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**G R O U P**

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**Report of Investigation Regarding  
Representative Matt Shea  
Washington State House of Representatives  
December 1, 2019**

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## Executive Summary

Rampart Group LLC Investigators were engaged by the Washington State House of Representative on July 29, 2019 to perform an independent investigation regarding Representative Matt Shea, District 4.

Rampart Group LLC Investigators commenced on July 29, 2019, with a fact-finding investigation that included identifying and locating witnesses and other sources of information, conducting interviews, reviewing documents and correspondence, and researching and assessing online news media and open source reporting related to allegations concerning Representative Shea previously identified in the public domain.

### A. Scope of Investigation

The scope of the investigation as directed by the Washington State House of Representatives included the following directives:

- Determine whether Representative Shea was engaged in, planned, or promoted political violence against groups or individuals
- Identify the extent of Representative Shea's involvement with groups or individuals who promote, engage in or plan political violence against group or individuals, and the nature of the activities in which these individuals or groups are engaged
- Assess the level of threat of political violence posed by these individuals and groups

To that end, the following definitions were applied:

Political Violence – *Hostile, antagonistic and/or aggressive acts related to the public affairs of a country or government that are carried out by persons or governments with the intent to exert power or pressure to hurt, damage or kill in order to forcefully achieve a political goal*

Engage in - *To take part in a particular activity; to join in or participate or be part of or associated with a person, thing, action or cause*

Plan - *To decide on and arrange in advance*

Promote - *To further the progress of an action or a cause; to support or actively encourage*

### B. Methodology

To achieve investigative objectives Rampart Group LLC Investigators developed and implemented an investigative plan that included identifying, locating and conducting interviews of witnesses; identifying other sources of information; review and analysis of documents, correspondence and online open source reporting; and establishing a general Timeline of Events from the time Representative Shea was first elected to his District 4 position in 2008 through November 30, 2019.

Rampart Group LLC Investigators implemented the investigative plan by:

- Conducting 34 interviews of witnesses and other sources of information to include senior law enforcement officials, elected officials, former associates of Representative Shea, political opponents, other sources of information and concerned citizens

- Tracking news reporting and general political and other activities in a Timeline of Events between 2008 through November 2019 and comparing with source and witness statements
- Researching, fact checking, analyzing and documenting witness statements and source information
- Linking witness statements and source information to the Timeline of Events
- Collecting, researching, reviewing and analyzing over 46 gigabytes of data totaling over 120,000 electronic communications, online data and other documents, and linking pertinent information to the Timeline of Events and witness statements

The information in this report was gathered with regard for the privacy and security of witnesses, other sources of information and documents reviewed. All materials were handled and maintained in a secure and confidential manner.

Citations in this report have been used to protect the identity, safety and security of witnesses and other sources of information that provided relevant facts to Rampart Group LLC Investigators specific to Representative Shea's engagement in and association with groups and individuals engaged in political violence.

### **C. Independence of Investigation**

Rampart Group LLC operated with total independence throughout this four-month investigation. The determination of facts gathered and included in the final report are based upon witness statements, analysis of source information, documents review, and online research and analysis. Investigators obtained witness information and from other sources of information on a voluntary basis.

Investigators included individuals with extensive experience in career law enforcement and private sector investigations; experience in conducting independent complex and unbiased investigations; experience in witness interviews and obtaining statements; experience in relationships with confidential sources, experience in document management, assimilation and report writing.

Investigators had no past or present professional, social or otherwise relationship with any members of the Washington State House of Representatives, Representative Shea, witnesses or other confidential sources of information.

Investigators maintained a secure workspace that was accessible only to the Rampart Group LLC team.

Investigators reviewed and analyzed over 230 open source online news articles, other references and documents dating 2008 through 2019.

The interviews in this investigation ranged from persons directly associated with Representative Shea who had personal knowledge of his political activities between 2008 through November 2019, to individuals who had direct knowledge of groups or individuals associated with him.

The witnesses were cooperative, forthright and were deemed to be credible and reliable. Some witnesses cooperated in this investigation at great risk to themselves. Several witnesses have been the subject of threats and intimidation by individuals or groups associated with Representative Shea prior to the initiation of this investigation and requested confidentiality.

## **D. Declination of Interview by Representative Shea**

Representative Shea declined to be interviewed in this Investigation. Investigators afforded Representative Shea an opportunity to answer to public allegations made against him in news media and online reporting that became a focus of this investigation, as well as to respond to allegations made by witnesses and documentary evidence collected as of late September 2019.

After several attempts to reach Representative Shea through phone calls, email messaging and certified letters, on September 26, 2019 Rampart Group LLC Investigator received a phone call from attorney Mark Lamb responding on behalf of Representative Shea. Discussion included the scope of the investigation, timeframe and logistics of which the Investigator assured could occur at a date, time, and location of Representative Shea's choosing prior to the conclusion of the investigation on December 1, 2019. Mr. Lamb agreed to discuss the request for the interview with Representative Shea and respond to the Investigator. No further contact was received from Mr. Lamb or Representative Shea. Investigators concluded Representative Shea declined the request for interview.

## **E. Summary Determination of Facts**

This report sets forth the essential determination of facts and represents a fair, objective and comprehensive analysis. Moreover, the extensive contemporaneous documentation of information collected provided important insights into Representative Shea.

No party attempted to influence the analysis and findings in this report. Rampart Group LLC Investigators revealed general but not all-inclusive findings in this investigation to the Washington State House of Representatives Executive Rules Committee on October 17, 2019, in advance of the final report. No advance copy of this report or any report was provided to any member of the Washington State House of Representatives or to any other person outside the Rampart Group LLC team.

Consistent with the scope of this investigation Rampart Group LLC Investigators have obtained evidence that Representative Shea, as a leader in the Patriot Movement, planned, engaged in, and promoted a total of three armed conflicts of political violence against the United States (US) Government in three states outside the State of Washington over a three-year period to include 2014, 2015 and 2016. In one conflict Representative Shea led covert strategic pre-planning in advance of the conflict; continued support to an armed occupation conflict of a Federal Government facility that lasted 41 days resulting in devastating financial, physical and emotional harm to a community and its residents; and the loss of one life.

### **Conflict #1: 2014 Armed Standoff Against the US Government, Bunkerville, Nevada**

a. Representative Shea dispatched local militia Liberty For All III% - Washington leader Anthony Bosworth to Bunkerville, Nevada, on April 9, 2014 to assess the need for armed militia to stand against the US Government in support of rancher Cliven Bundy and his family in resistance to a federal court order.<sup>1</sup>

b. Representative Shea prepared and posted a plea on a III% militia website on April 10, 2014, for Patriot Movement members nationwide to travel to Bunkerville, Nevada and stand with the Bundy family that

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<sup>1</sup> Exhibit 1C; R25, R29, R120, R123, R124

resulted in the April 11, 2014 turnout of approximately 1500 armed militia members that stood against the US government.<sup>2</sup>

c. Representative Shea traveled to Bunkerville, Nevada April 12-14, 2014 and publicly supported the armed militias' standoff with the US Government and the Bundy's resistance to a federal court order.<sup>3</sup>

d. Between April 12-14, 2014, Representative Shea met with other elected officials from Washington, Idaho, Nevada and Arizona at Bunkerville, Nevada, who gathered in support of the Bundy family's resistance to a federal court order and developed a strategy for leadership over future Patriot Movement armed resistance against the federal government by creating the Coalition of Western States (COWS).<sup>4</sup>

e. Representative Shea on June 22, 2014, approximately two months following the Bunkerville armed standoff against the US Government, was observed at a Spokane area restaurant meeting with Oath Keepers Militia leaders who participated in the Bunkerville armed standoff and others, and was overheard discussing militias, weapons, stockpiling ammunition, the Bundy Ranch, Special Forces and snipers. He was seen passing around a map and what was believed to be a night vision scope. A witness photographed the meeting participants and reported the incident to law enforcement.<sup>5</sup>

f. Representative Shea on March 23, 2016, provided a signed statement to the Washington State House of Representatives Ethics Investigator that he traveled to Bunkerville, Nevada April 10-12, 2014 on a "*fact finding mission*." <sup>6</sup>

#### **Conflict #2: 2015 Priest River Armed Conflict, Bonner County, Idaho**

a. Representative Shea in August 2015 traveled to Priest River, Idaho and engaged in an armed conflict with the US Government Veteran's Administration (VA) in resistance to the planned lawful removal of firearms from a military veteran whose name had been added to the National Instant Criminal Background System (NICS) as a person determined by a healthcare professional as not eligible to purchase firearms.<sup>7</sup>

b. Representative Shea posted an "URGENT ACTION ALERT" to his Facebook site and called for Patriot Movement followers to travel to Priest River, ID and stand with him to prevent the Veterans Administration (VA) from removing the firearms.<sup>8</sup>

c. Representative Shea later posted on his Facebook site that he was "*Enroute to Idaho with a convoy of patriots...*"

d. Representative Shea speaking later, at a rally in Priest River, described the VA's actions as "*bureaucratic terrorism*". He claimed that such unconstitutional gun seizures had been going on throughout the country, and stated, "*Today it stops here in Priest River, Idaho.*" He later went on to say,

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<sup>2</sup> Exhibit 1A; R23, R204

<sup>3</sup> Exhibit 3A, 3B, 3C, 1B; R30

<sup>4</sup> R24, R25, R26, R27, R28, R31

<sup>5</sup> W14, W34, E12X

<sup>6</sup> E3C

<sup>7</sup> E11A, R43, R44, R123

<sup>8</sup> E1F(1)

“We are telling the Federal government they are going to have to come through us to get to this veteran.”<sup>9</sup>

e. Representative Shea was a participant in a detailed operations plan entitled “IDAHO DEPLOYMENT – Operation Armed Backyard” that resulted in the use of armed militia members who blocked access to the veteran’s home and prevented the lawful retrieval of the guns by the Veterans Administration.<sup>10</sup>

**Conflict #3: 2016 Malheur National Wildlife Refuge Armed Takeover, Harney County, Oregon**

a. Representative Shea in his leadership role as Chairman of the Coalition of Western States (COWS) along with the Liberty For All (LFA) III% – Washington militia leader and other members of COWS beginning around early November 2015 through January 2, 2016, engaged in conversations with Ammon Bundy and other militia members in the planning and preparation of the armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Burns, Oregon.<sup>11</sup>

b. Representative Shea, in his role as Chairman of COWS, published a press release on December 11, 2015 as a call to action for Patriot Movement members and militias to rally in Harney County Oregon against the US Government in support of two lawfully arrested, convicted and sentenced residents of Harney County who committed crimes against the US Government.<sup>12</sup>

c. Representative Shea as Chairman of COWS and identified with “*We The People – United Individuals of these States United: Coalition of Western States (COWS), Pacific Patriots Network (PPN) Bundy Family and Supporters, Oregon Oath Keepers, Idaho III%, Central Oregon Constitutional Guard, Oregon Tactical, Oregon Bearded Bastards, Liberty Watch Washington, Nevada Committee for Full Statehood, Rural Heritage Preservation Project, Liberty for All (LFA)* engaged in the preparation, final approval, support and dissemination of a *Redress of Grievance* document on December 11, 2015, that was presented to the Sheriff of Harney County Oregon. Arguments stated within the document included an assessment that two Harney County residents were victims of cruel and unusual punishment and were not afforded their rights to due process by the federal government; blamed Harney County and the State of Oregon for failing to protect the convicted residents’ constitutional rights; accused the US Government of abusing the federal court system in achieving its verdicts; asserted the federal investigation was flawed; accused the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruling as a violation of the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment; demanded the Harney County Oregon Sheriff to take action against the US Government and respond within 5 days or be considered negligent in his duty, and threatened the Harney County Sheriff would suffer undefined consequences to follow if he did not consider the set forth demands.<sup>13</sup>

d. Representative Shea on or about January 3, 2016, created a detailed military styled operation plan entitled “*Operation Cold Reality*” that included roles and responsibilities of COWS members and militia leadership in support of the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Harney County Oregon.

e. Representative Shea on January 4, 2016 through the use of encrypted email and using codename “*Verumbellator*,” covertly disseminated information to COWS member State Representatives from Washington, Idaho, and Nevada, and to Patriot Movement militia leaders and others, that detailed and warned of specific law enforcement operations and actions in response to the armed takeover of the

<sup>9</sup> R19, R43, R44

<sup>10</sup> W22, W24, E6A

<sup>11</sup>

<sup>12</sup> W9, W24, W28, E2E, E13B, E13F, E13G

<sup>13</sup> W22, W24, W28, E2A, E2B, E2C, E2D, E13G



Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Harney County Oregon. Representative Shea attached to that encrypted email a detailed military-styled operations plan entitled “*WARNING ORDER – Operation Cold Reality*” that set forth specific instructions to members of COWS, militia leaders and other unidentified persons also using code names, as to their specific roles and responsibilities in support of the armed occupiers. Representative Shea also detailed his uninvited intentions to travel to Burns, Oregon within days to follow to support the armed occupation.<sup>14</sup>

f. Representative Shea on January 5, 2016, again using codename “*Verumbellator*” distributed a second encrypted email and an updated Warning Order to COWS members and militia members using code names, entitled “*Oregon Update*” that included the updated military style operations plan “*Operation Cold Reality*” containing more specific instructions for COWS member State Representatives from Washington, Idaho and Nevada to travel to Burns, Oregon on January 9, 2016.<sup>15</sup>

g. Representative Shea traveled to Burns, Oregon on January 9, 2016 along with COWS State Representative members from Washington, Idaho and Oregon; demanded a meeting with the Harney County Sheriff who was unavailable; identified himself as a State Representative from Washington; did not disclose his COWS affiliation; met at the Harney County Courthouse with members of the law enforcement community to include the Harney County Sheriff’s Office, Harney County Administrative Judge, Harney County District Attorney, Marion County Sheriff’s Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); and insisted on traveling to the refuge with other State Representatives to meet with Ammon Bundy and the armed occupiers.

h. Representative Shea along with other COWS members present at the January 9, 2016 meeting at Harney County, Oregon referred to the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) as “*terrorists*,” gathered intelligence from the January 9, 2016 meeting regarding law enforcement strategies and operations; traveled from that same meeting to the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge on the same day; and met with Ammon Bundy and other armed occupiers despite warnings of extreme danger and against the will of law enforcement and other Oregon state elected officials.<sup>16</sup>

i. Representative Shea using the codename “*Verumbellator*” and between January 6, 2016 through January 10, 2016 continued as a sender or recipient of 28 combined follow-up covert emails among COWS and militia members regarding counterintelligence gathered at Burns, Oregon, specific to law enforcement operations and activities around the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.<sup>17</sup>

j. Representative Shea in support of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed occupation sometime between January 4, 2016 and January 27, 2016, sent LFA- Washington III % militia leader Anthony Bosworth into the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge to meet with Ammon Bundy, and to both report and gather intelligence to counter law enforcement operations.<sup>18</sup>

k. Representative Shea sometime after the February 11, 2016 ending of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed occupation, posted to his Facebook page, “*After much prayer, I’m afraid violence might be necessary to take our country back.*”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> W9, W22, W24, E2I, E2J, E2G

<sup>15</sup> W22, E2J, E2K, E2M, E2N

<sup>16</sup> W1, W3, W10, W20, E2R, E2Q, E13C R64, R69, R70, R71, R138

<sup>17</sup> W22, E2L

<sup>18</sup> [REDACTED]

<sup>19</sup> W7, R119, R128

1. Representative Shea on March 23, 2016, provided a signed statement to the Washington State House of Representatives Ethics Investigator that he traveled to Burns, Oregon on January 9-10, 2016 on a “*fact finding mission*” and that he was “*invited*” by Oregon elected officials.

## F. Summary Determination Other Facts

This investigation also identified the following findings:

**Finding #1** - Representative Shea participated in an act of domestic terrorism against the United States by his actions before and during the armed takeover and standoff at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. “*By statute Domestic Terrorism is defined as any act dangerous to human life that violates the U.S. criminal laws and appears to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influences the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or affects the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping.*”<sup>20</sup>

**Finding #2** – Representative Shea engaged in intimidation tactics against a political opponent in September 2012, posted a photo of himself on his Facebook page while standing in front of the opponent’s residence, and refused to remove the online photo at the request of the opponent, party affiliates and law enforcement.<sup>21</sup>

**Finding #3**– Representative Shea engaged in secure online chat using the codename “*Verumbellator*” from October 29 through December 12, 2017 that included the identification of opposition political activists, condoned violence and intimidation, and offered to do background checks on named persons in opposition to his political ideology.<sup>22</sup>

**Finding #4** – Representative Shea from 2014 through 2019 condoned intimidation by supporters of his political opposition to include activists, government officials, Muslims, and others who speak or act in opposition to his personal beliefs and his political agenda.<sup>23</sup>

**Finding #5** – Representative Shea from 2014 through 2017 engaged in counterintelligence gathering and acted in opposition to the lawful efforts of federal, state and local law enforcement.<sup>24</sup>

**Finding #6**– Representative Shea in 2016 engaged in and supported the training of youth and young adults to fight a Holy war.<sup>25</sup>

**Finding #7** – Representative Shea wrote the Biblical Basis for War and advocated the replacement of US democracy with a theocracy and the killing of all males who do not agree.<sup>26</sup>

**Finding #8** - Representative Shea engaged in and promoted annual Patriot Movement militia training and readiness exercises in support of anticipated armed conflicts against federal, state and local governments and law enforcement.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> R234

<sup>21</sup> R16, W4, E4A

<sup>22</sup> W22, E4B, E4C, E4D, R173, R174, R175, R176, R178, R179, R180, R181, R182, R183, R227,

<sup>23</sup> W22, W23, R18, R196

<sup>24</sup> E7B, E7C, E7D, E2I, R19, R23, R24, R25, 26, R28, R30, R37, R43, R44, R64

<sup>25</sup> W22, E6A, E6B, E6C, E6D, R151, R152, R205, R206, R207

<sup>26</sup> W22, E5A, E5B, E5C, R149, R153, R154, R156, R157, R158, R161, R167, R170, R171, R172, R177, R193, R195, R196, R208, R213, R214, R215, R216, R217, R218, R220

<sup>27</sup> W22, R127, R134, R139, R142, R143, R146, R147, R148, R161, R162, R165, R168, R170, R184, R185, R192, R200, R208, R226

## Details of Investigation

### Section 1: Analysis of Key Findings

As stated earlier, Investigators obtained evidence that Representative Shea planned, engaged in, and promoted a total of three armed conflicts of political violence against the United States (US) Government in three states outside the State of Washington over a three-year period to include 2014, 2015 and 2016. The analysis of these conflicts and other incidents are documented below and in date order of occurrence.

#### **Conflict #1: 2014 Armed Standoff Against the US Government, Bunkerville, Nevada**

**Key Finding #1:** Representative Shea traveled to and engaged in the 2014 armed conflict at Bunkerville, Nevada during April 2014.

**Background:** On April 5, 2014 Nevada rancher Cliven Bundy, his family and several protestors engaged in a standoff with the US Bureau of Land Management (BLM) in defiance of a federal court order after he refused to pay \$1 million in past due grazing rights fees for over a 21-year period. Bundy claimed the Federal Government had no right to own land.<sup>28</sup>

On April 9, 2014 Representative Shea dispatched Liberty for All (LFA) -Washington militia leader Anthony Bosworth, a close associate, to the site of the conflict near Bunkerville, NV to assess the situation in support of the Bundys. LFA leader Bosworth first sent communications to a militia blog asking for help then later posted to the blog, "*Mission is a go*" before departing for the conflict with two associates at 6:30pm that same day.<sup>29</sup> The Oath Keepers militia announced Representative Shea was leading a group of state legislators and others to the Bundy ranch in support of the Bundy standoff.

On April 10, 2014 at 1:47pm Representative Shea posted a callup on the Sipsey Street III% blog instructing "patriots" to rally at Bunkerville. He wrote:

*"We dispatched a group of patriots from Washington State to Nevada to report directly what is happening on the ground and to be vigil of prayer for peace and freedom at the Bundy Ranch. Enough is enough. A sniper rifle is not due process and I agree with the Nevada Governor this is pure intimidation especially since the court case has not even run its course. NOW IS THE TIME TO STAND." He goes on to ask for prayer for all traveling to the Bundy Ranch. Then advises the readers, "I have put out the call to legislators in 5 states to join Representative David Taylor and me in traveling to Nevada in support of State Assemblywoman Michele Fiore and the Bundy family." He states in his open letter, this call out was in conjunction with the call out to the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) and the Oath Keepers. He also invited all patriots in Washington and Idaho to travel to Nevada and "Stand against tyranny on the range." He concluded with, "This involves all of us. It will take all of us to restore a God honoring Constitutional Republic."<sup>30</sup>*

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<sup>28</sup> R9

<sup>29</sup> [REDACTED]

<sup>30</sup> E1A, R23

At the time Representative Shea published his call to arms, there were approximately 100 local protesters on site. Less than 24 hours after his call to arms, approximately 1500 armed militia members were on site in Bunkerville, Nevada, armed and ready to fight the Federal Government.<sup>31</sup>

On April 12, 2014 LFA-Washington militia leader Bosworth posted to the Reagan Wing blog:

*"... we are receiving intel from lots of credible sources the BLM was still moving in for, if you will, a massacre and we had live feed of armored vehicles moving in. I got orders to pull out of the hot zone and I sent out scouts to determine whether we were boxed in or if we had some safe exit routes. I had orders from Matt Shea to PULL OUT NOW and retreat across the border."<sup>32</sup>*

In the same post, speaking about his wife bringing supplies in support of the armed militants, Bosworth wrote:

*"We communicated with her through state representatives so as not to have a direct link to us here on the ground and told her to NOT ATTEMPT TO COME INTO THE CAMP but to continue forward and cross into Arizona. If she was to be stopped, she was simply "on vacation, heading for Arizona."*

Representative Shea traveled to the standoff on April 10 – 12, 2014 where he spoke in support of Bundy. He, along with other state legislators from multiple states, joined the protest in support of Bundy at the Bundy Ranch, and on April 14, 2014 formed the Coalition of Western States (COWS) with other legislators and politicians to support land rights issues. Representative Shea was named Chairman of COWS.<sup>33</sup>

The armed standoff carried with it a significant risk of violence and bodily harm. Physical confrontations between the BLM and protesters were videotaped and went viral on social media. More ranchers joined the protestors. Militia groups contacted Ammon Bundy, then Bundy's wife went online and called in additional militia participants, many of whom were prior and active military, to include the Oath Keepers, III%, Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) and the White Mountain Militia.

The militias appeared at the Bundy ranch in full military-style camouflage uniforms equipped with long guns and handguns with the intent to defend the Bundy's position, recover the Bundy's cattle from the Federal Government and vowed to shoot to kill any BLM agent who crossed their line of defense.<sup>34</sup> As a result, the Federal Government called in the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Governor and Lt. Governor of Nevada, the Las Vegas Metro Police Department, and the Nevada Highway Patrol. Sensing that bloodshed and potential civil war was inevitable, BLM authorities called for agents and law enforcement officers to stand down and free the cattle. This emboldened the militias, the Patriot Movement and the Bundys as a win against the Federal Government.

Representative Shea's actions in the armed standoff at Bunkerville reveal evidence of his planning and promoting political violence against employees of the US Government and law enforcement officers who were lawfully attempting to execute a federal court order.

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<sup>31</sup> E1D, E1E

<sup>32</sup> E1D

<sup>33</sup> E3C, R24, R26, R27, R28

<sup>34</sup> R124

The three-week armed standoff ended without bloodshed. Cliven Bundy and 18 others were indicted on Federal charges. All charges against Cliven Bundy, Ammon Bundy, Ryan Bundy and a co-defendant were dismissed with prejudice. The cases are currently under appeal as of Nov. 8, 2019.

On June 22, 2014, following the April end to the Bunkerville standoff, Representative Shea attended a meeting at a Spokane area Mexican Restaurant with at least 4 other men.<sup>35</sup> One man was identified as Stewart Rhodes, founder of the Oath Keepers and another is known as Elias Alias, an officer of Oath Keepers and prominent blogger for the organization. During the meeting, W34 overheard the men discussing militia, weapons, stockpiling ammunition, Bundy Ranch, Special Forces and snipers. They passed around what was believed to be a night vision scope and a map. The names Stewart Rhoades and Ryan Payne were overheard during the meeting and the witnesses, fearing the men were planning a domestic terror attack, reported the incident to law enforcement after photographing the participants. Representative Shea, Rhodes and Elias Alias participated in the armed standoff at Bunkerville and can be clearly identified in the photos.

### **Conflict #2: 2015 Priest River Armed Conflict, Bonner County, Idaho**

**Key Finding #2:** Representative Shea traveled to and engaged in the 2015 armed conflict at Priest River, Idaho.

**Background:** In August 2015 an elderly veteran of Priest River, ID who had suffered a stroke resulting in a healthcare professional adding his name to the National Instant Criminal Background System (NICS) as a person not eligible to purchase firearms. The veteran was notified by the Veterans Administration (VA) that a VA employee would come to his home to inspect and remove his firearms pursuant to VA regulations for individuals receiving VA benefits.<sup>36</sup>

a. Representative Shea called for Patriot Movement followers to come to Priest River, ID and stand with the Veteran to prevent the VA from removing his firearms.

b. On August 6, 2015 at 7:32am, Representative Shea posted a call to action on his Facebook site entitled "URGENT ACTION ALERT" that stated:

*"The federal government is going to attempt the gun confiscation of a Vietnam War Veteran. The VA is going to conduct a check for and confiscate his guns based on nothing more than a stroke which has left him with some mild physical impairment. After evaluating the VA claims and letters and getting information from the head of the American Legion Auxiliary in Bonner County, it is clear this is not warranted. WE CANNOT LET THIS STAND. THE SEIZURE OF THE GUNS OF ONE OF US... IS THE SEIZURE OF THE GUNS OF ALL OF US. PLEASE ATTEND IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. RIGHT NOW WE HAVE LEGISLATORS AND CITIZENS FROM WASHINGTON AND IDAHO HEADED TO THE LOCATION. REP. Heather Scott HAS ASKED US ALL FOR HELP SINCE THIS IS HER DISTRICT AND I WILL STAND BY HER.*

*In Freedom,  
Matt Shea"*<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> E12X

<sup>36</sup> R43, R44,

<sup>37</sup> E11A

c. At 8:53am Representative Shea posted “*Enroute to Idaho with a convoy of patriots...*”

d. Representative Shea spoke later that day at a rally then posted updates to his Facebook site again following his speech.<sup>38</sup> Reports indicated that approximately 100 individuals showed up, many armed, and stood with Representative Shea, at the veteran’s home to prevent the VA employee from entering. Representative Shea can be heard in a YouTube video of his speech at the rally referring to the VA’s actions as “*bureaucratic terrorism*” and claimed such gun seizures have been going on throughout the country and “*Today it stops here in Priest River, Idaho*” then goes on to say later in his speech, “*Today we are telling the Federal government they are going to have to come through us to get to this veteran.*” Representative Shea has spoken publicly of the incident and claimed credit for organizing the confrontation.<sup>39</sup>

In the course of this investigation, Investigators obtained a document entitled “IDAHO DEPLOYMENT – Operation Armed Backyard”<sup>40</sup> The operations plan is segmented into 9 sections as follows:

1. Strategy
2. Goals
3. Message
4. Immediate Action
5. Plan – Advance Party
6. O/O implement Media Plan
7. Establish Radio & T.V presence with friendly hosts.
8. O/O – Organize Civilian Action Teams
9. O/O Implement Medical

In sections 4 and 5 of the operations plan initials are assigned to action items. Representative Shea is known to frequently use the code name “*Verumbellator*” on confidential communications with close associates and frequently signs communications “VB”. The following action items bear the initials VB:

*Section 4 Immediate Action:*

- a. *Establish Timeline (Make sure people aren't waiting around) – VB*
- b. *Identify Two Rally Sites: Pre-Meeting, Citizens – VB*
- e. *Pre-Meeting between C&C and local liaisons – VB*
- d. *Establish and disseminate Task List. – VB*
- e. *Create sign messages. Print Signs, Build Crosses. – VB*

*Section 5 Plan:*

- ii. *Identify Attorney Team for Defense – VB*

Other initials found in the document attached to action items include AB, JJS, Rep. H. Scott, BB, Barb C, and DR. AB is believed to refer to Anthony Bosworth, head of the LFA -Washington 3% militia and close associate of Representative Shea; JJS is believed to refer to John Jacob Schmidt, an alias used by Jack Robertson, an actor in the militia movement and close associate of Representative Shea; and Rep. H. Scott is believed to refer to Representative Heather Scott, Idaho, State Representative who has actively supported Patriot Movement political issues. The initials BB, Barb C, and DR remain unidentified.

