

The Modern American Militia Movement:
A Survey of the Sheriff's Departments of Mahoning and Trumbull Counties in Ohio

by

David G. Workley

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Mahoning and Trumbull Counties

David G. Workley

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Signature:

David G. Workley
David G. Workley

7-15-02
Date

Approvals:

Eric See
Eric See, Ph.D., Thesis Advisor

7-15-02
Date

Tammy A. King
Tammy A. King, Ph.D.

7-15-02
Date

Gordon G. Frissora
Gordon G. Frissora, Ph.D.

15 Jul 02
Date

Peter J. Kasvinsky
Peter J. Kasvinsky, Ph.D., Dean of Graduate Studies

7/31/02
Date

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Abstract

The purpose of this project was to analyze local law enforcement's attitude toward the modern militia movement. It was hypothesized that law enforcement personnel would consider the militia movement to be a serious threat to themselves and their agencies. The Sheriff departments of Trumbull, Mahoning, and Columbiana counties of Ohio were asked to participate. The sheriff's department of Columbiana county did not respond. A nine question survey was administered to thirty-nine (39) volunteers from the sheriff departments of Trumbull and Mahoning counties. The instrument was designed to assess participants views and opinions of the militia movement. The results did not support the hypothesis. The participating officers did not regard the modern militia movement as a credible threat.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In the summer of 1990, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) decided to offer Randy Weaver a choice: turn government informant or face federal weapons charges. He refused. Half a year later, he was arrested for federal weapons charges, but did not show up for his trial in February 1991. His case was turned over to the United States Marshals Service which immediately began electronic and visual surveillance of the Weaver cabin in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. Friday, August 21, six marshals were checking monitors and surveying the Weaver property. Randy Weaver, Sammy Weaver, their friend Kevin Harris, and their dog Striker are out hunting deer. The dog sensed the marshals and charged off in their direction with the Weaver men and Harris closely following, hoping the dog caught the scent of deer. The dog located the marshals and closed in on them. The marshals fired upon and killed the animal thinking it was attacking. Sammy Weaver, having seen his dog killed by the marshals, raised his rifle and fired. A brief, yet savage firefight ensued.

When the smoke cleared, Sammy Weaver and U.S. Marshal William Degan lay dead. A standoff had begun. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) moved in and took control of the case. The FBI Hostage Rescue Team (HRT) was one of the assets the Bureau brought to Idaho complete with several well trained sniper teams. Special Agent in Charge, Gene Glenn, altered the sniper rules of engagement. FBI snipers are allowed to

fire only if the target is posing an immediate threat, or if the life of another agent or innocent victim is in imminent danger. Special Agent Glenn ordered the snipers to fire on sight, in essence giving them a license to kill. An armed Randy Weaver and Kevin Harris attempted to check on the body of Randy's son, which had been placed in a shed next to the cabin. An FBI sniper fired on Randy Weaver, wounding him in the side. Another sniper took aim at Harris and fired, missing him entirely. The bullet struck Vicki Weaver squarely in the head, killing her instantly. She had been bracing the cabin door open for the two men while holding her youngest child, Elisheba, in her arms. Fragments from the bullet and Vicki Weaver's skull struck Harris, wounding him. A few days later, after intense negotiations, Randy Weaver surrendered.

Weaver and Harris had their day in court in April of 1993. When the case was over, Weaver was acquitted on all charges but the original, failing to appear in court. He received four months in jail. The FBI did not fair as well. They were forced to pay the surviving members of the Weaver family 3.1 million dollars in damages for the wrongful death of Vicki Weaver (Neiwert, 1999, p. 63-67.)

Sunday, February 28, 1993, two cattle trailers quickly approached a remote ranch in Waco, Texas. The trailers belonged to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF). The ranch belonged to a religious group known as the Branch Davidians. The ATF was there to arrest the leader of the Davidians for illegal weapon possession charges. The name of the man was Vernon Wayne Howell, but he would be remembered as David Koresh. Koresh had been stockpiling arms and ammunition, believing that the government was going to attack him. Ironically, he was correct. The ATF agents assaulted the

compound only to be repulsed by a hail of bullets. In the sixty minute firefight four ATF agents were killed with twenty four wounded while the Davidians lost six members. Another law enforcement standoff had begun. Once again the Federal Bureau of Investigation took over the situation, beginning a siege that was to last for 51 days. During that time FBI crisis negotiators verbally dueled with Koresh over theology and surrender, with neither side gaining ground. Helicopters and armored vehicles commandeered by the FBI relentlessly patrolled the skies and grounds of the Davidian compound. Rock music blared while high power search lights blazed through doors and windows denying the Davidians any hope of rest. Fifty-one days later, on April 19, 1993, the FBI moved in with tanks equipped with tear gas projectors. The Bureau was attempting to flush the Davidians out. For six hours the tanks pumped tear gas into the buildings on the compound, but it was to no avail. The Davidians were well prepared with gas masks and met the tanks with bursts of gunfire in an attempt to drive the FBI back. Shortly before noon, smoke was seen billowing out of the compound. Flames began to explode from windows as the compound was quickly consumed in a wind fanned inferno. When it was over, the bodies of David Koresh and 75 of his followers were pulled from the charred wreckage. Twenty-five of the bodies were children. The actions of the Bureau during the 51 day siege were scrutinized by the legal system and public alike. Whatever sparked the fatal fire, be it suicidal intent by the Davidians or an accident by the FBI, remains controversial to the present day (Boyle, 1995, p. 246-257).

At 9:02 AM, Wednesday, April 19, 1995, a Ryder rental truck carrying 4800 pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer mixed with fuel oil pulled up along the curbside of

the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The driver exited the vehicle, looked about and quickly disappeared into the early morning rush hour. Three minutes later the device exploded, shearing off the facade of the nine story building. The interior offices, once bustling with human activity, were rendered into lifeless gaping holes. One hundred and sixty eight people were killed by the blast. Hours later the man believed responsible for the worst act of domestic terrorism on American soil, Timothy McVeigh, was captured. From his arrest to his execution, McVeigh adamantly proclaimed he acted alone, lashing out against a corrupt government bent on the destruction of its citizenry (Tomajczyk, 1997, p. 9).

What is the significance of these events? Why should they be regarded as important? To many Americans, the events at Ruby Ridge and Waco were attacks by the federal government against its own people. They were battles in a war to curtail and destroy the fundamental rights enjoyed by Americans since the end of the Revolutionary War. The Oklahoma City bombing is viewed by many as a retaliatory strike against a tyrannical government. For those who believe the government is attempting to destroy constitutional freedoms, there is no recourse but to fight. Loose groups of individuals band together forming 'patriotic' organizations in order to resist. Funds are raised, arms are gathered, and individuals are trained. These groups become more militaristic in nature and begin to be called 'militias'. In numbers, they not only find strength, but courage as well. They begin to speak out against the government, knowing it will draw attention to themselves. They begin to espouse their own views as well, some good, some evil. They speak of preserving the Constitution while eliminating gestapo-like agencies such as the

Internal Revenue Service and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. Some militias wish to separate the people by their skin-tone or religious beliefs (Bristow, 1998, p. 83-84).

For the majority of American history, the word 'militia' has invoked both patriotism and respect. Images of the Minutemen who drove back the British at the battles of Lexington and Concord, the citizen soldiers who held the Union together at Gettysburg, defeated fascism in Germany and held communism in check for three decades are examples of this respect. All these acts of valor were performed by men and women who voluntarily put aside their lives and picked up the tools of the soldier. The vast wartime numbers of the United States Army are primarily composed of state National Guard units which evolved from early state militias. It was only during the decade of the 1990s that the American militia tradition has become tarnished (Bristow, 1998, p. 80).

The modern militia movement is a credible threat, one that needs serious consideration by American law enforcement agencies. Modern militias are dangerous. Members are often heavily armed, owning several varieties of firearms (Snow, 1999, p. 15). Assault weapons are favored because of their capacity to put out a high rate of fire in properly trained hands. Since the passing of several new gun laws during the Clinton presidency, civilian purchases of nearly any type of assault weapon has been banned. Automatic weapon ownership by civilians was curtailed during the Reagan era, however the millions of automatic weapons purchased before that ban are still legal, as are any weapons sold between civilians. Illegal modification of legally purchased semi-automatic

weapons is a serious problem. They become fully automatic and capable of spitting out a hail of bullets with greater speed than a semi-automatic weapon (Snow, 1999, p. 83).

The militaristic organization and training of modern militias makes them dangerous as well. Many organizations train for all manner of armed conflict. Guerilla warfare is stressed, but no type of combat is ignored. Woodland combat, winter combat and urban combat are all studied. Ambush techniques are learned and practiced. Police tactics and organization are often studied so militiamen will know better how to defeat them. Marksmanship is of extreme importance as many automatic weapons desired by militia members are no longer legally available. This means accuracy of fire becomes more important than volume of fire. A militiaman with a bolt action rifle is in a quandary squaring off against a police officer armed with an M-16 assault rifle. The militiaman's rifle fires only one round with each pull of the trigger. The bolt must be worked in order to eject the spent round and load a fresh one. It is difficult to reload and will only carry five rounds total. The police officer's M-16 can fire one or three bullets with each pull of the trigger. There is no bolt that needs to be worked between shots; the officer only needs to pull the trigger. Finally, the M-16 can be loaded with magazines that can carry five, twenty, thirty, or fifty rounds of ammunition. Militiamen believe it is a necessity to become an expert marksman when faced with such an enemy. The first shot against such a well armed opponent may be the only shot a militiaman may get. This concept is drilled into militia members constantly. Whenever possible, militia members will gather and practice military maneuvers and tactics during all sorts of weather in all sorts of terrain, often using large tracts of land legally purchased by members or by the organization itself.

This enables the militia to not only practice their combative arts legally, but more importantly it allows them to practice and prepare in secret. Often these compounds serve as more than boot camps and rifle ranges. They often serve as secret weapons caches, fortresses, and munitions plants where ammunition and explosive devices are made and tested (Dees & Corcoran, 1996, p. 222-223; Tomajczyk, 1997, p. 55-60).

Another facet of the militia movement that makes them dangerous is their collective knowledge of the Constitution, the law, and technology. Militia leaders know what they can and cannot do in public and turn it to their advantage. Gun shows and survivalist expos are often militia supermarkets and recruiting drives in disguise. Items such as weapons, ammunition, military manuals, survival gear, uniforms and the like can be legally bought and sold at these events if the proper forms have been filed within the state. Seminars on the 'New World Order', government tyranny, or whatever the main belief of the organization is can be freely espoused to a crowd of potential recruits because of the 'free speech' clause of the first amendment (Snow, 1999, p.79-81,139; Dees et. al., 1996, p.71, 79).

The Internet is also used as a recruiting tool, reaching far and wide across the world to potential recruits they could not otherwise reach. Utilizing the two word phrase 'militia groups' on any internet search engine will provide a bounty of sites. The website Google lists 112,00 sites. The sites Webcrawler and Lycos list 112,719 and 71,224 militia related sites respectively. Besides propaganda and recruitment, the internet provides a secure means of communication for the militias as well. Secure 'chat rooms' and e-mail

encryption make it difficult for anyone to monitor them. This and all the other factors listed previously make the modern militia movement a threat indeed.

Summary

The modern militia movement is a credible threat to law enforcement agencies and their personnel. This thesis will discuss in depth the factors that make the militia movement so dangerous. It hypothesizes that law enforcement personnel consider it a serious threat to themselves and their agencies.

Chapter 2

Historical Review

Origins of the Militia Movement

The modern American militia movement has its origins in Colonial times. During this era, the militia was the only real defense against attack for the colonists. Service was mandatory for all male adults and they were required to supply their own weapons and uniforms. Financial support from the local government or the Crown was nonexistent. During the American Revolution, militias were the primary military forces used at the battles of Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill. The famed 'Minutemen' were the early militia's version of a rapid deployment force. As more colonies joined the war effort the Continental Army became a standing organization, which forced the militias into a more supporting role. In an ironic twist, the militias became prominent again when the country was unable to fund a post-war army (Bristow, 1998, p.80).

In 1792, Congress made dramatic changes with the passing of the Uniform Militia Act. The act formalized the militia system. The act gave the President the power to call the militia to duty for three months at a time. The act also dictated guidelines on organization and enrollment in the militia. White males ranging in age from 18 to 45 years of age were required to serve and provide their own arms and equipment, which were

minimal. They were to have in their homes at all times a musket, bayonet, belt, spare flints, knapsack, shotpouch with twenty rounds, and a powderhorn. The Uniform Militia Act also provided exemptions to military service. These exemptions still exist today. U.S. Code Title 10, subtitle A, part 1, chapter 13 , section 12 lists these exemptions:

- 1) the Vice-President of the United States,
- 2) judicial and executive officers of the United States and its territories,
- 3) members of standing armed forces,
- 4) customhouse clerks,
- 5) mailcarriers and employees of the postal service,
- 6) workers in armories, arsenals and naval shipyards,
- 7) pilots on navigable waters (river boat and harbor pilots), and
- 8) merchantmen in service of the United States ([www.4 law.cornell.edu/uscode](http://www.4law.cornell.edu/uscode)).

The Act also required financial reimbursement for service for the first time. Governors of the states had the authority to appoint officers, or the men themselves could elect their leaders. These reforms could not stop the decay of the militia system. From 1800 to just before the start of the American Civil War, the militias were on the decline. Volunteers began to disappear as the Federal Army once again became a standing organization. In the wake of this, the first 'private militias' began to form. These were groups of men who wished to belong to a fraternal military-based organization without the burden of joining the army. Many groups were organized along either ethnic or political lines. Some militia units became famous for their precision marching and drill formations. Other units became well known for their flamboyant, if militarily useless, uniforms. Rich patrons often created

their own 'private armies' to fulfill a desire to be seen as a great leader or to gain some political or social standing (Bristow, 1998, p.81). Many of these private militias voluntarily joined while others were absorbed by the United States Army during the Civil War.

At the conclusion of the Civil War many changes to the American militia system were congressionally enforced (Bristow, 1998, p. 82). The existing militias were taken over by the federal government, receiving both federal funding and equipment. This is the earliest appearance of the National Guard concept. There were changes made to Presidential power over the militia as well. There were neither time nor territorial limits to a Presidential call-up. This was seen as a problem by the states as a prolonged activation seriously depleted the manpower reserve of the states during times of crisis. The organized militias were becoming more of an 'army reserve.' The primary focus was on combat instead of disaster and disorder control. The states reacted by creating 'professional militias' which were independent of the national guard and federal government. There were no ties nor obligations to the federal government as these new organizations were state funded. The federal government took no offense to what the states had done and authorized the use of army uniforms with state insignia. Each state was also to codify the creation of its militia. Section 5923.01 of the Ohio Revised Code provides an excellent example:

5923.01 Composition and organization of state militia; definitions; troop limitation.

Text of Statute

A) The Ohio organized militia consists of all citizens of the state who are not permanently handicapped, as handicapped is defined in section 4112.01 of the Revised Code, who are more than seventeen years, and not more than sixty seven years, of age unless exempted as provided in section 5923.02 of the Revised Code, and who are members of the following:

- 1) The Ohio national guard
- 2) The Ohio naval militia
- 3) The Ohio military reserve

B) The Ohio national guard, including both the Ohio air national guard and the Ohio army national guard, the Ohio naval militia, and the Ohio military reserve are known collectively as the Ohio organized militia.

