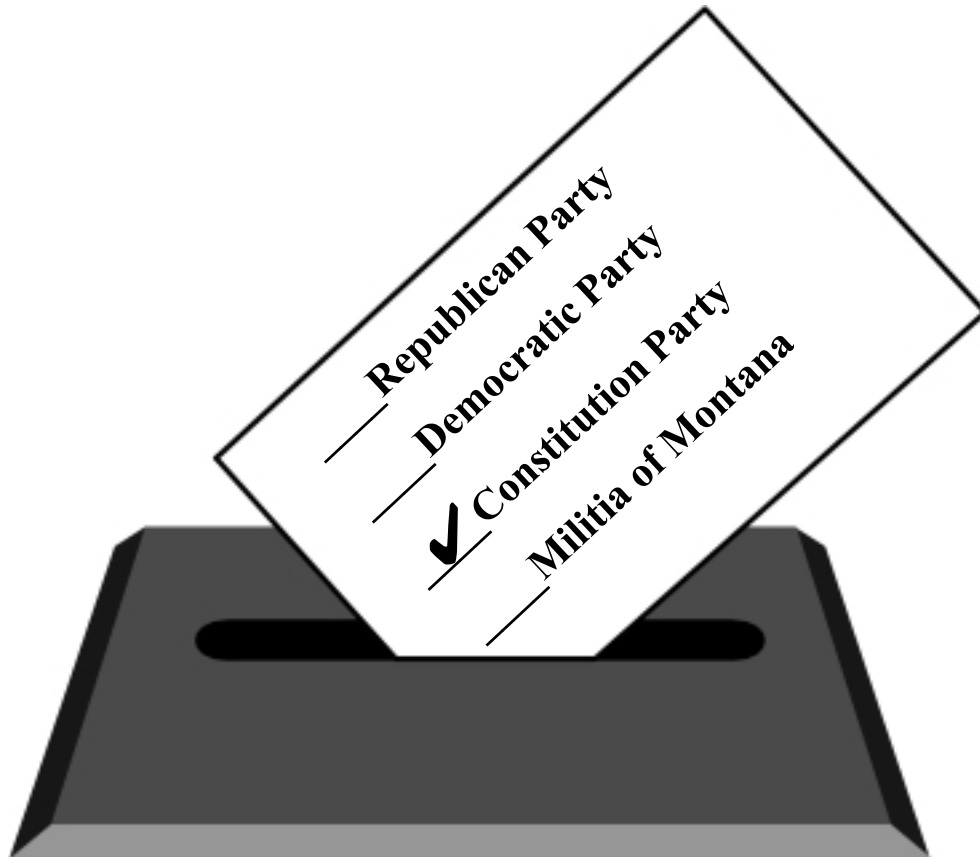


The Constitution Party of Montana



The Radical Right Wing's Collision with Mainstream Politics

Report Issued by:
Montana Human Rights Network
P.O. Box 1222
Helena, MT 59624

*The Constitution Party of Montana:
The Radical Right Wing Collides with Mainstream Politics
by
Montana Human Rights Network*

*First Edition: Copyright 2000
Second Edition: Copyright 2006*



Montana Human Rights Network
P.O. Box 1222
Helena, MT 59624
E-Mail: network@mhrn.org
Website: <http://www.mhrn.org>

Overview

The Constitution Party of Montana: The Radical Right Wing's Collision with Mainstream Politics

Section I: Introduction

The Constitution Party of Montana is successfully manipulating the debate around who are the “true conservatives” in Montana politics. Since the 1990s, a schism has formed in the Montana Republican Party between the party’s ultra-conservative faction and those who are more moderate. Organizations like the National Federation of Republican Assemblies and statewide campaigns against “Republicans in Name Only” have exacerbated the split. The Constitution Party of Montana has been more than happy to exploit this rift.

Despite having a radical platform that supports groups like the Militia of Montana and ideas concocted by the Montana Freemen, the Constitution Party of Montana has wedged itself into the mainstream debate over conservatism in Montana. The party has influenced past elections, drawing enough “conservative” votes away from Republicans to give legislative races to Democrats on three occasions. Both the Republican and Democratic parties recognize the Constitution Party will have an impact on upcoming elections. The Montana GOP has gone so far as to say the Constitution Party could deny the Republican’s attempt to regain the majority in 2007 Montana Legislature.

The Constitution Party of Montana has grown into the state’s most influential third party, and the implications run deeper than the typical political posturing that takes place during campaign season. Despite framing itself as merely another player in the debate over who represents “true conservatives,” the Constitution Party of Montana is a fringe political entity that is unable to gain political legitimacy by itself. None of its candidates have been elected to office, precisely because the party’s hardcore Christian fundamentalism and anti-government tenden-

cies turn off mainstream voters. However, by exploiting the GOP rift, the Constitution Party claims it is merely a little to the right of the Montana Republican Party. The Constitution Party of Montana positions itself as just another conservative entity rather than the right-wing fringe group it is.

Section II: Formation and Platform

The Constitution Party of Montana formed as a result of the Montana Home Educator’s Convention in 1994. Howard Phillips, founder of the national Constitution Party, was a featured speaker at the event. He met some of the party’s current activists at the conference, including Rick Jore and Jonathan Martin. The relationships formed at the Home Educator’s Convention ultimately produced the party. Until 2000, it was known as the American Heritage Party of Montana, which was started by Michael Heit of Elmo, Montana.

The party’s platform combines the theology of Christian Reconstructionism with the ideology of the anti-government “patriot” movement. Christian Reconstructionism is a strain of Christian fundamentalism that seeks to make civil law mirror Old Testament biblical law. This would result in extending the death penalty to adulterers, gays and lesbians, and non-believers. Non-believers, including followers of mainline Christian denominations, could lose their right to vote or even their citizenship. Also under Reconstructionist tenets, only people following its specific theological doctrine should hold office.

The Constitution Party of Montana’s platform supports “unorganized militias,” or groups like the Militia of Montana. Michael Heit, one of the party’s founders, was also a founding member of Project 7, a militia group that stockpiled ammunition and created a hit list of criminal justice



Constitution Party logo

employees in the Flathead Valley. The party's platform also reflects the Montana Freeman's racist views of citizenship. For Freeman, "sovereign citizens" (white Christian men) have superior rights granted directly by God. On the other hand, "14th Amendment/state citizens" have inferior rights granted by government. The Constitution Party's platform addresses the notion of "sovereign citizens" versus "14th Amendment citizens." The platform also repeats many of the "patriot" movement's conspiracy theories concerning one-world government.

The platform's language against reproductive freedom is absolutely uncompromising. It opposes abortion in all instances, including when pregnancy results from rape or incest. The party's activists are the driving force behind groups protesting outside health clinics in Great Falls and Missoula. Some of its activists are also connected to militant anti-choice groups like Operation Save America. The Constitution Party of Montana's strident anti-choice position causes it to fight with other conservative groups. It frequently accuses the Montana Republican Party and Montana Right to Life of being too moderate in their opposition to abortion.

Many of the Constitution Party's activists are involved in the fundamentalist Christian home schooling network in Montana. This reflects the party's platform, which seeks to eliminate compulsory education laws and subvert public education. The party views education as the sole responsibility of parents. Most of its activists also believe education cannot be separated from religion and view public schools as hostile to their Christian values.

An area of crossover between the Constitution Party of Montana and other conservatives is the party's platform language on immigration. The party calls on the government to guard America's borders and claims illegal immigrants drain taxpayer funds by accessing social services. The party supports a moratorium on immigration and rejects any calls for amnesty. It also opposes bilin-

gual ballots for voting and citizenship for children born in the country to illegal immigrants. All of these positions reflect the views of U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-CO) and other GOP House members who are pushing legislation based on these ideas. While the House GOP has zealously taken up the cause in 2006, the language in the Constitution Party of Montana's platform dealing with immigration has not changed since 2000.

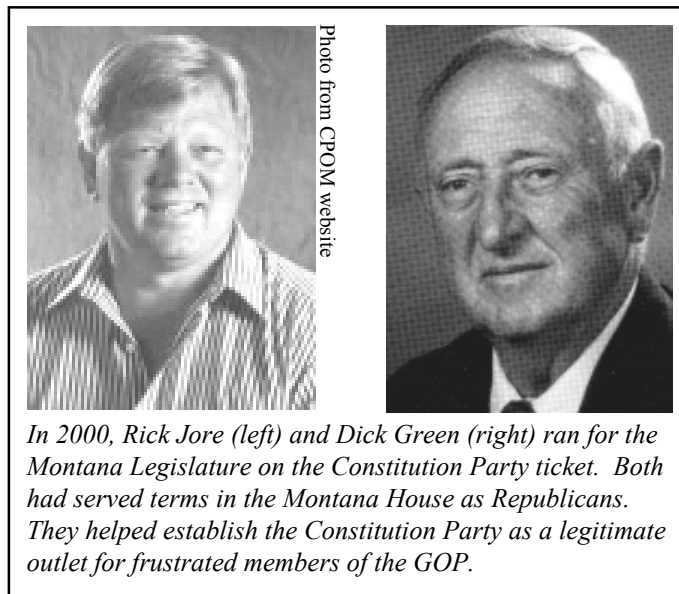
The party's platform also spells out its opposition to taxes and its disdain for Montana's gay and lesbian community. Many of the party's activists view the income tax as unconstitutional and the IRS has an illegitimate agency. The party opposes gay marriage or civil unions, and its activists have encouraged legislators to use the law to discriminate against gays and lesbians.

Section III: Antagonizing Other Conservatives

Since the Constitution Party of Montana formed, it has picked fights with other conservative groups. The party fundamentally believes that the Republican Party has become too moderate and is not strident enough in opposing abortion and upholding the vision for the country by America's founders. Rick

Jore has peddled this viewpoint at Constitution Party events across the country.