It is more probable than not that individuals involved in the planning and execution of the Priest River incident were preparing for a conflict that carried with it significant risk of violence. Some of those action items include the following:

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<sup>38</sup> R44

<sup>39</sup> R225

<sup>40</sup> E11B

- Section 4, item iii. Cheat Sheet w/ Key Numbers (Bail, Media, Leaders) – AB
- Section 4, item h. Establish Secure Communications and Intercept. – JJS
- Section 4, item n. Establish Reporting Center/ Intelligence Hub. – AB
- Section 5, item e. There are three routes in. Set up early warning LP/OP. – AB
- Section 5, item h. Establish evacuation routes. – AB
- Section 5, item iii. Identify Patriot Bail Bondsmen. – Rep. Scott
- Section 6, item vi. No rifles visible. Leaders preferably concealed pistol.
- Section 6, item c. Identify multiple resupply routes.
- Section 6, item e. Establish procedures for evacuation and contingency resupply.
- Section 9, O/O Implement Medical:
  - a. Establish aid station and identify trained medical personnel.
  - b. Identify all capable pastors and clergy.
  - c. Identify multiple evacuation routes.
  - d. Establish procedures for evacuation & emergency communications.

The document entitled, “IDAHO DEPLOYMENT – Operation Armed Backyard” offers evidence of planning and coordination with others for an operation that Representative Shea understood could lead to violence and could develop into a protracted engagement with the Federal government as experienced in his earlier Bunkerville standoff.

**Conflict #3: 2016 Malheur National Wildlife Refuge Armed Takeover, Harney County, Oregon**

**Key Finding #3:** Representative Shea along with other COWS members and Ammon Bundy engaged in phone calls and planned the 2016 takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge; engaged in the conflict by directing COWS members and militias in support of the takeover, and traveled to Burns, Oregon and met with refuge armed occupiers contrary to appeals and warnings from law enforcement and Oregon state elected officials.<sup>41</sup>

**Background:** Representative Shea was on site and supported Cliven Bundy and his son, Ammon Bundy, during the April 2014 Bunkerville armed standoff against the Federal Government. In late 2015, Ammon Bundy and the COWS organization supported Ranchers Dwight Hammond and Steven Hammond of Harney County Oregon who were convicted for arsons they committed on federal lands in June 2012. The Hammonds were initially sentenced to less than the minimum required 5-year prison sentences. The Federal Government appealed the less-than-minimum sentences and the case was heard by the 9<sup>th</sup> circuit Court of Appeals. The court found for the Federal Government and applied the mandatory minimum 5-year sentences with credit for time served. The Hammonds were scheduled to begin serving the remainder of their sentences on January 4, 2016, two days after the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed takeover. The Hammond’s case became a significant issue for the Patriot Movement with its nexus to its favored political agenda items including lands rights issues, perceived overreach of the Federal Government and the constitutionalist view that the Sheriff is the highest law enforcement officer in the land with the Federal Government having no jurisdiction over the states.<sup>42</sup>

The issue drew the attention of Ammon Bundy, Ryan Payne and COWS. Ammon Bundy is the son of Cliven Bundy who Representative Shea supported during the Bunkerville armed standoff against agents of the BLM and other law enforcement officers in 2014. Ryan Payne is a leader of the Montana militia

<sup>41</sup> [REDACTED]

<sup>42</sup> R48

and founder of Operation Mutual Defense, an umbrella organization that coordinates and provides personnel and support to militia tactical operations.

### **Investigators Interview of the Sheriff Harney County**

Investigators interviewed Sheriff Dave Ward, Harney County, Oregon, in this matter and he provided the following information:

In November 2015, Ammon Bundy and Ryan Payne began attempting to convince Sheriff Ward to intercede on behalf of the Hammonds to prevent them from being returned to federal prison. Bundy and Payne issued an ultimatum to Sheriff Ward that, *"If you don't do your job, we will bring thousands of people here to do your job for you."* They went on to state that they would create *"extreme civil unrest in the community."* Payne then told the sheriff, *"We won't be able to control what they might do."* As they left the office, Ryan Payne told the Sheriff, *"I don't want to have to come back from Montana."* It is more probable that not that Payne was referring to a call up for militia groups to gather at Burns, Oregon as a show of force against the Sheriff.

According to the Sheriff, on the same day within one hour of leaving the meeting with Bundy and Payne, Richard Mack, a member of COWS and associate of Representative Shea who Investigators identified as the head of the Constitutional Sheriffs and Police Officers Association (CSPOA), called the Sheriff and extended an offer in dealing with the government overreach in the Hammond case. Mack spoke very highly of the Bundy family.

Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada, identified as a close associate of Representative Shea and member of COWS also called the Sheriff that same week in support the Sheriff stepping in to prevent the Hammonds from going back to federal prison. The call ended and he heard nothing further from her. The COWS organization that is Chaired by Representative Shea, is included in a list of organizations that made formal demands to the Sheriff in a document entitled "Redress of Grievance" emailed and hand delivered to Sheriff Ward weeks later.

By November 17, 2015 the Sheriff's Office was flooded with anonymous phone calls with profanity, name calling, threats of violence and the accusations that the Sheriff was failing to uphold his oath of office. The volume of calls overwhelmed the dispatch center and prevented 911 dispatchers from being able to address real emergency calls.

On November 19, 2015, Ammon Bundy returned to Sheriff Ward's office with 10 additional men, six who were armed. The group included members of the Oath Keepers Militia, Pacific Patriots Network Militia, Bearded Bastards Militia, Idaho III% militia, Central Oregon Constitutional Guard Militia, Operation Mutual Defense and Bundy family and friends. According to the Sheriff, several persons in the group mentioned they had participated in the earlier Sugar Pine Mine incident in Josephine County Oregon. The incident was an armed standoff between the Oath Keepers militia, III% militia and the BLM that occurred as a result of an unpermitted mining operation.<sup>43</sup>

During the discussion the group told the Sheriff, *"We will bring more people to town than your four deputies can handle."* They also told the sheriff they would deploy into Harney County and remain self-sufficient without re-supply for several weeks. Bundy and Payne spoke of tyranny, government overreach, intimidation and the grabbing of lands by the federal government against the Hammonds. They still demanded the Sheriff stand up for the Hammonds against the government. Bundy gave the Sheriff another ultimatum and told him he had one week to do the right thing or *"We're going to do it for you."* It

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<sup>43</sup> R230



is more probable than not that Bundy was referring to an incursion of militias into Harney County led by COWS. The Sheriff refused Bundy's ultimatum and he and his family began to be the subject of social media attacks and the subjects of threats and intimidation.

In December 2015 Burns, Oregon, the Harney County Seat, was overrun with heavily armed militia members who filled all available hotel rooms and campgrounds and then openly threatened US Fish and Wildlife employees, the Sheriff, local political leaders and their families and local Burns citizens in their protest against Federal land management and treatment of the Hammonds. Militia members made threats against anyone speaking out against Bundy and Payne and began pushing their agenda at coffee meetings. They showed up at local churches to get support and handed out flyers at grocery stores. The Sheriff told Investigators that militia members committed obvious traffic violations to provoke traffic stops to set up opportunities to create confrontations with law enforcement. Militia members switched license plates on their vehicles and harassed and frightened local citizens by following them in their cars.

On December 7, 2015 Ryan Payne returned to the Sheriff's office and repeated his demands and threats. According to Sheriff Ward, when it became obvious that he would not support the militias and interfere with the Hammond's return to prison, Bundy and Payne tried to rent a building to surveil the Sheriff's office. Intelligence received by Sheriff Ward informed him that the militias had put out calls for shooters and armed bodyguards to protect Ammon Bundy and Ryan Payne with the use of lethal force to prevent their arrest. They also posted on social media their intent to camp out at the Hammond's house and guard them from law enforcement.

The Sheriff told investigators that Ryan Payne again returned to his office on December 11, 2015 armed with a firearm. He complained to the Sheriff that his (the Sheriff's) parents had threatened him at the American Legion. Payne then accused the Sheriff of threatening him through his parents. Payne told the Sheriff the Feds would send threats in order to poison his mind against them. The Sheriff also received an email from a "Patriot" group that had been discussing his abduction and delivery for a trial on charges of treason.

Also, on December 11, 2015, Sheriff Ward received a letter from the Hammonds' Attorney stating that the Hammonds intended to turn themselves in on January 4, 2016 and that Ammon Bundy nor anyone else speaks for the Hammond family. That same day, the Bundy Family issued on their website, and Ammon Bundy and hand delivered to the Sheriff, a document entitled "*Redress of Grievance*" from "*We the People – United Individuals of these States United: Coalition of Western States (COWS), Pacific Patriot Network (PPN), Bundy Family and Supporters, Oregon Oath Keepers, Idaho III%, Central Oregon Constitutional Guard, Oregon Tactical, Oregon Bearded Bastards, Liberty Watch Washington, Nevada Committee for Full Statehood, Rural Heritage Preservation Project and Liberty For All*" to Governor Kate Brown, Governor of Oregon and other Harney County Oregon officials.<sup>44</sup> Metadata shows the document was authored by Ammon Bundy beginning on December 8, 2015, and finalized on December 11, 2015. The grievance accused the US Government of abusing the Federal Court system and acting outside the US Constitution in charging and convicting Dwight and Steven Hammond of Federal crimes. Based upon the legal and constitutional underpinnings of the document to include Revolutionary War era legal language as a right to petition grievances and to make a complaint, it is more probable than not that the "Redress of Grievance" was co-authored with Ammon Bundy, COWS Chairman Representative Shea and COWS Legal Counsel KrisAnne Hall.

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<sup>44</sup> E2A, E2B, E2C, 2D, W28, R52

### **COWS Press Release**

On this same date, December 11, 2015, the COWS organization that was founded and is chaired by Representative Shea, issued a press release in support of the Hammonds and accused the BLM of “Continuing to engage in a literal, intentional conspiracy to deprive ranchers and farmers of their property rights throughout the west.”<sup>45</sup> The Press release further stated, “This is war on rural America”, a statement used by Representative Shea at the Bundy standoff in 2014.

### **December 2015 Phone Calls between Ammon Bundy and COWS**

COWS members, to include Representative Shea, participated in a total of four meetings with Ammon Bundy that took place within three to five days in advance of the armed takeover. The preplanning of the armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge is corroborated by trial testimony given by occupier Blaine Cooper who cooperated with the US Government and testified that a secret meeting was held with Ammon Bundy, and other occupiers Jason Patrick, Jon Ritzheimer, Joe O’Shaughnessy, Corey Lequieu, Ryan Payne and BJ Soper in late December 2015 to discuss the takeover of the refuge. The meeting was so secret that Bundy told those assembled to turn off their cellphones and leave laptop computers outside and away from the meeting. Cooper said he was at the meeting that took place and discussion included the Sheriff’s refusal to assist the Hammonds, the rally scheduled for January 2, 2016 and the upcoming armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Representative Shea’s and COWS’ participation in the preplanning meetings with Bundy was confirmed by information provided by three witnesses.

### **The Armed Takeover**

On January 2, 2016, during a planned demonstration in support of the Hammonds, a group of armed, militia members broke off from the demonstration and took over the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.<sup>46</sup> The action was portrayed as a spontaneous act, but this investigation has obtained information that the armed takeover was meticulously planned in December 2015 by conspirators that included Representative Shea.

### **Representative Shea’s Planning and Engagement in the Armed Takeover**

█ provided information to Investigators that Representative Shea and his close associate, Anthony Bosworth, LFA Washington III% militia leader, along other COWS members, participated in four telephone meetings in advance of the takeover with Ammon Bundy and other militia members to plan the armed takeover of the Malheur refuge. This information was independently corroborated █

█ In that meeting Lisa Bundy expressed her concerns that Anthony Bosworth, who she then feared was an FBI informant, had participated in the four meetings to plan the armed takeover.

Additional documentary evidence discovered during this investigation revealed that Representative Shea also authored and circulated an operations plan directed for use by militias and COWS members at the standoff. He also sent LFA Washington III% leader Bosworth into the occupied Malheur compound without the knowledge of law enforcement, then directed his activities during the standoff as well as the activities of others through Bosworth. Bosworth later posted to Facebook, “LFA is taking orders directly from COWS.”<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> E2E, W24, R51

<sup>46</sup> R53

<sup>47</sup> E2S, E2H

On January 4, 2016, at 1:25am, Representative Shea, sent an email to a select group of 15 private individuals using code names. The email was sent over the encrypted email platform ProtonMail.<sup>48</sup> The email was entitled “Subject: “Warning Order – Operation Cold Reality” and contained an attachment identified as “Warning Order.docx.” Copies of the email and document were provided to Investigators in August 2019, by W22, who was an original recipient of Representative Shea’s email. Investigators determined through metadata search that the document was created and saved as a Word document file entitled “Warning Order - Operation Cold Reality – Important Burns Opp Order.doc” on January 3, 2016, at 9:29pm Pacific.<sup>49</sup>

W22 identified him/herself by code name on the email from “Verumbellator” (Representative Shea) and identified the other 14 recipients as:

- “desertscout1” - a codename for Cope Reynolds whom W22 identified to be a resident of the State of Arizona and a known supporter of the COWS
- “scoutirish” - a codename for Anthony Bosworth, leader of the LFA Washington III% militia, a close associate of Representative Shea who provides armed security for him at rallies and other events.
- W22 did not know email recipient [libertasveritas1@protonmail.com](mailto:libertasveritas1@protonmail.com)..
- [mcknife@protonmail.ch](mailto:mcknife@protonmail.ch) -a codename for Steve McLaughlin, who was a Republican candidate for Washington Commissioner of Public Lands in the 2016 elections.
- [greenbean@protonmail.com](mailto:greenbean@protonmail.com) – codename for Representative Heather Scott, Idaho, who is a member of COWS and associate of Representative Shea. In November 19, 2015, Representative Shea responded to a WA State Representative in an email, “She’s one of us.”<sup>50</sup> It is more probable than not that he was referring to Representative Scott as a member of COWS and the Patriot Movement.
- [johnjacob@protonmail.ch](mailto:johnjacob@protonmail.ch) - a codename for Jack Robertson of Radio Free Redoubt, who uses the alias “John Jacob Schmidt.”
- [libertyfirst@protonmail.com](mailto:libertyfirst@protonmail.com) - a codename for KrisAnne Hall, a Constitutional scholar and Tea Party figure who is also a member of COWS and serves as the COWS Legal Advisor.
- “VIPERCAPSA” - a codename for former Representative Graham Hunt, WA.
- “snowmanx” - a codename for Eric Stagg, the leader of the Central Washington Lower Valley Assembly
- W22 could not identify email recipient [commsguy@protonmail.ch](mailto:commsguy@protonmail.ch).
- W22 could not identify email recipient [erict@protonmail.ch](mailto:erict@protonmail.ch).
- [abyrd4usa@protonmail.ch](mailto:abyrd4usa@protonmail.ch) is the email address of Anne Byrd, co-founder of the Marble Community Fellowship, Stevens County, Washington.
- [Excubitor@protonmail.ch](mailto:Excubitor@protonmail.ch) - codename for Lyle Rapacki, the Vice Chairman of COWS.
- [mambrosino@protonmail.com](mailto:mambrosino@protonmail.com) - the codename for Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada, who is also the Nevada Coordinator for COWS.

In Representative Shea’s email he advised the recipients as follows:

*“Please see the Warning Order attached. Please pay attention to and abide by the classification. This is a military style planning brief. Please use this as a standard form in the future. We are receiving intel right now that arrest warrants are signed and the FBI strike team is preparing to dramatically escalate. We are waiting till tomorrow morning*

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<sup>48</sup> E2I, W22

<sup>49</sup> E2M

<sup>50</sup> E2Y

*to evaluate the situation and make the call up. If you are not familiar with the REDCON Status then contact me via WICKR.<sup>51</sup> The call up will go out over WICKR and Proton<sup>52</sup>. That's when the timer starts. Please confirm you are available to be part of the delegation and receipt of this message. P.S. The Chinese Stock Market just Crashed and they are suspending trading. Pray hard tonight!*

The message was signed “*V/B Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.*”

The Warning Order document attached to the email entitled “WARNING ORDER – Operation Cold Reality”, consisting of 3 pages, was classified on each page as “CONFIDENTIAL – Send/Store Via Encrypted Means Only.” Investigators are familiar with operations plans from prior law enforcement experience and determined the document was prepared in military fashion using standard law enforcement and military format known as the SMEAC model – Situation, Mission, Execution, Administration Logistics, Command and Control protocol.

Representative Shea described the “Situation” at Burns, Oregon as the FBI having control and that a “swift resolution” is the intent of government forces, that the situation will dramatically escalate on “tomorrow” January 4, 2016”, indicating to investigators the WARNING Order was written on January 3, 2016. Representative Shea also stated, “*The President agenda this week is gun control and the actions of those on the ground currently in Burns will be used to further that agenda. The government's after action review following the Bundy Ranch indicate they will not allow another Patriot success and the likelihood of violence on the part of the government is high.*”

In the document, Representative Shea goes on to refer to “*Bundy*” and the fact there are about “*a dozen patriots*” occupying the wildlife refuge with the intent to continue doing so indefinitely.” He refers to the “*Three Percent Movement (National)*” and that “*Mike V. (Mike Vanderboegh) has called for a team of negotiators to go to Burns... and that members are preparing to fight locally.*” Representative Shea then references the Oath Keepers (National) and indicates there has been an order to stand down but many are ignoring the order.

In the WARNING ORDER, Representative Shea addressed the “*Mission*” of the operation and states, “*Be prepared to deploy COWS/AmRRON, LWWA, LFA negotiating teams to Burns on 2 hours' notice.*”

In the “*Execution*” phase of the operation Representative Shea addressed the “*Intent*” as “*Conclude a peaceful resolution to the situation and re-establish legitimate Patriot leadership over the movement. Force the BLM to address its utter failure as an agency and embolden people at the state and local level to reclaim ground for liberty.*”

The Execution Strategy of the operation as stated by Representative Shea in the operations plan included the following:

1. *Prayer coverage*
2. *Putting pressure on Federal, state and local officials to address BLM tyranny*
3. *Expose them as tyrants, by making them act like tyrants,*
4. *Establish real-time communications and redundancy*
5. *Confront and highlight illegal government action at every turn*
6. *Place blame squarely on BLM*

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<sup>51</sup> WICKR is an instant messaging application that allows users to exchange end-to-end encrypted and content-expiring messages.

<sup>52</sup> Proton refers to ProtonMail, an end-to-end encrypted email service using client-side encryption to protect email contents and user data before being sent to ProtonMail servers, unlike other common email providers such as Gmail and Outlook.com. Source: [Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ProtonMail)

7. *Go on offense in media, court and political arena*
8. *Throw up as many obstacles to violent action by the government as possible.*

Representative Shea presented 5 goals of the operation:

1. *Peaceful resolution. No one hurt. Prevent the government from doing something stupid*
2. *BLM stands down, issues an apology for all abusive actions*
3. *Public opinion swayed to our side*
4. *Citizens emboldened and educated to rally to change and organize on local level*
5. *Re-establish legitimate leadership over Patriot Movement.*

W22 was included as a recipient of his email because each recipient was given specific assignments in the WARNING ORDER – Operation Cold Reality document. Representative Shea specifically instructed W22 in the document to *“Prepare, plan and finalize security detail and detail plan for 5 legislators.”* Instructions from Representative Shea to W22 also included, *“On order, deploy with 3 hours’ notice. Deploy security detail. Identify possible Patriot Bondsman. On order coordinate housing/hotels for negotiation team. Be prepared to sweep all meeting rooms.”*

Representative Shea detailed specific *“Tasks to Organizations”* that included instructions for the *“LFA”* known by W22 to be the LFA – Washington III% militia headed by Anthony Bosworth; *“LWWA”*, known by the witness as Liberty Watch Washington, headed by Steve McLaughlin; *“AmRRON”* known by the witness to be the American Radio Redoubt Operations Network; *“Marble”* whom witness knew to be Anne and Barry Byrd of the Marble Community Fellowship in Stevens County, Washington; and the *Coalition of Western States or COWS*, regarding rapid deployment of these named groups to Burns, Oregon to *“conduct reconnaissance, establish a social media communications messaging network, collect intelligence on law enforcement and government operations, establish evacuation routes, establish counterintelligence and counter recon teams, establish a command post, identify a press briefing and press conference area, establish emergency signals and code word plans, establish a communications intercept plan, establish an emergency blackout communications plan that would still allow live audio and broadcast feed, prepare a local radio station for news broadcasts.”*

Specific COWS instructions ordered by Representative Shea included *“coordinating a negotiating team of elected officials, pastors and law enforcement, deploy COWS to Burns, Oregon, issue press release upon deployment, bring sound system and stage background, bring emergency medical supplies, food and water, conduct morning, afternoon and evening public briefs, refute all rumors, give concrete examples of aggression (government), create public information page on Facebook and Twitter, establish an uplink for real time video feeds, conduct routine interviews with friendly media, establish radio and TV presence with friendly hosts, coordinate follow on elected officials, peace officers, pastors, and other grassroots leaders to arrive as needed.”*

The WARNING ORDER – Operation Cold Reality document from Representative Shea also included detailed coordinating instructions around readiness conditions; priority intelligence requirements intended to gather intelligence on the government, and law enforcement deployment of drones, armored vehicles, aircraft, SWAT, snipers, National Guard.

Representative Shea instructed that *“PIRs will change and be modified as the situation dictates. They are priority traffic and if observed must be reported via a secured medium to codenames Scout, Fox519 and Verumbellator. Rules of Engagement, Messaging, Timeline, Logistics to include travel, lodging,*

*food/water, Medevac, Command & Signal, Succession of Command and Locations, all of which are more detailed in WARNING ORDER.”*

On January 5, 2016 at 3:00pm, W22 was a recipient of a second email concerning Malheur from codename [verumbellator@protonmail.com](mailto:verumbellator@protonmail.com) aka Representative Shea, entitled “Oregon Update.”<sup>53</sup> The email included an *updated “Opord”* or Operations Order consisting of 4 pages and was addressed to unidentified persons [libertasveritas1@protonmail.com](mailto:libertasveritas1@protonmail.com) and [countygreen@protonmail.com](mailto:countygreen@protonmail.com).

W22 identified recipients of the January 5, 2016 email as follows:

1. [libertyfirst@protonmail.ch](mailto:libertyfirst@protonmail.ch), aka KrisAnne Hall, COWS Legal Advisor
2. [greenbean@protonmail.com](mailto:greenbean@protonmail.com), aka Rep Heather Scott, Idaho and COWS member
3. [desertscout1@protonmail.ch](mailto:desertscout1@protonmail.ch), aka Cope Reynolds, Arizona and COWS member
4. [scoutirish@protonmail.com](mailto:scoutirish@protonmail.com), aka Anthony Bosworth LFA-WA III militia and COWS member
5. [mcknife@protonmail.ch](mailto:mcknife@protonmail.ch), aka Steve McLaughlin, LWWA and COWS member
6. [johnjacob@protonmail.ch](mailto:johnjacob@protonmail.ch), aka John Jacob Schmidt, aka Jack Robertson
7. [viperacapsa@protonmail.com](mailto:viperacapsa@protonmail.com), aka Rep Graham Hunt, WA and COWS member
8. [snowmanx@protonmail.ch](mailto:snowmanx@protonmail.ch), aka Eric Stag
9. [comsguy@protonmail.ch](mailto:comsguy@protonmail.ch), (unidentified)
10. [erict73@protonmail.ch](mailto:erict73@protonmail.ch), (unidentified)
11. [abyrd4usa@protonmail.com](mailto:abyrd4usa@protonmail.com), aka Anne and Barry Byrd
12. [excubitor@protonmail.ch](mailto:excubitor@protonmail.ch), aka Lyle Rapacki, COWS
13. [mabrosino@protonmail.com](mailto:mabrosino@protonmail.com), aka Rep Michele Fiore, Nevada and COWS
14. [commsguy@protonmail.com](mailto:commsguy@protonmail.com), unidentified
15. [erict73@protonmail.ch](mailto:erict73@protonmail.ch), unidentified

The email contents were very specific to what W22 knew to be pertaining to an update regarding the armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge that occurred on January 2, 2016 at Harney County, Oregon.

“*Verumbellator*” aka Representative Shea stated in the email “*All teams are organizing and almost ready to deploy.*” He continued with “*We have good confirmation of the facts on the ground*”. According to [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], Anthony Bosworth, LFA-WA III% leader was deployed by Representative Shea to Burns, Oregon during the week of January 4, 2016 and was possibly the source of intelligence of law enforcement activities and actions on the ground.

Representative Shea went on to say in the email, “*Ranchers are in support of us, but feel they cannot be publicly (2 of our contacts said this)*” .... “*Just today we identified a possible State Rep in Oregon and County Commissioner that may be on board and request our help. The County Commissioner has not called me yet and I am calling the State Rep this afternoon. We cannot go in there as more outsiders.*”

According to W22, Representative Shea’s comments to the email recipients indicated that he was looking for what he referred to as “*local buy in*” and that he was proactively attempting to solicit an invitation from either an Oregon State Representative or County Commissioner “*That may be on board to request our help*” so as not to appear as going in as uninvited and as “*more outsiders*” as further stated by Representative Shea. Representative Shea continued in the email, “*It is important to be precise here so we recapture the message.*” It is more probable than not that Representative Shea was referring to the Patriot Movement fight against government control of lands.

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<sup>53</sup> E2K, E 2J, W22

Representative Shea also stated in the January 5, 2016 email, "*The Feds want to draw as many rogue elements to the site as possible to destroy the patriot movement from a PR perspective to justify them calling us all domestic terrorists and cracking down. This is an intentional bait and switch and they need time for everyone to get into the trap.*" It is here that Representative Shea acknowledges his participation in the anti-government Patriot Movement with "Us" used in the email language referring to Patriot Movement members and "them" referring to the US Government.

