

**Name:** Margaret Wiggin

## Research Log

**Search question:** How has the CSA affected the United States and American lives?

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### Source #1

**Complete citation for item found:**

The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord. Wikipedia. 9 Oct 2007.

<[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Covenant,\\_The\\_Sword,\\_and\\_the\\_Arm\\_of\\_the\\_Lord](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Covenant,_The_Sword,_and_the_Arm_of_the_Lord)>

**Information source used:** Google

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= covenant, sword, arm, lord

### Evaluation of material:

This information seems reliable, but because it is from Wikipedia, I am not sure how accurate it is. Thankfully, most of it matches up with my other sources. That which does not, will not be used.

### Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:

"The founder of the CSA was a polygamist, James Ellison, who was jailed for a period of time, along with his 'high priest' Kerry Noble in federal prison" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

"The CSA was an organization that believed doomsday was imminent, and the 250-acre compound that was set up in Elijah became a community for its members. There they trained their members in paramilitary operations. The group strongly believed in white supremacy, and held a particularly strong sense of anti-Semitism. Like the other prominent extreme right groups, they referred to the United States Government as ZOG, for Zionist Occupied Government" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

"After it was set up, the CSA began targeting local and federal agents, including the sheriff who participated in the later siege on the organization's compound and the U.S. Attorney, Asa Hutchinson, who would negotiate a peaceful conclusion to the siege and later prosecute CSA members. CSA assassins would monitor the homes of their targets and actually practice mock assassinations of the targets with scoped rifles and practiced attacks in a mock "Combat City". The perimeter of the CSA compound had 100, 200, and 300 yard indicator plates nailed to trees to allow the defenders to adjust their sights accordingly to engage attackers. The central rallying point in the event of attack was a concrete bunkhouse that housed the communications radios next to the 95 foot tower, which itself, was constructed for defense. The perimeter of the compound had built-in bunkers for one to three men and each was numbered as a post and assigned to individuals as an 'area of responsibility'. The many weapons obtained for their training were purchased through a member's federal license (FFL). The line infantryman carried a Ruger Mini-14 .223 rifle. Many of these were illegally modified to fire selectively. As in the early days of the Marine Corps, the squads were set up in four man fire teams" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

300 federal agents (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

"These men trained in the covert aspects of military action, and were to be the core of the defense initiative" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

"By the end of their operations, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) obtained 155 Krugerrands, one live light antitank rocket (LAAW), 94 long guns, 30 handguns, 35 sawed-off shotguns and machine guns, one heavy machine gun (a Japanese copy of the WWI Lewis, in .303 caliber), and a quantity of C-4 explosives. Much of this arsenal was stolen. In 1983, CSA member William Thomas accompanying Richard Wayne Snell and Steven Scott attempted to dynamite a natural gas pipeline, without success" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

"The siege: April 20, 1985" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

"The ATF (*bureau of alcohol, tobacco and firearms*) set up what is assumed to be around 300 federal agents in Elijah, having them pose as fisherman because the area was a common destination for anglers. On the morning of April 20, 1985, they moved in and surrounded the CSA compound, putting some in fishing boats to seal off the lakeside area of the Compound. There they waited, until a few hours later when two guards emerged from the compound. They appeared to be unaware of the presence of the officers, and walked towards a sniper holdout, until finally an officer yelled commands to return to the compound, with which the guards complied. Later, an unnamed individual emerged from the compound and talked with the federal agents and reported to Ellison that the FBI were outside to negotiate his surrender and the emptying of the Compound. Ellison emerged later, and FBI agents realized he would not go down without a firefight, but the FBI negotiators convinced him that the CSA would certainly lose if they had one. They convinced him they wanted peaceful cooperation, and he asked that his spiritual adviser, assumed to be Millar, come to the compound to instruct him. The individual was flown to the area and seemed eager to convince Ellison to stand down, understanding that otherwise there would be certain bloodshed. They allowed the individual into the compound, and the FBI instructed him to call in every 30 minutes to report how negotiations were going" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

"Attorney Asa Hutchinson, who would later go on to successfully prosecute Ellison and other leaders of the CSA, put on an FBI flak jacket and entered the compound to personally join negotiations, ultimately leading to a peaceful conclusion to the armed stand-off. After several calls requesting more time, early on the morning of the 4th day of the siege, Ellison, his command, and all of the males in the compound emerged, and surrendered themselves to authorities. Women and children were earlier evacuated to nearby motel housing at government expense" (*The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*).

