who was running for county commissioner. Panhandle Community Alliance members visited the county election office to learn more about vote spreads during past county commission races and to gather voter registration lists. By studying the numbers of votes cast in previous county commission races, Panhandle Community Alliance would be able to make a calculated guess on how many would be needed to win this election. What they learned is that county commission elections can be decided by several dozen votes, making it doable for their group to engage voters and make a difference the outcome.

Panhandle Community Alliance members explicitly decided not to campaign for a specific candidate, but instead used the meet-and-greets and voter conversations to have deeper conversations about the issues and the candidates. They reached out to their neighbors, holding conversations about the

upcoming election and explaining what was at stake. Meet-and-greets served as a space where neighbors could come together and directly ask the candidates what they stood for, or stood against. Panhandle Community Alliance's friends and allies in neighboring Baker City took on a similar electoral strategy and communicated with several hundred voters.

When the votes came in, Justus, the Oath Keepers' candidate, lost the election by 38 votes. The Panhandle Community Alliance had engaged 45 people in their voter conversations.

KEY LESSONS:

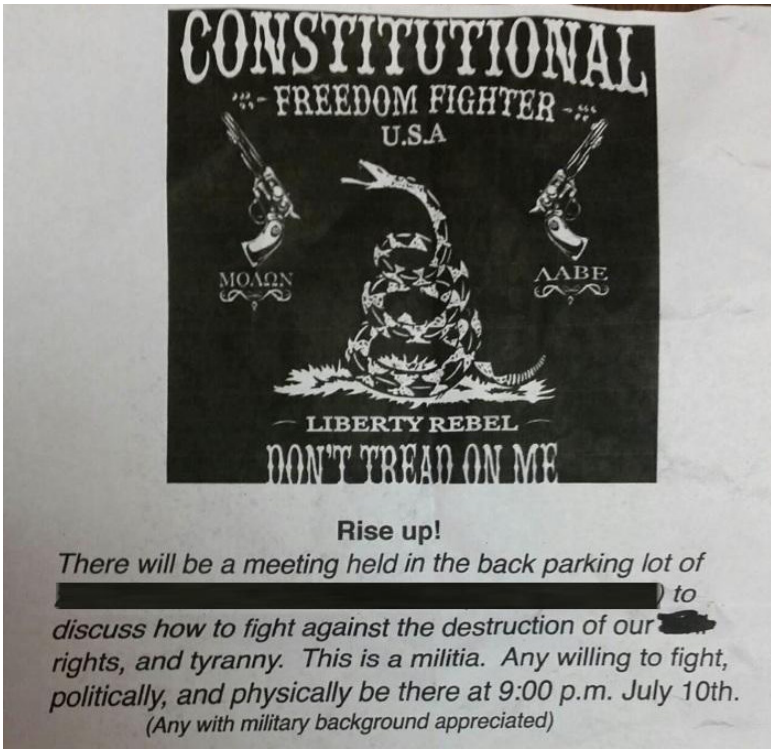
- An electoral strategy to challenge Patriot candidates can be as simple as talking to your neighbors. In small towns and rural communities where a small number of votes can determine the outcome of elections, even just a few conversations can have a huge impact.
- In elections, numbers matter. Use data from previous election cycles and voter lists (both available at your county courthouse) to determine the number of votes you need to win and who to reach out to.

E. Responding to Militia Recruitment in Urban Oregon: Lane County Mobilizes

ONE COMMON MISCONCEPTION about the paramilitaries and broader Patriot movement is that it is a strictly rural phenomenon. In our experience, many of the armed supporters who mobilize from out of state come from urban or suburban areas, and some of the strongest paramilitary organizing is happening in and surrounding Oregon's urban centers. Eugene, Oregon's third largest city, has seen some of the most explicitly violent militia recruiting in the state.

In July 2015, a number of West Eugene residents woke up to flyers slid under their doors, in their mail slots, and on their car windshields.

The flyers announce a meeting, in the parking lot of a nearby church, for "Any willing to fight, politically, and physically" to "discuss how to fight against the destruction of our…rights, and tyranny. This is a militia."



July 2015 flyer in Eugene sought to recruit a new militia group.

Rural Organizing Project worked with the Community Alliance of Lane County (CALC), our local member group, to call neighborhood organizations to learn more details. We spoke to staff at the church who said the militia recruiter had called them to invite them to the meeting in their own parking lot, and the church staff informed the militia recruiter that they had called the police. At the militia's meeting later that week, only two people showed up: a Eugene police officer and someone who wanted to disrupt the gathering.

Meanwhile, we were doing outreach to hold a community response meeting hosted by CALC. We deliberately chose to hold the meeting in a private location where we could ask people to leave if they disrupted it. We sent an email announcement to our area supporters, the city's Office of Human Rights & Neighborhood Involvement, county and city officials, and the area's neighborhood associations. People were shocked and outraged when they saw the flyer, and soon thousands of people

had seen and shared the community meeting information on Facebook.

Threats began to pour in over email. People said that we would be "straightened out" for talking bad about "Patriots." It was clear they intended to scare us into canceling the meeting. We reached out to organizers who had experience doing work to counter neo-Nazi organizing in Oregon in the 1980s and 1990s. They gave us the following advice:

- Notify the police and ask them to have a presence at our meeting.
- Put out an announcement as quickly as possible that explains that threats were received, that we requested a police presence, and make clear that anyone with a weapon will be asked to leave immediately.
- Videotape the meeting so any bad behavior is caught on tape.
- Close down the meeting if it is disrupted or hijacked.

We jumped into action, emailing everyone we could think of about the threats and offering an invitation-only meeting opportunity if they didn't feel comfortable attending. We requested that Veterans for Peace offer security and they agreed, lining up several people with a few hours' notice. The Eugene Police Department offered to have an officer in his vehicle stationed outside of the meeting location.

We set up an hour before the announced meeting time. While the police officer caught up on his paperwork in his car stationed outside, the Veterans for Peace volunteers, wearing their signature shirts, warmly greeted people inside, engaging in conversations with folks they didn't know to learn more about them. Two security volunteers were posted at the door, asking participants to sign in and completely fill out all contact information, including address, email, and phone number, before entering. If anyone seemed nervous or agitated, security had a conversation with them before letting them in. Participants who had heard about the threats appreciated the eye toward security. Several men no one recognized approached the venue with their chests puffed out; they saw security and decided to turn around and leave instead of engaging with us.

The meeting was tense. Despite the best attempts of a few people to derail the conversation, we were able to share what we had learned so far and what we did not know. We came up with a plan to go door-to-door in the impacted neighborhood with flyers that read "Hate Free Zone" and included a hotline number to report discrimination, intimidation, or hate crimes. Many of the community groups in the room decided to also take action, building up stronger networks, intentionally reaching out to churches and other faith leaders, and brainstorming community building events to bring neighbors together.

Over the next two weeks, two teams of six-to-ten people canvassed the neighborhood, knocking on doors in pairs. Going door-to-door served another critical function: to learn more about what people were seeing in the neighborhood more generally as well as details about the militia's flyering.

To create the most visibility and exposure possible, we also called the local news stations and newspapers. The evening news included interviews with residents describing how disturbed they were that an explicitly violent militia was trying to recruit them and clearly naming that those were not their neighborhood's values. The final story told by the media was of a neighborhood building inclusive community instead of accepting the politics of fear of rejection manifesting in a violent militia.

KEY LESSONS:

- The Patriot movement is not just a rural phenomenon.
- Having obvious security at an event can deter opponents from coming in and disrupting it.
- Door-to-door flyering sends a simple and clear message: militia organizing in this neighborhood is not welcome.
- A simple press plan will amplify your message and your strategy.

2 | WHAT TO DO WHEN "PATRIOTS" COME TO TOWN

A. Starting A Group and Planning Your First Meeting

WHY GET A GROUP TOGETHER

IT HAS BEEN OUR EXPERIENCE that when people visibly oppose so-called "Patriots" speaking for their communities, it takes the wind out of the sails of local militia cells, paramilitary actions, and Patriot movement attempts to win elected positions in local government.

The more people publicly engaged, the better for many reasons, including:

1. There is greater safety and security in numbers, especially in small towns where anonymity isn't an option.
2. It directly challenges the notion that community silence is silent support of the militia.
3. Many hands make light work. The most effective way to get multiple people engaged is to form a group.

In moments of great confusion, tension, or stress in the community, it is easy to become scared and turn inward for fear of retaliation. Forming or joining a group has proven to be valuable for folks across Oregon to break isolation, build community, take shared action for their community, and have a team of folks who will have each other's backs in case someone receives a nasty phone call or has a bad interaction at the grocery store.

Many of the groups formed responding to militia activity in their community are started by just a small handful of concerned locals who are collecting information and staying on top of the news. If you're reading this, this probably is you!

Core organizers should quickly look at inviting a larger group (10 to 20 people) to get together to discuss forming a group and the activities you might sponsor.

WHO TO RECRUIT

WE HAVE SEEN POLARIZED and fractured communities come together regardless of political beliefs to organize in this moment. You will find many unexpected allies in this kind of community crisis work, so keep an open mind and offer opportunities to even those you think might not be interested.

Start with your core: Who are folks most closely tracking what's happening? Of the folks you know well, who are upset?

Then build up a list of people who you think would come to a meeting, even if just to learn more about what's happening. Consider folks who have ties to community groups, who are active in political parties, or engage in faith community work.

Here are some community groups whose members you might reach out to:

- Social justice groups
- Granges
- Service groups like Kiwanis and food banks
- Churches and other faith-based groups
- Teachers and school administrators
- Civics groups like the Lions Club and Rotary Club

Watch social media. If there's a Facebook group with people who share your viewpoint, reach out to them privately and ask them to grab coffee. If they seem like a good fit, invite them to your meeting or your group.

INVITATIONS AND REMINDERS

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL WAY to get people to your meeting is to invite them and remind them multiple ways: by phone, by email, and/or by meeting up with them well ahead of time. Even in this internet age, talking with people is still really important.