Representative Shea went on to speak against the "Feds" and stated that it is the intent of the Federal Government "*To perform a violent retaking of the refuge.*" He warned the email recipients "*Not to be fooled into thinking they (Federal Government) want no violence.*" He further stated that the government will "*Escalate to a full blown violent retaking of the refuge.*"

Representative Shea also outlined "ACTION ITEMS/FRAGO," meaning fragmented operation, and told the recipients of the email to "*Stay calm and continue working the plan in case we need to deploy. That means finish all the tasks in the WARNING ORDER*" (attached to the January 5, 2016, "Oregon Update" email.)

In the same January 5, 2016 email, Representative Shea also instructed "VIPERCAPSA" whom W22 identified to be former Representative Graham Hunt, Washington, by stating in the email, "*I have a plane. VIPERCAPSA the plane is near you. Be prepared to embark via Olympia airport.*" This messaging to VIPERCAPSA from Representative Shea led W22 to believe Representative Shea was intent on going to the Harney County Oregon armed standoff even if not invited by Oregon state officials or law enforcement on the scene.

Representative Shea also asked "*COUNTYGREEN (unidentified) we need a county commissioner are you available to come up if we deploy?*"

Representative Shea went on in the January 5, 2016 email to direct "Scout", known by W22 as Anthony Bosworth to have the advance party "*ready ASAP*" that included Marble and a member from SnowmanX.

Representative Shea concluded the email with drawing attention to the "*GUIDELINES*" that included eight points: *prayer coverage, research facts, get commitment from the people directly affected by the Federal Government's unlawful actions, build public support, establish a local Assembly with a Committee of Correspondence and Committee of Safety* and concludes with sign off, "*V/B Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.*"

The updated OPOD or Operations Order, attached to the January 5, 2016 email followed the same military-styled protocol but provided more detail as developments occurred within the 24-hour period.

Representative Shea advised the "*Situation*" as gradually escalating and the FBI has four arrest warrants. He reported that the FBI had set up a command post at the Burns Airport and there were somewhere between 40-50 armed federal agents "*sighted at various times.*" He goes on to state, "*It has been confirmed nationally that the FBI's sole purpose right now is to gather intelligence and identify links between patriot groups.*"

Representative Shea reported that as of January 5, 2016 there were approximately "*2 dozen patriots*" occupying the refuge with the intent to do so indefinitely and that they rejected the Sheriff's offer to leave. Representative Shea referred to the Local Committee of Safety established by Ammon Bundy and

Ryan Payne on Jan 4, 2016) as being “split on them leaving but unanimous in support of fighting the BLM and using the national stage to do so”.<sup>54</sup>

Representative Shea’s updated “Mission” included, “Be prepared to deploy COWS, AmRRON, LWWA and LFA negotiating team to Burns, Oregon no later than 12:00pm, 9 January 2016 in order to facilitate a peaceful resolution to the situation.” The “Execution” protocol called for “Re-establishing legitimate Patriot leadership over the movement” and to “Force BLM to address it’s utter failure as an agency and embolden people at the state and local level to reclaim ground for liberty.”

The updated version of the OPORD addressed specific instructions for the COWS members not included in the January 4, 2016 WARNING ORDER Operation Cold Reality (V1). Specific instructions included the following:

*“Coordinate negotiation team to include elected officials, pastors, and law enforcement; deploy negotiation team to Burns, Oregon; issue press release regarding deployment; coordinate hotel for 10 – 12 individuals in Burns, Oregon, bring sound system and stage background, bring emergency medical supplies, food and water, conduct morning afternoon and evening public briefs, refute all rumors, give concrete examples of aggression (government), finish with positives, conduct leaders conference all meeting no later than 2000 hr, establish uplink for real time video feeds and establish radio and TV presence with friendly hosts.”*

Representative Shea also added “Coordinating Instructions” for COWS and security details to include Greenbean, aka Rep Heather Scott, Idaho; Mambrosino, aka Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada; and Vipercapsa, aka Rep Graham Hunt, Washington. Representative Shea instructed Rep Hunt to, “coordinate flight with Wingdude via Wickr directly.”

Representative Shea updated the “Timeline” to include Marble deployment on January 7, 2016; AmRRON Deployment on January 8, 2016; Public affairs team established January 8, 2016; security detail linkup with Verumbellator, aka Representative Shea, in Spokane on January 9, 4:30am and all parties linkup in Burns Oregon at 1200 on January 9, 2016 and redeployment at 0900 on January 10, 2016.

Lastly, Representative Shea addressed “Succession in Command” and listed “Team Leaders COWS, AmRRON, ADVON/MST (Main Security Team) , Security Detail, QRT”. (unidentified)

Representative Shea continued sending and receiving a combined total of 28 emails from members of his group concerning the armed standoff in the ensuing eight days from January 4 through January 11, 2016.

### **Representative Shea’s Travel to The Malheur National Wildlife Refuge Armed Takeover**

On January 9, 2016, Representative Shea traveled to Burns, Oregon along with COWS State Representative members from Washington, Idaho and Oregon. Judge Steve Grasty who was the Harney County Judge from January 1, 1999 through December 31, 2016, advised Rampart Group LLC Investigators he learned on January 9, 2016 that Oregon State Representative Dallas Heard was traveling to Burns, Oregon with a group on a “fact finding” mission concerning the occupation of the refuge. Representative Cliff Bentz, now Oregon State Senator, was the Representative of the District that included Harney County in January 2016.

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<sup>54</sup> W28



Senator Bentz was contacted during this investigation and advised the Investigator that Representative Dallas Heard called him from his mobile phone on January 9, 2016 to tell him he was enroute to a meeting in then Representative Bentz's district, and that he had a group of Representatives from multiple states who would be joining him for a meeting with Sheriff Dave Ward. Representative Bentz, who did not attend the meeting and referred to the armed takeover as an insurrection that should be left to law enforcement, was angered by Representative Heard's involvement. He told Representative Heard in clear terms to stay away from his district and not involve himself further in the armed takeover situation. Representative Heard proceeded to the meeting contrary to Representative Bentz's instructions, but later when asked who invited them, Representative Shea told the local government and law enforcement officials they had been invited by local politicians but did not reveal Heard as the politician. The meeting with Harney County officials and law enforcement officials was recorded by participants in the meeting and was later shared with the Oregon news media.<sup>55</sup>

Judge Grasty agreed to meet at his office with Representative Heard and the group in Sheriff Ward's absence. He invited law enforcement representatives to include the Marion County Sheriff, the Harney County District Attorney, a representative from the FBI and the Harney County Sheriff's Office, and his wife, whom he was unwilling to leave at home alone. Representative Heard and the group appeared at Judge Grasty's office at 11 am on January 9, 2016. It was then that he learned the identities of the group. Representative Shea introduced himself as State Representative Matt Shea from Washington. Others introduced themselves as Representative Graham Hunt, Washington; Representative Heather Scott, Idaho; Representative Sage Dixon, Idaho; Representative Judy Boyle, Idaho; Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada who was on the phone; and Representative Dallas Heard, Oregon.

Representative Shea did not disclose his COWS affiliation at the meeting during which the Representatives referred to the BLM as "terrorists". During the meeting the Representatives gathered intelligence regarding law enforcement strategies and operations then traveled directly from that same meeting to the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge and met with Ammon Bundy and other armed occupiers despite warnings of extreme danger and against the will of law enforcement and other Oregon state elected officials.<sup>56</sup>

Judge Grasty told Investigators that Representative Shea provided him his business card before departing the January 9, 2016 meeting and it was clear to him that Representative Shea was leading the group of Representatives. Later that afternoon when a group of armed, masked insurgents surrounded the Sheriff's office, Judge Grasty called Representative Shea on his mobile phone to tell him how far out of hand things had gotten and to reinforce his advice to not go to the refuge. Representative Shea told Judge Grasty he had already been to the refuge and was back in Burns. Representative Shea later called back to Judge Grasty to say no such group existed. The next morning a photo of the armed masked insurgents was featured on the front page of the Oregonian newspaper. According to Judge Grasty, Representative Shea's and the group's visit to the occupied refuge headquarters emboldened the armed insurgents. Bundy later bragged to Harney County officials that he was supported by elected officials.

### **Other Determination of Fact**

a. Early in the first days of the armed occupation Representative Shea dispatched Anthony Bosworth, his close associate and leader of the LFA III% militia in Eastern Washington, to the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed occupation in Harney County Oregon without the knowledge of law enforcement or local officials.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> E13C, W10

<sup>56</sup> W1, W3, W10, W20, E2R, E2Q, E13C R64, R69, R70, R71, R93 R138

<sup>57</sup> E2H, W8, W28

b. Representative Shea in his role as Chairman of COWS later wrote, referring to Bosworth, ... *“a delegate we recently commissioned to liaison with us... ..The delegate was Anthony Bosworth.”* Representative Shea went on to state, *“The Coalition of Western States (COWS, has worked tirelessly to seek intervention on behalf of the Hammonds to avoid them from returning to prison”* He goes on to support Anthony Bosworth in his role in *“facilitating the safe passage of all who wished to leave the Refuge after LaVoy Finicum was killed.”* *“The notion that he was part of an elaborate operation to undermine and divided the patriots by the federal government, or anything else, is appalling.”*<sup>58</sup>

c. December 11, 2015 COWS press release, subject entitled *“Hammond Family,”* lists Anthony Bosworth as a COWS member and NW Grassroots Coordinator of Liberty for All Washington. On the above email and in later communications following the armed takeover at Malheur, Anthony Bosworth is not listed as a COWS member. It is more probable than not this was intentional to disguise Bosworth as being associated with COWS.<sup>59</sup>

d. During the armed occupation while at the refuge, LFA – Washington III% leader Bosworth posted directly to his Facebook site, photos of FBI surveillance cameras that had been removed during the occupation. In the photos, hands could be seen holding the cameras and Bosworth boasted in the online post the hands were his hands.<sup>60</sup> The removal and theft of cameras during the occupation was later confirmed by law enforcement officers who were overseeing law enforcement operations at the Malheur Refuge during the armed occupation.

e. Prior to going to the Malheur Refuge, Representative Shea worked to engineer an invitation from a local politician to conceal the fact they were outsiders injecting themselves into the armed takeover of the Malheur refuge.<sup>61</sup>

f. Representative Shea wrote in his *“WARNING ORDER – Operation Cold Reality”* email, sent on January 4, 2016, described above, *“Just today we identified a possible State Rep in Oregon and County Commissioner that may be on board and request our help. The County Commissioner has not called me yet and I am calling the State Rep this afternoon. We cannot go in there as more outsiders.”*<sup>62</sup>

g. The armed takeover and occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge lasted 41 days during which armed occupier LaVoy Finicum attempted to leave the compound and was shot and killed by law enforcement officers when he failed to stop at a roadblock and attempted to draw his weapon.<sup>63</sup>

h. A meeting took place among the insurgents at the refuge following the death of LaVoy Finicum to discuss and vote on whether to abandon the refuge or to stay and fight. The meeting was videotaped by an occupier who was later imprisoned for his participation in the armed takeover and standoff. On the video, an unidentified militia member can be heard speaking of knowing who the federal employees were at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge and of killing them and their families.<sup>64</sup>

i. Evidence shows that Representative Shea conspired with others to plan and carry out the armed takeover. The evidence was later corroborated when Greenlee County, Arizona Commissioner and

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<sup>58</sup> E2W

<sup>59</sup> E2E

<sup>60</sup> E9G

<sup>61</sup> E2K

<sup>62</sup> E2K

<sup>63</sup> R74, R75, R76

<sup>64</sup> R128

member of COWS, Robert Corbell, was quoted in an OPB interview saying that coalition (COWS) leadership knew Ammon Bundy planned to take over U.S. government property in Harney County before it happened but were unsure which federal outpost it would be. “*We knew he was going to do something,*” Corbell said, “*because something had to be done.*”<sup>65</sup>

The armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge resulted in threats of violence to Fish and Wildlife Service employees, local officials and their families, and the local population of Burns, OR, and ultimately the death of LaVoy Finicum, a Patriot Movement participant and insurgent who along with others, carried out the plans laid by Representative Shea and his co-conspirators. The threat of violence throughout the occupation was so prevalent that schools were closed and families of some of the local officials were relocated out of the area for safety.<sup>66</sup>

j. Representative Shea participated in at least four planning meetings with co-conspirators in advance of the takeover. He, through his COWS organization, is credited as one organization, among several armed militia organizations, that issued political demands to local officials in advance of the takeover.<sup>67</sup>

k. Representative Shea developed and circulated military-style Operations Orders that laid out detailed plans to supply and support the armed siege.<sup>68</sup>

l. Representative Shea admittedly and through evidence is known to have directly sent Anthony Bosworth, his close associate and head of the LFA III% militia in WA, into the standoff and directed at least some of his activities while there. Bosworth likely committed criminal acts while at the refuge in his participation in the theft of surveillance cameras and in his participation in helping occupiers flee the compound and avoid arrest.<sup>69</sup>

m. The armed takeover and 41-day occupation left serious damage to the refuge facilities as well as costing taxpayers millions of dollars in law enforcement overtime pay and other expenses. The evidence reflects Representative Shea planned and carried out acts of political violence and was aware of and acknowledged in written communications the risk of political violence as a result of his actions. Representative Shea worked to conceal those actions by the use of code names, engineering an invitation to a meeting with law enforcement and Harney County officials managing the standoff. He concealed his true intent for the meeting and then conspired with others and members of militia groups who took up arms to carry out the seizure of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.<sup>70</sup>

n. Sometime after the February 11, 2016 end to the armed occupation, W7 found an online posting on Representative Shea’s Facebook page that stated, “*After much prayer I’m afraid violence might be necessary to take our country back.*” A blog post respondent commented, “*We are ready Captain. Tell us what to do.*” W7 responded by posting a comment to Representative Shea’s Facebook post and asked if he meant that he was advocating a civil war. Within a short time after W7’s post, Representative Shea removed his post with the comment in question.<sup>71</sup>

o. Representative Shea lacked candor in a statement made to the Washington State House of Representative Legislative Ethics Board Investigator on March 21, 2016, regarding a complaint related to his travel to both Bunkerville, Nevada in April 12-14, 2014, and his travel to Burns, Oregon on January 9-

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<sup>65</sup> R90, R91

<sup>66</sup> W10, W28

<sup>67</sup> [REDACTED]

<sup>68</sup> E2I, E2J, E2K, E2M, E2N

<sup>69</sup> E9G, E9H

<sup>70</sup> W10, W28, R87

<sup>71</sup> W7

10, 2016. In an email entitled "Statement," the Ethics Investigator noted in his final report that he reviewed three Newspaper articles from the Spokesman Review dated April 17, 2014, January 2, 2016 and February 4, 2016. He therefore concluded the allegations should be dismissed due to "lack of reasonable cause" and dismissed other allegations for "lack of subject matter jurisdiction." The Investigator stated he "did not feel an interview is required" but went on to ask if he could get some background on the two trips in 2014 and 2016, referring to Bunkerville and Malheur.<sup>72</sup>

On March 23, 2016 Representative Shea instead provided a written statement which he signed and emailed to the Ethics Investigator and copied Republican Leadership Attorney with an attachment pdf entitled "Statement Regarding Ethics Complaint." Representative Shea stated in the email, "Please find attached the requested statement." And signed "Representative Shea". In the statement attached to the email, Representative Shea stated, "I went to Nevada in April 2014, in an investigative capacity (fact finding) as a State Representative and if needed to mediate in order to prevent any loss of life and ensure a peaceful resolution. I was invited by elected officials and members of the community. Other elected officials including State and County officials were present."

He went on to state, "I went to Oregon in January 2016, in an investigatory capacity (fact finding) as State Representative and if needed mediate in order to prevent loss of life and ensure a peaceful resolution. I was invited by elected officials and members of the community. Other elected officials including State and County officials were present and I met with both sides of the issue to gain an objective understanding of the situation. I was never personally asked not to visit. In this case, I was also successful in helping mediate a peaceful resolution on two separate occasions after my visit. In both cases, Washington State was and is experiencing similar issues as Nevada and Oregon regarding Federal land mismanagement, including grazing, and also seizures, restrictions, and destruction of private land."

In his statement, Representative Shea implied that his visit to the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge on January 9, 2016, was one in which he was invited to step in and provide assistance to a volatile situation that included an armed insurrection.

The ethics complaint was dismissed later due to lack of reasonable cause. However, this investigation has determined Representative Shea went to Nevada and Malheur specifically to support armed insurrections at both locations in furtherance of his Patriot Movement agenda.

Investigators interviewed key law enforcement officials at the Federal, state and local level, as well as key elected officials who represented Harney County Oregon and determined that no one in authority from the Harney County local and state government or federal, state or local law enforcement issued an invitation to Representative Shea to participate or assist in any way at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed occupation.<sup>73</sup>

r. Representative Shea along with Representative Graham Hunt, WA; Representative Heather Scott, Idaho; and Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada, all introduced themselves in a meeting with law enforcement and county officials on January 9, 2016 at Burns, Oregon, as State Representatives while concealing their affiliation with the COWS organization.<sup>74</sup>

s. Representative Shea on June 25, 2016, held a private meeting to discuss the fallout from the Malheur armed takeover, the court cases of the Bundy's, persecution of Christians and the state of the economy.

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<sup>72</sup> E67, E68

<sup>73</sup> W1, W6, W10, W20, W28

<sup>74</sup> E13C, W1, W10, W20

There was a specific discussion about *“If the Feds will come for the rest of “us.”* W22 told Investigators that COWS members feared they would be held accountable for their roles in Malheur.<sup>75</sup>

Representative Shea led the meeting and did most of the talking. Other COWS members in attendance included Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada; Rep. Heather Scott, Idaho and her husband; and Anne and Barry Byrd of Marble Country Fellowship. Representative Shea organized and held the private meeting at the Northern Lights Bed and Breakfast located at 3383 WA-25, Northport, WA 99157. W22 knew the meeting was private because of the identities of the attendees, and that the meeting was secret due to the fact no phones or recording devices were allowed. Representative Shea told W22 on many occasions through casual conversation that the *“government”* tracks the phones of *“people like us”* and feared that if two or more of *“us – Patriots”* are gathered they (the Government) would turn on the mics on the phones and listen via *“stingray”* devices through warrantless wire taps.

t. On September 12, 2016 Representative Shea named LFA -Washington III% militia leader Anthony Bosworth *“Patriot of the Year”* for his role at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed occupation.<sup>76</sup>

## **Section 2: Other Incidents of Engaging in, Planning and Promoting Political Violence**

Evidence of Representative Shea’s involvement in political violence was identified and documented in the following additional findings:

**Finding #1** - Representative Shea and the actions of the COWS organization during the armed takeover and standoff at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge constitute domestic terrorism. Michael McGarrity, Assistant Director of the FBI, Counterterrorism Division, in his testimony before the House Homeland Security Committee on May 8, 2019, described Domestic Terrorists as *“individuals who commit violent criminal acts in furtherance of ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as racial bias and anti-government sentiment.”*... *“By statute Domestic Terrorism is defined as any act dangerous to human life that violates the U.S. criminal laws and appears to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping.”* Mr. McGarrity also testified that domestic terrorists pose a *“present and persistent threat of violence and economic harm to the United States”* and noted there have been more arrests and deaths caused by domestic terrorists than international terrorists in recent years.<sup>77</sup>

**Finding #2** – Representative Shea engaged in intimidation tactics against a political opponent in September 2012, posted a photo of himself on his Facebook page while standing in front of the opponents residence, and refused to remove the online photo at the request of the opponent, party affiliates and law enforcement.

Representative Shea in September 2012, during the final weeks of his reelection campaign for the Washington State House of Representatives District 4 legislative seat, had a photograph of himself taken standing in the driveway of his opponent’s residence. He then posted the photo on his Facebook site that publicly revealed the location of the opponents home. The spouse of Representative Shea’s opponent was a former Assistant United States Attorney (AUSA) who lived under threat of reprisals resulting from his position as an AUSA. Representative Shea ignored multiple requests from the opposing candidate, her spouse, the Spokane County Sheriff and the local head of Representative Shea’s political party to remove

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<sup>75</sup> W22

<sup>76</sup> E2X

<sup>77</sup> R234

the posting from his Facebook site. The posting was viewed as a direct act of intimidation and threat by the political opponent and her spouse.<sup>78</sup>

**Finding #3**— Representative Shea engaged in secure online chat using the codename “*Verumbellator*” from October 29 through December 12, 2017 that included the identification of opposition political activists, condoned violence and intimidation, and offered to do background checks on named persons in opposition to his political ideology.

W22 stayed in touch with Representative Shea via Wickr, that was later replaced with Signal, an encrypted text chat program because according to W22, Representative Shea and Jack Robertson were very suspicious of the FBI and other Federal law enforcement agencies. They were also fearful they were being surveilled by Federal authorities because of their extremist beliefs. Representative Shea directed those close to him who knew of his Patriot Movement association to communicate via Wickr and later other encrypted platforms like Signal and ProtonMail for emails. All matters of politics and finance were discussed through encrypted applications. W22 and others later changed communication platforms several times at the direction of Representative Shea.

The “Party Animals” group was created on the encrypted Signal Application for secure chat. W22 and Representative Shea using the codename, “*Verumbellator*”<sup>79</sup> participated in the group along with LFA militia leader Anthony Bosworth, and Jack Robertson, also known as John Jacob Schmidt. On or about October 29, 2017, the participants used private chat to discuss Antifa rallies around the United States and preparation to stand against Antifa demonstrations that were to occur on November 4, 2017.<sup>80</sup>

The chat became violent in nature when the discussion turned to an Antifa rally they believed was to take place in Spokane, WA. Both Jack Robertson and Anthony Bosworth described violent acts they would like to take against Antifa and “liberals” during the chats that included finding Antifa member’s homes and workplaces, picking fights, and as stated by John Jacob Schmidt, “*knocking back some heads*” and “*bring back some foreskin.*” Anthony Bosworth referred to a portion of the Antifa members as “*a bunch of bull dykes.*” The Party Animal chat continued with discussion of violence and surveilling and intimidating Antifa members with “*pysops*” or psychological operations by tagging of the homes and workplaces with white supremacy symbols. The discussion continued by suggesting someone be designated to get “*mugshots of all the faces.*”

On November 1, 2017, the Party Animal chat continued. W22 reported to the group and all chat participants on a WARNORD (Warning Order) from Tim Carson of the “63rd” known as the 63rd Lightfoot Brigade Militia, respond to the November 4, 2017 Antifa nationwide rallies. The Warning Order dated November 2, 2017, was sent to Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho Commanders of the 63rd Lightfoot Militia and referred to Antifa as “*Enemy Forces.*” The plan included instructions that the 63rd Lightfoot militia would take Incident Command in Spokane County and respond under the command of the Spokane County Sheriff. The Warning Order cautioned that the call out was not a drill and that militia members were to appear in “*full battle rattle*” to include “*helmets, magazines, hot hollow point, mace, airhorn, comms, gloves, eye and ear protection, handcuffs.*”

On November 6, 2017, the Party Animal chat resumed and Anthony Bosworth stated, “*A lot of members in the so-called Patriot movement are starting to blend with these different groups.*” From general discussion leading up to this date, it is more likely than not that Bosworth was referring to Antifa members and the way they dress, making it more difficult to identify Antifa members from Patriot

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<sup>78</sup> E4A, W4, R16

<sup>79</sup> E4B, W22, R173, R178, R182

<sup>80</sup> E4H, E4I, E4J

movement members. *Verumbellator*, aka Representative Shea, then sent a text link to a Wikipedia reference to “*Atomwaffen*” meaning nuclear weapons in German and is also the name of an alt-right neo-Nazi terrorist network whose members have been responsible for a number of murders, planned terrorist attacks as well as other criminal actions.

Upon entering the conversation after the violence was discussed, Representative Shea commented about discussion points that had taken place earlier, making it more probable than not that he had read the entire discussion before commenting. On November 4, 2017 at 9:45 am, *Verumbellator* responded with “yes flag” that appears to indicate he was responding with his approval of the plan.

During the chat when the other participants advocated locating the targets for psyops, Representative Shea requested the names of the Antifa members and offered to conduct background checks.

On December 12, 2017 “Scout” aka Anthony Bosworth posted the Russian flag, and wrote, *“As far as I'm concerned, we can send one of these and a wolf tail to Suckling.... Suckling would make sure it made national news.”* Bosworth continued with, *“Get me the testicles off a North Idaho wolf and I'll send them to him”*. Representative Shea chimed in and wrote, *“This is not something to put out electronically. We need to meet f2f”* or face-to face.

**Finding #4** – Representative Shea from 2013 through 2019 condoned intimidation by supporters of his political opposition to include activists, government officials, Muslims, and others who speak or act in opposition to his personal beliefs and his political agenda.<sup>81</sup>

a. W26, attended a 2013 **Marble Community Fellowship God and Country Celebration** where Representative Shea was scheduled to speak. The event was by invitation only and staffed with armed security. W26 was cleared for entry and directed to a barn where Representative Shea, Rep. Elizabeth Scott and Rep. David Taylor, all Washington State Representatives) were giving a Legislative “Freedom Caucus” update. When W26 arrived at the barn, the Representatives were giving reports and answering questions. W26 overheard the Representatives suggesting the Republican leadership was corrupt or weak, and that only the Freedom Caucus stood for true American values. W26 also heard Representative Shea say, *“If people knew what went on in the Capital, they'd blow it up.”* W26 was shocked and looked up to see all the panel members nodding and saying “yea” and many in the crowd of about 100 attendees shouted in agreement and nodded their heads in support.

b. On September 21, 2015, Representative Shea led a “Rally for America” at the Spokane West Central Community Center in response to an event by the Spokane City Council honoring the Muslim group, Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). Representative Shea’s rally took place at the same time and place as the City Council event. Representative Shea hired W22 to provide his personal security while Anthony Bosworth was also present providing security at the request of Representative Shea. Bosworth, who was armed, told W22 he would be looking for people of Middle Eastern appearance that might be coming to the rally to commit an act of violence against Representative Shea. According to W22 many of the protestors were armed and shouted in opposition of the Muslim families as they entered the building. This was confirmed by W19.

Representative Shea was a speaker along with Ammon Bundy at the New Code of the West Conference held in Whitefish, Montana. Topics included exploring land, water, property and civil rights in the Western States. Representative Shea spoke and connected the Council of American Islamic Relations (CAIR) to Hamas. Another topic of Representative Shea’s speech regarded the management of public lands being transferred back to the states.