Constitution Party of Montana activists have declared that former Republican Governors Judy Martz and Marc Racicot were stooges for the federal government, "Republicans in Name Only," and too friendly with Montana's gay and lesbian community. At the national level, party activists criticized President Bush for appointing "pro-abortion, pro-sodomite" people to important positions in the Administration and declared it was a sin to vote for Bush. Constitution Party activists also frequently complain that Republicans only talk about wanting to limit the size of government and cutting taxes rather than actually taking action. Instead, party activists think the only difference between Democrats and Republicans is rheto-



In 2000, Rick Jore (left) and Dick Green (right) ran for the Montana Legislature on the Constitution Party ticket. Both had served terms in the Montana House as Republicans. They helped establish the Constitution Party as a legitimate outlet for frustrated members of the GOP.

ric.

Its uncompromising position on abortion has caused the Constitution Party of Montana to fight with Montana Right to Life. Party activists have called Right to Life “wannabe conservatives” who take “blood money” from the GOP. They say that is the only reason Right to Life would endorse Republicans who would allow abortion in cases of rape and incest. According to the Constitution Party, Right to Life has put politics above principles (the same charge leveled against the GOP), which has resulted in Right to Life abandoning God’s teachings.

Despite the frequent attacks, other conservatives continue to try and work with the Constitution Party of Montana. By staking out hard-line positions on issues like abortion and taxes, the party hopes to distinguish itself from other conservative entities. By standing by its uncompromising positions, it hopes to attract people who are disgusted by politics trumping principles. Other conservatives know these strident positions appeal to some people. By continuing to work with the Constitution Party, the Montana Republican Party hopes to retain their current followers and persuade some Constitution Party activists to come back within the mainstream conservative fold. By doing this, however, mainstream conservatives provide legitimacy to the Constitution Party’s views, something the party cannot achieve on its own.

Section IV: Profiles of 2006 Candidates

This section of the report includes brief profiles for some of the Constitution Party of Montana’s legislative candidates. The profiles help show how the party’s candidates bring the platform to life. Instead of just being words on paper, the platform takes real-life shape as the candidates discuss what issues are important to them. The candidates also reveal the right-wing framework they use to process current events and formulate their positions on policy. Many of the candidates have previously run for the Montana Legislature on the party’s ticket.

Section V: Officers

As with most fringe groups, the Constitution Party of Montana has relied on a small set of aggressive and motivated activists since it came onto the scene in 2000. Some of these activists are profiled in Section IV. Section V gives more detailed profiles of the party’s current officers. In addition to representing the party’s right-

wing ideology, the officers demonstrate the Constitution Party of Montana’s connection to other right-wing fringe groups, both in Montana and at the national level.

The most detailed profiles are for Chairman Jonathan Martin and Vice-Chairman Rick Jore. Martin’s profile discusses his integral role with Pro-Life Great Falls, a group that has picketed regularly outside Great Falls’ Planned Parenthood Clinic. It also looks at his involvement with the militant Operation Save America at the national level. Finally, the profile examines Martin’s involvement in Montana’s home schooling movement.

Rick Jore’s profile covers the controversy surrounding

Officers	
Chair:	Jonathan Martin
Vice Chair:	Rick Jore
Secretary:	Diane Rotering
Treasurer:	Kurtis Oliverson
Parliamentarian:	Gil Turner
2006 Candidates	
HD 1:	Russell Brown
HD 2:	Freeman Johnson
HD 3:	Tad Rosenberry
HD 6:	Rick Komeda
HD 8:	Kurtis Oliverson
HD 12:	Rick Jore
HD 18:	Timothy Sollid
HD 20:	Terry Poupa
HD 21:	Kent Holtz
HD 22:	Roger Nelson
HD 23:	Christopher Gregory
HD 24:	Philip DuPaul
HD 25:	Robert O’Connor
HD 35:	Torry MacLean
HD 43:	David Anderson
HD 59:	Jay McKean
HD 87:	George Karpati
HD 89:	Gil Turner
HD 96:	Kandi Matthew-Jenkins
SD 11:	Jonathan Martin
Clerk of Supreme Court:	Ron Marquardt

the 2004 legislative race in House District 12. The race was eventually decided by the Montana Supreme Court. Jore's profile examines the election from the vote recounts through the litigation that decided the case. Jore's profile also looks at his time as a Republican legislator, where he championed policies against Native Americans, public schools, and taxes. During that time, he served as conduit for bringing ideas of the anti-government "patriot" movement into the political mainstream. The profile also discusses Jore's reason for changing parties and his importance to the Constitution Party, both in Montana and nationally.

Profiles for Secretary Diane Roterig, Parliamentarian Gil Turner, and Treasurer Kurtis Oliverson are also included. Like Jonathan Martin and other party activists, Roterig protests at health clinics. Her niche is her group Mercy Company, which she claims counsels women who have had abortions. Turner and Oliverson help carry on the party's affinity for "patriot" groups. Turner is involved with the National Organization for Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act, a group that claim Federal Reserve Notes are worthless and advocates a "patriot" scheme to disrupt America's banking system. He has also served as an officer for Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment, a Missoula-based group heavily influenced by the "patriot" movement.

Oliverson has also served as a chapter leader for the John Birch Society. The John Birch Society promotes one-world government conspiracy theories declaring shadowy powerbrokers, headed by liberals, are engaged in a "godless conspiracy" to create a one-world socialist government. Since its inception, latent racism and anti-Semitism have plagued the Birch Society.

Section VI: Constitution Party of Montana Events

This section looks at three events held by the Constitution Party of Montana—its first convention in 2000, a presentation by former Alabama Judge Roy Moore, and the 2005 Liberty Summit. The party's first convention reinforced its dislike of Republicans, but also showed the party understood it needed to recruit from the GOP. To

that end, frequent Republican gubernatorial candidate Rob Natelson and Gary Marbut of the Montana Shooting Sports Association were the convention's first two speakers. These well-known conservatives helped the Constitution Party appear less like a fringe group. However, the national speakers left little doubt. Constitution Party presidential candidate Howard Phillips told attendees he would close down the EPA, ATF, Department of Education and Planned Parenthood if elected. Ed Frami, another national speaker, has supported forming militia groups and promoted the John Birch Society. Finally, Cal Zastrow encouraged attendees to sponsor young people in the clinic-protest movement, because they have less to lose if they are arrested.



Roy Moore

The Constitution Party of Montana brought "Ten Commandments" Judge Roy Moore to Great Falls in 2004. While the Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, Moore installed a 5,000-pound granite monument of the Ten Commandments in the Alabama Judicial Building. When he was ordered to remove it, since it violated the separation of church and state, he refused. His fellow Supreme Court justices suspended him from office. Moore's actions made him a favorite of the right-wing speaking circuit. Along with Religious Right groups, Jonathan Martin enlisted the Militia of Montana to help with turnout for Moore's appearance in Montana. In

Great Falls, Moore told his story to the audience and compared himself to biblical heroes. He concluded by telling the audience to pray and turn away from their wicked ways, because judgment would come if we don't "stem the evil tide."

The 2005 Liberty Summit in Bozeman provided another example of the Republican Party's interaction with the Constitution Party. Titled "Judges and the Constitution: Take Back the Court," the summit was designed to develop an action plan against "activist judges." The Constitution Party organized the event, and five incumbent Republican legislators attended. The Human Rights Network, concerned that GOP legislators attended the event, wrote to the lawmakers to make sure they understood what the Constitution Party represents. By attending, the Republicans provided the Constitution Party with credibility and legitimacy it cannot achieve on its own. In-

stead of denouncing the Constitution Party's anti-government and theocratic ideals, the GOP lawmakers criticized the Human Rights Network for making known their attendance of the summit.

Events held by the Constitution Party continually draw members of the Montana Republican Party. Instead of treating the Constitution Party with the same disdain it shows for the GOP, Republicans attend events to solidify their image as "true conservatives." This allows the Constitution Party to continue its efforts to wedge itself into the political mainstream by pointing to its interaction with incumbent politicians. No longer is the party criticized for having militia roots. Instead, it is a party worth the attention of public officials.

Section VII: Ties That Bind

In analyzing the activities of groups and individuals in political movements, it is important to understand that there are differing perspectives and beliefs among participants. For example, "right to life" is a position which is taken by the "right wing," but not all individuals who support the right to life ascribe to all the right-wing movement's belief. It is also important that the exception (for example the pro-choice member of the Christian Coalition) not drive the analysis of a movement's goals and activities.

This section of the report deals with the Constitution Party as part of the right wing and examines the connections between its activists and other right-wing groups and individuals. The connections include party activists teaming up with anti-government "patriots," militia groups, the anti-environmental "wise use" movement, factions of the Religious Right, and anti-tax efforts to move various aspects of the conservative agenda.

Section VIII:

Howard Phillips and the National Constitution Party

Howard Phillips started the Constitution Party (originally called the U.S. Taxpayers Party) in 1992. This was one of many right-wing organizations he started. Probably the most well-known group he helped form was the

Moral Majority. Phillips was one of the activists who approached Rev. Jerry Falwell in 1979 about mobilizing conservative Christian voters to swing the Republican Party to the right. Falwell agreed to start the Moral Majority, which was the precursor to today's Religious Right.

Since founding the Constitution Party, Phillips has tried to get big-name conservatives, like Pat Buchanan, to run for president on the party's ticket. While some have flirted with the party, Phillips has consistently struck out. This resulted in Phillips being the party's perennial presidential candidate until 2004.



Howard Phillips

In 2004, the party tried to recruit "Ten Commandments Judge" Roy Moore for the top spot on the ticket. However, Moore decided to run for governor as a Republican in Alabama. The Constitution Party settled for Maryland attorney Michael Peroutka. The vice-president spot went to Florida Pastor Chuck Baldwin. The ticket received support from the white supremacist movement, including from Aryan Nations and the League of the South.

As in Montana, right-wing activists find the national Constitution Party attractive. Matthew Trehwella and Randall Terry, pioneers of the anti-choice efforts to block access to clinics, were delegates to national conventions.

Trehwella told one party gathering that attendees should buy their children assault rifles and 500 rounds of ammunition for Christmas. R.J. Rushdoony, generally acknowledged as the founder of Christian Reconstructionism, spoke at one party convention. Howard Phillips considers himself a Rushdoony protégé.