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## **Source #2**

**Complete citation for item found:**

Paranoia as Patriotism: Far-Right Influences on the Militia Movement. The Nizkor Project.

9 Oct 2007. <<http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/orgs/american/adl/paranoia-as-patriotism/covenant.html>>

**Information source used:** Google

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= covenant, sword, arm, lord

**Evaluation of material:**

This information blends well with Stern's ideas and describes some of the member's beliefs. I believe this source is a reputable one, as it contains similar information to some other sources.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:** "The "Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) was a paramilitary survivalist group which operated an Identity-oriented communal settlement near the Arkansas-Missouri border. Under the guise of being a church, the CSA was a violence-prone purveyor of anti-Semitism and racism. The 100 or more inhabitants of the settlement believed American society to be approaching economic collapse, famine, rioting and a "coming war." They stockpiled arms, food, and wilderness survival gear, and trained in the use of weapons in a mock village called Silhouette City" (*Paranoia...*).

"Kerry Noble, an elder and "ordained minister" of the CSA explained: "We are Christian survivalists who believe in preparing for the ultimate holocaust." The organization's materials proclaimed that the settlement's purpose was "to build an Ark for God's people during the coming tribulations, the coming war is a step towards God's government" (*Paranoia...*).

"CSA operated the "Endtime Overcomer Survival Training School," offering to members and selected non-members course in urban warfare, riflery and pistol craft, military tactics, "Christian martial arts" and wilderness survival. The school was run by CSA founder and leader James Ellison" (*Paranoia...*).

"The CSA's anti-Semitism flowed from its Identity-movement doctrine, which declared: "We believe the Scandinavian-German-Teutonic-British-American people to be the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel which Jesus was sent for." Its members were told that "Jews of today are not God's chosen people, but are in fact an anti-Christ race, whose purpose is to destroy God's people and Christianity through its Talmudic teaching, forced inter-racial mixings, and perversions." The Jews, said CSA seminar organizer Bill Thomas, are "the seed of Satan, not the seed of God." Kerry Noble stated, "We do believe non-whites and Jews are a threat to our Christian, white race" and that "Jews are financing the training of Blacks to take over most of our major cities" (*Paranoia...*).

"In April 1985, 200 FBI agents raided the CSA compound on the Missouri-Arkansas border and seized hundreds of weapons, bombs, an anti-tank rocket, and quantities of cyanide allegedly intended to poison the water supply of an unnamed city.

In September 1985, CSA leaders James Ellison and Kerry Noble and four other CSA activists - Gary Stone, Timothy Russell, Rudy Loewen and David Giles - were sentenced to lengthy Federal prison terms on racketeering and illegal weapons charges. CSA member Stephen Scott pleaded guilty in an Arkansas Federal court to charges he dynamited a natural gas pipeline near Fulton, Arkansas in 1983. Ex-CSA member Kent Yates also pleaded guilty to a charge of conspiring to make and transfer automatic weapons silencers. The convictions and guilty pleas in effect broke the white supremacist group" (*Paranoia...*).

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### Source #3

**Complete citation for item found:**

Christian Identity Movement. 16 July 2001. University of Virginia. 9 Oct 2007.  
<<http://religiousmovements.lib.virginia.edu/nrms/identity.html>>

**Information source used:** DBC Sites of Interest

**Search strategy employed:** n/a

**Evaluation of material:**

This source shows some of the beliefs that the CSA held. It shows some of the rationale behind the group's violence and aggression towards non-whites.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"the most fundamental teaching pivots on the idea that Anglo-Saxons, are the direct descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel and, thus, are the "true chosen people" of God" (*Christian Identity Movement*).