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<sup>81</sup> W19, W22, W26, R47

c. W22 provided security services for Representative Shea at an i594 “We Will Not Comply Rally” at both the Spokane County Courthouse and the Spokane Valley Sheriff Department location.<sup>82</sup> The speakers for the “We Will Not Comply” event were Representative Shea and the leader of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot Brigade militia. According to W22, many people who attended both rallies were highly armed. Representative Shea was also armed. The purpose of the afternoon rally was to protest the comments a Spokane County Sheriff’s deputy made concerning law enforcement’s need for an Armored SWAT vehicle to be used for protection against “patriots.” According to W22, Anthony Bosworth a militia leader and close associate of Representative Shea was present at the rally with a small contingent of militia members to provide “flag coverage” for protestors. This meant anytime a counter protestor yelled in protest to Representative Shea’s comments, Bosworth and his team waived the “Appeal to Heaven” flag and the US Flag in front of the protestor in an effort to incite a physical confrontation with Representative Shea supporters. The “flag coverage” was videotaped and later used for posting to social media to attract attention and to further the Patriot Movement cause.

d. On April 29, 2017, at the direction of Representative Shea, W22 organized security for his “Drain the Swamp Rally” with the 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot Brigade. W22 worked in conjunction with the 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot Brigade to have a group of militia members provide security for Representative Shea, Rep. Pricilla Giddings, Idaho and Representative Heather Scott, Idaho. Representative Shea and W22 compiled a list of persons associated with Antifa and the group Indivisible in advance of the rally. W22 was advised by Representative Shea to ensure no person on the list was allowed into the event.

e. On May 23, 2019, Representative Shea held a Liberty State Rally at Spokane, WA. Spokane County Sheriff’s Deputies responded to a disturbance at a Liberty State informational event featuring Representative Shea at the Discovery Park Center when an argument that ensued as armed members of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot Militia, who were providing security, attempted to eject a group of attendees. Sheriff’s deputies arrived and asked the men to leave and they did so peacefully. The deputies conducted no interviews and did not get the names of the attendees who were accused of causing the disturbance.<sup>83</sup>

Investigators interviewed W22 and W23 in this matter who were in attendance and were asked to leave. Both W22 and W23 stated the event was posted online as a public event. Witnesses received the communication inviting attendees, had questions about the 51<sup>st</sup> State and wanted to hear Representative Shea speak on the issue. W23 had previously posted a question to Representative Shea after reading his Facebook posting indicating the 51<sup>st</sup> State was to be a Christian state where gay marriage would not be allowed among other things. An online debate ensued resulting in Representative Shea blocking W23 from his Facebook site.

**Finding #5** – Representative Shea engaged in counterintelligence gathering and acted in opposition to the lawful efforts of federal, state and local law enforcement.

a. Representative Shea, via his private encrypted email account in the name of “*Verumbellator*” [verumbellator@protonmail.com](mailto:verumbellator@protonmail.com), sent a document on August 27, 2016 to W22 and to Jack Robertson (John Jacob Schmidt) via email attachment entitled, “Apparatus of Repression.” The email was forwarded from a previously sent email from Verumbellator at 11:19pm to “scoutirish@protonmail.com (Anthony Bosworth); abyrd4usa@protonmail.ch (Anne Byrd, Marble Community Fellowship); “snowmanx@protonmail.ch (Eric Stagg); desertscout1@protonmail.ch identified (Scott MacAuley) and

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<sup>82</sup> W22, R36

<sup>83</sup> W22, W23, R196,



two other unidentified persons using codenames adamas@startmail.com and johncarmen@protonmail.com.

The document attached to Representative Shea's email detailed extensive law enforcement confidential information laying out the command and control structure of Washington state law enforcement agencies. The document was over 250 pages long and contained rosters of local FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) agents, SWAT team member lists complete with names and badge numbers and the Joint Harbor Operations Command (JHOC) building schematics. The document also included the names and home information of FBI, DHS, and Washington State Patrol agents, photos of SWAT teams, street surveillance cameras, aircraft and communications equipment used by law enforcement in Washington.

In Representative Shea's email he said he dug deep on the web to find the document. The document, as stated by Representative Shea, was to be used "*to validate and check out agents from law enforcement agencies who may attempt to contact us or him.*" Based on the email to which the document was attached, it is more probable than not that Representative Shea was referring to someone known to the group having been contacted by the FBI. W22 later provided this document to Investigators and law enforcement officers.<sup>84</sup>

b. Representative Shea writing in support of an I-594 rally that took place on the Washington State Capitol told gun rights activists the measure on background checks violates the federal and state constitution and need not be obeyed. Representative Shea told gun owners, "*An unconstitutional law is no law at all.*"<sup>85</sup>

Investigators reviewed blog postings on Sipsey Street Irregulars website, referred to as "The ORIGINAL gathering place for a merry band of Three Percenters." The posting was January 15, 2015 and referred to the "I Will Not Comply" rally in which over 200 gun rights activists assembled on the steps of the Washington State Capitol in protest of I-594 which was passed in November 2014 and included expansive background checks on gun sales and transfers. *All those armed patriots right inside the legislative chamber and not a shot fired!*" Another blogger bragged about being present at the rally and inside the Capitol with an automatic rifle.

Article published in Spokane Review, "Shea tells gun rights activists I-594 not law"  
<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2015/jan/15/shea-tells-gun-rights-activists-i-594-not-law/>

**Finding #6** – Representative Shea in 2016 engaged in and supported the training of adults, and children to fight a Holy war and/or civil war.

a. During June 2016 Representative Shea aided and actively supported Marble Community Fellowship (MCF) "Team Rugged" training of children and young adults on combat and fighting skills. This Investigation determined Team Rugged is led by 3 individuals – Patrick Caughran, Lucas Olson, and Pastor Larry Byrd of MCF. The WA Secretary of State has on file the Certificate of Formation for Team Rugged (UBI 601 161 363). The Certificate of Formation lists Executors as Zach Black, Michael Caughran (father of above), Lucas Olson and Barry Byrd.<sup>86</sup>

An email string began on July 7, 2016 from Patrick Caughran ([molonlabe@idaho.net](mailto:molonlabe@idaho.net)) to Representative Shea recommending Team Rugged as a link on Representative Shea's Facebook page. The email from Caughran outlined the basic purpose of Team Rugged, including this quote: "*Everything about it is both*

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<sup>84</sup> E7B, E7C, W22

<sup>85</sup> R37

<sup>86</sup> E6C, E6D

*politically incorrect and what would be considered shocking to most modern Christians. There will be scenarios where every participant will have to fight against one of the most barbaric enemies that are invading our country, Muslim terrorists.”<sup>87</sup>*

Caughran also asked Representative Shea to put him in touch with John Jacob Schmidt, aka Jack Robertson. The original email from Caughran was forwarded to John Jacob Schmidt (Jack Robertson) from Representative Shea letting Schmidt know that Patrick wanted to connect with him. When John Jacob Schmidt replied, W22 and Anthony Bosworth ([bozap73@gmail.com](mailto:bozap73@gmail.com)) were both copied.

The Team Rugged training took place on June 24/25, 2016 at the MCF God and Country Celebration. Representative Shea and John Jacob Schmidt participated in the training and directed a Youth Land Navigation and Tactical Skills Assessment in which the Program read, *“an exercise for youth, including field strip and reassemble AR-15; land navigation; field dressing wounds; radio operations and procedures; PT; shooting skill; etc.”*<sup>88</sup>

During the evening session, Representative Shea and John Jacob Schmidt spoke at the “Kickoff: Marble Kids – Going Underground”.

b. Representative Shea attended and spoke at a Patriot Movement rally in Idaho.<sup>89</sup> This rally was a three-day “Northwest Patriot and Self Reliance” rally at Farragut State Park, in Athol, Idaho. Don Bradway of the Oath Keepers militia hosted the event. The event drew over 500 attendees. Other speakers included Dale Pearce, a former Idaho state legislator, who spoke on behalf of the John Birch Society. Glen Tate, the author of *299 Days: The Preparation*, was also a speaker at the event. The book is a fictional 10 book series set in Washington State depicting the conflicting world of preppers and those who don’t understand them and their preparation for an inevitable government collapse.

W22 was invited to the rally by Jack Robertson, aka “John Jacob Schmidt”, a close associate of Representative Shea and a prominent participant in the Patriot Movement. W22 was asked to provide booth security as Jack Robertson broadcasted on the Radio Free Redoubt Network from Farragut State Park. W22 met Representative Shea and heard him speak at the event.

Investigators obtained and reviewed a YouTube video of Representative Shea’s speech during which he was introduced as one of the 10 most hateful politicians on the Southern Poverty Law Centers website. In his speech, Representative Shea stated *“We need to prepare for the inevitable collapse that is going to happen.... You know it’s going to happen. That’s right. I’m a politician and I am standing up here and saying that.”* He encouraged attendees to *“Prepare ourselves and our families for what is coming.”* He encouraged families to implement *“the 4 S’s – Get in shape, learn to shoot, learn self-defense and study small unit tactics.”* He also stated, *“If you don’t have 5000 rounds of 223, 5000 rounds of 22 and 1000 rounds of handgun ammunition at minimum you are just wrong.”*

**Finding #7** – Representative Shea wrote the Biblical Basis for War and advocated the replacement of US democracy with a theocracy and the killing of all males who do not agree.<sup>90</sup>

a. On August 5/6, 2016 Representative Shea held a meeting at LaBelle LaVie at 18507 E. Appleway Ave, Green Acres WA in Spokane, WA, the same office building that houses Representative Shea’s legislative office. W22 provided security for Representative Shea and attendees. The meeting was held for “Committees of Safety and Correspondence” as well as the creation of a “Provisional Government”. The meeting was requested by Representative Shea and the members of the COWS. W22 was given a list of

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<sup>87</sup> E6A

<sup>88</sup> E10H

<sup>89</sup> R17, R18, W22

<sup>90</sup> E5A, E5B, W22

invitees and told to organize the meeting. He received only code name email addresses provided by Representative Shea that were used for the invitation. W22 knew who some attendees were but most he did not. Representative Shea wanted W22 to make the invitation innocuous so that if they were monitored by Federal authorities and autonomous filters in major email providers, no one could tell what they were doing or talking about.

W22 was told by Representative Shea what to put into the body of the email and what to advise the participants to bring. W22 used the term "*family picnic*" to disguise the meeting and invited the group via the encrypted email service called Proton Mail to the gathering. Representative Shea often asked those who sent emails to use non-descriptive email titles to prevent any "*Federal monitoring systems like Google*" to be able to identify confidential conversations being sent.

W22 believed there were more than 30 people present during this meeting. Representative Shea led the meeting and other attendees included Rep Heather Scott (ID); Assemblywoman Michelle Fiore (NV); LFA-WA III% leader Anthony Bosworth; Pastor Shahram Hadian, the Pastor of Truth in Love Church; and Barry and Anne Byrd, Pastors of MCF. Packets were given out to leaders to include Assemblywoman Fiore, Representative Scott, Anthony Bosworth and Steve McLaughlin. W22 knew attendees to be members of the COWS. Other people were present, but only used their "code names" to identify themselves. W22 did not know their identity.

The packet of information provided at the meeting had been compiled by Representative Shea and included a large number of documents. Some were authored by him and some were not. The documents detailed food storage instructions, ammunition volumes to obtain and store, Ham Radio communication instructions and other information for the attendees. Two different information packets were presented, one for individuals and the other for mid-level leaders.

Representative Shea instructed everyone that the individual documents contained only instructions for survival and emergency preparedness and was only to be given out to people we "*recruited*" to be part of the Committees of Correspondence and Security. The Mid-Level packet was not for distribution. It contained files such as The Biblical Basis for War, The Restoration,<sup>91</sup> and the recipe for Tannerite based explosives.

At this meeting, Representative Shea presented the Biblical Basis for War document that advocated "*killing all males*" who did not yield to stopping all abortions, supported same sex marriage, and did not obey Biblical law. He also advocated "*Assassination to remove tyrants is just, not murder.*"

Also, included in the packet, were instructions on how to build "*one-time pad*" communications for encrypting sensitive messages. The document also contained military sensitive training materials on weapons such as Claymore mines and Grenades. At the time, there was not an intent to use Claymore Mines or Grenades but according to W22, Representative Shea wanted to ensure everyone had the instructions so the group could study how to use them.

In October 2018, Representative Shea acknowledged he wrote and distributed the 4-page<sup>92</sup> manifesto, Biblical Basis for War. This was confirmed through document metadata indicating that Representative Shea was the author and the document was modified (started) on July 2, 2014 and created (finalized) on January 10, 2015. Representative Shea claimed the document was a summary of sermon notes that listed strategies a "Holy Army" would employ. The rules of way included that the enemy must "surrender on terms" of no abortion, no same-sex marriage, no

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<sup>91</sup> E5C, W22

<sup>92</sup> R149, R153

communism and “must obey Biblical law.” Communism did not exist during Biblical times so Representative Shea’s reference to communism is unclear.

W22 reported that the Biblical Basis for War was followed by the presentation of a document entitled, Restoration<sup>93</sup> (8 pages), that outlined replacement of the existing US government with a form of government with *theocracy* elements and included the following points to name a few:

- *establishing a militia based military,*
- *firing all Local Law Enforcement,*
- *liaison with gangs who have honor,*
- *establishing Patriot Banks,*
- *repealing all taxes and non-criminal laws and regs*
- *decentralization of government services such as education and healthcare*
- *transfer of public lands to private homesteaders*
- *final settlement with Indian tribes to become part of the state*
- *a revision of the existing US Constitution to sanctify to Jesus Christ,*
- *bans all abortions and euthanasia,*
- *reinstates capital punishment for murder, rape, molestation, bestiality, kidnapping, Adultery, treason and sodomy.*

According to W22, these documents were presented by Representative Shea in a private symposium to a select group of followers that included religious leaders, elected officials and members of the Patriot Movement. Participants were secretly invited using codenames and via encrypted email and it appears Representative Shea’s claims that the Biblical Basis for War was simply sermon notes is untruthful.

**Finding# 8** – Representative Shea engages in and promotes annual Patriot Movement militia training and readiness exercises in support of anticipated armed conflicts against federal, state and local governments and law enforcement.

During September 9–11, 2016, W22 was directed by Representative Shea to participate in Operation Premonition. W22 was the recipient of an email and Operation Premonition Operations Order (OPORD) that was sent out by Jack Robertson, aka John Jacob Schmidt.<sup>94</sup> Emails pertaining to this operation were entitled “*September Rain.*” During Operation Premonition, an operational control location based at Pastor Shahram Hadian’s residence was established and the goal for the mission was to practice evacuation (EVAC) of Representative Shea and other members of Patriot Movement leadership to get them to the central operations location or “SIGCEN.”

According to W22, Representative Shea actively coordinates with Jack Robertson each year to organize a drill in the Eastern Washington area to practice crisis response within the Patriot Movement.

Representative Shea and Jack Robertson name the drills and in 2016 it was named “Operation Premonition”.<sup>95</sup> The exercise was a two-day drill and W22 participated in one day. Representative Shea and Jack Robertson schedule the drill to coincide with the Federal emergency response drills. The drills are run in parallel to drills being executed by Federal authorities to practice a response should Federal authorities ever begin the process of, as Representative Shea advised, “*Rounding up Patriots and Christians.*”

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<sup>93</sup> E5C

<sup>94</sup> E6E, W22

<sup>95</sup> E6E, W22

Although W22 had never been given names, he was told by both Representative Shea and Jack Robertson that they have assets placed within the Federal Government emergency response agencies and the ARES and RACES infrastructure. ARES and RACES are both Ham-Radio-based emergency planning assets that coordinate with both first responders and Red Cross when a major disaster related incident occurs. These assets are privy to nonpublic information but pass the information along to Robertson and his AmRRON network. The Patriot Movement has Ham radio operators that work with Red Cross so they are actively given location data, non-public briefing information, as well as information ahead of the press that gives them the advantage to respond in kind to what drills the Government may be practicing. These radio operators are part of the American Redoubt Radio Operator's Network (AmRRON) network nationwide.

Investigators obtained a copy of the "*Operation Premonition 2016 Statement of Purpose and Timeline*" that appears to have been scheduled for September 9, 2016. The scenario centered on the day following the Presidential Election anticipating a narrow victory for Donald Trump and included riots breaking out all over the nation in major cities.

### **Section 3: Timeline of Events**

#### **2007**

Matthew Shea's wife, Lisa Shea, filed for divorce after alleging he is a violent man, grabbed her arm, made her walk on his left in case he had to draw his sword on the right.<sup>96</sup> Public Records Request, Investigators obtained Incident Report # 07-275397 dated 9/19/2007 entitled "DV Order Violation". The Deputy investigator noted that Restraining Order No. 07-3-01743-5 was issued by the Spokane County Commissioner on 9/4/2007 against Matthew T. Shea. In the order, Matthew T. Shea who we know to be Representative Shea, was ordered to relinquish his firearm to "a mutually agreed third party or counsel." Lisa Shea complained through her attorney that Matthew T. Shea had not complied with the order by mutual agreement with Lisa Shea as to who would maintain the firearm. The Deputy investigator determined the firearm had been given to Representative Shea's father.<sup>97</sup>

#### **2008**

Representative Shea was divorced from his first wife, Lisa Shea, in January 2008 after approximately 5 years of marriage and remarried that same year. Representative Shea won District 4 election against Democratic opponent Tim Hattenburg. Barack Obama was elected as the first African American United States President.

#### **2009 - 2010**

The Patriot Movement became more prominent in the United States.

#### **January 8, 2010**

Representative Shea received an email from Anne Byrd, [abyrd4USA@gmail.com](mailto:abyrd4USA@gmail.com), requesting consideration for a legislative internship for Joshia [LNU 509 563-4412 (Doc 1)]. This is the first documented connection between Representative Shea and Marble Community Fellowship / Anne Byrd. Anne Byrd is believed to be Representative Shea's spiritual advisor<sup>98</sup>.

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<sup>96</sup> R236

<sup>97</sup> E12AB

<sup>98</sup> W22, W26

**January 14, 2010**

Representative Shea spoke at the “Sovereign Winter Fest” in Olympia, Washington. The event was attended by approximately 300 Tea Party members and supporters throughout the state. The rally was held to support 10th Amendment sovereignty resolutions in the Washington legislature. Representative Shea was the first speaker and had sponsored the “State Sovereignty Resolution” that was sponsored but never considered in the Washington legislature. The language was believed to mirror the far-right militias of the 1990’s.

**Feb 2, 2010**

Representative Shea forwarded the January 8, 2010 email to an assistant from his legislative email asking that Josiah be added to a list of potential interns. Note: Other email used by Representative Shea: [matt@spokanelawcenter.com](mailto:matt@spokanelawcenter.com)

**November 2, 2010**

Representative Shea won November election running unopposed in the primary and general election.

**2011****November 23, 2011**

Information obtained through public records request found the following: Representative Shea was involved in a road rage incident with another motorist in Spokane, WA in which he brandished a gun and was later cited by the Spokane County Sheriff’s Office for having an expired concealed carry permit.

The road rage incident in Spokane Washington was reported by the Spokesman Review prior to the initiation of this investigation. Representative Shea accused the other driver of “Baghdad Driving” in turn forcing him to use evasive techniques.

Investigators obtained a copy of the **Incident Report # 11-364413 dated 11/23/2011** through a public records request and confirmed Representative Shea was involved in an aggressive driving incident with another motorist. The identity of the other motorist was redacted in the report which investigators believe to be consistent with concealing the identity of a minor. The witness statement from the other motorist contradicted Representative Shea’s statement that he (Representative Shea) simply pulled the weapon from the glove box and placed it on the passenger seat. The motorist stated that Representative Shea pointed a finger at him and made a motion like he was shooting a gun and pulling the trigger before he actually pulled the weapon from his glove box and made it visible to the other motorist. According to the motorist witness, Representative Shea pulled a handgun from his glovebox and made a motion so that the motorist could see that he (Representative Shea) had a gun. He then placed the weapon on the front passenger seat in plain view. The motorist sped up to get away and then called 911.

The Spokane Police Department responded to the incident by interviewing a witness who also called 911, the other motorist and Representative Shea. The Deputy questioned the veracity of Representative Shea’s statement that he was fearful of the other motorist while he continued to pursue him. During the interview, the Deputy determined Representative Shea had an expired concealed carry permit. Representative Shea was issued a citation for carrying a concealed weapon without a permit.<sup>99</sup>

**December 20, 2011**

**Case No. P11011266** A summons was filed in Municipal Court of Spokane, County of Spokane, State of Washington, City of Spokane v Matthew T. Shea to appear January 17, 2012 in Superior Court. Complaint in this matter charged Representative Shea with Carrying Firearms- Pistol in Vehicle with no concealed carry permit per RCW 9.41.270 on November 23, 2011. Representative Shea was charged with

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<sup>99</sup> E12T

2 counts: Count 1 - Unlawful carry of Firearms and Count 2 – Weapons Apparently Capable of Producing Bodily Harm- Unlawful Carrying or Handling. The court found probable cause existed to support each of the charges on December 20, 2011.

## **2012**

### **January 18, 2012**

Representative Shea November 21, 2011 road rage / firearms incident was scheduled to be dismissed if he committed no other criminal law violations and if he stipulated to the accuracy and admissibility of the police reports. Representative Shea agreed and paid a \$75 fine. The case was dismissed with prejudice.

### **May 29, 2012**

Representative Shea filed a complaint with the Spokane Police/Spokane County Sheriff's Office, Incident Report # 12-165282 in which he reported damage done to a number of his campaign signs with swastikas painted on them. He believed the swastikas were in retaliation to his stance on the marriage bill that had recently passed in the Washington Legislature. There was no further investigation by the Spokane Police / Spokane County Sheriff's office.

### **July 22, 2012**

#### **Spokesman Review published article, "Legislator pulled gun during road incident"**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2012/jul/22/legislator-pulled-gun-during-road-incident/>

Note: The newspaper article gave an account of the November 23, 2011 incident described above.

### **October 31, 2012**

Harney County ranchers Dwight Hammond Jr and son Steven Hammond were convicted of arson for setting fires on Federal land in 2001 and 2006. Sentenced to 3 months and 1 year respectively.

### **September 2012**

Representative Shea posted a photo of himself standing in the driveway of Amy Biviano, his opponent for the seat he held in the WA House of Representatives. He refused to remove the photo when requested by the candidate, her husband, the Sheriff and the head of Representative Shea's political party.

### **November 6, 2012**

Representative Shea won reelection to the WA State House of Representatives against Democratic opponent Amy Biviano.

## **2013**

### **May 31 / Jun 1, 2013**

Representative Shea was a speaker at the Constitutional Sheriff's and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) convention in St. Charles, Missouri. CSPOA is closely affiliated with the Patriot Movement and armed militias.

<https://www.thenewamerican.com/usnews/constitution/item/15617-constitutional-sheriffs-convention-a-successful-promotion-of-liberty>

### **June 21, 2013**

Representative Shea was announced as a speaker at **Marble Community Fellowship, God and Country Celebration** with Rep. Elizabeth Scott, WA; Rep. David Taylor, WA; Stewart Rhodes, Oath Keepers Militia; Chuck Baldwin and Cornel Rasor (unidentified). This event was posted to the Marble Facebook page with a photo of Representative Shea and the comments, "*We are hard pressed as God fearing*

*Americans, but we will never surrender to tyranny as long as there are men and women like Matt Shea to stand for God and country!"*<sup>100</sup>

**July 7, 2013**

**Representative Shea Speaks at the Marble Community Fellowship God and Country Celebration**

**July 9, 2013**

Federal Judge ordered Cliven Bundy to refrain from trespassing on federally administered land in the Gold Butte area of Clark County Nevada.

**July 26-28, 2013**

**Representative Shea Spoke at the Northwest Patriot Self-Reliance Rally, Athol, Idaho**

**2014**

W22 worked for Jack Robertson on his Radio Free Redoubt Network program as a volunteer DJ and segment host of The Eye on Economy using a codename.

**January 17, 2014**

**Marble Community Fellowship** (MCF) posted to Facebook applauding Representative Shea, Rep. Elizabeth Scott and Rep. David Taylor as *"Keeping up the fight for liberty."*

**March 27, 2014**

The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) temporarily closed 145,604 acres of federal land in Clark County, Nevada for the capture, impound and removal of Cliven Bundy's trespassing cattle.

**April 5, 2014**

**Representative Shea Supports the Bunkerville Armed Standoff**

**April 5, 2014**

The roundup of Cliven Bundy's cattle at Bunkerville, Nevada. Cliven Bundy and Dave Bundy were arrested.

**April 5 – May 2014**

Armed confrontation ensued between supporters of cattle rancher Cliven Bundy and Federal law enforcement officers at Bunkerville, Nevada.

**April 9, 2014**

Representative Shea dispatched Anthony Bosworth, the leader of Liberty for All – Washington III% militia group participate in the armed standoff at Bunkerville and to give him intelligence reports on operations at the site.

**April 10, 2014**

LFA-WA III% militia group leader Anthony Bosworth arrived in the afternoon to Clark County, Nevada (Bunkerville), and later reported "They just arrested 3 people" *"Tempo is high. Situation is volatile. Mass movement to go free 3 person[s] that [were] arrested."* He also reported no law enforcement was seen in the area and it turned into a free for all. By the end of the day, Bosworth and his team began advance team preparation for Representative Shea and the Freedom Agenda, assessing the physical site, strategic situation and available human resources and making initial contact with key players at the location.

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<sup>100</sup> E10A



Bosworth met with Cliven Bundy who said he would not negotiate his position. He estimated 200 people on site and at least 100 vehicles. Media arrived. Supporters were not organized or unified.

#### **April 11, 2014**

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/american-patriot-inside-the-armed-uprising-against-the-federal-government/>

W22 grew concerned that Representative Shea was not in his own district and is present in Nevada in support of an armed standoff against the US government.

#### **April 14, 2014**

Radio Free Redoubt published an online article regarding the formation of the Coalition of Western States (COWS) who have vowed to stand their ground, along with their fellow countrymen, to fight back against the war on rural America and the plundering of land by an increasingly overreaching federal government. Representative Shea shared one of the main goals “to facilitate the transfer of public lands back to the state level, and to have the states and counties manage the lands, not far-away Washington DC”. At the formation of COWS, he reaffirmed his position in support of the Bundy’s and stated, “*As Americans, we don’t give up, we don’t back down, we win.*” He further stated “*A sniper rifle is not due process. We cannot let that stand as legislators.*” He also criticized the BLM staff for pointing weapons at protesters during the standoff and called for elected officials and citizens to work to “*restore our God-honored constitutional republic.*”<sup>101</sup>

<https://radiofreeredoubt.com/2014/04/14/coalition-of-western-states-forms-to-protect-against-federal-overreach/>

#### **April 17, 2014**

**Spokesman Review** published an article titled “**Rep. Matt Shea travels to Nevada to support defiant rancher**”

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2014/apr/17/rep-matt-shea-travels-to-nevada-to-support/>

The article criticized Representative Shea for traveling out of his district in support of an armed standoff against the US Government.

#### **June 2014**

Representative Shea made a speech at **MCF God and Country Celebration** with Stewart Rhodes, head of the Oath Keepers; Val Stevens, former State Rep, WA, Rep. David Taylor, WA, Rep. Elizabeth Scott, WA, Pastor Shahram Hadian and John Jacob Schmidt, all prominent individuals in the Patriot Movement.

#### **June 22, 2014**

**Representative Shea Identified in meeting with Militia Members.**<sup>102</sup>

#### **July 2, 2014**

Representative Shea began writing the document entitled, **Biblical Basis for War** (July 2, 2014 9:58am)

#### **July 17, 2014**

KXLY reported that Representative Shea’s political opponent was concerned about his associations with the Oath Keepers militia.

<https://www.kxly.com/news/politics/local-politics/she-a-opponent-concerned-about-rep-s-associations-with-violent-militias-1/177570512>

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<sup>101</sup> 2014 Rep Matt Shea Bunkerville Interview – YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dKbjzoGTVM/>

<sup>102</sup> E12X

**September 2014**

Representative Shea directed W22 to investigate his political opponent, Josh Arritola, by visiting three “office” locations in Spokane WA. W22 was to prove Arritola’s company Haploos was both fraudulent and a front for Republican monies. He was told by Representative Shea that Arritola had a very shady past and his last name was not real. Representative Shea wanted to learn the source of the money used to buy Arritola’s home. W22 provided Representative Shea with a bio on Arritola with publicly available company records establishing his loyalty to Representative Shea and was promoted to un-official head of personal security. W22 was not a licensed investigator.

