

EXHIBIT 2

"This startling book casts a bright light on the dark underside of American life—a firebell in the night for all Americans."

—ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR., Pulitzer Prize-winning historian

GATHERING STORM

America's Militia Threat



MORRIS DEES

with JAMES CORCORAN

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Author's Note

This is the story of a very dangerous movement, one the public knows almost nothing about. To some it might read like fiction, but, unfortunately, it is all true.

Much of what I write about, I learned from close contact with many of the far-right extremists who are behind the militia movement. Some of the information was gained through undercover operations I cannot reveal. Many of those involved will be surprised to find their words and actions publicly exposed.

When Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols were indicted for the Oklahoma City bombing, the *New York Times* said in an editorial that the "case may turn out to be much simpler than many had thought. . . . [T]wo former buddies nursing hatred of the government carried out the most destructive act of domestic terrorism in the nation's history. That is reassuring in the sense that there may be no organized conspiracy to carry out other terrorist bombings."

It's not that simple. The chain of events that led to the Oklahoma City bombing dates back to the early 1980s. It is a continuing threat that promises to cause further destruction.

Morris Dees
Rolling Hills Ranch
Mathews, Alabama
January 2, 1996

"While we do not agree with some of the doctrines espoused by other Christian action groups . . . it is time to temporarily lay aside certain differences and work for the common goal of taking America back for Christ," Pastor Bruggeman wrote in his ministry's newsletter, *The Christian Patriot Crusader*, in 1994. "Do not misunderstand. This is not to say that our doctrinal disagreements are not important. But let's be realistic. Let's focus on regaining America from the anti-Christians so that we can have the leisure time to debate doctrine with our Christian brethren."

But not all their Christian brethren.

Except for the fundamentalists, said Peters, "Today's modern, state approved, tax exempt Christianity is . . . a refined, palatable, goody, goody religion that fits well within the plans of the one world Communist conspirators, [and] is tenderly embraced by an effeminate world, and is socially accepted by a Christless, Lawless, Humanistic society."

There is nothing "goody, goody" or "tender" about Identity. It is a religion, a form of Christianity, that few churchgoers would recognize as that of Jesus, son of a loving God. It is a religion on steroids. It is a religion whose God commands the death of race traitors, homosexuals, and other so-called children of Satan. It is a postmillennium religion that believes Jesus Christ will return once God's law is established on earth following the Battle of Armageddon.

Identity adherents are preparing for that battle.

They advocate keeping a well-stocked arsenal and survival gear at the ready. Some have taken their weapons and survival gear and retreated into armed compounds or "covenant communities" such as Elohim City in Oklahoma and Ephraim's Forum in Arizona. There they await the coming Battle of Armageddon.

McVeigh was questioned by FBI agents prior to hiring a lawyer, he followed the code of conduct of the Michigan Militia, as well as the oath of her militia groups, swear to abide by if federal authorities.

McVeigh refused to give only name, rank, and date of birth. He evaded answering further questions to the FBI by saying, "I will make no oral or written statement disloyal to my beloved homeland and its people. I am loyal to their continued struggle for liberty and freedom as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States."

Several federal agents, according to news reports, asked for his name, rank, and date of birth.

McVeigh, like Robert Mathews, has a relationship with the author William Pierce or his National Alliance group?

McVeigh purchased *The Turner Diaries*. But he bought them in quantity at gun shows. He purchased multiple copies at a 1993 gun show in Phoenix, Arizona, from the National Alliance booth, one that would have a poster like McVeigh, read: WHAT WILL THEY COME TO TAKE YOUR GUNS? Or he placed a bulk order with National Alliance, located at William Pierce's Hillsboro, North Carolina, compound. No one knows for sure.

McVeigh did know that McVeigh, using the name of the National Alliance, recorded that the federal government could "face the awakened and armed people."

Anyone can call one of the twenty or so fax message centers scattered across the

country. But not everyone can call Pierce's unlisted number.

Two separate law enforcement sources told CNN that McVeigh's telephone records show that he placed a call to Pierce's unlisted number in West Virginia in the weeks before the bombing. They said it was a lengthy call. Pierce denies knowing or talking to McVeigh.

Did McVeigh work with a secret militia cell, one of the leaderless resistance types promoted by Louis Beam?

If McVeigh was the bomber, he did not work alone. Michael Fortier has admitted in a plea agreement that he helped McVeigh scout out the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. Terry Nichols allegedly helped him purchase and store the explosives. An unknown man robbed an Arkansas gun dealer of more than seventy weapons, gold and silver coins, and \$8,700 in cash to finance the bomb plot. McVeigh reprinted copies of paramilitary publications at the K-Max copy center in Kingman, according to its owner George Boerst. He would not have needed extra copies unless, maybe, he was supplying them to his confederates.

McVeigh's connections to Elohim City, a far-right Christian Identity compound on the Arkansas-Oklahoma border, are highly suspicious. Reverend Robert Millar denies he knew McVeigh or that McVeigh visited the compound, but the telephone records show he called Elohim City on April 5, just two weeks before the bombing. He could have been looking for a place to hide after the blast. McVeigh was within ten miles of Elohim City on October 12, 1993. He was ticketed that day for a minor traffic offense by a local deputy sheriff on County Route 220, the only access road into the compound.

McVeigh might also have planned to mourn the death of Richard Snell at Elohim City. Reverend Millar brought Snell's body to the compound from the

Arkansas prison where this white supremacist hero was executed just a few hours after the government says McVeigh lit the fuse to the Ryder truck bomb. Millar's plans to bring the corpse to Elohim City were as well known in the Patriot movement as the significance of the date, April 19.

The driver's license McVeigh presented to Trooper Charles Hanger told volumes about his connections and priorities. His date of birth was listed as April 19, 1972. McVeigh was born on April 23, 1968.

McVeigh surely had a private laugh when he gave the clerk at the motor vehicle registry the bogus birth date. He also probably got a chuckle whenever he used the name "T. Tuttle." Tuttle was the last name of a terrorist played by Robert De Niro in the 1985 movie *Brazil*. In the movie, Tuttle set off a bomb that destroyed a building filled with government bureaucrats. McVeigh offered small clues to a big puzzle he never expected anyone to solve.

Even if McVeigh is convicted, we may never know who gave him his marching orders or if he himself led the troops. But I would be much more skeptical than the *New York Times*. On the day McVeigh and Nichols were indicted, the paper editorialized:

In the end, this case may turn out to be much simpler than many had thought. At this point it looks like two former Army buddies, nursing hatred of the Government, carried out the most destructive act of domestic terrorism in the nation's history. That is reassuring in the sense that there may be no organized conspiracy in place to carry out other terrorist bombings.

McVeigh told the court he did not bomb the federal building. His lawyer was a bit more cautious when he