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*Counsel for Plaintiffs*

**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF THE  
STATE OF IDAHO, IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ADA**

ST. LUKE'S HEALTH SYSTEM, LTD; ST.  
LUKE'S REGIONAL MEDICAL CENTER,  
LTD; CHRIS ROTH, an individual;  
NATASHA D. ERICKSON, MD, an  
individual; and TRACY W. JUNGMAN, NP,  
an individual,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

AMMON BUNDY, an individual; AMMON  
BUNDY FOR GOVERNOR, a political  
organization; DIEGO RODRIGUEZ, an  
individual; FREEDOM MAN PRESS LLC, a  
limited liability company; FREEDOM MAN  
PAC, a registered political action committee;  
and PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK, a  
political organization and an unincorporated  
association,

Defendants.

Case No. CV01-22-06789

**AFFIDAVIT OF ERIK F. STIDHAM IN  
SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR ENTRY  
OF DEFAULT AND DEFAULT  
JUDGMENT ON FOURTH AMENDED  
COMPLAINT AS TO AMMON BUNDY,  
AMMON BUNDY FOR GOVERNOR,  
AND PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK**

STATE OF IDAHO                    )  
  :ss.  
County of ADA                    )

I, Erik Stidham, being first duly sworn upon oath, depose and state as follows:

1. I am an attorney with the firm of Holland & Hart LLP (“Holland & Hart”) and serve as counsel for the Plaintiffs in this case. I make this declaration based on my personal knowledge.

2. Defendants Ammon Bundy, Ammon Bundy for Governor, and People’s Rights Network (collectively, “Bundy Defendants”) were each served with the Fourth Amended Summons, the Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Sealed), and the Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Redacted) in this matter via process server on March 3, 2023, by leaving the documents with Ammon Bundy. *See Exhibit A*, Declarations of Service.

3. Service is proper on Defendant Ammon Bundy as a “managing or general agent, or any other agent authorized by appointment or by law to receive service of process” for Defendant People’s Rights Network under Idaho Rule of Civil Procedure 4(d)(3)(A).

4. In addition, due to the Bundy Defendants’ ongoing efforts to dodge service, Plaintiffs directed the process server to serve Defendants People’s Rights Network and Ammon Bundy for Governor via mail. *See id.*, Declarations of Service. This was done to provide redundant service.

5. In addition, Mr. Bundy has had actual knowledge of the litigation for months and continues to make public statements regarding the lawsuit. *See* <https://rumble.com/v15cvl3-cdradio-ammon-bundy-idaho-gubernatorial-candidate-live.html?mref=9fcg3&mc=ey69l> (Bundy

publicly acknowledging the lawsuit shortly after it was filed); <https://rumble.com/v1f81nx-livewith-ammon-bundy-candidate-for-idaho-governor-the-man-who-stood-up-to-.html> (Bundy continuing to comment about the lawsuit months after it was filed). People's Rights Network is also aware of the lawsuit. *See, e.g.*, [https://www.peoplesrights.org/news\\_view/?/come-no-more-upon-me-a-warning-letter-from-ammon-bundy&id=f6984a7c-eafc-4082-a3b4-e99dfe129733](https://www.peoplesrights.org/news_view/?/come-no-more-upon-me-a-warning-letter-from-ammon-bundy&id=f6984a7c-eafc-4082-a3b4-e99dfe129733) (discussing the case).

6. The Bundy Defendants have not responded to the Fourth Amended Complaint and more than 14 days have passed since they were served. Additionally, although only 14 days is required by the rules, *see* Idaho Rule of Civil Procedure 15(a)(3), the Bundy Defendants have not responded to the Fourth Amended Complaint even though more than 21 days have passed since they were served.

7. The addresses most likely to provide notice of the Default Order and the Default Judgment for the Bundy Defendants are as follows:

Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

8. Defendant Ammon Bundy is over the age of eighteen years and therefore is not a minor. *See* attached **Exhibit B**, a true a correct copy of a redacted criminal complaint against Bundy showing that he was born in the year 1975.

9. To the best of Plaintiffs' knowledge, Defendant Ammon Bundy has not been declared incompetent and is not represented by a guardian, conservator, or other like fiduciary.

10. Defendant Ammon Bundy is not in military service, as that term is defined in 50 U.S.C. App. § 3911(2). *See* attached **Exhibit C**, a true and correct copy of an Affidavit in Compliance with the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act from the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act Centralized Verification Service. The search request was submitted with Defendant Bundy's name, home address, telephone number, birthdate, and partial social security number. Further, Defendant Bundy is 47 years old, has never been in the military, and is too old to join. *See* <https://www.usa.gov/join-military> (last visited 4/3/2023).

11. Defendant Ammon Bundy for Governor is a political organization. Therefore, it cannot be a minor or an incompetent person for default purposes.

12. Defendant People's Rights Network is an unincorporated association or political organization that Defendant Ammon Bundy founded with the help of Defendant Diego Rodriguez. *See, e.g.*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ElH6JFgR1Vw>; <https://rumble.com/vz4taq-whisltblower-pieepisode-8-03292022.html>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ElH6JFgR1Vw> (Defendant Rodriguez discussing the founding of PRN and stating that it was Defendant Bundy's "brain child"); <https://rumble.com/v1f81nx-live-withammon-bundy-candidate-for-idaho-governor-the-man->

who-stood-up-to-.html (Bundy stating he “built this People’s Rights organization”). Therefore, it cannot be a minor or an incompetent person for default purposes.

13. As reflected in an extensive report prepared by the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, Defendant Ammon Bundy controls People’s Rights Network. *See* attached **Exhibit D**, a true and correct copy of a Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights report showing that Defendant Bundy is the head of Defendant People’s Rights Network and involved in virtually every facet of the network.

14. Defendant Bundy continues to be involved in the organization and operation of Peoples’ Rights Network. *See* [https://www.peoplesrights.org/news\\_view?/message-from-ammon-bundy-i-will-not-beusing-people-s-rights-to-promote-my-campaign-go-to-votebundy-com&id=144ddb49-ce52-4969-85ab-d1b0a744b1be&pg=2&search=ammon+bundy](https://www.peoplesrights.org/news_view?/message-from-ammon-bundy-i-will-not-beusing-people-s-rights-to-promote-my-campaign-go-to-votebundy-com&id=144ddb49-ce52-4969-85ab-d1b0a744b1be&pg=2&search=ammon+bundy) (Bundy stating that he is the “creator and primary designer of the People’s Rights system” and also stating that, while he is not going to use the organization to promote his campaign, he does “intend to continue to build the People’s Rights Network and further develop the People’s Rights system” and that he will remain “very involved” in the organization). The physical address for People’s Rights Network, listed on its website, is P.O. Box 370, Emmett, ID 83617. *See* <https://www.peoplesrights.org/contact>. This is the same address used for Defendant Ammon Bundy for Governor. *See* **Exhibit E**, a true and correct copy of a screenshot of the Idaho Secretary of State website showing the address for Defendant Ammon Bundy for Governor is the same as the address on the People’s Rights Network website.

15. Defendants Ammon Bundy for Governor and People's Rights Network are political organizations or unincorporated organizations and therefore are not included within the term "servicemember" as that term is defined in 50 U.S.C. § 3911(1).

16. As set out in the Fourth Amended Complaint filed March 3, 2023, Plaintiffs have each been damaged in an amount to be proven but no less than \$250,000.

17. As set out in the Fourth Amended Complaint filed March 3, 2023, Plaintiffs seek injunctive relief requiring the Bundy Defendants to cease posting and disseminating the defamatory statements against Plaintiffs including, but not limited to, those set out in the Fourth Amended Complaint, to cease disseminating and encouraging others to disseminate the individual Plaintiffs' contact information, and to remove defamatory content and personal information from their websites.

18. Upon the entry of default and default judgment, Plaintiffs will present evidence to the Court regarding the amount of damages, fees, and costs that should properly be awarded against the defaulting Bundy Defendants.

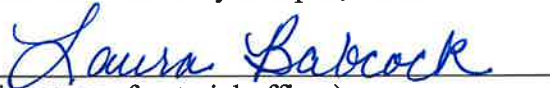
19. Upon the entry of default and default judgment, Plaintiffs will present evidence to the Court regarding the amount of punitive damages that should be awarded against the defaulting Bundy Defendants. Further, Plaintiffs will seek appropriate fees and costs.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of Idaho that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 4th day of April, 2023.

  
Erik Stidham

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me this 4th day of April, 2023.

  
(Signature of notarial officer)



## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 4th day of April, 2023, I caused to be filed and served, via iCourt, a true and correct copy of the foregoing by the method indicated below, and addressed to the following:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered via Process Server
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered via Process Server
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered via Process Server
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered via Process Server
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered via Process Server
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Freedom Man Press LLC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
1317 Edgewater Dr. #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Freedom Man Press LLC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
9169 W. State St., Ste. 3177  
Boise, ID 83714

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:



Freedom Man PAC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
1317 Edgewater Dr., #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Diego Rodriguez  
1317 Edgewater Dr., #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:  
freedommanpress@protonmail.com

/s/ Erik F. Stidham

---

Erik F. Stidham  
OF HOLLAND & HART LLP

21229636\_v1

# Exhibit A

**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF  
THE STATE OF IDAHO, IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ADA**

St. Luke's Health System, Ltd., et al.

Plaintiff(s):

**DECLARATION OF SERVICE**

vs.

Case Number: CV01-22-06789

Ammon Bundy, et al.

Defendant(s):

For:

Holland & Hart, LLP  
800 W. Main St., #1750  
Boise, ID 83702

Received by Tri-County Process Serving LLC on March 3, 2023 to be served on **AMMON BUNDY**.

**I, Mike Ridgeway, state that on Friday, March 3, 2023, at 2:40 PM, I served the within named person(s) by delivering to and leaving with AMMON BUNDY a true copy of the Fourth Amended Summons; Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Sealed); Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Redacted). Said service was effected at 4615 Harvest Ln., Emmett, ID 83617.**

Approximate description of Ammon Bundy

Male 47 years old, 5' 10" Tall, 220 lbs, Salt/Pepper Hair, Brown eyes.

I hereby acknowledge that I am a Process Server in the county in which service was effected. I am over the age of eighteen years and not a party to the action. I declare under penalty of perjury pursuant to the law of the State of Idaho that the foregoing is true and correct.

Our Reference Number: 201344  
Client Reference: Erik F. Stidham

Monday, March 6, 2023

**TRI-COUNTY PROCESS SERVING LLC**  
P.O. Box 1224  
Boise, ID, 83701  
(208) 344-4132

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
MIKE RIDGEWAY

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 20th day of March, 2023, I caused to be filed via iCourt and served a true and correct copy of the foregoing by the method indicated below, and addressed to the following:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

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- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Freedom Man Press LLC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
1317 Edgewater Dr. #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
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Freedom Man Press LLC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
9169 W. State St., Ste. 3177  
Boise, ID 83714

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1317 Edgewater Dr., #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

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Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:  
[freedommanpress@protonmail.com](mailto:freedommanpress@protonmail.com)

*/s/ Erik F. Stidham*

---

Erik F. Stidham  
OF HOLLAND & HART LLP

18472140\_v1

**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF  
THE STATE OF IDAHO, IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ADA**

St. Luke's Health System, Ltd., et al.

Plaintiff(s):

**DECLARATION OF SERVICE**

vs.

Case Number: CV01-22-06789

Ammon Bundy, et al.

Defendant(s):

For:

Holland & Hart, LLP  
800 W. Main St., #1750  
Boise, ID 83702

Received by Tri-County Process Serving LLC on March 3, 2023 to be served on **AMMON BUNDY FOR GOVERNOR**.

**I, Mike Ridgeway, state that on Friday, March 3, 2023, at 2:40 PM, I served the within named Ammon Bundy for Governor by delivering a true copy of the Fourth Amended Summons; Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Sealed); Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Redacted) to Ammon Bundy on behalf of Ammon Bundy for Governor. Said service was effected at 4615 Harvest Ln., Emmett, ID, 83617.**

Approximate description of Ammon Bundy

Male 47 years old, 5' 10" Tall, 220 lbs, Salt/Pepper Hair, Brown eyes.

I hereby acknowledge that I am a Process Server in the county in which service was effected. I am over the age of eighteen years and not a party to the action. I declare under penalty of perjury pursuant to the law of the State of Idaho that the foregoing is true and correct.

Our Reference Number: 201346

Client Reference: Erik F. Stidham

Wednesday, March 8, 2023

**TRI-COUNTY PROCESS SERVING LLC**

P.O. Box 1224  
Boise, ID, 83701  
(208) 344-4132

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
MIKE RIDGEWAY

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 20th day of March, 2023, I caused to be filed via iCourt and served a true and correct copy of the foregoing by the method indicated below, and addressed to the following:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
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Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
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People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
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People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
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Emmett, ID 83617

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Freedom Man Press LLC  
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Orlando, FL 32804

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[freedommanpress@protonmail.com](mailto:freedommanpress@protonmail.com)

*/s/ Erik F. Stidham*

---

Erik F. Stidham  
OF HOLLAND & HART LLP

18472140\_v1



**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF  
THE STATE OF IDAHO, IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ADA**

St. Luke's Health System, Ltd., et al.

Plaintiff(s):

**DECLARATION**

vs.

Case Number: CV01-22-06789

Ammon Bundy, et al.

Defendant(s):

For:

Holland & Hart, LLP  
800 W. Main St., #1750  
Boise, ID 83702

Received by Tri-County Process Serving LLC on March 3, 2023 to be served on **AMMON BUNDY FOR GOVERNOR**.

**I, Mike Ridgeway, state that on Friday, March 3, 2023, at 3:30 PM, I delivered a true copy of the Fourth Amended Summons; Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Sealed); Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Redacted) to Emmett Post Office on behalf of Ammon Bundy for Governor. Said service was effected at Emmett Post Office, 521 E. Main St., Emmett, ID 83617.**

I hereby acknowledge that I am a Process Server. I am over the age of eighteen years and not a party to the action. I declare under penalty of perjury pursuant to the law of the State of Idaho that the foregoing is true and correct.

Our Reference Number: 201347  
Client Reference: Erik F. Stidham

Tuesday, March 7, 2023

**TRI-COUNTY PROCESS SERVING LLC**  
P.O. Box 1224  
Boise, ID, 83701  
(208) 344-4132

  
MIKE RIDGEWAY

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 20th day of March, 2023, I caused to be filed via iCourt and served a true and correct copy of the foregoing by the method indicated below, and addressed to the following:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
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c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

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[freedommanpress@protonmail.com](mailto:freedommanpress@protonmail.com)

*/s/ Erik F. Stidham*

---

Erik F. Stidham  
OF HOLLAND & HART LLP

18472140\_v1

**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF  
THE STATE OF IDAHO, IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ADA**

St. Luke's Health System, Ltd., et al.

Plaintiff(s):

**DECLARATION OF SERVICE**

vs.

Case Number: CV01-22-06789

Ammon Bundy, et al.

Defendant(s):

For:  
Holland & Hart, LLP  
800 W. Main St., #1750  
Boise, ID 83702

Received by Tri-County Process Serving LLC on March 3, 2023 to be served on **PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK**.

**I, Mike Ridgeway, state that on Friday, March 3, 2023, at 2:40 PM, I served the within named People's Rights Network by delivering a true copy of the Fourth Amended Summons; Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Sealed); Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Redacted) to Ammon Bundy on behalf of People's Rights Network. Said service was effected at 4615 Harvest Ln., Emmett, ID, 83617.**

Approximate description of Ammon Bundy  
Male 47 years old, 5' 10" Tall, 220 lbs, Salt/Pepper Hair, Brown eyes.

I hereby acknowledge that I am a Process Server in the county in which service was effected. I am over the age of eighteen years and not a party to the action. I declare under penalty of perjury pursuant to the law of the State of Idaho that the foregoing is true and correct.

Our Reference Number: 201345  
Client Reference: Erik F. Stidham

Wednesday, March 8, 2023

**TRI-COUNTY PROCESS SERVING LLC**  
P.O. Box 1224  
Boise, ID, 83701  
(208) 344-4132

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
MIKE RIDGEWAY

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 20th day of March, 2023, I caused to be filed via iCourt and served a true and correct copy of the foregoing by the method indicated below, and addressed to the following:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
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- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
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Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

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People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

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Orlando, FL 32804

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1317 Edgewater Dr., #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:  
[freedommanpress@protonmail.com](mailto:freedommanpress@protonmail.com)

*/s/ Erik F. Stidham*

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Erik F. Stidham  
OF HOLLAND & HART LLP

18472140\_v1

**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF  
THE STATE OF IDAHO, IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ADA**

St. Luke's Health System, Ltd., et al.

Plaintiff(s):

**DECLARATION**

vs.

Ammon Bundy, et al.

Defendant(s):

Case Number: CV01-22-06789

For:  
Holland & Hart, LLP  
800 W. Main St., #1750  
Boise, ID 83702

Received by Tri-County Process Serving LLC on March 3, 2023 to be served on **PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK**.

**I, Mike Ridgeway, state that on Friday, March 3, 2023, at 3:30 PM, I delivered a true copy of the Fourth Amended Summons; Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Sealed); Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Redacted) to Emmett Post Office on behalf of People's Rights Network. Said service was effected at Emmett Post Office, 521 E. Main St., Emmett, ID 83617.**

I hereby acknowledge that I am a Process Server. I am over the age of eighteen years and not a party to the action. I declare under penalty of perjury pursuant to the law of the State of Idaho that the foregoing is true and correct.

Our Reference Number: 201348  
Client Reference: Erik F. Stidham

Tuesday, March 7, 2023

**TRI-COUNTY PROCESS SERVING LLC**  
P.O. Box 1224  
Boise, ID, 83701  
(208) 344-4132

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
**MIKE RIDGEWAY**

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 20th day of March, 2023, I caused to be filed via iCourt and served a true and correct copy of the foregoing by the method indicated below, and addressed to the following:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy for Governor  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
4615 Harvest Ln.  
Emmett, ID 83617-3601

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

People's Rights Network  
c/o Ammon Bundy  
P.O. Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Freedom Man Press LLC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
1317 Edgewater Dr. #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Freedom Man Press LLC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
9169 W. State St., Ste. 3177  
Boise, ID 83714

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:

Freedom Man PAC  
c/o Diego Rodriguez  
1317 Edgewater Dr., #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:



Diego Rodriguez  
1317 Edgewater Dr., #5077  
Orlando, FL 32804

- U.S. Mail
- Hand Delivered
- Overnight Mail
- Email/iCourt/eServe:  
[freedommanpress@protonmail.com](mailto:freedommanpress@protonmail.com)

*/s/ Erik F. Stidham*

---

Erik F. Stidham  
OF HOLLAND & HART LLP

18472140\_v1

# Exhibit B



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA )  
 ) AFFIDAVIT OF KATHERINE ARMSTRONG  
DISTRICT OF OREGON )

I, Katherine Armstrong, having been first duly sworn, do hereby depose and state as follows:

**Introduction and Agent Background**

1. I am a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and have been so employed for approximately one-and-a-half (1½) years. I am currently assigned to the FBI's Portland Division and am part of the violent and organized crime squad. In 2014, I successfully completed twenty-one (21) weeks of training at the FBI Academy located in Quantico, Virginia. During that time, I was taught the use and practical application of various investigative techniques that Federal law enforcement officers are allowed to employ. In addition to my formalized training in violations of the law at the FBI Academy, I have also acquired knowledge and information pertaining to violations of federal law from numerous other sources, including: formal and informal training, other law enforcement officers and investigators, informants, and my participation in other investigations. Prior to joining the FBI, I was a prosecutor with the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office for approximately two-and-a-half years and briefly worked in the private sector as a civil litigator. I attended law school at Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and have been certified to practice law since October 2010.

**Purpose of Affidavit**

2. This affidavit is submitted to support a criminal complaint and arrest warrant for Ammon BUNDY (hereinafter A. BUNDY), white male, date of birth [REDACTED] 1975, Jon RITZHEIMER, white male, date of birth [REDACTED] 1983, Joseph O'SHAUGHNESSY, white male,

date of birth [REDACTED]1972, Ryan PAYNE, white male, date of birth [REDACTED]1983, Ryan BUNDY (hereinafter R. BUNDY), white male, date of birth [REDACTED]1972, Brian CAVALIER, aka "Booda Bear," white male, date of birth [REDACTED]1971, Shawna COX, white female, date of birth [REDACTED]1956, and Peter SANTILLI, white male, date of birth [REDACTED]1965, for the felony crime of Conspiracy to Impede Officers of the United States from discharging their official duties through the use of force, intimidation, or threats, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 372. The named individuals, most of whom have been armed, have been working together, with additional known and unknown actors, to control federal property while refusing to leave, intending to impede and prevent by force the federal officials who work on and use that property from performing their official duties.

3. The facts set forth in this affidavit are based on my own personal knowledge; **knowledge** obtained from other individuals during my participation in this investigation, including other law enforcement officers; interviews of witnesses; my review of records related to this investigation; and communications with others who have **knowledge** of the events and circumstances described herein.

4. Persons identified by name in the photographs contained herein have been independently identified by a witness with knowledge or a law enforcement officer through motor vehicle records and/or criminal history records. All photographs of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge that depict the land, entrances/gates, and **buildings** inside and **out** have been identified by a Federal Wildlife Officer or staff member with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service who works at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. The Federal Wildlife Officer or staff member with the U.S Fish and Wildlife Service has confirmed the photographs depict what is

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represented in this affidavit. All video referenced in this affidavit has been downloaded and preserved by investigators.

5. I have not included all information learned through this investigation. I have included information I believe is sufficient to establish probable cause for the criminal complaint and arrest warrants requested by this affidavit.

#### **Investigation**

6. Based on the foregoing facts, I have probable cause to believe that starting on or about January 2, 2016, and continuing through the date of this affidavit A. BUNDY, RITZHEIMER, O'SHAUGHNESSY, PAYNE, R. BUNDY, CAVALIER, Robert Lavoy Finicum, COX, SANTILLI, and other known and unknown individuals did conspire to impede by force, intimidation, or threat, officers of the United States from discharging their duties in the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Harney County, Oregon, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 372.

7. This affidavit is based on an investigation by the FBI into the activities of A. BUNDY, RITZHEIMER, O'SHAUGHNESSY, PAYNE, R. BUNDY, CAVALIER, Finicum, COX, SANTILLI, and others in connection with an armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge (MNWR), a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System managed by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS). The MNWR is federal property.

#### **Hammond Sentencing**

8. On June 6, 2012, Dwight and Steven Hammond were convicted of two counts of arson by a jury in the District of Oregon. They were originally sentenced on October 30, 2012. Dwight Hammond was sentenced to serve three months in prison, and Steven Hammond was sentenced to serve twelve months. On February 7, 2014, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals

overturned the District Court's sentence. The United States Supreme Court denied a petition for writ of certiorari on March 23, 2015. On October 7, 2015, Dwight and Steven Hammond were resentenced to serve a mandatory, five-year term of imprisonment. On January 4, 2016, the Hammonds reported to a Federal Correctional Institute in California to serve the remainder of their sentences. Prior to surrendering to serve their sentences, the Hammonds, through their attorney, continued to distance themselves from A. BUNDY and his group.

9. On January 4, 2016, A. BUNDY addressed the media and stated that he named his group of protesters the "Citizens for Constitutional Freedom" (CCF), and they were acting in support of the Hammonds. A. BUNDY told a national morning news show that members of CCF were armed because "We are serious about being here. We're serious about defending our rights, and we are serious about getting some things straightened out." When asked on the show if he anticipated it would lead to violence, A. BUNDY responded, "Only if the government wants to take it there."

10. In a video posted on an Internet website titled "Citizens for Constitutional Freedom News Conference" posted on January 4, 2016, A. BUNDY said their purpose is to restore and defend the Constitution, and they have spent two months petitioning the state and county representatives to stand for the Hammonds against the so-called "unconstitutional actions." Bundy said, "We feel that we have exhausted all prudent measures and have been ignored. And it has been left to us to decide whether we allow these things to go on or whether we make a stand." In the video, Finicum makes a statement about the purported oppression against ranchers, specifically the Hammonds.

11. On January 4, 2016, Harney County Sheriff Dave Ward held a press conference and informed the armed occupiers of the MNWR that the Hammonds had peacefully surrendered

themselves to complete their federal sentences and informed the armed occupiers that "it was time to leave."

**Armed Occupier Activity in Harney County, Oregon**

12. On October 5, 2015, A. BUNDY and PAYNE visited Harney County Sheriff Dave Ward in Harney County. During the visit, A. BUNDY and PAYNE told Ward that he needed to protect the Hammonds from going back to prison. PAYNE and A. BUNDY informed Ward that if the Hammonds spent one more day in jail there would be "extreme civil unrest." On November 12, 2015, A. BUNDY publicly posted a letter from the Bundy family to Harney County Sheriff Dave Ward. The letter was posted online at <http://bundryranch.blogspot.com> and was still publicly viewable as of January 26, 2016. In summary, the Bundy family claims that federal employees are abusing their positions within the federal government to punish the Hammond family. Several additional blog posts, made on November 12 and later, further state that it is the Bundy family position that the Hammond family has been illegally arrested.

13. A Facebook Community page titled "Harney County Liberty News" includes eight videos on the page. I personally viewed the Facebook page on January 7, 2016, and all videos appear to be narrated by the same individual, who identifies himself on several of the videos. In one of the videos, posted on December 12, 2015, and titled "Time for some camping" the individual is pictured standing outside with the road sign "Hammond Ranch Rd" clearly visible in the background. The individual talks about winter camping and camping in the area. In a video posted on December 13, 2015, and titled "Through the wind and snow yesterday I neglected to post this lovely cattle drive," the individual identifies himself as being present in Harney County and later states he is doing some "tactical camping." In an untitled video posted December 15, 2015, he discusses a community meeting in Harney County and shows a flyer for



the meeting indicating that it will include a “presentation on Committee of Safety by Ryan Payne.”

14. On December 18, 2015, a citizen (hereafter Citizen) of Harney County was shopping at the Safeway grocery store in Burns, Oregon. Citizen was wearing a BLM shirt. Citizen was confronted by two men, one whom she identified as RITZHEIMER. Citizen reported to law enforcement that she heard yelling, and when she turned around, the second individual shouted “you’re BLM, you’re BLM” at her. That person further stated to Citizen that they know what car she drives and would follow her home. He also stated he was going to burn Citizen’s house down. RITZHEIMER and the second individual left the area in a black pick-up truck with black canopy and no visible license plate. Since the incident, Citizen has observed a similar vehicle outside her residence. Citizen was unable to identify the driver of the vehicle when she later saw it. The following week, a second vehicle, described as a white truck with a pink license plate and a big rebel flag sticker on the back window, aggressively tailgated Citizen, flashing lights and driving erratically. Citizen believed the second incident was related to the first. Citizen also saw the black pick-up truck outside of her place of employment early in the morning hours of Christmas Day.