**September 2014**

W22 was invited to Representative Shea’s planning meeting for security for the upcoming October 2014 debate with Josh Arritola. W22’s job was to coordinate security, not allow press to ask questions of Representative Shea, and/or stop any protest actions from taking place.

**September 26-27, 2014**

Representative Shea was a speaker at the Fourth Annual Idaho Liberty Summit on Friday, September 26 and Saturday 27, 2014. His topics included “Defending Liberty” and “Lessons from the Bundy Ranch.” COWS member KrisAnne Hall followed Representative Shea’s Saturday “Lessons from Bundy Ranch” presentation with “The Importance of the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment”.

**October 2014**

W22 was in charge of Representative Shea’s security team for a debate with candidate Arritola as a plain clothes security detail leader, with Mike Munch, a former Spokane City Councilman, and other unknown individuals who were “placed” in the room but whose identities were not revealed. W22 was introduced to Munch by Representative Shea as someone he could trust. W22 was unarmed during that detail and did not know if Munch was armed.

**November 4, 2014**

W22 worked security for Representative Shea during election night at the Davenport hotel along with Lester Lea (close friend of Representative Shea and reportedly former Delta Force soldier). W22 was to meet Representative Shea and his wife and watch them closely to ensure Representative Shea’s safety as well as prevent press inquiries. Mr. Lea was to provide advanced support by staying in the crowd and providing updates to W22 on any suspicious persons that he saw. Mr. Lea and W22 used radios to communicate.

After the election eve event concluded, W22 escorted Representative Shea and his party to the hotel bar where W22 had a negative interaction with Roy Murry. Unknown to W22, Murry had worked with and provided security for Representative Shea during the early 2008. While in the hotel bar, Murry was seen videotaping Representative Shea and his group. Representative Shea instructed W22 to confront a Murry and ask who he was and why he was videotaping. When approached by W22, Murry became agitated and confrontational and created a scene. At the time, Representative Shea did not reveal that he and Murry knew each other and were associated through past military service. W22 believed Representative Shea staged the perceived threat and confrontation to bolster his status as an important man to those at the party. Murry was later arrested and convicted of a triple homicide of his extended family and is serving time at the WA State Penitentiary in Walla Walla.

**November 5, 2014**

Representative Shea was declared the winner of the 2014 District 4 election against Josh Arritola.

## **December 20, 2014**

W22 required by Representative Shea to provide security at the “I-594 We Will Not Comply” Rally at both the Spokane County Courthouse and Spokane Valley Sheriff Department office. The purpose of the afternoon rally was to protest the comments a Spokane County Sheriff’s deputy made that an armored SWAT vehicle was to be used for protection against “patriots”.

**YouTube** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jcxkbfFtYMA/>

**YouTube** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5n-I8WONejk>

Note: W22 who is not licensed as a Security Guard or private investigator began being compensated by Representative Shea for security services in late 2014 and payment became more frequent during 2015.

## **2015**

Restore America Club created by Representative Shea, Rep. Graham Hunt, Rep. Elizabeth Scott, Jesse Young and Rep. David Taylor. According to its web site, it is, *“a Non-Profit 501(c)3 that focuses on raising awareness in local communities through fundraising activities and events to physically restore historical landmarks that ensure the history of those who went before us will be remembered by those who are here after us! Remembering and maintaining a standard of excellence with regard to these landmarks is all of our responsibility and as active members in our community we can effectively make change, it is our responsibility to ensure that the sacrifices of those before us live on after us.”*

<https://www.restoreamericclub.com/>

## **January 10, 2015**

Representative Shea completed **Biblical Basis for War** document (Jan 10, 2015 11:40am)

## **January 15, 2015**

**Representative Shea supports I-594 protest at the Washington State Capital**

## **February 25, 2015**

LFA-WA III% militia group leader Anthony Bosworth, a constitutional sheriff candidate and security lead for Representative Shea, attended a “10<sup>th</sup> Amendment” rally at the federal courthouse plaza in Spokane, WA carrying an AK-47 style rifle. Bosworth opposed I-594 requiring background checks on all gun sales. He told attendees at the rally that he and other gun activists were planning an “Arms Expo” in Central Washington in June 2015. An unwitting source stated that the Arms Expo was considered a “flashpoint” similar to the Washington State Capitol gun rally and explained a flashpoint is an event designed to create conflict in a semi-controlled environment.

## **Mid-year 2015**

W22 assisted Representative Shea with the first “assembly” meeting at 14617 Newport Highway, Mead, Washington. Several key people in attendance: Eric Torres (close friend, Yakima WA), Eric Stagg (Yakima area), LFA-WA III% militia group leader Anthony Bosworth and Jack Robertson, Redoubt News. Topics included: security briefing, state of the economy, basics on survival, and assembly formation and reasons why.

Representative Shea led the meeting to discuss emergency preparations such as ensuring ample food, water, medical supplies, and ammunition in the event of a government collapse. He also spoke of the state of the economy and other geo-political issues that could trigger a collapse incident, or scenario that would require the means to protect individuals and their communities. W22 believed Representative Shea was determining who would be future leaders for him and who could command cells of “patriots” after the collapse.

**July 4, 2015**

Representative Shea, Rene Holaday, Shahram Hadian, John Jacob Schmidt and John Weaver spoke at MCF "God and Country Celebration". Representative Shea referenced Anthony Bosworth's arrest for carrying weapons into the Spokane Federal Courthouse and failing to leave when directed. He said, "There is nothing the federal government can do to us, even if they lock up our patriots like Anthony Bosworth!"

<https://www.inlander.com/Bloglander/archives/2015/10/25/theres-an-armed-rally-for-anthony-bosworth-at-the-federal-courthouse-monday-the-last-one-got-tense>

**August 12, 2015****Manufacturing Fear**

<https://www.inlander.com/spokane/manufacturing-fear/Content?oid=2534837>

**September 2015**

Representative Shea attended Act! For America conference in Washington DC

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqBz-8I-8RI>

**September 21, 2015**

Representative Shea led the "Rally for America" at the Spokane West Central Community Center.

**Malheur****October 2015**

**Harney County Oregon – Hammonds sentenced to Federal Sentencing Guideline minimum 5-year terms.**

**December 5, 2015**

Ammon Bundy and Ryan Payne moved into Burns, Harney County. Militants from states across the west began to assemble in Burns to protest the impending re-imprisonment of the Hammonds over what they describe as unjust Federal land policies.

**December 8, 2015**

██████████ Representative Shea, ██████████ began preparing a "Redress of Grievance" document.

<http://bundyranch.blogspot.com/2015/12/notice-redress-of-grievance-action.html>

The COWS **December 11, 2015** Press Release in part stated, "*The Coalition of Western States stands squarely behind the Hammond Family in their pursuit of justice and we stand ready to aid them.*" The press release contained a footnote to a YouTube video of Ammon Bundy referring to Dwight and Steven Hamond who had been sentenced and were preparing to serve a five-year prison sentence for lighting fires on US government land in Harney County, Oregon.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2zvrrQbjepc>

Ammon Bundy complained that the Hammonds had not gotten due process and that there was corruption in the origin, indictment, trial, sentencing and re-sentencing of the Hammonds. He accused the Sheriff of feeding information to the FBI and that it was "confirmed." He also accused the US Attorney' office of threats.

**December 14, 2015**

An email dated December 14, 2015 was sent from W22 to Representative Shea ([verumbellator@protonmail.com](mailto:verumbellator@protonmail.com)) regarding two styles of GPS tracking devices: passive (device would

need to be retrieved to view location data and active (transmit real-time location of person or vehicle). Links for purchasing options were included in the email.

#### **December 15, 2015**

##### **Ammon Bundy delivered the Redress of Grievance.**

**Bundy Town Hall:** A meeting was held at Harney Co Fairgrounds and included Ammon Bundy, Ryan Payne, BJ Soper, Jason Patrick and others. Bundy appointed and elected a “Committee of Safety” to represent citizens of Harney County. There were at least 20 Harney County citizens present. The Sheriff noted in his incident report that the Bundy militia followers often and openly cry for “*revolution*” and “*civil war*.”<sup>103</sup>

#### **December 16, 2015**

Ammon Bundy arrived at the Harney County Sheriff’s office and demanded an answer on the “Redress of Grievances” he had sent via email and the notarized copy he delivered to the Sheriff’s office the previous day. Bundy argued sovereign citizen propaganda and anti-government agenda. The Sheriff responded from his Bible and pointed out everything he (Bundy) was asking for and doing contradicted scripture. Bundy left mad.

#### **December 17, 2015**

Sheriff Ward’s parents were followed/surveilled by militia. His parents were fearful and kept firearms in their living room. His mother saw men parked outside their home with out-of-state license plates.

#### **December 3<sup>rd</sup> week**

Sheriff Ward’s wife was followed by 4 people. One was identified as Jason Patrick who would later occupy the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Members of the III% militia followed the Sheriff and his family while shopping. He recognized some as the Idaho III% militia.

#### **December 18, 2015**

BLM employee was cursed for wearing a BLM shirt. Three males followed her and told her they were going to follow her home and burn her house down. Their vehicle had no license plates.

#### **December 18, 2015 – Sheriff Ward call in outside law enforcement assistance.**

Ammon Bundy emailed the Sheriff a lengthy letter that he also posted online to solicit response from Bundy supporters. The email stated that military equipment had been transported to Harney County and that officers were heavily armed and that the “*Personnel involved have been put on high alert and briefed to use force upon the people as they see fit.*” Bundy believed the Sheriff was overreacting when he called in other LE agencies for assistance. The Sheriff was then accused of failing to protect the Hammonds. He called for the Sheriff and law enforcement to use their weapons in defense of the Hammonds and “*truly be a representative of the people.*”

#### **December 21, 2015**

Sheriff Ward received an email from BJ Soper of the **Central Oregon Constitutional Guard**. He informed the Sheriff a rally would take place in Burns on January 2<sup>nd</sup> in support of the Hammond family. Calls to action were made on multiple social media sites members of the militia type groups mentioned in the Sheriff’s report.

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<sup>103</sup> W28

**December 23, 2015**

Jon Ritzheimer and Blaine Cooper, refuge occupiers, followed Sheriff Ward's son in a store. Both had been active on social media posting calls to action and calls to arms. The Sheriff was followed from his office multiple times throughout the month of December.

**December 29, 2015**

Militias held a secret meeting to discuss the upcoming armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge followed by a phone meeting between Ammon Bundy and Representative Shea and other members of COWS.

**December 30, 2015**

Grant County Sheriff offered to house Harney County inmates in anticipation of January 2, 2016 protest.

**2016****January 1, 2016**

Burns community members met with protesters to voice their concerns in advance of a weekend rally planned for January 2, 2016 at 10:00am.

**January 1, 2016**

Cliven Bundy emailed a letter to Sheriff Ward. Bundy stated he had been watching for several weeks in the background. He suggested Steven Hammond and Dwight Hammond should check into the Harney County jail asking for protective custody and notify the Solicitor General in Washington DC they were under the Harney County SO protective custody. He suggested a Grand Jury be formed by "We the People." He also demanded the action take place before 10am on Saturday, Jan 2, 2016. Sheriff Ward began to feel uneasy and believed he was being surveilled.

**January 2, 2016**

A planned protest march of 300-500 people met in the Safeway Parking lot in Burns, OR . According to the Sheriff, a splinter group of armed protesters left the protest parade and seized the Malheur Wildlife Refuge. The armed seizure of the facility was led by Ammon Bundy, Ryan Bundy, Brian Cavalier, Blaine Cooper, Robert Lavoy Finicum (deceased), Ryan Payne, and Jon Ritzheimer. The militia claimed disinvolvement in the splitting off to take over the refuge.

Taking the refuge gave the armed militants access to 100 ft tall lookout tower, 20 buildings, vehicles, more than 1000 gallons of fuel, power, internet access, computers and phones. The Sheriff received information the militias had over 100 people at the Refuge. Reports indicated Bundy and the armed occupiers also had "Crew served" weapons on site or weapons that require more than one person to operate. The Sheriff received information prior to the protest that persons affiliated with the militia groups were attempting to obtain Squad Automatic Weapons (SAW) which are fully automatic weapons fed by belt or magazine and has a cyclic rate of more of 1000 rounds per minute. There was also information of a 50 caliber sniper rifle and personnel who could hit targets up to a mile away.

**January 3, 2016**

- Ammon Bundy claimed the occupation was supplied by area residents and stated he had no intention of violence unless the government acted against them.
- Sheriff Ward called the Oregon State Sheriff's for more assistance. Resources begin arriving from Oregon Sheriffs, Oregon State Police and the FBI.
- Joint command post set up at school administration building with personnel from Oregon Sheriffs, Oregon State Police and the FBI and personnel from other agencies.
- Patrol presence was increased in the community and continued through February 15, 2016.

- Richard Mack, President of the CSPOA called Sheriff Ward and told him he participated in the protest march on January 2, 2016 but not the armed takeover of the refuge and did not condone it. He told Sheriff Ward that Ammon Bundy had invited him out to the refuge but after learning of the armed takeover he did not go. He then told Sheriff Ward how he could “get out from under the situation” with the Hammonds resentencing by taking the Hammonds into his custody and simply charge the Hammonds with crimes and that the Hammonds didn’t really have to commit the crimes. Then place them in jail and tell “The Feds” they couldn’t have them until our charges had been adjudicated. Sheriff Ward stated this suggestion significantly paralleled the letter received from Cliven Bundy on January 1, 2016.
- Representative Shea prepared “**Operation Cold Reality**” operations plan in support of the armed occupation at Burns, Oregon and after 6 revisions completed the document at 9:29pm.

**January 4, 2016**

**Warning Order – Operation Cold Reality**

**Megyn Kelly Destroys Bundy Mob Leader with Just an Icy Stare**

<https://www.mediaite.com/tv/megyn-kelly-destroys-bundy-mob-leader-with-just-an-icy-stare/>

**January 5, 2016**

Ammon Bundy refused to leave. Law Enforcement take steps behind the scene to end the standoff.

**Congressman Greg Walden Speaking at US House re Armed Standoff in Oregon**

<https://www.c-span.org/video/?402734-3/representative-walden-armed-standoff-oregon/>

**January 7, 2016**

Sheriff David Ward and Ammon Bundy met to discuss occupation. Governor Kate Brown demanded the protesters “decamp immediately.”

**January 9, 2016**

Representative Shea and a group of elected officials, most of whom were COWS members, met with the Harney County Judge and local and Federal law enforcement officials to discuss the armed takeover and occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. The group hid their COWS involvement and then proceeded to the refuge to meet with the occupiers against the direction of the judge and law enforcement officials.

**Oregon State legislator meets with armed group at wildlife refuge**

<https://www.kgw.com/article/news/local/eastern-oregon/ore-state-legislator-meets-with-armed-group-at-wildlife-refuge/283-12629977/>

**January 10, 2016**

**Nevada, Oregon State Reps Meet With Armed Occupiers**

<https://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/nevada-oregon-state-reps-meet-with-bundy-militia/>

**January 10, 2016**

**Oregon standoff: Roseburg state legislator ignores local warnings, visits protesters**

[https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/01/oregon\\_standoff\\_roseburg\\_state.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/01/oregon_standoff_roseburg_state.html)

Oregon Rep. Cliff Bentz, a Republican from Ontario, and Harney County Judge Steven E. Grasty said that they tried to warn state Rep. Dallas Heard against traveling to Burns. But Heard, a Republican from Roseburg, arrived anyway, and brought elected state officials from Washington, Idaho and Nevada with him.

**January 10, 2016**

**Oregon Militia turns away another armed militia's help**

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/oregon-armed-militia-turns-away-pacific-patriot-network-help/>

Chat communications continued with KrisAnne Hall to Steward Rhodes with Representative Shea copied: *"This was a brilliant move by 3%er. Put a face to the crowd and cause hesitation when an order comes down. It is exactly what the Oath Keepers did in Ferguson when the Feds dished out the propaganda to the people that the Oath Keepers were KKK. The Oath Keepers then went into the neighborhoods and introduced themselves to everyone. This was perfect counter psyops."* Representative Shea writing as Libertas Veritas1 replied, *"The body language in the video is amazing. Very positive IMO (Intermediate Military Objective) Michele Fiore asked, "Does anyone know a person named Dallas?" Investigators determined Fiore is referring to Rep Dallas Heard who was in the January meeting Anne Byrd responded, "Yes. Dallas is a state legislator from Oregon. He is working with COWS as of this past week.*

**January 10, 2016**

**Idaho Three Percenters show up at Malheur Refuge**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y63Qbd4bE0I>

**January 11, 2016**

Representative Shea and Representative Graham Hunt report for Legislative Session on Monday after trip to Burns, Oregon Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed occupation visit.

**State Rep. Matt Shea made 'fact-finding' trip to Oregon standoff**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/jan/11/valley-lawmaker-made-fact-finding-trip-to-oregon-s/>

**January 11, 2016**

Schools re-open in Burns. Militants destroy a portion of US Fish and Wildlife fence adjoining a private ranch.

**January 12 , 2016**

Occupiers said they will reveal their exit plan at a meeting on Friday evening.

Idaho State Reps Judy Boyle, Heather Scott, Sage Dixon gave a press release indicating they "were among a selected group of state legislators invited by an Oregon legislator to meet with officials about the Oregon occupation. (Possibly Dallas Heard, Rep. Oregon who was unknown to COWS group before Bundy occupation).

Representative Shea received an email from Rep. Heather Scott [HScott@house.idaho.gov](mailto:HScott@house.idaho.gov) at 3:52:01 pm PST to an email address [Matt@spokanelawcenter.com](mailto:Matt@spokanelawcenter.com), [matt.shea@leg.wa.gov](mailto:matt.shea@leg.wa.gov), with text "Your message is ready to be sent with the following file or link attachments. Press Release Burns Oregon.pdf"<sup>104</sup>

The press release included photographs of Idaho State Representatives Judy Boyle, Heather Scot and Sage Dixon with a message that stated, "We were among a selected group of state legislators invited by an Oregon legislator because of our commitment to liberty, freedom and efforts to curb federal government overreach. Numerous constituents in each of our Districts have expressed concerns about the situation unfolding in Burns, and similar frustrations in dealing with federal agencies. We would like to avoid any type of similar situations in our own districts; therefore, we went to assess this situation for ourselves and our constituents."<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> E2Q

<sup>105</sup> E2R



The press release went on to acknowledge that the group of state legislators were “invited by an Oregon legislator to meet in Burns Oregon with local county officials, law enforcement officers and the FBI to receive a briefing and make them fully aware of our intentions”. Continuing with, “We made the decision as a group who wanted to hear both sides of the story which required hearing directly from Ammon Bundy and his group.”

*“At the refuge we received a petition of grievances from the group, which is a right guaranteed to citizens under the First Amendment. They believed their grievances have been and still are being ignored. It is part of our job as legislators to continually understand citizen grievances, find solutions based on facts and attempt to de-escalate volatile situations wherever possible. We believe it is very important to try to preempt any similar situation that may occur in our state.”*

**January 12, 2016**

Representative Shea received an angry constituent phone call.  
<https://soundcloud.com/matthewshea/threat-voice-mail/>

**January 12, 2016**

**Northwest Lawmakers Visit Malheur Refuge On 'Fact-Finding Mission'**

<https://www.nwnewsnetwork.org/post/northwest-lawmakers-visit-malheur-refuge-fact-finding-mission>

*“That was our main thing, just get to the truth and because BLM actions affect Washington, they affect Idaho, they affect Oregon, they affect Nevada—those are the legislators that are involved,” Shea said. “I think it behooves us to get to the bottom of it and find out what is actually fact on the ground.”*

**January 12, 2016**

Email from foxtrot519 to Representative Matt Shea [matt.shea@leg.wa.gov](mailto:matt.shea@leg.wa.gov) with attachment. Appears to be background of the individual who made threatening phone call to Representative Shea.

**January 12, 2016**

**Spokane County sheriff questions Matt Shea’s trip to Oregon armed protest**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/jan/12/knezovich-questions-matt-sheas-trip-to-oregon-armed/>

**January 13, 2016**

Rancher Tim Puckett says he didn’t give militants permission to destroy his fence.

**January 15, 2016**

The exit strategy meeting does not take place over a dispute about where to hold the meeting. Law Enforcement arrested occupier Kenneth Medenbach for driving government truck from the refuge into Burns.

**January 16, 2016**

Occupiers clashed with conservationists over surveillance cameras.

**January 18, 2016**

Protesters said they’ve recruited ranchers to stop paying grazing fees.

**January 19, 2016**

Conservation groups staged rallies throughout Oregon to urge occupiers to end the standoff.

**January 20, 2016**

Pete Santilli had a video interview with Anthony Bosworth at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Bosworth explained that he got involved in the Liberty Movement in 2005 after returning from Iraq. He

was dispatched to Katrina and saw American soldiers patrolling the streets and had an “awakening”. Felt he was on the wrong side. He felt we should go back to the old days 200 years ago to the “Restoration”. Bosworth explained he connected with KrisAnne Hall and brought her to Washington State. He stated he had attended numerous classes she taught on the Constitution. He said the message is unarguable. He said, “*She’s a Liberty leader and she fights for liberty.*” “*We must take action and do something. Not just talk.*” He closed with a shout out for “Liberty for All” which is his militia in Washington State. He also recognized Cope Reynolds as head of Liberty for All in Arizona.

**January 21, 2016**

Governor Brown in a letter to top Law Enforcement officials called for a swift resolution to the occupation

<https://www.statesmanjournal.com/story/news/politics/2016/01/21/read-gov-browns-letters-obama-urging-end-malheur-occupation/79123426/>

FBI and Ammon Bundy began negotiations.

**January 21, 2016**

Bosworth posts photo of himself with Ammon Bundy at the Malheur Wildlife Refuge.<sup>106</sup>

**January 21, 2016**

Bosworth Facebook posts photos of surveillance cameras removed from the compound and claims the hands in the photos are his hands.<sup>107</sup>

**January 22, 2016**

Negotiations stumble. Ammon Bundy questioned FBI authority to operate in Harney County.

**January 26, 2016**

**Lavoy Finicum killed**

On this same date a family member of an occupier posted a Facebook comment, “*LFA is and has always been a lined with C.O.W.S.... We will take our orders to action under the guidance of that organization! C.O.W.S and LFA has a representative in Oregon on a diplomatic mission!...*”

**January 27, 2016**

A Facebook posting: “Orders from Anthony P Bosworth, LFA is to stand down and are to take direct orders from C.O.W.S”

The Coalition of Western States posted an update to their Facebook page “UPDATE: The Coalition of Western States is extremely proud of our members who were on scene *and their efforts to maintain a peaceful dialogue with the federal government. Our members were able to negotiate with the FBI for safe passage for all those who wanted to leave the refuge including the remaining women and children there. As of this morning, all of the people who wanted to leave the refuge are safe. I want to especially thank the Oath Keepers that worked closely with us to ensure this outcome.*” It is more probable than not that this update to the COWS Facebook page was written by Representative Shea, Chairman of COWS.

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<sup>106</sup> EZH

<sup>107</sup> E9G

**Jan. 27, 2016**

News report attributes Anthony Bosworth with driving armed militants from the refuge.

**Oregon Standoff – What We Know So Far (updated)**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2016/01/oregon-standoff-what-we-know-so-far/>

**January 27, 2016**

**Govt Blames Protesters for Finicum Death**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2016/01/govt-blames-protesters-for-finicum-death/>

- FBI SAC Greg Bretzing, quoted in the press, said occupiers had time to leave and LE had taken a very deliberate and measured response.
- FBI/Occupiers negotiations continue.
- Ammon Bundy urges holdouts to go home.
- Judge refused to release occupiers from custody.
- Network of Patriot groups called for supporters to flood Burns.
- In a video-taped meeting taken at the refuge, occupier holdouts discussed if they should leave or stay and fight. One occupier stated, *“Let’s find all the ones who work for the government. Kill them...kill their families.”*<sup>108</sup>

**January 28, 2016**

**Statement by Greg Bretzing, SAC – Includes Video**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2016/01/statement-by-greg-bretzing-special-agent-in-chargestatement-by-greg-bretzing-special-agent-in-charge-fbi-portland/>

**January 29, 2016**

Federal judge denies release of 5 defendants including Ammon Bundy and Ryan Bundy.

Occupier holdouts say they will leave refuge in exchange for pardons.

FBI released footage of Finicum shooting to dispel rumors about his death.

**January 30, 2016**

Finicum family disputed official account of Finicum shooting

**January 31, 2016**

Witness said Finicum screamed “Just shoot me” before killed.

Four holdouts at refuge learn phone and internet service lost.

**February 1, 2016**

- Hundreds of people converged on Harney County courthouse urging remaining occupiers to go home.
- Federal Judge in Portland released incarcerated occupier, Shawna Cox.

**February 2, 2016**

- Occupiers still hold out.
- Franklin Graham tries to broker the end of the occupation.
- Finicum family alleged FBI and Oregon State police coverup.

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<sup>108</sup> R128

**February 3, 2016**

Federal Grand Jury indictment against Ammon Bundy and 15 followers in connection with refuge takeover.

**February 4, 2016**

Ammon Bundy called for state and Federal officials to leave eastern Oregon. Bundy dubbed the takeover as a needed action.

**February 5, 2016**

On this date, Lavoy Finicum's funeral was held in Utah. Representative Shea forwarded an email from his legislative email to Gavin, entitled, "*Subject: Statement to Savoy's Family*". Meaning LaVoy Finicum misspelled. Representative Shea asked Gavin Seim to "*Please post to the website. I will post to Facebook.*"

The message included the following: "*TO THE FAMILY of LaVoy Finicum, we at the Coalition of Western States wish to express our sincerest condolences for your loss. Those of us that either knew Lavoy or otherwise having worked with him at some point, knew him to be a good and decent man who clearly cared deeply for his fellow ranchers and country. We recognize the message he conveyed was one of peaceful resolution and mindful diligence. In many ways he should be a role model to all as he was an inspiration to many. Although we cannot express enough, our feelings of loss, we are deeply aware we can never know yours. While we cannot bring back this man, we will not let him be forgotten, Coalition of Western States.*"<sup>109</sup>

**February 8, 2016**

Ammon Bundy continued to speak out from jail, urging elected officials from 8 states to support imprisoned constituents.

**February 9, 2016**

Former occupier Scott Willingham offers to mediate between the FBI and last 4 occupiers.

**February 9, 2016**

*Shawn Vestal: Seim brothers have found a cause, but little effect, in the refuge standoff*  
<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/feb/09/shawn-vestal-seim-brothers-have-found-a-cause-but-/>

**February 10, 2016**

FBI moved in to arrest final 4 occupiers.

Cliven Bundy was arrested at Portland International Airport on Federal charges tied to the 2014 standoff with federal authorities at his Nevada ranch.

**February 10, 2016**

Final 4 holdouts agreed to surrender on morning of February 11.

**February 11, 2016**

Last 4 occupiers surrendered ending the standoff.