Multiple contacts are valuable for helping you build relationships, catch up on the latest news, and set the stage for a productive meeting, making sure everyone has a shared understanding of what is happening in your community. It also allows you to identify any potential problems that might arise during the meeting in time to consider how to handle them.

Even if someone commits to showing up, send a friendly reminder email or leave them a quick phone message 24 to 48 hours before the meeting. Even with the best of intentions, it is easy to forget meetings that aren't part of your routine!

WHERE TO HAVE IT

MEETING IN A PRIVATE HOME for your first meetings is ideal for many reasons. It's comfortable, you have complete control over who attends, and if tensions get high then people are likely to stay and work it out rather than risk appearing rude by leaving early.

If a living room isn't an option, libraries, schools, community centers, and restaurants often have community rooms you can use for free or rent cheaply. Choose a room that is quiet and where you can have a private meeting. The best spaces don't have stairs so folks of all abilities can participate.

Make sure you have snacks, coffee, tea, and water available. It helps people feel relaxed and keeps everyone's energy up for a good conversation. It is also helpful to have extra paper and pens to take notes.

Set up the room in a circle or around a table where everyone can see each other. Setting it up like a classroom with chairs facing forward is difficult for having a rich conversation. You want a lively conversation where everyone feels ownership of the plan moving forward.

SIGN-IN SHEET

HAVE A SIGN-IN SHEET on a clipboard with a pen ready to circulate at the meeting. The sign-in sheet should have ample space for people to provide their full name, address, phone number, and email address.

Tip: completely fill out the first line of the sign-in sheet yourself—it sets the example for everyone else to also share their complete contact information.

FACILITATOR

ASK SOMEONE from your group who knows what you hope to accomplish to facilitate the meeting. Their main job is to make sure the conversation stays on topic and that people aren't talking over each other.

SAMPLE AGENDA

THE FIRST MEETING'S GOALS should be to affirm that a group needs to come together to respond, to allow people to get to know one another, and to leave with next steps. First meetings are often a mix of people who have known each other for decades and people who are meeting each other for the first time. Plan an agenda that allows for discussion so people can build relationships and build trust. Come to the meeting with some thought-out ideas around visible actions to offer as next steps. Most productive meetings are no longer than two hours.

- **Opening:** The facilitator should welcome everyone, introduce themself, and take a moment to describe how the meeting came about.
- **Introductions:** Go around the circle stating your name, where you live, and why you came to the meeting.
- **Background:** If you've gotten a chance to talk to everyone ahead of time, you don't need to spend much time sharing what you know about what's happening. If you didn't get that opportunity, offering a few minutes (maximum) of background information to help people get on the same page is helpful!

Offer what you see as the problem and how it affects the community.

Describe a couple of public, visible actions you all might take.

- **Discussion:** Allow for plenty of space for discussion. This is where people decide to commit to helping this group and its actions succeed! Find common ground not just about the need to form a group but to take action through some sort of public event. It is good to have a public event quickly as a way to establish your group as active in the community and build up a base of supporters.

  Tip: don't get sucked into a long discussion about what the group should be or look like—it isn't a discussion many people find interesting. Instead form a committee if some people would like to work on the group structure.
- **Planning:** You're going to take action! What are the pieces that need to happen? Create a timeline, a list of tasks, and the names of people who are committing to taking on those individual tasks. If one or two people are taking on the lion's share of tasks, gently offer to shift assignments so everyone who wants a meaningful role has one. Remember, you want many people invested!
- **Closing:** Reaffirm what you've accomplished in the meeting: forming a group, planning a public action, and assignments. Set the next meeting date and time. Congratulate the group for a productive, successful meeting! Go around the circle answering: What are you taking away from this meeting? Or, what will you be chewing on tomorrow morning from this meeting?

PLACES WHERE PEOPLE GET STUCK

YOU MIGHT ENCOUNTER some pitfalls that could get people stuck during your meeting. Let's be honest, the Patriot movement has a lot of smart people who know how to appeal to just about all of us. There are very few rural Oregonians who feel like their community's infrastructure is meeting everyone's needs, for example. Here are some pitfalls that we have seen totally stump organizers, and some suggestions about how to move forward:

"We should have a 'meaningful dialogue' with the militia."

There are many people who believe that the only path forward is by talking things out. This is true for much of our lives. Unfortunately, a meaningful dialogue isn't effective when confronting militias, White supremacists, and other similar groups. In fact, it lends them credibility. The best approach is to focus the discussion on the idea that violence and intimidation simply are not debatable.

"We should have a positive message."

Of course this is true! Many communities have found great success offering discussion about inclusion, democracy, and coming together to solve problems civilly. This message is most successful when it is used in contrast to what the Patriot movement stands for: the politics of fear, rejection, and isolation. This is a moment where you must bring both your vision of what you want your community to look like and expose what the militia's vision for your community is.

"We don't want to give them attention."

It is true that part of the goal of the Patriot movement is to gain uncritical media attention to better recruit and fundraise. However, we have seen that militias use the silence of the community they are occupying as silent support. For example, in Josephine County in April 2015, when there were more people from east of the Mississippi than west occupying a gold mine on Bureau of Land Management land, the Oath Keepers paraded around as an innocuous veterans' group, citing community silence as support. The media reported the Oath Keepers' talking points verbatim until the community organized a press conference asking the paramilitaries to go home before someone got hurt and to allow the community to solve its problems civilly and democratically. After the press conference,

people came out of the woodwork across the county, writing letters to the editor about how their communities were invaded and occupied by armed forces, and all of the following media coverage was much more critical of their occupation. The ultimate result was that they couldn't recruit people to come out anymore because it was clear that the community was not welcoming them as heroes (See more case studies in part 1 of this section).

"They have free speech rights too."
Yes, and they use them! Many Patriot movement groups have created the perception that their rights are being trampled by anyone who disagrees with them. There is no reason why your group cannot also use your right to free speech to name what you feel like is best for your community.

"There are militias behind every tree!"
People can easily become overwhelmed and see the paramilitaries and their friends as responsible for everything going on in the community. This can be paralyzing. It's important to stay realistic about what you can accomplish. Change requires incremental education and takes time. Make goals you can really achieve. The first step is meeting together to build community and enjoy the regular reality check that brings.

B. Tips for Patriot Watching

Activists from Josephine and Grant Counties who wish to remain anonymous share what they have learned about how to monitor the Patriot movement in counties specifically targeted by the national Patriot movement.

- **Watch for militia buzz-words in your local media.** In Grant County, nearly a month before the Bundy brothers and friends began the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, a local right-wing political activist wrote a letter to the editor suggesting that citizens should be able to defend themselves from enemies by forming a "prepared militia." A red flag went up! They were already being pumped up by the Patriot movement and could not contain their enthusiasm.
- **Watch for community meeting or educational event announcements.** The Patriot movement builds support through educational events about the Constitution, rancher and miner's rights, public lands, and government overreach. These are all "wedge issues" intended to win local support. Look for meeting announcements in your paper, flyers on bulletin boards around town (the library and the post office are two good places to look), and posts on social media.
- **Go to county commission or county court meetings.** Patriot movement activists are good at taking advantage of the public comment section of local government meetings to talk about the movement, government overreach, the Constitution, the Second Amendment, and public lands. Attend meetings and track their attempts to move any resolutions. Notice who is diligently writing notes or videotaping the session—are they producing content for right-wing media? If you are just getting started, go to your county government's website and read the meeting minutes. Many counties put video recordings of meetings up on their websites as well.
- **Pay attention to local issues.** The Patriot movement uses local issues to trigger local, regional, and national action. Consider whether any local struggles have the potential to escalate. Think about your response ahead of time and **pre-empt the narrative** with organized letters to the editor.
- **Any strangers suddenly come to town?** In our sparsely populated counties, strangers stand out. Notice those attending county or city meetings. Michael Emry and Becky Hudson of *The Voice of Idaho* moved into Grant County after reporting on the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation,

catching the attention of locals. This was a clear indication that Grant County was still seen as a viable place to organize by the Patriot movement.

- **Ask your local sheriff some questions.** Knowing whether or not you have a "constitutional sheriff" is important. Do they think they have the authority to interpret the Constitution, for instance? "Interpret" is the key word.
- **Learn the code words signaling the movement is activated in your area:** "Committee of Safety" (shadow governments which seek to take over local government roles), "Committee of Correspondence" (a program to recruit county residents through social media and printed newsletters—look for county community themes, for example: *The Voice of Grant County* and Community Preparedness Team.)
- **Google local political activists to see if they are part of the movement.** Go to their Facebook page. Savvy posters will often have timelines hidden, but many still leave "Friends" open to public viewing. Search their "Friends" for profile photos that include paramilitary logos. See what groups they are part of, and which pages they "like."
- **Take screenshots of announced actions, threats, or bad behavior.** Pay attention to who are frequent or significant commentators on Facebook. Watch for significant numbers of "Friends" from outside your county. Click on them to know where they are coming from—literally (geographically) and figuratively**.** Watch for fake accounts; Patriot activists may use them when they issue threats or feel unsure about whether they are being libelous.
- **Keep folders of your documentation.** Screenshots of paramilitary leaders and sympathizers, related news stories, meeting minutes, etc. should be kept and organized so they are easily accessible.

Rally in Ashland, Oregon in solidarity with the Harney County community, January 2016.

C. Taking on Patriot Movement Talking Points

MILITIAS AND GUN RIGHTS

CLAIM: Committees of Safety are governmental structures with decision-making powers.

REPLY: Committees of Safety do not have any legal authority and do not appear anywhere in either the U.S. or Oregon constitutions. They are Patriot movement formations designed to carry out their political views while mimicking governmental forms to convince potential followers that they have legitimacy and power.

Despite claiming to be "democratically elected," movement groups often appoint or select members of Committees of Safety to provide a local "front" for a national Patriot strategy. These committees take advantage of real frustrations people have with government agencies to make vigilante actions seem respectable. Unlike the justice system, however imperfect it is, there are NO avenues to hold vigilante Committees of Safety accountable to all voters. An accountability process that all can agree on is key to a just democracy.

CLAIM: Self-appointed judges and so-called "common law grand juries" can indict, try, convict, and sentence people, including elected officials, federal employees, and business owners.