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### Source #4

**Complete citation for item found:**

Van Boven, Sarah, and Seibert, Sam. "Prep work." Newsweek 126.7 (14 Aug. 1995): 4.  
Academic Search Premier. EBSCO. W.E.B. Du Bois Library, Amherst, MA. 10 October 2007.  
<<http://silk.library.umass.edu:2048/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/silk.library.umass.edu:2048/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=9508147623&site=ehost-live&scope=site>>

**Information source used:** Academic Search Premier

**Search strategy employed:** subject heading= CSA

**Evaluation of material:**

This source describes the outcome of Kerry Noble's life. Because this article is from a reputable source, *Newsweek*, I believe that it is accurate and can be trusted. This information blends well with the information provided by Stern on the life of Noble and adds to the depth of character appreciated by the reader.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"To get ready for the next David Koresh, the FBI has lined up a real expert on violent cults. Kerry Noble was second in command of the apocalyptic white-supremacist sect called the *Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord*. On April 19, 1985-- exactly eight years before the Waco debacle--the FBI surrounded CSA's fortified Arkansas camp and got the sect to surrender peacefully. Noble, who has renounced extremism, cooperated with prosecutors and got two years. Now Noble says he's agreed to help the FBI negotiate future standoffs with right-wing groups. The FBI declined to comment" (Van Boven and Seibert).

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## Source #5

### Complete citation for item found:

Mayer, Jean-François. "Cults, Violence and Religious Terrorism: An International Perspective." Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 24.5 (Sep. 2001): 361-376. International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center. EBSCO. W.E.B. DuBois Library, Amherst, MA. 10 October 2007. <<http://silk.library.umass.edu:2048/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/silk.library.umass.edu:2048/login.aspx?direct=true&db=tsh&AN=5172234&site=ehost-live&scope=site>>.

**Information source used:** Google Scholar

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= covenant, sword, arm, lord, CSA

### Evaluation of material:

This source describes the psychology behind the CSA. Although the information is reliable and useful as background knowledge, I do not think that it will be directly useful to my research question.

### Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:

"Few "cults" qualify as terrorist organizations according to generally accepted definitions of that word, despite the fact that most approaches to the phenomenon of terrorism also include groups without political goals. Of course, political and religious dimensions are not mutually exclusive" (Mayer 363).

"religious scenarios sometimes get mixed with political dreams: the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) in Arkansas did not only see itself as a group carrying out God's judgments, but also hoped that its violent actions would lead to a popular uprising against the hated government. This is definitely one of the classic goals of terrorist actions: not only to intimidate and to make an impact on public opinion, but to create distrust toward and dissatisfaction with the existing order" (Mayer 363).

"Ideologically, only those groups that think that the believers will have an active role to play in the unfolding of Armageddon may represent a potential danger. One of the members of the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) once decreed: "I'm tired of waiting. If God doesn't start the riots soon and the collapse of our government, then I will" " (Mayer 369).

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## Source #6

### Complete citation for item found:

Barkun, Michael. "Millenarian Aspects of 'White Supremacist' Movements." Terrorism & Political Violence 1.4 (Oct. 1989): 409. Humanities International Complete. EBSCO. W.E.B. DuBois Library, Amherst, MA. 10 October 2007. <<http://silk.library.umass.edu:2048/ghlogin?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/silk.library.umass.edu:2048/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hlh&AN=6408514&site=ehost-live&scope=site>>.

**Information source used:** (DBC website) discipline-specific database: America: History and Life

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= CSA, covenant

**Evaluation of material:**

Although the information provided by Barkun is not so thorough, it does give some needed details about the CSA facility that are not provided by any other source. Barkun gives good background facts that do contribute to my presentation.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"Often described as political organizations, many of them pursue political objectives in fulfillment of an elaborate set of religious beliefs" (Barkun 409).

"When the CSA community of Zarephath-Horeb was raided by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in 1985, a series of prosecutions followed that resulted in a 20-year prison sentence for the founder, James Ellison, convicted of the manufacture of automatic weapons and acts of bombing and arson; and the sale of the organization's compound in southern Missouri" (Barkun 415).

"...CSA settlement of Zarephath-Horeb on the Missouri-Arkansas Border" (Barkun 428).