Section IX: Conclusion

In 2006, the Constitution Party of Montana decided the national Constitution Party was becoming too soft on abortion. The Montana party disaffiliated from the national party, leveling against it the same charge it made against other conservatives—the national party was putting politics above principles.

The disaffiliation opens up the possibility for litigation surrounding the Constitution Party of Montana's ballot access in 2006. Instead of "Constitution Party of Montana," the petitions the activists used to gain access re-

ferred to the party as the “Constitution Party.” In essence, the activists gathered signatures to get a party on the ballot with which they are no longer affiliated.

Beyond the campaign-law questions, the relationships between activists at the state and national levels could be negatively impacted. The national party will most likely try to keep some sort of relationship alive. That way, if Rick Jore does get elected to the Montana Legislature, the national party can claim the victory.

Both the national and state parties have successfully infused right-wing ideology into the political mainstream. At the national level, the party consistently reminds the Republican Party that it is not conservative enough for everyone, which has helped fundamentalist Christians retain power in the GOP. President George W. Bush caters to the Religious Right more than any other president ever has, and his fellow party members are doing the same in the U.S. House. Going into the 2006 mid-term elections, the House GOP pushed the “American Values Agenda,” which was part of a plan to turn conservative Christian voters out to the polls for Republicans. Even with all of the “Christian Nation” attempts by the Republican establishment, the Constitution Party is a reminder there are still voters to the GOP’s right.

In Montana, the Constitution Party of Montana is the most successful third party. It has maintained a motivated core group of activists, some of whom have repeatedly run for the Montana Legislature. Included in that group are two former GOP legislators, Rick Jore and Dick Green. Both ran for the legislature in 2000, which helped establish the party as a legitimate outlet for frustrated conservatives. In 2000, the party fielded 11 candidates at the state level. By 2006, that number has grown to 21. The party has aggressively taken on the Montana Republican Party and demonstrated the ability to cause the GOP problems in the electoral arena. Since 2000, it has garnered enough votes to cause Republicans to lose three



This graphic is from the front of the Militia of Montana’s “Preparedness Catalog.” The Militia of Montana is just one of the “patriot” groups embraced by the Constitution Party of Montana.

paces to Democrats.

While demonstrating an ability to impact legislative races, the Constitution Party of Montana has accomplished the same thing as the national party—it has redefined the idea of a “true conservative.” No longer are the theocratic myths of a “Christian Nation” and the militia’s fears of black helicopters relegated to the very fringes of the political debate. The Constitution Party of Montana has brought them into the political mainstream and is selling them as political currency. It just hopes that disgruntled Republicans will accept the party as an outlet for their activism.

Section X: Appendix

The Appendix contains analysis of legislative races since 2000. It also features vote totals for all legislative races involving Constitution Party of Montana candidates since 2000.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	10
Formation and Platform	13
Antagonizing Conservatives	26
Profiles of 2006 Candidates	29
Officers	38
Constitution Party of Montana Events	53
Ties that Bind.....	57
Howard Phillips and the National Constitution Party	61
Conclusion	67
Appendix.....	70
Endnotes	82

Introduction

In 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana (CPOM) gained ballot access for the first time. The media and many political pundits treated the party as a novelty, since it was unlikely to influence Montana elections. The Montana Human Rights Network, however, immediately recognized that, due to CPOM's ideology, it was a readymade vehicle for moving radical right-wing ideas into the political mainstream. The Network documented its concerns in its report *The Constitution Party of Montana: The Radical Right Wing Collides with Mainstream Politics*, which was published in 2000. This second edition builds on the foundation of the original report.

The Constitution Party of Montana likes to wrap itself in God, country and flag while framing itself as the pillar of conservatism. Its brand of conservatism includes both right-wing Christian fundamentalism and anti-government themes of the militia movement. It seeks to base civil law on ultra-conservative biblical doctrine, while pandering to the militia movement's hatred of established government. Some of its activists promote ideas identical to those of groups like the Montana Freemen and Militia of Montana, while others stage protests in front of health clinics with grotesque placards featuring allegedly aborted fetuses. The party's ideology stretches, if not obliterates, the political mainstream's notion of "conservative."

Recruiting "True Conservatives"

The Constitution Party of Montana is the latest player in Montana politics to espouse fringe ideas and claim to represent "true conservatives." During the 1990s, conservative politicians in the Montana Legislature brought many anti-government notions to the state Capitol. There was the 1995 resolution requiring all able-bodied citizens to arm themselves and serve in the state's "unorganized militia," or a group like the Militia of Montana. Appealing to the militia movement's conspiracy theories about black helicopters, one lawmaker asked the National Guard to put identifying marks on its aircrafts.¹ These are only two examples of Montana lawmakers taking fringe ideas and putting them in the form of legislation. When asked about the ideology behind such bills, lawmakers frequently claimed they found their inspiration in a strict interpretation of the U.S. Constitution, the Bible,

or both. CPOM continues this practice.

As CPOM positions itself as the party of "true conservatives," it hopes to capitalize on a longtime fight within the Montana Republican Party. During the 1990s, a schism developed in the GOP between the "true conservatives" and those labeled moderates. A political action committee called Republicans in Name Only, or RINO, formed when the most conservative elements of the GOP became frustrated with the party's willingness to accept more moderate opinions. "This group believes in true Republican ideals," RINO's statement of purpose read. "We will oppose Republican candidates who do not stand for these ideals and support those who do." In addition to supporting legislative candidates, RINO made expenditures against the gubernatorial campaign of Republican Marc Racicot, the relatively moderate incumbent at the time.²

More recently, the National Federation of Republican Assemblies has impacted local GOP politics in Montana. The Federation describes itself as "the Republican wing of the Republican Party."³ During the 2004 election cycle, the race for Flathead County Commissioner illustrated a significant split in the Republican Party at the local level. Denise Cofer, the candidate aligned with the Flathead County Republican Assembly, labeled her Republican opponent John Hinchey a RINO. Hinchey countered that Cofer and other Republican Assembly members were "property rights extremists" and the "self-appointed ideological police."⁴ The split in the GOP ran so deep that a group of Flathead County Republicans endorsed the Democrat running for the county commission, instead of Cofer. Cal Sweet, one of these Republicans, stated the Republican Assembly was "the most extreme of the Christian Coalition with a new name."⁵ The Democrat won the election.

As the debate continues in the Montana Republican Party over what constitutes a "true conservative," CPOM exploits the situation and moves the definition of conservatism even further to the right. Despite Montana having one of the most conservative state Republican parties in the country, CPOM claims there are no significant differences between the GOP and Democrats. Its activists frequently criticize Republicans for putting politics above principles. That is a message constantly peddled by CPOM's most well-known candidate, Rick Jore.

When the Constitution Party of Montana gained ballot access in 2000, Rick Jore was a three-term incumbent Republican legislator in the Montana House. Once CPOM qualified, he left the Montana Republican Party. “My concern is that the Republican Party simply takes the conservatives for granted,” he told the media. “The inclination is generally to compromise toward the Democrats. The conservatives are simply left out in the cold.”⁶ Jore also stated CPOM better reflected his political philosophy. “I feel like I need to get on the bus that’s going where I want to go,” he said.⁷ In 2000, Jore was one of the 11 Constitution Party candidates running for the Montana Legislature. In 2006, that number had grown to 20. Over that time, the party had kept many of its original activists involved, along with recruiting new blood. It has also developed seven regional contact points across the state.⁸

The Constitution Party of Montana is not a “conservative” entity in the political mainstream sense. Its platform supports “unorganized militias,” or groups like the Militia of Montana. It seeks to repeal the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, thereby negating equal protection and rights to all Americans. The party wants to end public education and impose its Christian-fundamentalist theology on civil government. For these reasons, mainstream conservatives around the country avoid the Constitution Party and treat it like the fringe group it is. However, in Montana, CPOM is gaining traction.

Party Will Play Important Role in 2006

During the 2005 Montana Legislature, Democrats held a 27-23 majority in the Senate, and the House was tied 50-50 between Democrats and Republicans. Control of both chambers is wide open going into the 2006 elections. Both Democrats and Republicans have realized the impact CPOM could have.

“I’m seriously worried it could cost us a couple of seats, and as tight as things are in the Legislature, it could cost us a majority,” said Chuck Denowh of the Montana Re-

Constitution Party Costs GOP Races

Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
2000	Constitution	Pascal Redfern	198
	Republican	A.G. Deschamps	2101
	Democrat	Holly Raser	2110
Result: Republican lost by nine votes			
Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
2002	Constitution	Kent Holtz	122
	Republican	Jim Whitaker	495
	Democrat	Brennann Ryan	518
Result: Republican lost by 23 votes			
Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
2004	Constitution	Renn Bodeker	214
	Republican	Steve Simonson	2112
	Democrat	Paul Clark	2288
Result: Republican lost by 176 votes			

publican Party. “We not only have to promote our candidates, but we also have to let people know what the stakes are and how important it is to vote Republican.”⁹ Denowh said there are three to four races where CPOM could have an impact, including Libby’s House District 1 and Red Lodge’s House District 59.¹⁰

Democrats agreed with the GOP’s assessment. “Everywhere they [Constitution Party] run, we stand to win,” said Jim Farrell of the Montana Democratic Party. “That splits the Republican vote.”¹¹

The Constitution Party of Montana has already shown it can influence legislative races to the detriment of Republicans. It has taken enough votes from Republicans to allow Democratic legislative candidates to win elections in 2000, 2002 and 2004 (see table on this page).¹² The GOP understood this possibility as far back as 2000. Then-state Republican Chairman Matt Denny noted the Constitution Party “could be a danger” to the GOP, since

it might split the conservative vote and help Democrats.¹³

For their part, CPOM activists have said the Republicans have brought it on themselves. "We don't take one single vote from Republicans," said Jonathan Martin of the Constitution Party. "They give them away. The Constitution Party is here because the Republicans have left their principles... To us, it is not the most important thing to win, it is to stand up and speak the truth."¹⁴ CPOM identified the following races as critical in 2006: HD 12 (Rick Jore), HD 6 (Rick Komeda), HD 35 (Torry MacLean), HD 23 (Christopher Gregory), HD 89 (Gil Turner) and Ron Marquardt's run for Clerk of the Montana Supreme Court.¹⁵ Jore is a natural focal point, since he has come close to winning in every election since 2000, and there is not a Republican running against him in 2006. Christopher Gregory also lacks a Republican opponent, facing off only against incumbent Democrat John Parker. Both Torry MacLean and Gil Turner have races against incumbent Republicans, while Rick Komeda faces a Democrat and Republican for an open seat.