15. On December 26, 2015, a video posted to an Internet website channel indicated the video is a “call out” to all “patriots” to meet at the Safeway parking lot in Burns, Oregon, on January 2, 2016, for the protest. One of the individuals states they are in Burns, Oregon, and are there to support the Hammonds. A screenshot from the video, attached below, shows O’SHAUGHNESSY on the far left and RITZHEIMER on the far right. In the video each individual identifies himself by name. Their identities have also been independently confirmed through motor vehicle records.



16. On December 31, 2015, a video posted to an Internet website showed RITZHEIMER in a car saying “we the people need to take a stand,” “we need real men and women here to take a stand” and that he has “had to do a lot of soul searching” and he is “one hundred percent willing to lay down my life, to fight against tyranny in this country.”

**January 2016 – Takeover of Malheur National Wildlife Refuge**

17. According to open source reporting that I have reviewed and conversations I have had with other law enforcement officers, on January 2, 2016, several hundred unidentified individuals participated in a protest in Burns, Oregon, related to the resentencing of Steven and Dwight Hammond. Following the protest, A. BUNDY, RITZHEIMER, O’SHAUGHNESSY, PAYNE, R. BUNDY, CAVALIER, and Finicum, among others, entered the MNWR, blocked the entrance to the Refuge, and began their armed occupation of several buildings within the MNWR. The MNWR and all buildings located thereon are federal property and facilities. The armed occupation of the MNWR has been continuous and ongoing since January 2, 2016. The

MNWR is located in Harney County, District of Oregon. A news article posted on an Internet website on January 3, 2016, at 7:19 a.m. and updated January 4, 2016, at 12:53 p.m. included a photo with the caption "The militiamen have blocked the entrance to the headquarters of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge with vehicles" and is shown below. This photograph has been verified by a Federal Wildlife Officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and confirmed to depict the entrance to the MNWR. The Federal Wildlife Officer identified the vehicle as an MNWR vehicle blocking the main road.



18. According to a senior official with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Pacific Region, the MNWR is adjacent to the Steens Mountain Wilderness, with the Wild and Scenic Donner and Blitzen River flowing into it at its southern boundary. The MNWR consists of more than 187,700 acres of prime habitat, including 120,000 acres of wetlands that provide a crucial stop for waterfowl along the Pacific Flyway. Particularly important to colonial waterbirds, sandhill cranes, and redband trout, the Refuge also encompasses upland and riparian habitats vital to many migrating birds and wildlife. The MNWR hosts over 320 bird species and 58

mammal species. The MNWR supports over 20 percent of the Oregon population of breeding greater sandhill cranes. Refuge property includes more than 200 miles of water delivery ditches, 7 major irrigation dams, 450 miles of fence, and 200 miles of roads.

19. Refuge property also contains 13 historic buildings. Many were built by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s and early 1940s. The headquarters features National Register of Historic Places structures and landscaping including five wood frame buildings (clad with local lava rock and roofed with terra cotta tile) that function as offices, workshops, natural resource labs, and visitor facilities. A historic lookout tower, mature landscaping, and modern shop, garage, and wetland management infrastructure are also part of the historical headquarters ensemble. In 2014, there were 23,967 visitors to the MNWR including birders, hunters and outdoor recreationists. The winter hunting season closed at the end of December; currently, there are no open hunting seasons on the Refuge.

20. The MNWR is staffed by employees of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. As a result of the armed occupation of the MNWR by the known conspirators and others, which began on or about January 2, 2016, and continuing to the present, employees of the USFWS who work at the MNWR have been prevented from reporting to work because of threats of violence posed by the defendants and others occupying the property. Sixteen (16) federal employees work at the MNWR, including one federal law enforcement officer and a volunteer coordinator who lived on the Refuge and works in the visitor center.

21. According to a senior official with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Pacific Region, following the unauthorized, armed occupation of the MNWR, the staff has been unable to conduct any official operations, including but not limited to business elements, critical management requirements, law enforcement operations, visitor services, and essential

maintenance activities. As a result, the MNWR is being **degraded and damaged** by the inability of the staff to conduct required conservation management operations which are essential to the MNWR. The staff is entrusted with the management of the MNWR through the Fish and Wildlife Service Mission, the Refuge System Mission, and the governing comprehensive conservation planning document which includes the applicable authorities of the Refuge Administration Act, the Refuge Improvement Act, as well as supporting acts. In addition, active contracts, cooperative agreements, and other partnership arrangements requiring work on the part of contractors or collaborative partners are not able to occur as a result of the armed occupation. Any and all legal arrangements that exist with contractors and other business collaborators are being hindered resulting in loss of time, funding, and critical management elements.

22. USFWS management believes that as long as this unauthorized, armed occupation persists, it is unsafe for employees to be in the area.

23. According to a Special Agent with the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), on January 2, 2016, the BLM learned, by watching a live online video stream, that numerous individuals to include A. BUNDY and PAYNE left the rally that was in support of the Hammonds in Burns, Oregon, and travelled to the MNWR to take it over. BLM was notified later that day by a Harney County Sheriff's Officer that a source informed him that the group controlled the MNWR and had explosives, night vision goggles, and weapons and that if they didn't get the fight they wanted out there they would bring the fight to town.

24. Due to the presence of armed individuals occupying the Refuge and also learning that some of their associates were still in the Burns area, the BLM made the decision to close the Burns District Office, located at 28910 Highway 20 West, Hines, Oregon, 97738. The office is

currently closed and has been since January 4, 2016. This BLM action was taken out of concern for the safety of the approximate 80 employees who work there.

**Social Media Posts, and News Reports**

25. Since the armed occupation of the MNWR, the occupiers have continually posted to various social media accounts and conducted interviews with news media, within and outside of the MNWR buildings, as further described below.

**A. BUNDY**

26. On January 3, 2016, a video posted on an Internet website by “The Conspiracy Scope” showed A. BUNDY and two others at the MNWR. The location of this video at the MNWR was confirmed by a Federal Wildlife Officer of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The Federal Wildlife Officer confirmed the individuals are at the main entrance to the MNWR. One individual is in the background holding a rifle. A. BUNDY states that we have “taken over the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge” and that the MNWR will become a “base place for patriots from all over the country to come and be housed.” A. BUNDY continues by saying that “we’re planning on staying here for several years.” A. BUNDY also says in the same video, “We are calling people to come out here and stand” and “We need you to bring your arms and we need you to come to the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.” One individual is also in the video saying that he agrees with A. BUNDY and that they need people to “bring your arms.” Two screen shots were taken from the video. The screen shot on the left shows two individuals (one with a rifle), and the screen shot on the right shows an unknown individual armed with a rifle, standing with A. BUNDY, shown below:

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27. On January 4, 2015, A. BUNDY gave a news conference at the MNWR. A photo on a news website shows CAVALIER (second from left), A. BUNDY (third from left), and others leaving the news conference together, below. According to a Federal Wildlife Officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service who has viewed this photo, the group appears to be walking down the hill from the main entrance to the MNWR and toward the main headquarter building.



**RITZHEIMER**

28. RITZHEIMER appeared in a video titled "Militants take to social media to recruit supports," posted on January 4, 2016, to an Internet website and stated, "We are in my truck parked outside the Refuge," "We need you to get here and stand with us," "whether you are armed or unarmed," and "Please get up here to help us." Another person also appeared in the video stating, "We need your help guys." RITZHEIMER also posted a video where he stated, "I've had to do a lot of soul searching up here, and I am with good people who also have had to do a lot of soul searching, some who've done this soul searching for years, and I am one hundred percent willing to lay my life down, to fight against tyranny in this country." A photo posted on an Internet news website shows RITZHEIMER adjusting a sign outside the MNWR on January 5, 2016, shown below. A Federal Wildlife Officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has confirmed the location of the signs on the MNWR close to the main entrance.





29. On January 5, 2016, in a video taken by SANTILLI and posted to YouTube, RITZHEIMER states “last word we got is they’re headed out here” in reference to the armed occupiers who believed they were going to be raided by the federal government. RITZHEIMER further states, “We got word that they’re coming out here, uh so we are trying to plan and maintain a defensive posture” and “Right now underneath that tarp right there—Lavoy Finicum is sitting underneath that tarp, and he is not going to let them come through. We’re maintaining a defensive posture back here.” In the still shot below, RITZHEIMER is carrying what appears to be, based on my training, experience and knowledge of firearms, an AR-15-style rifle with sling.



**O'SHAUGHNESSY**

30. A video entitled “#aslongasittakes” was live-streamed starting January 5, 2016, continuing into January 6, 2016, and posted on YouTube to the “Pete Santilli Show.” The video is filmed at or just outside the MNWR. The location of the video outside the MNWR was confirmed by a Federal Wildlife Officer. In the video, O'SHAUGHNESSY was interviewed by SANTILLI and states, “We have people here that are standing up for the constitution,” “We need

every patriot in this country to come out here and support the message,” “You guys need to be out here to show your support you need to stop the bickering,” and “If you want to lock arms in front of this reserve and make sure that these federal agents and this corrupt government doesn’t come through those gates, you can do that. Or if you want to go on in and do what you gotta do then go on and do that, everybody has a place in this and everybody need to be here.” O’SHAUGHNESSY further states in the interview, “I’m right now in the process of trying to set up a constitutional security protection force to make sure that these federal agents and these law enforcement don’t just come in here like cowboys, that’s we have to prevent that um.”

**PAYNE**

31. PAYNE arrived to Harney County in November 2015. In one public source email dated November 20, 2015, posted by a user using email address [rypayne1@xxx.com](mailto:rypayne1@xxx.com) with the user name “Ryan Payne,” PAYNE was encouraging others to support him in planning a response to Harney County, and wrote:

The opportunity to defend the Hammonds is not the first, nor will it be the last. But the display of tyranny in this particular case is so appalling, the people being directly subjected to it so undeserving, and the oppressive weight so heavily and completely applied; upon not only the Hammonds, but their entire community; that to decide to allow it to persist should trouble the soul such that death might be a welcome relief.

We must be wise, and great discernment must guide our decisions, particularly when we ask that others be willing to shed their blood alongside us. We must choose our engagements with great care and consideration for the lives of all involved, on all sides. The situation calling out to us now is such that to not heed it’s [sic] cries will be a betrayal of the very foundation and principles we have built our convictions on, and reduce them to empty claims.

32. On November 22, 2015, a second email was posted by the same user as above stating: “I have made my decision. I spoke with those that I began this endeavor with, well before OMD came to be, and we agreed that the people must be given an example, and that this

is what we sought to provide. Perhaps the example I provide is such to educate them, whether as a leader, or as to what they should not do. Only God can determine such things.”

33. On January 5, 2016, PAYNE was contacted by Burns Police Department at a McDonalds in Harney County, Oregon. PAYNE was with a second individual at the time of contact and both individuals were armed. An officer’s body camera captured the event and a still image from the contact is shown, below. PAYNE is the individual on the left, with a visible holster on his hip.



34. The photo below depicts PAYNE at the MNWR. A staff member of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service who works at the MNWR, has confirmed the photo depicts the interior of the RV park common room, a building located inside the MNWR. PAYNE has been positively  
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identified by law enforcement through motor vehicle records and open source information, including Internet sharing websites.



35. On January 4, 2016, a national news organization posted a video online of A. BUNDY delivering a press conference. A screenshot from that video appears below. The screenshot depicts, from left to right, CAVALIER, A. BUNDY, PAYNE, and other known and unknown individuals. This photograph has been verified by a Federal Wildlife Officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to depict the MNWR's headquarter tower in the background.

Given the proximity of the tower to the individuals, the individuals are likely standing close to the Refuge entrance sign on the entrance road.



**R. BUNDY**

36. On January 6, 2016, R. BUNDY was photographed by a national news reporter inside an MNWR building with A. BUNDY. The location of the photograph inside a U.S. Fish and Wildlife biologist's office in a federal building on the MNWR was confirmed by a Federal Wildlife Officer of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. This photograph was posted to a national Internet news website. The photo clearly shows R. BUNDY carrying a rifle while A. BUNDY is on the phone, as shown below:

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**CAVALIER**

37. CAVALIER, who uses the handle “Booda Bear,” posted a video to an Internet website channel on September 9, 2015, in which he stated, “I am Cliven and Carol’s and the family’s personal body guard.”<sup>1</sup> As recently as January 4, 2016, he can be seen standing next to and escorting A. BUNDY during press conferences, as seen in the below screen shot (CAVALIER is the individual on the left). According to a Federal Wildlife Officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the photo depicts A. BUNDY at the main entrance and the trees in the background surround the main headquarter building. Sometime after January 4 and before January 11, 2016, CAVALIER left the MNWR. CAVALIER was arrested on January 11, 2016, by the Buckeye Police Department in Arizona. He had outstanding warrants from Prescott and Prescott Valley, in Arizona. CAVALIER was in possession of a firearm at the time of his arrest. After his arrest, he was released and returned to Harney County.

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<sup>1</sup> Cliven and Carol Bundy are the parents of A. BUNDY and R. BUNDY.



**Finicum**

38. In a local news report dated January 5, 2016, located online, Finicum spoke to reporters at the MNWR. Finicum was interviewed on video outside the Refuge wrapped in a tarp and blanket. He stated, "There are things more important than your life and freedom is one of them. I'm prepared to defend freedom." Finicum was reported as holding a rifle and backpack and was staying at the entrance to the Refuge overnight. A. BUNDY, identified as a group leader, said the group would take a defensive position as they were anticipating a possible raid. In a later video posted on January 6, 2016, the speaker states, "There was intel that the uh, um, camp was going to be raided." He then shows the heavy equipment which was placed to barricade the road and stop the "feds." He then states the equipment was brought up for them to "defend themselves." A photo accompanying the local news article and captioned "Activists

have used heavy equipment to block to the road to the Malheur wildlife refuge buildings” is shown below. A Federal Wildlife Officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service identified the equipment in the photograph as an MNWR loader and grader blocking the main entrance.



39. A photo shown below from a local news station posted online on January 6, 2016, shows Finicum carrying a rifle at the MNWR. The location of Finicum at the main entrance of the MNWR was confirmed by a Federal Wildlife Officer of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.





**COX**

40. On January 4, 2016, a video was posted to an Internet website titled "Citizens for Constitutional Freedom News Conference Oregon 1-4-16(1)." In the video, A. BUNDY introduces COX who identifies herself and spells her name. COX speaks as a representative of the "Citizens for Constitutional Freedom" and other participating groups, including Bundy Family and Supporters, Liberty for All, Oregon Bearded Bastards, Pacific Patriot Network, and Liberty Watch Washington. A screenshot from the video is shown below:



41. On January 6, 2016, COX was photographed with A. BUNDY inside a building at the MNWR. The photo was posted online to a national news website with the caption "Ammon Bundy (L), and supporter Shawna Cox work in an office at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge." A Federal Wildlife Officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service confirmed the photo depicts the inside a U.S. Fish and Wildlife biologist's office in a federal building on the MNWR.



**SANTILLI**

42. Law enforcement became aware SANTILLI has been in Harney County, Oregon, since January 2, 2016, but the exact date of his arrival in the area is unknown. SANTILLI operates a channel on YouTube called "Pete Santilli Show." Details of the channel indicate it is categorized as entertainment under a standard license for YouTube. SANTILLI has posted video to the channel concerning the Hammond family and has been calling for people to come to Oregon since at least December 27, 2015. SANTILLI often streams live video from his YouTube channel. All video referred to in this affidavit has been preserved by law enforcement agents. In the referenced videos, SANTILLI often wears a vest which says "PRESS" with his name below it. SANTILLI has identified himself as a member of the Oath Keepers and wears insignia which indicates his affiliation with the III% group, detailed below. According to open source information, the Oath Keepers and III%ers have been identified as organizations associated with the anti-government patriot movement.

43. On December 27, 2015, a video was posted on SANTILLI's YouTube channel "Pete Santilli Show" titled "Operation Hammond Ranch – Patriot ALL-CALL Deployment to

Oregon.” In the video, SANTILLI mentions known armed occupiers RITZHEIMER and O’SHAUGHNESSY and states they have “put out an all call for all patriots to respond. It was a call to action, all patriots to respond no later than January 2 to Oregon.” SANTILLI also states:

There’s going to be a lot of updates coming, ok. Ah, a lot of stuff that’s going to be happening out there, I can’t go into the exact details, because a, I don’t have all the details. I ah, I, let’s call it, um, I’m not a, I need to be on a need to know basis. I’m going to be, as a member of the media, ah, exercising my First Amendment rights to cover this stuff for the American public cause the main stream media is not going to be bringing you what we are going to be bring to, bringing you as to what’s happening, ah, at Hammond Ranch. So, ah, we are calling it initially here Operation Hammond Ranch. That may change, ah, but we want to bring awareness to Hammond Ranch.

SANTILLI continued in the video by stating:

What it’s about, it’s in Oregon, ah, and we need you to get out there, ah, this is an all call, ah, it’s been green lighted, for all patriots to respond to Oregon on or before January 2, ah there’s going to be a patriot convoy on January 2. You’ll be getting those exact details. So I’m Pete Santilli. Be sure to like, comment, subscribe, and share the heck outta this thing. Get the word out, ah, to all patriots that can get out there, especially in the Pacific Northwest. Ah, you must get out there, ah what is happening here . . . .

SANTILLI continues:

Ok, ah, we got the Federal government running around as if they’re trying to protect us from terrorism. No, they’re trying to shut down patriots like me, Schuyler Barbeau, throw them in jail, throw the Hammonds in jail, call them terrorists, and, ah, let all the Syrian refugees come in. We’re not going to let it happen. We’re going to take a stand . . . . Ok, I’m sure they had original intentions to be extremely peaceful. Ah, of course, ah, we, ah, we must get the Federal government to comply with our peaceful demands, ah, otherwise we have to explore all opportunities that we have made available to us through our founding fathers. So, ah, um, be prepared, be alert, um, and definitely respond to this call of action, call to action folks, all call, all patriots get out there. Thank you. Alright, here we are.

44. On January 2, 2016, a video was posted on YouTube channel “Pete Santilli Show” titled “[Live feed 2] Operation Hammond Ranch.” The video appeared to be filmed in the parking lot of the Safeway grocery store in Burns, Oregon, prior to a scheduled protest at

noon ~~the~~ same day. In the video, SANTILLI states, “Hey ladies and gentlemen, I just want you guys to know, I want it stated for the record here on the Pete Santilli Show.” SANTILLI then turns and faces the camera directly and states: “Hey Stewart Rhodes, I tore up my membership card. I’m still an Oath Keeper, homey, huh, how does that work? I don’t need your card. I don’t need to pay your membership dues.” SANTILLI then turns away from camera and addresses others and says: “I tore up my card. I tore up my card. I tore up my card. I’m still an Oath Keeper. See how that works?” SANTILLI then turns back to camera and says: “You know what, sue me. I got nothing. I got a freaking, I got an ash tray and a freaking pocket a hole. That’s it. Sue me. Sue me. I’m an Oath Keeper. Can you imagine that? I tore up my card. I didn’t blow up. It’s amazing.”

45. On January 2, 2016, a video was posted to YouTube channel “Pete Santilli Show” titled “Live feed Hammond ranch.” The following conversation was heard on video but took place off-camera:

Ammon BUNDY: Hey we’re continuing the stand. We’re continuing the stand [at/out] the MNWR.

SANTILLI: Ok.

Ammon BUNDY: Let everybody know that.

SANTILLI: Ok.

Ammon BUNDY: They’re to go to the MNWR . . . [inaudible] . . . after the rally . . . MNWR right after.

SANTILLI: [Coming back on microphone]: Ok, here we go . . . [Returns to protest].

Also captured in the same video, an unidentified male greets A. BUNDY, and states he was with A. BUNDY in Nevada. The following conversation was then captured on video:

///

Ammon BUNDY: We're continue the stand . . . [becomes inaudible as SANTILLI's cameraman moves away, and bumps into someone].

Camerasman: I was trying to get away from that conversation.

Below is a still frame shot from the above conversation as A. BUNDY speaks to the unidentified man.



46. Later, on the same video, the camera pans back as A. BUNDY leans in to SANTILLI and says, "Malheur, Malheur." The below still shot captures the moment A. BUNDY is talking to SANTILLI (SANTILLI is facing away from camera with mesh vest and black baseball cap). SANTILLI appears to acknowledge A. BUNDY and then pulls A. BUNDY in for a public speech on SANTILLI's live stream.



47. On January 5, 2016, a video was posted on YouTube channel “Pete Santilli Show” titled “Live update Burns Oregon #aslongasittakes.” In the video, SANTILLI states: “We want a constitutional sheriff, constitutional peace officers, but here is what we need, most importantly, ok, this is what we need, now I’m gonna say this and I am going to be talking about it throughout the day: one hundred thousand, unarmed, men and women, to stand together. It is the most powerful weapon in our arsenal, those guns that we were talking about, those that were carrying guns . . . .” SANTILLI then talks to a gas station attendant and repeats the same call for one hundred thousand people.

48. Also on January 5, 2016, a video entitled “#aslongasittakes” was live-streamed for several hours. The video started on January 5, 2016, continued into January 6, 2016, and was posted on YouTube channel “Pete Santilli Show.” The video is **filmed** at or just outside the MNWR. The location of the video outside the MNWR was confirmed by a Federal Wildlife Officer of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. During the video, SANTILLI stated, “We’re not fucking going nowhere.” SANTILLI later stated, “Here is what we need. I’m gonna tell you something right now. Captain Joe, myself, I’m not armed. I am armed with my mouth. I’m armed with my live stream. I’m armed with a coalition of like-minded individuals who sit at home and on YouTube and watch this.”

49. On January 6, 2016, a video was posted on YouTube channel “Pete Santilli Show” titled “press conference.” In the video, SANTILLI states, “We need to join together, one hundred thousand, **unarmed** men and women, **one** hundred thousand of **them**, whether they be **from the** outside, or they **be from** here in this local county.”

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50. On January 7, 2016, a video was posted on YouTube channel "Pete Santilli Show" titled "Live From Burns, Oregon - #aslongasittakesoregon." In the video, SANTILLI states:

I want one hundred thousand people out here, shoulder to shoulder, uh, unarmed. That's what I am calling for. Out here, between, and and to learn, ok, and to also protect the good souls that are inside, uh, if the Sheriff's department is telling you not to come out here, ok, uh, that means that they are trying to keep you away from the truth. . . . Ok, this learning experience that is going to take place here in the coming days, you guys are going to be blown away as this thing starts to unravel, uh, but you need to come out here, ok, you need to come out and not cower in fear . . . .

51. On January 11, 2016, a video was posted on YouTube channel "Pete Santilli Show" titled "Burns, Oregon – Community Meeting @ Burns High School." In the video, SANTILLI can be seen wearing III% on the sleeve of his shirt, shown below.



52. On January 12, 2016, a video was posted to YouTube channel "Pete Santilli Show" titled "1/12/16 Day 11 – Update [1] from Malheur Wildlife Refuge in Burns, Oregon - #OregonFront." In the video, SANTILLI states:

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I give you my word from this point forward, I will be lawful, I will be constitutional, ok, but I want to stand with you shoulder to shoulder, in opposition to what is happening here in Burns, and I want to crush communism here in Burns, and I want to crush socialism here in Burns, and I want to call upon everyone, if we can get one hundred thousand people standing shoulder to shoulder with me with flowers and determination, to take a stand against what's happening here in Burns. I want you to join me at this meeting. Please join me at this next meeting. Please. I'm going to go . . . .

53. On January 17, 2016, a video was posted to an Internet video sharing website by user "Veritas 13 Fox" titled "Press Brief, FBI Cam#, & Calling BS on ABC News." In the video SANTILLI can be seen standing behind Finicum, with RITZHEIMER and another occupier, at the main entrance to the MNWR. The vest SANTILLI is wearing has a clearly visible Oath Keeper patch on front. The vest also reads "PRESS" on the back. The video depicts that just prior to the press conference, SANTILLI whispered something in Finicum's ear and patted him on the back. After Finicum stated that the property does not go back to the BLM and then stated, "It does not return to the federal government," SANTILLI put his arm around the individual standing next to him. After Finicum spoke, SANTILLI addressed the media and said:

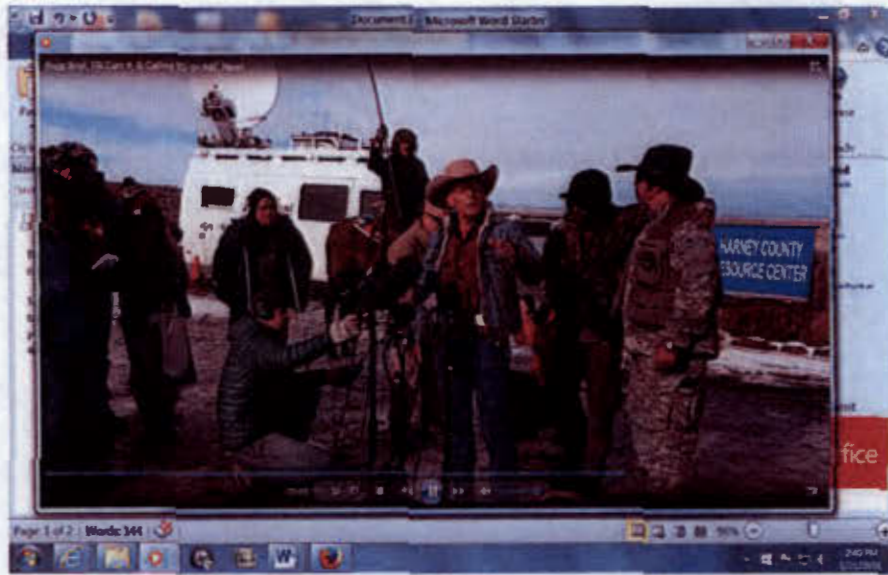
LaVoy's ah, offered me the opportunity to come up and speak to the members of the press. Uh, my name is Pete Santilli, uh for those of you that don't know me, uh I've accumulated approximately fifteen million uh minutes of viewing time, on the stream total combined uh worldwide, and I want to uh let the main stream media know uh that those that are not watching the stream or haven't been tuned in to my show, shame on each and every one of you. For those people that have been following the main stream media . . . [inaudible] . . . still asking the question. After twelve, thirteen days of being out here people are still wondering what the core issues are here, on this land. Shame on each and every one of you, millions of dollars being spent, you have an obligation to **communicate** to the public, and **unfortunately** your filtering [inaudible] . . . the public is not well informed.

A screen shot of the video is shown **below**:

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54. On January 21, 2016, a video was posted to YouTube channel "Pete Santilli Show" titled "BREAKING: Ammon Bundy Meets & Negotiates With FBI [EXCLUSIVE]." In the video, A. BUNDY can be seen and heard speaking with FBI personnel over a speaker on a cell phone. CAVALIER is standing beside A. BUNDY. SANTILLI introduced himself to several people as he filmed what was going on. Approximately thirteen minutes after leaving the meeting and while driving away, SANTILLI had the following conversation with a second person in his vehicle, who is off-screen, operating the video camera:

Camera person: They're amping up their uh little camp there. You know they are building, they have built a uh very large triage in the hospital. We have, we've confirmed that, we have, and we've also noticed in the last week that they're starting to uh get closer and closer to the refuge.