C) The Ohio naval militia and the Ohio military reserve are known collectively as the state defense forces.

D) The unorganized militia consists of those citizens of the state as described in division (A) of this section who are not members of the Ohio organized militia.

This bill number; S.B. 130, became effective as of 09/18/97 (orc.avv.com/title-59/sec-5923).

It is interesting to note that every able bodied citizen, both male and female, who are not members of federal or state forces are members of the unorganized forces. This literally means that any person who can tote a weapon could be called up to serve if the situation was dire enough. The State militias that were formed served both their states and country as well. Many units volunteered to fight in both the first and second world wars, aiding in natural disasters, and civil disorder. The term 'militia' was eventually going to be synonymous with terrorist. From this point on, the terms 'militia,'

'militiaman' and 'patriot' will be used to describe those members of organizations who in the last decade have fomented distrust of the government, racial disharmony, and perpetrated such acts as the Oklahoma City bombing.

The modern militia began to make its presence felt during the 1990s. They are called militias, yet in truth they are private armies with the following characteristics. When performing 'official functions' they are in 'uniform'. They operate within a military style hierarchy and are identified by rank. They are under neither state nor federal control and are organized and funded primarily by private individuals or organizations (Bristow, 1998, p.83). The modern militiaman has a deep hatred and suspicion of the federal government; a government they feel has thrown away the Constitution and is becoming more socialistic in nature. Modern militia members feel that less government is better as "individual liberties are best protected by individuals" (Snow, 1999, p.34). They regard the Constitution as equal to the Bible in most respects. Both are to be viewed as sacred and inviolable. The majority of militia members regard what they call the 'organic constitution' to be the only true law of the land. The 'organic constitution' consists of the main body of text combined with the bill of rights (Niewert, 1999, p.11). The rest of the amendments are viewed with suspicion, being regarded as outdated or illegal. According to the militia, five amendments of particular interest are to be eliminated. The amendments are as follows:

Amendment XIII (ratified December 6th, 1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Amendment XV (ratified February 3rd, 1870)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Amendment XVI (ratified February 3rd, 1913)

The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII (ratified April 8th, 1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XIX (ratified August 18th, 1920).

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex (US Constitution).

These are the amendments that eliminated slavery, gave minorities the right to vote, created the income tax, gave state governors the power to appoint senators, and gave women the right to vote. Many self proclaimed ‘patriots’ call the elimination of these amendments “restoring the constitution”. In reality it is an attempt to return to the time when only white, Anglo-Saxon males had rights (Niewert, 1999, p.34-35).

Modern militias often have different goals. Some militias view themselves as modern guardians, preserving civil liberties against a tyrannical federal government or international conspiracies. Others wish to break away from the union and create a new

nation based on their political, religious, or racial views. The more extreme of the groups wish to dispose of the federal government entirely.

Militia Conspiracy Beliefs

Beliefs are an integral part of the modern militia movement. These beliefs are primarily divided into two categories, conspiratorial and religious. This system of beliefs influences how militia members view the world, usually in a negative light. Conspiratorial beliefs usually focus on plots carried out by the federal government against its own citizens. The Federal Reserve system is a favorite target. The Federal Reserve was created in 1913 and is essentially the central bank of the United States. It is a unique organization due to the fact that it is not owned nor controlled by the federal government. It has a monopoly over the control of both interest rates and the size of the money supply in the United States. The Federal Reserve also has control over the U.S. Mint by way of their exclusive license to print money (Still, 1990, p.150). The Federal Reserve answers to no one. Militia conspiracists believe today's currency is worthless as there is nothing to back it up. Franklin Roosevelt took the United States off the gold standard during the great depression in order to print more money to aid the economy. The U.S. dollar has had nothing of value to back it up since (Niewert, 1999, p.12).

The Federal Reserve conspiracy actually ties into a larger conspiracy theory, the "holy grail" to militia conspiracists. The New World Order. This is a blanket title given to a multitude of conspiracy beliefs. The main recurring theme is the domination and

destruction of the United States. The first theory ties in with the Federal Reserve. Conspiracy theorists believe the Federal Reserve is involved in a plot to take over the world via the financial systems. A cabal of powerful financiers with names like Rockefeller and Rothschild are slowly converting the workers of the world into a slave class subservient to the ultra-rich (Snow, 1999, p. 43).

The United Nations (UN) plays a central role in the New World Order conspiracy, primarily the role of the enemy. Believers claim the UN plans to invade the United States to enslave the population and create a world wide dictatorship. The United States is to be divided into eleven regions, each under the nominal control of a UN backed power. This master plan was discovered when the information was leaked out on the back of a box of 'Kix' cereal in 1993. A map showing the United States divided into eleven geographic regions illustrating sites of interest. It is important to note this map showed the location of United Nations headquarters in New York, but failed to provide the location of Washington, D.C. (Snow, 1999, p.43). According to promoters of this theory, the UN is secretly gathering foreign troops at hidden locations within the continental United States in order to launch a sneak attack. Believers claim the proof of this can be found on the back of any interstate highway sign. There will be found a colored sticker. These stickers are signposts for non-English speaking troops, the purpose to guide them to their objectives. State governments claim these stickers are there to tell road crews when the signs are to be replaced or removed (Snow, 1999, p. 46-47).

Militia conspiracists claim the UN will not be alone in this endeavor, they will have some inside help with this task. Street gangs, primarily the Crips and the Bloods

from Los Angeles, will combine with a group known as 'Task Force 2000' in order to search for dissidents and seize guns. Task Force 2000 is supposed to be a combination of military and law enforcement personnel who are secretly training with the UN (Snow, 1999, p.44). The citizens who had been rounded up would then be taken to concentration camps that have been secretly constructed throughout the United States under the auspices of the UN. According to militia theorists, there are 43 such camps distributed around the country.

When pressed for proof, many militiamen point to the Amtrak repair facility in Beech Grove, Indiana. Amtrak is the only passenger railroad still operating in the United States. This is possibly due to the huge subsidies it receives from the U.S. government, which dovetails nicely with the militia's anti-government rhetoric. Conspiracy believers point out several details of the facility to support their views. The barbed wire surrounding the facility leans inward instead of outward. This would be done to keep people inside the compound, not outside of it. Militia conspiracists point to the large windsock and radio antenna on the roof of the main building. They claim these would be used to guide helicopters transporting prisoners into the compound. The final claim by these conspiracy theorists are the military vehicles reputed to have been seen within the compound. According to Captain Robert Snow of the Indianapolis Police Department, of which Beech Grove is a suburb, there is no direct evidence of the facility being used for anything other than repairing passenger trains (Snow, 1999, p.43-45, 141-142).

Attacks by the United Nations are not the only conspiracy militia members espouse. Another favorite is the shadow government that is attempting to either aid the UN in their goal of conquest or take the country for themselves. This secret government has many names, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the Trilateral Commission (TLC), and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). The CFR first met in the Harold Pratt House in New York City in 1921. Powerful personalities were, and still are, invited to join the exclusive organization. Bankers, business magnates and even former presidents are included in their ranks (Snow, 1999, p.49). The purpose of the organization is to create and sustain peaceful and mutually beneficial international relations. Militia conspiracy theorists believe the CFR is out for nothing less than world domination. They refer to a CFR publication released in 1959 entitled Study No. 7. Basic Aims of U.S. Foreign Policy. This study urged the United States to “build a new international order” and “maintain and increase the authority of the United Nations” (Still, 1990, p.157). A memo written in 1975 by Admiral Chester Ward, Judge Advocate General of the United States Navy, stated the goal of the CFR was the “submergence of U.S. sovereignty and national independence into an all powerful one world government” (Still, 1990, p.157). The Trilateral Commission is a smaller, more exclusive version of the CFR. Militia conspiracists believe it has the same agenda as the CFR, so it is not worth expounding any further on it. Of all the organizations the Federal Emergency Management Agency is the one that militiamen trust the least.

FEMA was created by executive order of President Jimmy Carter in 1978. An executive order becomes a law simply by being published in the national registry. This

bypasses both the legislative and judicial branches of the government, either of which could prevent it from becoming law. FEMA's primary purpose was to aid American citizenry in times of disaster whether natural or man-made. It was eventually revealed that the true purpose of FEMA was to provide a back-up government network in case of nuclear war (Snow, 1999, p.50). A series of presidential executive orders have given FEMA broad power. In the event of a declared national emergency of prolonged duration, such as a nuclear war or invasion of the United States, FEMA can take direct control of the country. FEMA would have absolute authority over the nations communication facilities, overriding the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). FEMA also would have total control of the nations food and power supplies, transportation assets, health care systems, education system, and the civilian labor pool. This overwhelming power feeds the militia paranoia that FEMA is out to take over the nation and enslave its populace. Militia conspiracy theorists claim this is the organization that will run the concentration camps being built in the U.S. (Snow, 1999, p.50). A list of the orders restricting constitutional rights is as follows:

Executive Order 10990-enables the government to seize all forms of transportation including highways and seaports.

Executive Order 10995- enables the seizure of all forms of communication including the private media.

Executive Order 10997- enables the seizure of all forms and sources of power and power production, electrical, gas, petroleum, and mineral.

Executive Order 10998- the government can seize all modes of food production and stockpiles.

Executive Order 11000- government can forcibly mobilize civilians into work brigades under strict supervision.

Executive Order 11001- government seizure of all health, education, and welfare functions and facilities including pharmaceutical stockpiles.

Executive Order 11002- allows the Postmaster General to create and maintain a national registration of all persons within the United States and its territories.

Executive Order 11003- airports, aircraft, and all related facilities are seized, including privately owned.

Executive Order 11004- the Housing and Finance Authority may relocate communities, build facilities with public funds, forcibly abandon areas and establish new locations for civilian populations.

Executive Order 11005- federal government may seize railroads, inland waterways, public storage facilities and any articles associated with them.

Executive Order 11051- gives the Office of Emergency Planning the authorization to implement all executive orders into effect in times of increased international tension and economic or financial crises.

Executive Order 11310-enable the Department of Justice to enforce all plans set out by executive orders, establish judicial liaisons, control all aliens, operate correctional facilities and assist and advise the president.

Executive Order 11049-consolidates twenty one executive orders over a fifteen year period.

Executive Order 11921- enables the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to plan to take control over the means and facilities of production and distribution of energy sources, credit, salaries and wages, flow of money into U.S. institutions in any *undefined* national emergency. When the President declares a national emergency, Congress cannot review these actions for six months. (www.sonic.net/sentinel).

In 1994, President William Clinton issued Executive Order 12919, which consolidated all the previously listed executive orders and strengthened them further by forbidding any type of judicial review. This effectively forbids any lawsuits or

accountability for any actions taken by government agents or agencies should these orders ever be enacted. In effect, this order suspends the constitution and all rights given by it (www.sonic.net/sentinel).

Invasion and world domination theories are not the only conspiracy beliefs that militia members preach. Unidentified flying objects (UFOs), the HAARP project and black helicopters are topics hotly contested within the militias. UFO discussions are primarily focused on the topic of alien abductions. Militia believers claim the federal government allows alien beings to abduct a certain number of citizens per year for experimentation. In return government scientists are given advanced technology (Snow, 1999, p.53).

The High Altitude Atmospheric Research Project (HAARP) is another issue that sends militiamen into a debating frenzy. HAARP is located on a 23 acre lot in the town of Gakona, Alaska. It was completed in 1997 and consists of 180 towers, each 72 feet tall. These towers form a phased array radio transmitting a high power and frequency beam of 2.5 to 10 megahertz at a power of three billion watts (W3nrl.navy.mil/projects/haarp). Militia members claim that the HAARP project is capable of and/or should be blamed for:

- 1) UFO activity,
- 2) power outages in the Western United States,
- 3) the downing of TWA flight 800,
- 4) 'Star Wars' missile defense,
- 5) weather control,

- 6) mind control,
- 7) interference of electronic guidance systems,
- 8) disruption of enemy communication, and
- 9) eavesdrop on any form of electronic communication (www.conspire.com).

The U.S. Navy, on the other hand, claims that HAARP is used for atmospheric research involving the aurora borealis claiming that “ a small known amount of energy is introduced into a specific ionospheric layer for the purpose of studying the complex physical processes that occur in these naturally occurring plasma regions that are created each day by the sun” (W.3nrl.navy.mil/projects/haarp). What can be gained by doing that has yet to be satisfactorily explained by either the U.S. Navy or the modern militia movement.

The final strand of this interconnected web of conspiracies involves the infamous ‘Black Helicopters’ sightings. Proponents of this conspiracy claim aircraft, primarily helicopters, are being used by organizations involved to further their nefarious schemes. A small fleet of various aircraft are involved, all of which are painted black. Some of the aircraft involved are:

- 1) OH-58 Kiowa (observation helicopter), this is the more familiar Jet Ranger. It is a small helicopter used by the military for aerial reconnaissance. Civilian use is primarily for short distance travel.

- 2) UH-1 Iroquois (utility helicopter), this is the venerable Huey made famous during the Vietnam war. It can be used to ferry small amounts of material or ten to twelve men. Many civilian rescue and emergency agencies utilize this helicopter because of its reliability.

- 3) AH-1 Cobra (attack helicopter), this was the U.S. Army’s first purpose built gun ship designed during the Vietnam war, there is no civilian usage of this aircraft.

4) CH-53 Super Stallion (cargo helicopter), this helicopter is designed to carry material for long distances, approximately 700 miles. It can also carry twenty heavily armed men. There is no civilian use of this aircraft.

5) CH-47 Chinook (cargo helicopter), this helicopter is designed to carry heavy equipment, from artillery to bulldozers. It can be easily recognized by the twin fore-and-aft rotors. Civilian construction companies can purchase older models.

6) OV-10 Bronco (observation vehicle), this craft is a small, twin rotary engine aircraft designed for long flight duration with excellent low level flight capability. It is used primarily for reconnaissance and forward observation duty (artillery spotting). Civilian federal law enforcement agencies have access to these aircraft for drug interdiction programs.

7) C-130 Hercules (cargo plane), this is the famous four rotary engine transport plane used by the military to ferry cargo or drop paratroopers. Civilian use is limited to this aircraft being modified to carry water for fighting forest fires. Militia members claim these aircraft are carrying out the plans of the New World Order by ferrying United Nations troops to their secret staging points across the country (www.infocom.com).

Proponents claim these vehicle are also aiding FEMA in its plan to take over the U.S. These aircraft are also blamed for the cattle mutilations that have taken place in the American southwest where these poor creatures are taken mysteriously from the fields and returned days later, dead with eyes, organs and skin removed. Some militia believers claim these aircraft escort the UFOs operating within continental boundaries as per the agreement between the government and the aliens. The government's response is these are dark green National Guard aircraft engaged in either drug interdiction or training flights.