Swinging Conservatism Farther to the Right

The Constitution Party of Montana has grown into the state's most influential third party. The implications of CPOM run deeper than the typical political posturing that takes place during campaign season. Despite framing it-

self as merely another player in the debate over who represents "true conservatives," CPOM is a fringe political entity that has been unable to gain political legitimacy without the help of the GOP and other conservatives. None of the Constitution Party's candidates have been elected to office, precisely because the party's hardcore Christian fundamentalism and anti-government tendencies do not appeal to mainstream voters. However, as it successfully wedges itself into the GOP debate over who champions "true conservatives," CPOM's claim that it is merely a little to the right of the Montana Republican Party gains traction. Some view the Constitution Party as just another conservative group, rather than the right-wing fringe group it really is.

To differentiate the Constitution Party of Montana from more mainstream conservatives, it is important to look at the party's ideology and the activism of its candidates and members. Mainstream politics is sometimes described as a pendulum that functions best when it doesn't swing too far to either side. This report helps document how CPOM seeks to drastically swing the state's idea of conservatism to the right.

Travis McAdam
Research Director
September 2006

Formation and Platform

Editor's Note: Throughout this report, various Constitution Party of Montana candidates and activists will be mentioned. If they are a former or current candidate, the years they ran on the party's ticket will follow their name. The years will only be included the first time a candidate is mentioned.

The Constitution Party of Montana made its first appearance on Montana's political scene in 2000, grabbing headlines when Rep. Rick Jore, an incumbent Republican legislator, announced he would bolt from the GOP to run on the Constitution Party's ticket. Jore's motivation came from his view that the Republican Party wasn't putting enough effort into "restoring constitutional principles."¹⁶ Jore (2000-2006) said the party more accurately reflected his values.¹⁷

CPOM qualified for the ballot in March 2000 and optimistically announced it would field 50-100 candidates for legislative and statewide offices. In the end, it had 11 candidates for the Montana Legislature and one for county commission. The party declared its support for Republican gubernatorial candidate Rob Natelson. Early on, party leaders stated there were six other Republican lawmakers who would likely follow Jore's lead and switch to CPOM; however, Jore was the only one who did. The party may have been new to Montana's political scene; however, it was affiliated with the national Constitution Party which had been around since 1992. The national Constitution Party had attracted extreme right-wing activists, and, as this report will demonstrate, CPOM followed that example (for more on the national party, see "Howard Phillips and the National Constitution Party").¹⁸

While it took CPOM until 2000 to make headlines, the party's lineage went back to 1995. The original catalyst for the party's formation came at the Montana Home Educator's Convention in 1994.¹⁹ Howard Phillips, founder of the national Constitution Party, was a featured speaker at the event. He met some of the Constitution Party of Montana's current activists at the conference, including Rick Jore and Jonathan Martin (2000-2006).²⁰ The relationships formed at the Home Educator's Convention ultimately produced CPOM. Until 2000, it was known as the American Heritage Party of Montana, which was started by Michael Heit (2000) of Elmo, Montana.²¹

Platform

The Constitution Party of Montana fuses the ideology of the "patriot" movement with the theology of a strident

form of Christian fundamentalism called Christian Reconstructionism. Christian Reconstructionists seek to base civil law on Old Testament biblical law, which, among other things, would extend the death penalty to adulterers, gays and lesbians, and non-believers. Reconstructionism also seeks to place only Christians following its theology into elected office. Non-believers, who would include most followers of mainline Christian denominations, could lose their ability to vote or even their citizenship under Reconstructionist rule [see box on page 20].

When the party adopted its first platform, Michael Heit, the founder of the Constitution Party of Montana and its first chairman, brought many of the "patriot" movement's concerns to the document. Since Jonathan Martin took over in mid-2000, the emphasis has shifted to Christian Reconstructionism. One example of this was the wording of the party's "Seven Principles of Good Government," which are essentially shorthand for its platform. In 2000, the introduction to these principles stated they were "necessary for the preservation and future of our Constitutional Republic of the united States of America."²² Using a small "u" in United States is typical of anti-government groups like the Montana Freemen. It refers to the "patriot" notion that our current democratic form of government is unconstitutional. Instead, "patriots" argue for a return to a Constitutional Republic where the individual state is supreme and exists outside the federal government's jurisdiction. Michael Heit routinely used the small "u" when writing about the United States. Once Jonathan Martin took control of the party, he downplayed some of the references to "patriot" ideology. In 2006, the introduction to the Seven Principles contained the same language as in 2000; however, it referred to the "Constitutional Republic of the United States of America," using the capitalized "U" familiar to the majority of citizens.²³

Even with minor changes made over the years, the party's platform is still full of far-right ideas. Since 2000, the preamble to CPOM's platform has declared a political vision and activism based on "our full submission and unshakable faith in our Creator God." It has further

stated that the United States is a “Republic under God, rather than a democracy,” and the country is “governed by a Constitution that is rooted in Biblical law.”²⁴ Pascal Redfern (2000) put it simply, writing “God is not democratic; it is his way or else.”²⁵

With its Christian Reconstructionist dogma, there is no separation of church and state, as far as CPOM is concerned. Instead, as Russell Brown (2004-2006) put it, the concept was created by “political secularists, atheists and other anti-Christians” through a “distorted interpretation of the first amendment.”²⁶ For the party, American government would not exist without Christianity. “I believe in the separation of church and state according to what the Bible teaches,” said Rick Jore, “because before God established civil government he established the church.”²⁷

The party’s “Liberty” principle has stated, “true liberty comes from God and real freedom is born from self-government of a people who honor and obey the Commandments of the Living God.” Americans existed “under the authority of God our Creator, over the state.”²⁸ Jonathan Martin has said America’s founders knew that the nation had to be based on Christianity, because “pluralism as a source of a nation” wouldn’t work.²⁹ “Since the Bible and the Constitution for the United States of America is the basis for all law in the United States,” Kandi Matthew-Jenkins (2000, 2006) wrote, “I have chosen to run as a candidate with the Constitution Party of Montana.”³⁰

When the party’s “Seven Principles of Good Government” are combined with its platform, a smorgasbord of radical right-wing ideology results.

The Anti-Government “Patriot” Movement and the Constitution Party of Montana

One basic tenet drives the so-called “patriot” movement: the existing form of government is unconstitutional, at best, or a vengeful, evil entity at worst. This belief manifests itself in many ways, including support for forming armed paramilitary groups, belief in different types of citizenship, and one-world government conspiracy theories. The Constitution Party of Montana’s platform is full of ideas mirroring the “patriot” movement [see inset box on this page].

The “Patriot Movement”

As with other social movements, the “patriot” movement encompasses many different themes. The movement itself is decentralized, meaning that beliefs may vary from group to group and individual to individual. However, there are common threads that bind it together. One central theme is an ardent distrust of the federal government. “Patriots” attempt to justify this antagonistic view through conspiracy theories which inevitably involve secret cabals that intend to subvert the American people. The usual suspects behind these one-world government conspiracies are the federal government, United Nations, Trilateral Commission, Council on Foreign Relations, etc. “Patriots” believe they will have to ultimately fight off an invasion by these “New World Order” forces. Therefore, the Second Amendment is seen as the last line of defense against a tyrannical government.

Within this fear of the “New World Order,” other themes emerge. “Patriots” are isolationists. They would prefer that America pull out of international treaties and cut ties with the rest of the world. This isolationist attitude also lends itself to the “patriot” philosophy of individualism. The “patriot” movement views individual rights as divine gifts which exist outside the realm of government. In other words, “patriots” think they can do what they want, as long as they don’t violate “God’s Law,” regardless of whether their actions violate “man’s law” or negatively impact the larger community. “Patriots” often determine “God’s Law” using a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible, Declaration of Independence, and the U.S. Constitution. The Declaration of Independence and Constitution are viewed as gifts given directly from God to America’s Founding Fathers. The “patriot” movement is dualist in its view of these documents and scripture, believing that all issues can be divided into right and wrong, good and bad, etc., which leaves no room for the complexity of most issues. The majority of “patriots” view America as a white, Christian nation that must be kept as such.

Some of the themes mentioned above also appear in other social movements. This helps explain why “patriots” move easily between “patriot” and other right-wing groups. As this occurs, the lines between different groups and ideologies can blur. The “patriot” movement’s ambiguity allows it to receive political cover from the political mainstream, while at the same time it cavorts with racists, and everything else in between.