**February 11, 2016**

**Who is KrisAnne Hall? Conservative activist joins Oregon standoff negotiations**

[https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/02/who\\_is\\_krisanne\\_hall\\_conservat.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/02/who_is_krisanne_hall_conservat.html)

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<sup>109</sup> E2U

**February 15, 2016**

8:30a – 10A – COWS Debrief scheduled on Representative Shea’s House calendar.

**February 15, 2016**

**41 Days: An OPB Documentary on The Oregon Occupation**

<https://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/oregon-standoff-occupation-malheur-41-days-opb-documentary/>

**February 17, 2016**

Representative Shea received an email from the Legislative Ethics Board investigator notifying him an ethics complaint regarding his travel to Bunkerville , NV and Burns, OR was dismissed.

**February 23, 2016**

<https://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/oregon-counties-seek-12-million-in-occupation-costs/>

**March 2016**

Federal Grand Jury indicted 26 persons on felony charges of conspiracy to impede federal employees from doing their work through intimidation, threats of force, firearms possession at a federal facility.

**March 2, 2016**

**Case Against Santilli So Far Largely Based on Words**

<https://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/pete-santilli-charges-legal-case-free-speech/>

**March 3, 2016**

W22 provided personal security for Representative Shea at NRA dinner.

**March 4, 2016**

COWS Sent Email Letter in Support of Anthony Bosworth.

**March 15, 2016**

**Michele Fiore: Oregon occupiers were campers who were victimized by government**

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=34&v=WofwpQR5rkM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=34&v=WofwpQR5rkM)

**March 16, 2016**

**GOP Politicians Planned and Participated in Key Aspects of Refuge Occupation**

<https://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/republican-gop-politicians-coalition-western-states/>

**March 20, 2016**

**Oregon Lawmaker Says Roseburg Shooting Prompted ‘Fact-Finding’ Visit to Armed Occupation**

<https://www.ijpr.org/post/oregon-lawmaker-says-roseburg-shooting-prompted-fact-finding-visit-armed-occupation#stream/0>

**March 21, 2016**

**GOP lawmakers were asked to stay away from Oregon refuge occupation**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/mar/21/gop-lawmakers-were-asked-to-stay-away-from-refuge-/>

**March 21, 2016**

**It's up to Republicans to hold Rep. Matt Shea accountable**

<https://www.thestand.org/2016/03/its-up-to-gop-to-hold-rep-shea-accountable/>

**March 21, 2016**

Email to Representative Shea re: Ethics Complaint 2014 Nevada, 2016 Oregon

**March 22, 2016**

**Timeline: Armed occupation at Oregon refuge**

<https://www.kgw.com/article/news/local/eastern-oregon/timeline-armed-occupation-at-oregon-refuge/283-11955767>

**March 23, 2016**

Email from Representative Shea to Ethics Investigator with signed statement.

**May 10, 2016**

**Ethics Committee finding released – Complaint 2016 – No. 4 (Doc 9) – Representative Shea**

**June 20, 2016**

Representative Shea has scheduled “ACT Meeting” on his calendar.

**June 24 – 26, 2016**

W22 and Representative Shea attend MCF God and Country Celebration. Attendees include: Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, NV, John Jacob Schmidt, Anne Byrd, Assemblywoman Shelly Shelton, NV, Rep. Heather Scott, ID, and Pastor Shahram Hadian (FNU (Moore) held a round table plenary session entitled “*State of the Nation: You Should be Scared!*”

**June 20 - 28, 2016**

An incident occurred in Twin Falls, ID involving juveniles that was later inaccurately reported over Patriot Movement web sites as having been a gang rape at knifepoint of a juvenile by three Syrian refugees. COWS involved itself in the incident and was reported as investigating to reveal the truth of the incident. Representative Shea later repeated the false assertions on his radio program.

<https://redoubtnews.com/2016/06/cows-investigates-twin-falls-child-rape/>

The issue had earlier been refuted as false by the County Prosecutor who said an incident occurred, but it was not a rape, did not involve Syrian refugees and did not involve a knife. No additional information was released due to the age of the victim and offenders who were all juveniles.

<https://www.idahostatesman.com/news/northwest/idaho/article84829787.html>

**July 7, 2016**

Representative Shea aided and actively supported MCF “Team Rugged” training of children and young adults to fight a holy war.

**July – August 2016**

W23 expressed concern about Representative Shea’s extreme religious views and views of the 51<sup>st</sup> State.

**August 5-6, 2016**

Representative Shea held private meeting re: Provisional Government / Biblical Basis for War.

**August 27, 2016**

Representative Shea emailed Apparatus of Repression.

**September 12, 2016 – Inlander.com**

Revealing Representative Shea presented Anthony Bosworth an award for Patriot of the Year for actions at Malheur.

<https://www.inlander.com/Bloglander/archives/2016/09/12/rep-matt-shea-presents-oregon-standoff-figure-bosworth-with-2016-patriot-of-the-year-award>

Bosworth quote from FB – *“It was an honor to receive this award from my friend, fellow patriot, and brother!”*

**November 8, 2016**

Presidential Election Win – Donald Trump

Representative Shea won his bid for reelection in the general election against opponent Scott Stucker.

**November 10, 2016**

Patriot Radio podcast with Pastor Larry Byrd

<http://mattshea.podbean.com/mobile/e/patriot-radio-11102016-pastor-barry-byrd/?token=9ab6210ac6c2b5e9a2e6028e986b7b08&fbclid=IwAR1oprZtXpnwn8vpfGefTWg8RwJv7X676i73rBgFYQBtFkC5u6xeJ9twvkU>

**November 27, 2016**

Representative Shea surveillance on Opposition

**December 7, 2016**

**Matt Shea, Bob McCaslin propose creating new state called “Liberty” in Eastern Washington**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/dec/07/matt-shea-bob-mccaslin-propose-creating-newstate/>

**December 14, 2016**

**Spokane Valley City Council to vote on Rep. Shea’s plan to split Washington, create state of Liberty east of Cascades**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/dec/14/spokane-valley-city-council-to-vote-on-matt-sheas/>

**2017**

**February 2, 2017**

**Spokane Valley Rep. Matt Shea elected GOP caucus leader in Washington House**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2017/feb/02/spokane-valley-rep-matt-shea-elected-gop-caucus-le/>

**March 1, 2017**

Sheriff’s deputy sues **Rep. Matt Shea** for defamation over erroneous comments linking him to having sold the firearm used in a triple homicide.

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2017/mar/01/sheriffs-deputy-sues-rep-matt-shea-for-defamation/>

**March 7, 2017**

Representative Shea emailed an encrypted email containing a dossier of Spokane city officials.

**April 29, 2017**

Drain the Swamp Rally

**May 26, 2017**

**Judge rules that defamation lawsuit against Rep. Matt Shea can continue**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2017/may/26/judge-rules-that-defamation-lawsuit-against-rep-ma/>

**May 30, 2017**

**Vestal: Rep. Matt Shea makes a desperate and silly attempt to shield himself from defamation lawsuit**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2017/may/30/vestal-rep-matt-shea-makes-a-desperate-and-silly-a/>

**October 9, 2017**

Representative Shea abandoned use of email due to security threats.

**October 29, 2017**

Representative Shea engaged in violent chat.

**December 15, 2017**

Wooten memo released by Representative Shea

**EXCLUSIVE: Rep. Matt Shea Exposes BLM Atrocities**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2017/12/shea-exposes-blm-atrocities/>

**December 16, 2017**

**Trial of the Century: Larry Wooten Expose on BLM**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2017/12/larry-wooten-expose-blm/>

**December 17, 2017**

**Rep. Shea Reveals MORE Breaking News About BLM**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2017/12/rep-shea-reveals-breaking-news-blm/>

**December 28, 2017**

**Eastern Washington lawmaker welcomes mistrial**

[https://www.sunnysidesun.com/news/eastern-washington-lawmaker-welcomes-mistrial/article\\_e340a728-1b47-5523-a4fc-f185c16b2110.html](https://www.sunnysidesun.com/news/eastern-washington-lawmaker-welcomes-mistrial/article_e340a728-1b47-5523-a4fc-f185c16b2110.html)

**2018**

**January 20, 2018**

State of Liberty Rally in Colville, WA and Representative Shea presented vision for state.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LPZrn77dj94>

The Stevens County Property Rights Group handed out a five-page informational brochure from their November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017 meeting detailing the progress of the 51<sup>st</sup> state initiative, their biblical view of the state, and encouragement to purchase a Liberty State flag. The document advocated against the legalization of marijuana as well as for the abolishment of the department of ecology and prohibited gay marriage. Representative Shea was the primary speaker.

Approximately one week after the State of Liberty Rally, W23 posted a question to Representative Shea on his Facebook page asking about his belief system and his vision for the 51 State. An online debate ensued between W23 and Representative Shea until Representative Shea blocked W23 from his (Representative Shea's) Facebook page.

During that same week, W22 had a conversation with Representative Shea as well as a text chat over their secure communications app, encouraging him to connect with W23 over a beer. Representative Shea's responded that "*we do not owe Pagans the truth*". This is similar language to that used in Representative Shea's **Biblical Basis for War**, page 3 "*Do not owe the truth to someone who will abuse it*".



**February 20, 2018**

**Bunkerville Standoff: Ryan Bundy Seeks Evidentiary Hearing on Wooten Memo**

<https://nexttrushfree.blogspot.com/2018/02/bunkerville-standoff-ryan-bundy-seeks.html?m=1>

**February 2018**

In a private chat group in which W22 was a participant, Anthony Bosworth wrote: *"The communist bastards need to be shot"* and Representative Shea responded: *"Communist Islam"*

**February 2018**

Representative Shea wrote: *"Please remember the first day of Ramadan begins Tuesday/Wednesday. Higher likelihood of terror attacks."* Jack Robertson later wrote: *"Wow. Ramadan began yesterday. Avoid crowds when possible, be vigilant, stay armed and keep a combat rifle accessible when practical."*

**April 12, 2018**

**Bundy Prosecutor Steven Myhre is OUT**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2018/04/bundy-prosecutor-myhre-out/>

**April 30, 2018**

**A Bundy Believer Heads to Oregon's Senate**

<https://oregonwild.org/about/blog/bundy-believer-heads-oregons-senate/>

**May 18, 2018**

**Shawn Vestal: The State of Liberty may not have a shot, but it's Heady Fiction**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/may/13/shawn-vestal-the-state-of-liberty-may-not-have-a-s/>

**June 21, 2018**

**Red Pill Expo brings leading contrarians to Spokane**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/jun/21/red-pill-expo-brings-leading-conspiracy-theorists-/>

**June 2018**

Anthony Bosworth chat regarding the occupation of an ICE facility in Portland: *"I don't agree with federal agents clubbing them. I think they should let the people club the commies."* He later added: *"The American people need to stomp communism to the dust. They need to be hunted down and destroyed. It's not the government's job to do it. It is ours, the rightful heirs to liberty fought and won by our founders."*

**July 2018**

**MCF God and Country Celebration**

Speakers: Representative Shea, John Jacob Schmidt, Steve McLaughlin, Mark Herr, Jeanette Finicum, wife of deceased LaVoy Finicum

**July 2018**

Anthony Bosworth chat: *"Every day shows more and more we are sitting on the edge of civil war between two government factions. I don't think we are going to make another 6 years before we see shots fired."*

**August 18, 2018**

Representative Shea makes a speech at the "Liberty or Death Rally" at Franklin Park in Spokane.

**Gun rights enthusiasts joined by Shea, Fagan at Franklin Park rally**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/aug/18/gun-rights-enthusiasts-joined-by-shea-fagan-at-fra/>

**August 21, 2018**

State Rep. Matt Shea calls journalists 'dirty, godless, hateful.' GOP leader says he remains qualified for task force.

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/aug/21/shea-to-push-for-more-open-records-despite-critici/>

**October 5, 2018**

Representative Shea was a scheduled speaker at **John Birch Society** weekend in Appleton, WI

[jbs.org/files/60th-flyer.pdf](https://jbs.org/files/60th-flyer.pdf)

**October 12, 2018**

**Matt Shea to join Ammon Bundy at far-right gathering in Whitefish, Montana**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/oct/12/matt-shea-to-join-ammon-bundy-at-far-right-gatheri/>

**October 13, 2018**

Representative Shea was a speaker along with Ammon Bundy at the New Code of the West Conference held in Whitefish, Montana.

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/oct/12/matt-shea-to-join-ammon-bundy-at-far-right-gathering/>

**October 14, 2018**

**The Guardian – Republicans Join Far Right Figures at Montana Anti-Government Event**

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/oct/14/ammon-bundy-republicans-far-right-figures-montana-anti-government-event>

**October 23, 2018**

**Something's Brewing in the Deep Red West - Rep. Matt Shea has been trying to create a libertarian utopia in the Pacific Northwest, a 51st state called Liberty. And he keeps getting re-elected.**

<https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/matt-shea-washington-state-liberty-744850/>

**October 2018**

The Biblical Basis of War was released through Facebook.

W22 was present when the Biblical Basis for War along with the Restoration document was released at a secret meeting in 2017. Representative Shea responded to the release of the **Biblical Basis for War** in a video where he admitted writing the document, claiming it was sermon notes and not a plan of war. W22 claims Representative Shea was untruthful in his response.

**October 25, 2018**

Representative Shea responded in video to the release of Biblical Basis of War.

<https://www.facebook.com/mattsheawa/videos/10217376787157811/>

**October 26, 2018**

Representative Shea responded again to the release of info.

<https://www.facebook.com/mattsheawa/videos/10217384255624518/>

**October 31, 2018**

Ken Peters and Gabe Blomgren of Covenant Church weighed in on the Representative Shea's BBW release.

<https://www.facebook.com/pastorkenrp/videos/10156220545043074/>

**October 31, 2018**

**Spokane GOP leader authors 'Biblical Basis for War' manifesto calling for end to abortion, same-sex marriage and death of enemies who disagree**

<https://www.nydailynews.com/news/ny-news-spokane-politician-matt-shea-biblical-war-manifesto20181031-story.html>

**October 31, 2018**

**Rep. Matt Shea takes credit, criticism for document titled 'Biblical Basis for War'**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/oct/26/rep-matt-shea-takes-credit-criticism-for-document/>

**November 1, 2018**

**At least one of Rep. Matt Shea's campaign donors wants money back**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/oct/31/at-least-one-of-rep-matt-sheas-campaign-donors-wan/>

**November 1, 2018**

**FBI investigating Washington state rep. for manifesto urging 'all males' will be killed**

<https://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/414450-fbi-investigating-washington-state-rep-for-manifesto-urging-all-males>

**November 2, 2018**

**AT&T, Washington Realtors seek Shea campaign refunds over 'Biblical Basis for War' manifesto**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/nov/01/att-washington-realtors-seek-shea-campaign-refunds/>

**November 6, 2018**

**Matt Shea, Bob McCaslin sweep Democratic hopefuls in Spokane Valley's 4th Legislative District**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/nov/06/shea-mccaslin-sweep-democratic-hopefuls-in-spokane/>

**November 7, 2018**

**Washington divided? Support for formation of 51st state appears to be gaining momentum in 2018**

[http://www.ifiberone.com/columbia\\_basin/washington-divided-support-for-formation-of-st-state-appears-to/article\\_27ec7a6a-e2bc-11e8-bea1-bb4a86b8723b.html](http://www.ifiberone.com/columbia_basin/washington-divided-support-for-formation-of-st-state-appears-to/article_27ec7a6a-e2bc-11e8-bea1-bb4a86b8723b.html)

**November 27, 2018**

**Matt Shea Loses Leadership Position**

<https://www.krem.com/article/news/local/spokane-county/state-rep-matt-shea-loses-leadership-position-in-olympia/293-618239719/>

**December 7, 2018**

**Embattled Washington Rep. Matt Shea is skirting state law to funnel campaign funds to far-right groups**

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/12/07/embattled-washington-rep-matt-shea-skirting-state-law-funnel-campaign-funds-far-right>

**December 16, 2018**

**Shea Donations**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2018/dec/16/shea-donations-from-surplus-campaign-money-prompt/>

2019

January 18, 2019

**Rep. Matt Shea urges crowd to resist gun restrictions with firearms ‘behind every blade of grass’**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/jan/18/rep-matt-shea-urges-crowd-to-resist-gun-restrictio/>

January 29, 2019

**Matt Shea podcast with John Jacob Schmidt – Politics of the Day**

<https://mattshea.podbean.com/e/matt-shea-with-john-jacob-schmidt-politics-of-the-day/>

March 14, 2019

**Matt Shea podcast with co-host John Jacob Schmidt examine major world events that impact America and provide legislative updates from Washington's capitol city, Olympia.**

<https://mattshea.podbean.com/e/matt-shea-with-co-host-john-jacob-schmidt-critical-world-events-legislative-update/>

March 24, 2019

**Liberty State Townhall: Guns Taxes and Soviet Islamic Terror:**

[https://www.columbiabasinherald.com/local\\_news/20190324/liberty\\_state\\_town\\_hall\\_guns\\_taxes\\_and\\_soviet\\_islamic\\_terror](https://www.columbiabasinherald.com/local_news/20190324/liberty_state_town_hall_guns_taxes_and_soviet_islamic_terror)

March 28, 2019

**Matt Shea podcast with co-host John Jacob Schmidt – The War on Christianity**

<https://mattshea.podbean.com/e/rep-matt-shea-with-co-host-john-jacob-schmidt-the-war-on-christianity/>

April 18, 2019

**Matt Shea podcast – John Jacob Schmidt – The Truth: Expose’ on the Battles Being Fought by Rep. Matt Shea**

<https://mattshea.podbean.com/e/john-jacob-schmidt-the-truth-expose-of-the-battles-being-fought-by-rep-matt-shea/>

April 20, 2019

**Release of information to Jason Wilson for Guardian Article**

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/20/matt-shea-rightwing-messages-chat-records>

W22 received a threat from an individual via Facebook messenger, that he would go to his/her home to “visit” him/her and then claimed to be former Israeli Defense Force. W22 understood the threat to be in retaliation for releasing information on Representative Shea.

The same individual also threatened W22 and W23 with violence on different Facebook groups. The witnesses did not previously know the individual nor how he is connected to Representative Shea.

April 21, 2019

**Matt Shea Accused of Running Surveillance**

[https://www.khq.com/news/washington-state-rep-matt-shea-accused-of-running-surveillance-on/video\\_97378d54-6496-11e9-9bc9-d3530f50a706.html](https://www.khq.com/news/washington-state-rep-matt-shea-accused-of-running-surveillance-on/video_97378d54-6496-11e9-9bc9-d3530f50a706.html)

**April 22, 2019**

**Unhinged Left attempts Another Tiresome Attack**

[https://redoubtnews.com/2019/04/unhinged-left-attempts-another-tiresome-attack/?fbclid=IwAR3pSMbTHkr13RRyT3PZV1UIOKvq65QuK\\_TWfiNMEkhdOXoqcgKPyO2FBA](https://redoubtnews.com/2019/04/unhinged-left-attempts-another-tiresome-attack/?fbclid=IwAR3pSMbTHkr13RRyT3PZV1UIOKvq65QuK_TWfiNMEkhdOXoqcgKPyO2FBA)  
<https://www.thestranger.com/slog/2019/04/22/39986474/washington-republican-matt-shea-allegedly-proposed-spying-on-spokane-residents/>

**April 23, 2019**

**Spokane area Democrats condemn Rep. Matt Shea after investigative report surfaces**

<https://www.krem.com/article/news/politics/spokane-area-democrats-condemn-rep-matt-shea-after-investigative-report-surfaces/293-bcbc46c8-4485-4c0e-85f5-470dad1ba527>

**April 24, 2019**

**Matt Shea: I do background checks on people who threaten me**

<https://mynorthwest.com/1357982/matt-shea-responds-chat-controversy/>

**April 24, 2019**

**Rep. Matt Shea links to white nationalist website, defends running background checks on political opponents**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/apr/24/rep-matt-shea-links-to-white-nationalist-website-d/>

**April 25, 2019**

**Rep. Matt Shea doesn't deserve a place in the Republican Party**

<https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/editorials/rep-matt-shea-doesnt-deserve-a-place-in-the-republican-party/>

**April 27, 2019**

**Rep Matt Shea was part of violent 2017 chat from the beginning**

<https://www.krem.com/article/news/local/spokane-county/state-rep-matt-shea-loses-leadership-position-in-olympia/>

**April 27, 2019**

**House GOP to Review Shea Reports**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/apr/27/house-gop-to-review-shea-reports/>

**May 1, 2019**

W22 Released information to Jason Wilson for Guardian Article

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/01/republican-matt-shea-rightwing-rally-guns>

**May 3, 2019**

**Democrats urge reprimand of Rep. Matt Shea**

<https://mynorthwest.com/1373115/democrats-demand-reprimand-matt-shea/>

**May 4, 2019**

**Tina Podlodowski: Washington GOP has many reasons to oust Shea**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/may/04/tina-podlodowski-washington-gop-has-many-reasons-t/>

**May 4, 2019**

**House Democrats call for investigation into Spokane Valley state Rep. Matt Shea**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/may/03/house-democrats-call-for-investigation-into-shea/>

**May 5, 2019**

**Spin Control: State Democrats' talk doesn't match actions in alarm raised about Matt Shea**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/may/05/spin-control-state-democrats-talk-doesnt-match-act/>

**May 7, 2019**

**Rep. Shea's secret group discussed sending severed wolf tail and testicles to environmental activist**

<https://www.inlander.com/spokane/rep-sheas-secret-group-discussed-sending-severed-wolf-tail-and-testicles-to-environmental-activist/Content?oid=17572893>

**May 9, 2019**

**W22 Released "Party Animal" chat information to Jason Wilson for Guardian Article**

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/09/matt-shea-republican-stokes-fears-civil-war-conspiracy-theories>

**Whistleblower who leaked Rep. Matt Shea's chat logs accuses lawmaker of Christian domination agenda**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/may/09/whistleblower-who-leaked-rep-matt-sheas-chat-logs/>

**May 14, 2019**

**Alliance Defending Freedom has an extremely shady network of thousands of attorneys**

[https://www.mediamatters.org/alliance-defending-freedom/alliance-defending-freedom-has-extremely-shady-network-thousands?redirect\\_source=/blog/2019/05/14/Alliance-Defending-Freedom-has-an-extremely-shady-network-of-thousands-of-attorneys/223702](https://www.mediamatters.org/alliance-defending-freedom/alliance-defending-freedom-has-extremely-shady-network-thousands?redirect_source=/blog/2019/05/14/Alliance-Defending-Freedom-has-an-extremely-shady-network-of-thousands-of-attorneys/223702)

**May 14, 2019**

**Matt Shea podcast - Guest host John Jacob Schmidt interviews James Rawles (survivalist author and editor of SurvivalBog.com)**

<https://mattshea.podbean.com/e/james-wesley-rawles-guest-host-john-jacob-schmidt/>

**May 23, 2019**

**Liberty State Rally, Spokane, WA**

**June 10, 2019**

**How a Right-Wing Network Mobilized Sheriffs' Departments**

<https://www.politicalresearch.org/2019/06/10/how-a-right-wing-network-mobilized-sheriffs-departments>

**June 19, 2019**

**Matt Shea podcast – Jeanette Finicum**

<https://mattshea.podbean.com/e/jeanette-finicum/>

**July, 2019**

**Bundyville: The Remnant Chapter 4: The Preacher and the Politician The Remnant**

<https://longreads.com/2019/07/18/bundyville-the-remnant-chapter-four-the-preacher-and-the-politician/>

**July 2019**

**Bundyville: The Remnant Chapter 5: Anne**

<https://longreads.com/2019/07/19/bundyville-the-remnant-chapter-five-the-remnant/>

**July 29, 2019**

**Independent Team Signed for Shea Investigation**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/jul/29/independent-team-signed-for-shea-investigation/>

**August 2, 2019**

**WA Dems and Their Emotional Vendetta**

<https://redoubtnews.com/2019/08/washington-dems-emotional-vendetta/>

**August 14, 2019**

**Revealed: Republican lawmaker aided group training young men for 'biblical warfare'**

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/13/matt-shea-biblical-war-washington-team-rugged/>

**August 18, 2019**

**More from the Matt Shea files: GPS trackers, a 'provisional government' and a hunt for moles**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/aug/18/more-from-the-shea-files-gps-trackers-a-provisiona/>

**August 19, 2019**

**Spokane City Council Members, other leaders call for Shea resignation**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/aug/19/spokane-city-council-members-other-leaders-reporte/>

**August 20, 2019**

**Spokane Mayor David Condon, police Chief Craig Meidl say state Rep. Matt Shea is unfit for office**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/aug/20/spokane-mayor-david-condon-police-chief-craig-meidl/>

**August 21, 2019**

**It's up to Matt Shea Voters to do the Right Thing**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/aug/21/shawn-vestal-its-up-to-matt-sheas-voters-to-do-the/>

**August 21, 2019**

**To expel or not to expel Matt Shea, that may be the question**

<https://www.heraldnet.com/news/to-expel-or-not-to-expel-matt-shea-that-may-be-the-question/>

**August 29, 2019**

**Whistleblower links Rep. Matt Shea to document describing creation of theocratic 'redoubt' territory**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/aug/29/whistleblower-links-rep-matt-shea-to-document-desc/>

**August 30, 2019**

**Letter: Faith Leaders and Leaders of Conscience call for the removal of Rep. Matt Shea**

<https://www.inlander.com/spokane/readers-respond/Content?oid=18191415>

**September 3, 2019**

**Some Corporate Donors Shy Away from Washington Rep Matt Shea After Controversies**

<https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/some-corporate-donors-shy-away-from-washington-rep-matt-shea-after-controversies/>

**September 4, 2019**

**Liberty state proponents push plan to secede from Washington at Moses Lake press conference**

<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/sep/04/liberty-state-proponents-push-plan-to-secede-from-/>

**September 19, 2019**

**The Execution of LaVoy Finicum: Lawsuit Dismissed**

<https://ncrenegade.com/editorial/the-execution-of-lavoy-finicum-lawsuit-dismissed/>

**September 24, 2019**

**Spokane Valley town hall calls out Rep. Matt Shea, white supremacy in community**

<https://www.kxly.com/news/spokane-valley-town-hall-calls-out-rep-matt-shea-white-supremacy-in-community/1124993470>

**September 26, 2019**

**An apocalyptic book series shows the type of society Rep. Matt Shea and his allies dream of rebuilding**

<https://www.inlander.com/spokane/an-apocalyptic-book-series-shows-the-type-of-society-rep-matt-shea-and-his-allies-dream-of-rebuilding/Content?oid=18345627>

**September 30, 2019**

**Investigation into Rep. Matt Shea continues longer than expected**

<https://mynorthwest.com/1535865/matt-shea-investigation-continues/amp/>

**September 30, 2019**

**Democrats Increase Pressure on Corporations to Cut Ties with Matt Shea**

<https://www.thestranger.com/slog/2019/09/30/41536694/democrats-increase-pressure-on-corporations-to-cut-ties-with-matt-shea>

**October 10, 2019**

**Radical Islamic Ideology in the United Nations – Representative Shea presentation**

<https://www.thenewamerican.com/world-news/item/33645-matt-shea-radical-islamic-ideology-in-the-united-nations>

In this video presentation, Representative Shea spoke of Christian Dominionism as something he believes in and does not deny. His topic included an analysis of the “World Underground Movement Plan” that included 1) discreet and secret leadership, 2) infiltration of the US Government, establishing a shadow government, 4) use of media to discredit and detract, 5) open confrontation with the government and 6) training on the use of weapons domestically.