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**Source #7****Complete citation for item found:**

Wheeler, Tim. "McVeigh could tell some tales." People's Weekly World [New York] 26 May 2001, National Edition: 13. Alt-Press Watch (APW). ProQuest. W.E.B. DuBois Library, Amherst, MA. 11 Oct. 2007 <<http://www.proquest.com.silk.library.umass.edu:2048/>>

**Information source used:** alternative database, Alt-Press Watch

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= CSA, covenant

**Evaluation of material:**

This information relates very well to my research, it gives a direct example as to how the CSA has affected the United States and American lives. My research here expands upon what Stern's book describes, which I believe, makes it pretty reliable.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"McVeigh's attack on the Oklahoma City federal building was actually modeled on a plan hatched by a white supremacist outfit called Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord (CSA) at Elohim City back in the 1980s to use a missile to blow up the same building. It was aborted when the missile blew up, killing the terrorist who was making it" (Wheeler).

"Richard Snell, a former CSA member and a participant in the first conspiracy, was executed in Arkansas on April 19, 1995, the very day McVeigh and his cohorts carried out the bombing" (Wheeler).

**Date this search was done and entry was made:** 11 October 2007

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**Source #8****Complete citation for item found:**

Ridgeway, James. "After the guilty verdict." The Village Voice [New York] 10 Jun 1997,46. Alt-Press Watch (APW). ProQuest. W.E.B. DuBois Library, Amherst, MA. 11 Oct. 2007 <<http://www.proquest.com.silk.library.umass.edu:2048/>>

**Information source used:** alternative database, Alt-Press Watch

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= CSA, covenant

**Evaluation of material:**

This source expands on several others that relate to the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building. This source provides direct information that answers my research question and tells us one way that the CSA has made an impact on the United States and American lives. The author seems to be an authority on the subject of the CSA, or at least did some very thorough research, as I found two of his interesting and informative articles.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"From the early 1980s on, the far-right underground has discussed blowing up the federal building... Leaders of a religious group called the Covenant, Sword, & Arm of the Lord (CSA) cased the federal building, and set about making missiles to blow it up. According to an interview in the Denver Post with a CSA leader, the plan was aborted when a rocket blew up in the hands of the man constructing it" (Ridgeway, "After the guilty verdict").

"Jim Ellison, another CSA leader and one of the participants in that original plot, now lives at Elohim City, the far-right Christian Identity compound in eastern Oklahoma. In the fall of 1994, Carol Howe, a former Tulsa debutante working undercover as an informant among the far-right racists for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, reported to her superiors that several men at Elohim City had discussed blowing up federal buildings, including the one in Oklahoma City. An FBI report prepared for the trial said, "[Denis Mahon, a Tulsa white power leader] has talked... about targeting federal installations for destruction through bombings, such as the IRS Building, the Tulsa Federal Building, and the Oklahoma City Federal Building" Mahon has denied any involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing" (Ridgeway, "After the guilty verdict").

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**Source #9**

**Complete citation for item found:**

Ridgeway, James. "Armies of the right." The Village Voice [New York] 25 Mar. 1997,36-38. Alt-Press Watch (APW). ProQuest. W.E.B. DuBois Library, Amherst, MA. 11 Oct. 2007 <<http://www.proquest.com.silk.library.umass.edu:2048/>>

**Information source used:** alternative database, Alt-Press Watch

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= CSA, covenant

**Evaluation of material:**

Ridgeway's article gives great background information and some specific details that no other source was able to provide. I think that Ridgeway is a reliable author because this is the second source of his

that I used to answer my research question. Although it contains some extraneous information, this source agrees with others and expands into information that is more detailed.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"Beginning in the '80s, groups of apocalyptic Christian fundamentalists withdrew from society, forming their own closed communities so as to more closely practice their religious beliefs and wait for the return of Christ. One group, called The Covenant, The Sword & The Arm of The Lord (CSA), aligned itself in the mid 1980s with the Order, a far-right underground gang. That explosive combination led to a tense showdown between 300 lawmen and some 75 heavily armed religious zealots prepared to do God's will in a shootout. The shooting was averted by last-minute negotiations" (Ridgeway, "Armies of the right").