Since 2000, CPOM has endorsed “unorganized militias.”³¹ The term is used by groups like the Militia of Montana in an effort to justify their supposed constitutional existence. Militia leaders believe the framers of the Constitution did not envision the National Guard when they wrote about the “well-regulated Militia” in the Second Amendment. Instead, militia activists claim the founders pictured paramilitary groups like the Militia of Montana functioning, essentially, as private armies. Michael Heit said he and his “friend” Norman Olson of the Northern Michigan Regional Militia, along with other “Militia types,” were just like the people who “helped forge our nation.”³² During his time with the Michigan Militia, Olson frequently encouraged people to take up firearms against government tyrants.³³ CPOM references the “unorganized militia” twice in its platform. Under its “National Defense” plank, the party supports the “restoration of ‘well regulated militia[s]’ at the state and/or community level.” The party also has a plank titled “The Unorganized Militia.” It calls for militias to be “equipped with the same level of weaponry” as the Army or Marine Corp.³⁴

It doesn’t matter what adjective CPOM uses to describe militias, whether it be “unorganized” or “community level.” The fact is militia groups are far from benign.³⁵ The militia movement spawned activists like Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, and groups like Project 7. Project 7 was a militia cell that stockpiled ammunition and compiled a hit list of criminal justice employees in the Flathead area.³⁶

In fact, Michael Heit was a founding member of Project 7.³⁷ When its leaders faced criminal lawsuits, Heit jumped to their defense. In a letter to the “patriot”-based *Idaho Observer*, he claimed the media was “directly responsible for the undue bias” against Project 7. Heit said jurors in the case were “blatantly lied to” and made decisions “based upon lies, innuendos, and outright deceit.” He stated Project 7’s leader, David Burgert, was unfairly targeted by “criminals with badges” for trying to expose the “attacks upon innocent citizens” by law enforcement.³⁸

Heit also forwarded a message by Burgert discussing Burgert’s views of police to militia activists around the country.³⁹

The picture of Project 7 and Burgert that surfaced during the trials of Project 7 members was vastly different than the one painted by Heit. The militia group had compiled an arsenal of machine guns, 30,000 rounds of ammunition, explosives, body armor, and booby traps. Project 7 had planned to start a revolution by killing judges, prosecutors and police officers in large enough numbers that the National Guard would be called in, causing a large-scale fight.⁴⁰ At one Project 7 meeting, Burgert told his militia, “Kill them [law enforcement officers] all. Kill them all, even their wives and children.”⁴¹

CPOM’s leadership has embraced the militia movement. In April 2000, Michael Heit praised John Trochmann, the founder of the Militia of Montana and a former Aryan Nations’ participant.⁴² Heit said Trochmann was “a man dedicated to his beliefs and task at hand” and “For this, I have great respect.”⁴³ As late as February 2000, CPOM’s website was part of the “Real American Patriot/Militia Ring.”⁴⁴ This online community included militia groups from Michigan, South Dakota, and elsewhere. As late as April 2000, the party’s website featured a link to militia



John Trochmann
Militia of Montana

icon Bo Gritz’s website.⁴⁵ Gritz, like Trochmann, is an adherent of Christian Identity [see inset box on page 16].⁴⁶ Jonathan Martin, in 2004, said he was “not opposed to it [Militia of Montana] and agree with some of their ideas.”⁴⁷

Given CPOM’s support of groups like the Militia of Montana, it’s not surprising that the party aggressively supports gun rights. Since 2000, its platform has contained a “Gun Control” plank declaring “all natural and sovereign rights of the Citizen” existed because of the Second Amendment.⁴⁸ All federal gun-control legislation has been deemed “unconstitutional and should be abolished.” According to Heit, weapons were important, because “the ballot box will soon be replaced by the bullet box.”⁴⁹

“I am totally against gun control,” Mark DeGroot (2004) stated. “Gun control erodes liberty and increases the po-

tential for tyranny.”⁵⁰ As a security guard, Lou Hatch (2000-2004) said carrying a weapon was part of his job. He used that same gun to “safeguard my liberties” and family.⁵¹

During a Liberty Summit in Missoula, Kandi Matthew-Jenkins complained from the audience that the event was held on the University of Montana campus in Missoula. After a panel discussion on firearms, Matthew-Jenkins exclaimed, “If we’re going to talk about guns, why aren’t we wearing our guns?” She complained that, in a university building, attendees couldn’t carry their weapons.⁵²

CPOM candidates have routinely received high marks from both the Montana Shooting Sports Association and Gun Owners of America, two gun rights groups aligned with the militia movement.

The Montana Shooting Sports Association has offered organizing tips to the Militia of Montana, while the militia has circulated both notices for Shooting Sports Association events and fundraising appeals.⁵³ Gun Owners of America views the National Rifle Association as too moderate on gun issues and is led by Larry Pratt, a person with significant ties to the militia and white supremacist movements.⁵⁴

A common element of the “patriot” movement, especially with groups like the Montana Freemen, is the belief that there are different types of citizenship in America. For instance, documents authored by the Montana Freemen stated, “There are two different classes of citizens” in America.⁵⁵ This common-law ideology touts the superiority of “sovereign citizens” over “14th Amendment/state citizens.” For the Montana Freemen, this distinction had a racist underpinning, as the group’s leaders followed Christian Identity.⁵⁶ CPOM’s platform echoes the “sovereign citizens” versus “14th Amendment citizens” ideas.

The Constitution Party of Montana seeks to abolish the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.⁵⁷ Under Michael Heit’s leadership, the party’s website linked to

“Barefoot” Bob Hardison, an Idaho Freemen activist, for its explanation.⁵⁸ According to Hardison, the 14th Amendment subjected citizens to both federal and state jurisdiction.⁵⁹ Freemen also believe in the “organic Constitution,” which consists of the U.S. Constitution’s preamble and the Bill of Rights. For freemen, the organic Constitution is a divinely-inspired document and the only legitimate law of the land. Since these laws come directly from God, freemen believe they supersede any law instituted by government. As an example, Montana Freemen Rodney Skurdal wrote, “Our Liberties come from Almighty God, and not man made laws, statutes, nor rules.”⁶⁰ Heit wrote that America’s system of checks and balances was destroyed, because the “organic [emphasis in original] Constitution” had been abandoned.⁶¹ The “organic” Constitution leaves out the 14th Amendment.

Freemen believe the 14th Amendment created “state citizens.” These state citizens only have the rights given to them by the government. In freemen logic, these rights are inherently inferior, because they don’t come directly from God. A Montana Freemen document stated, “Almighty God created native born Citizens,” but “Acts of congress created United States citizens” and “United States citizens cannot be Sovereign.”⁶²

All Americans have been duped into this form of second-class citizenship, according to freemen. By severing the connection to government (such as not having a driver’s license, getting rid of Social Security Numbers, etc.), freemen believe they can regain their “sovereign citizenship” and only have to obey the organic Constitution. Following this ideology, Heit declared, “I am a natural born sovereign American citizen of the Republic (State) of Montana.”⁶³ For more discussion on the 14th Amendment, see the “Race” subsection below.

CPOM’s “Property” principle states that a power shift has occurred from the “Sovereign American Citizen” to a “Corporate state ownership.” The shift denies “the true essence of sovereignty to the American people.” Michael

Christian Identity

Christian Identity is based on a racist interpretation of the Christian Bible. It teaches that Jews are the literal children of Satan, and people of color are subhuman “mud people.” Its followers also believe that people of Northern European descent are God’s chosen people, because the Lost of Tribes of Israel migrated to this region of Europe. America is viewed as the biblical Promised Land. Identity’s views are frequently combined with anti-Semitic conspiracy theories purporting Jewish control of American government, resulting in an ever-present threat of violence based on the belief that the “promised land” must be liberated from the “anti-Christ.”

Heit frequently addressed the idea of “sovereign citizens” versus “state citizens” during his time with the party. The party’s platform also calls for abolishing the practice of issuing Social Security Numbers and says citizens shouldn’t be punished for choosing not to participate in the “Social Security System.”⁶⁴ In 2000, Heit began trying to get rid of his Social Security Number, saying the system was “destroying the very fabric of the Constitutional Republic of the united States of America.”⁶⁵

Another area of commonality between the freemen movement and CPOM involves the designation of “Titles of Nobility.” Both the party and freemen activists claim that the current 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is not the correct one. Instead, the “original” 13th Amendment that forbade Americans from accepting titles of nobility was removed. Documents drafted by LeRoy Schweitzer and other members of the Montana Freemen referenced titles of nobility.⁶⁶ According to “Barefoot” Bob Hardison, the original 13th Amendment stated any citizen accepting a “Title of Nobility or Honor” from “external powers” would be unable to hold elected office and would “**cease to be a citizen** [emphasis in original].” According to Hardison, the current 13th Amendment was originally listed as the 14th Amendment.⁶⁷ In 2000,

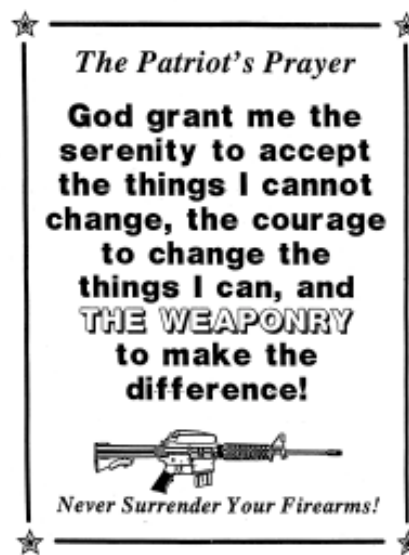
CPOM’s website linked to Hardison’s explanation for supporting the restoration of this “original” 13th Amendment to the Constitution.⁶⁸ Both Hardison and Michael Heit belonged to “Project 13,” a group trying to restore the “original” 13th Amendment.⁶⁹ CPOM said restoration was necessary, because the original amendment had been “treasonously subverted and removed” from the Constitution.⁷⁰ The language of CPOM’s plank titled “Restoration of the Constitution of the United States of America” has remained the same since 2000.⁷¹ However, the 2006 website does not link to Hardison’s freemen reasoning.⁷²

In 2000, CPOM had a platform plank titled “Fully Informed Juries.”⁷³ This idea is promoted by the Fully Informed Jury Association (FIJA) and is a concept known as “jury nullification.” FIJA claims that a jury has the right to “judge both the law and evidence in the case be-

fore it.” Known as jury nullification, adherents believe juries can render judgment based solely on their conscience, because they are the “**last safeguard against unjust law and tyranny** [emphasis in original].” According to FIJA, a jury acts as a “panel of twelve judges” and can ignore laws it doesn’t like or that infringe on a defendant’s “God-given **inalienable rights** [emphasis in original].”⁷⁴ In essence, FIJA allows juries to ignore laws and set defendants free regardless of evidence to the contrary, thereby undermining the entire judicial system. FIJA has been part of the “patriot” movement for years. The Militia of Montana has sold videos featuring presentations by FIJA “expert” Red Beckman, an anti-Semite formerly of Billings, Montana.⁷⁵