Militia Religious Beliefs

Conspiracies are not the only beliefs held by the modern movement. Religion plays an integral part as well. The majority of militia members are fundamentalist Christians known as 'Dominionists'. They believe the founders of the United States, being Christians, intended the country to be Christian and wrote the Constitution with that purpose in mind. Demagogues, such as the 700 Club's Pat Robertson, continue to pursue that goal by providing the anti-government movement with news and information with a fundamentalist religious slant (Dyer, 1998, p.79). Dominionism is the primary religious view among the modern militias, but it is facing increasing competition from another extreme fundamentalist view, Christian Identity.

Christian Identity originated in Great Britain in the nineteenth century and currently has an estimated three million believers worldwide. Christian Identity has gone by many names such as, British Israelism, Israel Identity, and the Kingdom Message (Dyer, 1998, p.94). Believers proclaimed Great Britain is where the new Kingdom of God will appear and use language to support their position. The very name of their land, Britain, comes from ancient Hebrew *Brith-Ain* which translate as 'covenant land.' *Cellt* or *kellt* refers to the stone knives used to circumcise babies and the word *Celtic* translates to the 'circumcised people.' The weakest support of the language theory comes from the claim that the word *Saxon* is derived from the words "Isaac's sons" (Barnes, Bushart, & Craig, 1998, p.59).

Unfortunately, this concept is not the only one preached by Christian Identity. Christian Identity also endorses the concept of 'racialism.' Racialism has the goal of keeping all racial identities pure by keeping them separate (racial segregation). Believers proclaim that Adam was the first 'white man' created by God. Once again using language to support their belief. The ancient Hebrew words *aw-dawm* translate as meaning "of ruddy complexion" or "blood in the face" (Barnes, 1998, p.45). Satan is misrepresented as a serpent according to Identity beliefs. The Hebrew word *nachash* is mistranslated as 'serpent', when Identity proponents claim it means 'magician' or 'enchanter'. Believers claim that Eve was seduced by Satan and her sin was sexual. Cain was the result of the coupling of Eve and Satan whereas Abel was the result of the union of Adam and Eve. Identity believers claim this is why Cain and his offerings were rejected by God eventually leading to the murder of his brother Abel (Barnes, 1998, p 45-48). This is what later became known as the Seedline Doctrine which contains multiple tenets which explains the Christian Identity faith. These tenets are:

- 1) Yahweh is the one and only living God.
- 2) The Bible is the history, covenant and prophecy of an elect family who are the children of God through Adam's seedline.
- 3) Jesus is the son of God who ascended to heaven and now rules with God.
- 4) Membership in the church is by Divine selection, only those called by God can believe and hear His voice.
- 5) Baptism and circumcision are God's covenants with man.
- 6) God chose a special race above all others, children of Abraham through Isaac and Jacob who will inherit the Kingdom of God.

- 7) The white Anglo-Saxon Germanic people are the true children of Israel.
- 8) Believe in the existence of Satan whose seed are the Jews.
- 9) Adam is the father of the white race only.
- 10) As the chosen race, whites are to be segregated from all non-white races. Race mixing is an abomination as it is a satanic attempt to destroy the chosen seed.
- 11) Theocracy is the only perfect government as God's divine law is superior to man's, all the world's problems are a result of disobedience to God.
- 12) Men and women should conduct themselves in the roles of their gender. Homosexuality is an abomination that should be punished by death.
- 13) God WILL establish His kingdom on earth (Barnes, Bushart & Craig, 1998, p.76-78).

It is important to note that Christian Identity is closely associated with white supremacist and racist groups within the United States primarily because of the amount of media attention given to these groups. Many white supremacist/racist organizations also can qualify as modern militia groups due to their militaristic organization and practices. The Ku Klux Klan and the White Patriot Party have operated and are believed to continue operating paramilitary training camps (Dees et al, 1996, p. 99, 222-223). The now defunct Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA) organization maintained compounds in both Arkansas and Missouri. The CSA was a neo-nazi style group whose Missouri compound was 224 acres in size and was used to train members in urban combat, close-quarter battle tactics, and survival skills. When authorities raided the compound they found heavy machine guns, grenades, landmines, and a laboratory producing cyanide (Tomajczyk, 1997, p. 27, 58-60).

Christian Identity did not become widely known in the United States until it was introduced by Wesley Swift of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian who adhered to the main tenets of Identity with the exception that America was the new 'promised land' (Neiwert, 1999, p.53). Swift died in 1971 and his Church was taken over by one of his disciples, Richard Butler. Butler brought change to the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. He purchased 20 acres of land in Hayden Lake, Idaho in an attempt to create an all-white homeland that came to be known as the 'Aryan Nations' (Neiwert, 1999, p.53). While primarily a white supremacist group, Aryan Nations qualifies as a modern militia group because of its strong anti-government stance and militaristic inclinations. Aryan Nations is known to have spawned two of the most violent anti-government groups in recent history, the Bruders Schweigan and the Phineas Priesthood (Niewert, 1999, p.57, 115).

The Bruders Schweigan, a.k.a. the Silent Brotherhood, saw themselves as freedom fighters struggling to achieve a new nation by destroying the old. Their targets were primarily businesses owned by Jews, and armored cars, both of which they would rob in order to fund their 'revolution.' They took the name 'the Order' and began a violent campaign against any who spoke out against them culminating with the assassination of Jewish talk show host Alan Berg whom they riddled with bullets from a .45 caliber submachine gun (Neiwert, 1999, p.57-58). Shortly after the murder of Berg, the Federal Bureau of Investigation launched a vigorous program to hunt down and prosecute the entire organization.

Even as the Order was being brought to justice, a new, more sinister organization was rising to take its place. The Phineas Priesthood grew out of the few members of the

Order who survived the FBI's purge. They are the most violent of any of the modern militia groups because they are motivated by the word of God, based on Numbers 25 from the Bible (Amplified Bible, 1995, p.155). Numbers 25 tells the story of Phineas, a blood relative of Moses, who takes offense at an Israeli man taking up with a Midianite woman. Phineas kills them both with a spear and receives God's praises for it. What espousers of Christian Identity fail to reveal is the plot the Midianites were carrying out against Israel via their women (Amplified Bible, 1995, p. 155). Members of the Phineas Priesthood see themselves as the modern enforcers of God's law. To accomplish their mission, they will kill homosexuals, civil rights leaders, and race mixers. Abortion clinics and civil rights centers are to be bombed while banks are to be robbed for the finances necessary to carry out their crusade (Neiwert, 1999, p.117).

The ultimate purpose of organizations such as the Order, the Phineas Priesthood, and the Church of Jesus Christ Christian is to create a new nation for themselves and fellow Christian Identity believers. Louisiana House of Representative member David Duke, once a high ranking member of the Ku Klux Klan, created a map of how the United States was to be divided into these new, smaller nations based on race. New names would dominate the landscape of the North American continent. West Israel (Jews), New Africa (African Americans), Navahona (Native Americans), New Cuba (Hispanics), Alta California (Mexicans), East Mongolia (Asians), and finally Minoria for any minorities not covered by the other 'nations' would be formed. The largest of these new nations would be for white Aryans only. This 'Bastion' has even had a new set of

laws drawn up entitled the “Platform for the Aryan National State.” The articles are as follows:

Article 1) Only Aryans will be citizens able to vote, conduct business, hold office, serve militarily, enforce law, be free of taxation, no interest loans, have equal rights and be free to work as they choose.

Article 2) Non-citizens can visit, but only under custodianship of a citizen.

Article 3) Jews are to leave the Republic, their wealth to be redistributed. Promoters of Judaism and Communism are guilty of a capital offense.

Article 4) Judaism, devil, pagan, and heathen worship is to end immediately. True Christianity is to be expanded.

Article 5) Education will be the responsibility of the parents and citizens. Curriculum will consist of white, Aryan heritage, arts, sciences, and humanities.

Article 6) All media personnel will be citizens. Non-Aryan media will be controlled by the government with appropriate cultural commentary. Circulation of material non-conducive to national welfare is prohibited.

Article 7)The government will:

- a) protect racial purity;
- b) defend national territory;
- c) promote industrial livelihood;
- d) initiate nutritional food program in order to eliminate poisonous practices endangering life and environment;
- e) support small businesses and farms;
- f) restore property stolen by ‘usury bankers’;
- g) care for elderly and impoverished by fraud;
- h) clear out welfare parasites created by modern political parties;
- i) make the killing of whites by non-whites a death penalty offense;
- j) confiscate wealth earned by usury or fraud, but preserve the rights of lawful inheritance;
- k) multi-national trusts will be nationalized; land and industry ownership by aliens will be prohibited;
- l) the present, privately owned Jewish owned Federal Reserve monetary system will be abolished and replaced with a system of fair and equitable set of weights and measures;
- m) cease the arming and feeding of enemy nations, force them to purchase our food and technology;

n) all alliances and treaties with non-white nations will be annulled.

Article 8) War shall be waged on all those who dishonor or injure the nation.

Article 9) The current 'Jew-Merchant' materialistic judicial system is to be replaced with a God ordained system of racially inherent Anglo-Saxon Common Law.

Article 10) In order to implement these changes, racial self respect must be renewed in the knowledge of God's Eternal Natural Law Order and the will to return to it with heart, soul, and mind is imperative (Barnes, Bushart, & Craig, 1998, pp.201-203).

It is important to stress the fact that racially motivated supremacist groups can be categorized as militias when they meet the proper criteria. If a white supremacist group, such as the Aryan Nations, practices military maneuvers, has a rank structure, and is uniformed, it is a militia. On the converse, not all militias are white supremacist groups. Generally, if a militia group espouses overthrowing the current government to install a 'Christian' one, racial separation, apocalyptic views, or religiously influenced New World Order beliefs then the organization probably has seedline/Christian Identity religious views. If the militia group claims to be protecting the Constitution, the second amendment, civil liberties/state's rights, or is against 'big' government or anti-FEMA then the members are probably not seedline/Christian Identity believers. Neiwert (1999) raises an interesting point about the modern militia viewpoint. It is remarkably similar to fascism. Modern militias and fascists both :

- 1) wish to create new states based on traditional principles or models, i.e. religion or race.
- 2) wish to create radical changes in the nations relationship with others.

- 3) have idealist, voluntary creeds involving attempts to realize a new form of culture.
- 4) possess an anti-liberal, anti-communist, and anti-conservative stance.
- 5) attempt military mobilization of politics with the goal of forming a mass party militia.
- 6) possess a willingness to use violence.
- 7) they stress masculine principles.
- 8) carry on a cult of tradition.
- 9) reject modernism.
- 10) believe in action for actions sake while viewing intellectualism with distrust.
- 11) believe disagreement is treason to the organization.
- 12) fear difference
- 13) appeal to the frustrated middle class.
- 14) have an obsession with international conspiracies.
- 15) are humiliated by wealth of their enemies.
- 16) believe that life is war and reject pacifism.
- 17) possess a contempt for weakness.
- 18) glorify heroism with the purpose of creating an enemy.
- 19) reject parliamentary governments coupled with selective populism (ethnic cleansing, racial segregation).
- 20) use confounding language to confuse others while using coded language with insiders and believers (Neiwert, 1999, p321).

It is frightening to consider the fact that many modern militia groups have the same political viewpoints as the National Socialist Party (Nazi) of world war two era Germany. The question now posed is: who would join an organization with such beliefs and more importantly, why?

Militia Membership and Recruitment

While the exact numbers of militia members are unknown, the majority are white males who have been downsized from their jobs or are stuck in low paying jobs and are unable to obtain better ones. Affirmative action and similar social programs are often blamed as the cause of members' dilemmas (Snow, 1999, p.18, 69). Many topics are used to bring new recruits into the fold. Gun control is a favorite. Other topics include taxation and abuse by the Internal Revenue Service, abortion, welfare, affirmative action, gay rights and illegal immigration to name a few (Snow, 1999, p.64). Recruits come from all segments of society, including minorities. The leader of the Ohio Unorganized Militia, J. J. Johnson, is an African-American (Snow, 1999, p. 65).

Police officers and military personnel, active and veteran, are considered prize recruits. Police officers are valuable for their access to legal information via the department's computers which would give them the ability to alter files or eliminate them completely. Having police officers as members would also give a militia group the ability to conduct subversive activities with no interference by law enforcement or be given early warnings of any legal actions being taken against them (Snow, 1999, p.60).

Where police officers are valuable, military personnel are priceless. Soldiers, especially those who have been members of any Special Forces units, bring important skills necessary to forge civilians into 'proper soldiers'. Marksmanship, small unit combat tactics, demolitions, and hand to hand combat are just a few examples. More importantly, soldiers and veterans often have the weapons and supplies needed by the organization or possess contacts that can acquire them (Snow, 1999, p. 64-66). One example is Operation Longfuse which occurred in 1997. FBI agents arrested one Marine Corps officer and six enlisted personnel for selling military weapons and plastic explosives to civilians. One hundred and fifty pounds of explosives, 50 machine guns, several hundred hand grenades, and antipersonnel mines were confiscated (Snow, 1999, p. 87).

The Midwestern Farm Connection

In recent years, the American Midwestern farmland has become a breeding ground for militia movements and those who would recruit for them. This became possible with the farm crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s. During this turbulent time, independent farmers were encouraged by the federal government to increase the size of their farms and purchase modern equipment. This was easily accomplished with low interest loans partially subsidized by the government. The plan was to produce as much wheat as possible in order to sell it to the now defunct Soviet Union, which announced it was suffering one of its worst wheat harvests in history. When it was discovered the Soviet wheat crop was not in the dire straits the Soviets claimed it to be, the wheat deal fell

through (Dyer, 1998, p15). The American economy was already heading into a recession when the Soviets backed out of the deal, so a troubling situation became a disaster.

Federal Reserve Chairman, Paul Volcker, in an effort to stop the economic backslide, raised interest rates to an all time high. Inflation was stopped but property values began to collapse and interest rates began to skyrocket. The government, which urged farmers to take out huge loans to expand their operations, refused to forgive the debts or offer any relief. When the farmers could not make payments on these monstrous debts, banks began to foreclose. As the situation worsened, many farmers began to commit suicide disguising it as farming accidents in altruistic attempts to save their farms and families (Dyer, 1998, p. 33). Sadly, other forms of violence began to climb as well in the forms of child, spouse, and drug abuse (Dyer, 1998, p. 13).

It is easy to see how the sons and daughters of those farmers could be so easily swayed into the militia movement. A technique used by Christian Identity can often be very persuasive to those who believe they have suffered at the hands of the government. An Identity family will move into an area affected and begin to attend a church that is usually fundamentalist. They will infiltrate church discussion groups and meetings in order to insinuate themselves into the church leadership by becoming elders or deacons. When this is accomplished, the infiltrator will begin to insert Christian Identity doctrine into the meetings to seek out recruits (Dyer, 1998, p.93).