"Indeed, the actual plan to blow up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in downtown Oklahoma City was first hatched within the CSA during the early '80s. The attack was aborted when the rocket that was to be used blew up in the hands of the man who was building it. By adopting the leaderless resistance cell strategy, the far right made large actions like Oklahoma City possible" (Ridgeway, "Armies of the right").

"These violent acts are carried out with both the aim of screwing up an oppressive government (for example, by dumping cyanide into a community's water supply-another plan that was hatched with the help of the CSA, this time with Robert Miles, the grand dragon of the Michigan Ku Klux Klan), or the need to raise money (by, say, robbing a bank or selling dope)" (Ridgeway, "Armies of the right").

"The money is then used to purchase land to create a white bastion, buy equipment such as radios or trucks and vans (which are sometimes stolen as well), and amass weapons and ammunition (which are also often ripped off through home invasions of gun dealers)" (Ridgeway, "Armies of the right").

Far-right gunmen have pulled off the greatest chain of bank robberies since Jesse Jamesone a month starting in 1994, with 19 in eight states by 1996. But the bomb is their m.o. Oklahoma City was the biggest, but it was just the first of a rash of such actions: in the south, three members of the Georgia Republic Militia were convicted of stockpiling bombs. Militia members from West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania stand accused of planning to blow up the FBI's national fingerprint center in Clarksburg. And in Vacaville, California, a federal mine inspector and his wife were critically injured in a far-right car bombing; before the car blew up, a caller had warned, "Timothy McVeigh lives on" Other bombing attacks include last-year's Oklahoma-based conspiracy to blow up Anti Defamation League offices in Houston, and the recent siege on abortion clinics and gay bars in the south" (Ridgeway, "Armies of the right").

"The Oklahoma City bombing, however, was clearly not a random act of terror. It was, quite simply, a major operation in a growing revolution-one that had been discussed for over a decade. And its timing suggests several intended messages: as possible retribution for the execution on April 19, 1995, of Richard Wayne Snell, a leader of the CSA who was sentenced to die for murdering an Arkansas state trooper and a pawnbroker he mistakenly thought was Jewish. It may have been retaliation for the 1992 Idaho shootout between the feds and Randy Weaver. And most likely, the Oklahoma City bombing could have been a response to the government's siege at Waco" (Ridgeway, "Armies of the right").

Timothy McVeigh had been in and out of the far-right scene since he left the army in 1992, and was reportedly highly agitated by Waco. One of the main questions to be answered at McVeigh's trial, then, is to what extent did he fit into this revolutionary landscape-just how did his "cell" operate in

relationship to the others now functioning across the American hinterland? " (Ridgeway, "Armies of the right").

**Date this search was done and entry was made:** 11 October 2007

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### **Source #10**

**Complete citation for item found:**

Phelps, Christopher. "The Explosive Rise of an Armed Far Right: Angry, White and Armed." Against the Current. 1 Jul 1995: 3. Alt-Press Watch (APW). ProQuest. W.E.B. DuBois Library, Amherst, MA. 11 Oct. 2007 <<http://www.proquest.com.silk.library.umass.edu:2048/>>

**Information source used:** alternative database, Alt-Press Watch

**Search strategy employed:** keyword= CSA, covenant

**Evaluation of material:**

This source presents some interesting information about crimes committed by the CSA. I believe that this source is a reliable one, as I found it through a database search provided by the UMass library. It relates directly to and answers my research question rather thoroughly.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"Millar was also a close ally in the mid-1980s of the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), a now-defunct neo-Nazi group that maintained a compound in northern Arkansas. The CSA was involved in a spree of assassinations, bank robberies, and natural gas line bombings in the West and Midwest. In 1983 the CSA made plans, never carried out, to blow up the Oklahoma City federal building. Snell, a CSA member, helped formulate that plan" (Phelps).

"The CSA was one of the most violent white supremacist centers of the 1980s. Like The Order, it was tied to the Idaho-based Aryan Nations. That may not be coincidental, either: While the numbers of skinhead Nazis have plummeted in the last year and the Klans are in disarray, Aryan Nations, Christian Identity and the militia are all on the rise" (Phelps).

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### **Source #11**

**Complete citation for item found:**

Stern, Jessica. *Terror in the Name of God*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003.