REPLY: Like Committees of Safety, "common law grand juries" have no legal standing, having been dreamed up by people who share a common ideology. The real legal system is based on the U.S. and state constitutions, and federal, state, and local statutes passed by elected legislative bodies, with over 200 years of legal precedence. Historically, the legal system has been subject to a lot of abuse and favoritism. "Common law courts" take advantage of the frustrations many feel to engage in harassment and intimidation of individuals these self-appointed groups decide to persecute. On the other hand, many people who have become true believers in the Sovereign Citizen movement have not fared well in the courts when their ideological beliefs run smack into the reality of the real world justice system. Changing the abuses of the current judicial system is the work of democracy, using the democratic tools of education, open debate, and political action.

CLAIM: The occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge was a legal and nonviolent occupation by peaceful protestors, just like Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter, or the Civil Rights movement.

REPLY: The Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter, and Civil Rights movements did not vow to "not to be taken alive," and did not argue their actions were lawful or constitutional. In fact, they planned to be arrested and jailed. Many laws were broken by the occupation; the argument that they were not is based on the Patriot movement's fantasies that all gun restrictions are illegal and that the federal government cannot legally own the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge land. These arguments do not have any legal backing.

The right to "peacefully assemble and petition the government for redress of grievance"—to protest—is a right of the people that predates the founding of our government. That is why it was included in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. As such, peaceful protest is as much a part of governing the United States as is Congress, the courts, or the presidency. Inherent in this right is that peaceful protesters may have to face arrest from unjust authorities, as one way to right an unjust law. Carrying weapons to a protest means it is no longer a protest, but an act of intimidation with a very clear implied threat of violence. The Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupiers were armed. Federal employees of the wildlife sanctuary were intimidated from coming to work by these armed occupiers.

CLAIM: Social justice organizers shouldn't silence the Patriot movement; all events should allow open carry—otherwise they are infringing on people's rights.

REPLY: Organizers, with all different kinds of politics, have the right to choose whom they are working with. Patriot movement activists who come into progressive circles, but who do not share the larger political values of the movement, do not have a constitutional right to join private events or to defy gun restrictions. This particular argument has been used by Patriot-types to disrupt and derail progressive organizing. We should not allow people who do not share our values to participate if their primary intention is to cause disruptions, or to advance a political agenda which is not part of our already shared values.

RURAL ECONOMICS

CLAIM: Environmentalists have destroyed rural economies by locking the land up. Opening up public lands to more ranching, logging, and mining will bring back jobs.

REPLY: Rural Oregon has been in a recession for over 30 years. Businesses have shut down, jobs have been lost, and people have lost homes and had to move. Schools and libraries were closed and services cut to the bone. The Great Depression of the 1930s only lasted about a decade. Why has nothing been done to rebuild the rural economy?

Prosperity was a late arrival to rural Oregon. Before World War II, loggers were dehumanized and treated like a disposable workforce, and mill workers were subject to the same bad working conditions that all American factory workers endured. The New Deal helped to create the prosperous Oregon we remember from the 1950s and 1960s. The federal government funded the electrification of rural Oregon. After World War II, it subsidized the housing industry, creating a vast market for timber products cut from national forests. Labor unions were legalized, allowing workers, for the first time, to get a fair wage for their work.

But by 1981, federal deficits due to the Vietnam War and two oil boycotts created a terrible round of inflation in the United States. To bring inflation under control, interest rates were raised to over 18 percent, making loans, including mortgages, more expensive. Home building crashed, along with the entire timber industry. When the economy recovered by the mid-1980s the timber industry was crippled. In the new era of deregulation and easy credit, the timber industry was attacked by corporate raiders who sold off whole production lines, broke the unions, cut wages, eliminated job security, and saddled the companies they bought with debt.

A few years after all this happened, some environmentalists won lawsuits to protect endangered species on public lands. While the damage to the economy had happened years before, the "spotted owl" and "tree huggers" became convenient scapegoats for industry and politicians alike.

Opening up federal lands to cut-and-run logging and other natural resource extraction-based industries will not revive our rural economy. Before the New Deal helped to bring rural Oregon out of the Depression, we had the era of the Robber Barons, King Timber, dust bowls, and permanent poverty. Those are the "good old days" that some people want to bring back. Those who would sell off the remaining national forests for private profit are proposing to do the opposite of what we need to build a prosperous rural Oregon.

It was government assistance and planning that pulled rural Oregon out of the Great Depression. To revive our economy today, we need a new plan and more government support—not less. The new plan should revolve around conservation-based logging, domestic production, clean energy production, and restoring the forests and waterways that everyone depends on, including city people. City prosperity depends on the bounty, the clean water, air, forests, and fields of rural Oregon, and the city must pay its fair share, not turn its back on its rural neighbors.

CLAIM: Muslims are undermining our civilization and bringing Sharia law to the United States.

REPLY: First, we've seen these types of arguments before when Roman Catholics and Jews came to this country in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All of these groups assimilated and

became part of the fabric of American society. Second, U.S. Muslims are a small and marginalized minority, and have nowhere sought to impose Sharia law on non-Muslims, although they may be trying to live according to it. As legal scholar Noah Feldman explains, Shariah refers to God's divine and unchanging blueprint for human life, and Muslims see humans as its flawed interpreter.

Oregon acted on people's suspicion of newcomers before in the 1920s, but then it was Roman Catholics; they were the main target of state's Ku Klux Klan. One persistent conspiracy theory held that Catholics were more loyal to the Pope than to the U.S. government. So under popular pressure, Oregon restricted Catholic schools, an action that was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. This is now recognized as a shameful part of our history, like racial segregation. The campaign against Muslims will eventually be viewed as just as shameful.

CLAIM: Syrian refugees are ISIS sleeper cells and not properly vetted.

REPLY: The United States has very tough immigration screenings compared to other countries. In a one-and-a-half to two year process, they are vetted by the National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI's Terrorist Screening Center, and the Departments of State, Defense, and Homeland Security. The government takes their fingerprints and life histories; then trained U.S. officials interview each one to verify that they are really refugees. They take another step for refugees from Syria to verify why they fled their homes.

These Syrian refugees are fleeing a country devastated, in part, by ISIS—not spreading the group's ideology. If you are against ISIS, you should be helping its victims, not forcing them to return to Syria where they may be killed by the group.

THE CONSTITUTION

CLAIM: The county sheriff is the highest elected law enforcement authority. Therefore, sheriffs have the ability to decide which laws are constitutional. They can also tell federal agents to leave their county and/or these agents must have the sheriff's permission to execute warrants or make arrests in their county.

REPLY: This idea was originally cooked up by White Supremacists who opposed the Civil Rights acts of the 1960s. They wanted to abolish laws that guaranteed social equality, protected the environment, and allowed federal income tax. They thought they could convince county sheriffs to resist implementing these laws. While county sheriffs are not obligated to enforce certain regulations passed by federal agencies, they have no legal right to decide which local, state, and federal laws are constitutional, and thus enforceable. They also have no legal right to prevent federal agents from performing their duties.

CLAIM: Only the "Organic Constitution" should be followed.

REPLY: The "Organic Constitution" ignores all of the amendments of the Constitution after the Bill of Rights, the first ten passed during the Revolutionary era. To refuse to accept the other amendments is to allow slavery (the Thirteenth Amendment abolished it), remove citizenship from freed slaves and their descendants, and other guarantees of birthright citizenship (Fourteenth Amendment), and get rid of guarantees of equal voting rights for citizens (Fifteenth Amendment). It would also get rid of the federal income tax (Sixteenth Amendment), and remove the guarantee of the right to vote for women (Nineteenth Amendment).

CLAIM: The "Tenth Amendment" has been trampled upon.

REPLY: The Tenth Amendment reads, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." When the Hard Right invokes the Tenth

Amendment, it is code for "state's rights"—especially the idea that most federal government regulations and landholdings are not legal, and should be the province of state governments. This was the rallying cry of the Confederacy and the segregationists.

CLAIM: This is a country of laws, and federal regulations are not laws. The Constitution is a document that was written for the common man and made to be easily understood.

REPLY: Over the last two hundred years, our political system has changed. The Civil War, a life and death struggle to end slavery, came about because of critical flaws in the original Constitution that protected slavery and slave-owners. The Constitution was forced to adapt. Over time, the federal government has taken on a greater role in regulating the economy and protecting the civil rights of all. The courts have ruled that this evolution has been legal, and in fact this change has taken place in governments around the world. When someone claims the Constitution is "written for the common man," prepare to hear a special Patriot movement version of the Constitution that would roll back civil rights, environmental protections, the rights of union members, and other victories of the movement for greater democracy.

PUBLIC LANDS

CLAIM: Article 1, Section 8, Clause 17 of the Constitution says the federal government can only own "ports, forts, and ten square miles" of Washington, D.C.

REPLY: This clause says that Congress shall have the power "To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of Particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings."

This passage is the mantra for Patriot movement activists who believe the federal government is not allowed to own most public lands, or cannot own them without prior permission of state governments. But the courts have ruled since the late 1800s that the federal government has the right to hold public lands. Despite the claims of the Patriot movement, in the U.S. political system, the Supreme Court—not county sheriffs, self-proclaimed judges, or Hard Right activists—are the ultimate arbiter of what is constitutional and what is not.

CLAIM: Federal land should be transferred to state or county governments.

REPLY: The land transfer movement is a backdoor maneuver to overturn environmental protections. While supporters claim this will revitalize rural economies, it is really a drive to exploit lands that belong to all the people, for private profit. By transferring the costs of maintaining the lands onto smaller local agencies, including police, fire suppression, and maintaining roads, those lands become more vulnerable to corporations whose revenue is often far bigger than local government budgets. As local agencies prove unable to maintain the lands, the call to sell them outright will be inevitable. It is just a disguised land grab.

CONSPIRACY THEORIES

CLAIM: Our tyrannical federal government is attempting to ban private gun ownership, after which it will put us in FEMA camps.

REPLY: Various forms of this conspiracy theory have been around for decades: the notion that some shadowy force is about to turn the United States into a tyrannical authoritarian state. If Democratic presidents were going to take our guns away and put us into camps, wouldn't it have happened by now?