They will often win over recruits by feeding them factual information about how the government turns a blind eye towards the near monopolizing of America's farmland by megacorporations. The world's grain supply is controlled by only eight multinational

companies: Cargill, Continental, ConAgra, Louis Dreyfus, Bunge, Carnac, Mitsui/Cook, and Archer Daniels Midland. Two of these companies; Cargill and ConAgra, along with the Iowa Beef Packers control 80 percent of the beef market (Dyer, 1998, p.112). The Identity infiltrators will foment anti-Semitism by disclosing the fact that many of these multinational corporations are owned by Jewish families (Dyer, 1998, p.112).

Militia recruiters will then tell potential recruits of the laws that exist to prevent such abuse. Laws such as the Clayton and Sherman Antitrust Acts, the Packers and Stockyards Act, and the Robinson - Patman Act. Potential recruits will then be informed of how the government fails to enforce these laws because the majority of politicians receive large campaign fund donations from these corporations. All the corporation asks for in return is government inaction. Another tactic favored by corporate land grabbers is to offer large scholarships to the children of independent farmers in order to break the generational ties to the family farm (Dyer, 1998, p.118). Information such as this will bolster resentment towards those who see themselves as victims of government indifference and corporate greed. Seeking an outlet for their anger, these new recruits will gladly join the local militia as a means to vent their frustration.

Gun Shows and Survival Expositions

Another fertile recruiting ground are the numerous gun, militaria, and preparedness/survival expositions held around the country (Snow, 1999, p.68). These

events are primarily bazaars where gun dealers and buyers meet to haggle, buy, sell, and trade. These expositions are, for the time being, still legal. The majority of people involved in these shows are legitimate businessmen and law abiding citizens. When a militia group becomes involved, the activities become a little shadier. Many groups will set up kiosks exhorting survival preparedness in the event of nuclear war, economic collapse, foreign invasion, or government tyranny. Note how many of the beliefs mentioned earlier neatly tie in with their recruitment technique. Militia members will stand before a group of curious onlookers speaking on one topic or another, subtly weaving in their anti-government stance or racist views keeping an eye open for any potential recruits.

Psychology is utilized as well, as the militiamen appeal to the patriotism of their audience. Members will often be wearing their best fatigues adorned with authentic looking military patches and rank insignia. The American flag will be displayed prominently, either on the wall directly behind the speaker or on staffs to the side. Militiamen will appeal to the audiences sense of belonging by espousing the brotherhood that joining a militia will create. Onlookers are told of the pride and dignity that can be gained by standing up for their rights against those who would oppress them. They are offered the chance to become 'sovereign citizens' which will free them from the tyrannical federal government.

Sovereign citizenship claims the fourteenth amendment created a new type of citizen, one that is under the direct authority of the federal government by 'contractual agreement'. These contracts include getting a social security number and paying income

tax. Those interested in becoming sovereign citizens are sold a packet of legal looking papers that are sent to the federal government essentially renouncing federal citizenship. Sovereign citizens only recognize the citizenship of the state in which they live. Federal income tax is not paid, social security cards are destroyed, and the legal authority of the federal government and its agents is ignored. The more insidious side of sovereign citizenship is that many militias claim minorities, primarily those of African descent, cannot be sovereign citizens. They claim the fourteenth amendment is what made them citizens of the country in the first place, conveniently ignoring the fact that they too were born here (Snow, 1999, p.186).

Sadly, many who have lost their jobs or have been forced into lower paying ones find such rhetoric enticing and willingly join seeking to restore their pride and self esteem. The most important reason that militia members actively recruit at gun shows and survivalist expos is to search for legitimate gun dealers who may be sympathetic to their cause. Should they succeed, the militia would then have access to a cornucopia of weapons that could be obtained without filling out the proper federal paperwork (Snow, 1999, p.86). Recruitment of weapons dealers, police officers, and ordinary civilians provides for many of the movements need: information, safehouses, weapon and food caches, and of course, manpower. While important, none of these assets can be wielded effectively without creating a negative view of the militia and its cause.

Political Connections and Legal Maneuvers

Political and legal influence is needed just as much as ammunition. Since fear of the government is a major force in creating a militia, it is the supreme irony that many militias seek out and find members of that same government to assist their organizations. Many militia leaders have sought out and failed to gain public office. In doing so, many sympathizers already in office have been found at both the state and federal level. State Representative, Debra Whyman of Michigan, has often called for a resolution for state opposition to the 'abdication' of national sovereignty to the United Nations. Matt Brainard, the State Representative of Montana, has sponsored a bill to make armed civilian militias legal in that state. State Representative, Charles Key of Oklahoma, has asked for monetary contributions to pay for an independent grand jury investigation of alleged government involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing (Snow, 1999, p. 169). Don Rogers, State Senator of California, has shown his support for the movement by including his name on militia flyers that support the Ku Klux Klan (Snow, 1999, p. 171).

On the federal level, US Congressman Ron Paul from Texas, sponsored House Resolution 1146 which called for an end to US membership in the UN claiming it is a "worthless drain on our scarce national resources" (Snow, 1999, p. 174). Congressman Paul also called for an end to diplomatic immunity privileges for the UN and its envoys on American soil (Snow, 1999, p.174). US Congresswoman, Helen Chenoweth of Idaho, proposed a law that would force federal agents to obtain permission from local law enforcement personnel before conducting any operations within their local jurisdiction.

She has also sponsored and co-sponsored bills and resolutions that would abolish the IRS, establish English as the official language of the United States, and require that citizenship is not automatically bestowed upon a person at birth unless one of the parents is a US citizen. Not only has she shown her sympathy to the militia movement, she has also given voice to a slight tendency towards racism when she stated, “White men are an endangered species. I absolutely believe that, what with affirmative action and everything” (Snow, 1999, p. 171-2).

With political allies the militia movement has the opportunity to attack the government from within. Many militias have already begun by using the legal system itself. There are three tactics favored by the militia movement. The first, which was explained earlier, is ‘sovereign citizenship.’ Common Law courts are the second preferred tactic. Claiming there is no government higher than the county level, state and federal authority is rejected. Trial courts are formed from militia members and ‘sovereign citizens’ who then use a very narrow selection of English Common Law, Bible verses, US case law, and the Constitution to try ‘offenders’. The ‘offenders’ consist of anyone who disagrees with the militia organization and its goals, primarily government officials and law enforcement officers (Snow, 1999, p.180).

The third and final tactic favored by the militia movement is the filing of phony liens. A lien can be filed against a person’s or agencie’s holdings for indebtedness without bothering to go to court. A militia member can file against a government worker or an agency without having to notify either. When money is taken from the victim, often without their knowing the reason why, the militiaman may then purchase arms and

equipment with the stolen money. The time and manpower involved in identifying, removing, and recovering stolen funds from phony liens can disrupt an agency and deplete its resources. Private individuals suffering from phony lien attacks are often driven into bankruptcy (Snow, 1999, p. 175-186).

Militia Organization

While individual militia groups can pose a threat on the county and state level, they have not yet been able to unify into a cohesive threat on the national level, although several attempts to form a national militia organization have been made. In July of 1995, the first National Command Seminar was held in South Dakota. The seminar quickly folded when it was discovered that one of the leaders was actually an FBI informant. Several months later in October, the second National Command Seminar was held. One hundred militia leaders met in quiet concert to discuss damage control to the militia image after the Oklahoma City bombing (Snow, 1999, p.163-4). One year later, October 1996, another meeting was held. It was a three day event entitled the Third Continental Congress. While the conference did not produce a unified national militia, the attendees did issue a list of grievances against the federal government:

- a) the federal courts are becoming an imperial judiciary which has the habit of violating the peoples sovereignty and rights,
- b) the President is making the office an elected monarchy,

- c) Congress is ignoring the Constitution, having been taken over by uncaring career politicians
- d) the states have abandoned their responsibility to make nothing but gold and silver coin legal tender in the payment of debts (Snow, 1999, p. 159-60).

Another interesting meeting between militia leaders ended with the creation of the Alliance of Southeastern States Militia. This regional militia alliance is composed of groups from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. While retaining their independence, the leaders of these militias have pledged to fight together to oppose any United Nations or New World Order takeover of the United States (Snow, 1999, p. 164).

While these are the major public interactions between militia organizations, authorities believe many more such events are taking place utilizing covert means. This is highly probable since the majority of militia leaders believe that mainstream media and communications venues are controlled by the New World Order. Meeting proposals can be sent using cleverly produced propaganda tapes, fax machines, and the internet. The meeting times are agreed upon and then take place at the appointed time utilizing what has become known as the 'Patriot Network.' The Patriot Network is a series of electronically linked internet bulletin boards from one secure computer to another. These form a communication system that is totally independent of the internet. Militia leaders form their own electronic 'chat rooms' and are able to communicate in 'real time'. Unless a government agent can gain access to one of the computers used, these meetings are totally secure (Snow, 1999, p. 153).

While these overt and covert meetings between militia leaders may seem beneficial to them, there have been serious drawbacks in their attempts to unify the movement. These meetings often draw out radical fringe elements that may be more radically motivated than the mainstream militiaman. During the Third Continental Congress, seven attendees left the conference and formulated a plan to attack the army installation in Fort Hood, Texas claiming it was being used to train UN troops for the inevitable New World Order attack (Snow, 1999, p. 161).

Many militia leaders had negative reactions to attending these conferences. Fears of government surveillance and attack were voiced, as were concerns of being associated with such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations, both of which sent representatives (Snow, 1999, p. 159). Egos were perhaps the best reason for the lack of attendance at national militia meetings. The majority of militia leaders come from relatively obscure, unassuming backgrounds. They enjoy being the center of attention within the group, along with the feelings of importance and authority and become reticent to give them up to a 'higher' authority (Snow, 1999, p. 163). Considering the legal headaches law enforcement agencies and their personnel suffer dealing with local and state militias, a unified national militia would become a nightmare.

While there are 221 known armed civilian militias, the exact numbers of membership are unknown (Snow, 1999, p.17). Snow (1999) proposes there are two main types of militia organizations, open and closed. An open militia is politically active which is almost never involved in any illegal activities. The members are usually known to

the public and the authorities as they attempt to enlighten the masses with their message while reforming society and its laws.

A closed militia engages in criminal activities. They are usually small, sometimes no more than five members. They usually act on their own initiative and answer to no one. Closed militias are made up of two types of cells, the strike cell and the family cell. The strike cell is composed of younger members, usually male. This type of cell carries out the missions. The family cell has another purpose entirely. This cell stockpiles food, weapons, ammunition, and medicine. Information and communications are also provided. The family cell maintains a low profile. They distance themselves from the organization in order to provide a safe haven for the strike cells.

It is important to note that a militia organization can be made up of both the open and closed militia types. An open militia may have members secretly form a closed militia within the larger, open one. The closed militia members will secretly form strike cells along with family cells for logistical support. This is often done without the command structure being aware of it, or with the secret approval of one or more command personnel. This 'two-faced' militia can form for two reasons. The first reason is that members grow disillusioned with the aims of the leaders and decide more radical means are needed to spread the message. The second reason is that one, or all of the militia leaders, decides to secretly form a closed militia within the larger, open one for 'security' reasons. These security reasons can range from protection of the leadership to terror attacks of the groups enemies, real or imagined (Snow, 1999, p. 132, 134-5).

There is a third type of militia that Snow (1999) did not include, although it may be considered a subtype of the closed militia. This militia revolves around a concept called 'leaderless resistance' (Neiwert, 1999, p.29). A unit following this concept will number no more than four to seven people, all known to each other. These groups are totally self sufficient relying on no one for support. No strangers are allowed to join such units, only close friends and relatives are recruited. When the cell doubles in size it will split into two smaller groups and start the process over again. Contact between groups is minimal. This is done to preserve the movement as a whole should a cell member become captured or a cell becomes infiltrated by government agents.

Militia Training

Once a militia group has been formed, it becomes necessary for the membership to learn the skills of the soldier. There are two primary sources of information available to them: military personnel and training manuals. Former or current military personnel are an invaluable resource to militia commanders. A former soldier or current national guardsman brings much needed experience and discipline to the organization. Basic skills such as marksmanship, weapons training, close order drill, and basic first aid can be taught in a relatively short time by an instructor in comparison to attempting to learn them from books alone (Snow, 1999, p. 66-67).

Former members of special military units such as the Army Rangers, Green Berets, the US Navy Seal (Sea, Air & Land) teams, and the US Marine Corps Force

Reconnaissance teams and Scout Snipers, are highly prized among militia groups. These individuals are masters of small unit tactics and guerilla warfare techniques. Stalking, assassination, long term survival in all types of wilderness conditions, ambushing, infiltration and exfiltration methods, long range reconnaissance, booby-trapping, improvised weapons and ordinance, and hand to hand combat are just a few of these skills. One example of such an organization the militia movement has tried to recruit is the Special Forces Underground. This group formed during the Ruby Ridge incident. It is composed of active duty and ex-servicemen with special forces training. Their mission is to place the federal government "back into its constitutional prison" (Dees et al, 1996, p. 215). Fortunately for law enforcement officials, the Special Forces Underground has little faith in the aboveground movement and refuses to cooperate with them.

The movement has had some successes recruiting former special operations troops. The most famous perhaps is Colonel James "Bo" Gritz. Gritz was the most decorated Special Forces commander in the Vietnam conflict. He spent much of the 1980s searching Southeast Asia for evidence of American prisoners of war still being held by the Vietnamese. These missions were financed by former Reform Party Presidential candidate H. Ross Perot. Gritz never did find evidence of any American POWs, but he did find evidence concerning the US government's involvement in the Southeast Asian drug trade during the war. This severely disillusioned Gritz, who then became highly involved with the Patriot/Militia movement (Niewert, 1999, p. 143).

In 1993, Gritz created an organization called SPIKE. SPIKE is an acronym for Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events. SPIKE is a two year long, ten phase

program designed to make any militia group the equal of the US Army's elite counter-terror Delta Force. Classes include stick fighting, counter-terror driving, emergency medical techniques, and one entitled, 'Defense Against Restricted Entry (DARE).' This is better known as burglary (Niewert, 1999, p. 146; Snow, 1999, p. 76). Gritz claims his program is for instructional self-defense purposes.

If military personnel are not readily accessible, then military manuals are another valuable source of training information for militia organizations. These are available from a variety of sources, the internet, gun shows, survivalist expos, and mail order catalogs. Mail order catalogs seem to be the preferred method of obtaining manuals. Gun shows and survivalist expos teem with people, each one a possible government informant. Internet web sites can be monitored by the FBI utilizing tracing programs used to find patrons. Mail order catalogs, a phony name, a post office box, and anonymous money orders leaves no paper trail for the authorities to follow. Some examples of mail-order catalogs used by militia groups are Delta Press Limited, and Shomer-Tec. Delta Press Ltd. specializes in military manuals and equipment. Shomer-Tec has both military and law enforcement equipment available to patrons. The manuals are especially dangerous, as the following topics offered by Delta Press Ltd. catalog volume 48 can attest.