**Information source used:** book

**Search strategy employed:** n/a

**Evaluation of material:**

This is the information off which my paper is based. If other sources did not match up with Stern's work, I did not use them in my paper. The chapter "Alienation" gives a baseline of ideology and acts of the CSA. This is an unbiased and relatively recent and up to date source.

**Paraphrased ideas or direct quotations to use in presentation and/or final literature review:**

"...claim to be motivated by religious principles, but most pursue a mixture of spiritual and political goals. At the extreme religious end of the spectrum are the groups seeking eternal, spiritual goals such as redemption or helping to bring on the apocalypse and the Endtimes predicted in biblical texts" (Stern 6).

"...interested in influencing the process and timing of the apocalypse. Neither was seeking political power, at least when they started out" (Stern 6).

"Instead of giving in to despair that their dream of the Endtimes might not materialize, cult members' confidence grew stronger" (Stern 9).

"... we learn how leaders develop a story about imminent danger to an "in group," foster group identity, dehumanize the groups' purported enemies, and encourage the creation of a "killer self" capable of murdering large numbers of innocent people" (Stern 9).

"...a cult member named Kerry Noble" (Stern 9).

"On April 19, 1985, two hundred federal and state law-enforcement agents staged a siege at a 240-acre compound in rural Arkansas inhabited by a Christian cult called the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) " (Stern 10).

" 'Your organization is considered by the government to be the best-trained civilian paramilitary group in America. That's what we're here. We're only sent against the best.'" Danny Coulson head of FBI hostage rescue team" (Stern 10).

"...searched the compound, they found a large cache of weapons, including fifty hand grenades; seventy-four assault weapons; thirty machine guns; six silencers; an M-72 antitank rocket; a World War II-era anti-aircraft gun; three half-pound blocks of C-4 plastic explosives; an unfinished, homemade armored personnel carrier; and a large drum of cyanide, which cult members intended to use to poison major-city water supplies" (Stern 11).

"...cult hoped to hasten return of the Messiah" (Stern 11).

"They knew for a fact that Jews, Satan's direct descendents, were working closely with the Antichrist, whose forces included the United Nations, the IMF., the Council on Foreign Relations the Illuminati, and the "One-Worlders"" (Stern 11).

"...group had started preparing for "war" because there were signs of Armageddon" (Stern 11).

"...[Kerry Nobel] drove to Kansas City with plastic explosives and a .22 pistol to shoot some "queers and niggers," bomb a pornographic bookstore, and blow up a church frequented by homosexuals" (Stern 12).

"...[Stern] was still of the view that faith in God makes people better human beings. How is it possible that Kerry could retain faith in a God that he believes directed him to do things that were evil? Things that he now sees as morally wrong?" (Stern 12).

"It was almost as if James Ellison were two people, he says. A religious leader, but also a thug" (Stern 15).

"Terrorists often strike people who know them as two different people: the family man and the killer" (Stern 15).

"The chair was a 'symbol in which to humble oneself in front of the group before asking for prayer, openly confessing what one needed'...public shaming of members is one of the hallmarks of a cult" (Stern 15).

"Ellison instructed all the men to shave tier beards and cut their hair short. Members would no longer receive payment for their logging work; the group would pool all its earnings. Members were encouraged to burn any remaining vestiges of their precult identities: photographs, keepsakes, and high school yearbooks. They destroyed televisions and radios and other 'reminders of the outside world's propaganda'" (Stern 15).

"Cutting off information from the outside world and destroying personal possessions or anything that reminds members of their precult lives is another common practice among cults." (Stern 16).

"Terrorists also employ this technique, partly referring to the 'enemy' as subhuman" (Stern 16).

"It is also common for cult leaders to demand that adherents donate all earnings, and in some cases possessions, to the group or its leaders." (Stern 17).

"CSA came to accept the teachings of Identity Christianity, which sees Anglo-Saxons as the 'true Israel,' America as a sacred land, and the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as a God-inspired, Christian inheritance" (Stern 17).

"...many religious terrorists imbue material objectives and objects (such as land) with a spiritual dimension, making it impossible to compromise because the land now has spiritual content" (Stern 17).