CLAIM: We live in a Socialist country.

REPLY: In Patriot movement lingo, socialism is any kind of regulation of markets. Even mild market regulations, including minimum wage and health and safety laws, as well as civil rights guarantees, such as same-sex marriage, are considered "socialism." Almost all industrialized countries are "socialist" according to these criteria.

CLAIM: Agenda 21 (and the 2030 Agenda) is a plan to take over private land under the ruse of environmentalism and drive rural people into the cities.

REPLY: Agenda 21 is a non-binding United Nations resolution, signed by George W. Bush, that encourages new development to take environmental sustainability into consideration. Instead, right-wing conspiracy theorists say that Agenda 21 is a secret United Nations plan to work through the federal government in the name of environmentalism to seize land from farmers and other rural people so it can control of the country and institute a socialist dictatorship. The real Agenda 21 is now superseded by the new, and also non-binding, 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The plan for global domination is sure taking a long time.

The reality is that global temperatures and species' extinctions are spiking, and environmental regulations lag far behind the destruction of the natural world. In addition, total federal landholdings are actually shrinking—not growing.

CLAIM: The government is seizing private land to exploit the minerals there (like uranium and gold), which will be given to China to pay off debts.

REPLY: This is a common claim, usually tied in with the Agenda 21 conspiracy theory. Some said the government's conflict with the Hammond family was an attempt to seize their property which contained uranium. Similar claims were heard about the Sugar Pine Mine: the federal government ordered the miners to cease and desist because it wanted their gold. In fact, the Hammonds have kept their property, and there is no uranium on the land (it is in the next county over). Even if there had been, it seems like there must be an easier way for the United States to pay back international debts than illegally seizing private land and then transferring it to a foreign government. This xenophobic conspiracy theory is complete with a foreign villain (China) who is taking away from the patriotic little guy (largely White U.S. miners and ranchers).

3 | CREATING A CULTURE OF SAFETY & SECURITY

CHALLENGING THOSE who use threats and intimidation as a tactic to silence opposition is a frightening proposition. However, we know that if these tactics successfully shut down political opposition, then paramilitaries and other Hard Right groups will keep using threats and intimidation any time they run into people who disagree with them. We don't just need to be courageous; we need to be smart.

At Rural Organizing Project, we have learned to think about security as an intrinsic part of organizing. Doing the work we do in small towns and rural communities, where anonymity simply is not an option, we need to be strategic about how we keep ourselves and our neighbors safe. We recommend creating ***a culture of safety and security*** within organizing and community spaces, making the conversation about how we are protecting ourselves and each other a priority.

One of the greatest safety measures can be ***to shine a light on bad behavior***. During the occupation Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, the Patriot movement was locally discredited when the community got together and shared the threats and intimidating actions taken by out-of-town Patriots against law enforcement, faith leaders, federal employees, and folks who spoke out.

Many of the communities we work in have law enforcement that sympathizes with us, but simply may not have the resources to respond. It is often up to us to ***take inventory and use our own resources*** (like people and cellphone cameras) to create security and safety. In the movements that have made the biggest impact in history, such as like the Civil Rights movement, people have taken care of each other and sought to keep each other safe. We can do that too.

This section includes some basic tools and resources for creating a culture of safety and security in your local organizing, including:

- Event Security and Safety
- Personal and Community Safety
- Ground Rules and Tips for Challenging the Right

A. EVENT SECURITY AND SAFETY

WHEN ORGANIZING AN EVENT, it is critical to analyze the environment in which you are organizing. Take the temperature of your community and plan accordingly. If Patriot movement supporters are angry, some may be looking for a place to act that out. Even in calmer moments, we should intentionally organize security to ensure that worst-case scenarios will be handled quickly. Remember: the most important thing is to make decisions to keep everyone safe.

EVENT FRAMING

BE CLEAR ON YOUR FLYERS, press releases, and posters promoting your event that it is meant to be peaceful. This framing from the start helps send a community-wide message about what your event is about and who is participating. Let participants and the public know that the event is for neighbors and community members who care, and use a message and values that promote the vision you would like to see for your community. That doesn't mean you won't have people looking for a place to take out their anger, but it does help set the stage so that anyone trying to disrupt the event will look bad.

EVENT SECURITY PLANNING

1. **Call local law enforcement and let them know about the action.** If possible, communicate with any law enforcement that you have a previous or good relationship with. Ask for a direct number to call if there are any confrontations. Assign one person to be in charge of this phone number. They are to call the number if:
   a. Protesters are obstructing your event or movement to or within the event.
   b. Protesters surround or block anyone at the event.
   c. Protesters verbally or physically threaten anyone.
2. **Build your local security team.** Ask folks to be security who are calm, good at de-escalation, and committed to keeping everyone calm and safe. People who want to engage with protesters (either for a conversation or to debate) are not the right choice. If you do not have people who have experience in security, that is okay; ask folks who have the above qualities and who can make decisions on the spot. These people should not be the event organizers or be playing any other role in the event.
3. **Set up a security meeting ahead of time.** Come up with your plan, talk through roles and scenarios, and exchange cell phone numbers so you can reach each other before, during, and after the event. Here are some roles and considerations:
4. **Have at least two people who can focus on keeping eyes open at all times for any protesters or anyone lurking about.** These people should visibly move between the protesters and your vigil, never turning away from protesters, even if it means their backs are to the event. Stay at least a yard away from any threatening people. Keep your hands up in a ready, but in a nonthreatening way. Do not argue or debate. Do have a few catch phrases pre-programmed, such as, *"I think I understand how you feel, but this is not the place,"* and *"We are just going to keep things peaceful here."* Thinking up stock phrases beforehand relieves you from having to think and debate at the time, and allows you to stay focused on keeping the crowd safe.

   The ideal situation is to have a few people who are obviously providing security and a few security folks who blend in with the group. In Harney County, a crew of folks with large signs walked back and forth between the militia and the community members, creating a barrier, while others were dispersed throughout the crowd.

   We have had people followed when leaving events. If you are able, designate a public meet-up spot after your event, like a restaurant. Have a few security team members plan to be there for an hour afterward. Let people know this location and that they can go there if they feel they are being followed.

   Have one person assigned to photograph protesters and their vehicle's license plates in an unobtrusive way.
5. **Call the local media and then make it known that news cameras will be there.** People are less likely to act disrespectfully if they will be recorded. Make sure you have a couple of people ready to talk to reporters. If reporters want to do interviews near the protesters, invite them to move to another space.

DURING THE EVENT

HAVE SECURITY PEOPLE and/or the MC tell everyone to absolutely not engage with protesters or people looking for a confrontation. Do not talk to them. Do not shout at them. If they try to talk to you, just walk away or say, "I will not engage. Please stop talking to me." Stay focused on your own event.

If your rally or vigil features speakers, coach them ahead of time not to stop if protesters are trying to disrupt or interrupt. Otherwise, the disrupters are rewarded and will continue. This is a

situation where security's role of keeping the protesters separated from the event is key.

AFTER THE EVENT

DEBRIEF WITH YOUR SECURITY TEAM. What went well? What could be done better? If your event went without a hitch, congratulations! But do not think your security preparations were too elaborate. We have seen the presence of security deter the protesters all together.

B. PERSONAL & COMMUNITY SAFETY

WE HAVE SEEN ordinary people harassed because they were perceived as political opponents to the Patriot movement. The aim of threats, acts of intimidation, and harassment is to isolate the person who is speaking out. We cannot allow that to happen. **A community of people who care can keep each other safe and supported. That is key.** If you or one of your group members is facing backlash for showing up for your community, these tips can help you and your neighbors respond.

The most important lesson we can convey is to build community. Build a network of people to rally around each other and take care of each other. If you are not the one facing backlash, your time and support is invaluable. Be proactive and offer up these ideas. Decide what you can take a lead on and offer to do it.

1. **Document, document, document.** Everyone should document anything strange, creepy, or threatening. Documentation allows you to go back and look for patterns, and potentially provide law enforcement with a more complete picture. It is okay to wonder if you are being overly paranoid, but it is better to document too much instead of too little.
   a. Keep a notebook, pen, and phone with you throughout the day.
   b. Keep a threat log that includes date, time, context of the threat, and any details you can remember.
   c. Keep emails, use your cell phone to take photos of license plates and people, write down descriptions of everyone you think is involved, and use the voice recorder on your cell phone to record any verbal interactions.
2. **Talk to the neighbors.** Neighbors know to keep an eye out on vehicles going up and down the driveway. Create a list of most trusted neighbors and start there, asking them to keep an eye out and report any strange activity. You and your neighbors might not be at all aligned politically, but they will probably not want someone to do something threatening near their home.
3. **Create a phone tree.** Ask neighbors and friends to join so you can reach people quickly in case of any emergencies or moments when you'd need them to rally. Create a plan for how it is activated and what happens when it is activated. You want a procedure in place so when they receive a call for help, they can jump into action immediately. You can also use a group text or a phone app like Celly or Cell411.
4. **Prepare for rapid response.** Anyone who is expected to respond quickly should plan ahead. If you might need to jump in the car in the middle of the night, you should have your boots and jacket by the door, ready to go. Put together a kit that stays in your car in those situations. Consider packing: bright flashlights, a camera, something that makes a loud noise such as an air horn or a whistle, a charger for your cell phone, and a change of clothes in case you stay over.
5. **Schedule home visits that would appear random to anyone watching.** This sends the message that this person is valued and connected to a larger community.
6. **Schedule coffee dates.** Sitting down daily to talk about what's going on can significantly reduce the isolation one feels when being targeted. Folks who are invited over for coffee and tea should be the kind of people who can take a hint when it's time to go.