I) Urban Combat, p.4 - this section offers titles such as Safe House, USA: the Urban Survival Arsenal, and Urban Combat. These titles instruct the reader on how to construct hideouts, weapon and ammunition caches, and urban warfare techniques.

II) Exotic and Improvised Weapons, p.8 - manuals and blueprints on the manufacture of homemade firearms (zipguns) and ammunition.

III) Weapon Conversions, p.9 - instructions on the modification of semi-automatic firearms to fully automatic weapons. Manuals focus primarily on the conversion of semi-auto civilian versions of firearms to their full-auto military counterparts such as the AR-15(military M-16), the Israeli Uzi submachine gun series, and finally the family of Soviet era Kalashnikov weapons (AK-47, AK-74, and AKR).

IV) Silencers, p. 10 - manufacture of silencers and sound suppressors to fit nearly any type of firearm from the simplest of components, soda bottles, PVC pipe, and steel wool.

V) Military Science, p.15 - varied manuals on esoteric subjects such as night fighting, counter terror psychology, and one army field manual entitled Elementary Field Interrogation, which is a euphemism for torture.

VI) Sniping, p.19 - many works and manuals on the military art of long distance shooting. The most important of which is The Ultimate Sniper by Major John L. Plaster, US Army Reserve (retired). This is considered the 'bible' of sniping manuals and will be discussed in depth later as to why it is so dangerous.

VII) Anarchist Tactics, p.22 -many manuals and books on the 'science' of revolutionary warfare. The famous, or infamous, Anarchist Cookbook, and the lesser known Poor Man's James Bond series. These works instruct the reader on how to create poisons, defeat metal and lie detectors, and evade pursuit by authorities.

VIII) Explosives, pp.23-25 - instructions on the manufacture and construction of explosive compounds, detonation devices, and delivery systems. Example of these include homemade mortars and butane lighter hand grenades. The most popular of these manuals are the Black Book series which will also be discussed in depth later to illustrate the inherent danger of having these books available.

IX) Booby-traps, p.26 - manuals and blueprints on the construction of deadly traps, the most famous is the US Army's manual FM-5-31.

X) Lockpicking, p.38 - manuals written by police officers and 'reformed' burglars

on how to open nearly any type of lock. Lockpicking tools are also sold in this section.

XI) Survival, pp. 45-49 - offers both military and civilian manuals on how to survive in any environment for an indefinite period of time. Includes manuals on escape and evasion from hostile forces.

In order to further illustrate the danger in militia access to military and combat oriented publications the following titles were examined, the Militia Battle Manual, Combat, Guerilla Warfare, The Ultimate Sniper, and the Black Books. A short synopsis of each work is presented in order to inform law enforcement of the danger inherent in each book.

The first manual, Militia Battle Manual, is dangerous because it instructs on how to organize a militia from the ground up. The formation of independent cells, communication with other groups to form larger units, and the establishment of a command and control structure for larger organizations. More importantly, the manual informs the reader on how to load, chamber, and fire military small arms and heavy weapons. Here is a list of the weapons covered:

- a) the Army M-16 assault rifle
- b) the M-9 semi-auto sidearm (9mm Beretta)
- c) the venerable Army Colt .45 sidearm
- d) the M249 machine gun, better known as the Squad Automatic Weapon (SAW). This weapon is essentially a light machine gun that fires the same round as the M-16.
- e) the M60 medium machine gun. This weapon fires a heavier round than the M249 SAW providing a greater range.

- f) grenades of all types, concussion, fragmentation, smoke, flare, and white phosphorous.
- g) M203 grenade launcher. This weapon attaches to the underside of the M-16 assault rifle, giving the individual soldier more combat capability.
- h) the M72A2 Light Anti-Tank Weapon (LAW). Originally developed during the Vietnam War to give the individual soldier the ability to damage tanks and destroy lighter armored vehicles.
- i) the M136 Launcher, better known as the AT34 anti-tank weapon. This weapon was developed during the late 70's to early 80's. It is essentially an upgraded M72 LAW, designed to destroy Soviet-era Main Battle Tanks such as the T-72.
- j) antipersonnel and anti-tank mines of varying types.
- k) 81mm mortar, an infantry support weapon which in reality is a small, man-portable artillery piece.
- l) the M2 .50 caliber heavy machine gun. This weapon is the heaviest of man-portable machine guns taking two soldiers to carry. It is usually mounted on vehicles and fires a bullet out to a range of three thousand yards (Koch, 1996, p. 81-98, 105-116).

The danger inherent in this manual is obvious. Should a militia group acquire any of the above weapons it would not take long for them to put it to use against the authorities and their agents if they so chose.

The second book examined was entitled Combat. Where the previous book instructs militia groups on the operation of military weapons, this manual instructs them on how to employ these weapons. Combat provides detailed instruction on military operations, primarily small unit tactics employing often no more than 10 to 20 men. The conduction of unobserved patrols into enemy territory, fire and movement when engaged in combat, and anti-tank tactics for small units that have no fire support are also explained.

This section is important because these tactics can be used against police cars and armored vehicles (Cacutt, 1989, p. 71-81). Combat contains an entire chapter on internal security operations including the creation of concealed observation posts and roadblocks that will prevent hostile personnel from using roads and bridges without incurring massive casualties (Cacutt, 1989, p. 82-87, 95-105). Another chapter deals with urban combat, covering tactics for street fighting within ‘built up areas’ (cities). How to safely move across a street while under fire, destroying enemy positions on the streets, and clearing enemy held buildings in house to house combat are illustrated (Cacutt, 1989, p. 106-121). This chapter is important to militia groups since the majority of them believe that the ‘next revolution’ or battles against the ‘New World Order’ will primarily take place in major cities. The final chapter worth noting involves the concept of raids and ambushes. The chapter gives the basics on organizing a raiding or ambush party, how to move into contact with the enemy on the raid or ambush, and how to withdraw and escape from enemy contact safely (Cacutt, 1989, p. 165-169).

The third manual is Che Guevara’s Guerilla Warfare. Guevara was a communist insurgent and a close associate of Cuba’s enigmatic Fidel Castro until he was killed in Bolivia in 1967. His work is important to any ‘revolutionary’ group because it teaches the philosophy, strategy, and mindset of a good guerilla soldier. He espoused three guiding principles of guerilla war;

- 1) popular forces can win a war (Guevara, 1969, p. 7),
- 2) the guerilla needs the support and assistance of the people of the area (Guevara, 1969, p10), and

3) “no battle, combat, or skirmish is to be fought unless it will be won” (Guevara, 1969, p. 12).

Guevara’s manual also teaches patience. The guerilla soldier should take the time to properly analyze the enemy’s resources and procure the proper arms and equipment, stealing them from the enemy if necessary. Guevara also stresses thinking out battle strategies emphasizing the importance of choosing battlefields favorable to the guerilla. When the attacks commence, they should be continuous and unrelenting. Attacks should come from all directions, at all times and in every conceivable form. Night attacks, sabotage, terrorism, and ambushes are stressed (Guevara, 1969, pp. 15-25). Guevara also emphasizes the ideal qualities a ‘good’ guerilla must possess. The ideal ‘freedom fighter’ must live in and possess a knowledge of the combat zone and be able to assess who is friend or foe. The consummate guerilla must be able to endure hardship, privation, extreme climatic conditions, and be willing to risk death to achieve their goal (Guevara, 1969, pp. 41-44).

The next book is important to militia organizations in light of the Assault Weapons Ban of 1994 enacted during the Clinton presidency. The assault weapons ban and ‘magazine law’ which prohibits the sale of military style semi-automatic weapons and high capacity ammunition magazines called ‘clips’ to civilians are seen by militias as government attempts to disarm them. The only weapons readily, and more importantly legally available, are bolt-action rifles, shotguns, and pistols. These weapons make accuracy more important than volume of fire. The Ultimate Sniper is considered the ‘bible’ of marksmanship and will aid anyone in becoming a better shot. This manual lists

the ballistic performance of high velocity rifle rounds for various ranges and weather conditions, citing which round works best for each distance (Plaster, 1993, pp. 111-144). Basic and advanced marksmanship techniques are taught, including aiming and breathing techniques which minimize errors (Plaster, 1993, pp.145-188). The proper use of telescopic sights, target range, and wind estimation are included. These topics are important as they detail the effects wind has on ballistic importance. In layman's terms, if a strong wind is blowing and no compensating is done by the shooter, the bullet will miss the target by a wide margin (Plaster, 1993, p. 63-110, 277-294). Other topics covered include: target detection, camouflage, cover and concealment, stalking and man tracking, basic offensive and defensive tactics, night operations, urban combat, and counter sniper techniques. Plaster's work is comprehensive, compiled from his own long experience ranging from the Vietnam war to training law enforcement personnel.

The final work to be detailed is composed of a series of books entitled The Black Books. These are the manuals that present the most danger to law enforcement personnel. This series of books were compiled by the Central Intelligence Agency in cooperation with the US Army Special Forces during the Vietnam War. They provide detailed instructions on how to manufacture plastic explosives from simple components such as matchheads, petroleum jelly, fertilizer, fuel oil, and even human urine. The device that destroyed the Murrah Federal building in Oklahoma City was constructed from such materials. Directions for hand grenades made from nails, tin cans, steel tubing or pipe, and homemade explosive compounds are included. Instructions on improvised firearms

ranging from pistols to high powered rifles are explained in detail, utilizing simple wooden boards, pipe, and rubber bands.

The second volume details the construction of even more dangerous items. Improvised bazookas, grenade launchers, and mortars made of wood, cardboard, and pipe are illustrated. Incendiary devices such as self-igniting chemical firebombs and gelled flame systems (napalm) are included. These horrible weapons can be made from gasoline combined with simple household items. Lye, soap flakes, eggs, latex, wax, salt, sugar, coffee grounds, tea leaves, and even blood can be utilized to produce these ghastly weapons. If the instructions are followed to the letter, an individual possessing no mechanical or chemical engineering skills can easily produce any of these weapons or munitions in complete secrecy.

These five titles, the Militia Battle Manual, Combat, Guerilla Warfare, Ultimate Sniper, and the Black Books represent a serious threat to law enforcement personnel. Any militia organization that studies these manuals earnestly can effectively increase their fighting potential. A group that was once a minor annoyance to law enforcement can turn into a serious menace.

Once a militia organization has reviewed information from such sources, the next step is to put them into practice. A fine example of a group who has done this is the Viper Militia from Phoenix, Arizona. This organization conducts what they term 'A' and 'B' shoots. 'A' shoots involve entire families gathering at the local shooting range learning about marksmanship and gun safety using legally owned firearms. The press is often involved, as members will speak to anyone with a microphone about alleged government

oppression. The 'B' shoots are another matter entirely. Only militia members are allowed access and the press is nowhere to be seen. Illegally obtained automatic weapons are practiced with, homemade explosive devices are tested, and legally owned semi-automatic weapons are illegally converted into fully automatic ones. This type of training is usually conducted in remote areas of the country. The Viper Militia would conduct their 'B' shoots 100 miles north of Phoenix in the Tonto National Forest. This misuse of federal land was stopped only after a hunter and a local Boy Scout troop stumbled onto them (Snow, 1999, pp. 71-72).

Not far from Ruby Ridge, Idaho, an unnamed six member militia group practices sniping techniques. They are heavily armed with legally purchased high-powered rifles and military style shotguns. Their equipment is high quality, as a member is quite wealthy. In addition to the usual camping supplies, members possess mylar-layered fatigues to hide them from infrared scans, listening devices to warn them of any unwanted visitors, and communication equipment that would make any police department envious. Their most dangerous asset however, is their willingness to kill law enforcement officers (Dees, 1996, pp. 210-211).

Government Response

For the most part, state and federal governments have adopted the 'wait and see' response to the militia threat. Out of 50 states, 17 have passed laws prohibiting militia formations. Seventeen other states have passed legislation forbidding paramilitary type

training. Only seven states have passed both (Snow, 1999, p. 206). For states that are not sure of how to define a law prohibiting militia formations, Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Militia Task Force has developed a model law to help. The model law states:

“A) Any two or more persons who associate as a military organization or demonstrate with arms in public without the governor's authority shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

B) A military organization is any unit with arms, command structure, training, and discipline designed to function as a combat or combat support unit.

C) This section does not apply to any school or college where military training and instruction is given under the provisions of state or federal laws” (Snow, 1999, p. 209).

After the Oklahoma City bombing the Clinton administration pushed ending the ban on using military forces in civilian law enforcement and giving the police greater freedom to investigate organizations even if there was no evidence of criminal activity. Congress reacting to public opinion, refused to give the President's suggestions serious consideration. One of the more positive responses came from the FBI. Two agents, James E. Duffy and Alan C. Brantley developed a system to categorize militia organizations according to their activities. It is entitled the Militia Threat Assessment Typology and is divided into four categories ascending from least violent to most violent:

Category I Militia Groups

- * Conduct paramilitary training.
- * Base their organizational philosophies on anti-government rhetoric.
- * Maintain a primarily defensive philosophical posture. Plans for violent action are contingent upon perceived government provocation.
- * Engage in no known criminal activity.

Category II Militia Groups

- * Conduct paramilitary training.
- * Base their organizational philosophies on anti-government rhetoric.
- * Maintain a primarily defensive philosophical posture. Plans for violent action are contingent upon perceived government provocation.
- * Engage in criminal activity to acquire weapons and explosives. Criminal activity may range from minor firearms violations, e.g., illicit weapons sales and transfer, to illegal firearms modifications and property crimes.

Category III Militia Groups

- * Conduct paramilitary training.
- * Base their organizational philosophies on extreme anti-government rhetoric, denoting deep suspicion and paranoia. Group may direct threats toward specific individuals or institutional targets.
- * Maintain a primarily defensive philosophical posture. Plans for violent action are contingent upon perceived government provocation, but response plans are highly detailed and may include an escalation of overt acts beyond planning, such as testing explosive devices, gathering intelligence and identifying/conducting surveillance of potential targets.
- * Engage in criminal activity, ranging from property crimes to crimes of interpersonal violence, e.g., resisting arrest, armed robberies, burglaries, and attempts to provoke confrontations with government officials.

Category IV Militia Groups

- * Demonstrate many of the same traits and characteristics as category III groups, but are likely to be smaller, more isolated cells or fringe groups whose members have grown frustrated with their peers' unwillingness to pursue a more aggressive strategy. Unlike militias in the other categories, category IV groups often maintain an openly offensive, rather than defensive, posture.
- * May grow out of other less threatening militia groups or may evolve independently from any other group associations.
- * Often attract individuals with frank mental disorders. These individuals may either act alone or with a small number of associates who share similar paranoid/disordered beliefs.
- * Plot and engage in serious criminal activity, e.g., homicide, bombings, and other acts of a terrorist nature (Brantley & Duffy, 1997, p.25).