The Constitution Party of Montana’s 2000 platform stated that all citizens should receive a copy of the “Jury Rights Handbook” and be trained by the Fully Informed Jury Association prior to serving on a jury. The party declared jurors could judge both the facts and laws of the case, and it was their “paramount duty” to hold laws invalid that are “unjust” and “oppressive.” If jurors felt the laws being used to prosecute a criminal were unjust, the criminal should be set free.⁷⁶ By 2006, the party’s platform no longer included an entire plank on FIJA. Instead, it was boiled down to one sentence under “Crime in America.” The plank stated that, in the case of jury trials, jurors “shall be informed of [their] rights to nullify the law.”⁷⁷

CPOM has adopted the “patriot” movement’s fears of international cabals orchestrating one-world government under the banner of the “New World Order.” Since 2000, the party’s platform has specifically named the New World Order in many places. It has declared, “We are opposed to any New World Order, and we flatly reject U.S. participation in any New World Army.” Later it repeated, “We say ‘No!’ to any so-called New World Order or to any one-world government.” In fact, the party’s platform has contained an entire section under the heading “New World Order” that featured its planks against receiving Social Security Numbers and supporting “unorganized militias.”⁷⁸ Jonathan Martin has stated



A “patriot” flier from the Human Rights Network’s archives

President Bush is part of the “same secret societies and internationalist organizations” as the other politicians pushing the New World Order.⁷⁹

The cabal pushing for the New World Order is the United Nations, according to CPOM. The party’s “American Sovereignty” principle stated, “We are opposed to our membership in the United Nations, we support the abolishment of the UN.”⁸⁰ Its platform has called on the U.S. to withdraw from the U.N. and require “the U.N. to move out of the United States.” CPOM’s rhetoric about the United Nations mirrors that of a campaign by another “patriot” group. The John Birch Society leads a campaign called “Get US out of the United Nations.”⁸¹ The John Birch Society was founded in 1959 and claimed that both the United States and Soviet Union were controlled by a cabal of internationalists, politicians, and world bankers. These shadowy powerbrokers, headed by liberals, engaged in a “godless conspiracy” to create a one-world socialist government. Latent racism and anti-Semitism have plagued the Birch Society from its inception. The Birch Society has professed that the United Nations “is beginning to take aim at the God-given rights enjoyed by Americans since our great nation was founded.”⁸²

Steve Groff, a self-identified CPOM activist from Martin City, Montana, frequently wrote letters to both Montana lawmakers and newspapers about New World Order conspiracy theories. In one letter, Groff stated that “global government controls the U.S.” He warned Americans might “land in a FEMA work camp” for question-



Steve Groff sent tracts by Edgar Steele (pictured) to Montana lawmakers. Steele is a popular speaker at white supremacist events.

ing law enforcement. In another letter, Groff wondered why Montanans don’t “stand up against global government,” and he urged citizens to be ready to take up arms to protect the Montana Constitution.⁸³ Groff summed up his views very simply in another letter: “The U.N. wants you dead.”⁸⁴

Groff’s communications to legislators got more specific about who was pushing the New

**Get  out!
of the United Nations**

This graphic is for the John Birch Society’s “Get US out of the United Nations” campaign. Its sentiment is reflected in the Constitution Party’s platform.

World Order. The culprits were power-hungry Jews, and Groff cited *The Protocols of Learned Elders of Zion* as proof.⁸⁵ *The Protocols*, an anti-Semitic forgery produced in the early 20th Century and a favorite tract of white supremacists, outlines the supposed Jewish plot to take over the world. First published in Russia in 1903, *The Protocols* was exposed as fraud in 1921.⁸⁶ Still, it has inspired everyone from Adolph Hitler to today’s neo-Nazis. Groff encouraged lawmakers to “ignore the finger-pointing on the internet about who exactly wrote the document” and understand that Jews control the money, media, and government. One group the Jews used to accomplish world domination, according to Groff, was the Illuminati, which he claimed was full of Satanists. Groff warned that martial law would soon be declared, the Illuminati would take control of America through FEMA, and FEMA camps had already been built to imprison citizens.⁸⁷

Another document sent to lawmakers by Groff was an essay by Idaho’s Edgar Steele.⁸⁸ Steele first earned the praise of the white supremacist movement when he represented Aryan Nations in the 2000 lawsuit that resulted in the bankruptcy, and ultimate demise, of the group in Idaho.⁸⁹ Since that time, Steele has become a favorite speaker at white supremacist and anti-Semitic gatherings including: a conference sponsored by longtime Klansman David Duke to unite the various factions of the white supremacist movement; Aryan Fest, an event geared toward neo-Nazi skinheads; and a conference featuring a slate of speakers denying that the Holocaust happened.⁹⁰

Groff’s anti-Semitism was also displayed in a 1994 letter to the Anti-Defamation League. He told the group that he was less concerned with Arab terrorists than with the “insidious machinations of the A.D.L. and supporters of the parasitic government of Israel.” He told the A.D.L. that his main goal was the “removal of alien influence from the government of our country,” with the implication that the “alien influence” was Jewish.⁹¹

Opposing Reproductive Freedom

The Constitution Party of Montana stridently opposes reproductive freedom. In examining its platform language, it is easy to see why many of its activists have gravitated towards the most radical elements of the anti-choice movement.

The party has taken the position that the “absolute sanctity of innocent human life” takes precedent over everything else. Its “Sanctity of Life” plank is the first in its platform. CPOM’s position is that, from the moment of “fertilization,” the fertilized egg is “a human being created in God’s image.” It is the “first duty of the law” to “prevent the shedding of innocent blood,” the party’s platform reads. Therefore, the government must “safeguard the lives of the pre-born.”⁹²

CPOM is uncompromising in its opposition to abortion, even when pregnancy resulted from rape and/or incest. “It is unconscionable to take the life of an innocent child for the crimes of his father,” reads the party’s platform. This places the party outside many right-wing conservatives who oppose abortion. Groups like Right to Life of Montana have seen the benefit of abortion in these instances, or when the mother’s life is at risk. Likewise, many conservatives, while professing their strident dislike of it, acknowledge that *Roe v. Wade* is the law of the land. Not the Constitution Party of Montana. “The taking of innocent life... may not be declared lawful by any institution of state or local government legislative, judicial or executive,” the party’s platform states. It says *Roe v. Wade* “is illegitimate, contrary to the law of the nation’s Charter and Constitution” and “must be resisted... by all branches of the government legislative, executive, and judicial.” The party supports only the appointment of judges who “commit themselves to the legal personhood of the pre-born child.”⁹³

This frustration with other conservatives over abortion has gotten fairly nasty at times. Michael Heit told the Montana Republican Party that Republicans have killed more “unborn babies” than the lives taken by Adolph Hitler and Joseph Stalin.⁹⁴ He also asked Right to Life of Montana “how much blood money from the torn bodies of the unborn victims” had the group received from the Republican Party.⁹⁵ In a message to National Right to Life, Heit scolded the group for “playing the devil’s game” by supporting President Bush. He denounced their attempt to “FORCE ME TO WALLOW IN THE DEVIL’S

VOMIT BY THREATINING ME [emphasis in original]!”⁹⁶

Likewise, Jonathan Martin blasted Right to Life of Montana for endorsing George W. Bush in 2000. He said it was groups like Right to Life “who believe that government is God” that were helping further America’s “journey toward the sure judgement [sic] of God.”⁹⁷ Lou Hatch left the Republican Party, because it thought it was “okay to kill your unborn baby whenever you feel like it.”⁹⁸ At a 2006 meeting, CPOM passed a resolution calling on President Bush to declare that a fetus had “full legal protection under the 5th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.”⁹⁹



Marilyn Hatch

Many CPOM activists have engaged in protesting at health clinics around Montana. Jonathan Martin has led a group that pickets in front of the Planned Parenthood clinic in Great Falls with grotesque placards (for more on this, see Jonathan Martin’s profile in the “Officers” section of the report).

In Missoula, Marilyn Hatch has been the volatile leader of a group that protests in front of Blue Mountain Clinic. Other CPOM activists have joined her, including Kandi Matthew-Jenkins and Diane Rotering. Hatch has stated she protests for personal reasons—she had an abortion and has experienced guilt and mental anguish ever since.¹⁰⁰ Like Martin’s group, Hatch’s Missoula followers have used placards featuring grotesque pictures of

allegedly aborted fetuses. She said the pictures are necessary to mobilize people to “stop the killing of our children.”¹⁰¹

Hatch began picketing at Blue Mountain in 2003, after traveling nationally with Operation Rescue. In 1994, she was a full-time employee of Operation Rescue (for more

on Operation Rescue, see Jonathan Martin’s profile in the “Officers” section of the report).¹⁰² Hatch has been arrested in Alabama, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin for obstructing access to healthcare clinics.¹⁰³ She has defined her work as “rescuing”—risking her life by putting herself in between the woman and abortion provider.¹⁰⁴

Christian Reconstructionism

The work of a small group of scholars in the 1960s and 1970s created Christian Reconstructionism. It evolved from a strain of conservative Presbyterianism teaching that the laws of the Old Testament are the foundation for building the Kingdom of God on Earth. Reconstructionists call on conservatives to be Christians first and to build a church-based political machine where civil government exists to implement God’s Law. In other words, Christians need to “reconstruct” society in the image of the Old Testament. Many Reconstructionists believe America is a “Christian Nation,” and they are the modern-day versions of the Founding Fathers.

Reconstructionists believe that Christians, of the right kind, are God’s new chosen people. They are commanded to do what Adam and Eve failed to—create the society that God requires. Reconstructionists blame Jews for failing to live up to their covenant with God, resulting in Jews no longer being God’s chosen people.

R.J. Rushdoony detailed Reconstructionist theology in his 1973 tome *The Institutes of Biblical Law*. It was an 800-page explanation of the Ten Commandments and how they should be applied today. The tract made him the recognized founder of the Christian Reconstruction movement. *The Institutes* declared that fundamentalist Christians needed to take control of government and impose strict biblical law.

Rushdoony wrote, “All law is religious in nature, and every non-Biblical law-order represents an anti-Christian religion.” According to Old Testament biblical law, the death penalty would be used against “practicing homosexuals,” adulterers, blasphemers, murderers and heretics. The method of death would be burning at the stake, stoning, hanging, or by the sword. “The law that requires the death penalty for homosexual acts effectively drives the perversion of homosexuality underground, back into the closet,” wrote Reconstructionist Gary DeMar, also adding, “If we argue that abortion is murder, then we must call for the death penalty.”