7. **Overnight guests can give peace of mind.** If things escalate, or if the person targeted is having trouble sleeping, offer to take overnight shifts at their house so they can rest soundly knowing someone is up and paying attention.
8. **Reach out to friendly law enforcement now**, if you/they are comfortable with it. Even if it is a conversation with a retired law enforcement officer who you are friends with, get it on their radar. State Troopers may be the most effective agency to talk to because they interface most directly with federal agencies.
9. **Expose threats and intimidation.** The folks of Harney County were mercilessly harassed (followed, threatened) for months until these actions were exposed publicly. Intimidation is clearly a tactic in the Patriot movement playbook, and exposure is a tactic in ours. The moment things get to the point of threats or other acts of intimidation, go public. Silence enables and seems to encourage them—it makes them think what they're doing is working. Don't give them the satisfaction.
10. **Start monitoring the local Patriot movement activity.** Do you have friends who can go to the meetings in town and report back? Can someone track the conversations happening on social media?
11. **Set up a work party to secure homes and property of group members.** We have learned that simple but visible actions can deter harassment, such as putting up "No Trespassing" signs and setting up motion-activated lights around all doors and where cars are parked. Make sure you have good door and window locks. If you have a rural property, set up a gate and routinely lock it at night. Make it inconvenient to go around the gate, using barbed wire or other natural obstructions.
12. **Take a self-defense class as a group.** Many self-defense courses are fun as well as empowering. Get together with your group, talk through the scenarios you'd like to practice responding to, and work through those scenarios with the self-defense instructor.
13. **Finally, and critically: ask the person experiencing backlash what they need.** Do they need groceries and can't get to the store? Do they take pride in their home, but haven't found time to tidy up? Has it been a few days since they ate a hot, home-cooked meal? This is a really important way folks can support each other and keep morale up.

C. GROUND RULES & TIPS FOR CHALLENGING THE RIGHT

by Political Research Associates

Do Your Homework

- **Recognize that the Right is a complex movement.** No one organization "controls" the Right. No single funder is "behind" the Right. Some large organizations are important, but many others appear to be more influential than they really are. Recognize that there are multiple networks of organizations and funders with differing and sometimes competing agendas. Find out as much as you can about the groups you see. Incorporate this information in your educational work. It is helpful in organizing to know a great deal about your opponents. Be alert to evidence of the Right's "new racism." The Right has replaced simple racist rhetoric with a more complex, "colorblind" political agenda which actually attacks the rights of people of color. See the Resources sections of this kit for some assistance in your research.
- **Decode the Right's agenda on your issue.** The Right often attempts to pass laws that take rights away from groups or individuals. Under the guise of addressing some compelling societal need, they often frame the issue by appealing to prejudice, myth,

irrational belief, inaccurate information, pseudoscience, or sometimes even by using outright lies. Further, right-wing organizers often appropriate the rhetoric of the Civil Rights and civil liberties movements to portray themselves as victims of discrimination. Actually, they most often are seeking to undermine the existing protection of individual rights, increase their freedom to accumulate profit, and undermine the wall of separation between church and state.

- **Be careful to respect people's right to hold opinions and religious beliefs that you may find offensive.** Everyone has an absolute right to seek redress of their grievances. This is equally true when those grievances are based on religious beliefs. In an open and democratic society, it is important to listen to the grievances of all members of society and take them seriously, even when we might be vehemently opposed to them. They do not, however, have a right to impose those beliefs on others.
- **Distinguish between leaders and followers in right-wing organizations.** Leaders are often "professional" right-wingers. They've made a career of promoting a rightist agenda and attacking progressives and progressive issues. Followers, on the other hand, may not be well-informed. They are often mobilized by fears about family and future based on information that, if true, would indeed be frightening. This so-called "education" is often skillful, deceitful, and convincing. These followers may take positions that are more extreme than those of the leaders, but on the other hand, they may not know exactly what they are supporting by attending a certain organization's rally or conference. To critique and expose the leaders of right-wing organizations is the work of a good progressive organizers, writers, and activists. In the case of the followers, however, it is important to reserve judgment and listen to their grievances. Do not assume that they are all sophisticated political agents or have access to a variety of information sources.
- **Rebut, Rebuke, Reaffirm.** It's important to remember that while the tactics of the Right may be obvious to you, they are not necessarily obvious to others, even though they might be part of the political process. The ways in which the Right distorts and misleads the public must be carefully explained. Use a three-step process. 1) Rebut false and inaccurate claims. 2) Rebuke those who use scapegoating or demagoguery. 3) Reaffirm what a progressive goal or agenda would accomplish for the betterment of society.

Stay Cool in Public

- **Use the opportunity of public forums to present your position.** Approach any public event as a chance to state your case. Come fully prepared to explain why you are right. Although your audience may be unfriendly, remember that you are often an invited guest at such events. Audience members are expecting you to represent your group, even though they may not expect to agree with you. Your task is to convince these listeners, not the representatives of the Right who may be your debating opponents or fellow panelists. Do so using short, clear sentences, not long, abstract paragraphs. Many audience members are your potential supporters, available to join your ranks. Provide them with reasons and ways to do so.
- **Demand documentation.** Common tactics of the Right include distorting the truth and manipulating facts and figures in order to deceive the public. You can often expose false charges and baseless claims by demanding that their sources be cited. The leadership of an orga-

nization can and must be held fully responsible for every spoken or written word that comes from him or her or the organization they represent. If you are thoroughly prepared, you will know the weaknesses of these sources and be able to refute them publicly. At the same time be prepared to document your sources in order to maintain your credibility.

- **Address the issues, not just the actors.** Try to avoid personalizing the debate or focusing entirely on the presentation by the Right's representative. Take time to clarify what the real issues are, what tactics are being used, why these issues are important to the Right and what the implications of the debate might be.
- **Criticize the outcomes, not the intent, of the Right's agenda.** If you focus only on exposing the purpose of a particular campaign, you may find yourself locked in a circular argument about who knows better what the Right seeks to accomplish. It may be more productive to look at the implications of the issues at hand and to explain that the logical outcome of adopting your opponent's position will be a serious threat to the goals of your group.
- **Avoid slogans, name calling, and demonizing members of the Right.** Slogans and sound bites have their place, but they are not sufficient as an organizing strategy. Simple anti-Right slogans do not help people understand why the Right sounds convincing but is wrong. And responding in kind to being called names weakens your position with some of the listeners you are trying to convince. Phrases like "religious political extremists" are labels, not arguments, and often will backfire on the neighborhood and community level.
- **Expose who benefits from right-wing campaigns.** One of the most common ways the Right advances its policies is to argue that they will benefit the "average" person, though that most often is not the case. It helps in exposing this deception to point out who actually stands to benefit and who stands to lose from the policy being proposed. Exploring whose self-interest is served can help organizers as they seek a clearer picture of the forces behind a particular campaign. Sometimes, the greatest beneficiaries of a right-wing campaign are the organizations conducting it. Campaigns are recruitment tools. So if potential new members can be reached by a certain position, that is sometimes in and of itself the reason the campaign is mounted.

Keep Organizing

- **Keep your supporters informed.** Signing up supporters is a good start, but your job includes keeping your supporters well informed. Often the Right will switch tactics or redirect its energy. If you are in the middle of an attack, these changes may be puzzling. Keep in mind that the deep agenda of the Right remains unchanged despite these apparent shifts. Persist in explaining this to your colleagues.
- **Involve clergy and other respected community members in your organizing.** Since so much of the Right's rhetoric has been influenced by the Religious Right, progressive, faith-based organizations and their representatives have great potential for increasing your chances for successful organizing. Sympathetic religious leaders can present an alternative interpretation of scripture and often have access to large congregations who may be interested in your work.
- **Be patient.** Change takes time. Your organizing today is laying the groundwork for tomorrow's successes. Patience, optimism, and a sense of humor are key ingredients in opposing the Right.

SECTION IV

WHO ARE THE PATRIOT MOVEMENT LEADERS?

NATIONAL MOVEMENT LEADERS

AMMON BUNDY
Son of Cliven Bundy and part of the 2014 Bundy Ranch standoff, he led the takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in 2016.

CLIVEN BUNDY
Nevada rancher who refused to pay his grazing fees for use of federal land. His ranch was the site of a 2014 standoff with federal agents.

ROBERT "LAVOY" FINICUM
Arizona rancher who was one of the leaders in the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Killed by law enforcement in January 2016.

FRED KELLY GRANT
Boise lawyer who is the leading advocate of the Hard Right reading of "coordination." Former president of the American Stewards of Liberty.

KEN IVORY
Leading advocate of transferring federal lands to the states. Utah state representative, former leader of the American Lands Council, and currently with the Koch Brothers-funded Federalism in Action.

RICHARD MACK
Former Arizona county sheriff and Patriot movement celebrity since the 1990s. Board member of the Oath Keepers, Coalition of Western States member, and founder of Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association.

ELMER STEWART RHODES
Former aide to then-US Representative Ron Paul, founder of the Oath Keepers, and lawyer who was disbarred by the Montana Supreme Court.

JON RITZHEIMER
Arizona Islamophobic organizer, former Oath Keeper, and current Three Percenter. One of the celebrities of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation.

MIKE VANDERBOEGH
Alabama Maoist-turned-militia leader who co-founded the Three Percenters in 2008. Called for the overthrow of the Oregon governor over gun control laws at a May 2015 rally attended by various elected officials. Died in August 2016.

IDAHO MOVEMENT LEADERS

BROOKE AGRESTA
Leading member of the 3% of Idaho. Spoke at the January 2, 2016 march in Burns.

BRANDON CURTISS
Founder of the 3% of Idaho and one of the founders of the Pacific Patriots Network. Helped organize the march in Burns, Oregon on January 2, 2016, and later established the "buffer zone" in Burns.

OREGON MOVEMENT LEADERS

RICK BARCLAY AND GEORGE BACKES
Owners of the Sugar Pine Mine in Josephine County; instigators of the armed camps established to oppose their obligation to respond to Bureau of Land Management paperwork.

GIL GILBERTSON
Former "Constitutional Sheriff" of Josephine County, Oregon. Currently an Oath Keeper and Sovereign Citizen-style "Continental Marshal."

TOM MCKIRGAN
Former Southern Oregon Oath Keeper coordinator, now the Zone 4 leader of the Oregon III%.

GLENN PALMER
"Constitutional Sheriff" of Grant County, Oregon, and formerly in CSPOA leadership. Met with members of the Malheur occupation while it was ongoing.