SANTILLI: Can I say something? Can I add something?

Camera person: Well of course.

SANTILLI: This is what I wanna tell, and good patriots will do good things, that's what I'm calling for. All you good patriots out there, it's time to staff up. Ok.

Camera person: Staff up? Yes.


SANTILLI: I'm gonna say this right now, loud and clear, and I want to put it out to every one of you patriots out there right now. This is to provoke constitutionality, ok, only! That's it. So don't say 'oh my goodness lo lo lo, shut your cake hole!' If you're a patriot, ok, and and you believe in what we're doing here as to ah protecting our god given rights, ok, you need to get in your car and come out here ok. Good patriots will do good things. Now's the time, time to staff up, ok. Time to staff up. I, I saw a compound that is so [video skips] . . . alright, that's what I'm calling for, that's what I'm provoking here, alright! Uh, we have a Second Amendment right uh to do that, to keep and bear arms. So those patriots that do keep and bear arms lawfully and constitutionally, it's time to staff up now! Right now.

55. In addition to social media posts made by individuals noted above, multiple news reports, interviews, and videos have reported or shown the occupiers of the MNWR to be armed with pistols and long guns.


56. On January 26, 2016, A. BUNDY, O'SHAUGHNESSY, PAYNE, R. BUNDY, CAVALIER, COX, and SANTILLI were taken into custody.

**Conclusion**

57. This affidavit and the requested arrest warrants were all reviewed by two Assistant United States Attorneys (AUSAs) prior to being submitted to the Court. The AUSAs informed me that in their opinion, the affidavit is legally and factually sufficient to establish probable cause to support the issuance of the requested warrants. I respectfully request the Court to authorize the proposed arrest warrants based on this complaint.

  
KATHERINE ARMSTRONG  
Special Agent  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26th day of January 2016.

  
THE HONORABLE STACIE F. BECKERMAN  
U.S. Magistrate Judge, District of Oregon

# Exhibit C



2300 N Street NW Suite 300-RLK\*  
Washington, DC 20037  
(202) 462-0600  
[www.ServicemembersCivilReliefAct.com](http://www.ServicemembersCivilReliefAct.com)  
[support@ServicemembersCivilReliefAct.com](mailto:support@ServicemembersCivilReliefAct.com)

Sara Berry  
Holland & Hart LLP  
800 West Main Street  
Ste. 1750  
Boise, ID 83702

August 26, 2022

Re: Tracking no. 202208262571; Name: BUNDY, AMMON EDWARD

Enclosed herewith please find the affidavit(s) you ordered in the above referenced matter(s). The original(s) are being sent to you, per instructions you sent with your order (or per your "Preferences" in "My Account").

Regular mail.

Federal Express.

Advance copy sent by email ([smberry@hollandhart.com](mailto:smberry@hollandhart.com))

Sincerely,

Servicemembers Civil Relief Act  
Centralized Verification Service

Enc.

---

\*The Verification Service is a division of SCRA, LLC, not a governmental agency



2300 N Street NW Suite 300-RLK  
Washington, DC 20037  
(202) 462-0600  
www.ServicemembersCivilReliefAct.com  
support@ServicemembersCivilReliefAct.com

**AFFIDAVIT IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE SERVICEMEMBERS CIVIL RELIEF ACT**

**Tracking No. 202208262571**  
**Active Duty Status Date: August 26, 2022**

**District of Columbia, ss:**

My name is Joseph C. Gullotta and I am a Legal Assistant with the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act Centralized Verification Service at www.ServicemembersCivilReliefAct.com. I am more than eighteen (18) years of age, of sound mind, suffer from no legal or mental disabilities, and I am fully competent to testify to the matters stated herein.

Pursuant to the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act [50 USC 3911 et seq.], I further state that I have caused a careful investigation to be made to ascertain whether or not

**AMMON EDWARD BUNDY.**

is in Active Duty Status as to all Departments of the Department of Defense (Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Space Force) as well as the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency, Public Health Service, and Coast Guard, including information on a Servicemember or his/her unit receiving notification of future orders to report for Active Duty, and that as a result of said inquiry, affiant does hereby state that, based upon the information you have furnished, as of the Active Duty Status Date (referenced above), there is no information in the Department of Defense Manpower Data center that indicates that the individual is in Active Duty Status. The Department of Defense reports that the information provided failed to match to a servicemember in its database.

Joseph C. Gullotta

This multi-page document SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me on August 26, 2022.

Anthony R. Reeves  
NOTARY PUBLIC, D.C.

My Commission Expires: January 1, 2027



This report is based upon information that you have provided. Providing an erroneous name, social security number, date of birth or other information may cause an erroneous report to be provided. If you obtain further information about the person you may resubmit your request and we will provide new status report for that query. This affidavit reflects status as of the Active Duty Status Date only. For historical information, please resubmit your inquiry with a different Active Duty Status Date or contact the individual Military Service SCRA points-of-contact: at <https://www.servicememberscivilreliefact.com/live/link/points-of-contact.php>. If you have evidence that the individual is/was on active duty as of the Active Duty Status Date and you fail to obtain this additional information, punitive provisions of the SCRA may be invoked against you. E.g. 50 USC Section 3951(c).

SCRA, LLC, a private company contractor trading as The Servicemembers Civil Relief Act Centralized Verification Service processes SCRA verifications through the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) which is an organization of the United States Department of Defense (DoD) that maintains the Defense Enrollment and Eligibility Reporting System (DEERS) database which is the official source of data on eligibility for military care and other eligibility systems, updated only once per month, incorporated herein by this reference. This report reflects the following information: (1) the individual's Active Duty status as of the Active Duty Status Date, (2) Whether the individual left Active Duty status within 367 days preceding the Active Duty Status Date, and (3) Whether the individual or his/her unit received early notification to report for active duty as of the Active Duty Status Date. Records do not predate September 30, 1985.

The attached two-page Status Report(s) issued by the DMDC is/are incorporated herein by this reference and form(s) the factual basis for this affidavit. If there are multiple Status Reports attached, it is because we we found several individuals with similar information (such as variations of name (maiden versus married), different social security numbers of 2-3 individuals with the same name, varying dates of birth, etc.) and all individuals were verified.

The information provided does not constitute a Consumer Report as defined by the Federal Fair Credit Reporting Act, 15 U.S.C. Section 1681 et seq., ("FCRA") and may not be used to determine eligibility for credit, insurance, employment or used for any other purpose governed by the FCRA.



**Status Report  
Pursuant to Servicemembers Civil Relief Act**

SSN: Redacted  
 Birth Date: Redacted  
 Last Name: BUNDY  
 First Name: AMMON  
 Middle Name: EDWARD  
 Status As Of: Aug-26-2022  
 Certificate ID: THZL1N11YH1JRQF

On Active Duty On Active Duty Status Date			
Active Duty Start Date	Active Duty End Date	Status	Service Component
NA	NA	No	NA
This response reflects the individuals' active duty status based on the Active Duty Status Date			

Left Active Duty Within 367 Days of Active Duty Status Date			
Active Duty Start Date	Active Duty End Date	Status	Service Component
NA	NA	No	NA
This response reflects where the individual left active duty status within 367 days preceding the Active Duty Status Date			

The Member or His/Her Unit Was Notified of a Future Call-Up to Active Duty on Active Duty Status Date			
Order Notification Start Date	Order Notification End Date	Status	Service Component
NA	NA	No	NA
This response reflects whether the individual or his/her unit has received early notification to report for active duty			

Upon searching the data banks of the Department of Defense Manpower Data Center, based on the information that you provided, the above is the status of the individual on the active duty status date as to all branches of the Uniformed Services (Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, NOAA, Public Health, and Coast Guard). This status includes information on a Servicemember or his/her unit receiving notification of future orders to report for Active Duty.

Michael V. Sorrento, Director  
 Department of Defense - Manpower Data Center  
 400 Gigling Rd.  
 Seaside, CA 93955

The Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) is an organization of the Department of Defense (DoD) that maintains the Defense Enrollment and Eligibility Reporting System (DEERS) database which is the official source of data on eligibility for military medical care and other eligibility systems.

The DoD strongly supports the enforcement of the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act (50 USC App. § 3901 et seq, as amended) (SCRA) (formerly known as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940). DMDC has issued hundreds of thousands of "does not possess any information indicating that the individual is currently on active duty" responses, and has experienced only a small error rate. In the event the individual referenced above, or any family member, friend, or representative asserts in any manner that the individual was on active duty for the active duty status date, or is otherwise entitled to the protections of the SCRA, you are strongly encouraged to obtain further verification of the person's status by contacting that person's Service. Service contact information can be found on the SCRA website's FAQ page (Q35) via this URL: <https://scra.dmdc.osd.mil/scra/faq>. If you have evidence the person was on active duty for the active duty status date and you fail to obtain this additional Service verification, punitive provisions of the SCRA may be invoked against you. See 50 USC App. § 3921(c).

This response reflects the following information: (1) The individual's Active Duty status on the Active Duty Status Date (2) Whether the individual left Active Duty status within 367 days preceding the Active Duty Status Date (3) Whether the individual or his/her unit received early notification to report for active duty on the Active Duty Status Date.

### More information on "Active Duty Status"

Active duty status as reported in this certificate is defined in accordance with 10 USC § 101(d) (1). Prior to 2010 only some of the active duty periods less than 30 consecutive days in length were available. In the case of a member of the National Guard, this includes service under a call to active service authorized by the President or the Secretary of Defense under 32 USC § 502(f) for purposes of responding to a national emergency declared by the President and supported by Federal funds. All Active Guard Reserve (AGR) members must be assigned against an authorized mobilization position in the unit they support. This includes Navy Training and Administration of the Reserves (TARs), Marine Corps Active Reserve (ARs) and Coast Guard Reserve Program Administrator (RPAs). Active Duty status also applies to a Uniformed Service member who is an active duty commissioned officer of the U.S. Public Health Service or the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA Commissioned Corps).

### Coverage Under the SCRA is Broader in Some Cases

Coverage under the SCRA is broader in some cases and includes some categories of persons on active duty for purposes of the SCRA who would not be reported as on Active Duty under this certificate. SCRA protections are for Title 10 and Title 14 active duty records for all the Uniformed Services periods. Title 32 periods of Active Duty are not covered by SCRA, as defined in accordance with 10 USC § 101(d)(1).

Many times orders are amended to extend the period of active duty, which would extend SCRA protections. Persons seeking to rely on this website certification should check to make sure the orders on which SCRA protections are based have not been amended to extend the inclusive dates of service. Furthermore, some protections of the SCRA may extend to persons who have received orders to report for active duty or to be inducted, but who have not actually begun active duty or actually reported for induction. The Last Date on Active Duty entry is important because a number of protections of the SCRA extend beyond the last dates of active duty.

Those who could rely on this certificate are urged to seek qualified legal counsel to ensure that all rights guaranteed to Service members under the SCRA are protected

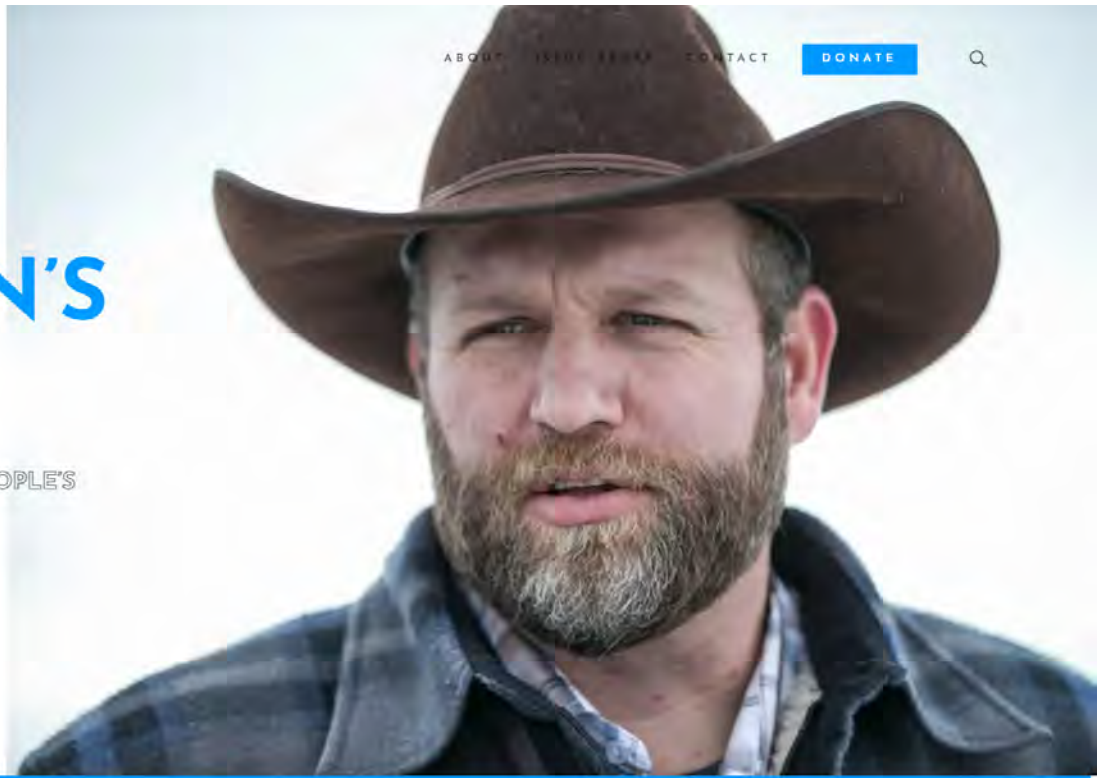
**WARNING:** This certificate was provided based on a last name, SSN/date of birth, and active duty status date provided by the requester. Providing erroneous information will cause an erroneous certificate to be provided.



# Exhibit D

# AMMON'S ARMY

INSIDE THE FAR-RIGHT "PEOPLE'S RIGHTS" NETWORK



A SPECIAL REPORT BY THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH & EDUCATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE MONTANA HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK.

INTRODUCTION

## "ARE YOU READY FOR CIVIL WAR NOVEMBER 4"

--Tony Pellegrino, People's Rights [1]

SEIZING ON COVID-19 ANXIETY, AMMON BUNDY AND HIS ALLIES HAVE CULTIVATED A DANGEROUS NEW NETWORK OF MILITIA MEMBERS, ANTI-MASKERS, CONSPIRACISTS, PREPPERS, ANTI-VAXXERS, AND OTHERS INTO AN ARMY OF FOLLOWERS—AMMON'S ARMY.

This report by the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights and the Montana Human Rights Network explores the breadth and depth of the network built by Bundy and named "People's Rights." What started in late March with a few dozen supporters in a rural Idaho warehouse has swiftly expanded to a membership base of over twenty thousand across the country.

Relying on field reports, countless hours of video footage, interviews, archival material, and a massive trove of online data, report researchers have captured the first full picture of Ammon's army.

CONTENTS

- ONE: INTRODUCTION | POINT OF THE SPEAR
- TWO: UNCOVERING THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK
- THREE: THE ONLINE ARMY
- FOUR: A DEN OF RATTLESNAKES
- FIVE: THE POSSE RIDES AGAIN
- SIX: MIDDLE AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD NATIONALISM
- SEVEN: CONSPIRACIES AND ANTISEMITISM UNBOUNDED
- EIGHT: PEOPLES RIGHTS AND RACISM
- NINE: ANTI-INDIGENOUS ACTIVISM
- TEN: POLITICAL POWER
- ELEVEN: PREPPING FOR THE FUTURE
- TWELVE: NOTABLE NETWORK FIGURES

Data presented in this report suggests that the rapid growth of the People’s Rights network has been spurred by a fusion of Bundy’s core of the far-right paramilitary supporters built up over years of armed standoffs with a mass base of new activists radicalized in protest over COVID-19 health directives.

The leadership of the People’s Rights network has remained hidden, locked away inside a new online platform away from public scrutiny, until now. Under the People’s Rights banner, Bundy has assembled a team of 153 “assistants” in sixteen states. This report, for the first time, names all 153 of those activists and examines their backgrounds—including extensive far-right activism by many area assistants. Though the national and state leadership is still dominated by men, this report also documents how People’s Rights has a majority of women in local leadership positions—a first for modern far-right networks.

This report also details how People’s Rights carved up the country into local areas. It maps the locations of the more than twenty thousand members of the People’s Rights network. It also dives into the data collected by report researchers on the composition of the online membership base of the twenty-two different People’s Rights Facebook groups that helped accelerate the spread of the network. The report digs into the new online platform developed by People’s Rights, a way to communicate with activists in case of de-platforming by major social networks.

The results of this study contravene many of the myths surrounding the People’s Rights network. Instead of a more traditional “anti-government” narrative, People’s Rights leaders have expressed a desire for governmental power to be used to protect the “righteous” against “wicked” liberals, antifa, Black Lives Matter activists, and others. Several People’s Rights leaders are running for elected office—to *become* the government. Absent that sort of intervention, leaders have proposed a type of armed enclave-style “neighborhood” nationalism, where “righteous” neighbors stand against the “wicked.” People’s Rights leaders have often defined the “wicked” using far-right conspiracism, racism, antisemitism, anti-indigenous, and anti-transgender sentiment.

Despite the different network branding, this report further highlights how the People’s Rights network shares many commonalities with far-right paramilitary movements of the past, including the Posse Comitatus and the militia movement.

Throughout the report, the danger of Ammon’s army becomes evident. Already there have been significant clashes and growing rage. In the context of the pandemic, it puts the lives of community members and public servants at risk, straining democratic institutions, and damaging civil society. We hope this report will serve as an alert to all communities in the path of Ammon’s army.



## POINT OF THE SPEAR

### AMMON BUNDY AND THE MALHEUR ARMED OCCUPATION

The origins of the People’s Rights network and the insurrection against COVID-19 restrictions can be traced back four years to the snow-swept terrain of the southeast Oregon high desert. For all the recent viral far-right misinformation claiming “antifa” started wildfires across the West, it’s important to remember that the 2016 armed takeover of the Malheur Wildlife Refuge in Oregon began as a rally supporting two ranchers convicted of arson wildfires on federal land.

Rancher Dwight Hammond Jr., and his son, Steven, were convicted of starting a 2001 wildfire on federal land, allegedly to cover up illegal deer poaching. Steven Hammond “handed out ‘Strike Anywhere’ matches with instructions that they be lit and dropped on the ground because they were going to ‘light up the whole country on fire.’”<sup>[2]</sup> Steven Hammond was also convicted of a 2006 arson in a national wildlife refuge.

When the Hammonds were ordered to serve their full sentences, militia members, Three Percenters, Tea Partiers, and other so-called “patriots” from across the country converged on Burns, Oregon to protest. Among those in attendance was Ammon Bundy, who had become a larger-than-life movement figure after the 2014 armed standoff at his father’s ranch in Nevada. Following a demonstration, a small group of activists led by Bundy left the rally to take over the dormant buildings of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge to take a “hard stand” against federal “tyranny.”<sup>[3]</sup>

At a press conference during the takeover, Bundy laid out his rationale for seizing the facility as part of a larger crusade to steal public lands.<sup>[4]</sup> Calling for reinforcements, Bundy declared that they were the “point of the spear that’s going to bring confidence and strength to the rest of the people.”<sup>[5]</sup> Many, indeed, were emboldened by Bundy’s actions.

After forty days, the armed occupation came to an end with one man dead and more than two dozen occupiers charged with federal offenses. In the legal battle for the Malheur invaders that ensued, Bundy quietly built up a core group of dedicated followers. They helped promote Bundy and did support work for the numerous people who went to trial for involvement in the armed takeover. In the end, the arsonists were pardoned by President Trump, while Ammon Bundy and most of the Malheur militants were freed by the courts. Then along came the COVID-19 pandemic. What was past became prologue as the group of militia members and other far-rightists attracted to the Bundy cause became the nucleus of what would become the People’s Rights network.



## FROM MALHEUR TO MASKS

### AMMON BUNDY & THE COVID-19 INSURRECTION

As governors around the country began putting in place rules to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, Ammon Bundy started gathering people together to stop them. On March 26, Bundy held an initial meeting in his warehouse in a dusty lot near the railroad tracks in Emmett, Idaho.<sup>[6]</sup> By that day, a total of 79,785 confirmed cases of COVID-19 in the US had been reported, with 1,136 deaths from the virus.<sup>[7]</sup>

At a germinal gathering of what would become People’s Rights on April 2, Ammon Bundy oversaw a meeting where COVID-19 health restrictions dominated the conversation. One participant lamented that “If we knew for sure that 150 million people were going to die that would be tragic and sad and very unfortunate, but that still doesn’t trump our freedom and our rights.”<sup>[8]</sup>

There was widespread agreement in the room about the need to change the narrative away from “focusing on the virus” to “focus on our freedoms and our rights.”<sup>[9]</sup>

When the group reconvened a week later, seventy-two people were in attendance to hear Bundy announce the new name for the group and describe how quickly they had grown.

“We have more people here than we had before, and we’ve started to get organized, so bear with us because it feels like oh man they’re not that organized. And we’re not. But every day and every week we get more and more organized. We put this in place. We put this in place. And pretty soon we have a body of people that are capable—not just talking about—but capable of defending their liberties because we’re uniting. That’s what’s happening here. So one of the things we’ve done we’ve put a way that people can basically join, if you wanna call it that, People’s Rights, or whatever you want to call it. And we have a contact list that’s now probably over 300 people. So that’s a good little start, ok.”<sup>[10]</sup>

During the event, they announced that they would defy the governor’s stay-at-home directives and hold an Easter service. Though only about sixty people attended the Easter rally, the defiant disregard for public health drew national attention.<sup>[11]</sup>

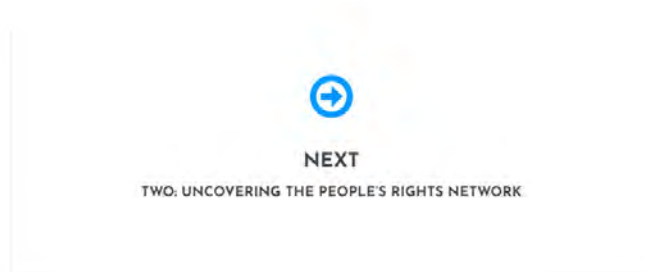
Bundy and People’s Rights created a network based on aggressive, belligerent non-compliance with the COVID-19 health directives. Bundy has repeatedly told his crowds, “Do not comply. That is what it will take.”<sup>[12]</sup>

To help slow the spread of the coronavirus pandemic, like many places the city of Meridian, Idaho, closed playgrounds and outdoor exercise equipment (while leaving walking paths open). On April 21, nine days after the Easter protest in nearby Emmett, Sara Walton Brady, leader of the anti-vaxxer group, Idahoans for Vaccine Freedom, staged a protest at a closed playground and was arrested after multiple requests to leave. She broadcast her arrest on social media. In an aggressive response to Walton Brady’s arrest, Ammon Bundy and a group of about 40 people protested

outside of the arresting police officer's home.[13] One person, who identified themselves as a member of the III% of Idaho, called the Meridian Police Department to demand, "It's time to choose a side. We can't stand what you people do. We will make you abide by the Constitution." [14] The combined actions reaped national attention, another spark to ignite insurrection. Sara Walton Brady became a member of the People's Rights Idaho group, which helped bring anti-vaxxers into the network.

The series of visible confrontations became a rallying cry around the country, setting off a wave of protests that one week later saw heavily-armed militia members storm the Michigan legislative chambers and the governor hung in effigy. It also gave spark to far-right groups opposed to COVID-19 restrictions. From April to September, the number of those groups swelled to 1,186 with 3,032,085 members.[15]

As attention shifted to the massive number of vocal groups clamoring to reopen the economy in the middle of a pandemic and opposing any sorts of health mandates like wearing masks, Bundy and People's Rights were building an army behind the scenes.



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CHAPTER TWO

# UNCOVERING THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK

*Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network*

CHAPTER TWO:

## UNCOVERING THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK

### THE STRUCTURE, SIZE, AND SCOPE OF THE NETWORK

Initially, much of the core of what became People's Rights grew out of ties developed during the Bundy family's armed confrontations with the federal government and/or their subsequent court cases. Some of these core activists became engaged in these networks around the time of Cliven Bundy's 2014 Bunkerville standoff, including Nevada state leader Joshua Martinez, Utah Area 9 assistant Shawna Cox, Utah Area 10 assistant Raul Hevia, and Washington State Area 2 assistant Tammy Hill.<sup>[16]</sup>

Others were involved in Ammon's takeover of the Oregon wildlife refuge. Utah Area 9 assistant Shawna Cox, Idaho Area 2 assistants [Sean and Sandra Anderson](#), and Utah figure [Brand Thornton](#) were all directly involved in the Malheur takeover. Oregon state leader [BJ Soper](#) organized in connection to the occupation through the Pacific Patriot Network.<sup>[17]</sup>

Others either directly mobilized or became engaged online on behalf of LaVoy Finicum, killed by police during the standoff, or during post-Malheur Bundy family trials. These include:

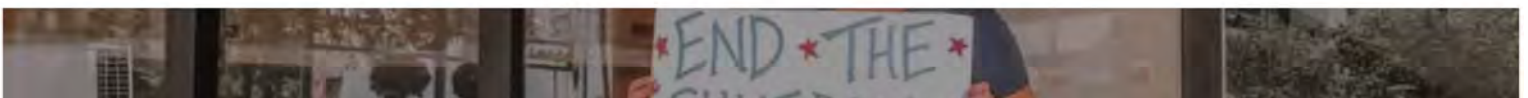
- California state leader [Tony Pellegrino](#)
- California Area 10 assistant Erik Cryder
- Washington Area 4 assistant [Kelli Stewart](#)
- Washington Area 5 assistant Amanda Bisset
- Missouri Area 8 assistant Madelynn Frazier
- Montana Area 5 assistant Ed Kugler
- Oregon Area 3 assistant HollyJo Beers
- Utah Area 11 assistant Trevor Wilkerson. <sup>[18]</sup>

Arkansas state leader [Angela Clemons](#), while organizing in support of a militia member convicted of plotting to kill law enforcement, did so in cooperation with activists in Bundy's networks in 2018.<sup>[19]</sup>

In late April, People's Rights launched its website, complete with stock-photos of a happy white family, and the tagline, "Uniting Neighbors to Defend Their Families, Faith, Freedom and Future."

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# AMMON'S ARMY CHAIN OF COMMAND

## THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK STRUCTURE

Despite persistent talk of a lack of hierarchy in the organization, People's Rights is a fairly typically structured group. Ammon Bundy sits atop the hierarchy—though in an unnamed, unspecified position. He is the main spokesperson for the group, and it appears that he has complete access to all the individual member information.