Duffy and Brantley's system is more reactive than proactive. It does nothing to seek out the motivations and grievances behind the formation of militia groups nor does it provide

guidelines for law enforcement personnel on how to deal with them. It paints the militia movement in the same light the media does. Militia groups are nothing more than a collection of petty, often extremely violent criminals. It does not portray the militia movement for what it truly is, “the most dangerous indigenous terrorist organizations to appear in the political landscape of the United States” (Cook & Kelly, 1999, p. 241). The militia movement is perhaps the most menacing force American law enforcement personnel may ever face.

Summary

This chapter presented the historical origin of the American militia movement and its evolution. What militias believe, how they recruit and train new members, and their political influence were discussed. The Government’s response and attitude toward the modern movement was presented as well. This was done to form the basic knowledge needed in order to understand the significance of the study to follow. In the next chapter the methods used to study police response to the modern American militia movement is presented.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

This study was designed to accomplish two goals. First, a comprehensive data collection of various militia groups, their historical perspectives, and modern day methods of operation needed to be compiled. While various data sources exist, a true compilation of these groups and their activities is difficult to obtain. Law enforcement officials, especially at the local level, are often times operating in the dark concerning the types, goals, and motivations of militia groups.

Second, very few scientific explorations of militia groups have been undertaken. Gaining access to these groups is extremely difficult and dangerous. Many groups operate underground and gaining access to these groups for any type of scientific examination is problematic.

The first of these goals was realized in the previous chapters. A comprehensive review of the literature was conducted. This history, along with the discussion to follow, can be used by law enforcement as a guide in understanding a variety of militia groups.

In attempting to meet the second goal of this project, a survey of law enforcement officials was conducted. The survey was designed to learn whether or not local law enforcement officials perceived the modern militia movement as a threat to themselves, the community, and the nation.

Sample Group

Sixty deputies from the Trumbull, Mahoning, and Columbiana counties's Sheriff's Departments in Ohio were to be asked to participate (n = 60). Sheriff's departments were chosen because they operate on a county-wide level and are more likely to interact with the militia movement. The deputies came from divisions most likely to have contact with potential members of the militia movement. These divisions were Patrol, Investigative, and Tactical.

Apparatus

A nine question survey was developed asking participants to rate their reactions to encounters with members of the modern militia movement. Participants were also asked to provide characteristics of any such individuals they may have encountered. The survey did not ask for any personal data from the participants. The survey was divided numerically by county.

Procedure

The departments involved were first contacted by letter to gain approval for conducting the survey with their personnel. Each Sheriff was sent a letter explaining the purpose of the survey providing contacts at the university to verify project authenticity. Two copies of a departmental consent form were sent in a return self-addressed stamped envelope. One copy was to be returned to the project coordinator while the other was for the Sheriff's Department records. Deputies volunteering for the survey were also

provided with a signed consent form explaining the purpose of the survey. Volunteers were verbally briefed on the survey as well, ensuring them that no personal information was required. When completed, the deputies were debriefed once again on their anonymity and thanked for their cooperation and participation. (See appendix C for copies of forms.)

Summary

In this chapter the methods use in gathering the data were presented . A nine question survey was administered to the volunteers of the participating Sherrif departments in an attempt to measure the law enforcement community's view of the modern militia movement. In the chapter to follow the collected data was analyzed and discussed.

CHAPTER 4

Results

In this chapter, the data that were collected from the deputies surveyed are presented. The intended sample consisted of sixty (60) deputies from the Trumbull, Mahoning, and Columbiana county sheriffs's departments in Ohio. The Sheriff's Department of Columbiana County did not respond to the correspondence asking for permission to participate. A follow up letter was sent, with no response received by the researcher. A final sample of thirty nine ($n = 39$) surveys from the Trumbull and Mahoning county sheriffs departments were used in this analysis.

It must be noted that this study is not representative of the general law enforcement community. It is limited to the respondents questioned. A further discussion of limitations, as well as ways to overcome these and additional problems will be discussed in great detail in the following chapter. While these limitations did exist, valuable information was still discovered, A discussion of what was learned follows.

Results

A chi square was done utilizing the answers of question one (1) and question six (6). These questions asked the officers to rate their level of caution during a traffic stop involving an 'ordinary offender' and a stop where it is determined the offender is a militia member. It was determined that officers who are extremely cautious making a traffic stop

involving a militia member **were extremely** cautious when making a traffic stop of the 'ordinary' variety. Officers that **were not overly** cautious when conducting a routine traffic stop were found to be just as relaxed when dealing with militia members. This means that the responding officer's level of alertness during a traffic stop does not vary depending upon the offender.

Question Five (5) asked the participants if they regarded the modern militia movement as a serious physical threat to law enforcement agencies and their personnel. A large portion of deputies surveyed (41%) regarded the modern militia movement as somewhat of a threat, but not a serious threat. From this it can be surmised the law enforcement community sees itself as capable of meeting any threat the militia movement can bring to bear.

This survey also involved the collection of data for the purposes of qualitative analysis. Questions six (6) through nine (9) asked participants for their opinions and ideas on the militia movement. The main findings are discussed.

Question six (6) asked the participants to list characteristics that could be used to identify militia members. There were three characteristics that the majority of officers listed. The first characteristic used to identify militia members was appearance, primarily mode of dress. Fifteen (15) officers thought that military style camouflage clothing, combat boots and paraphernalia were outstanding markers of membership in a militia group. The second identifying trait that ten (10) officers noted was that most militia members were anti-government. Anti-government is a catch-all phrase that encompasses a range of beliefs. Too much big government, government intrusiveness, excessive

taxation, and a general disdain for politicians were answers that often followed the anti-government answer. The third characteristic that six (6) officers listed was possession of an arsenal of weapons. It can be surmised this response is the product of the media's portrayal of militia members as obsessive gun owners.

Question seven (7) asked the officers how they came into contact with these individuals. Fifteen (15) out of the twenty-six (26) officers that responded to the question gave answers such as traffic stops, normal patrol duties, court proceedings, and handling inmates at the Mahoning County Jail. Contrary to what the media portrays, law enforcement personnel encounter militia members as a normal part of the job. The conflicts at Ruby Ridge and Waco are the tragic anomalies the media would have the public believe to be everyday occurrences. This helps to enforce the negative images of law enforcement personnel as brutal thugs and militia members as suicidal, gun-toting lunatics.

Question eight (8) requested information concerning the race, gender, and age of encountered militia members. Twenty one (21) officers responded. When examined, the data put forth the average militia member is a white male ranging in age from 22 years of age to 60 years of age with a median age of 35. There were other responses of white females ages eighteen (18) through fifty (50), black males in their mid forties and one response of "ALL races, ages and genders". According to the data, the modern militia movement is a predominantly white phenomena. (See Appendix E for breakdown)

Question nine (9) asks the participants if there was anything about the militia movement they would like to tell the researchers. A limited number of deputies responded

to this question. Many officers stated that law enforcement personnel have to be cautious in what is said, the attitude it is said in, and how it is presented to militia members. This is important, as it shows the officers are concerned about encounters with militia members and want to keep any such encounters from becoming open conflicts. This is reinforced by the statement one deputy made that “law enforcement personnel need ongoing training” when it comes to dealing with the militia movement. (See Appendix E)

Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the survey. The deputies involved did not view the modern militia movement as a serious threat. Appearance, anti-government tendencies, and large amounts of weaponry were the most commonly listed traits used to identify militia members. Contrary to what the media portrays, officers usually encounter militiamen as a normal part of the job. The participating officers described the ‘average’ militiaman as a white male approximately 35 years old. Caution when dealing with militias as well as ongoing training was advised. The next chapter will discuss the limitations of the survey, policy implications, and future areas of study.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

Previous chapters have examined the history of the modern militia movement in the United States. How militia units are recruited, organized, and trained have been discussed. What they believe in and who they fight against has been investigated as well as the government's response to them. The method in which this study was conducted was outlined, along with the findings and results. This chapter will discuss the limitations of the study conducted and current policy dealing with militias and how they can be improved upon in the future.

Limitations

A number of problems occurred in attempting this analysis. First, the final sample size was very small. While an attempt was made to find additional survey respondents, this proved to be unsuccessful. Second, the sample was almost exclusively white and male. As a result, the researcher was not able to learn the perceptions of minority or female officers, or to learn if they differed from their white male counterparts. Third, it must be noted that data collection took place shortly after September 11, 2001. The general fear that this event caused among all levels of society could well have impacted both the level of participation and the quality of information presented to the researcher.

Policy Implications

American law enforcement agencies have adopted a policy of 'wait and see' when it comes to dealing with modern militia groups. Militia groups are allowed to conduct their activity relatively unobserved by law enforcement. When a law enforcement agency responds to a militia group's activities, events such as Ruby Ridge and Waco are often the results. Even a moderately successful resolution, such as the negotiated surrender of the Montana Freeman can be seen as a failure of policy to prevent or quickly de-escalate such situations.

The majority of law enforcement personnel receive no formal training on how to identify or respond to militia activities. Formal training is necessary in order to effectively deal with the militia movement. Police academies should incorporate classes that deal with conditions that cause formations of militia groups and how to react to situations involving them. Seminars on the same topics should be given to veteran officers. This education would help eliminate stereotyping and make the officer more aware of current activities.

The policy for the majority of law enforcement agencies in regard to a standoff situation involving a militia organization is to respond to it as a 'barricaded subject situation' (McMains & Mullins, 1996, p. 35). This is a mistake that could cost lives. A good example of a barricaded subject situation is a botched bank robbery where the perpetrator is in an unfamiliar, hostile environment with no food or supplies, with limited firepower on hand. Law enforcement personnel have the advantage as time is on their

side, they have control over food, water, and power supplies, and have superior numbers and firepower. This is not the case when dealing with a militia organization.

The militia group is often barricaded inside their own property, with which they are intimately familiar with. They will more than likely have prepared firing positions, reinforced with sandbags or sheet steel to deflect or stop bullets. Open paths leading to the building or compound, as well as any doors and windows may be booby-trapped with lethal devices. Any assault by officers will be easily repulsed. Food, water, and power are not problems for the well organized militia. Stockpiles are maintained for such events and electrical generators kick in as soon as the authorities cut off outside power. Trying to wear them down in an attempt to 'starve them out' will only prolong negotiations and make the involved law enforcement agencies look inept. Militia strongholds are well supplied with other items necessary to repel attack. Gas masks and body armor are both readily available through mail order or military surplus stores. These items easily neutralize the threat of tear gas and projectile stun weapons like bean bags and rubber bullets. Law enforcement's superior numbers, firepower, and threat of overwhelming force may intimidate the unplanned barricaded hostage taker, but not a militia group. Often, a militia group will have superior firepower and the will to use it.

In order to rectify this situation law enforcement agencies must modify their thinking and policies, most importantly on how militia groups are classified. Currently, militia organizations are classified using a system discussed earlier. FBI Special Agents Alan Brantley and James Duffy devised a method of identifying militia groups based on the level of criminal activity they conduct. There are four main categories going from Type 1

groups with no known criminal activity to Type 4 groups that engage in acts of terrorism (Brantley & Duffy, 1997, p. 25). This type of classification is inherently flawed since it is reactive instead of proactive. By the time it is possible to classify a group, an innocent may have already suffered.

In order to successfully classify militia organizations, it is necessary to review the perception of these organizations. Law enforcement policy views militia groups as nothing more than criminals looking to legitimize their crimes with political rhetoric. This attitude needs to be changed. The sentiment of most militia groups is anti-government in nature. They are insurgents, guerillas, and rebels who engage in criminal activity to support their organizations and achieve their goals. Policy must be changed to reflect this. Militia groups may be classified as insurgents as their beliefs and activities conform to the definition of insurgency which is: “a struggle between a non-ruling group and the ruling authorities in which the non-ruling group consciously uses political resources and violence to destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy, of one or more aspects of politics (O’Neill, 1990, p.13)”. Once the militia movement is recognized for what it is, an insurgent movement, the groups involved can be broken down into specific types of insurgents motivated by specific goals. Bard E. O’Neill, an expert on terrorism and guerilla warfare, has done work along this line. O’Neill has classified insurgent groups utilizing their long range goals and means. The following is O’Neill’s insurgency typology.

- 1) ANARCHIST- This type of insurgency seeks to eliminate all political institutions and organizations as they see them as illegitimate and unnecessary (O’Neill, 1990, p.17). If Ted Kaczynski (The Unabomber), had formed a militia

it would be of this type.

2) EGALITARIAN- This insurgency wants to impose a system of equality with a centrally controlled structure designed to mobilize the people and drastically realign the social structure within an existing political system. Upon success, these quickly evolve into authoritative, repressive dictatorships (O'Neill, 1990, p. 18). The Russian revolution of 1917 is a prime example of this type of insurgency.

3) TRADITIONALIST- Insurgents falling in this category seek to replace the current system with one based on religion and sacred ancestral ties. Political institutions have little or no autonomy and are controlled by the wealthy nobility, the armed forces or the clergy. Activity in national politics by opposition groups is highly discouraged. The revolution in Iran during the late 1970's is an example of this type.

There is a subtype of this insurgency called the reactionary-traditionalist. Members of this type wish to recreate an ancient political system they perceive as a 'golden age'. The current Islamic movement sweeping the Middle East exemplifies this insurgency (O'Neill, 1990, p. 18).

4) PLURALIST- this insurgency movement wishes to create a system based on personal freedom, liberty and compromise where political institutions are autonomous and differentiated (O'Neill, 1990, p.19). The American Revolution typifies this type of insurgency.

5) SECESSIONIST- (separatists) this movement renounces allegiance to the current political regime in order to form a new, independent community(O'Neill, 1990,p. 19). The Confederacy utilized this goal during the American Civil War.

6) REFORMIST - this insurgency is the least ambitious of them all. It is primarily concerned with the allocation and dispersal of political and material resources which they consider discriminatory and illegitimate. This insurgency seeks autonomy, not separation (O'Neill, 1990, p. 20).

7) PRESERVATIONIST- this movement wishes to maintain the status quo because of the political, social, and economic privileges it bestows upon them. They maintain the existing system by committing acts of violence against non-ruling groups (O'Neill, 1990, p. 20). The activities conducted by the Ku Klux Klan during the Civil Rights movement is an excellent example of this insurgency.

It is important to remember when attempting to classify a militia group utilizing this system it is possible for one organization to have characteristics of multiple types. For

example, the Ku Klux Klan and the Aryan Nations could both be classified as an insurgency of the Secessionist-Traditionalist type. Both organizations wish to create a new, racially segregated homeland for themselves based on Biblical teachings. The Michigan Militia, one of the most widely known groups, can be classified as Reformist-Preservationist. It may seem dichotomous, but it is not. The Michigan Militia wishes to both reform and preserve the democratic system. They wish to preserve the Constitution, primarily the Bill of Rights while reforming the government into a smaller, streamlined, and less intrusive entity.