BRANDON RAPOLLA
Community Preparedness Team Coordinator for Oregon Oath Keepers, leader of Oregon Tactical,

co-founder of Pacific Patriots Network, and part of the Sugar Pine Mine and Bundy Ranch conflicts.

JOSEPH RICE
Coordinator of the Oath Keepers of Josephine County (now the Citizen Patriots of Josephine County) and co-founder of the Pacific Patriots Network. Part of the "buffer zone" action in Burns.

JEFF ROBERTS
Vice president of the Oregon III%. Says he went to Ruby Ridge with Bo Gritz in 1993 when he was 15 years old.

BJ SOPER
Leader of the Central Oregon Constitutional Guard, co-founder of the Pacific Patriots Network, and co-organizer of the January 2, 2016 march in Burns, which the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation came out of.

KEN TAYLOR
Former chair of the Central Oregon Patriots, co-coordinator of the Central Oregon Oath Keepers (submitted resignation in August 2016), former chair of the Crook County Republican Party, and both treasurer and budget chairman for the Oregon Republican Party (until he submitted his resignation in July 2016). Promoted the Ammon Bundy-formed Harney County Committee of Safety.

OREGON LEADERS SEEKING OR IN LOCAL OFFICE

BILL HARVEY
Baker County Commission Chair. Friend of Ken Ivory and proponent of coordination.

DENNIS LINTHICUM
Former Klamath County Commissioner and Republican nominee for Oregon state senate in the November 2016 election.

KODY JUSTUS
Coordinator of the Baker County Oath Keepers who visited the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation; ran and lost primary race for county commission in May 2016.

MARY STARRETT
Yamhill County Commissioner and former national official in the theocratic Constitution Party.

OTHER FIGURES OF NOTE

MICHAEL EMRY AND BECKY HUDSON
Run *The Voice of Idaho* and *The Voice of Grant County*. Emry said he was an "embedded" journalist at Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation with the 3% of Idaho, and was later arrested for having a stolen machine gun with obliterated serial numbers.

DWIGHT AND STEPHEN HAMMOND
Burns ranchers whose case was the catalyst for the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation. This father and son were arrested for two fires on federal land, sentenced under the mandatory minimums set by the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, and are currently serving the remainder of their five-year sentences.

GLOSSARY

Agenda 21
A nonbinding United Nations resolution (now replaced by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development) that advocates that environmental sustainability be taken into account in any new development. The Hard Right claims it is a global conspiracy to use the ruse of environmentalism to seize rural land and drive people into cities before the United Nations invades.

Antisemitism
Anti-Jewish ideas often based on conspiracy theories about global control, especially of banks and media.

Bundy Ranch
In 2014, federal agents tried to seize the cattle of Nevada rancher Cliven Bundy for his public refusal to pay grazing fees to the Bureau of Land Management for his use of federal land. Armed Patriot movement members drove the agents away. No arrests initially occurred, and this apparent success spurred a revival in the Patriot movement. In February 2016, Cliven Bundy and others were arrested for this incident.

Committee of Safety
A Patriot movement political formation that mimics forms of local government. Ammon Bundy, who set up a Committee of Safety in Harney County in 2015 before the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation, claimed that the entity had the power to expel federal agencies from the county.

Constitutional sheriff
The idea that county sheriffs will abide by a Hard Right interpretation of the Constitution. This includes the view that county sheriffs have the authority to interpret what laws and regulations are constitutional, and that they will refuse to enforce those which are seen not to be. Popularized by the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association.

Coordination
A process, referred to in several federal acts, which allows local governments to give suggestions to federal agencies regarding land use issues. Hard Right activists claims that it allows local governments to veto or direct the federal agencies; this claim is rejected by the federal authorities.

County Supremacy
A 1990s movement that claimed that counties had control over federal lands. Its legal claims were shot down by the courts. Its ideas continue today as the Hard Right reading of "coordination."

Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA)
A national group of county sheriffs and other law enforcement who follow Patriot movement beliefs about the Constitution. Founded in 2010, it is led by Richard Mack, who claims that county sheriffs can decide which laws are Constitutional.

Dual power
A tactic of setting up alternate social and governmental institutions with the goal of replacing the current system. The Patriot movement has many elements of dual power, including courts, judges, militias, Committees of Safety, emergency preparedness teams, and community watches.

Entryism
The tactic of a smaller group entering into a larger political movement or organization with the goal of taking it over, influencing it, or attempting to capture part of its membership.

Fourteenth Amendment
Guarantees citizenship for all born on U.S. soil. Originally passed to ensure citizenship for freed slaves, it is now a topic of debate in the context of the children of undocumented immigrants.

Ferguson, Missouri
This suburb of St. Louis was the site of long-running protests from the Black community after the police killing of unarmed teenager Michael Brown in August 2014. A main catalyst for the takeoff of the Black Lives Matter movement.

Hard Right
A type of right-wing politics that is against a democratic vision of society, in which different groups are mobilized to have a voice and participate in the political system. The Hard Right may either be elitists or build mass movements; some call for authoritarian rule, while others stop short of trying to destroy democratic institutions.

Harney County
Southeastern Oregon county that was the site of the armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in January and February 2016.

Islamophobia
Anti-Muslim ideas that include conspiracy theories about how Muslims are secret jihadists and are attempting to implement Sharia law in the West. Often uses traditional antisemitic narratives, mixed in with xenophobic anti-immigrant impulses.

Josephine County
Southwestern Oregon county that has a strong strain of right-wing politic and many Patriot movement-style groups. Site of the Sugar Pine Mine armed encampments in 2015.

Justus Township
A compound in Montana that the "Freeman" (early Sovereign Citizens) declared to be independent. Site of an 81-day standoff in 1996, which eventually ended peacefully, unlike previous standoffs at Waco and Ruby Ridge.

Land transfer
The movement to transfer public lands, especially in the West, out of the hands of the federal government, which controls 47 percent of the land in 11 western states. Transfer advocates want federal land to be transferred to state and/or county hands.

Malheur occupation
From February 2 to January 11, 2016, armed Patriot movement activists led by Ammon Bundy occupied the headquarters of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. They demanded freedom for two local ranchers serving arson sentences, and the transfer of the refuge out of federal hands.

Militia movement
A Hard Right movement, popular from 1994 to 2001, to form locally based paramilitary units. The militias had anti-federal government views, defended gun rights, and held conspiracy theories about a coming UN invasion and black helicopters. Became known as the Patriot movement by 1995.

Molon labe
"Come and Take It." Anti-gun control rhetoric, popular in the Patriot movement, which signals a willingness to engage in armed resistance.

Nineteenth Amendment
Guarantees women the right to vote.

Nullification
Idea that lower-level governments can reject federal laws, originally designed as a "states rights" doctrine to keep slavery intact. The idea that county sheriffs can decide what laws to enforce is a form of nullification.

Oath Keepers
An organization of current and former law enforcement, military, and first responders, although others can join as associate members. They pledge not to enforce a series of actions by the federal government that are unconstitutional—although these are, in truth, a series of long standing right-wing conspiracy theories.

Oklahoma City bombing
On April 19, 1995, two militia movement members bombed the Alfred P. Murrah building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, killing 168.

Organic Constitution
The preamble, the body of the Constitution, and Bill of Rights. Those who argue that only this is the legitimate Constitution wish to, among other things, strip most African-Americans of

citizenship, abolish the federal income tax, and repeal the right to vote for women.

Posse Comitatus
Latin for "Power of the County." A racist and antisemitic political group which started in the early 1970s. They created the idea that the county sheriff was highest legal authority, promoted the formation of militias, and gave birth to the Sovereign Citizen movement.

Prepper
People who stockpile goods in preparation for a collapse, whether natural or economic. Often, but not always, tied to Hard Right political movements.

Producerism
The idea that the members of society (such as factory workers or farmers) who produce physical, tangible goods are the most important group. They are often seen as being under attack by unproductive elites from above. There are both progressive and reactionary versions of the producerist narrative.

"Protect the Protectors"
July 2015 campaign by the Oath Keepers to post armed guards outside of military recruiting stations, following an attack on one by a possible Islamist.

Redemption theory
A financial scam justified by Sovereign Citizen beliefs. It claims that the federal government deposits money in a special bank account when citizens are born, and this money can be withdrawn by using financial instruments—which have no actual value.

Right-wing populism
Name for a style of politics outlined by Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons in *Right-Wing Populism in America*. It is based on producerism, demonization and scapegoating, conspiracy thinking, as well as apocalyptic narratives and millennial visions.

Ruby Ridge
In 1992, the remote Idaho cabin of White separatist Randy Weaver and his family were surrounded by federal authorities who attempted to execute an arrest warrant. Two Weaver family members and one federal agent died in the siege, which was one of the inspirations for the militia movement.

Sagebrush Rebellion
In 1976, the federal government finally declared that it would not redistribute the majority of its remaining landholdings, which were mostly in the western states. A number of legislators responded by unsuccessfully trying transfer the land to the states. A predecessor of the Wise Use and County Supremacy movements.

SB 941
Oregon law passed in 2015 which requires, among other things, background checks for gun sales between individuals. Many Oregon county sheriffs openly opposed the bill and some publicly refused to enforce it.

Sixteenth Amendment
Allows a federal income tax based on income. Opposition to this amendment has been a long-standing Hard Right cause.

Sovereign Citizens
A political movement that utilizes a series of legal filings and arguments that are not accepted by the courts. Its origins are in the 1970s racist and antisemitic group Posse Comitatus, which sought to rewrite legal history to favor White, Christian men. Sovereign Citizens believe that most laws don't apply to them, and will try to make these arguments in court. They are often involved in a number of financial scams. Strangely, today the Sovereign Citizen movement has a multi-racial following.

Sugar Pine Mine
Gold mine in Josephine County, Oregon. In April 2015 Oath Keepers and other Patriot movement activists establish armed encampments when the

mine owners were asked by the Bureau of Land Management to file paperwork for unauthorized changes to their claim.

Tenth Amendment
Guarantees that rights not reserved by the federal government go to the states. When it is invoked by the Patriot movement, it is usually to argue that the states should be exercising powers that the federal government currently holds.