Seated below Bundy, at least in terms of access to information, are so-called “state assistants” responsible for coordinating activities with multiple “area assistants” across their respective states. As Bundy explained in a training video, “The job of the state assistant is to identify the boundaries of each area and to help nominate and fill each of the area assistant positions. And it’s really that simple. Then the state assistants will just assist the area assistants in all that they have to do, training, when one needs to be replaced they can encourage nominations.”<sup>[20]</sup>

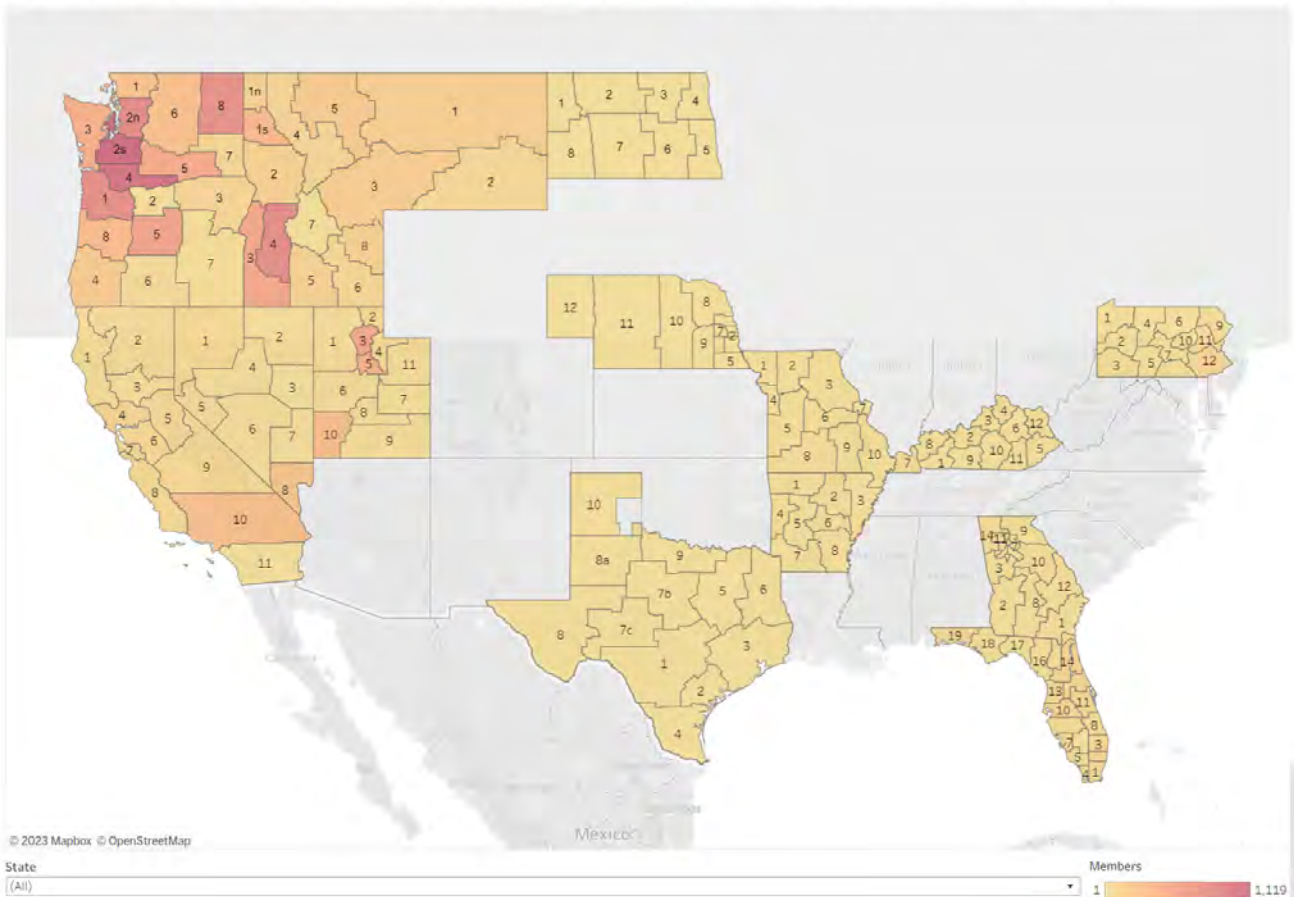
According to Bundy, “the area assistant is the most important role in people’s rights,” as they are the “gatekeepers of the information.”<sup>[21]</sup> Bundy explained in another training video for area assistants,

“So when people sign up to People’s Rights, the area assistants receive that information and it does not go to all the other people in your area. That way it’s protected, that it can’t be used improperly. And the area assistants are the gatekeepers, the caretakers of that information. They also activate the people when someone’s rights need to be defended, or when something is going on in their community, in their neighborhoods, that needs to be addressed.”<sup>[22]</sup>

# MAPPING THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK

## DESIGNATED LOCAL AREAS & MEMBERSHIP FIGURES

In sixteen different states, the network has divided up each state into areas that are overseen by area leaders. As of September 1, there are ten state assistants and 143 area assistants in sixteen states: Arkansas, California, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Washington. Kentucky, Nebraska, and Texas have been divided into areas, but do not yet have assigned state or local assistants. In total, these states account for 15,602 individuals in the People’s Rights network, the vast majority of the group.





















# STATE PROFILES

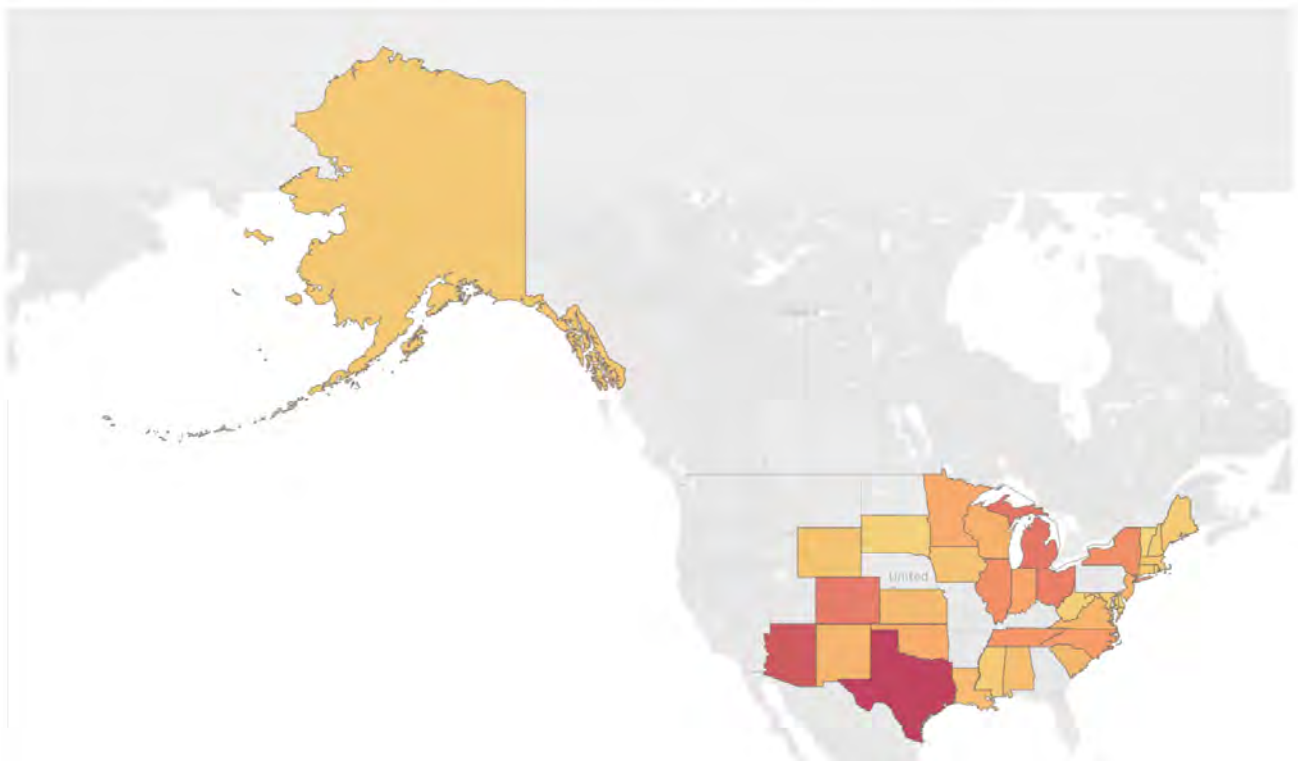
The complete list of area assistants has only been known to the inner-circle of People’s Rights. Until now, Report researchers have uncovered the complete list of state and area assistants for People’s Rights. A complete list of state and area assistants is available [here](#). Additional information about area assistants is available on each state page.

To dive deeper into the far-right activity of People’s Rights at the state level—including area membership figures and profiles of area leaders—select one of the states below.

 <b>ARKANSAS</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>MISSOURI</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>OREGON</b> <span>VIEW</span>
 <b>CALIFORNIA</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>MONTANA</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>PENNSYLVANIA</b> <span>VIEW</span>
 <b>FLORIDA</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>NEBRASKA</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>TEXAS</b> <span>VIEW</span>
 <b>GEORGIA</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>NEVADA</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>UTAH</b> <span>VIEW</span>
 <b>IDAHO</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>NORTH DAKOTA</b> <span>VIEW</span>	 <b>WASHINGTON</b> <span>VIEW</span>
 <b>KENTUCKY</b> <span>VIEW</span>		

## MEMBERSHIP IN STATES WITHOUT LOCAL AREA STRUCTURE

In addition, there are 6,249 additional members scattered across the thirty-four states that do not yet have area leaders and have not been broken into areas. In total, the People’s Rights network had 21,851 members in their membership system on September 1.





### THE COVID-19 INSURRECTION AND THE MASS BASE

Building on top of the initial militia base, data suggests that the growth of People’s Rights relied heavily on opposition to COVID-19 health restrictions. An examination of Facebook data indicates that People’s Rights area leaders are members of 85 different COVID-19 Insurrection groups.[23] More than one-quarter of the members of People’s Rights groups on Facebook are members of one or more groups opposed to COVID-19 restrictions. In total, 2,097 members of the 8,193 members of People’s Rights Facebook groups are members of one or more of 785 different groups opposed to COVID-19 health restrictions.[24] Some of the most popular groups among People’s Rights Members include: Reopen Washington State (370), Bare Face Is Legal (270), ReopenWA (262), Put your \$\$ where your mask is. Freedom Friendly Businesses!! (256), All Jobs are Essential (221), Open Oregon (174), No Mandatory Masks For Kids in ANY Washington State Schools (162), Reopen Oregon (155), Reopen Washington State Churches (155), and Reopen Washington Action Network (143).

As discussed at the initial meetings, the network quickly moved beyond opposition to COVID-19 restrictions. Instead, they laid forth a framework to appeal to militia-types, conspiracists, anti-vaxxers, preppers, Christian nationalists, and more. According to their website,

“When it is no longer ‘legal’ to grow your own food, educate your children or operate your own business, who will you call? Who will you call when the law mandates that vaccines be injected into your body or the bodies of your children? Who will you call when street criminals roam your neighborhood undeterred by the police? Who will you call when due process is denied to you because of political differences? Who will you call when things like contact-tracing are implemented in your state and you refuse to participate?”[25]

The expanse of the issue set may partially account for the wider appeal of People’s Rights with women, compared to the militia/Second Amendment crowd.

### CLOSING THE FAR-RIGHT GENDER GAP

Most far-right networks have been dominated by men, who made up the vast majority of leaders and members. Militia-type networks have generally been +85% men in membership, even higher percentages in leadership. The Tea Party was the first modern far-right movement to create significant room for women. Between 2010 and 2015, the Tea Party had between 37% and 33% of members who identified as female.[26] By contrast, the People’s Rights network has cultivated a leadership network where the majority of leaders identify as female. Of the 153 area leaders, 53% appear to identify as women, 47% as men. The overall head of the People’s Rights network, and eight of the ten state leaders, however, are men. None of the area assistants that researchers have examined identified as transgender or non-binary, and several of the network’s leaders have expressed anti-transgender bigotry.[27]

AREA ASSISTANT COMPOSITION



PREVIOUS

INTRODUCTION | POINT OF THE SPEAR



NEXT

THREE. THE ONLINE ARMY

## NOTES

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[23] People's Rights area leaders were members of these groups opposed to COVID-19 health restrictions: #ReOpenCT, #ReopenTN, All Jobs are Essential, Americans for COVID-19 Truth| Against Quarantine of the healthy, Anti-Mask League 2020, Anti-Maskers, Bare Face Is Legal, C.U.R.E. – Citizens United for Reopening the Economy, Citizens to End the Destruction of California, Covid shutdown March on Capital Building, Defend Hermiston & Eastern Oregon, Essential Minnesota, FLA 2020=The 4 concerned, Floridians for FREEDOM over fear!, Free California, GridLock Montana, Jackson County, Uniting for Liberty, Jefferson County Uniting for Liberty, KEEP CALIFORNIA OPEN & FREE ( Uncensored ), Keep Florida Open and End Mandatory Mask Wearing, Lane County Uniting For Liberty, Liberate Montana, Linn County Oregon Uniting for Liberty, Marion County Uniting for Liberty, NC United for Liberty, No Mandatory Masks For Kids in ANY Washington State Schools, Mothers Against Mask Mandates, No mask/muzzles| we have a Voice!, Ohioans Against Excessive Quarantine, Open Florida, Open Florida NOW, Open Oregon, OPEN PALM BEACH COUNTY SCHOOLS-OUR CHILDREN| OUR CHOICE, Open Up Martin County, Open Washington Now, Open Washington| Oregon| Californial Nevada And Colorado, Oregon Uniting for Liberty, Palm Beach County Against Mandatory Masks!, Protest Washington State Covid19 lockdown, Put your \$\$ where your mask is. Freedom Friendly Businesses!., REOPEN AMERICA, Re-Open America, Reopen Arizona, Re-open Arizona For Business, Reopen Arkansas – End Govt Covid19 Overreach, Reopen California – Enough is Enough, Reopen California Schools, Reopen Clallam County, Reopen Florida, Reopen Florida Beaches!, REOPEN Florida Miami-Dade, Reopen Florida Schools and Reject CDC Guidelines, Reopen Florida!- NorthEast Florida Chapter, Reopen Florida! ORLANDO, Reopen Florida-Broward, REOPEN GA, ReOpen Hawaii, Reopen Kansas, Reopen KY, Reopen Maryland, Reopen Minnesota, Reopen Montana, Reopen Nebraska, Reopen NH, Re-Open Norman, Reopen Oregon, Reopen Oregon Now, ReOpen South Florida, Reopen Springfield Missouri, ReOpen the California Churches, Reopen USA, Reopen Washington Action Network, Reopen Washington State, Reopen Washington State Churches, Reopen Wisconsin! Recall Governor Tony Evers and Gordon Hintz, Reopening and Unmasking WA State Schools, ReopenWA, Save Oregon, South Florida Unmasked, Stand For Freedom (Utah), Stand Up For Freedom, STAND UP FOR YOUR RIGHTS, Utah Freedom, Unmasking America!, Washingtonians Against (Excessive) Quarantine – WAQ.

[24] Members of People's Rights groups on Facebook were also members of these Facebook groups opposed to COVID-19 health restrictions: RE OPEN CALIFORNIA CITIZENS FIGHT BACK, #BackToBusinessGeorgia, #Liberate Washington, #LiberateMissouri,#OpenOHIOAgain, #OpenSBC, #OpenUpCA, #REOPEN IL FREEDOM IN NUMBERS!, #Reopen OK, #ReOpenCT, #reopenjoco, #ReopenKS, #ReopenNC Burke County/Unifour Area, #ReOpenNC Henderson County, #ReOpenNC Iredell, #REOPENNJ 2020, #ReopenNY, #ReOpenOC, #ReopenOhio, #reopenOR, #ReopenTexas, #ReOpenTN, #ReOpenVC, #UNMASKCT, 2020 PLANDEMIC CORONA PSYOP MIND CONTROL ANTI NEW WORLD ORDER, VACCINES, 5G, Ada School UNMASKED, Adams County Patriots, Advocates for Economic Liberty, AGAINST MANDATORY COVID-19 VACCINES, Alabamian's Against Excessive Quarantine, Alaskans Against Mandatory Quarantine, All Jobs are Essential, All Shepherds, No Sheep – Fight to be FREE!, America Back To Work 4/27/20, America Unmasked, American Women do NOT Wear Masks, American Workers & Business Owners Against Excessive Quarantine., Americans Against Excessive Overreach,Americans Against Excessive Quarantine, Americans Against Excessive Quarantine Group, AMERICANS Against excessive Quarantine!, Americans Against Excessive Shut Down and Quarantine, Americans Against Masking & Global Friends Tool!, Americans Against Quarantine, Americans Against the COVID Hoax, Americans Against Unconstitutional Lockdown, Americans Against Unconstitutional Lockdowns, Americans Against Unnecessary Quarantine & Business Disruption, Americans for COVID-19 Truth, Against

Quarantine of the healthy, Americans for Liberty and Freedom: End the Government Shutdown, Anti Mask Upstate NY, Anti-Lockdown Group, AntiMask, ANTI-MASK 2020, Anti-Mask Coalition, Anti-Mask League 2020, ANTI-MASKER NATION, Anti-Maskers, Anti-Maskers for Constitutional Rights, ANTI-MASK-STAND4FREEDOM-NOT SLAVERY, AR2 Patriot Network, Arizona against excessive lockdown, Arizonans Against Excessive Quarantine, Arizonans for Liberty, Back to work Colorado, Back to Work Florida, BACKTOWORK2020, Bare Face Is Legal, Benton County Uniting for Liberty, Berkshire's against CV19 hoax, Berkshire's against CV19 hoax, Boise Parents Against Mandatory Masks in Schools, Buckeyes Against Mandatory Quarantine, Bucks County No Masks Required, Buffalonians Against Excessive Quarantine (716) [2], Burke/Catawba businesses not requiring masks, Burn Your Mask, Burn your masks!!, C.U.R.E. – Citizens United for Reopening the Economy, C-19 Hoax 2020, Cabarrus Freedom, California Against Excessive Quarantine, California against masks, California for Civil Rights (Stop The Lockdowns), California Patriots pro Law & Order, Californians Against Excessive Quarantine, Californians Against Lockdown, Californians Against Quarantine, Californians For Freedom, Casper Back To Work, Central Bucks Residents for Reopening Schools, Cherokee County School District REOPEN Community group, Christians Against Face Masks, Citizen. stand up! ( N.C. ), Citizens For Living Liberty UNITED, Citizens for reopening for business no later than 05/04/2020, Citizens to End the Destruction of California, Citizens to REOPEN CAROLINA BEACH, Citizens United for Freedom, Coloradans Against Excessive Quarantine, Colorado Citizens Against Polis Shutdown Orders, Come Together KS & MO, Commons of Halifax County Virginia, cool story, but corona virus is a hoax, CoronaHoax2020, coronavirus hoax, coronavirus hoax., COVID 19 – BACK TO WORK NOW, Covid 19 Hoax, Covid shutdown March on Capital Building, COVID=HOAX, COVID-19 is a hoax, COVID-19 Is A Hoax!, CT citizens against the shutdown., CT Get Back To Work Rally!, CutNOW hairdressers for opening!, Dansville Against Excessive Quarantine, Defend Hermiston & Eastern Oregon, Defy Your State Government and Get Back To Work, Deschutes County Uniting For Liberty, Disobey Idaho: North Idaho, Douglas County United for Liberty, DURANGO UNITED!, Durango UNMASKED Unite!, Durango UNMASKED Unite!, Elk County for Freedom, Empowering Minds of Pa – EMP, End America's Lockdown, End lockdown June 2020, END the Covid-19 Lockdown NOW!- Only Sunshine or Vit.D3 will stop this Flu!, End The Fresno Lockdown, End the Lock Down, End the Lock down.- Restore Civil Liberties., End the Lockdown, End the Lockdown in Texas, End The Lockdown Tampa Bay, End The Lockdown! This is America!, End The Lockdown-Maryland, End The Quarantine, End The Shutdown, End The Shutdown Movement, End the Shutdown. Quarantine is not a cure., End the Washington State quarantine!, EndTheLockdown Astoria Queens NY, Essential Minnesota, Estes Park Patriots For Freedom, Face the Truth, Fear Free Montgomery, FIRE FAUCI – END THE LOCKDOWN, FLa 2020-The 4 concerned, Florida Citizens Against Looters/Lockdowns, Florida Snow Day, Florida Uniting for Liberty, FLORIDA/USA TIME FOR LOCKDOWN TO END!!!, Floridian's Against Excessive Quarantine, Floridians against excessive quarantine, Floridians for FREEDOM over fear!, Floridians to march on the state capital to end lockdown, Floridian's Against Excessive Quarantine, For Our Rights, Free California, Free Encinitas & San Diego County, Free Livingston County NY, FREE NYS, Free To Choose- No Mandatory Masks For Lakeland, Freedom, Freedom For Michigan, Freedom Is Essential New Jersey, Freedom march 2020, Freedom 🇺🇸, FreedomNC – New Hanover County, Fresno Freedom Events, Fully Open Ferndale Schools, Georgia AGAINST Mandatory Face Masks!, Georgians Against Excessive Quarantine, Georgians Against Unconstitutional Quarantine, Get America Back To Work!, Get Americans Back to Work, Get Indiana County Back to Work, Get our Freedom Back Illinois!!, GetNCbacktowork, Getting OK Back TO NORMAL!, Glendale Unified Parents Against Masks, Great 48!, Group for businesses not requiring masks in Kentucky, Gwinnett Citizens AGAINST Mandatory Masks in School, Gwinnettians against excessive quarantine, Hanover PA for Smaller Government, HARDIN NORTHERN SCHOOL UNMASKED, Hoosiers Connect, Hoosiers United for Liberty, Hunt County – Back to Business, I refuse to wear a mask., Idahoans against excessive quarantine, Illini fighting against excessive quarantine!, Illinoisans Against Excessive Quarantine, Illinoisians Against Excessive Quarantine, Indiana Citizens, Iowans For Economic Freedom, It's Time to Get Back to Work!, Jackson County Uniting for Liberty, Jefferson County Uniting for Liberty, Joplin Mask Mandate Opponents, July 4th Mask Burning Protest, Kansans against mandatory face mask, Kansas Mask Boycott, KEEP CALIFORNIA OPEN & FREE ( Uncensored ), Keep Florida Open and End Mandatory Mask Wearing, Keep Missouri Open, KEEP NEVADA OPEN, Keep Santa Cruz Free, Keep Wisconsin Open!!, Keeping Texas Great! The Lone Star State., Kentucky Resistance to Excessive Quarantine, Kingsburg Constitutionalists, KY is Open for Business, Lancaster/York Area No Masks Required, Lane County Uniting For Liberty, Las Vegas & Nevada Against Excessive Quarantine, Lee county mask protest planning, Let us go back to work!!!! Enough is enough!!, Lets Be The Voices for Reopening Schools/Sports, Let's End The Lockdown, LET'S GET BACK TO WORK, Let's Get Back to Work!, Let's Keep Clark County, NV, Open, Let's Liberate Missouri together!, LIBERATE, Liberate America, LIBERATE ARKANSAS, LIBERATE CALIFORNIA, Liberate Colorado, LIBERATE FLORIDA, LIBERATE ILLINOIS, LIBERATE KENTUCKY, LIBERATE MARYLAND, LIBERATE MICHIGAN, Liberate Michigan 2.0, LIBERATE MINNESOTA, Liberate Montana, Liberate New England, Liberate Our City, Liberate Palm Desert, Liberate Pennsylvania, Liberate Racine, Liberate Shakopee, LIBERATE TENNESSEE, Liberate the USA! Put American's Back to Work! End the Quarantine!, Liberate Virginia, Liberate Washington, Liberate Wyoming, Liberty Keepers Michigan, Liberty Prince William County, Life, Liberty and Lincoln County, Lift the Lockdown Sonoma County, Linn County Oregon Uniting for Liberty, Live Free MN, Live Free Or Die : Open New Hampshire, Los Angeles County Open Schools for 2020, Louisianians Against Excessive Quarantining, LTUSD Parents for Reopening Schools, Maine businesses forcing masks, Maine Discussion Forum, Mainers Against Excessive Quarantine Member's Bulletin Board, Mainers Against Extended Quarantine, MAKE SCV SCHOOLS NORMAL AGAIN!!, Mandatory mask protest, Mankato Un-Masked, Marching for Freedom – North County, SD, Marion County Uniting for Liberty, Marion County Unmasked, Maryland Against Extended Quarantine, Maryland Back in Business, MASK FREE, Mask Free PA, Mask NOT Manditory Places., Mask Off Militia (M.O.M), Mask-Free Missouri, Masks Are A Choice – Orange County, MASKS ARE FOR THE SHEEP AND THE SLAVES OF THE ZIONIST JEWS!, Masks not Required Unifour, MASKS OFF FOR JESUS!!, MASKS OFF NJ, Massachusetts Freedom Project, May 7th – PA citizen reopening, because we decide!, MAY DAY 2020 Back to work and worship, MAYDAY CALL TO RE-OPEN BUSINESS, MAYDAY CALL TO REÇÉOPEN BUSINESS, MAYDAY....BUSINESS OWNERS UNITE-OPEN During The Month Of MAY, Michigan 100% AGAINST QUARANTINE, Michigan 3 Percent Against the Quarantine, Michigan against excessive quarantine, Michigan Against Mandatory COVID Vaccination, Michigan Freedom Unmasked, Michigan Go Back To Work, Michigan Minorities Against Excessive Quarantine, Michigan Protest Plan & Contingency, Michigan Real Estate Profess against excessive quarantine, and for Liberty., Michiganders against excessive quarantine, Michiganders against face masks, Michiganders Against Forced Quarantine, michigander's against mandatory masks, Michiganders Fighting to Protect Rights, Michiganders for Freedom, Michiganders in quarantine against Whitmer, Michiganders Still Against Excessive Quarantine!, Mid Michiganders against Tyranny— For Common Sense Government, Mid Michiganders against Tyranny For Common Sense Government, Mississippians Against The Lockdown, Missourians Against Excessive Quarantine, Missourians against quarantine and social distancing, Missourians Against Unconstitutional Quarantine, Mitchell Kernel Parents Against Mandatory Masks, Mohave County AZ Against Mandatory Face Masks, Moms Against Masks, Montana Gym Owners for Re