"Followers of Christian Identity expect to be present for the Apocalypse" (Stern 17).

"Terrorists frequently invoke the notion that they are protecting the in-group from pollution by impure outsiders" (Stern 18).

"Outside the cult, Kerry tells us, he felt weak and repeatedly humiliated. Inside, Ellison made him feel needed and strong" (Stern 19).

"the body of Christ is composed of a number of people-possibly the 144,000 people mentioned in the Book of Revelation" (Stern 19).

"...'spiritualizing the biblical text'" (Stern 19).

"When he felt himself to have achieved the requisite level of perfection, he took a second wife. He felt that whatever he chose to do, he was no longer capable of sinning, so nothing was off-limits" (Stern 19).

"Ellison employed essentially all the techniques for enhancing commitment that cults traditionally favor. These include sharing property and/or signing it over to the group upon admission, limiting interactions with the outside world, employing special terms for the outside world, ignoring outside newspapers, speaking a foreign language or special jargon, requiring free love, polygamy, or celibacy, no compensation for labor, communal work efforts, daily meetings, mortification procedures such as confession, mutual

surveillance and denunciation, institutionalization of awe for the group and its leaders through the attribution of magical powers, the legitimization of group demands through appeals to ultimate values (such as religion) and the use of special forms of address. Most terrorist groups employ at least some of these mechanisms" (Stern 20).

"...cult members felt they needed weapons because they had obligations to take care of one another" (Stern 20).

"It is common for members of terrorist groups to begin taking on a group identity and to feel that the need to protect group members is as strong- or stronger- than the need to protect their own lives" (Stern 20).

"...'Ninety percent of the world's population would die within the first hour of the Apocalypse, leaving an elect people to rebuild society and usher in the millennial rule of Christ'" (Stern 20).

"We believed we were to house, feed and clothe those who came to us," Kerry explains" (Stern 20).

"When the prediction turned out to be premature, Kerry says, "We were disappointed it didn't occur, but still anticipated its arrival as being near'" (Stern 21).

"The cult repeatedly prepared for the coming economic and social collapse. Which was certain, Ellison told them again and again, to arrive the following season. When the judgments started, Ellison told them, 'It will get so bad that parents will eat their children. Heath in the major cities will cause rampant diseases and plagues. Maggot-infested bodies will lie everywhere. Earthquakes, tidal waves, volcanoes and other natural disasters will grow to gigantic proportions. Witches and satanic Jews will offer people up as sacrifices to their gods openly and proudly; blacks will rape and kill white women and will torture and kill white men; homosexuals will sodomize whomever they can. Our new government will be a part of the one world Zionist Communism government. All but the elect will have the mark of the Beast'" (Stern 21).

"To prepare, the men started practicing military maneuvers. Every male member of the cult was issued a rifle, a pistol, and full military gear" (Stern 21).

They raised money by stealing from department stores and committing arson for profit. They built factories for manufacturing grenades and silencers and sold weapons at National Rifle Association gun shows, they offered classes in 'Christian marital arts' at a school they called the Endtime Overcomer Survival Training school. They charged \$500 for the full course, which included shooting cardboard cutouts of backs and Jews" (Stern 21).

"Terrorist groups often raise money through criminal activities. They published a series of books" (Stern 21).

"Acts of violence were usually kept among the men; the women really didn't know much of what was going on" (Stern 22).

"Leaders of new religions take advantage of people's frustration with mainstream religions, which many people believe do not help them deal with the problems of contemporary life" (Stern 23).

"...Ellison liked to recruit people who were young and vulnerable, and that he was good at figuring out what they needed... he was somewhat rattled by people who are intelligent" (Stern 24).

"...shame and humiliation... desperately wanted to be a 'rugged, hardworking man'" (Stern 25).

"In the paramilitary, for the first time I felt as if I could protect myself. For me, I needed this... I also needed to know that there was somebody who walked with God..." (Stern 25).

"...one thing that distinguishes religious terrorists from other people is that they know with absolute certainty that they're doing good" (Stern 26).

"Terrorists often suffer delusions of grandeur. They come to believe that their actions are of intense interest to everyone, especially their enemies. These characteristics, together with profound suspicion of the government and premonitions of doom, are symptoms of ...politicized paranoia which often leads activist organizations to turn violent" (Stern 26).