It is not that difficult to recognize a militia group, but it is vital to train officers on how to recognize any potential insurgent activities. There are two primary ways to conduct an insurgency: politically and violently. A political insurgency utilizes many tactics. Propaganda is chief amongst them. Propaganda can be conducted in many ways. Meetings can be held openly or secretly to recruit new members or espouse the groups opinions to the masses. Pamphlets can be handed out during group organized protest meetings. The media can be used to spread their message as well. Public access channels on cable systems, infomercials, and talk radio can also be used to name a few examples. Militia members or sympathizers can be infiltrated into political institutions to gather intelligence on potential targets or possible government actions. Fund-raising drives can be organized and if necessary, disguised to prevent the public from learning where their donations are going. These funds can then be used to pursue the organizations goals (O'Neill, 1990, p. 23).

One tactic that needs to be addressed is the persuading of outside powers to give recognition and assistance; it has already happened. The Republic of Texas is a separatist organization that seeks to liberate the state of Texas from the rest of the Union. It claims the Territory of Texas was illegally annexed by the United States in 1845. The organization has elected its own government and established its own court and military systems (Dyer, 1998, p.200). The Republic of Texas has sent resolutions to foreign embassies declaring the Republic to be a neutral, non-aggressive nation akin to Switzerland. The Republic of Texas is very close to receiving recognition from Syria (Dyer, 1998, p. 203). It is interesting to note the Republic's claim of illegal annexation in 1845 was rendered moot when Texas seceded during the Civil War and was readmitted to the Union as a defeated and conquered state.

Aside from the political means, law enforcement personnel must become well versed in the violent means to conduct insurgency. These consist of terrorism, guerilla warfare and conventional warfare, although the third should not be of great concern as it involves massive armies fighting over large areas where law enforcement will be a low priority.

Terrorism is the indiscriminate use of violence directed against unarmed, civilian non-combatants. Terrorism can be accomplished through many means; assassinations, bombings, arson, torture, hijacking, and kidnaping to name a few. While these crimes are heinous in their own right, law enforcement personnel must be aware of their significance if connected to a militia group. A mysterious fire that destroys a deserted warehouse may seem like insurance fraud to most law enforcement personnel; however, it takes on new

meaning if there is recent militia activity. The warehouse may have been destroyed by the group if it was utilized as a training site, storage facility, or possibly a place to build explosive devices. Torching the building would easily destroy all evidence of the groups presence and activities. Law enforcement personnel must become aware of all possibilities if a militia group is active in their jurisdiction.

Guerilla warfare is a concept alien to most law enforcement officers, but it is one with which they should become familiar. Many of the more militant militia groups consider themselves to be at war with the United States government and see law enforcement personnel as legitimate targets of war. Guerilla warfare is combat consisting of highly mobile hit and run attacks by smaller units against larger ones (O'Neill, 1990,p.26) Officers should become familiar with the strategies of guerilla warfare so they may recognize them should they be encountered. The four strategies of guerilla warfare are: conspiratorial, protracted popular war, military focus, and urban warfare. The conspiratorial strategy is the oldest and least complicated of the four. It seeks to overthrow the government with a limited use of force, such as a military coup. This strategy's key to success lies in a small, disciplined, and organized group at the center of the movement where the defection of key military officers is the decisive variable. The decisive battleground will be the major urban centers where the majority of the population dwells and where public support and acceptance of the revolt can be controlled (O'Neill, 1990, p. 32-34). This strategy is the least likely to be used by the militia movement.

The next strategy is protracted popular war, and it is the most elaborate. It is comprised of three distinct phases, the strategic defensive phase, the strategic stalemate

phase, and the strategic offensive phase. The strategic defensive phase is where the groups primary goal is to survive. While doing this, the group will begin to build a political support system through the use of propaganda, terroristic intimidation, and infiltration of enemy institutions. Recruitment for all areas of the movement is carried out, focusing primarily on combat troops and support personnel. Both are vitally important as it is during this phase that a parallel hierarchy of systems or 'shadow government' is constructed. This shadow government is tasked with building both an army and an infrastructure to support it. Combat with larger government forces is avoided at all costs, since at this juncture the insurgent army is under equipped and ill-trained.

The next phase of the protracted popular war strategy is the strategic stalemate phase. It is during this phase the insurgent group begins to isolate the people from the government. It does this by using the parallel hierarchy to provide services to the people, such as health care and security. For the population that resists, more violent means of separation can be utilized. This phase oversees the establishment of arsenals, armories, and hospitals for the movements growing armed forces. This is also the phase when guerilla hit and run attacks are staged. The attacks are used to gather arms and materiel for the insurgents and to destroy the morale and will to fight of enemy forces.

The final phase of the protracted popular war strategy is the strategic offensive. This is the phase that begins when the insurgent forces have grown large enough and powerful enough to engage in mobile conventional warfare with the support of the populace and a fully functioning shadow government (O'Neill, 1990, p. 34-41). The

separatist Republic of Texas organization appears to be in the strategic defensive phase of the protracted popular war strategy.

The next available plan is the military-focus strategy which places political strategy and action secondary to military demands. Utilizers of this strategy believe that civilian support of their plan and actions is sufficient or will come about from military victories. This strategy will utilize guerilla hit and run tactics against government and military targets if available forces are insufficient (O'Neill, 1990,p. 41-42). Many militia groups follow this strategy as it emphasizes immediate action against government forces.

The final strategy available to insurgents is the urban warfare strategy. This strategy is best utilized in areas of increased urbanization and industrialization where rural areas are hard to access. It consists of destroying the government's will to resist by turning a political crisis into an armed conflict and forcing the government into a military posture which will alienate the population thus sparking a revolt. Tactics that can create the political crisis necessary for this strategy to succeed can be anything from fomenting a labor strike to assassinating a political leader who opposes the current regime (O'Neill, 1990, p. 46).

Intelligence information is vital to any successful law enforcement operation, especially when it involves the modern militia movement. One way to gather intelligence is to communicate with the organizations. Brantley and Duffy (1999) recommend law enforcement agencies set up meetings with militia leaders operating within their jurisdictions. The meetings should be held at a location both sides have agreed to between personnel who have authority to speak for both organizations. The meeting should consist

of a non-confrontational discussion of issues concerning both sides (p. 24).

Communication of this type would be very helpful in de-escalating any potential conflict that could arise. Brantley and Duffy (1999) state that communication like this should not be used to gather intelligence. That is a mistake.

During communication meetings it would be possible to gain intelligence of a general variety. While it may not be possible to ascertain how many men are in the group, or what kind of and how many weapons they possess other information could be gathered. What are the major grievances of this militia? Does their rhetoric seem racist, anti-Semitic, pro-gun rights, or anti-government? Do they have any identifying marks/patches on their uniforms or clothing that identifies them? Do they seem to have ties to any larger organizations? Do they seem well trained or loosely organized? Much information can be gleaned from such non-confrontational meetings. Law enforcement personnel who come into contact with militia members during the course of their duties should write down any pertinent information gathered from the encounter. This data should be entered into a database that could be used to track patterns in behavior of individual members or the group as a whole.

Another place to gather intelligence on militia activities is gun shows and survivalist expositions. Many would say this is illegal police surveillance, but in reality it falls under the 'plain view' doctrine of the fourth amendment. Gun shows and survivalist expos are public venues, an officer in plain clothes or off duty has just as much right to be there as anyone else. Strolling around the exposition will provide a bounty of information. What groups are recruiting members or espousing their beliefs. Who is possibly selling the

parts necessary to illegally modify weapons? Who may be marketing in illegal commodities such as military grade explosives or weaponry? Any law enforcement agency that has, or suspects it has, a militia group operating in its jurisdiction must gather as much intelligence on it as possible. The information gathered may then be used to classify the militia utilizing the method explained earlier and determine what threats may exist.

Summary

Law enforcement agencies must review their current policies on dealing with militias or militant organizations. The policy of 'wait and see' must be replaced with 'watch and act'. Waiting until a militia organization commits an act of violence is only going to cost lives. Militia organizations must be classified as insurgent groups who commit crimes to achieve their goals instead of criminals justifying their acts with political rhetoric. Law enforcement agencies must actively gather intelligence on any organizations operating within their jurisdiction and respond with appropriate measures to prevent any criminal or terrorist acts. Standoff situations with heavily armed militia members must not be regarded as 'barricaded situations'. They must be seen as paramilitary sieges that may require non-conventional resolutions. Lastly, law enforcement officers must be trained in recognizing the tactics and strategies militias may employ in the pursuit of their goals.

Future Areas of Study

Law enforcement agencies need to be concerned with the future of the American militia movement. The anthrax attacks following the attacks of September 11th, 2001 originally thought to be foreign in origin, are now thought to be of a more domestic nature. What is more frightening is the possibility that one day soon, a domestic militia or militant group may make an alliance with a foreign terrorist organization. Al-qaeda could possibly ally itself with the Aryan Nations as both groups are heavily anti-Semitic and loathe the United States government. More research of the militia phenomena is needed. This work, while limited, is a starting point that could lead into far-reaching investigation.

The errors made in this thesis can be easily corrected. The sample size used was too small, as the Sheriff departments involved were not of a large size and one department failed to respond entirely. This could be remedied by using more departments over a larger area of the state. The survey instrument itself was flawed. The quantitative questions had a numeric range of one (1) to five (5), which when analyzed gave ambiguous data. A larger sample size would have provided a better variance curve. Better pre-testing of the survey instrument would greatly reduce misunderstandings of the questions, in turn preventing unclear answers. Finally, the survey did not take into account the race, gender, or age of the participants.

Future areas of research could include surveys of sheriff departments to learn how many counties in the state have militia activity and if they are prepared to deal with them if necessary. Prisons could be surveyed to learn how many inmates are militia members and to which organization they belong. The views of Sheriff departments in counties that have

militia activity and departments in counties that do not could be analyzed to see if proximity to such activity has any effect on personnel. There are many avenues of the militia movement to explore.

Results of this study emphasize the fact that law enforcement does not truly know how many people are involved in the modern militia movement. The number of militias or militant organizations is also a mystery, as not all of them publicly proclaim their existence. When 'lone wolves' like Timothy McVeigh are brought into consideration, it is likely the numbers would climb.

The most frightening aspect of the militia movement that remains unknown is what these groups are currently planning. Are they subsuming their hatred of the government in the post 9-11 wave of patriotism? Have they momentarily aligned themselves with the government against a common, foreign enemy? Could it be the militia movement has gone deep 'underground' to watch the government's response to attacks on American soil? Could it be possible, while America is waging a war on terror in foreign lands, an enemy closer to home could be watching and waiting? Watching for weakness and waiting for a time to strike.

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Appendix A

List of Active Patriot/Militia Groups in the United States in 2000 as listed by the
Southern Poverty Law Center (www.splcenter.org)

ALABAMA

Gadsden Minutemen - Attalla

Alabama Committee to Get US out of the United Nations - Birmingham

ALASKA

Jefferson Party - Anchorage

ARIZONA

American Patriot Friends Network - Glendale

Sovereign Citizen Resource Center - Thatcher

Arizona Free Citizen's Militia - Tucson

ARKANSAS

Constitution Party - North Little Rock

CALIFORNIA

California Militia - Brea

John Birch Society - Brea, Fountain Valley, Irvine, Laguna Hills, Mission Viejo,
Newport Beach, Oceanside, Orange, Riverside, Santa Ana

State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters - Canoga Park

Free Enterprise Society - Clovis

Truth Radio - Delano

Second Amendment Committee - Hanford

American Opinion Bookstore - La Mesa & Orange County

Southern California High Desert Militia - Oceanside

Constitution Society - Sacramento

Constitution Party - San Bernardino

Truth In Taxation - Studio City

We the People - Sunset Beach

Freedom Law School - Tustin

COLORADO

Constitution Party - Arvada

Southern Colorado Unorganized Militia - Colorado Springs

Sons of Liberty - Fort Collins

Colorado State Defense Force Reserve - Golden

American Freedom Network - Johnstown

Gospel Plow - Sedalia

CONNECTICUT

John Birch Society - Enfield

Connecticut 51st Militia - Terryville

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Liberty Lobby - Washington

FLORIDA

Constitutional Guardians of America - Boca Raton

Citizens for Better Government - Gainesville

Constitution Party - Tampa

Greater Ministries International - Tampa

Militia of Florida - West Palm Beach

GEORGIA

Militia of Georgia - Lawrenceville

Sons of Liberty - Peachtree City

Constitution Party - Woodstock

HAWAII

Constitution Party - Honolulu

IDAHO

Police Against the New World Order - Kamiah

Constitution Party - Post Falls

ILLINOIS

Illinois State Militia - Addison

Southern Illinois Patriots League - Benton

Liberty House - Chicago

Western Illinois Militia - Monmouth

Midwest Patriots - Smithshire

INDIANA

Southern Indiana Regional Militia - Bloomfield

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 4th Brigade - East Central Indiana

NORFED - Evansville

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 8th Brigade - Harrison County

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 3rd Brigade - Howard County

Indianapolis Baptist Temple - Indianapolis

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 2nd Brigade - Northeast Indiana

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 7th Brigade - Perry County

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 5th Brigade - Putnam County

Patriots for Liberty - Rochester

Constitution Party - Shoals

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 6th Brigade - Southeast Central Indiana

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 1st Brigade - St. Joseph County

Greene County Militia - Worthington

IOWA

Constitution Party - Randall

KANSAS

Constitution Party - Wichita

KENTUCKY

Take Back Kentucky - Clarkson

United States Citizen's Militia - Edmonton

Free Kentucky - Lebanon

Constitution Party - Louisville

Kentucky State Militia - Nicholasville

LOUISIANA

Common Law Defense Fund - Lafayette

Constitution Party - Shreveport

MAINE

Maine Militia - Belfast

Constitution Party - Spruce Head

MARYLAND

Citizens Militia of Maryland - Baltimore

Constitution Party - Taneytown

Save A Patriot Fellowship - Westminster

MASSACHUSETTS

Southeastern Massachusetts Constitutional Militia - Southeastern Massachusetts

MICHIGAN

Northern Michigan Regional Militia - Alanson

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 6th Division - Bancroft

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 3rd Division - Benzonia

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 7th Division - Calhoun County

Justice Pro Se - Dearborn

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 9th Division - Detroit

Patriot Broadcasting Network - Dexter

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 4th Division - Gaylord

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 5th Division - Harrison

Michigan Militia corps Wolverines - Kalamazoo

Constitution Party - Lansing

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines, 8th Division - Monroe County
Michigan Jural Society - Mount Pleasant
Michigan Militia, Inc. - Redford
Lawful Path - Tustin

MINNESOTA

Constitution Party - St. Paul
Minnesota Militia - St. Cloud

MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi Militia - Ocean Springs
Patrick Henry Foundation for Common Law Studies - Perkinston

MISSOURI

Missouri 51st Militia - Grain Valley
7th Missouri Militia - Granby
Constitution Party - St. Louis

MONTANA

John Birch Society - Billings
Independent Americans - Corvallis
Constitution Party - Elmo
Militia of Montana - Noxon