Three Percenters
A decentralized paramilitary; anyone can consider themselves a member, although groups exist as well. They pledge not to allow any new gun restrictions. The name refers to the disputed number of colonialists who took up arms in the American Revolution.

Waco
In 1993, following a botched raid, the federal government surrounded the compound of the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas, and laid siege to it. In the end, during an assault the buildings caught on fire; when it was over, 84 people had died. One of the catalysts for the militia movement.

White Hope Mine
A mine outside of Lincoln, Montana. In August 2015, Patriot movement activists established armed encampments after miners came into conflict with the Forest Service.

Wise Use
Anti-environmentalist movement in the late 1980s through mid-1990s. Originally funded by natural resource extraction industries.

ENDNOTES

NOTE: Unless noted, all URLs are active as of August 22, 2016.

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380. "The Voice of Grant County, Oregon," Facebook page, www.facebook.com/The-Voice-of-Grant-County-901946629902924; *The Voice of Grant County*, www.thevoiceofgrantcountyoregon.com.
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383. Les Zaitz,"Oregon standoff figure arrested after threatening to shoot federal officers, DA says," *Oregonian/OregonLive*, March 17 (updated March 18), 2016, www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/03/oregon_standoff_figure_arreste.html; Les Zaitz, "'Embedded' reporter tied to militia arrested in John Day on weapons charges," *Oregonian/OregonLive*, May 6 (updated May 7), 2016, www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/05/militia-tied_embedded_reporter.html.
384. "Our History," *Central Oregon Patriots PAC*, https://web.archive.org/web/20160212180928/www.copatriots.org.
385. "WLN Independent Affiliates—OREGON," *Western Liberty Network*, http://wlnexecdir.wix.com/wstlbtnet?ref=hl -!affiliates/cfvg.
386. Taylor has been identified as both the Central Oregon Patriots co-organizer and chair at different times. See "Ken Taylor," LinkedIn page, www.linkedin.com/in/ken-taylor-59b24719; Jason Chaney, "Candidate forums slate is set," *Central Oregonian*, April 26, 2016, http://pamplinmedia.com/ceo/162-news/303547-181464-candidate-forums-slate-is-set. As of September 13, 2016, he was still listed as the treasurer and budget chair of the state GOP, as well as the chair of the Crook County GOP; see "Crook County," *Oregon Republican Party*, www.oregonrepublicanparty.org/CrookCounty, "Executive Committee," *Oregon Republican Party*, www.oregonrepublicanparty.org/executives. However, in an email, Taylor says he is no longer the chair of either the Central Oregon Patriots or the Crook County GOP; that he has submitted his resignation to the state GOP for treasurer and budget chair in July 2016; and that, although he is still listed as the Central Oregon Oath Keepers co-coordinator, he is resigning in August 2016. Email to author, August 8, 2016.Ammon Bundy pointed out during the original Harney County Committee of Safety meeting that Taylor was the person filming it. See "Harney County Town Hall #2 Dec 15, 2015," YouTube video, 1:16:35, posted by "Crooked River Currents View," December 17, 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=JF2c6UYRdE0&feature=youtu.be; see 1:12:15. Taylor confirmed this in his email.
387. Craig Brookhart, telephone conversation with author, July 29, 2016.
388. Ibid.
389. Central Oregon Patriots Political Action Committee, Campaign Finance Activity, *Oregon Secretary of State*, https://secure.sos.state.or.us/orestar/cneSearch.do?cneSearchButtonName=search&cneSearchFilerCommitteeId=15872.
390. Kevin Sperl, "Patriots hosting local jail forums," *Central Oregonian*, March 5, 2015, http://portlandtribune.com/ceo/162-news/252319-121196-patriots-hosting-local-jail-forums; Jason Chaney, "Patriots to host property tax forum," *Central Oregonian*, November 6, 2015, http://pamplinmedia.com/ceo/162-news/280351-155673-patriots-to-host-property-tax-forum; Jason Chaney, "Tax forum enjoys large turnout," *Central Oregonian*, November 17, 2015, http://portlandtribune.com/ceo/162-news/281632-156789-tax-forum-enjoys-large-turnout; "Citizens Town Hall—Ochoco Mountains National Recreation Area," Facebook event for December 10, 2015, www.facebook.com/events/527034360792809; Pedro Quintana, "Crook County residents speak, leaders reject proposed recreation area," *KTVZ.COM*, January 22 (updated January 25), 2016, www.ktvz.com/news/crook-county-residents-speak-leaders-reject-proposed-wilderness/37568818; Jennifer Wade, "Prineville councilors join Crook Co. in rejecting rec area proposal," *KTVZ.COM*, January 27 (updated January 28), 2016, www.ktvz.com/news/hundreds-gather-in-prineville-oppose-rec-area-proposal/37660430.
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392. Craig Brookhart, telephone conversation with author, July 29, 2016.
393. Minutes of Crook County Court, Regular Session, "Discussion of Natural Resource Planning," Crook County, Oregon, February 3, 2016, 8, http://co.crook.or.us/Portals/0/minutes February 3 2016.pdf.
394. Amanda Peacher, "Crook County Leaders Unexpectedly Table Natural Resource Plan," *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, July 20, 2016, www.opb.org/news/article/crook-county-leaders-table-natural-resource-plan.
395. "Public Presentation: 'Coordination'," Facebook event for February 20, 2015, www.facebook.com/events/945547642203123. Videos of the presentation are available as well: "Coordination meeting #1," YouTube video, 57:41, posted by "Crooked River Currents View," March 4, 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=8iSxfkIalHA; "Coordination meeting #2," YouTube video, 57:36, posted by "Crooked River Currents View," March 4, 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHpPuPtMaoo; "Coordination meeting #3," YouTube video, 24:45, posted by "Crooked River Currents View," March 4, 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=xN39G—-rpc.
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July 20, 2016, www.opb.org/news/article/crook-county-leaders-table-natural-resource-plan; Amanda Peacher, "Crook County Rejects Controversial Natural Resources Plan," *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, August 30, 2016, www.opb.org/news/article/crook-county-rejects-natural-resource-plan.

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408. Lauren Martinez, "'Oath Keepers' stand guard at Bend military recruiting center," *KTVZ.COM*, July 27 (updated July 28), 2015, www.ktvz.com/news/oath-keepers-stand-guard-at-bend-military-recruiting-center/34390958.
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420. Tay Wiles, "Sugar Pine Mine, the other standoff," *High Country News*, February 2, 2016, www.hcn.org/issues/48.2/showdown-at-sugar-pine-mine.
421. Ibid.
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ican." Rice confirmed that his group actually broke with the national Oath Keepers as well; email to author, August 25, 2016.

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430. "Commissioner Pos. #2 (Vote for 1)" in "Statement of Votes Cast by Geography, May 17, 2016 Primary Election, Josephine County, Oregon," *Josephine County, Oregon*, 5, www.co.josephine.or.us/SIB/files/Clerk/20160517230046.pdf.
431. Hidden Valley High School staff, email to author, May 25, 2016; Joseph Rice, telephone interview with author, July 17, 2016.
432. Ruth Longoria Kingsland, "Controversial book spurs battle at school board meeting," *Mail Tribune* (Medford, OR), September 18, 2014, www.mailtribune.com/article/20140918/NEWS/140919696.
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434. Ibid, around 13:42. For their ramp project, see "Community Efforts," *Oath Keepers of Josephine County, OR*, accessed July 15, 2016, http://oathkeepersjoco.com/community.php.
435. "Join Us in the Boatnik Parade with Oath Keepers of Josephine County, Oregon," Meetup event for May 23, 2015, www.meetup.com/Oath-Keepers-Oregon/events/222652949; photo of "Sugar Pine Mine Owners" float at parade, Facebook post, May 2015. Screenshot in possession of author.
436. Mary Emerick, "PRESS RELEASE—Operation Protect the Protectors," *Oath Keepers of Josephine County, OR*, July 21, 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20160727190613/http://oathkeepersjoco.com/Articles/News/press_release_2015-07-21.php.
437. Joseph Rice, telephone interview with author, July 17, 2016; "Jan. 2, 2016 Town Hall Meeting," (video). YouTube video, 1:08:00, April 11, 2016, posted by "Liberty Under Attack," www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3t1SopHD18, see around 1:45; "Burns Oregon—Important Committee of Safety Meeting," YouTube video, 3:18:38, posted by "Pete Santilli Show," January 8, 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELXMyTjMmXk, see 1:02:39.
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439. Minutes of Josephine County Weekly Business Session, "1. REQUESTS/COMMENTS FROM CITIZENS," *Josephine County, Oregon,* September 24, 2015, www.co.josephine.or.us/Files/09-24-14 WBS Min.pdf; "Josephine County Community Preparedness Fair," Meetup event on September 27, 2014, www.meetup.com/Oath-Keepers-Oregon/events/208899892.
440. For minutes of the meeting, see Minutes of Josephine County Weekly Business Session, "Draft: Community Meeting with Neighborhood Watch," *Josephine County, Oregon*, January 14, 2015, 14–17, www.co.josephine.or.us/Files/01-14-15 WBS Min.pdf.
441. Ibid, 17. See also *Community Watch of Josephine County*, http://web.archive.org/web/20160626005912/http://cwjoco.com.442
442. The announcement for the event says, "There will also be a presentation on the newly formed Oregon Unified Common Law Grand Jury. A direct action people's Lawful entity, under the US constitution, administering indictments to corruption by government officials, the corporate and private sector. A people's answer to Ferguson, it's lack of accountability. It's time for real justice." See "Neighborhood Watch "Community Meeting" December 15, @5pm," *A Better Cave Junction*, December 14, 2014, https://abettercavejunction.wordpress.com/tag/josephine-county-sheriff-gil-gilbertson.
443. "Draft: Community Meeting with Neighborhood Watch," 17.
444. Ibid.
445. Dave Daniel, email to author, July 19, 2016.
446. Joseph Rice, telephone interview with author, July 17, 2016.
447. "Agenda for January 5thth, 2014" [sic], *Galice Mining District,* http://galicemining.x10.mx/mining-news/Jan-5-2014.pdf.
448. "District Court of the United States, District of Eugene: Galice Mining District," *Death and Taxes*, http://deathandtaxes.com/galicemining1.pdf. A close up of the Sovereign Citizen markings are here: "District Court of the United States, District of Eugene: Galice Mining District," *Death and Taxes*, http://deathandtaxes.com/galicemining2.jpg.
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450. Paul Walter picketed a Grants Pass newspaper on behalf of Masters, who officiated Walter's wedding. *News With Views* also hosts an archive of Masters' writings. See Patricia Snyder, "Newspaper proudest of times it's helped the community," *Daily Courier* (Grants Pass, OR), April 1, 2010, 12D, http://web.thedailycourier.com/eedition/2010/04/01/Progress/12.pdf; Jim Kouri, "*News With Views* Editor Weds British Film Star Yutte Stensgaard," *News With Views*, July 3, 2013, www.newswithviews.com/NWV-News/news348.htm; "Roy Masters' Archive," *News With Views,* www.newswithviews.com/Masters/royA.htm.
451. For example, one article by Alan Stang says, "The predatory Red Zionists are certainly an element of the same conspiracy for world government that includes the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission and