"They would assassinate federal officials, politicians, and Jews; sabotage gas pipelines and electric power grids; and bomb federal office buildings, including the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. And they would poison municipal water supplies with cyanide. The ultimate purpose was to spark the Second American Revolution, creating an all-white state" (Stern 27).

"...plans to finance the right-wing movement through counterfeiting, robbing armored cars or banks, stealing from stores or 'whatever it takes'" (Stern 27).

"CSA paramilitary forces detonated an explosive device along a pipeline that supplied natural gas to much of the mid-western United States" (Stern 27).

"They also detonated an explosive device on an electrical transmission line at Fort Smith, Arkansas" (Stern 27).

"...Sermon on the Mount, which extols the virtues of pacifism. Christians typically ascribe the qualities of "light" and "love" to God and try to manifest those qualities in their own lives... 'but the Scriptures describe another aspect of God: "The Lord God is a man of war"... and in Deuteronomy, the Lord says "if I whet my glittering sword, and my hand take hold on judgment: I will render vengeance to my enemies, and will reward them that hate me. I will make my arrows drunk with blood and my sword shall devour flesh"... [CSA] wanted to mimic this more violent aspect of God... a practice common to Identity Christian groups" (Stern 28).

"...stockpiling illegal, military-style weapons, conducting paramilitary exercises, and burying land mines around the perimeter of the compound. They stole cars whenever Ellison felt they were 'needed in furtherance of the Lord's work,' then altered or disguised them... cult members had been assigned sniper positions in the event of a government raid" (Stern 28).

"...Elohim City, another Identity Christian compound in Oklahoma, run by Pastor Robert Millar" (Stern 29).

"I don't think there is anything anywhere at this point that [Ellison] would not have access to, or that some member of a radical group would not have access to" (Stern 29).

"...Leaders aren't radicals- they have too much to lose.' It's the people we don't hear about who should concern us..." (Stern 30).

"...cult leaders can harness alienation and anomie to construct a group identity, eventually creating killers out of lost souls" (Stern 30).

"...the importance of 'sacred territory.' The cult came to believe that America is sacred land and that it was time to take the land back from God's enemies... once material objects such as land, are imbued with a spiritual dimension, it becomes impossible to compromise" (Stern 31).

"...importance of selective interpretation of texts to justify violence" (Stern 31).

"Personal humiliation- in addition to cultural humiliation- also plays a role for some terrorists. Kerry Noble, the former member of the Christian Identity group the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, talked about his embarrassment at having been forced to play on the girls' side in his elementary-school physical education classes. He said that he felt strong for the first time in his life when he joined a violent, racist cult. In general, right-wing militias and Christian Identity groups see the state as emasculating and blame feminists and their nonwhite coconspirators for their humiliation. They recruit followers with an implicit promise to restore their wounded masculinity" (Stern 285).

"Kerry Noble had been second-in-command of a violent apocalyptic cult active in the 1980s, whose members were convicted of murder, firebombing a synagogue and a church that accepted homosexuals, conspiracy to assassinate federal officials, and other crimes. They had stockpiled cyanide with the aim of poisoning major city water supplies and, like Timothy McVeigh ten years later, plotted to bomb the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Their political goals included racially cleansing the United States... replacing [the government] with a Christian one; destroying multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank... and stopping the creation of a new world order based on 'humanism' and 'materialism.' They believed that ridding the world of Jews, blacks, and sinners would facilitate the Apocalypse and the Messiah's return" (Stern xiv).

"'The homosexual; the liberal, idolatrous preachers; those officials in high places; the merchants of trade and usury; and all those who refused the word of the Lord. They were the enemy. And so they would have to die... We wanted peace, but if purging had to precede peace, then let the purge begin'" (Stern xiv).

Noble "is still 100 percent certain that there is a God and that God is good, even though at an earlier period in his life he listened to God and ended up living on an armed compound in rural Arkansas, doing things he now feels were wrong" (Stern xv).

Stern "...wanted to understand how a person so obsessed with good and evil, with such strong faith, could be led so far astray" (Stern xv).

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