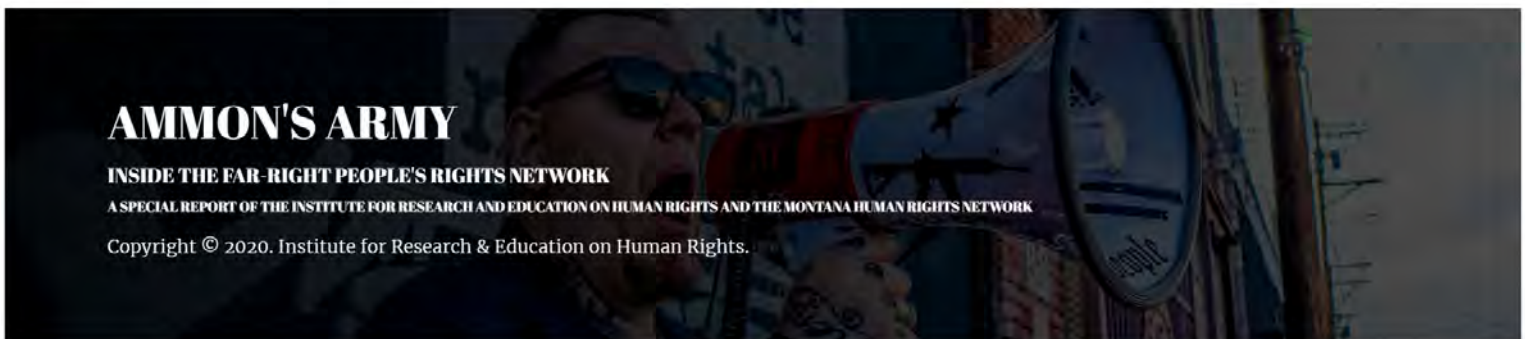


PA, Reopen PA, Reopen Pasadena, Reopen Pennsylvania Schools, Reopen Philly, Reopen Pinellas County, Re-Open Placer County, Reopen Queen Anne's County, REOPEN RC, Reopen Riverside County, California, Reopen RVA!, REOPEN SAMPSON COUNTY NC, Re-Open San Bernardino County/Re-Open California, Re-Open San Diego, Reopen San Luis Obispo County, REOPEN SC, REOPEN SC MAGA 2020!, REOPEN SEAL BEACH, Reopen SJC, Reopen Sonoma County, REOPEN SOUTH CAROLINA, ReOpen South Florida, Reopen Spokane County, Reopen Springfield Missouri, REOPEN ST MARYS, Reopen Suffolk County, ReOpen Tennessee, Reopen Tennessee Now, Reopen Texas, ReOpen the California Churches, ReOpen The Country, Reopen the Country or the Trucks STOP, ReOpen the Lehigh Valley, ReOpen the Region, Reopen The San Luis Valley, Reopen the Triad, Reopen the U.S., Reopen the US, Re-Open the West Coast, Reopen Union County, Re-Open Upstate NY!!!, Reopen USA, Reopen Utah, Reopen VA Schools -Roanoke County, Reopen Virginia, Reopen Virginia Now, Reopen WA state schools, REOPEN Wake County, Reopen Washington Action Network, Reopen Washington County, Reopen Washington State, Reopen Washington State Churches, REOPEN WAXHAW, Reopen West Virginia, Reopen Wisconsin Freedom Rally, Reopen Wisconsin Freedom Rally 🇺🇸, Reopen Wisconsin! Recall Governor Tony Evers and Gordon Hintz, ReOpen Wisconsin: Dane County, ReOpen York County, ReopenDavieCounty, RE-OPENED LAKE COUNTY, CA 2020, RE-OPENED NAPA COUNTY, CA, Reopening and Unmasking WA State Schools, Re-opening Kentucky Safely by June 1st., ReopenKS, ReopenMA (North Shore), REOPENNC, ReOpenNC Businesses, ReopenNC Wake County, ReopenNCschools, ReOpenNJ, ReOpenPa, ReOpenTheWorld, ReopenVA, ReopenWA, ReOpenWashPA, RESIST THE CA SHUTDOWN, Responsible establishments against excessive quarantine, Restore California Legally!, Restore Liberty and Freedom to PA, Restore Our American Rights, Restore The Constitution, Return2Learn Maryland Schools, RHODE ISLANDERS AGAINST THE SHUTDOWN OF STATE PARKS AND BEACHES, Routt United For Freedom, Save Oregon, Say NO to mandatory masks, SC For Freedom Group, SC Unmasked, South Florida Unmasked, SouthDakotaSmallBusinesses for Liberty, Stand For Freedom (Utah), Stand Up For Freedom, Stand up for Liberty, STAND UP FOR YOUR RIGHTS, STAND-UP for AMERICA, Support Trump Reopening America, Take Back Key West, Take back Ohio refuse mandatory mask, Tennesseans against excessive quarantine, Texans Against Excessive Quarantine, Texans Against Excessive Quarantines, Texans Against Forced Tyrannical Quarantine and Shutdown, Texas Citizens Against Looters, The Movement, THE OPEN ALABAMA MOVEMENT, The Tyranny Resistance Movement, The United States Of America Unmasked & Uncensored, The Unmasked Nation., Those who oppose mandatory masks, Tri-State Resistance to Lockdowns & Vaccinations, Turlock and Surrounding Areas NO MASKS, United States Against Excessive Quarantine, Unmandate Masks Arizona, UnMASK Abilene, Unmask America, Unmask California, UNMASK Gig Harbor, Un-Mask Knox, Unmask Maryland, Unmask NC, Unmask New Jersey, Unmask NM, UnMask Now, UNMASK PA, unmask RI, Un-Mask Tantasqua, Unmask Tucson, Unmasked, Unmasked Americans, Unmasked Citizens for the First Amendment, UNMASKED CONNECTICUT, Unmasked heroes of America!, UNMASKED in West Alabama, Unmasked Union, Unmasking America!, Unmasking Fear 2020, Unmasking Newsom/Back The Blue/Take Back California., Utah Freedom, Utahns Against Excessive Quarantine, VA Back2School!, Virginians Against Excessive Quarantine, Virginians against mandatory masks, Virginians for Constitutional Rights 2020, WA Patriots A.R. 2, WA State Churches & Faith Leaders (Reopen Plan), WALMART EMPLOYEES AGAINST WEARING A MASK, Washington County Uniting for Liberty, Washington State Back to Work!, Washingtonians Against (Excessive) Quarantine - WAQ, WE ARE ALL ESSENTIAL!!!, Wisconsin March for Freedom, Wisconsinites Against Excessive Quarantine, Wisconsinites Against Mandatory Masks (WAMM), WV AGAINST UNCONSTITUTIONAL POWER, Yamhill County Uniting for Liberty.

[25] People's Rights. "Homepage." People's Rights website. Undated. Last accessed October 1, 2020. <https://www.peoplesrights.org/>.

[26] Burghart, Devin and Zeskind, Leonard. "The Tea Party Movement in 2015." IREHR website. September 15, 2015. <https://www.irehr.org/2015/09/15/the-tea-party-movement-in-2015/>.

[27] A number of People's Rights leaders have posted material criticizing or mocking transgender people, including Georgia State leader Field Searcy (Georgia state leader) and Idaho Area 6 assistant Aaron Esquiguza. See Searcy, Field. Facebook. October 26, 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/field.searcy/posts/10217240203414102>.



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CHAPTER THREE:

# THE ONLINE ARMY

*Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network*

CHAPTER THREE

CONTENTS

## THE ONLINE ARMY

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS USED FACEBOOK TO RECRUIT AN ARMY. NOW THEY ARE MOVING ON.

One of the ways People's Rights has been able to grow so quickly is by capitalizing on existing far-right networks on Facebook. For over a decade, militias, Three Percenters, and other far-right groups have had free reign on Facebook's platform. Data collected by report researchers indicates that People's Rights groups were built atop that legacy. Part of the "People's Rights" brand was to simultaneously paper over that history while situating the group at the heart of COVID-19 insurrection.

The first People's Rights private Facebook group was created at the end of April, with most of the rest coming online in June. As of September, the network built out twenty-one different Facebook groups covering Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, Missouri, and Nebraska.<sup>[28]</sup> They also convinced the Facebook group Open Carry Utah, which had been created back in 2015, to openly declare that it was an "arm of peoplesrights.org."<sup>[29]</sup> Among those groups, there are 8,193 unique members. People's Rights also has six Facebook pages representing groups in four states (Idaho, Georgia, Montana, and Washington) as well as the national organization. Those pages have been liked by 9,483 people. Local activists have effectively used Facebook to recruit members, publicize their activities, and livestream their protest demonstrations.

Even before Facebook's recent removal of some militia and Three Percenter groups, People's Rights was already moving away from the platform. Rather than bank on Facebook to communicate with members, People's Rights has chosen a more direct path. The People's Rights network relies primarily on an online tool to communicate actions to members via SMS text message.

Prospective members enter their cellphone number and other information on the group's website or send a text message to People's Rights national. Prospective members then receive a text message containing a temporary Access Code that needs to be entered on the website to verify the member. That information is shared with local area leaders. Cellphone numbers are also used to send text messages or voicemails to activists about upcoming events.

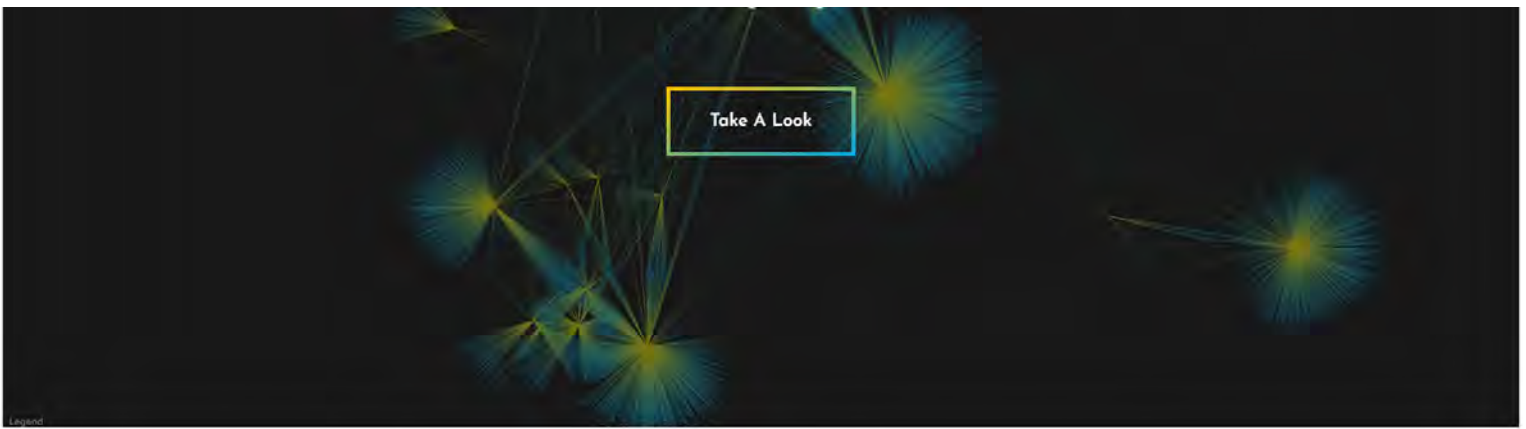
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## VISUALIZING THE NETWORK

An Interactive Visualization of People's Rights Facebook Social Network



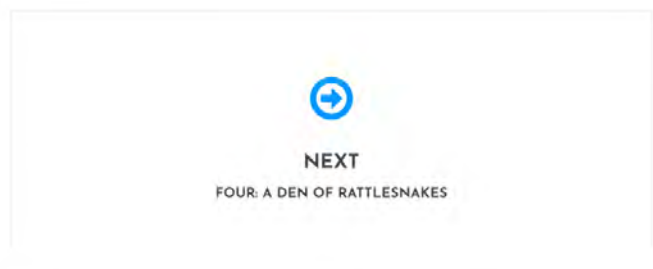
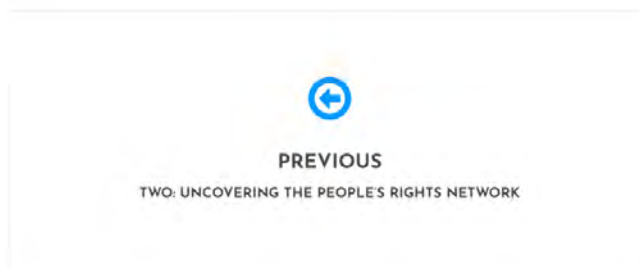


In some ways, the People’s Rights communications structure is a bit of a throwback, harkening to the days of the old “telephone tree” where each activist has a set of pre-determined people they must relay information to when phoned. After a call was started, it would proliferate through the network, each person calling their handful of contacts, until everyone was contacted. Now the system is automated via text message. All the members of a specific area can be contacted by a local area assistant, an entire state can be contacted by a state assistant, and the entire network can be sent text messages by Bundy and crew. Individuals can also join the network via text message. Such a system allows much of the network’s activity to occur away from prying eyes on social media.

As Florida Area 12 assistant Rachael Love Cohen described in August, “Unlike social media platforms, People’s Rights offers a secure messaging system that will provide us the security we need when we are shut down by the ever-increasing media censorship. This is our primary vehicle to use in emergency situations.”<sup>[30]</sup>

Fearing Facebook action against People’s Rights, Bundy announced in September that the network is also building out its own social networking site. It will have to compete with several new Idaho far-right social networking sites that came online this month.<sup>[31]</sup> On October 6, Oregon Area 1 assistant, Sonja Persey, indicated a shift in a similar direction, when she announced that she was shifting the group’s Facebook page over to a WIMKIN social network site. Persey cited Facebook “censorship” for the move and invited existing members to join at that platform.<sup>[32]</sup>

As People’s Rights grew, Bundy continued to broaden that appeal. Decrying potential electoral success by liberals, Bundy warned, “They’re not going to respect our rights. They’re going to try and make laws to take our arms away, to take our liberty to worship away, to take the right that we have to decide what goes into our bodies and our children’s bodies away, that’s what it means. And because we have legislators who believe in liberal ideas, all of a sudden now, all our rights are gone? No, that’s not the way it works.”<sup>[33]</sup> Not content with a band of “Don’t Tread on Me” flag-wavers, Bundy was charming a viper’s nest of armed activists ready to strike.



## NOTES

<sup>[28]</sup> Current list of People’s Rights Facebook groups includes People’s Rights – North Idaho (Area 1), People’s Rights-Area 4, People’s Rights Idaho AREA 3 Group, Peoples Rights Idaho Area 5, People’s Rights Idaho AREA 8, People’s Rights IDAHO Group, People’s Rights Missouri, Montana District 1 People’s Rights, People’s Rights Nebraska, People’s rights Oregon 5, People’s Rights Oregon 1, People’s Rights Zone 3, Open Carry UTAH-OCU (An arm of PeoplesRights.org), Area 1 People’s Rights Washington, Area 4 People’s Rights Washington, People’s Rights Washington Area 2N, People’s Rights Washington Area 2S, People’s Rights Washington Area 3, People’s Rights Washington Area 5, People’s Rights Washington Area 6, People’s Rights Washington Area 7, People’s Rights Washington Area 8, People’s Rights Washington Group.

<sup>[29]</sup> Open Carry UTAH- OCU (An arm of PeoplesRights.org). Facebook Group. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1627363757540485/>.

<sup>[30]</sup> Cohen, Rachael Love. Facebook. August 19, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10158702710762880&set=37021320878888&type=3>

[31] Freedombook and the Idaho Liberty Alliance social network both came online in September 2020.

[32] Persey, Sonja. Facebook. October 6, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/2916717061784415/permalink/3146531268802992/>.

[33] Bundy, Ammon. "People's Rights Meeting – Emmett, Idaho 09-03-2020." People's Rights Facebook Video. September 3, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/peoplesrights.org/videos/328177418293891/>.



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CHAPTER FOUR:

# A DEN OF RATTLESNAKES

*Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network*

CHAPTER FOUR:

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## A DEN OF RATTLESNAKES

### PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, VIOLENCE, MILITIAS, & FAR-RIGHT STREET FIGHTERS

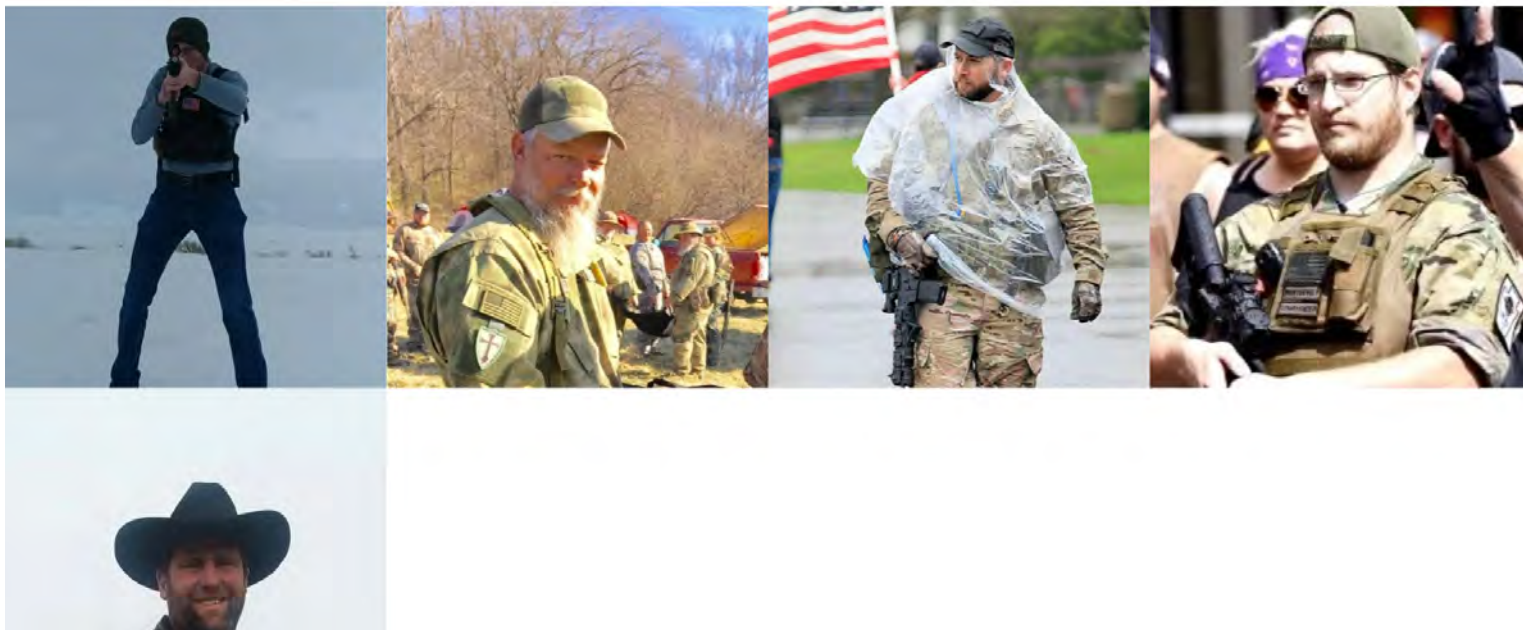
Despite all the talk of "rights" and "freedom," a culture of violence and fear lies at the center of the People's Rights message. As Bundy told the crowd at the third meeting of the group, if local, state, or federal officials attempt to enforce laws that the group doesn't like, People's Rights is prepared to adopt a violent posture.

"Even though I hesitate to compare us to rattlesnakes, right, we do on the Gadsden Flag certainly have a snake and it says 'don't tread on me' well we're going to flip that around because what we want to become, what we will become, we are going to be like a den of rattlesnakes—because we will be so venomous if our rights are even threatened one bit, we will be venomous. So people that would normally simply trample on rights will simply walk around us. They will go around because it is not worth their effort. They don't want to get bit."<sup>[34]</sup>

Not surprisingly, that sort of rhetoric has attracted numerous militia members, Three Percenters, Oath Keepers, and other far-right paramilitary types to People's Rights.

Report researchers documented that state and area People's Rights leaders have been members of at least 31 different Militia-type Facebook groups (militias, Three Percenters, Oath Keepers, patriot, minutemen, etc.).<sup>[35]</sup> This includes memberships in groups like APIII-American Patriots the III% Old School, III% United Patriots, LFA III% Washington, Montana Militia, North Cascades Patriots, Oregon III%, Southern California Patriots, Southwest Missouri Militia, Washington III%, and the Washington State Militia.

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Membership in militia-type groups is even more pronounced among People’s Rights Facebook group members. Report researchers found that 756 members of People’s Rights various Facebook groups are members of one or more of 203 different militia-type Facebook groups.[36] One member of Open Carry UTAH- OCU (An arm of PeoplesRights.org), for instance, is Mark “from Michigan” Koernke, one of the most notorious militia leaders of the 1990s.[37]

Additionally, twenty-two members of People’s Rights Facebook groups were members of one or more of the Facebook groups dedicated to Matt Shea’s secessionist “Liberty State” effort.[38] In 2019, a state House report found that Shea “planned and participated in domestic terrorism against the United States before and during the armed takeover at Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.”[39]

In addition to the ties to far-right paramilitaries, there are People’s Rights area assistants who have been members of the Facebook group of Patriot Prayer, the group known for violent street clashes and Islamophobic rallies. Peoples Rights Oregon area 3 assistant, Jill Litzinger, and Washington area 4 assistant, [Kelli Stewart](#), were both members of the Patriot Prayer Facebook group (before it was removed from the platform). Throughout the summer at People’s Rights protests in Washington, Patriot Prayer founder, [Joey Gibson](#), was a frequent featured speaker. Gibson is awaiting trial on felony riot charges after Patriot Prayer members attacked a group of anti-fascists in Portland.[40] [\[For more on Joey Gibson, select his profile\]](#)



*Joey Gibson of Patriot Prayer with Kelli Stewart.*

Patriot Prayer’s anti-left fanaticism is reflected in some members wearing t-shirts declaring that “Pinochet Did Nothing Wrong,” according to press reports. This refers to the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, who came to power through a CIA-backed military coup that overthrew democratically-elected President Salvador Allende. After seizing power, the Pinochet regime launched a campaign of brutal repression against left opposition.[41]

Patriot Prayer events have often included members of the racist reactionary group, the Proud Boys, in the crowd. Since their creation in 2016, the Proud Boys have become infamous for their racism, misogyny, and acts of street violence. People’s Rights activists have not shied away from the violence and racism of the Proud Boys.

During the presidential debate on September 30, President Trump told the Proud Boys to “stand back” and “stand by.” While the Proud Boys were busy gaining new members and selling T-shirts with their newfound fame, a member of the People’s Rights Idaho Facebook group posted an image of the Proud Boys logo wrapped by that phrase, to which the activist attached the note, “That’s right!”[42] Another member added, “Good advice for all of us.”[43]

On August 31, People’s Rights Oregon area 1 assistant, Amanda Vital, circulated an announcement for September 26 Proud Boys rally in Portland.[44] The advertisement included the phrase “Free Kyle Rittenhouse,” the far-rightist who killed two Black Lives Matter demonstrators in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

At least one People’s Rights area assistant has a history around the Proud Boys. Alicia Peterson, an Idaho area 3 assistant, posted pictures with Proud Boys in September 2017.[45]



People's Rights activists have sought out conflict on playgrounds, in stores, and government buildings. On August 10, after being asked to wear a mask at Costco, and refusing to do so, People's Rights leader Ammon Bundy said in a Facebook video, "You can't even go to the store without feeling like a 1933 Jew...I mean I really can sympathize with them a little bit."<sup>[46]</sup>



Later in the month, Bundy was arrested twice for refusing to leave an area of the Idaho Statehouse. In one of the episodes, Bundy and a group, none wearing community-protecting masks, was reported to have shoved police officers and broken a glass door to gain entry. Bundy would be banned from the building for one year.<sup>[47]</sup>

Ammon Bundy and cohorts showed up at a high school football game in Caldwell, Idaho on October 1. He and his group were asked to wear a mask, just like everyone else. They refused to wear a mask or leave Caldwell High property. They were given the option of watching the game from the park. They refused and became disruptive. After "a threat to the safety of the school was made" the school district was forced to end the game at halftime.<sup>[48]</sup> Bundy and his group frequently use force or threatening actions, to disrupt, postpone, or shut down public events.



**PREVIOUS**

THREE: THE ONLINE ARMY



**NEXT**

FIVE: THE POSSE RIDES AGAIN

## NOTES

<sup>[34]</sup> Marr, Lori. Facebook. Video. April 9, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/lorimarr.freedomfairy/videos/10219983911580305>.