While it may have started with right-wing Presbyterians, Christian Reconstructionism isn’t confined to one single denomination. It networks through magazines, think tanks, conferences, and publishing houses, all the while trying to keep a low profile and staying away from public scrutiny. As Frederick Clarkson wrote, “Reconstructionists are aware that such ideas must be discreetly infused into their target constituency. The vague claim that God and Jesus want Christians to govern society is certainly more appealing than the blood-thirsty notion of ‘vengeance,’ or the overthrow of constitutional government.”

In a “reconstructed” society, women would be relegated to the home. People not holding the “proper” Christian views would be denied citizenship. In fact, Reconstructionist Gary North believes that the U.S. Constitution should be used to limit citizenship to the “correct” type of Christian. He thinks Americans should deny the vote to “those who hold religious or ideological views that would threaten the very foundations of Christian Civilizations.”

The impact of Christian Reconstructionism can be seen throughout today’s society. It is “a factor behind the increased violence in the anti-abortion movement, the nastiest of attacks on gays and lesbians, and the new wave of battles over alleged secular humanist influence in the public schools,” wrote Chip Berlet.

Sources: Southern Poverty Law Center, Frederick Clarkson’s *Eternal Hostility*, Chip Berlet’s *Eyes Right*, and Sara Diamond’s *Roads to Dominion*.

Her “rescuing” tactics have included: yelling at people entering the clinic; taking pictures of people entering the clinic; writing down license plate numbers of clinic employees; harassing clinic employees; and threatening the clinic’s director.¹⁰⁵ She’s referred to clinics as “abortion mills” and “death camps” She has claimed that clinic workers protect pedophiles who engage in sexual assault.¹⁰⁶ She has also chastised Montana lawmakers for looking the other way as fetuses were “slaughtered” and put into “buckets of babies” at health clinics.¹⁰⁷

With their dedication to harassing people seeking medical care (the majority of patients entering clinics are not seeking abortion), it’s not surprising that the party’s platform addresses clinic protests. “We condemn the misuse of anti-racketeering and other federal laws against pro-life demonstrators,” the platform has declared.¹⁰⁸ In 2003 and 2005, CPOM activists testified against legislation to create a buffer zone between anti-choice protestors and people seeking medical care at health clinics.¹⁰⁹ The bill became law in 2005. The party has deemed these laws unconstitutional.¹¹⁰ While the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 2006 that racketeering laws could not be used against anti-choice protestors, federal courts have repeatedly ruled in favor of clinic access and buffer zones.¹¹¹

Opposing reproductive freedom is another area where the Constitution Party displays a strict ideology without compromise. With abortion being one of the hot-button issues of the right-wing “culture war” against America, CPOM offers something other conservative groups may not—the unwillingness to compromise.

Anti-Public Education

The Religious Right is trying to undermine public education through vouchers, charter schools, and teaching biblical creationism in schools. Going a step further, CPOM wants to end public education. It has called for abolishing the Department of Education, because “the federal government has absolutely no jurisdiction concerning the education of our children.” The party has supported education as “properly placed in the dominion of their parents,” because any education must be Christian based. “All teaching is related to basic assumptions about God and man,” the party’s platform reads. “Education as a whole, therefore, cannot be separated from religious faith.” So that parents would not have to send their children to schools of which they disapproved, CPOM supports repealing compulsory education laws.¹¹²

Many CPOM activists have voiced or acted upon their disapproval of the public school system. Dick Green (2000) claimed schools had abandoned education in favor of “social engineering.”¹¹³ Joe Seipel, who ran for Cascade County Commissioner in 2000 on CPOM’s ticket, was an integral part of a group called Cut Unnecessary Taxes (CUT) in 1995.¹¹⁴ CUT’s main goal was defeating mill levies that provided public schools in Great Falls with funding.¹¹⁵ Michael Heit supported charter schools and wanted prayer and Bible reading in public schools.¹¹⁶ However, no COPM activist has done more to oppose public education than Rick Jore. During Jore’s time in the Montana Legislature as a Republican, he proposed bills to eliminate compulsory education laws. He has said, “The Federal government has no Constitutional authority to fund or interfere with education.”¹¹⁷

Considering the party’s dislike of public schools, it’s not surprising that many Constitution Party of Montana activists are part of the Christian fundamentalist home school network in Montana. “I’m ashamed to say that my oldest three [children] went to government schools,” Rick Jore told the Home School Legal Defense Association in 1998. “I’ve since developed a real conviction that government schools just aren’t proper.” He proudly told the Association that he had been home schooling his younger children for 12 years.¹¹⁸

CPOM activists Jonathan Martin, Rick Jore, and Pascal Redfern have all served as contact points for the Montana Home School Reference guide.¹¹⁹ Redfern is well known in home-school circles. He edits a home-schooling newsletter, *The Grapevine*, and he founded and directs the Missoula Home School Athletic Association.¹²⁰

Redfern has written and spoken in favor of home schooling. In a guest column, he declared that public schools were unaccountable to anyone, and America’s Founding Fathers would have rejected public education. He said some parents had “rejected the statist’s [sic] idea of education” and were instead following Jesus Christ’s message to put the “authority in the family not the state to raise children.”¹²¹ At a conference convened by Rob Natelson in 2003, Redfern blasted public schools for making parents say “yes to a [public school] system that is hostile to Christian values.”¹²² In a radio interview, Redfern claimed that home schooled children were taught values that kept them from falling for the lies of liberals. He told listeners that one of his children now worked for the Home School Legal Defense Association.¹²³

Pascal Redfern has spoken as a representative of the

Alliance for the Separation of School and State, a national organization pushing for parents to remove their children from public schools.¹²⁴ The group has an online petition supporting its agenda. CPOM activists who have signed include: Craig Chambers, Michael Heit, Kandi Matthews-Jenkins, Rick Jore, Jonathan Martin, and Pascal Redfern.¹²⁵

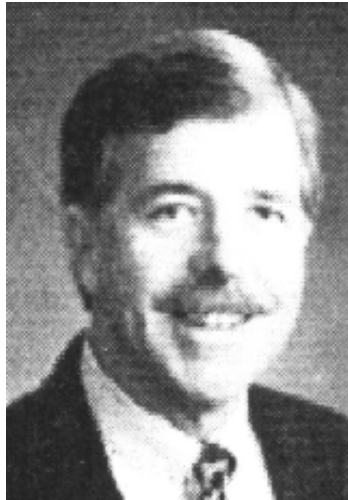
States' Rights

The right-wing has a history of using "states' rights" as a euphemistic slogan for many things. In the South, it was the rallying cry for upholding segregation and opposing the Civil Rights Movement. Currently in western states, the anti-environmental "wise use" movement uses "states' rights" in efforts to get public lands turned over to states, so they can be opened to extractive industry. The underlying belief is that local control is always superior to a federal government that is incompetent, at best, or power hungry at worst. The Constitution Party of Montana follows in this tradition.

While Michael Heit led the party, CPOM was billed as "The Constitution Party of Montana And The 10th Amendment Restoration Coalition."¹²⁶ While the Restoration Coalition designation has been dropped, the party still stridently supports states' rights and local control. Since its first platform, CPOM has supported the addition of a "Tenth Amendment Law" to the Montana Constitution. This amendment would "clearly [spell] out the limits of Federal jurisdiction within" Montana and abolish the "assumed duties' unconstitutionally taken by the federal government." The section of the platform that has dealt with the "Tenth Amendment Law" concluded with the declaration that the party opposed any "regionalization or grouping of governments," because that removed decision making from "the scrutiny of the people." This statement takes on more meaning when placed in the context of the party's adoption of the "patriot" movement's fears of the "New World Order."¹²⁷

Even while CPOM has promoted the notion of "power to the people," it has sought to remove U.S. Senators from popular election. It wants to repeal the 17th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and place the election of U.S.

Senators with the Montana Legislature.¹²⁸ Even Montana lawmakers, who would receive increased responsibility and power, have soundly rejected this idea. For the past two legislative sessions, state Sen. Jerry O'Neil (R-Columbia Falls) has sponsored legislation to repeal the 17th Amendment. O'Neil, who has attended CPOM events and meetings, failed both times.¹²⁹ In 2005, his resolution died in committee, while in 2003 it was defeated handily on the Senate floor.¹³⁰



Mark DeGroot

The party's support for repealing the 17th Amendment has caused problems for some of its candidates. In 2004, the issue was used against Bozeman's Mark DeGroot. DeGroot's opponent, Rep. Christopher Harris (D-Bozeman), issued campaign materials declaring DeGroot wanted to take away citizens' ability to elect U.S. Senators.¹³¹ DeGroot responded by saying Harris' statements were "WILD [emphasis in original] fiction," as DeGroot had "NEVER [emphasis in original] had a personal stand on the 17th Amendment."¹³² Rep. Harris stood by his fliers,

saying that he supported the Democratic Party platform and assumed DeGroot would do the same with CPOM's.¹³³ DeGroot filed a complaint with the Commissioner of Political Practices over the materials Harris issued and an investigation is still pending.¹³⁴

There are two other noteworthy examples of the states' rights and local control in the party's platform:

- ◆ While it has supported the "sanctity of life," CPOM encouraged use of the death penalty. In fact, it favored allowing both state and *local* governments to "execute criminals."¹³⁵

- ◆ The party has called on states to "decline to accept all monies from the federal government." It has labeled federal funding "not only illegal," but also "immoral." In the place of federal support, the party has called on the federal government to restore to the states "sources of revenue that the federal government has usurped." This seemed to call for states to engage in increased taxation; however the party has strongly opposed taxation (see the "Taxes" section below). CPOM's "logic" would lead to both the federal and state governments starving for funds.¹³⁶

Race

The Constitution Party of Montana's platform is full of positions that would negatively impact people of color. These infringements on the rights of people of color show up in three primary areas: repealing the 14th Amendment, supporting anti-immigrant policies, and repealing the Voting Rights Act.