**October 11, 2019**

**“Washington State Lawmaker Espouses Hatred of Muslims in Video.”**

<https://www.courthousenews.com/washington-state-lawmaker-espouses-hatred-of-muslims-in-video/>

**October 28, 2019**

Representative Shea produced a video on YouTube entitled, “Rep. Matt Shea Exposes the Real Threats We Face Spokane WA.”<sup>110</sup>

**November 1, 2019**

The Washington Post published an article entitled, “**Ammon Bundy, Anti-Government Militant Accuses House Witness in Man’s Death**” in which Ammon Bundy accused Harney County Commissioner Dan Nichols as an FBI Informant who helped murder LaVoy Finicum.

**November 7, 2019**

Representative Shea posted on his Facebook page at 1:07 pm accusing Jason Wilson, the reporter who has been reporting on him for the past year or longer, of being linked directly to Antifa. Representative Shea goes on to say, “*They keep attacking me like they are attacking President Trump. In fact, they use many*

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<sup>110</sup> R225



*of the same smears. That's because we are exposing them for the Deep State Socialists they are. They will not win. We will keep exposing them....Socialism will not win in America."*

**November 8, 2019**

**"Secret Chats Involving Republican Lawmaker Reveal Fresh Evidence of Plots and Paranoia"**

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/08/matt-shea-republican-far-right-leaked-chats-washington-state>

This article pertains to more leaked online chat exchanged between Representative Shea and others from October 2017 through October 2018, and points to his association with other former and "aspiring right-winged" politicians from Washington and Idaho alongside activists associated with militia groups, anti-environmental causes, and pro-gun activism. The article calls out the chat participants by name to include name Rep. Heather Scott, Idaho, John Jacob Schmidt referred to as "broadcaster and Shea lieutenant", Anthony Bosworth, "patriot movement activist" and Anne Byrd who leads the Marble Community Church. Investigators obtained screenshots of the chat referenced in this news report and confirmed Representative Shea's preparation for an economic and societal collapse. Lindsay Schubiner, a program director at the Washington States Center was quoted as saying, *"The chat messages reveal Shea acting more like a militia leader than an elected official. His conspiratorial and violent mindset are on full display."*

**November 8, 2019**

The US Government filed an appeal in the US District Court of Nevada in the Cliven Bundy Bunkerville, Nevada armed standoff matter.

**November 20, 2019**

Representative Shea waited for and confronted W22 near his automobile parked outside a Spokane restaurant shouting insults and taunts at him to bystanders.

## **Section 4: Political Violence**

This investigation determined Representative Shea is an active and influential leader of the Patriot Movement in the US. He supports the movement and its causes and at times is an active participant in organizing and carrying out demonstrations against state and federal government activities. He has on occasion organized and directed armed confrontations with law enforcement officers.

### **A . The Patriot Movement**

The Patriot Movement is defined as “a collection of conservative, independent, mostly rural, small government, American nationalist social movements in the United States that include organized militia members, tax protesters, sovereign or state citizens, quasi-Christian apocalypticists/survivalists, and combinations thereof.”<sup>111</sup> It is viewed as a movement that sees itself as losing power and mobilizes through conspiracy theories and apocalyptic narratives that are engrained in its members and their children. In the white supremacist version, the producers are white, the elites are Jewish, the lazy and sinful are the people of color. The Western Patriot Movement sees the producers as farmers and ranchers and the elite as socialists, the Federal Reserve, the banking system, and the subversive groups as Muslims, Syrian refugees and Black Lives Matter. Conspiracy thinking is a common element in these ideologies and the driver that sees the elite and subversive groups as plotting against common people.

Varied beliefs and motivations make up the Patriot Movement but they share four common ingredients: (1) an obsessive suspicion of their government; (2) a deep-seated hatred and fear of federal authorities; (3) belief in far-reaching conspiracy theories; and (4) a feeling that Washington D.C. bureaucrats have discarded the U.S. Constitution. Most of the individuals in this antigovernment movement also feel that a cold war of sorts is being waged between freedom-loving patriots and federal officials and believe it will escalate into a violent conflict. Many have organized themselves into heavily armed militias, most of which function contrary to state laws prohibiting private armies.<sup>112</sup>

The Patriot Movement is believed to have begun in the late 1950's with the formation of the John Birch Society and opposition to the United Nations, communism, the civil rights movement, and the promotion of white supremacy and antisemitism. The Patriot Movement's prevalence grew after the confrontations at Ruby Ridge and Waco in the early 1990's. The Oklahoma City bombing was carried out by two Patriot Movement members, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols. During the 1990's the movement organized further, using gun shows and the advancement of the Internet as a means of communication. The number of Patriot Groups operating in the US have fluctuated through the years and grew from 149 in 2008 to 1360 in 2012. It is believed to have grown as the result of the election of Former President Barack Obama, the nation's first African American President, and the belief that the white majority in the United States was on the decline.

Conspiracy theories among the Patriot Movement include the belief that the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is building concentration camps; Muslim Sharia law is becoming part of the United States court system, and Mexico is covertly planning the repatriation of the Southwest United States. These shared conspiracy theories have contributed to the growth of the Patriot Movement.

### **B. Patriot Movement Connections to Violence**

The Patriot Movement is associated with high incidents of violence. The 1992 standoff at Ruby Ridge, ID that resulted in three deaths, the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing of the Murrah Federal Building that killed

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<sup>111</sup> R5

<sup>112</sup> R12

168 persons, the 2014 standoff at the Bundy ranch in Bunkerville, NV and the armed takeover at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Harney County Oregon are all attributed to the Patriot Movement.

Aside from these well-publicized armed conflicts, the Patriot Movement attracts individuals with little inhibition toward acts of violence. This is evident by the arrests of its members for various violent crimes. There is no shortage of incidents to support this assertion. To name only a few:

- 2001: A North Carolina sheriff's deputy was killed during a traffic stop by a leader of the Kentucky Militia who was also an adherent of Christian Identity Theory theology.
- 2009: Mark Wayne McCool, the onetime leader of the Texas Militia, was arrested for making plans to attack the Houston Federal Building.
- 2010: Missouri police arrested Richard Copley for making improvised explosive devices after he allegedly threatened to blow up the Rolla, MO Police Department.
- 2010: Mike Vanderboegh, a former Alabama militiaman and founder of the patriot group The Three Percenters, called on followers to protest health care reform by breaking the windows of local Democratic Party offices. This call to action resulted in reports of broken windows in Democratic offices across the country.
- 2010: Brody James Whitaker was arrested for allegedly shooting at two Florida State Troopers then declaring at his arraignment, "I am a sovereign" ... "I am not an American citizen".
- 2014: Jerad and Amanda Miller, Patriot Movement participants who were present at the Bundy Standoff, killed two police officers and a civilian during a violent shooting rampage in Las Vegas, Nevada. They had pinned a note on one of the victims that said, "This is the beginning of the revolution."
- 2015: A III% militia member was arrested with a firearm and homemade explosives on the University of Arkansas campus.
- 2015: A III% supporter shot 5 people at a Black Lives Matter encampment in Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- 2016: A III% militia member was arrested for threatening former President Obama.

### **C. Representative Shea's Connections to the Patriot Movement**

Representative Shea is a self-professed member of the Patriot Movement<sup>113</sup>, and although Representative Shea is not believed to consider himself a member of a militia, he is closely associated with several militia groups, their activities, and prominent militia members.<sup>114</sup> He is also closely associated with the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) and Marble Community Fellowship; two organizations closely aligned with the Patriot Movement.<sup>115</sup>

### **D. Associations with Militia Groups**

#### **III% Militia**

III% militia, also styled 3%ers and THREE PERCENTERS, is a loosely organized nationwide militia group whose members pledge protest and armed resistance against governmental attempts to curtail constitutional rights. The group's name derives from an erroneous claim that only three percent of the population of the thirteen colonies took up arms against the Kingdom of Great Britain during the

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<sup>113</sup> E2G

<sup>114</sup> E2J, E12X, R109

<sup>115</sup> E10A, R235

American Revolution. The movement was co-founded by Michael "Mike" Vanderboegh who died in 2016.

Vanderboegh self-published a serial novel online, *Absolved*, in 2008 which he called "a cautionary tale for the out-of-control gun cops of the ATF". Vanderboegh and his novel *Absolved* first received wide media attention in 2011, when four suspected militia members in Georgia were arrested for an alleged plan of a biological attack that had supposedly been inspired by the novel. Vanderboegh distanced himself from the alleged plot.

III% militia state they are not anti-government and will support the government as long as the government *"abides by the Constitution, doesn't overstep its bounds, and remains for the people and by the people."*

<sup>116</sup> The goal of the organization is to call out episodes of government overreach and to "push back against tyranny." III% militia are believers in a strict and literal interpretation of the Constitution and believe the courts and Congress have deviated significantly from the intent of the Founding Fathers.

Representative Shea was connected to the III% militia through his close association with founder Mike Vanderbough until his death in 2016. Vanderbough was a guest speaker at an anti I-594 rally at the Washington State Capitol where he spoke with a rifle strapped across his back. He was also present at the same type of rally in Spokane, WA. Vanderboegh was mentioned in Representative Shea's Operations Plan and Warning Order dated January 4, 2016, regarding the militia "call up" to the armed occupation at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in 2016. It is more probable than not that Mike Vanderbough was one of the recipients of the Ops Order sent by Representative Shea to recipients using code named encrypted email accounts. Although Vanderbough did not support the takeover at Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, a group of 3%ers of Idaho dispatched to the refuge to "secure the perimeter."<sup>117</sup> They left several hours after their arrival when they were told their assistance was not needed.

The presence of armed militias in Burns, Oregon led to an epidemic of threats of violence against community members, the County Judge, the Sheriff and his family, federal employees, state troopers, a leader in the Paiute Tribe, and the Governor of Oregon during the armed occupation at Malheur.

### **Liberty for All – Washington III% militia (LFA3%)**

Representative Shea is closely associated with Anthony Bosworth, the known leader of the LFA-Washington III%, an offshoot of the national III% militia. Bosworth has a history of arrests for violent offenses and is frequently seen at public events with Representative Shea where he reportedly serves as his security guard.

In 2015 Bosworth was arrested by US Marshals as he attempted to enter the Federal Court Building in Spokane, WA armed with a rifle. Representative Shea later supported Bosworth at a rally on the courthouse steps where many of the demonstrators were armed.

Representative Shea is known to have dispatched Bosworth to the armed takeover and occupation of Federal property at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in January 2016 to serve as security for the insurgents. While at the refuge during the occupation, Bosworth posted pictures on his Facebook page of FBI video surveillance cameras that had been removed from the refuge. Hands could be seen holding the cameras in the photograph and Bosworth boasted in the online post they were his hands.

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<sup>116</sup> R299

<sup>117</sup> E2J

Confidential sources reported that the armed insurgents occupying the property built three explosive devices that were intended to be mailed to the Harney County Judge, the Harney County Sheriff, and one to be rigged as a booby trap for law enforcement officers upon their entry into the compound. The explosive devices were never deployed and were not located following the occupation.

Prior to the end of the occupation, Bosworth communicated to LFA 3%ers through Facebook that all members were to stand down and members are now taking orders directly from COWS (Coalition of Western States), a group led by Representative Shea. Later that same year Bosworth posted a photo of Representative Shea awarding him with the Patriot of the Year Award.<sup>118</sup>

### **Citizens for Constitutional Freedom (C4CF)**

C4CF is the name given by Ammon Bundy to the occupiers of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Many of the occupiers were also associated with other militia groups including a takeover leader, Jon Eric Ritzheimer, who is associated with the III% militia and formerly associated with the Oath Keepers. A total of 35 people from 13 states participated in the armed takeover and occupation, many of whom had prior arrests for felonies and various violent offenses. Some had also participated in the Bunkerville, NV armed standoff with Federal officials at the Bundy Ranch over unpaid grazing leases.

Representative Shea attended and actively supported the armed standoff at the Bundy Ranch. He planned and orchestrated key portions of the takeover at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in addition to dispatching at least one participant to the refuge.

Shortly after the takeover, Representative Shea and state officials from three states met with Harney County and FBI officials and were told to stay away from the refuge, to not offer encouragement or support to the insurgents. Representative Shea and the others then drove directly to the refuge where they met with the insurgents.

Unknown to the Harney County and law enforcement officials in the meeting, Representative Shea and his group were part of the leadership of the Coalition of Western States (COWS). The COWS group formed following the Bunkerville, NV standoff at the Bundy Ranch to foster the conveyance of Federal land to state and local governments and private individuals. Representative Shea was one of the founders of the organization and serves as its Chairman. Anthony Bosworth (mentioned earlier in this report) was also a founder of COWS and was initially listed on COWS publications as a Member of the Board of Directors. His name was later removed from listings of the Board following his being dispatched by Representative Shea as a participant in the takeover at Malheur.<sup>119</sup>

### **Operation Mutual Defense (OMD)**

OMD is an offshoot of the III% militia and is a network that largely exists to funnel manpower resources and equipment to militia groups who are engaged in tactical operations such as the takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. It is a self-proclaimed network of volunteers, citizens, activists and militia, dedicated to furthering a government, by the people, free from oppressive intrusion, overreach and aggression, through training and implementation of established defensive postures, at optimal tactical positions, in relation to the people or property in need.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> R109, E2X

<sup>119</sup> E2E, E2W

<sup>120</sup> R231

OMD is led by an advisory board that includes Ryan Payne, who was a leader in the armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge along with Jon Ritzheimer. Both were later arrested by the FBI for crimes against the Government.

Representative Shea is connected to OMD through his association with the armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge where OMD provided resources, personnel (including the leadership of Jon Ritzheimer and Ryan Payne), and communications support. He is also connected through his close associations with the Bundy family and his involvement in the Bunkerville standoff with Federal authorities where Ryan Payne was an active participant as well as a source of manpower and resources for the Bundy's.

### **Oath Keepers**

Oath Keepers was founded by Elmer Stewart Rhodes in 2008 and identifies as a non-partisan association of current and formerly serving military, police, and first responders who pledge to fulfill the oath all military and police take to "defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic." Oath Keepers declare that they will not obey unconstitutional orders, such as orders to disarm the American people, to conduct warrantless searches, or to detain Americans as "enemy combatants" in violation of their right to jury trial.

Oath Keepers share an ideology similar to that of the III% militia and there is cross over between the groups. They believe current government has strayed from a strict and literal interpretation of the Constitution. Oath Keepers recognize elected county sheriffs as the only legitimate law enforcement authorities.

Many of the beliefs articulated by Representative Shea mirror those held by the Oath Keepers militia. Representative Shea was a speaker at the first annual "Northwest Patriots Self-Reliance Rally" in 2013 that was sponsored by the Oath Keepers where he told attendees to "*prepare for the inevitable collapse that is going to happen*" and urged the crowd to consider it an opportunity to stock up on thousands of rounds of ammunition. He also told them, "*You have to stand up for what is right - even if it means you have to stand up to your government.*"<sup>121</sup>

In 2014 Representative Shea attended a meeting at a Spokane area Mexican Restaurant with at least 4 other men. One man was identified as Stewart Rhodes, founder of Oath Keepers and another is known as Elias Alias, an officer of Oath Keepers and prominent blogger for the organization. During the meeting, witnesses overheard the men discussing militia, weapons, stockpiling ammunition, Bundy Ranch, Special Forces and snipers. They passed around what was believed to be a night vision scope and a map. The names Stewart Rhoades and Ryan Payne were overheard during the meeting and the witnesses, fearing the men were planning a domestic terror attack, reported the incident to police after photographing the participants. Representative Shea, Rhodes and Elias Alias can be clearly identified in the photos.

### **Lightfoot Militia**

The Lightfoot Militia identifies with the Patriot Movement and claims their name was derived from the late 18th century naming convention for British infantry units that were called "Foot" (foot soldiers) and Light infantry units were called "Light Foot". Since the Lightfoot claim they will not have much in the way of supply lines or support elements in a crisis, they plan to "live off the land and resupply off the enemy." Hence, the name "Light Foot Militia".

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<sup>121</sup> R17

The Lightfoot Militia was created following the election of President Barack Obama. It claims to be a “decentralized organization” comprised of geographically formed battalions. Their website (www.lightfootmilitia.com) contains multiple exculpatory statements referring to their belief that their organizations are authorized under the 2nd Amendment and specifically state they do not advocate violence or the overthrow of the U.S Government.

This group has strong links to 2nd Amendment advocacy groups and one of its core causes is the preservation of gun rights. Lightfoot “Battalions” exist in most states and identify themselves as constitutionally protected citizen militias that exist to support governmental entities in times of crisis. Lightfoot members train for self-preservation in the event of a natural disaster or the collapse of central government and preach the doctrine of preparedness. The 63 Lightfoot Militia is the local Spokane-area militia chapter of the larger Lightfoot Militia.

Representative Shea is ideologically aligned with the Lightfoot Militia and has utilized individual 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot Militia members to provide armed security services for campaign events. He has also attended public events organized by his supporters that utilize Lightfoot Militia members as security guards. In one such event, a public 51st State informational meeting in Spokane, Representative Shea was present when armed 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot Militia members, acting as security, denied entry to the event to individuals who had earlier questioned Representative Shea’s vision of the proposed 51st State’s organization and leadership structure. The individuals denied entrance had posted questions on Facebook asking if Representative Shea’s ideas were not similar in nature to a theocracy.<sup>122</sup>

#### **Pacific Patriots Network (PPN)**

PPN is a loosely organized conglomeration of various groups like the III% militia, Oath Keepers and Lightfoot Militia Battalions. This group was organized in reaction to the Bundy and Malheur armed standoffs. During the Malheur armed occupation, PPN issued demands for the arrest of the Special Agent in Charge of the FBI, the Harney County Judge, the Sheriff and two county commissioners. To enforce their demands, they issued a call to action for all Americans to come and stand with them in Burns, OR. PPN is connected to Representative Shea through their common engagements in the armed occupation at Malheur and the armed standoff with Federal Law Enforcement Officers at Bunkerville, NV.

### **E. Other Organizations**

#### **Coalition of Western States (COWS)**

COWS is comprised of a group of politicians from Montana, Washington, Utah, Arizona, and Nevada. According to its Facebook page, this group is “a coalition of legislators, statesman and patriots united to stop unconstitutional actions against United States citizens.”<sup>123</sup>

COWS was formed on April 14, 2014 as a result of the Bunkerville, NV armed standoff between Cliven Bundy and his supporters, and Federal Law Enforcement Officers. COWS was founded by Representative Matt Shea, Washington State; Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada; Barry Weller, Vice Chairman, District III, Apache County Board of Supervisors (County Commissioner equivalent); and Rep David Taylor, District 15, Washington State.

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<sup>122</sup> R196, E12AA

<sup>123</sup> R232

Between April 2014 and December 2015, leaders of COWS included Representative Shea, Washington; Assemblywoman Michele Fiore, Nevada; Representative Heather Scott, Idaho; former Representative Graham Hunt, Washington; former Representative David Taylor, Washington; County Elected Coordinator Robert Corbell, Arizona; Richard Mack, Founder of the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association; Steve McLaughlin, head of Liberty Watch of Washington; Cope Reynolds, head of Liberty for All-Arizona; Anthony Bosworth, head of Liberty for All-Washington; Gavin Seim, organizer of the “I Will Not Comply” rally 2014; Lyle Rapacki, Ph.D., Arizona; and KrisAnne Hall, constitutional speaker.

Following Anthony Bosworth being dispatched by Representative Shea to participate in the January 2016 armed takeover and 41-day occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, references to him as a member of the board were removed from COWS documents.

In addition to the armed standoff at Bunkerville and the armed takeover and occupation of Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, Representative Shea was involved in two additional armed conflicts that may have also been under the auspice of COWS. There was a confrontation with Bureau of Land Management at the Sugar Pine Mine near Galice, OR in April 2015, as well as the Priest River, ID standoff with the Veterans Administration in August 2015.

Both incidents involved conflicts with federal authorities where armed militia members were called into action against employees of the Federal Government. In both situations, operation plans were developed similar to those developed and used to assign responsibilities and guide the actions of Representative Shea and participants in other operational activities.

The Sugar Pine Mine operations plan was entitled “Oregon Deployment – Operation Green Ledge” and the Priest River, ID operation plan was entitled “Idaho Deployment – Operation Armed Backyard”.

Both situations were resolved without bloodshed but served to embolden Representative Shea and the Patriot Movement. The conflicts were later held out as examples by Ammon Bundy of how the Patriot Movement was victorious over the Federal Government when he attempted to convince the Harney County Sheriff to intervene against the Federal Government on behalf of the Hammonds. Ammon Bundy wanted help in preventing the Hammonds from going to prison for convictions on arson charges, the situation that sparked the armed takeover and occupation of Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in January 2016.

Representative Shea continues to serve as Chairman of the COWS organization which relies exclusively on armed militia members to carry out tactical operations in advancing the political objectives of Representative Shea, COWS and the Patriot Movement.

### **Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA)**

CSPOA was founded in 2010 and is led by former Arizona County Sheriff Richard Mack, who is also on the Boards of Directors of the Oath Keepers militia and a member of COWS. The CSPOA is a political organization of local police officials in the US who believe in an interpretation of the US Constitution wherein federal and state government authorities are subordinate to local government authority. In this regard, the CSPOA is an outgrowth of the Patriot Movement and has some ideological similarities with the Sovereign Citizen Movement although they are by no means identical.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> R5



Representative Shea is closely connected to Richard Mack as both serve on the board of COWS and according to confidential sources, both participated in meetings to organize and plan the armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Representative Shea was also a featured speaker at the CSPOA convention in 2013.

Sheriff Glenn Palmer of Grant County, Oregon, openly considers himself a Constitutional Sheriff and in his interpretation the US Constitution, recognizes the elected Sheriff as the only legitimate law enforcement authority in the community. During the armed takeover and standoff of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, Palmer made several public statements supporting Bundy and the insurgents occupying the refuge compound. Palmer is also a member of the Oath Keepers militia and was in contact with Bundy during the armed occupation of the refuge and possibly before. On January 26, 2016, Bundy, LaVoy Finicum and several others left the occupied refuge in a convoy to meet with Palmer. When the convoy was stopped by law enforcement officers, the car driven by Finicum failed to stop and fled, later to be stopped at a second roadblock. Finicum was ultimately killed by law enforcement officers when he failed to surrender and attempted to draw a weapon on the officers. Representative Shea is connected with Palmer through his association with the CSPOA and Oath Keepers militia.

### **Marble Community Fellowship (MCF)**

MCF is a church founded by pastors and married couple Barry and Anne Byrd, who Representative Shea has publicly introduced as his spiritual advisors.<sup>125</sup> MCF was founded in 1991 as an outgrowth of the Ark Church, a radical Christian Identity ideology church where they had both previously served as pastors. Christian Identity is viewed as a racist, anti-Semitic, and white supremacist interpretation of Christianity. This interpretation holds that only Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Nordic, Aryans, and those of kindred blood are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and hence the descendants of the ancient Israelites. Christian Identity is practiced by individuals, independent congregations, and some prison gangs. It is not connected with specific Christian denominations. Its theology promotes a racial interpretation of Christianity. Christian Identity beliefs were primarily developed and promoted by authors who regarded Europeans as the "chosen people" and Jews as the cursed offspring of Cain, the "serpent hybrid" or serpent seed. White supremacist sects and gangs later adopted many of these teachings.<sup>126</sup>

Barry and Anne Byrd reportedly consider themselves prophets of God and wield powerful influence over their congregation. In 2001 Paul R. Martin, Ph.D., a noted psychologist, author and court recognized expert on cults, wrote an opinion based on a reasonable degree of psychological certainty that MCF contains many elements that are consistent with cultic control.

MCF is closely tied to the Patriot Movement through its teachings that include preparedness for a leftwing uprising and ensuing civil war and through its support for armed actions against the Federal Government such as those that occurred at the Bunkerville, NV ranch of Cliven Bundy and at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Barry and Anne Byrd attended both with Representative Shea and offered support to the insurgents.

Representative Shea is very closely connected to MCF and to Barry and Anne Byrd. The Byrd's have been included in private meetings where attendees were invited by code names, and where Representative Shea unveiled the Biblical Basis for War that offered his view of God's authorization for war. The same meeting Representative Shea distributed the Restoration document which was his blueprint for rebuilding after the fall of the US Government.

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<sup>125</sup> W22, W26

<sup>126</sup> R4

In his Restoration document presented at the meeting, Representative Shea revealed his view of how the replacement government would look after the collapse of the United States. In his replacement government, Representative Shea, among other things, lists several key requirements:

- “swear an oath of fidelity to the Constitution before God and everybody”
- “rebuilds without former elected officials unless they are proven”
- “establishes a militia based military”
- “fires all law enforcement officers and replaces law enforcement with peace officers”
- “corruption carries the death penalty”
- “required to invest in and buy things from the redoubt”
- “liaison with gangs with honor”
- “use people of Russian decent as black market advisors”
- “repeals all taxes”
- “forgives all debt”
- “repeal every non-criminal law, rule and regulation”
- “establish patriot banks”
- “move the military to the border”
- “ issue meal cards”
- “revoke meal cards for committing crime or for lying”
- “changes the constitution to sanctify Jesus Christ”
- “require capital punishment for murder, rape, molestation bestiality, kidnapping, adultery, treason and sodomy”
- “eliminate centralized education, prohibits unionization and eliminate centralized welfare”

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Representative Shea is supported by MCF in his political campaigns and in carrying out his wishes in supporting candidates for political office of his choosing.<sup>128</sup> He is also supported in Patriot Movement tactical operations of his choosing such as Bunkerville and Malheur, listed above.

Representative Shea is a regular speaker at the MCF annual God and Country Celebration. In 2016 Representative Shea was a featured speaker at a session advertised as being “largely focused on building a Resistance to the globalists’ relentless assault on our liberty in the United States.” During this time, Representative Shea also presented a workshop for children and youth described as: “An exercise in field skills for youth, including (but not limited to): field strip and reassemble assigned weapon; orienteering, field dressing wounds, following orders, PT, shooting skill, etc.” Later in the program Representative Shea also presented another workshop called “Going Underground.” This presentation was not further described.

### **Sagebrush Rebellion to Sagebrush Insurgency**

The **Sagebrush Rebellion** during the 1970’s was a movement in the western United States that continued through the 1980s and sought major changes to federal land control and use in thirteen western states. Rebellion supporters wanted to take more control over these lands, and also sought the transfer of lands to state and local authorities and private citizens. Supporters adopted the name “Sagebrush Rebellion” due to the vast acres of sagebrush found on land areas. The movement was mostly driven by

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<sup>127</sup> E5C

<sup>128</sup> W26

grassroots concerns and has now segued into a more ideological movement that attracts “many Libertarian and right-winged extremists” who have less interest in grazing allotments and more denouncement of a tyrannical Federal Government and has been drawn into the Patriot Movement. The escalation of the opposition to Federal land management extends from the Bundy Ranch in 2014 to the showdown at the Sugar Pine Mine in Josephine County, Oregon and the armed takeover and occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Burns, Oregon. The anti-government sentiment over various hot button issues within the movement gave birth to what is now referred to as the “Sagebrush Insurgency.” The movement has attracted militia groups, sheriffs and state and local politicians. These groups have united with like-minded networks who are anti-federal government and who call for lands now controlled by the US Bureau of Land Management to be returned to the states. Insurgents call for drastic action and the threat of violence to the extent of bloodshed and believe both are within their legal Constitutional rights. Armed conflicts with the Federal Government over these issues serve as “radicalization nodes” as defined by a domestic terrorism expert at the Department of Homeland Security. These radicalization nodes anger those with sympathetic views and draw them to the Insurgency.