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<sup>[36]</sup> People's Rights Facebook group members were members these militia groups on Facebook: \*\*25th Battalion 42nd Field Force Lightfoot Militia (GRANT COUNTY CIVILIAN DEFENSE FORCE), Patriots Prepared, 25th BN/42nd FF Light Foot Militia, 2nd Amendment Patriots, 3% Patriots, 417 2nd Amendment Militia of Missouri, 7 Bravo III% Militia, A well regulated Militia, A well regulated Militia – Groups, A well regulated Militia Group, ALABAMA INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia, Alabama Patriots, Alamo Militia TSM, American Constitutional Patriots, American Patriot 3% SE WA State, American Patriot Militia, American Patriot Warriors, American Patriots, America's Militia, APIII- Oregon Private Group, APIII- Utah Group, APIII% Washington Recruits, APIII-American Patriot the III%, Old School, APIII-Iowa Group, APIII-Nebraska Group, APIII-Southern California Group, APIII-Washington Group, AR2 Patriot Network Illinois, Arkansas Patriots, Benton Franklin COS, Bowie's Volunteers Texas State Militia, Bullets And Bacon Appalachian Freedom Militia, C.S.P.O.A. – Constitutional Sheriffs Peace Officers Association, California Patriots pro Law & Order, California State Militia Training Connect, California Valley Patriots, Central Pennsylvania 2A Patriots, Christian Patriots of the United States, Civilian Defense Guard, Colorado Militia, Colorado Patriots For The Republic, COLORADO UNORGANIZED CONSTITUTIONAL MILITIA, CONFEDERATE MILITIA, Constitutional Defenders Of Texas, Constitutional Guard of Washington State, Constitutional Militia, Constitutional Militia of America III%ers, Constitutional Patriots of Walla Walla, Continental Militia Network (CONMILNET), Coop of Constitutional Militias, Defend America/Patriots Rise Up, Discussion Group – Kitsap Patriots, Fernley Militia, FLORIDA INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia, Florida Militia, Florida Militia Region 4 Delta Company, Freedom Keepers – Texas, FREEDOM MILITIA, Freedom Warrior Militia, Great American Patriots III%, Idaho Patriots, III United Patriots of Washington, III% Militia national contingency, III% United Patriots, III% United Patriots of California, III% United Patriots of Colorado, III% United Patriots Of Colorado Zone 3, III% United Patriots of Idaho, III% United Patriots of Iowa, III% United Patriots of Kansas, III% United Patriots of Louisiana, III% United Patriots of Nebraska, III% United Patriots of Oregon, III% United Patriots of Texas, III% United Patriots of Utah, III% United Patriots of Washington, III% United Patriots of Wyoming, III%ers Call for war against islam pansies, III%ers Statewide Information and Education, Illinois State militia public page, Irregulars of Ohio Reserve Militia, Kentucky Militia, LFA III% Washington, LOUISIANA INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia, MAGA Militia, Michigan Militia, Militia and Patriot Training Connect, militia meeting room, Million Unmasked Patriots, Minute Man Militia USA, Minutemen Idaho State Group, Minutemen Oregon State Group, Minutemen South Carolina State Group, MISSISSIPPI INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia,

Mississippi minute Man militia, MISSOURI INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia, MISSOURI INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia, Missouri Militia A/4th/8th Recruiting Page, MISSOURI PATRIOT'S RISING, Montana Militia, Nebraska Constitutional State Militia, NEOK Green Country Militia/Outreach, NorCal Patriot Prayer, NORTH CAROLINA INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia, North Cascade Patriots, Northeast Nevada Unorganized Constitutional Militia, Northern Nevada Militia, Ohio Militiamen, Ohio Patriot Network, oklahoma militia, Oklahoma Volunteer Militia, OPM, Oregon III%, Oregon III% Zone 1, Oregon III% Zone 3, Oregon III% Zone 5, Oregon III%, Zone 4, Oregon militia, Oregon Patriots Militia, Oregon State Militia, PANHANDLE PATRIOTS – D.O.W.N., Patriot Alliance, Patriot Movement AZ (GROUP), Patriot Network Summit, Patriot Rally Point, Patriot survivalist group, Patriot Unity Outreach Project, Patriot Unity Project, Patriots [ ] [ ] [ ]%, Patriots Against Governmental Overreach, Patriots and 2nd amendment supporters of Oregon, Patriots for America!, Patriots For The Reclamation Of America Washington State Chapter, Patriots In The Tri Always, Patriots of America Kitsap County, Pierce County WA Militia, Pissed Off Patriots of America, REBEL SOUTHERN COUNTRY OUTLAWS, Red Pilled Patriots, Southern California Patriots, Southwest Missouri Militia, STOKES COUNTY MILITIA, T.A.P.S True American Patriot Society, Take Back America Patriot Group, Tennessee Volunteers Militia, TEXAS MILITIA NORTH TEXAS TMNT, Texas Militias and Patriots, The Christian Militia, The Connecticut Three Percent, The Heirs of Patrick Henry Northwest, The Original Patriots Against Antifa (PAA), THE PATRIOT CONNECTION / CALIFORNIA CHAPTER, The Patriot Connection Washington, THE PEOPLE'S PATRIOT PROJECT, The Real Texas Militia, Three percent, Three Percenters – California, Three Percenters – Montana, Three Percenters – Oregon, Three Percenters – Utah, Trump's Militia, U.S. Militia Northern Command – America's Militia, U.S. Patriots, U.S. PATRIOTS WOLFPACK NATION MAIN PAGE', United Patriots of Oklahoma, United States Militia, UUC MILITIA RECRUITING, VA's Constitutional Militia, VA's Constitutional Militia, VIRGINIA INFANTRY PATRIOTS Confederate Militia, Virginia Militia – Rockingham County, Virginia Militia Alliance, Virginia Minutemen Militia Information, Virginia Patriots, WA Patriots A.R. 2, Washington Constitutional Patriots Network, Washington Sons Of Liberty Riders, Washington State Militia, Washington State Militia (1), Washington State Militia (2), Washington State Militia (3), Washington State Oath Keepers, Washington State Patriots Preppers & Pioneers III%, Washington Unorganized Constitutional Militia, We the People ARE the Militia, WE The People ARE the militia, Well Regulated Militia, Wenatchee Militia QRF, West Coast Patriots III% Washington, West Coast Patriots National, West Virginia 34 Mountain Militia, West Virginia Patriots, Z12 WA – Three Percenters, Z13 WA – Three Percenters, Z4 WA – Three Percenters.

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# AMMON'S ARMY

INSIDE THE FAR-RIGHT PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK

A SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE MONTANA HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK

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## CHAPTER FIVE

## THE POSSE RIDES AGAIN

Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network

## CHAPTER FIVE

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## THE POSSE RIDES AGAIN

## PEOPLE'S RIGHTS &amp; THE LEGACY OF THE POSSE COMITATUS

Besides the history of armed confrontations and long-established relationships, another thing potentially attracting militia members to People's Rights is the deployment of old-school Posse Comitatus-like rhetoric and tactics.

As Daniel Levitas, author of *The Terrorist Next Door* explained, the Posse Comitatus (Latin for "power of the county") was a violent far-right paramilitary group that swept through the farm crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, which fused medieval British legal practice with hardcore white supremacist ideas. The idea was that the county sheriff, or any individuals in a Posse, could arrest and put on trial in a "citizens' jury," any individuals or government officials who attempted to enforce "unlawful" legislation.<sup>[49]</sup>

The Posse Comitatus relied on the esoteric racism and antisemitism of Christian Identity and the notion of 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment citizenship to spread like wildfire during the farm crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, observed Leonard Zeskind in *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*. Christian Identity adherents hold that white, northern Europeans are the true Israelites of the Bible while Jews are satanic imposters. People of color, meanwhile, are pre-Adamic and inferior "mud people" or the Book of Genesis' "beasts of the field." Such racists also held "original" white citizens exempt from federal jurisdiction, while inferior 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment citizens were subjects of the national government.

By contrast, Ammon Bundy's vision for People's Rights is grounded in a broader "Constitutionalism," and popular far-right conspiracies, particularly around COVID-19. Left unchallenged, the more expansive appeal gives People's Rights the potential to build a larger movement than the Posse.

Fixation on the county as a locus of power, veneration of the county sheriff as "the highest law officer of the land," promotion of racist and antisemitic conspiracies, outlandish pseudo-legal tactics, and calls for armed insurrection were the hallmarks of the Posse during their heyday. Many of those themes have been echoed by Ammon Bundy and other leaders in the People's Rights network.

Bundy voiced the Posse Comitatus-like view that "we delegate policing and arresting power to certain people, but who do we, when it comes to law enforcement, do we the people delegate it to?...The sheriff, and only the sheriff." He's gone so far as to tell his supporters that city, state, and federal law enforcement agencies are illegitimate, "Your city police are not Constitutional policing agents. Your state police are not Constitutional policing agents. And your federal police are not."<sup>[50]</sup>

Some People's Rights leaders, including Bundy, have called for "defunding" city police. This, however, should not be construed as a nod towards the efforts of Black Lives Matter. Instead, the People's Rights "defund" effort is in the context of shifting power and resources to the county sheriff.

Also like the Posse Comitatus, some People's Rights activists, like [Brand Thornton](#), have even called for replacing local police outright with bands

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of “citizen militias.”[51] Thornton’s vision is especially troubling given another post in which he declared, “I live to hear Antifa getting shot all day long.”[52]

Posse-like ideas don’t stop with Ammon Bundy. Take, for instance, People’s Rights Washington leader, Kelli Stewart, who also voiced a similar fixation on the county sheriff, “*The county sheriff is the highest law enforcer*, even when there are incorporated cities within his county...I would love to see the County Sheriff send in his deputies to keep the peace in the cities, and defund all police” [italics added].[53]

Stewart has not only echoed Posse ideas, she’s gone so far as to lend support to the cause of imprisoned Posse murderers. [54] She recently wrote, “Let my people go! Free Yorie Kahl and Scott Fahl! Scot is my friend and brother in Christ, and I believe he should be released after almost 4 decades in prison for defending himself and his friends against a federal ambush!”[55]



The alleged “ambush” occurred on Feb. 13, 1983, near Medina, North Dakota, when Yorie Kahl and Scott Faul murdered two federal marshals and injured two other enforcement officers who were attempting to serve Yorie’s father, Gordon Kahl, with a probation violation warrant as they were leaving a Posse Comitatus meeting. Gordon Kahl had been a Posse Comitatus leader who refused to pay taxes to the, in his words, “Synagogue of Satan under the 2nd plank of the Communist Manifesto.”[56] Gordon Kahl escaped the gun battle and fled. Four months later, he killed an Arkansas sheriff before dying in a firefight.

Putting words into action, People’s Rights groups have attempted to get county sheriffs to intervene against local governments and police departments to prevent enforcement of COVID-19 health restrictions. At a Vancouver, Washington, People’s Rights rally in support of a woman ticketed for illegally reopening her business during the pandemic, Joey Gibson, leader of the violent far-right street-fighting group, Patriot Prayer, and a member of the People’s Rights Washington Area 8 group, fully embraced Posse rhetoric,

“For those of you who don’t know, it is the Sheriff’s responsibility to protect the Constitution within his own county. Doesn’t matter if it’s within the city, right? Doesn’t matter if he has to protect us from this guy, the city council or any other law enforcement. That is his job.”[57]

The embrace of Posse ideas by a far-right street activist like Gibson represents an expansion of these ideas into other far-right circles not known to be previously impacted by such ideas.

Gibson let slip the overall game plan for this manufactured conflict, “To flip it around on them, to get a movement going.” Creating fear is also part of the plan. “We’ve got to put fear into their hearts, so they don’t charge one more business owner. Not one. Not one. I talk about this all the time. They have to be afraid of us, guys,” he declared.[58]

In a similar vein to the Posse Comitatus, though not yet as relentless, People’s Rights groups have also taken up sending bogus documents to legislators which they claim have legal weight. Most recently sending a “Petition to Cease and Desist and Demand to Restore the Republic” to Idaho legislators to end the state’s COVID-19 restrictions.[59]

In Montana, People’s Rights leader Nick Ramlow drafted a “Petition for Redress of Grievances” against Governor Steve Bullock, claiming that the governor didn’t have the authority to issue public health directives.[60] He filed the grievance in Montana District Court and served copies to most government agencies in Flathead County.[61] Ramlow went even further, drawing up bogus forms for businesses to file complaints against public officials, threatening to use the militia to “arrest” public officials enforcing shelter-in-place orders, and even offering a \$100 bounty for the address of Kalispell’s mayor so he could make a citizen’s arrest. [62]



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**NEXT**  
MIDDLE AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD NATIONALISM

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While Stewart does voice concern about African-Americans harmed by police, and places Leonard Peltier in with Kahl and Faul as victims of government tyranny, this is deceptive. While [Amnesty International](#) wrote in 2014 that Peltier, an Anishinabe-Lakota American Indian Movement leader, has been “imprisoned for 38 years despite serious concerns about the fairness of proceedings leading to his conviction,” Kahl and Faul’s conflicts with law enforcement were driven by Gordon Kahl’s (Yories) father tax protest that was itself driven by the viciously racist and antisemitic ideology of Christian Identity and his involvement in the Posse Comitatus. For lengthy description of this involvement, see Corcoran, James. 1990. *Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus: Murder in the Heartland*. New York: Penguin Books; and Levitas, Daniel. *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books. 2002.

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[62] Ramlow, Nick. Facebook. April 14, 2020. Ramlow, Nick. Facebook. May 8, 2020. Montana Human Rights Network, May 1, 2020. Ramlow, Nick. Facebook. May 11, 2020.



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## CHAPTER SIX

MIDDLE AMERICAN  
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MIDDLE AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD  
NATIONALISM

## THE IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF AMMON'S ARMY

The ideological underpinnings of Ammon Bundy and People's Rights have often been characterized as "anti-government," but a deeper dive finds something more complex and troublesome. Like the Posse Comitatus before it, Bundy's efforts do not seek to do away with government, but rather to re-make it in the image of, and favorable to, a particular brand of nationalism and the attendant "nation."

Specifically, Bundy has expressed a particular version of middle American nationalism—the idea that a mythological group of "middle Americans" who constitute the nation are being squeezed from above by elites and from below by the multicultural hordes. Such an ideology was first described by sociologist Donald L. Warren and termed *middle American radical*, in his 1976 book *The Radical Center*. Warren found this framework linked to a significantly higher level of support for George C. Wallace's 1968 segregationist presidential bid when compared to other constituencies.

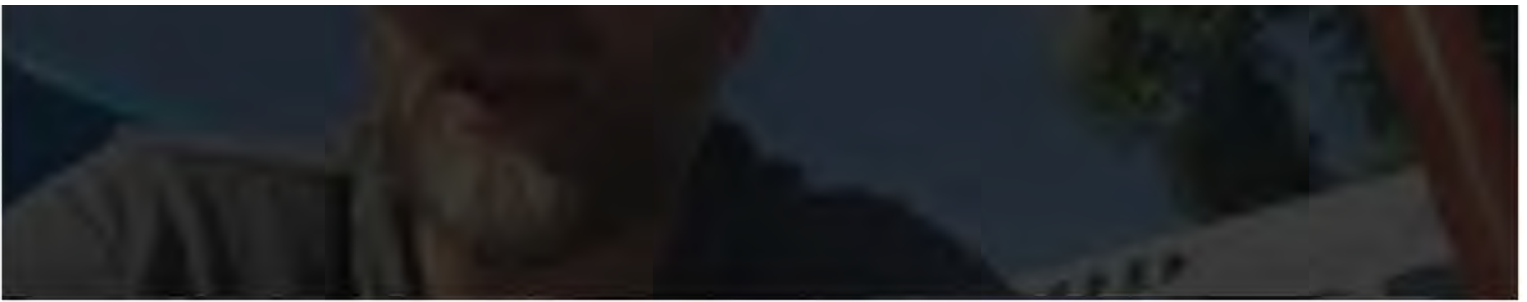
[63]

In Bundy's formulation, righteous real middle Americans are being crushed by the "wicked," from below by Black Lives Matter and antifa protestors on the streets and from above by people at the top demanding obedience. In other words, the "wicked" are trying to dispossess the "righteous" of their rightful place in Middle America.

In a refrain returned to often at People's Rights meetings, Bundy expressed core elements of middle American nationalism,

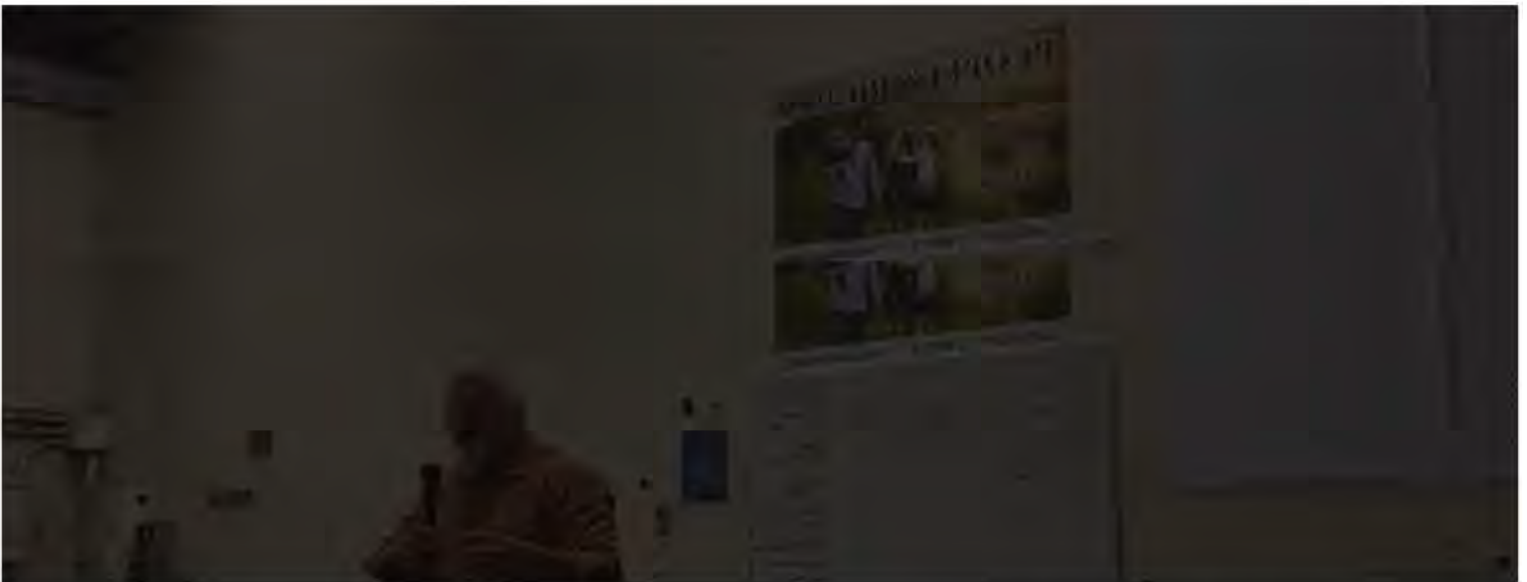
"So the question I am constantly asking is, who is going to defend us? Who is going to defend us? We have this chaos and hate and murder and violence happening on the streets. And we have this corruption, and pressure, and, you know, buying people's obedience and our legislatures and our governor's obedience, from the top. And where are the people at? We're stuck crushed in the middle."<sup>[64]</sup>

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At a recent People's Rights meeting in Idaho, a speaker only identified as Don shared the stage with Bundy and echoed the middle American nationalist construction, calling COVID-19 restrictions "slavery." He declared,

"Unfortunately, as Ammon pointed out, we are the people who are crushed in the middle. If we don't like the system of government we're enslaved under right now—and yes, I will use that term enslaved under right now—if we don't like the system of government that we're under, we can't just change it—because they have a system that shields them from us, and we have no system that shields us from them. And so I echo again that the best revenge is to be unlike your enemy. If the government is trying to wreck this country. If the radicals and the liberals are trying to wreck this country, then we cannot change things by doing the same things that they do. We have to do something different."<sup>[65]</sup>



Far from being "anti-government," Bundy has repeatedly expressed a desire for governmental power to be used to protect the "righteous" against "wicked" liberals, antifa, Black Lives Matter, and others. Absent that sort of intervention, Bundy proposed a type of armed enclave-style "neighborhood" nationalism, a separatism where "righteous" neighbors stand against the "wicked."

While others, like Bundy comrade Matt Shea's Liberty State effort, have pushed for splitting states through state secession, and others have advocated for regional secessionism (neo-Confederate plans to reclaim the South, neo-Nazi fantasies of a "Northwest Territorial Imperative"), Bundy has a different vision for People's Rights.

As Bundy explained during that first gathering, "I think there's no need for another American Revolution, and I'll explain to you why: because I think there needs to be a separation, not a revolution, of righteous people—good people that understand their rights—coming together wherever they live and defending each other where they live."<sup>[66]</sup>

In the People's Rights Network, a far-right Constitutional interpretation is often used to construct a mythology of "the nation." Commonly expressed strains of "Constitutionalism" in the People's Rights Network draw upon the works of far-right figures like W. Cleon Skousen and [KrisAnne Hall](#).

Skousen (1913–2006) was a far-right figure who worked closely with the John Birch Society, who became infamous for a racist revision of U.S. history. His book, *The 5,000 Year Leap*, which gained newfound popularity during the Tea Party era, deployed selective quotes to claim that the U.S. is a Christian nation. His book *The Making of America* casts American chattel slavery as humane, paints Abolitionists as villains, describes enslaved African people as "usually a cheerful lot" and heaps praise on Confederates for their treatment of the human beings they enslaved.<sup>[67]</sup>

For her part, Florida activist [KrisAnne Hall](#) picked up where Skousen left off. A popular speaker on the Tea Party and militia circuits, Hall gained notoriety inside Bundy circles when she played a role negotiating for the occupiers at the end of the Malheur standoff. Hall has promoted a radical assault on the Constitutional basis of federal civil rights and protections from race and sex-based discrimination in voting rights, referring to the 14th, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 19th Amendments as "unlawful expansion[s] of federal power."<sup>[68]</sup> [\[For more on KrisAnne Hall, check out this profile\].](#)

Hall plays an outsized role in the People's Rights network. Her videos are heavily-circulated and discussed on the network's social media channels.

One southern Washington area even uses Hall's videos for in-person training and discussions at weekly meetings.[69] Hall is scheduled to speak alongside Ammon Bundy and People's Rights California state assistant [Tony Pellegrino](#) and Sara Walton Brady at We the People Idaho's third annual event on October 10 in Nampa, Idaho.[70]

In addition to the phony "Constitutionalism," the conspiracy theories promoted by the network further undergird the middle American nationalist ideological construction by fleshing out the threats from both above and below.

Bundy's position seems to cobble together a W. Cleon Skousen and Bircher-style "Constitutionalism," a Christian nationalist framing of the "righteous" as comprising the nation and the "wicked" cast out of the nation, and the "neighborhood nationalism" of far-right paleolibertarians.

The idea of "neighborhood nationalism" was created by paleolibertarian icon Murray Rothbard who fantasized about the "the decomposition and decentralization of the modern centralizing and coercive nation-state, deconstructing that state into constituent nationalities and neighborhoods." [71] For Rothbard, this scheme was to change American political culture and reduce the "scope and importance of voting" and "democracy." [72]

This position also fits with the People's Rights emphasis on property rights and the "right to exclusive ownership and control of property." [73] Such an extreme version of both federal authority and property rights would also eliminate virtually all of the advances of the New Deal.

Ammon Bundy, for instance, appears to believe that virtually all, if not all, taxation and the public spending based on it are "evil" and unjustified. [74] Likewise, People's Rights Washington leader, [Kelli Stewart](#), has advocated for a radical assault on the New Deal and the social safety net. Stewart called Social Security a "Ponzi scheme meant to steal our interest on our stolen funds," and she has argued that because taxation is involved, programs such as public funding of schools, social security disability, VA checks, food stamps, publicly funded health care, and farm subsidies amount to "theft" and being forced to "give to socialism." [75] Another significant network figure, [Roger Roots](#), runs an online site called *Lysander Spooner University* which offers courses that refer to both the minimum wage and Social Security as "evil." [76]

This radical vision of curtailing federal power and social welfare policies is the national adjunct to localized seizures of territory and armed opposition to law enforcement and government regulation of private property. Bundy is describing a world where any group could forcibly, even violently, resist any local, state, or federal law the group doesn't like. In other words, Malheur-style takeovers and Bunkerville-style standoffs from sea to shining sea would become the new normal in Bundy's world. In the end, Bundy's vision looks more like clannish "neighborhood" warlords enforcing their will over their "wicked" (or less heavily-armed) neighbors.

As Montana People's Rights figure [Nick Ramlow](#) described, he and [Ammon Bundy](#) hope to establish an "Uber-like" militia response system that can be mobilized whenever people feel their rights are under attack. [77]



While Ammon Bundy was not preaching outright revolution, others have been insistent about their desire for revolution. Sharing the stage with Bundy at a recent People's Rights meeting in Idaho, Don declared,

"You wanna talk about a revolution in the United States of America, you wanna see politicians stand up and take notice, you wanna see politicians start to pay attention to what we have to say as a nation, as an American people? If you wanna bring about change in this country, there's only one way to start a revolution tonight, and that's by every neighbor in this country who has ideals, and still has morals, and still has a compass to look to God in this nation, we're going to have to join together to tell the government we're not going to listen to you, you're going to listen to us, because the resistance to tyranny is the acceptance of liberty. In case you didn't hear that last part, the resistance to tyranny is the acceptance of liberty, and the definition of liberty, ladies and gentlemen, liberty is accepting faith in God." [78]

Don's nationalist construction is even more explicit than Bundy's. To Don, the "American people" who comprise the American nation are limited to the righteous neighbors with "ideals" who believe that "liberty is accepting faith in God." Everyone else is "wicked," defined outside of the American nation.

Neighborhood racial and economic segregation is still a vexing problem in the United States, reinforced by policing policies that play a racialized

role in restricting mobility and limiting where people live.[79] Layering the Bundy vision of armed neighborhood separatism atop these existing challenges would further exacerbate racial and class divisions, creating innumerable potential powder kegs. Unlike white nationalist fantasies of explicit division and segregation, Bundy's vision for People's Rights is both an implicit call to maintain existing implicit segregation and an assault against federal and state efforts to decrease segregation and foster equality.



PREVIOUS

FIVE: THE POSSE RIDES AGAIN



NEXT

SEVEN: CONSPIRACIES AND ANTISEMITISM UNBOUNDED

## NOTES

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CHAPTER SEVEN

# CONSPIRACIES AND ANTISEMITISM UNBOUNDED

Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONTENT

## CONSPIRACIES AND ANTISEMITISM UNBOUNDED

### THE ROLE OF CONSPIRACIES & ANTISEMITISM INSIDE THE NETWORK

Like the Posse Comitatus and the militia that came before, the People's Rights network is saturated with conspiracy theories, many grounded in antisemitism.

As a nascent far-right network, People's Rights has yet to articulate an overarching conspiracy theory of its own creation. Rather, the network rests upon a mélange of conspiracy theories brought in by the leadership from various corners of the far-right. Conspiracy theories from QAnon, the John Birch Society, Three Percenters and militia-types, Christian nationalists, and hardcore anti-Semites have circulated throughout the People's Rights network.

Given the role that reaction to COVID-19 measures played in the genesis of the organization, it's not surprising to see a massive number of COVID-19 conspiracies circulating in the network.

Those conspiracies range from "COVID-19: Tool of Red China and the Socio-Globalist Left" to "coronavirus is part of the forced vaccination," to a "mandatory covid vaccination" will alter our DNA, to comparing COVID-19 restrictions and/or mask-wearing to slavery and Nazi atrocities against Jews, to the COVID-19 test as a "clandestine brain virus, nano-tech, or plant a chip in someone," to the same "cult of deception" was behind the coronavirus, the Kennedy assassination and the 9/11 terrorist attacks; to the "plandemic" is "Totalitarianism at a Whole New Level," to "COVID-19 an occult driven script and a Luciferian human sacrifice mega-ritual."<sup>[80]</sup>

Different COVID-19 conspiracies are often woven together into a larger tapestry. There have been efforts, for instance, to tie together fear of a cabal of elites wanting power, with anti-vaxxer propaganda, and stereotyping of recent Black Lives Matter demonstrations. Take, for instance, People's Rights Washington State figure Kelli Stewart, who has written of the coronavirus that,

"The global elites want our nation. The Covid plandemic was just one part of this takeover...then on to the riots in the streets leading to civil unrest and war, then fires, the final blow will be round two of the fake plandemic just before the election."<sup>[81]</sup>

Often the people pulling the strings in the conspiracies are unnamed "elites" or the hands of the "New World Order." At times, however, the focus of the conspiracy gets a name and a face. One of the more popular conspiracy themes shared by People's Rights leaders is the belief that liberal Jewish philanthropist George Soros is behind the myriad of ills facing the country. These conspiracies are often explicitly antisemitic or deploy classic antisemitic tropes to demonize Soros.