NEBRASKA

Army of the Union of States - Minden

NEVADA

Center for Action - Sandy Valley
Constitution Party - Sparks

NEW HAMPSHIRE

First Granite State Irregulars - East Hampstead

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey Committee of Safety - Shamong
New Jersey Militia - Trenton

NEW MEXICO

New Mexico Liberty Corps - Albuquerque

NEW YORK

Constitution Party - Central Square

NORTH DAKOTA

Constitution Party - Casselton

OHIO

Right Way L.A.W. - Akron

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee - Ashtabula County

True Blue Patriots - Cincinnati

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia - Columbus

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee - Darke County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee - Delaware County

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia - Franklin County

E Pluribus Unum - Grove City

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee - Highland County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee - Lebanon

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia - Madison County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee - Portage County

Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee - Westerville

Southeastern Ohio Defense Force - Zanesville

OKLAHOMA

Present Truth Ministry - Panama

OREGON

Christian Patriot Association - Boring

Emissary Publications - Clackamas

Southern Oregon Militia - Eagle Point

Freedom Bound International - Klamath Falls

Constitution Party - Scappoose

Embassy Of Heaven - Stayton

PENNSYLVANIA

American Nationalist Union - Allsion Park

Pennsylvania 1st Unorganized Militia - Harrisburg

Constitution Party - Lancaster

Constitution Party, National Office - Lancaster

Pennsylvania Crier - Levittown

Sons of Liberty Militia - Shillington

Northern Voice Bookstore - Wildwood

SOUTH CAROLINA

John Birch Society - Columbia
 AWARE Group - Greenville
 Constitution Party - Greenville
 Palmetto State Guard - Liberty
 South Carolina Militia - Taylors

TENNESSEE

Constitution Party - Brentwood
 Constitution Party - Franklin County
 Militia of East Tennessee - Jefferson County
 Constitution Party - Knoxville
 Constitution Party - Lynnville
 Constitution Party - Mt. Juliet
 Constitution Party - Murfreesboro
 Constitution Party - Nashville
 Constitution Party - Sullivan County
 Constitution Party - Wartrace
 Constitution Party - Washington County

TEXAS

Texas Unified Forces Militia, Northeast Brigade - Amarillo
 John Birch Society - Austin
 Living Truth Ministries - Austin
 East Texas Militia - Bowie County
 Constitution Party - Brenham
 13th Texas Infantry Regiment - Bryan
 Constitution Party - Burlson
 Buffalo Creek Press - Cleburne
 Republic of Texas - Dallas
 Texas Constitutional Militia - Dallas
 Texas Guardians - Dallas/Fort Worth
 People's Court of Common Law (Gulf Coast Districts) - El Campo
 Republic of Texas - Fort Worth
 Republic of Texas - Houston
 Republic of Texas Defense Forces, District 4 - Longview
 United States Militia - Mesquite
 American Opinion Bookstore - San Antonio
 Constitution Society - San Antonio
 Texas Unified Field Forces Militia, Southeast Brigade - Southeastern Texas
 Texas Unified Field Forces Militia, South Brigade - Southern Texas
 Republic of Texas - Victoria/White Oak
 Church of God Evangelistic Association - Waxahachie

VERMONT

Constitution Party - South Burlington

VIRGINIA

Constitution Party - Gainesville

Virginia Citizens Militia - Roanoke

WASHINGTON

Jural Society - Ellensburg

Constitution Party - Tacoma

WISCONSIN

John Birch Society - Appleton

Constitution Party - Watertown

Appendix B

Human Subjects Review Committee Approval



Youngstown State University / One University Plaza / Youngstown, Ohio 44555-0001

Dean of Graduate Studies

(330) 742-3091

FAX (330) 742-1580

E-Mail: graduateschool@cc.yzu.edu

July 26, 2001

Dr. Tammy King, Associate Professor
Mr. David Workley, Graduate Student
Department of Criminal Justice
UNIVERSITY

RE: HSRC Protocol #69-01

Dear Dr. King and Mr. Workley:

Thank you for responding to the concerns of the Human Subjects Research Committee of Youngstown State University regarding your Protocol, HSRC #69-01, "The Modern Militia Movement: A Survey of the Sheriff's Departments of Trumbull, Mahonng, and Columbiana Counties." The Committee has reviewed the modifications you provided and determined that your protocol now fully meets YSU Human Subjects Research guidelines. Therefore, I am pleased to inform you that your project has been fully approved.

Any changes in your research activity should be promptly reported to the Human Subjects Research Committee and may not be initiated without HSRC approval except where necessary to eliminate hazard to human subjects. Any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects should also be promptly reported to the Human Subjects Research Committee.

We wish you well in your study.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Peter J. Kasvinsky', written over a white background.

Peter J. Kasvinsky
Dean, School of Graduate Studies
Research Compliance Officer

PJK:cc

c: Dr. Tammy King, Chair
Department of Criminal Justice

www.yzu.edu

Appendix C

Permission Request Letters and Consent Forms

October 13th, 2001

PERMISSION REQUEST TO CONDUCT SURVEY

Dear Sheriff,

I am a graduate student in the Criminal Justice Department at Youngstown State University. I am composing a thesis on the modern militia movement in the United States. An important component of my thesis are the views and opinions law enforcement personnel have of this movement. Sheriff's Departments such as yours are of primary importance as they operate on a countywide level and are more likely to encounter such individuals and/or organizations. I am seeking your permission to survey members of your department. I have developed a nine question survey with a threefold purpose: 1) to describe any encounters officers may have had with militia members, 2) to gather officers' opinion of the modern militia movement, 3) gather data on what may be used to help officers identify such individuals. Participation is strictly voluntary and **no** personal information will be asked of your officers. The survey would be conducted just before a shift begins or ends so as not to interfere with their duties. The survey will take approximately fifteen minutes to complete. Should you have any questions please call Dr. Eric See at YSU's Criminal Justice Department at 330-742-3543, or myself at 330-270-5595. Thank you very much.

Respectfully,

David G. Workley

Enclosed are two consent forms. Should you grant permission, please sign one and return it in the envelope provided. The other copy is for your records. Should you grant permission, I or Dr. See will contact you to set up a convenient time for you and your officers. Thank you very much for your time.

December 15th, 2001

PERMISSION REQUEST TO CONDUCT SURVEY

Dear Sheriff Koffel,

I am sending you this second letter as I am afraid you may not have received the first. I am a graduate student in the Criminal Justice Department at Youngstown State University. I am composing a thesis on the modern militia movement in the United States. An important component of my thesis are the views and opinions law enforcement personnel have of this movement. Sheriffs departments such as yours are of primary importance as they operate on a countywide level and are more likely to encounter such individuals and/or organizations. I am seeking permission to survey members of your department. I have developed a nine question survey with a threefold purpose: 1) to describe any encounters officers may have had with militia members, 2) to gather officers' opinions of the modern militia movement, 3) gather data on what may be used to help officers identify such individuals. Participation is strictly voluntary and no personal information will be asked of your officers. The survey would be conducted just before a shift begins or ends so as not to interfere with their duties. The survey will take approximately fifteen minutes to complete. Should you have any questions, please call Dr. Eric See at YSU's Criminal Justice Department at 330-742-3543 or myself at 330-270-5595. Should you grant permission I or Dr. See will contact you in order to set up a convenient time to conduct the survey. Thank you very much.

Respectfully,

David G. Workley

Enclose are two consent forms. Should you grant permission, please sign one and return it in the envelope provided. The other copy is for your records.

Departmental Consent for Survey Participation

The purpose of this study is to gather data on how law enforcement officers view the modern militia movement in the United States. Your department has been chosen as it operates on a countywide level and is more likely to encounter such individuals or organizations. The survey consists of nine questions concerned with any encounters officers may have had with militia members, their opinions of such groups, and any characteristics that can be used to identify militia members. **NO** personal information will be required from the participants. If you consent to your departments participation, please sign on the line below. I have enclose a self addressed stamped envelope to return the authorization to Dr. Eric See, Project Coordinator. Should you have any questions please call either Dr. See at YSU's Criminal Justice Department at 330-742-3543, or David Workley at 330-270-5595. Thank you for your participation and cooperation.

I understand the study described above and hereby grant permission for the officers of (agency name) to participate.

Name _____

Date _____

Consent Form for a Survey of Police Views of the Modern Militia Movement

The purpose of this study is to gather data on how law enforcement officers view the modern militia movement in the United States. Your department has been chosen as it operates on a countywide level and is more likely to encounter such individuals and/or groups. The survey consists of nine questions concerned with any encounters you may have had, and your opinion of such individuals or groups. **NO** personal information will be required from the participants. If you wish to participate please sign on the line below. This study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your standing in the department in any manner. Your decision to participate or not will be anonymous. Should you have any questions please call Dr. Eric See at YSU's Department of Criminal Justice at 330-742-3543, or contact David Workley at 330-270-5595. Thank you for your cooperation and participation.

I understand the study described above and I agree to participate. I am a sworn law enforcement officer and am 18 years of age or older.

Name _____

Date _____

Appendix D
Militia Survey Instrument

MILITIA SURVEY

Do not give any personal information. This survey is anonymous. Please read and answer the following questions. Circle the number that best represents your response. Answer as honestly as possible. Thank you for your participation.

- 1) How cautious are you at a normal traffic stop?
 - 1-Extremely cautious
 - 2-More cautious than usual
 - 3-No more cautious than usual
 - 4-Less cautious
 - 5-Relaxed

- 2) In the last year, how many times have you come into contact with anyone who described themselves as a member of the militia?
 - 1-Never
 - 2-Once
 - 3-Two to three times
 - 4-Four to five times
 - 5-More than five times

- 3) If you discover an individual you have stopped or arrest is a militia member, how cautious would you be?
 - 1-Extremely cautious
 - 2-More cautious than a usual stop or arrest
 - 3-No more cautious than any other stop or arrest
 - 4-Less cautious
 - 5-Relaxed

- 4) Upon initiating contact with a militia member, how were you treated?
 - 1-Very respectfully
 - 2-Respectfully
 - 3-Indifferent
 - 4-Disrespectfully
 - 5-Very disrespectfully (open hostility)

- 5) Do you regard the militia movement as a physical threat to law enforcement agencies and their agents?
 - 1-Extreme threat
 - 2-Serious threat
 - 3-Somewhat of a threat
 - 4-Less serious threat than other groups (ex. Drug gangs)
 - 5-Not a threat at all

6) What characteristics would you use to identify a member of the militia? (Please list no more than five.)

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

7) Why did you come into contact with these individuals?

8) What were the race, gender, and approximate age of these individuals?

9) Is there anything about the modern militias and law enforcement that you would like to state to the researcher? (Use as much space as necessary.)

Appendix E

Data Results

Question 6

What characteristics would you use to identify a member of the militia? (Please list no more than five.) The number that follows the answer represents how many officers gave that response.

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Number of Officers</u>
American Style Emblems	3
Anarchistic	1
Anti-Authority/Law Enforcement	1
Anti-Government	10
Anti-Taxation	1
Appearance (dress, clothing)	15
Arsenal of Weapons	6
Associations (peer groups)	1
Books and materials on various weapons	2
Complains of too much government in everyday activities	1
Confrontational, resistant, and defiant	1
Conservative lifestyle	3
Dangerous	1
Deranged, mentally disoriented or ill	4
Disdain for politicians	1
Disillusioned	1
Dysfunctional	1
Educated	1
Far right-wing politics	1
Flags	1
Hangs around government facilities	1
Have their own agenda	1
Hostile	1
Isolationist	1
Language	1
Large groups with children living together	1
Military training or behavior	5
Motorcycle gang	2
Multiple addresses, unable to confirm residency	1
No eye contact, uneasiness	1
Non-caring attitude	1
Opinionated	3
Oppressive and stringent	1

Papers and personal effects	1
Professional, respectful	1
Pro-homogenous society	1
Publicly state patriotism to America	2
Race	1
Radical beliefs	5
Residence (this answer was never clarified)	1
Skinheads	4
Stockpile of survival supplies	1
Subject is from the South (areas known for militia activity)	1
Tattoos	6
Threat to society	1
Trustworthy	1
Unorganized	1
Vehicles with markings (bumper stickers, etc.)	4
Verbal confirmation by subject	1
Violent tendencies	1
Well informed of Constitutional law	1
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants	1
Withdrawn from society	1

Question 7

Why did you come into contact with these people?

1. Traffic stops
2. Normal patrol
3. Class debate over the death penalty at Kent State University
4. Law enforcement duties
5. Working a side job (wedding)
6. Law enforcement contacts
7. Gun shows
8. Inmate in the Mahoning County Jail
9. US Army Psychological Operations assessment of militia members and sympathizers in Army Special Forces Command (the Special Forces Underground)
10. Arrested subject
11. Evicted subject from residence
12. Accidental encounter in Columbiana County
13. Court proceedings
14. Casual encounter

Question 8

What were the race, gender and approximate age of these individuals?

These are the actual answers given by the officers who participated

1. White male, 30 to 50 years old
2. White male, 22 old
3. White male, approximately 30 old
4. White male, middle 30's
5. All races, ages, and genders
6. All races, all genders, all ages
7. White male and female, 18 to 50 years old
8. White male, mid to late 30's
9. White male, 50 years old
10. White male, approximately 25 years old
11. White males between the ages of 25 and 50
12. White male, 40 to 50 years old
13. White male, 30 to 40 years old
14. White male, 20 years old
15. Black male in their 40's
16. White male in their 30's
17. White supremacists 20 to 50 years old
18. White male, 30 to 40 years old
19. White male, 40 to 60 years old
20. White male, 30 to 60 years old
21. White males, 40 to 60 years old
22. White male, 40 years old

Question 9

Is there anything about modern militias and law enforcement that you would like to state to the researcher?

1. Be cautious in what you say.
2. Caution in your attitude and how you present yourself.
3. Commit more acts of violence against law enforcement personnel.
4. They have more criminal records.
5. Believe a person should be allowed to own any type of weapon with space available to practice. Law enforcement personnel should not try to track all weapon owners as it will only drive them further 'underground'.
6. It is stated in the Ohio Revised Code , most members use this to satisfy their needs.
7. After 9-11, the militia openly presents little threat to law enforcement personnel. These organizations are patriotic and willing to cooperate. Clandestine militias seem to believe that martial law has been declared and have gone underground.
8. Law enforcement personnel need ongoing training.
9. Militias respect the Constitution, cooperate with local police and Sheriffs, but not with State or Federal agencies as they do not recognize them as legitimate.
10. Militia groups are paranoid of the government.
11. Militias misinterpret the Constitution. Militias are actually State National Guard units under state control, whereas they want to be under private control.
12. Militia members border on being mentally ill, being obsessed with the political view of others.
13. Lack social obedience to belong to legitimate organizations.
14. Not physically neat or well groomed.
15. More research is necessary to keep abreast of their activities.
16. Most domestic terrorism can be attributed to militant type groups.