the Bilderbergers, etc." Alan Stang, "Zionism and the Jewish Conspiracy, Part 2 of 2," *News With Views*, February 17, 2009, www.newswithviews.com/Stang/alan188.htm. Stang is the author of *It's Very Simple*, which Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons describe as portraying Martin Luther King, Jr. "as an agent of a massive communist conspiracy instructed to agitate among otherwise happy Negroes to foment revolution, or at least promote demands for more collectivist federal government intrusion." See Berlet and Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America*, 181–82.

452. "Evaluating Josephine County and Oregon Candidates and Measures," *News With Views*, October 21, 2014, www.newswithviews.com/josephine_county/josephine_county100SO.htm.
453. The articles by Wally Hicks in *News With Views* are: "Electing a New Gatekeeper For Your Liberty," May 5, 2014, www.newswithviews.com/Guest-SO/opinion104SO.htm; "Why Having a Good Legal Counsel Is Critical to the Success of Josephine County," March 27, 2015, www.newswithviews.com/Hicks/wally100SO.htm; "Update on Josephine County GMO Laws," August 4, 2015, www.newswithviews.com/Hicks/wally101SO.htm; "Know More About Your County Government," August 15, 2016, www.newswithviews.com/Hicks/wally102SO.htm.
454. "Statement of Votes Cast, May 17, 2016 Primary Election, Josephine County, Summary Report," *Josephine County, Oregon*, 5, www.co.josephine.or.us/SIB/files/Clerk/20160517230046.pdf.
455. *Bad County*, http://badcounty.com; "Commissioner Pos. #2 (Vote for 1)" in "Statement of Votes Cast, May 17, 2016 Primary Election, Josephine County, Summary Report," *Josephine County, Oregon*, 5, www.co.josephine.or.us/SIB/files/Clerk/20160517230046.pdf.
456. "All About US~Observer," *US~Observer*, www.usobserver.com/archive/jan-11/all-about-us-observer.html; Edward Snook, "Why a Newspaper? *A Must Read!*," *US~Observer*, www.usobserver.com/archive/sept-08/why-a-newspaper.htm. For the paper's dubious business and journalistic practices, see John Schrag, "Seen a Rogue on the loose?," *Willamette Week*, originally published September 15, 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/20000819105054/www.wweek.com/html/rogue091599.html.
457. *We're for A Constitutional Government PAC*, www.w4acg.com. For their finance activity and other state filings, see "Statement of Organization for Political Action Committee, We're for a Constitutional Government," *Oregon Secretary of State*, https://secure.sos.state.or.us/orestar/sooDetail.do?sooRsn=71102.
458. "An Evening with Aaron Auer," *The Constitution Party of Oregon*, http://constitutionpartyoregon.net/an_evening_with_aaron_auer1.htm.
459. "Constitution Party State Officers," *The Constitution Party of Oregon*, http://constitutionpartyoregon.net/Contact Information.htm.
460. "Natural Resources Coordinating Committee; Friday, September 15, 2010," www.co.josephine.or.us/Files/Natural Resource 09-15-10.pdf. The document, the "Coordination Process" by the Jackson County Local Action Coalition (pages 3–7), cites Grant and strongly implies that coordination means counties have the upper hand with federal agencies.
461. Grant spoke on July 29 and 30, 2011. See Stacy D. Stumbo, "Author of 'War on Rural America' hosting 2-day seminar," *Daily Courier* (Grants Pass, OR), July 16, 2011, www.thedailycourier.com/articles/2011/07/16/community/news02.txt. His talk is listed on the Josephine County website a meeting for the Board of Commissioners daily agenda: "July 30, 2011," www.co.josephine.or.us/Calendar.asp?EventID=2609. Grant talks about meeting Gilbertson in Fred Kelly Grant, "Land Rights Attorney Fred K. Grant responds to Huffington Post's slander," *Pie N Politics*, July 13, 2012, http://pienpolitics.com/?p=10940.
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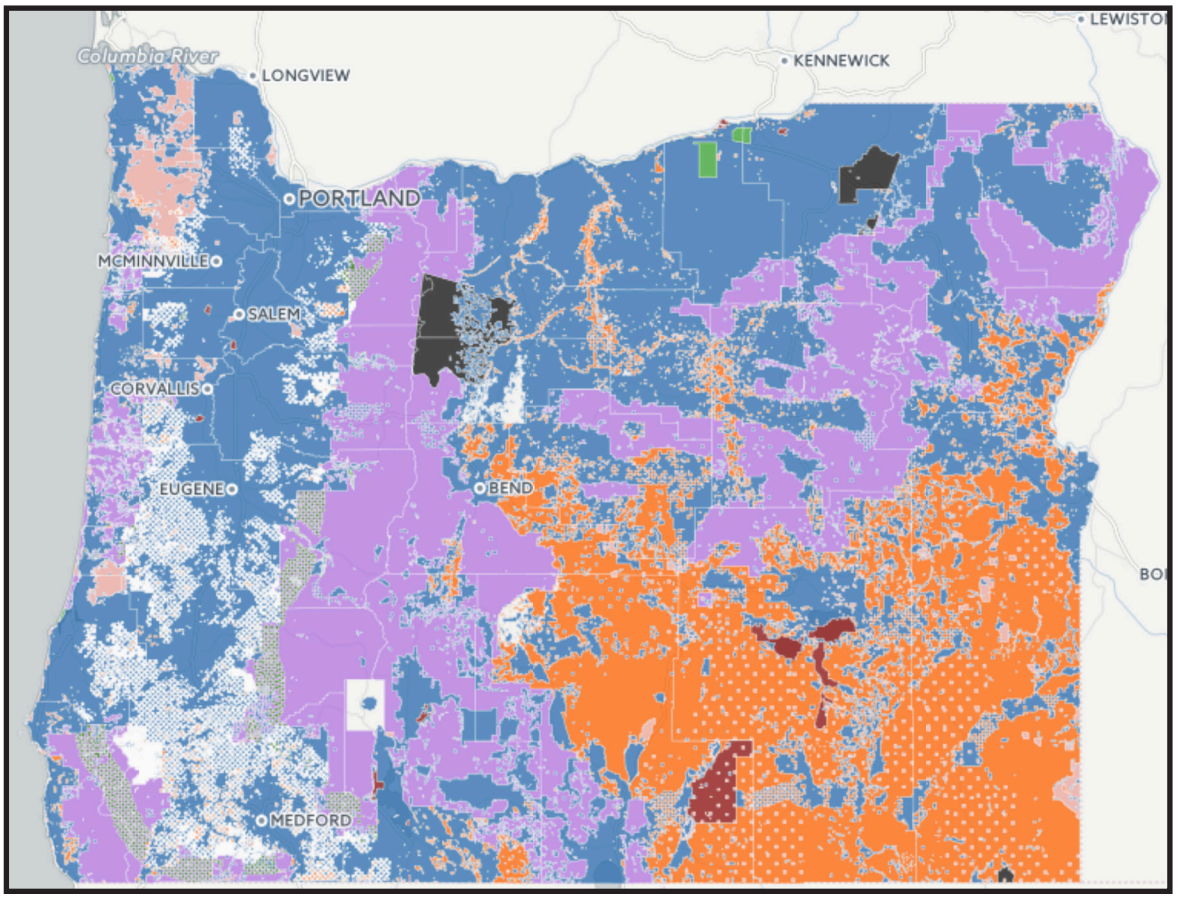

Up In Arms delivers what we need to oppose a right-wing that is armed and dangerous. It gives us the history of the ideology that drives the so-called "patriot" movement and offers snapshots of the current players. Just as valuable, *Up In Arms* offers real-world examples of how local people can stand up to these false patriots and take back their communities.

—Travis McAdam, former Executive Director,
Montana Human Rights Network

Up in Arms does two things. First, it uses research to understand why some people, in rural Oregon and elsewhere, form paramilitary organizations to amplify a politics of conspiracy and a language of grievance for a select few. Second, it shows how people in some of these same communities organize to make sure that the values of democracy, inclusion, civility, and progress are not eclipsed by attention-trapping shock tactics. How do they do this? Here's a hint—they meet face-to-face across kitchen tables, not through the blue glow of a screen in a darkened room.

—Mike Edera, Rural Organizing Project activist

Up in Arms shines a light on the complex realities that have provoked the opportunistic and dangerous actions of extremist organizations. Oregon's Patriot movement is but one faction. We know these same patterns are repeating in other states. This report will help us understand the spectrum of groups and provide opportunity to organize from a more informed base.

—Kelley Weigel,
Executive Director of the Western States Center

Up in Arms is an invaluable resource. It casts aside the veil of media superficiality and stereotype to reveal the actual mindset and material realities that feed the phenomenon of right-wing paramilitaries. It should be required reading for anyone seeking to understand and combat the domestic threat posed by far Right extremism.

—Walter Reeves, Writer, Researcher, and Trade Unionist

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