Ammon Bundy has referenced the Soros conspiracy at People's Rights meetings, as have others. People's Rights California leader Tony Pellegrino recently posted a meme asking, "Why can't Soros be investigated for funding riots, anarchy, and domestic terrorism?"<sup>[82]</sup>

The use of the antisemitic conspiracy theory is long-running in network circles. Individuals who are now leaders in People's Rights promoted the antisemitic Soros conspiracy theory long before they signed up. People's Rights Idaho Area 2 assistant Sean Anderson, for example, promoted the

antisemitic conspiracy theory that George Soros and the “Bilderberg group” were “puppet masters” that selected Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.[83] Diego Rodriguez, a speaker at multiple People’s Rights events, signed onto a September 2016 letter with Christian Right leaders which declared,

“wealthy, anti-Christian foundations, following the lead of billionaire George Soros’s Open Society Foundation, fund and ‘rent’ Christian ministers as ‘mascots’ serving as surprising validators for their causes...In the ironic rhetoric of compassion, Soros and friends also fund mass immigration followed by redistricting schemes and ‘voting (sic) rights’...One wonders if the end goal is the destruction of national identity through demoralization, open borders and debt, thus the ‘fundamental transformation’ (weakening) of American civil society for their leveraged global power. (They have done this to other nations.)”[84]

The Soros conspiracy isn’t the only place antisemitism rears its ugly head in the People’s Rights network. People’s Rights leaders in Washington and California have circulated videos by notorious antisemitic conspiracy theorist David Icke, and his videos have been shared in People’s Rights Facebook groups in Montana District 1, Oregon Area 5, and Washington Area 8.[85]

When People’s Rights Washington leader, [Kelli Stewart](#), posted one of Icke’s videos, she headlined her post, “Here is the problem, and the SOLUTION, all wrapped up in this tiny little twelve-minute...video.”[86] Icke holds that “a reptilian race has controlled the planet for thousands of years and continues to do so today” and that reptilian “[Jewish] Rothschild’s” lay behind Nazi atrocities against Jews.[87]

Other People’s Rights leaders have abandoned any effort to cloak their antisemitism, opting for an explicit expression. A “TRUTH PILL” is what California State leader Tony Pellegrino has called an openly antisemitic conspiracy theory that alleges a dual system of citizenship in the U.S,

“Well guess who owns the FEDERAL RESERVE. Yup, the Zionist Banksters...The FRAUD and DECEPTION of the Satanic Zionist Jesuit Freemason scum that’s foisted on YOU by THEIR MEDIA, Schools, Medical Industry and Hollywood is executed by STUPID ASS, CROOKED ASS, JACKASS COPS.”[88]

The multitude of conspiracy theories pulsing through the People’s Rights network helps shape the ideology of Bundy and his posse.



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[87] Icke, David. *The Biggest Secret: The book that will change the world*. Scottsdale, Arizona: Bridge of Love Publications. 1999. p. 19. Icke writes that “[R]eptilian bloodlines like the ‘Jewish’ Rothschilds funded and supported the Nazis and allowed the rank and file Jewish people to reap the unspeakable consequences... [I]t was the Rothschilds who helped to create and fund Hitler and the Nazis in the Second World War which included the sickening treatment of Jews, gypsies, communists, and others.” p.81, 228. Befitting such views, Icke has also embraced the scurrilously antisemitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as a factual account of history: “The so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion were discovered in the last century and tell in incredible detail the events and methods of manipulation we have seen manifest in the 20th century.” p.212.

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The Para-Military rabid-pit bulls are under and protected by the Fraternal Order of Freemasons, oops, Police. They wear military uniforms. They carry heavy Artillery. They use Armoured Personnel Carriers. They get ISRAEL, Inc. Training, and why? Well guess who owns the FEDERAL RESERVE. Yup, the Zionist Banksters...The FRAUD and DECEPTION of the Satanic Zionist Jesuit Freemason scum that’s foisted on YOU by THEIR MEDIA, Schools, Medical Industry and Hollywood is executed by STUPID ASS, CROOKED ASS, JACKASS COPS...If you KNOW you’re not lawfully under their enslavement, they’ll call you a ‘sovereign citizen’ or ‘domestic terrorist’ or ‘public threat’ or now, ‘American National.’ They parrot their overlords in the ADL, B.A.R., SPLC, FBI, Masons, and others...When you support genocidal ISRAEL INC. war mongers because TB tells you to, they you’re in need of a cold slap across your face. Stope watching that STUPID FUCKING ZIONIST Hollywood Chimp Training.”



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## CHAPTER EIGHT

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS  
NETWORK AND RACISM*Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network*

## CHAPTER EIGHT:

## CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK AND  
RACISM

## RACISM, RACISM DENIAL, NATIVISM, &amp; ISLAMOPHOBIA INSIDE THE NETWORK

If far-right conspiracy theories constitute the most prominent “threat from above” in People’s Rights circles, the “threat from below” in the group’s middle American nationalism finds expression in the myriad forms in which racism appears in the United States.

Perhaps its most common expression in People’s Rights takes the form of *racism denial*. Broadly defined, this involves denying that systemic, institutional, or broad cultural racism continue to play a significant factor in shaping outcomes for people of color in American society and institutions. Such a view delegitimizes the struggles of those who continue to face racial discrimination and violence. This view also helps pave the way for the broad assault on the federal capacity to address inequality embodied in People’s Rights politics.

In one form, racism denial occurs when the vicious and significant role of racism in U.S. history is minimized, or outright denied. People’s Rights leader [Ammon Bundy](#) did this when he declared that his father, Cliven Bundy, was correct in stating that black people in the United States may be more oppressed today than under slavery.<sup>[89]</sup> Both Cliven and Ammon Bundy have likely been influenced in this regard by the work of the Cleon Skousen, the founder of the National Center for Constitutional Studies, whose pocket U.S. Constitution the Bundys are known to use. Among other things, Skousen’s work has cast slavery as humane, painted Abolitionists as villains, described enslaved African people as “usually a cheerful lot,” and heaped praise on Confederates for their treatment of the human beings they enslaved.<sup>[90]</sup>

After declaring his father correct in this assessment, Ammon Bundy, with a straight face, declared that wearing a mask in the face of COVID-19 concerns is comparable to slavery and that, “It’s not about race at this point. It is about tyranny.”<sup>[91]</sup> This is a classic attempt to erase racism from history.

Similarly, Georgia state leader Field Searcy posted an article assailing the historically sound assessment that Mount Rushmore is a monument to “two slave owners on stolen land.”<sup>[92]</sup> Missouri Area 3 assistant Michael Sudholt wrote in 2019 that the Electoral College was “never about slavery,” even though it incorporated the U.S. Constitutions’ white supremacist representational structure that counted enslaved Africans as 3/5 of a person. Sudholt gave a full-throated defense of the Electoral College as a means of assuring a state “voice in presidential elections.” The meme accompanying his post declared “throwing out the Electoral College” would result in “LA, Seattle, Miami, NY & Chicago” deciding “what’s best for the entire country! You know cities with highest homeless rates, pollution, illegal aliens, crime & corruption.”<sup>[93]</sup> Amidst this threat from urban areas – itself a common racist trope – Sudholt failed to mention that such a voting system violates the value that everyone’s vote counts the same.

[Brand Thornton](#), a member of the Utah People’s Rights Facebook group and a ceremonial leader for the group, has posted memes rejecting the reality of white privilege and declaring that white people protesting racism are “brainwashed” and simply protesting against white people “because they are white.”<sup>[94]</sup> Thornton has also offered up visions of violence against anti-fascists and Black Lives Matter alike, writing recently,

ONE: INTRODUCTION   POINT OF THE SPEAR
TWO: UNCOVERING THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK
THREE: THE ONLINE ARMY
FOUR: A DEN OF RATTLESNAKES
FIVE: THE POSSE RIDES AGAIN
SIX: MIDDLE AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD NATIONALISM
SEVEN: CONSPIRACIES AND ANTISEMITISM UNBOUNDED
<b>EIGHT: PEOPLES RIGHTS AND RACISM</b>
NINE: ANTI-INDIGENOUS ACTIVISM
TEN: POLITICAL POWER
ELEVEN: PREPPING FOR THE FUTURE
TWELVE: NOTABLE NETWORK FIGURES
THIRTEEN: CONCLUSION

"Antifa and BLM, your choice, you want peace or pushing up daisy's (sic)?" [95] Thornton's attack on BLM is the flipside of racism denial – if racism is not a real issue, then challenges to it are illegitimate and part of something nefarious.

In a similar vein, Utah People's Rights state leader [Derrick Staheli](#) posted a video showing two unidentified individuals robbing someone in a car. As the two attempted to escape on a motorcycle, the vehicle driver rams the vehicle into them. Even though the apparent robbers are not identified, and do not appear in the short video to be connected to a protest, Staheli writes, "This should be done with ALL BLM/ANTIFA Thugs!!! Love it!" [Capitals in Original]. [96]

Similarly, Oregon Area 2 assistant Wayne Standiford posts an image of Candace Owens casting BLM as rioting, taking drugs, and being a "radical leftist anarchist" group. Another post by Standiford asks "Why are some of you still supporting BLM?" [97] And Idaho Area 5 assistant Jennifer Acheson posted a recent evidence-lacking meme accusing "Antifa/BLM" of starting recent fires in Oregon and "firing on people trying to evacuate." [98]

Like these depictions of BLM, attacks on communities of color are often rooted in stereotypes and depictions of them as a threat. In the People's Rights context, such bigotry is most commonly directed at Muslims and immigrants. For instance, Idaho People's Rights Idaho figure [Casey Whalen](#) has produced a video interview of Trevor Loudon on the conspiratorial topic of Cultural Marxism – the idea that movements ranging from environmental and feminist to anti-racist are part of a communist plot. [99] Elsewhere, Loudon has spun an anti-Muslim conspiracy theory in which "far left and Islamist agendas" lay behind a range of liberal public policies. [100] Connecting such anti-Muslim bigotry to a communist plot and liberal policies sets the stage for linking bigotry to the broad-scale assault on federal government capacity envisioned by People's Rights.

Missouri Area 5 assistant and onetime Missouri Citizens Militia member Michael Clevenger posted an article with an accompanying statement declaring "Go back to Mecca and enforce your laws there!" Another Clevenger post alleges that Islam is already banned from the U.S. because sharia law is antithetical to the U.S. Constitution, a common anti-Muslim canard on the far right. [101]

Montana Area 5 assistant Ed Kugler also serves as president of Last Chance Patriots, a group that originally formed as [Flathead ACT for America](#) and was a chapter of the largest anti-Muslim group in the country, ACT for America. During its time as Flathead ACT, the group brought a steady stream of anti-Muslim speakers to Montana and pushed anti-Muslim bills at the Montana Legislature. [102]

A similar animus is also directed at immigrants. Casey Whalen has also advocated that the federal government should "PUT THE MILITARY ON THE BORDER TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY" and "Charge all governors and mayors who created a sanctuary city/state" with criminal violations. [103] Likewise, Utah Area 5 assistant Darrin Berg promoted a GoFundMe project to fund Donald Trump's border wall. [104] In a post criticizing Donald Trump for not pledging during his 2016 campaign to indict Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton and others, Berg combined hostility to immigrants and Muslims alike, arguing that given the trajectory of the election,

"I could be like so many celebrities and move to Russia, where Mr. Putin has vowed if one act of terrorism is committed on their soil, the Muslims will be gone the next day. At least then I won't have to worry about terror attacks or floods of illegal immigrants (who should be allowed to vote, but are denied the right). On the bright side, I will avoid the rush to be ruled by a dictator and live in a socialistic society. This might be funny, if it weren't so stunningly true." [105]

The title of a video posted by Missouri Area 5 assistant Michael Clevenger declares that, as in Germany, a refugee crisis is headed to the U.S. Another meme posted by Clevenger depicts what appears to be federal vehicles and a helicopter and declares "I wish my Federal government would put this many resources on our Southern Border instead of on Cliven Bundy's cattle ranch." [106]

Oregon Area 2 assistant Wayne Standiford posted memes stating that descendants of enslaved Africans should pay reparations to Union soldiers, and mocked efforts by the National Football League to acknowledge police violence against black people. [107] He also played to racist stereotypes when he shared a photo of brown-skinned people looting with a comment that they wouldn't loot if they worked at night. [108]

Another form of racism denial is seen in equating slogans such as "black power" (associated with a movement historically struggling against white supremacy) with "white power" (associated with a movement historically seeking to preserve white domination), as Missouri Area 5 assistant, Michael Clevenger, did in a meme posted in early 2016. [109]

In another form, the racism deniers post memes or material focusing in a one-sided fashion on negative aspects of victims of police racism, thus delegitimizing the historical institutional racism of the police. Missouri Area 3 assistant Michael Sudholt posts a video by Candace Owens purporting to present the "facts" about George Floyd. [110] Similar posts were made by Idaho Area 5 assistant Jennifer Acheson about Breonna Taylor and Idaho Area 6 assistant Aaron Egusquiza about Jacob Blake. [111]

Other People's Rights area leaders have distorted facts about voter fraud and/or promoted voter ID policies that potentially suppress the vote among communities of color and others. Missouri Area 3 assistant Michael Sudholt writes that "It is a national disgrace and blatant election fraud to continue to claim that a requirement for voter ID is all about voter suppression among minority voters. The only minorities whose votes would be suppressed would be those who have no right to vote." [112] Despite Sudholt's, claim the Brennan Center for Justice has produced a wide range of studies demonstrating that voter ID policies would suppress the vote among people of color and other voters. [113]

Similarly, Idaho Area 5 assistant Jennifer Acheson writes that "Voter fraud is real stop ignoring it!" [114] Again, the Brennan Center offers an array of actual evidence debunking the myth of voter fraud in U.S. elections. [115]



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SEVEN: CONSPIRACIES AND ANTISEMITISM UNBOUNDED



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NINE: ANTI-INDIGENOUS ACTIVISM

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CHAPTER NINE

# ANTI-INDIGENOUS ACTIVISM

*Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network*

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## ANTI-INDIGENOUS ACTIVISM

In addition to the racialized “threat from below” exhibited by many People’s Rights leader, a recurring disrespect for indigenous sovereignty and resources has been displayed in Ammon Bundy’s efforts, both past and present. This was seen when the armed Malheur occupiers undertook the action in the Burns Paiute homelands despite objections from the tribe. Bundy’s group also damaged a tribal archaeological site and caused additional costs to the Burns Paiute, for which two occupiers were ordered to pay restitution.<sup>[116]</sup>

Moreover, Bundy has allied with far-right figures who oppose indigenous rights as well as those who have promoted political violence. For instance, in October 2018, Bundy headlined a “[New Code of the West](#)” conference in Whitefish, Montana alongside longtime Citizens Equal Rights Alliance (CERA) leader Elaine Willman and Washington State Representative Matt Shea (R-Spokane Valley).<sup>[117]</sup> As MHRN documented at the time, a lead organizer of the event was Laura Lee O’Neil, a Montana-based supporter of the John Birch Society.<sup>[118]</sup>

Beyond just appearing on a stage with a national anti-Indigenous figure, Ammon Bundy wrote the forward to CERA board member Christopher Kortlander’s 2018 book *Arrow to the Heart*. Elaine Willman and CERA have long been committed to the outright termination of tribal government and abrogation of treaties between indigenous nations and the United States.<sup>[119]</sup>

This pattern continued into the People’s Rights network. An August 1 People’s Rights rally in Nezperce, Idaho, included Pamela Hemphill, author of a 2019 book that assailed participants in the mobilization to stop the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline and defend the [treaty-protected resources of the Standing Rock Sioux](#). A synopsis of [Hemphill’s book](#), *We Stand! We Rise! We Resist! Where the Leftist Tactics Began & Now They’re Coming to a City Near You!*, states,

“In this book, you’ll learn how the Leftist Tactics were ‘High Jacked’ by using a platform in the Largest North Native American Protest in history. They used the North American Indians past abuses, as the model for a NEW SOCIALIST Party.”<sup>[120]</sup>

While waiting at the police [staging area in Nezperce with Diego Rodriguez and others](#), Hemphill told Nez Perce tribal police of her book that, “You’re not gonna like it.” After being informed that they were on Nez Perce land, and as if trying to demonstrate the very definition of settler colonialism, Rodriguez told the tribal police, “Yeah man, you guys are the tribe guys. We get you. This is your property, man, we get it. We thank you for letting us come. *It is your land, but in America, we get to do what we want to do.* [Italics added]”<sup>[121]</sup>

A defining feature of settler colonialism in U.S. history has been that, even when the federal and state governments and citizens voice respect for tribal rights, Americans often “do what we want to do” in Indian Country.

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EIGHT: PEOPLE'S RIGHTS AND RACISM



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# AMMON'S ARMY

INSIDE THE FAR-RIGHT PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK

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## CHAPTER TEN

## POLITICAL POWER

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## POLITICAL POWER

To further contradict the idea that People's Rights is an "anti-government" network, gaining political and governmental power is part of the group's program. They engage political systems to alter them to fit their far-right vision. As People's Rights Idaho Area 4 assistant, Mario Perea, declared during a meeting when encouraging people to come to a rally for a political candidate, "We claim, and we use, and we defend our rights. In order to defend our rights, we have to get people into these government positions. That is a form of defense because we're being attacked politically. So we need to fight back and resist politically."<sup>[122]</sup> At meetings and online, they've supported recall campaigns and candidates.

For instance, on October 1, activists in the People's Rights Oregon Zone 3 group asked, "Who wants to help get out the vote and make some phone calls? We need to get people hyped up in this election and to VOTE."<sup>[123]</sup>

Instead of eschewing government, some leading People's Rights figures serve as functionaries of political parties. People's Rights Idaho Area 2 assistant, Heather Rogers, also lists herself as the Legislative District 6 chair of the Idaho Republican Party.<sup>[124]</sup> Roger Roots is a leader in the Montana Libertarian Party.<sup>[125]</sup>

Other People's Rights leaders have run to become the government. Montana leader, Nick Ramlow, is running as a Libertarian for the Montana House.<sup>[126]</sup> Debbie Westlake, a Montana area 5 assistant, is a Republican candidate in a Montana legislative race.<sup>[127]</sup> Mark French, a Montana area 4 assistant, lost a Montana state legislative primary earlier this year but is still running as a write-in candidate.<sup>[128]</sup> Holly Jo Beers, the Oregon 3 area assistant, ran for a Umatilla County Commissioner seat.<sup>[129]</sup> And Utah area 11 assistant Trevor Wilkerson recently announced plans to run on the Constitution Party ticket.<sup>[130]</sup>

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## CHAPTER ELEVEN:

## PREPPING FOR THE FUTURE

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## PREPPING FOR THE FUTURE

Another cohort that Bundy and the People's Rights network have targeted for recruitment are "preppers." Also known as "survivalists," they are individuals who vigorously prepare for emergencies, including possible disruptions in the social or political order. Preppers stress self-reliance, stockpiling supplies, and survival skills. Prepping is big business and there is an entire ecosystem of companies that sell goods targeted to preppers. The idea became so popular that the National Geographic channel aired four seasons of the reality TV-show "Doomsday Preppers" from 2012-2014.

For decades, there has been a sizable, though not complete, overlap between preppers and the militia movement. The crossover is most visible at prepper conventions and so-called preparedness expos, where militia figures speak as prepper businesses sell their wares on the convention floor.

Ammon Bundy and People's Rights have woven prepper ethos into the new organization. "Be Prepared" is part of the People's Rights credo. According to the group's website,

"Being prepared may consists[sic] of many things. It could be having a 72 hour kit for each member in the family or it could be knowing who your neighbors are that would help defend your life. Maybe owning or possessing a weapon that would drive off criminals and protect your children. Possibly even be food storage or training on how to grow food. What about having an emergency first aid kit? Overall, being prepared is simply looking at the real possibilities for a need and then planning ahead for it.

You may think that purchasing and storing things for future need is a waste of time, money and makes it hard to keep your home organized... well, maybe so. Get over it!"<sup>[131]</sup>

Though the first few months of People's Rights were focused on fighting against COVID-19 restrictions, Ammon Bundy and other speakers occasionally provided a glimpse of the direction they planned to take the organization. As one speaker told an Idaho People's Rights gathering in September,

"I just want you to understand what you're up against. In the days that are ahead of us, the probability ranges from extremely high to imminent that some or all of us will experience some form of persecution; some form of food shortage; some denial of goods and services; lack of communications via internet, cellphone, etcetera; power blackouts. These are all things that range from extremely high to imminent for all of us in this room and everyone watching in the days ahead."<sup>[132]</sup>

At the same meeting, Ammon Bundy added to the fear around a potential disruption in food supplies. He followed by describing how People's Rights is in the process of building out their own food distribution network. Such a system would allow activists to avoid compliance with COVID-19 restrictions when getting groceries, as well as potentially allowing providers to bypass USDA food safety regulations.

Ammon Bundy runs a truck repair business, his father is a rancher, his brother farms melons. Given that background, it's not surprising to see Bundy promoting an ideological scheme that

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Given that background, it's not surprising to see Bundy promoting an ideological scheme that could also provide new customers for his services and his family's products.

Whether the Bundys can financially benefit from tearing communities apart during a pandemic remains to be seen. What is clear, however, is that his organization, People's Rights, is recruiting an army of followers across the country. Left unchecked, there could be real damage to countless communities.



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# CHAPTER TWELVE: NOTABLE NETWORK FIGURES

*Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network*



CHAPTER TWELVE

## NOTABLE NETWORK FIGURES

Ammon Bundy has wrangled a wide array of significant far-right figures into the orbit of the People's Rights Network—far-right paramilitary activists, anti-maskers, far-right street brawlers, conspiracy-mongers, Christian Dominionists, anti-vaxxers, “Constitutionalists,” Tea Partiers, and more. Below are links to detailed profiles of some of the more important figures to the People's Rights network.

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THE FOUNDER

### AMMON BUNDY

Though he lacks an official title in the People's Rights organization chart, Ammon Bundy is for all intents and purposes the head of the network. The 45-year-old truck repair company owner from Emmett, Idaho, is involved in virtually every facet of the People's Rights network—from laying out the structure of the group to overseeing the technology used in the network, to promoting the group, to wrangling area assistants. People's Rights is Ammon's army.

[Read More](#)





ARKANSAS LEADER, ANTI-MASK, ANTI-VAXX, PRO-MILITIA

## ANGELA CLEMONS

Angela Clemons is a far-right conspiracy theorist, promoted the conspiracy that the “Coronavirus is part of the forced vaccination” effort. Most notably, however, Clemons has been referred to as the “right-hand girl” of an imprisoned militia leader.

[Read More](#)

OREGON FAR-RIGHT PARAMILITARY ACTIVIST

## BJ SOPER

BJ Soper is the People’s Rights assistant for most of the state of Oregon. Like many in the burgeoning People’s Rights network, Soper has a history of far-right paramilitary organizing, including armed mobilizations and organizing around the 2016 Malheur takeover.

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PEOPLE’S RIGHTS CEREMONIAL LEADER

## BRAND THORNTON

Thornton’s involvement in Ammon Bundy’s networks extends back to at least the 2016 Malheur occupation when he blew a shofar as he accompanied the first men that undertook the armed seizure of the wildlife refuge. Thornton has a paramilitary-centered and violent vision for role at People’s Rights events, opening an August 1 event in Nez Perce, Idaho by blowing a shofar appropriated from Jewish ceremonies for far-right purposes. Thornton is also a member of the Open Carry Utah (OCU) Facebook group, an arm of



Cathy Stan-OCO Facebook group, an arm of PeoplesRights.org.

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INLAND NORTHWEST ACTIVIST

## CASEY WHALEN

Casey Whalen plays an outsized role in promoting People's Rights through his North Idaho Exposed YouTube outlet which boasts more than 14,000 subscribers – through which he serves as a regular videographer of the group's events. In early June, People's Rights of Washington listed Casey Whalen as an official assistant for Area 8 in eastern Washington. As of mid-August, Whalen was the sole individual listed as a "Team Member" on the "About" section of the People's Rights public Facebook page. Whalen's name was later removed.

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## DERRIK STAHELI

Derrick Staheli is an anti-masker and 2nd Amendment activist who doesn't "buy the whole face covering thing." In August, Staheli encouraged people with kids in public schools to "find the courage to send them to school...WITH OUT [sic] MASKS!!!" Staheli wrote that "If they get 'expelled' or 'suspended' etc then just contact me. I have a database of THOUSANDS of Patriots that will help and support you/us and raise HELL if we must" [capitals in original].

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CHRISTIAN DOMINIONIST

## DIEGO RODRIGUEZ

Diego Rodriguez is a frequent speaker at People's Rights events, including early meetings that gave rise to the organization. He is pastor of the Boise Freedom Tabernacle Church in Boise, Idaho. The church promotes "Christian Dominion," described as "the duty of taking dominion over the Earth" nationalism, arguing that Christians should take the reins of political and cultural power. Rodriguez's Boise-based Dominion Books is dedicated to "equipping believers to take dominion in this world." Rodriguez also serves as the Communications and Marketing Director for the Freedom Man Political Action.

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FAR-RIGHT STREET THUG

## JOEY GIBSON

Joey Gibson, leader of the violent far-right street-fighting group, Patriot Prayer, plays a substantial role in the People's Rights network, acting as a bridge between the violent street fighters and the COVID-19 insurrectionists. Gibson formed Patriot Prayer in 2016, and the group has become well known for violent confrontations with anti-fascists and anti-racists.

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PEOPLE'S RIGHTS WASHINGTON ACTIVIST

## KELLI STEWART



While Kelli Stewart is officially listed as a Rights, she plays an outsized role in the region and has helped build southern Washington into one of the group's strongest areas. Stewart's activism has included organizing efforts in Idaho, Oregon, and Montana. Stewart's involvement in Ammon Bundy's networks extends back to shortly after he led the 2016 armed occupation of the Malheur Wildlife Refuge in Oregon.

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"CONSTITUTIONALIST" VOICE

## KRISANNE HALL

KrisAnne Hall is a Wellborn, Florida-based "constitutionalist" and a legal "theorist" frequently cited as an authority by People's Rights leaders. Hall has a lengthy far-right resume, producing work that has won her a place amongst groups ranging from the Tea Party to paramilitary groups like Oath Keepers. Most notably, Hall promotes a radical assault on the Constitutional race and sex-based discrimination in voting rights, referring to the 14th, 15th, and 19th Amendments as "unlawful expansion[s] of federal power."

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MONTANA TEA PARTIER

## MARK FRENCH

Mark French is a Tea Party activist who repeatedly, and unsuccessfully, has run for elected office in Montana. French said the Tea Party movement, along with his study of the Bible and the U.S. Constitution, inspired him to launch his campaign. French stated his candidacy was about protecting freedom and that "by definition freedom comes from bloodshed."



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MONTANA MILITIA ACTIVIST

## NICK RAMLOW

In April 2020, Nick Ramlow, a Kalispell contractor, began his militia organizing after Montana's governor issued a statewide shelter-in-place order to slow the spread of COVID-19. Ramlow declared the governor's actions illegal and said Ramlow began holding "People's Meetings" and trying to get local owners to open their businesses in defiance of the governor's directives.

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OUR COMPANY VALUES

## ROGER ROOTS

While not an official People's Rights leader, Roger Roots has played a significant role in the group. Roger Roots is an attorney licensed to practice law in Rhode Island (but not in Montana where he lives) with a long history with so-called "patriots" and the white nationalist movements. Roots participated in the legal defenses of Bundy Family members when they faced charges from their armed standoffs in both Nevada and Oregon.

[See Our Story](#)





IDAHO THREE PERCENTER PARAMILITARIES

## SEAN AND SANDRA ANDERSON

Sean and Sandra Anderson have a history of far-right paramilitary activism and were quick to join the fight against COVID-19 health restrictions. Rights. After a July 18 shootout with police, Sean Anderson became a People's Rights network cause célèbre.