**Link to Representative Shea:** In 2016 a news report<sup>129</sup> connected a vast right-wing network of militia members, state and local politicians and others to the Sagebrush Insurgency consisting of the following: Agenda 21, a group of conspiracy theorists who believe that the United Nations resolution promoting sustainable development is a secret plan to create a one-world government; Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) whose members believe Sheriffs hold greater law enforcement authority than their Federal counterparts; The Land Transfer Movement comprised of those who believe Federal public lands should be transferred to the states; the Oath Keepers, a militia group comprised of veterans and paramilitary who vow not to abide by the laws or federal regulations they deem unconstitutional; and the III% Militia, an anti-government group organized around the claim that three percent of Americans were combatants in the Revolutionary War and Pacific Patriots Network, a coalition of Pacific Northwest militias that includes the Three Percenters, Oath Keepers and other smaller groups.

This investigation has also linked Representative Shea to the Pacific Patriots Network, the III% militia, Oath Keepers and others through witness statements and documented evidence. These groups were present at the Bundy Standoff at Bunkerville, Nevada in April 2014, and the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge armed occupation in Burns, Oregon in January 2016. Representative Shea participated in both those incidents.

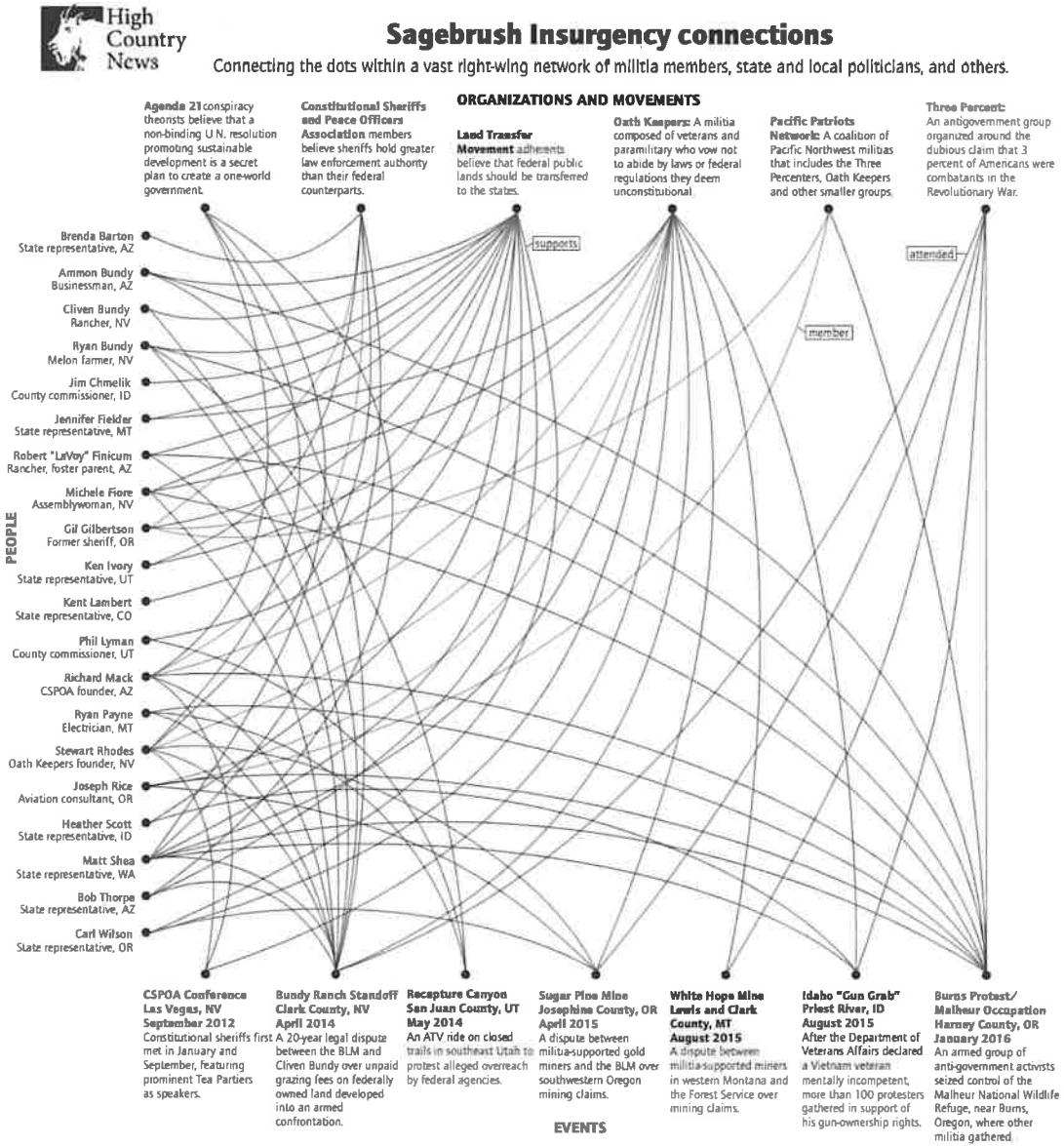
The Sagebrush Insurgency and the Patriot Movement in general have developed a symbiotic relationship with legislators in several states, including Representative Shea of the 4th Legislative District of Washington. Quoting from an article in the High Country News, published in 2016, authors Jonathan Thompson and Brooke Warren state,

*“... it’s worth noting that many of the extreme actions carried out by fringe groups, such as the Malheur occupation, inspire other hard-core ideologues and ultimately translate into votes for like-minded politicians. In return, those politicians support the extremists and try to push their views via legislation, thereby legitimizing and empowering them. The Sagebrush Rebellion, in other words, has been co-opted: militarized in some places and politicized in others. Politicians, militants, sheriffs and others from across the right-wing spectrum have, over the last few years, found common cause, attending conferences, rallies and events together, and putting their support behind a variety of agendas.”*

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<sup>129</sup> R77, E8A

The following graphic taken from the same article depicts some of Representative Shea's connections to several militias, other participants, and to armed confrontations between militia members and Federal authorities.<sup>130</sup>



See interactive graphic and read more at [hcn.org](http://hcn.org)

## **Section 5: Shared Strategy - Representative Shea and The Patriot Movement**

### **A. Defense of the Constitution**

One of the main rallying points of the Patriot Movement and a key issue raised by Representative Shea is the “Defense of the Constitution”. The Patriot Movement’s and Representative Shea’s views on issues such as land use, guns and disempowering the Federal Government are driven by an extreme and inaccurate interpretation of specific sections of the document. Their views are often in direct opposition to how Constitutional law has developed over the last two centuries and how current case law, as defined by the US Supreme Court, currently stands on these issues. In two examples, the Oath Keepers Militia swears to uphold the constitution and enforce any law they, not the US Supreme Court, deem constitutional and the III% militias swear an oath to armed resistance against attempts to curtail constitutional rights, as they define those rights. Representative Shea’s views on the Constitution are indistinguishable from those of the Patriot Movement.

### **B. Land Issues**

A key issue for the Patriot Movement and for Representative Shea is eliminating land ownership by the Federal government. Sagebrush insurgents believe the Constitution does not permit the Federal government to own most public lands, and advocate for transferring currently held property to states, counties, and individuals. The Patriot Movement claims Article 1, Section 8, Clause 17 of the US Constitution prohibits the federal government from owning most public lands, a view the courts, including the US Supreme Court, do not hold. Nullification and Coordination is the notion that Federal laws can be ignored by local governments on either the county or state level. County level governments can declare themselves legal equals to the federal government in land use matters, giving them veto power. This is an extreme right view and is referred to as “coordination”. Conflicts over land issues were the catalysts that resulted in the engagement of Representative Shea and armed militia members in armed conflicts at Bunkerville, Sugar Pine Mine, and Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.

### **C. Weapons**

Opposition to any restrictions on individual ownership or use of weapons is a shared strategic goal of the Patriot Movement and Representative Shea. They share a belief that the Second Amendment to the US Constitution, "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed", leaves no room for restrictions on individual and militia possession and use of weapons. Representative Shea has been quoted in public speeches advising people they should own a rifle and handgun and stockpile ammunition.<sup>131</sup>

### **D. Removal of Power from the Federal Government**

Another common shared view between the Patriot Movement and Representative Shea is that unelected government bureaucrats oppress people’s rights through government agency regulations. Key among these are land use issues raised with the US Bureau of Land Management as evidenced by Bunkerville and Malheur and environmental regulations raised with the US Environmental Protection Agency. In the view of the Patriot Movement and Representative Shea, freedoms impeded by these agencies will only be removed when management of land and the environment are done at the state, local, and individual level.

### **E. Law Enforcement at the Sheriff Level**

The Patriot Movement and Representative Shea both distrust Federal Law Enforcement and are in favor of the elimination of Federal law enforcement. Their overall strategies are similar in that both advocate for the Sheriffs to be the highest law enforcement officials in the land.

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<sup>131</sup> R19

Representative Shea is a recurring speaker at Patriot Movement events and openly lays out his vision that is largely indistinguishable from those of the Patriot Movement pertaining to these issues.

## **Section 6: Tactics**

### **A. Political Power**

Obtaining political power is a strategic objective of the Patriot Movement but it is also used tactically by Representative Shea. An excellent example of this tactical use of political power was exhibited in Representative Shea's engagement along with other COWS members in the armed takeover and 41-day occupation at Malheur.

Representative Shea formed COWS during the armed standoff at Bunkerville with the express intent to work in the interest of individuals against Federal ownership and management of lands as well as the accomplishment of other Patriot Movement agenda items. Representative Shea and the other COWS members engaged in the planning and carrying out the armed takeover with Ammon Bundy, then concealed their association with COWS and Representative Shea's true sentiments during a meeting with Harney County officials, and federal and local law enforcement, ostensibly to gather intelligence on law enforcement plans to share with the insurgents.

Encouraging individuals within the Patriot Movement to run for political office is a frequently discussed topic as reported by individuals formerly active in the Patriot Movement.

### **B. Fear**

Power is gained in the Patriot Movement through the engagement of large numbers of participants. Adding participants loyal to the movement equates to more voters and more political clout for the Patriot Movement. It also results in more people who can be called upon for the application threat of violence or of use of physical force.

Fear drives many people to the movement as conspiracy theories are created and shared. Some of the conspiracy theories identified include:

- fear of Government seizure of guns
- fear of the Government stockpiling ammunition to be used against US citizens
- fear that FEMA is building concentration camps in secret locations in the US
- fear of the creation of a North American Union
- fear of one world government
- fear that Sharia Law is being adopted by the US Government.
- fear that the US Government is housing foreign troops on US soil to control the American population

There is no shortage of conspiracy theories. The more theories that are spun and shared, the more people become fearful and are driven to the Patriot Movement. In August 2019, the FBI described "conspiracy theory-driven domestic extremists" as a growing threat and identified a number of arrests related to violent incidents motivated by fringe beliefs.<sup>132</sup>

Fear is an often used tactic by Representative Shea to develop and grow his political support. He frequently warns people to stockpile weapons and ammunition and to prepare to defend your property.

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<sup>132</sup> R233

He makes frequent reference to Syrian immigrants, Antifa communists, and at times tells inaccurate stories that drive fear. Representative Shea spoke of Syrian refugee children raping another child in a restroom at knifepoint, a story that was later found to be completely inaccurate and did not involve rape, a weapon, or Syrian refugees according to news articles quoting Twin Falls County Prosecutor Grant Loeb.<sup>133</sup>

Representative Shea has also used fear to intimidate those who directly oppose him politically and those who oppose candidates he supports. In most cases, Representative Shea is not directly involved in threats or intimidation but is routinely believed by those threatened to be behind instances of intimidation by armed militia members. In one such case, shortly after putting a yard sign in his yard supporting a candidate not supported by Representative Shea, two armed men openly wearing sidearms knocked on the man's door and asked him if he would consider rethinking his position on his candidate of choice. The man refused and closed the door and the two armed men left with no further incident.<sup>134</sup>

However, in one incident Representative Shea took a photo of himself standing in the yard of a candidate directly opposing him for his House of Representatives seat in the 4th Legislative District and posted it online to his Facebook page. The candidate and her husband both directly appealed to Representative Shea to remove the photo as did Republican party officials and the Sheriff. Representative Shea refused even though the photo revealed the location of the home and the husband of the candidate was a former Assistant US Attorney who lived under threat of reprisal from people he had convicted. The candidate and her husband interpreted the act by Representative Shea as a direct act of threat and intimidation.<sup>135</sup>

### **C. Radicalization**

Representative Shea and the Patriot Movement rely on the radicalization of individuals to the point they are willing to take up arms against the United States to carry out their objectives. Representative Shea has been involved in three confirmed incidents where he has called for armed militia members to go to the scene and stand against the US Government; Bunkerville, the Priest River incident and Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. In one of those incidents, Malheur, Representative Shea assisted in planning the armed conflict and then dispatched Anthony Bosworth to the conflict to participate and serve as his direct communications link to the insurgents. Representative Shea also dispatched Bosworth to the Bunkerville armed standoff.

Each armed conflict serves as a radicalization node, enraging individuals with sympathetic views of the goals of the Patriot Movement. This serves to draw more people into the conflict and into the Patriot Movement, thus adding to Representative Shea's influence and power.

### **D. Intimidation and Use of Force**

At the onset of the Bunkerville incident, Representative Shea posted a letter on the III% militia website, Sipsey Street, at 1:47pm Thursday April 10, 2014 instructing Patriots to rally at Bunkerville. At the time he published his call to arms, there were about 100 local protesters on site. By 12:00 PM the next day, Friday April 11, 2014, less than 24 hours later, there were more than 1500 armed militia members present and ready to fight the Bureau of Land Management.

During the armed takeover and the 41-day occupation of Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, the Harney County town of Burns, Oregon was overtaken by armed militants who went into town, followed and threatened employees of the US Fish and Wildlife Service, threatened the County Judge and his wife,

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<sup>133</sup> R45

<sup>134</sup> W12

<sup>135</sup> R16

confronted and threatened the Sheriff many times and confronted and threatened his wife and his elderly parents. The armed militants tried to instigate traffic stops so that militia members could cause confrontations with law enforcement officers and created general fear throughout the town to the extent that schools were closed so that children would not be caught in a crossfire should combat begin.<sup>136</sup>

Inherent in the act of dispatching armed militants into a conflict with government authorities is the presence of intimidation and the threat of use of force. Intimidation and the ever-present threat of the use of force are powerful tactics used by Representative Shea in the achievement of his political goals.

## **Section 7: Communications**

Communications is used tactically in the Patriot Movement as means of attracting individuals to the movement by sowing fear and anger. This is largely accomplished through the use of online published and shared conspiracy theories as discussed above. Instantaneous online communications have greatly served to empower local militants to reach a national and worldwide audience and has greatly aided in the spread of the Patriot Movement in recent years.

Representative Shea and his associates in The Patriot Movement, in general, effectively use communications to carry out tactical operations such as the armed conflicts discussed above that are undertaken to achieve the goals of the movement. Representative Shea communicates securely with others using his code name "*Verumbellator*" over secured encrypted communications systems such as Wickr, Signal and Protonmail. In October 2017, Representative Shea abandoned the use of email due to unspecified "security threats" in favor of the Redoubt Emergency Network (REN Group) that communicates over the encrypted Signal App.

Radio communications also feature prominently in his tactical operations and for this, Representative Shea relies upon the American Redoubt Radio Operator's Network (AmRRON) when undertaking his tactical operations. According to their website, AmRRON describes itself as "*a network of Preppers, Patriots and Redoubters who have volunteered to keep each other connected when other means of communications are unavailable or unreliable.*" AmRRON currently claims to operate in every state and Puerto Rico with over 4000 volunteer radio operators.

Representative Shea and his associates have also been known to use what they call "Red Phones" when engaged in a conflict. Red phones are understood to be pre-paid telephones that are untraceable.

## **Section 8: Summary of Analysis**

Representative Shea is a prominent leader of the Patriot Movement. He self-identifies as a member of the Patriot Movement and shares its ideological beliefs. Within the Patriot Movement, he is closely associated with several armed militias and numerous militia members. He leverages his associations with militias and his prominence in the Patriot Movement to dispatch militia members to incidents of conflict with Government officials. This investigation has documented three conflicts where Representative Shea has called for his supporters to stand against the US Government. In responding to Representative Shea's calls, his followers turn out armed and prepared for conflict. In one of those cases, Representative Shea was involved in the planning and orchestration of the armed conflict and directed activities of some of the armed insurgents. Representative Shea is an attorney and member of the Bar of the State of Washington

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<sup>136</sup> W28



and presumably has knowledge of and access to avenues to peacefully redress grievances through the courts but chose to lead his followers to stand in physical confrontation at risk of bloodshed and loss of life.

## **Section 9: Risk Assessment**

Although this investigation found no evidence that Representative Shea presents an imminent direct threat to any individual or group, considerable evidence was discovered indicating Representative Shea has since 2014, presented a significant threat of political violence against employees of the Federal Government and state and local law enforcement officers, carried out through intermediaries sympathetic to the Patriot Movement.

Evidence documented in this investigation has directly linked Representative Shea to the planning and carrying out of one armed conflict against employees of the US Fish and Wildlife Service and Law Enforcement Officers. Representative Shea was involved in two additional conflicts by calling upon his supporters within the Patriot Movement to show up, along with himself, and stand against government authorities. These callups resulted in armed militia members and other supporters responding as a show of force against US Government officials and were undertaken to achieve Representative Shea's political objectives involving land rights and gun rights issues. In one incident an armed insurgent was killed by law enforcement officers when he refused to surrender and attempted to draw his weapon. With angry armed insurgents called into action against elements of law enforcement, every situation instigated or planned by Representative Shea carried with it, significant risk of bloodshed and loss of life.

Representative Shea's irresponsible and possibly illegal activities benefited him politically in that these three incidents were viewed by those sympathetic to the Patriot Movement as victories over the "oppressive Federal government" and served to draw more angry sympathizers into the movement and thus achieved more political power for Representative Shea. Representative Shea has spoken publicly of some of his activities and has associated himself with these victories.

Representative Shea's activities appear to meet the definition of political violence and when viewed holistically, these activities appear to have been successful for Representative Shea. Given that Representative Shea has suffered no negative repercussions to his actions and that he ascertains political power from creating radicalization nodes such as the three armed conflicts he has either instigated or exacerbated, and each such radicalization node grows the Patriot Movement and enhances his standing in the Patriot Movement and his political power, it is more probable than not that he will continue with his activities of creating and or engaging in conflicts that benefit him politically. Based on evidence obtained in this investigation, it is more probable than not that Representative Shea is likely to plan, direct and engage in additional future conflicts that could carry with them significant risk of bloodshed and loss of life. It is the professional opinion of the Investigators, that on a more probable than not basis, Representative Shea presents a present and growing threat of risk to others through political violence.

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# APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
Representative Matt Shea

## **Background Information - Representative Matt Shea**

According to Representative Shea's online postings, he was born in Spokane, WA and lived there until he was 10 years of age. His family moved to Bellingham WA for 8 years where he completed his high school education.

He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Gonzaga University in 1996 where he majored in history and political science.

He entered the US Army in 1996 as a second Lieutenant and was deployed to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iraq and Kuwait during his 10 year period of service. He left the Army as Captain in 2006.

Investigators located online postings of Representative Shea's Bronze Star Certificate awarded to him on December 1, 2004 for meritorious service during Operation Iraqi Freedom II. During that time, he served as Captain, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 161<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment. Investigators located his "Certificate of Release or Discharge from Active Duty" from Representative Shea's Facebook page that indicated he was honorably separated from US Army active 3/19/2005.

Representative Shea obtained his law degree from Gonzaga University School of Law in 2006 and is a licensed attorney with the Washington State Bar Association.

Representative Shea is a member of the Republican party and entered public office after winning the Washington State District 4 election in 2008 defeating Democrat Tim Hattenburg. He was re-elected in 2010 and ran unopposed; defeated Democrat Amy Biviano 2012; defeated Republican Josh Arritola in 2014 ; defeated Democrat Scott Stucker in 2016, and defeated Democrat Ted Cummings in 2018.

Representative Shea was married to Lisa Shea from 2002 through 2008. He married his current spouse Viktoriya Shea in 2008.

## **Additional Known Affiliations – Representative Shea**

**Institute on the Constitution** – Mission is to restore American Founding Father's Biblical, Constitutional, American view of law and government.

**The Red Pill Expo** – Master of Ceremonies in 2018 with speakers characterized as far-right extremists and a marketplace for conspiracy theories Spokesman Review Red Pill Expo.....June 21, 2018

**Act For America** – Representative Shea started the Spokane Chapter. A US based anti-Muslim group dedicated to combatting the threat of radical Islam

**John Birch Society** - speaker at 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary event in October 2018<sup>137</sup> events and online interviews Part of the Patriot Movement viewed as radical right claimed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 violated the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment, adheres to anti-government doctrines

**Alliance Defending Freedom Network** – Representative Shea is an attorney member affiliate. A network of allied attorneys who are viewed as extreme anti-LGBTQ and takes positions on almost every aspect. Non-published list of members, discrete.

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**Pacific Justice Institute** – Member. Organization is anti LGBTQ group who characterize gay marriage to Hitler and the Nazis ascent in Germany, endorse sexual conversion therapy, call LGBTQ advocacy as gay porn to children.

**The Freedom Foundation** – Supporter – mission is to advance individual liberty, free enterprise and limited, accountable government

**Restore America Club established in 2015** - founding member with Rep Graham Hunt, Rep Elizabeth Scott, Rep Jesse Young, Rep David Taylor . Promotes the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment rights of the states, coordination by local governments and self-governance.

APPENDIX B  
Incident Reports - Public Record Requests



## **Incident Reports - Public Records Requests**

Through a Public Records Request relating to Representative Shea being named either a subject, complainant victim or witness in any and all cases documented with the Spokane County Sheriff's Office, Investigators obtained Incident Report # 07-275397 dated 9/19/2007 entitled "DV Order Violation". The Deputy investigator noted that Restraining Order No. 07-3-01743-5 was issued by the Spokane County Commissioner on 9/4/2007 against Matthew T. Shea. In the order, Matthew T. Shea who we know to be Representative Shea, was ordered to relinquish his firearm to "a mutually agreed third party or counsel." Lisa Shea complained to her attorney that Matthew T. Shea, now known to investigators to be Representative Shea, had not complied with the order by mutual agreement with Lisa Shea as to who would maintain the firearm. The Deputy investigator determined the firearm had been given to Representative Shea's father.

Representative Shea was divorced from his first wife, Lisa Shea, in January 2008 after approximately 5 years of marriage, and remarried that same year.

In November 2010, Representative Shea won re-election running unopposed in the primary and general elections.

In 2011, Representative Shea was involved in an incident with another motorist in Spokane, WA in which he pulled a gun and was later cited by the Spokane County Sheriff's Office for having an expired concealed carry permit.

Investigators obtained a copy of the **Incident Report # 11-364413 dated 11/23/2011** through a public records request and determined Representative Shea was involved in an aggressive driving incident with another motorist. The identity of the other motorist was redacted which investigators believe to be consistent with concealing the identity of a minor. The witness statement from the other motorist contradicted Representative Shea's statement that he (Representative Shea) simply pulled the weapon from the glove box and placed it on the passenger seat. The motorist stated that Representative Shea pointed a finger at him and made a motion like he was shooting a gun and pulling the trigger before he actually pulled the weapon from his glove box and made it visible to him (the other motorist). According to the witness, Representative Shea pulled a handgun from his glovebox and made a motion so that the motorist could see that he (Representative Shea) had a gun. He then placed it on the front passenger seat in plain view. The motorist sped up to get away and then called 911.

The Spokane Police Department responded to the incident by interviewing a witness, the other motorist and Representative Shea after the incident was reported by a witness. The Deputy questioned the veracity of Representative Shea's statement that he was fearful of the other motorist while still continuing to pursue him and not get away. During the interview of Representative Shea, the Deputy determined Representative Shea had an expired concealed carry permit. Investigators determined Representative Shea was given a citation for carrying a concealed weapon without a permit.

### **Through public records requests, Investigators obtained determined the following:**

On **May 29, 2012**, Representative Shea filed a complaint with the Spokane Police/Spokane County Sheriff's Office, **Incident Report # 12-165282** in which he reported damage done to a number of his campaign signs with swastikas painted on them. He believed the swastikas were in retaliation to his stance on the marriage bill that had recently passed in the Washington Legislature. There was no further investigation.

On **June 22, 2014**, a concerned citizen overheard conversations between Representative Shea and 4 other men at a restaurant speaking about the Bundy Ranch, the militia, snipers, special forces, churches, the Oath Keepers and heard the names Stewart Rhodes and Ryan Payne. She heard the men talking about a thermal night vision monocular and were passing it around for everyone at the table to see. She became alarmed after looking up the names Stewart Rhodes and Ryan Payne and determined they were associated with the Oath Keepers and the militia. She found online photographs and recognized Stewart Rhodes as the man doing most of the talking at the table. She took photos of all men sitting at the table and provided them to the Spokane Police/Spokane County Sheriff's Office who in turn provided to the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF). Investigators in this investigation confirmed witness statement to law enforcement by contacting the witness who agreed to an interview. Spokane Police/Spokane County Sheriff, Incident Report # 14-200005.

**June 3, 2015** – Representative Shea cited for speeding in school zone. No further information available.

On **March 1, 2017** a defamation case was filed in **Spokane County, Case # 172007760, Travis O. Pendell v Matthew T Shea**. This case was settled with no trial May 31, 2019. Investigators determined this case was a defamation case in which Representative Shea accused Deputy Travis Pendell, Spokane County Sheriff's Office of selling a gun to a subject Roy Murry who was charged, arrested and convicted of a triple homicide in Washington state.

On **May 23, 2019** - Complainant Robert Steven Chase, Liberty Lake, WA filed a complaint with the Spokane County Sheriff, Case # 2019-10069499, regarding an argument at the Discovery Park Center in which a private event was taking place and an argument ensued with a group of uninvited guests. Representative Shea was speaking on the 51<sup>st</sup> State. Sheriff's deputies arrived and asked the men to leave and they did so peacefully. Sheriff's deputies conducted no interviews and did not get the names of the attendees who were accused of causing the disturbance. Investigators interviewed two witnesses in this matter who were in attendance and were asked to leave. Both witnesses stated the event was posted online as a call out to Liberty State supporters to attend on the date, and at the time and location of the event. Witnesses received the communication inviting attendees and further stated they had questions about the 51<sup>st</sup> State and wanted to hear Representative Shea speak. One witness identified as the leader had posted a question to Representative Shea after reading his Facebook posting indicating the 51<sup>st</sup> State to be a Christian state where gay marriage would not be allowed, among other things. The event security included armed 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot militia members who prevented the witnesses and their entourage to enter the meeting. A confrontation between the witnesses and armed members of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Lightfoot militia ensued and resulted in the call to the Sheriff's Office and the prevention of the witnesses from hearing Representative Shea speak on that occasion.

APPENDIX C  
Witness Statements

APPENDIX D  
Electronic Documents