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CALIFORNIA CONSPIRACIST

## TONY PELLEGRINO

Tony Pellegrino is an active promotor of a variety of conspiracy theories, including openly antisemitic versions, as well as COVID-19 conspiracies. He has been an ardent supporter of militias, sporting Three Percenter garb, traveling to Virginia to attend a January 2020 militia gathering in Richmond, and declaring that "militia and Liberty groups need to go out in force and perform citizens (sic) Arrest (sic)."

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**PREVIOUS**  
ELEVEN: PREPPING FOR THE FUTURE

**NEXT**  
THIRTEEN: CONCLUSION



**AMMON'S ARMY**  
INSIDE THE FAR-RIGHT PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK



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## CHAPTER THIRTEEN:

**CONCLUSION***Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network*

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN:

**CONCLUSION****WHICH WAY FORWARD?**

The evidence presented in this report highlights how “People’s Rights” is a misnomer of epic proportions. Don’t be fooled. Whatever they choose to call it, it is Ammon’s Army, and it marches to a far-right drumbeat of narcissistic rage and insurrection.

There are several important takeaways from research into the rise of the People’s Rights network. First, the data highlights how there has been a rapid spread of this network. The far-right paramilitary core carried on, while the current intensely polarized political context has made it possible for that core to swiftly adapt and find a new mass base. Opposition to COVID-19 health directives provided a catalyst at this moment, but the many remaining underlying concerns seen in the group make it possible for the core to morph again in search of a new mass audience after the pandemic.

Undergirding the effort are troubling displays of far-right conspiracism, racism, antisemitism, anti-indigenous and anti-transgender sentiment, and omnipresent threats of violence. Far-right movements like this put stress and strain on all democratic institutions and civil society. In the context of the pandemic, it puts the lives of community members and public servants at risk —without a single shot being fired.

Ammon’s army is a dangerous armed threat that requires a response. However, standing by and assuming law enforcement will handle this problem on its own is not the answer. State and federal prosecutors have proven woefully inadequate at bringing justice or even mildly deterring the escalation of Ammon Bundy and his followers. Bunkerville, Burns, Boise, and beyond, Ammon’s army keeps on marching.

The continuing march of Ammon’s army requires people in local communities to stand united and speak out against those who misleadingly claim to speak for “the People” while promoting paramilitarism and bigotry. This strategy worked in the 1980s, when family farmers, faith leaders, and community members banded together to keep the Posse Comitatus from taking over during the farm crisis. It worked in the 1990s when trade unionists, Civil Rights leaders, anti-bigotry activists, and many others stood together in local communities when the militia came to town. It can, and will work again today if we start our own efforts to defend democracy and human rights from these far-right assaults. This is a battle of ideas over how we treat all of us in a time of danger and turmoil. This is a fight over how we define who we are as Americans. In the end, Bundy’s barbaric neighborhood nationalism can be overwhelmed by the values expressed in Dr. King’s vision of a beloved community that strives for inclusive democracy.

**CONTENTS**

ONE: INTRODUCTION   POINT OF THE SPEAR
TWO: UNCOVERING THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK
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# PROFILE: DIEGO RODRIGUEZ

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS FIGURE

Part of the IREHR/MHRN special report, *Ammon's Army*.

PROFILE

## DIEGO RODRIGUEZ

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS FIGURE

LOCATION: BOISE, IDAHO

Diego Rodriguez is a frequent speaker at People's Rights events, including early meetings that gave rise to the organization. He is pastor of the Boise Freedom Tabernacle Church in Boise, Idaho. The church promotes "Christian Dominion," described as "the duty of taking dominion over the Earth."<sup>[1]</sup> Christian Dominionism is a form of Christian nationalism, arguing that Christians should take the reins of political and cultural power. Rodriguez's Boise-based Dominion Books is dedicated to "equipping believers to take dominion in this world." Rodriguez also serves as the Communications and Marketing Director for the Freedom Man Political Action.

Rodriguez's involvement in theocratic politics was seen in September 2016 when he signed onto "An Open Letter to Christian pastors, leaders, and believers who assist in the anti-Christian Progressive political movement in America." Calling on progressive religious leaders to "repent of their work that often advances a destructive liberal political agenda," the letter included the antisemitic canard that "wealthy, anti-Christian foundations, following the lead of billionaire George Soros's Open Society Foundation, fund and 'rent' Christian ministers as 'mascots' serving as surprising validators for their causes."

Continuing themes that animate a broad swath of the nationalist far-right, the letter declared,

"In the ironic rhetoric of compassion, Soros and friends also fund mass immigration followed by redistricting schemes and 'voting' (sic) 'rights'... One wonders if the end goal is the destruction of national identity through demoralization, open borders and debt, thus the 'fundamental transformation' (weakening) of American civil society for their leveraged global power. (They have done this to other nations)."<sup>[2]</sup>

Several prominent Christian nationalists and Christian Right leaders joined Rodriguez in signing the letter, including multiple anti-choice groups, representatives of the anti-LGBTQ [American Family Association](#), Pat Robertson's Regent University, and Christian nationalist pseudo-historian [David Barton](#).

Another signatory of the letter was Jay Grimstead of the Coalition on Revival (CoR), a trans-denominational coalition that has brought together a range of tendencies on the Christian Right, detailed by Frederick Clarkson.<sup>[3]</sup> One of its early leaders was R.J. Rushdoony, founder in 1965 of the Christian Reconstructionist Chalcedon Foundation.

Another of [Diego Rodriguez's projects](#), the [creationist 4<sup>th</sup> Day Alliance](#), took him into the world of Christian Reconstructionism.<sup>[4]</sup> In December 2010 Rodriguez's creationist efforts led to an appearance at the Trinity Covenant Church in Fresno, California – a church whose website declares that "R.J. Rushdoony is the greatest theologian of the last century." Rodriguez's work on creationism subsequently drew high praise in a 2007 issue of *Faith for All Life*, a magazine published by the Chalcedon Foundation.

If Christian Dominionism is a form of Christian nationalism, Christian Reconstructionism represents its most radical form. Christian Reconstructionists argue that its adherents' version of the Bible should be the governing document in the United States, creating what one leading movement "theologian" termed "Biblical theocratic republics." Christian Reconstructionism's defining texts were released in 1973 by R.J.

kushdoony. Among other things, Kushdoony argued that “Biblical law” demands the death penalty for members of the LGBTQ community, those having sex before marriage, incorrigible juveniles, and practitioners of witchcraft, among other categories of people.[5]

Rodriguez’s Tabernacle Church promotes the bigoted view that “Homosexuality is an abomination unto God and to all Christians.”[6] [The church has also promoted equality-gutting policy positions akin to Cleon Skousen’s National Center for Constitutional Studies](#). This includes opposing “state-run educational institutions that have no authority in the Word of God” and viewing “Government subsidies,” such as “welfare, food stamps, subsidized housing, state run health care (i.e. Medicare, etc.), social security and publicly funded education,” as an “unlawful expansion of state government into areas of life that are ordained by God to be fulfilled by church and families.”[7]

Rodriguez’s [Freedom Man Political Action Committee](#) has hosted at least one “reopen” event and declared that “everybody who attends a weak church that shut its doors because of the ‘coronavirus scare’ should leave that church immediately.”[8] The Freedom Man PAC contends that “COVID-19 hysteria is a giant scam” and that the disease is akin to the claim that black people are disproportionately killed by police – that is, both are “false narrative[s]...being done in order to empower government in ways previously unimagined.”[9]

Rodriguez also displayed the very nature of settler colonialism during the August 1 People’s Rights event in Nezperce, Idaho. After being informed that they were on Nez Perce land, Rodriguez told tribal police, “Yeah man, you guys are the tribe guys. We get you. This is your property, man, we get it. We thank you for letting us come. *It is your land, but in America, we get to do what we want to do*” [Italics added].<sup>[10]</sup> A defining feature of settler colonialism in U.S. history has been that, even when the federal and state governments and citizens voice respect for tribal rights, Americans “do what we want to do” in Indian Country.

---

## NOTES

[1] Where not specified, this account is based on Tanner, Chuck. “People’s Rights Demonstrates Far-Right Roots, Again.” Institute for Research and Education for Human Rights. August 17, 2020. <https://www.irehr.org/2020/08/17/peoples-rights-protest-demonstrates-far-right-roots-again/>. See this source for original sources.

[2] TruthPR. “A Call to Repentance & Renewal.” TruthPR.Com. October 5, 2016. <https://www.truthpr.com/a-call-to-repentance-renewal/>. Other targets of the letter’s animus include common far-right sound-bites such as “abandonment of the biblical view of marriage,” a “transgender agenda,” “welfare dependency,” “heightened racial division and tension,” “forced refugee resettlement” with “‘Refugees’ [that] are primarily non-assimilating Muslims,” “hostility towards Judeo-Christian religion,” efforts to “counter Christians and the Tea Party in the media” and supporting the “rights of jihadists and Sharia advocates.”

[3] For a thorough discussion of these political theologies, see Clarkson, Frederick. *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle between Theocracy and Democracy*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press. 1997.

[4] For more on Christian Reconstructionism, see Montana Human Rights Network. “Christian Reconstructionism.” MHRN website. 2009. <https://mhrn.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/ChristianReconstruction.pdf>.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Freedom Tabernacle. “Articles of Faith.” Freedom Tabernacle website. Undated. <https://www.freedomtabernacle.net/articles-of-faith/>.

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[8] Steele, Gunner. “Scriptural Proof You Need to Leave Your Church.” Freedom Man. July 6, 2020. <https://www.freedomman.org/2020/scriptural-proof-you-need-to-leave-your-church/>.

[9] Steele, Gunner. “How COVID-19 and White Racists are the Same.” Freedom Man Political Action Committee. April 2, 2020. <https://www.freedomman.org/2020/covid-19-and-white-racists-are-the-same/>.

[10] North Idaho Exposed. “Justice for Sean Anderson: The Command Center.” August 2, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5CEgJoptLc>.



## AMMON'S ARMY

INSIDE THE FAR-RIGHT PEOPLE'S RIGHTS NETWORK

A SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE MONTANA HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK

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**APPENDIX OF DATA AND INFORMATION  
CONSIDERED IN FORMING TESTIMONY**

## **Documents, Data, and Information Considered in Forming Testimony – Devin Burghart**

1. **Article: Ammon’s Army: Inside the Far-right “People’s Rights” Network (Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights)**  
<https://www.irehr.org/reports/peoples-rights-report/>

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[1] Pellegrino, Tony. Facebook. September 18, 2020.

<https://www.facebook.com/tony.pellegrino.75/posts/1468260086708076>

[2] Department of Justice, U.S. Attorney’s Office, District of Oregon. “Eastern Oregon Ranchers Convicted of Arson Resentenced to Five Years in Prison.” The United States Attorney’s Office, District of Oregon website. October 7, 2015.

<https://www.justice.gov/usao-or/pr/eastern-oregon-ranchers-convicted-arson-resentenced-five-years-prison>

[3] Dickinson, Tim. “WTF is Happening in the Oregon Militia Standoff, Explained.” Rolling Stone. January 3, 2016.

<https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/wtf-is-happening-in-the-oregon-militia-standoff-explained-31574/>

[4] Bundy declared, “We have basically taken over the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge and this will become a base place for patriots from all over the country to come and be housed here and live here. And we’re planning on staying here for several years. And while we’re here, we’re going to be bringing these lands up and giving the ranchers back their ranch, giving the miners back the mines, giving the loggers back the logging, and where they can do it under the protection of the people, and not be afraid of this tyranny that’s been upon them.” Zaitz, Les.

“Militia takes over Malheur National Wildlife Refuge headquarters.” The Oregonian. January 2, 2016. [https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/01/drama\\_in\\_burns\\_ends\\_with\\_quiet.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/01/drama_in_burns_ends_with_quiet.html)

[5] Yuhas, Alan. “Oregon militia says occupation of wildlife refuge could last ‘several years’.” The Guardian. January 4, 2016.

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/04/oregon-militia-ammon-bundy-malheur-national-wildlife-refuge>.

[6] Marr, Lori. Facebook. Video. March 26, 2020.

<https://www.facebook.com/lorimarr.freedomfairyt/videos/1021981476767181>

[7] Jennings, Sydney. “COVID-19 Update: Global Confirmed Cases as of March 26, 2020.” Patient Care Online, March 26, 2020.

<https://www.patientcareonline.com/view/covid-19-update-global-confirmed-cases-march-26-2020>



- [8] Marr, Lori. Facebook. Video. April 2, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/lorimarr.freedomfairy/videos/10219904225388200/>
- [9] Ibid.
- [10] Marr, Lori. Facebook. Video. April 9, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/lorimarr.freedomfairy/videos/10219983911580305>
- [11] Rose, Andy. “Ammon Bundy hosts Easter service despite state order against mass gatherings.” CNN. April 12, 2020. [https://www.cnn.com/world/live-news/coronavirus-pandemic-04-12-20/h\\_78b9b5480ab9bccab1842f64edaf6f29](https://www.cnn.com/world/live-news/coronavirus-pandemic-04-12-20/h_78b9b5480ab9bccab1842f64edaf6f29)
- [12] People’s Rights Facebook. Video. July 30, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/peoplesrights.org/videos/699848514197934/.kete>
- [13] Bustillo, Ximena and Brown, Ruth. “Idaho anti-vaxx activist arrested after group gathers at closed Meridian playground.” Idaho Statesman. April 21, 2020. <https://www.idahostatesman.com/article242188766.html>.
- [14] Blanchard, Nichole. “300 people called dispatch after Meridian playground arrest — some with insults, threats.” East Idaho News. May 20, 2020. <https://www.eastidahonews.com/2020/05/300-people-called-dispatch-after-meridian-playground-arrest-some-with-insults-threats/>.
- [15] Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights. “Dashboard: New Far-Right Groups on Facebook Protesting COVID-19 Stay-at-Home Directives.” IREHR website. August 20, 2020. <https://www.irehr.org/covid19updates/dashboard-new-far-right-groups-on-facebook-protesting-stay-at-home-directives/>.

**2. St. Luke’s Health System, LTD, et al., v. Ammon Bundy, et al., CV01-22-06789 – Pleadings:**

- a. March 3, 2023 Fourth Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial (Redacted)
- b. November 8, 2022 Declarations and Exhibits iso Motion for Leave to Amend Complaint to Allenge Punitive Damages:
  - i. Declaration of Camille LaCroix
  - ii. Declaration of Chris Roth - Redacted
  - iii. Declaration of CP Abbondandolo – Redacted
  - iv. Declaration of Dennis Mesaros – Redacted
  - v. Declaration of Donn English
  - vi. Declaration of Dr. Erickson – Redacted
  - vii. Declaration of Dr. Jamie Price – Redacted
  - viii. Declaration of Erik Stidham – Redacted
  - ix. Declaration of Jeffrey Erickson
  - x. Declaration of John Coggins

- xi. Declaration of Katy Alexander
- xii. Declaration of Marle Hoff
- xiii. Declaration of TW Jungman – Redacted
- xiv. Declaration of William Woods
- c. March 17, 2023 Memorandum iso Motion for Contempt Against Ammon Bundy and People’s Rights Network.
  - i. Affidavit of Jennifer M. Jensen
  - ii. Supplemental Affidavit of Jennifer M. Jensen
- d. Jessica Flynn Expert Report

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# **CV – DEVIN BURGHART**

## Profile of Devin Burghart

REDACTED

Devin Burghart is a nationally recognized expert on far-right political and social movements. For the last three decades, he has dedicated his professional career to defending democracy and human rights.

He presently serves as president and executive director of the Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights (IREHR). Founded in 1983, IREHR is dedicated to using investigative research and strategic organizing to stand against bigotry and defend democracy and human rights. Before becoming executive director, Devin served as IREHR's research director from 2008-2018.

In 2007, Devin was awarded a Petra Foundation fellowship for his “distinctive contributions to the rights, autonomy, and dignity of millions who are marginalized in America.”

Since 1993, Devin has researched and written on virtually all facets of the contemporary far-right movement. He has conducted groundbreaking research into the activities of far-right groups in North America and Europe. His written work includes investigative reporting on transnational white nationalist activity, “scientific” racism, anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial, the militia movement and far-right paramilitaries, white power music, anti-immigrant organizing and the new nativism, the Tea Party movement, COVID denial, and insurrectionists.

Devin is frequently quoted as an expert on right-wing movements. His work has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, the *Philadelphia Enquirer*, *Arizona Republic*, *Seattle Times*, *The Nation*, and *Rolling Stone*. He has also appeared on CNN, MSNBC, CBS News and National Public Radio, and other broadcast media outlets. In 2022 alone, more than 150 different media outlets mentioned his work. His research has also been cited in nearly eight hundred academic publications.

In addition to publishing important research, Burghart has provided consultation and organizing support to communities responding to white nationalist activity and worked with other local, national, and international organizations to counter the far right. In addition, he has conducted hundreds of presentations, training sessions, and workshops for human rights groups and others about challenging new threats to democracy and civil and human rights.

Devin has conducted trainings and workshops for law enforcement and governmental organizations, including the Chicago Police Department, the Pacific Northwest License Tax and Fraud Association, the U.S. Navy, the Ontario Provincial Police, and many others.

Prior to joining the IREHR staff, he served as director of the Building Democracy Initiative, a project of the Center for New Community (CNC) in Chicago (1997-2008). While at CNC,

he crafted cutting-edge work on white power music and the new nativism. In addition to helping CNC grow from a small regional outfit to a respected national organization, he created new organizing approaches to countering bigotry, including the Turn It Down Campaign to stop the spread of white power music and the Campaign for a United America to challenge growing anti-immigrant sentiment.

From 1993 to 1997, Devin was a research analyst with the Washington-based Coalition for Human Dignity, an organization once described as America’s “leading think-tank on the far-right.” In 1996, he co-authored the seminal report on the rise of so-called “common law courts” – the first report to detail the growth of these groups across the country and their roots in white supremacy.

Devin grew up in Spokane, Washington. At the age of thirteen, he found himself joining a community demonstration against Robert Mathews, the founder of the neo-Nazi terror group, The Order. From that day, he dedicated his life to defending democracy and human rights.

### ***Selected Publications***

#### **Books**

*Breaching the Mainstream: A National Survey of Far-Right Membership in State Legislatures.* IREHR Press. 2022. Editor and co-author of the

*Soundtracks to the White Revolution: White Supremacist Assaults on Youth Music Subcultures.* Center for New Community, 1999. Editor of the 107-page book, the first publication in the United States to examine the international dimensions of the growing white power music scene.

*The Turn It Down Resource Kit,* Center for New Community, 2001. Editor to the follow-up to the hugely successful *Soundtracks to the White Revolution*, this book provided suggestions and case studies for young people, parents, teachers, and people in the recording industry on how to keep their community free of white power music.

“View from the Top: Report on Six National Tea Party Organizations” Chapter in *Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party*, University of California Press, 2012. Edited by Lawrence Rosenthal and Christine Trost.

#### **White Papers, Monographs, and Reports**

*Facebook and COVID Denial: How The Platform Is Fueling Another Wave Of Far-Right Activism, Insurrectionism, And Violence, And What We Can Do To Stop It.* Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. 2021. The report documented how Facebook became an epicenter of COVID denial activism, including anti-mask, anti-vaccine, anti-mandate, anti-lockdown, and other COVID denial efforts.

*Ammon’s Army Marches On: People’s Rights Membership Date, Fall 2021.* Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. 2021. An update on the membership growth of the far-right People’s Rights Network. The report documented 33,431 members and 398 area assistants across the United States and Canada.

*Ammon's Army: Inside the Far-Right People's Rights Network.* Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights and the Montana Human Rights Network. 2020. Relying on field reports, countless hours of video footage, interviews, archival material, and a massive trove of online data, report researchers have captured the first full picture of Ammon's army. The report explored the breadth and depth of the network built by Bundy and named "People's Rights." What started with a few dozen supporters in a rural Idaho warehouse has swiftly expanded to a membership base of over twenty thousand nationwide.

*From Alt-Right to Groypers: White Nationalists Rebrand for 2020 and Beyond.* Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. 2020. This report documents the leaders and organizations behind the new white nationalist marketing strategy aimed at young white men known as the "groypers."

*Abriding the Vote: True the Vote in North Carolina.* Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, October 2012. Co-Author with Leonard Zeskind of the report identifying the sources of Tea Party voter suppression efforts.

*Beyond FAIR: The Decline of the Established Anti-Immigrant Organizations and the Rise of Tea Party Nativism.* Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, January 2012. Co-Author with Leonard Zeskind of the first report to document the deterioration of the nativist establishment and the ascendancy of Tea Party nativism.

*Tea Party Nationalism: A Critical Examination of the Size, Scope, and Focus of the Tea Party Movement and Its National Factions.* Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, October 2010. Co-Author with Leonard Zeskind of the groundbreaking report on the Tea Party Movement. Co-released with the NAACP.

*Nativism in the House: A Report on the House Immigration Reform Caucus,* Center for New Community, October 2005. Co-authored with Leonard Zeskind.

*Shell Games: The "Minutemen" and Vigilante Anti-Immigrant Politics,* Center for New Community, October 2005.

*Americans for Legal Immigration PAC: Xenophobia, Nativism and Anti-Immigrant Hysteria.* Center for New Community, June 2005.

*Hostile Takeover: Race, Immigration and the Sierra Club,* Center for New Community, February 2004.

*Beyond A Dead Man's Deeds: The National Alliance After William Pierce.* Center for New Community, August 2002.

*The State of Hate: The Far-Right in the Midwest 2000-2001.* Center for New Community. November 2001.

*Party Crashers: White Nationalists and Election 2000.* Center for New Community, July 2000.

*World Church of the Creator: One Year Later*, Center for New Community, June 2000.

*“Creating” A Killer: A Background Report On Benjamin “August” Smith And The World Church Of The Creator*. Center for New Community and the American Jewish Committee. July 4, 1999.

*The State of Hate: The Far-Right in the Midwest 1998-1999*. Editor and author of the 36-page monograph detailing the activities of Christian Identity, Christian Patriot and militia, Ku Klux Klan, and neo-Nazi and racist skinhead groups throughout nine Midwestern states. The report also pinpoints the location 272 far-right groups in the region. Center for New Community. November 1998.

*Guns and Gavels: Common Law Courts, Militias and White Supremacy*. Coalition for Human Dignity. 1996. Co-authored with Robert Crawford.

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“Two Texas Sheriff’s Departments Co-Sponsor Events with Far-Right Posse Proponents,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. July 7, 2021.

“Constitutional Sheriffs” Group Teams Up with Antisemitic Conspiracist,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. July 2, 2021.

“People’s Rights Network to Host Writer for White Nationalist Tabloid,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. June 17, 2021.

“People’s Rights Oregon and State Secession Efforts,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. June 6, 2021.

“Beyond DC – Mapping Stop the Steal Insurrection Rallies in the States,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. January 8, 2021.

“Far-Right, Militia to Press Clark County Sheriff to Join Reopen Cause,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. June 22, 2020.

“Three Percenters Pose with Olympia Police Officer, Sparks Need for Thorough Investigation,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. June 18, 2020.

“Dangerous Liaisons: Some in law enforcement look to militia groups,” Co-authored with Charles Tanner. Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights website. June 4, 2020.

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# Exhibit E



**SEARCH CAMPAIGN FINANCE** MENU ▾

**Activity** ▾

Activity Dates:  to  2+ yrs

Search Last: [1 Day](#) [7 Days](#) [30 Days](#) [All](#)

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Activity  Donations  Spending  
 Types  Filing

Dollar Amounts

to

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**Candidates & PACs** ▾

Types  Candidates  PACs

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**Contests** (Candidates Only) ▾

**Donors & Donations** ▾

**Vendors & Spending** ▾

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## Ammon Bundy

Jump to: [Activity](#) [About](#)

Candidate for Governor - District SW

*In This Search...*

**3,096 Donors** gave **\$960,720** to this candidate.  
 This candidate spent **\$965,570** on **443 Vendors**.



- Donated to Candidates
- Spent by Candidates
- Donated to PACs
- Spent by PACs

**7,596 activity items** for this candidate. Showing 1,000 Sort: [Date \(Newest\)](#) | ▾ Download: Share:

- 2023 Jan 10 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2022 Governor filed a **2022 December-Annual Report**.  
[Show Activity](#)
- 2023 Jan 10 **Ammon Bundy** U - Governor filed a **Timed Contribution Report**.  
[Show Activity](#)
- 2023 Jan 9 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2022 Governor amended a **2022 November Report**.  
[Show Activity](#) Cash: \$1,929.24 Loans: \$141,479.19
- 2022 Dec 31 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2022 Governor spent **\$14.95** on turboSMTP Ads (Broadcast).
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** donated **\$163,286.46** to **Ammon Bundy** U - 2022 Governor.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - Governor paid off **\$40,000** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$5,000** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - Governor paid off **\$1,500** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - Governor paid off **\$1,344.97** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - Governor paid off **\$959.36** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$21,800** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$11,000** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$26,208.56** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$10,000** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 0 Governor paid off **\$6,389.72** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 0 Governor paid off **\$1,500** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$1,500** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$4,000** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020.P Governor paid off **\$1,777** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.
- 2022 Dec 30 **Ammon Bundy** U - 2020 Governor paid off **\$1,500** in loan debt from **Ammon Bundy**.

### About Candidate Ammon Bundy for Governor - District SW

Mailing Address  
**P.O. Box 370  
 Emmett ID 83617**

Campaign Status  
**Terminated**

Treasurer Name  
**Ammon Bundy**

Treasurer Mailing Address  
**P.O. Box 370  
 Emmett ID 83617**

County of Registration  
**Statewide**



## BUSINESS SERVICES

- 📍 450 N. 4th Street  
Boise, ID 83702
- ✉ P.O. Box 83720  
Boise, ID 83720-0080
- ☎ (208) 334-2301
- ✉ business@sos.idaho.gov
- ✉ ntaa@sos.idaho.gov
- ☎ (208) 334-3191 (UCC)
- ✉ ucc@sos.idaho.gov

- 🕒 **HOURS:**  
Monday — Friday 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.
  - » Corporations, LLC's and ABN's
  - » UCCs and Liens
  - » Notary, Apostilles, and Authentications
  - » Trademarks
  - » Address Confidentiality Program (ACP)
  - » Health Care Directives
  - » Will Registry
  - » Fiscal Office



## ELECTIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

- 📍 700 W. Jefferson St., Room E205  
Boise, ID 83702
- ✉ P.O. Box 83720  
Boise, ID 83720-0080
- ☎ (208) 334-2852 (elections)
- ✉ elections@sos.idaho.gov

- 🕒 **HOURS:**  
Monday — Friday 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.  
Closed daily — 12 p.m. to 1 p.m.
  - » Secretary of State
  - » Elections, Campaign Finance, and Lobbyist
  - » Government Services
  - » Tort Claims



**IDAHO**  
Secretary of State's Office

## MAIN PHONE NUMBER

**(208) 334-2300**

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If you need immediate help to defend your rights, please login to the site and contact your Area Assistants directly.

### Address

PO Box 370  
Emmett, ID 83617

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Contact