The party has called for abolishing the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which grants equal protection under the law to all citizens.¹³⁷ As mentioned earlier, CPOM once linked to freemen justifications for abolishing the amendment. Freeman "Barefoot" Bob Hardison claimed the 14th Amendment's goal was "world-wide socialism and Totalitarianism" and subjected citizens to the federal government's jurisdiction and defeated states' rights. He also claimed there was an earlier 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that proposed legalizing slavery and protecting states' rights. This amendment was submitted to the states for ratification, according to Hardison, but the Civil War began and it was lost. Hardison declared that, under states' rights philosophy, citizens owed their allegiance to the state, not the federal government. Once the current 14th Amendment was ratified, citizens were subjected to both state and federal jurisdiction. Ultimately, Hardison pronounced the 14th Amendment unconstitutional, stating it was only ratified by 15 of the 37 states.¹³⁸

Since Jonathan Martin became CPOM's chairman, the freemen explanation for abolishing the 14th Amendment has not appeared on the party's website. The party still supports abolishing the 14th Amendment, but no other documentation accompanies it.¹³⁹ CPOM has failed to explain what it would do to guarantee the rights of people of color and women if the 14th Amendment was repealed.

Immigration policy has served as an example of the "margins-to-the-mainstream" dynamic, with CPOM's right-wing notions on immigration finding their way into the political mainstream. Currently, both Republicans and Democrats are debating reforms to America's immigration policy at the federal level. The focus of the debate is on the country's Southern border where the vast

majority of the immigrants are people of color. Race may not be the publicly-debated reason for immigration reform, but it always exists right below the surface. While immigration has transformed into a major campaign issue for the 2006 Elections, CPOM's immigration plank has remained the same since 2000.

CPOM has affirmed "the integrity of the international borders of the United States" and the "right of the federal government to guard and protect these borders." "Hundreds of thousands" of illegal immigrants enter America every year, the party's platform reads, and drain money from the American Treasury by receiving "various forms of public assistance" that are "stressing the fabric of society." Therefore, the Constitution Party of Montana has supported a moratorium on immigration and opposed any program giving amnesty to illegal immigrants. The party also has rejected "the practice of bestowing U.S. citizenship" to children of illegal immigrants born in America. It has also opposed bilingual ballots.¹⁴⁰



Graphic by Southern Poverty Law Center

U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-CO) and other GOP members of the U.S. House are advocating immigration policies very similar to the Constitution Party of Montana's platform.

Many of CPOM beliefs about immigration used to be outside the political mainstream. However, ultra-conservative Republicans in the U.S. House, especially Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-CO), are supporting policies that mirror those of CPOM. "We must reinvest meaning in citizenship, getting rid of the incentive to birth so-called anchor babies on U.S. soil," Tancredo stated.¹⁴¹ He has vehemently opposed any legislation permitting amnesty for illegal immigrants and called for protection of America's borders. This put Tancredo at odds with members of his own party and the Bush Administration. "The president doesn't want secure borders!" he railed. "He

[President Bush] has the resources to do so, but the unfortunate, dirty truth of the matter is he has no desire to do so.”¹⁴² In August 2006, Tancredo brought his anti-immigrant positions to Hamilton, Montana, for a field hearing on immigration policy. He claimed the Canadian border was so porous that Osama Bin Laden could easily cross it and pushed the idea of a wall along the country’s northern border.¹⁴³

Some members of the GOP have brought the issue of race right to the surface. “I believe that what we are fighting here is not just a small group of people... bent on destroying ours [civilization],” Tancredo has stated. “If Western civilization succumbs to the siren song of multiculturalism, I believe we’re finished.”¹⁴⁴ He has praised the Minuteman Project, a border militia with ties to white supremacists.¹⁴⁵ Mentioned as possible presidential candidate, Tancredo received the endorsement of longtime Klansman David Duke.¹⁴⁶

Another area of crossover between the GOP’s right wing in the U.S. House and CPOM’s ideology has been supporting the repeal of the Voting Rights Act. Since 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana has advocated for the Act’s repeal.¹⁴⁷ The Act, adopted in 1965, was a major victory of the civil rights era that stopped the systematic disenfranchisement of black voters, particularly in the South. It outlawed practices like poll taxes and literacy tests that were used to deny people of color their right to vote. It also required a language-assistance requirement in areas where large percentages of the population didn’t speak English as their first language.¹⁴⁸ Some Southern Republicans in the U.S. House tried to block the extension of the Voting Rights Act in 2006. U.S. Rep. Steve King (R-IA) called the bilingual ballot section “a horrible attack on the unity of the United States of America,” while Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) said it was “multiculturalism at its worst.”¹⁴⁹ The Voting Rights Act, in its entirety, was eventually extended for another 25 years.¹⁵⁰

The debate over immigration and the Voting Rights Act took place on the floor of the U.S. House and in the pages of newspapers across the country. The debate used the

same framework that is found in CPOM’s platform. CPOM’s extreme ideas had made their way into the political mainstream.

Taxes

The Constitution Party of Montana has fervently opposed taxation in almost all forms, from the income tax to the property tax. Many party activists, including Michael Heit, don’t believe the 16th Amendment was properly ratified, so the income tax is unconstitutional.¹⁵¹ Heit said he refused to deal with the IRS because “they are not a government agency, and they know it.” He proudly reported on threatening to use force against any IRS agent who came to see him, saying he was “willing to die for my freedom.” He stated America was founded through a tax revolution, and the country could be restored with another one. Heit proudly proclaimed he hadn’t paid his income taxes since 1987.¹⁵² Through April 2000, the party’s website linked to website featuring titles like “Proof That You Do Not Have to File An Income Tax Return.”¹⁵³

The party’s candidates have voiced their disdain for the income tax. “At the state level, we can do away with Montana income tax,” candidate Dick Green stated, “and I would do away with that in a heartbeat, and it’s so despotic.”¹⁵⁴ Since 2000, CPOM has advocated abolishing the Internal Revenue Service.¹⁵⁵

In addition, CPOM has condemned property taxes. Its “Seven Principles of Good Government” has stated that “property taxes of all forms are, in effect, the first plank of the Communist Manifesto.”¹⁵⁶ The 2006 version of the “Seven Principles” contended that a person’s ability to use their property without regulation was a “God given right.”¹⁵⁷ In order to restore “our Constitutional Republic,” CPOM has advocated that “property taxes of all forms must be abolished.”¹⁵⁸ Rick Jore warned that any “zoning, land use planning, or environmental regulation” diminishes property rights. For him, “the essence of freedom” rested on the ability of people to do whatever they wanted with their property.¹⁵⁹

All taxes, especially at the federal level, are viewed by CPOM as a confiscation of taxpayer funds for unconsti-



U.S. Rep. Steve King (R-IA) opposed renewing the Voting Rights Act, another action supported by the Constitution Party of Montana’s platform.

tutional programs.¹⁶⁰ The platform has stated that the party is “**diametrically opposed to the forced transfer of one’s wealth to others by the state** [emphasis in original].”¹⁶¹ “Republicans want corporate welfare while Democrats fancy individual welfare,” said Gary Hall (2002), and CPOM hoped to eliminate both types.¹⁶² Overall, the party seeks to replace America’s current tax system with one “based on the original design of our founding fathers.”¹⁶³ Neither the party’s platform nor its “Seven Principles” give specifics of what would comprise that system.

With its opposition to taxes, it is not surprising that many party activists supported Montanans for Better Government’s initiative in 1998 to require voter approval of many new or increased taxes and fees (for more on this campaign, see “Ties that Bind”). Many of CPOM’s activists have signed “Taxpayer Protection Pledges” from Montanans for Better Government and Americans for Tax Reform, promising they would not raise taxes if elected.¹⁶⁴

Anti-Gay

The Constitution Party of Montana is anti-gay, framing its views in “family values” rhetoric. The platform declares the family was the “first Divine institution of government,” and civil government must “protect the authority of the family unit.” It warns that, when “the state usurps the families [sic] authority,” it is a violation of the Bible’s Fifth Commandment. The leaders of the family unit are the patriarchal father and a submissive mother. “The law of our Creator defines marriage as the union between one man and one woman,” reads the party’s platform. That marriage covenant is the foundation for the

family, and “no government may authorize or define marriage or family relations contrary to what God has instituted.”¹⁶⁵

While opposition to gay marriage occupied a small section of the party’s platform, CPOM activists regularly opposed equal rights and protection under the law for Montana’s gays and lesbians. “I know all matters of morality are not always fit for legislation,” Timothy Martin (2002-2004) said, “but in the case of homosexuality, I believe it is for the common good for this sin to be kept in the closet as I believe it is destructive to society.”¹⁶⁶

Back in 2000, Michael Heit complained that America had become a nation where “children are taught homosexuality is ok, that there is no God.”¹⁶⁷ He also objected to the “acceptance of homosexual deviant behaviour [sic], in contradiction to Gods [sic] word” being considered a right.¹⁶⁸

During the 2005 Montana Legislature, Philip DuPaul (2000, 2004, 2006), Dick Green, Jonathan Martin, and Marilyn Hatch all testified against a bill to create civil unions in Montana. DuPaul told lawmakers that the gay “lifestyle” was “destructive” and responsible for the death of his brother.¹⁶⁹ DuPaul, Martin and Kandi Matthews-Jenkins all opposed a bill prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation. DuPaul again related the story of his brother being “coerced into this [gay] lifestyle” and dying of AIDS. He said the gay “lifestyle” is “one of death.” Matthews-Jenkins told lawmakers she had a sister who was molested by a teacher’s aide and claimed the guilt from the sexual assault turned her sister into a lesbian. She said the bill under consideration was “inviting all sorts of evil” into society.¹⁷⁰

Antagonizing Other Conservatives

Republicans are “Moral Cowards”

Since the Constitution Party of Montana formed, it has picked fights with other conservative groups. At its first annual convention in 2000, speaker after speaker railed against the Republican Party. “Republicans are the greater evil,” Constitution Party presidential candidate Howard Phillips told the crowd. “They fly a false flag.” He concluded his speech by calling Republicans “moral cowards.”¹⁷¹

Michael Heit personally attacked U.S. Sen. Conrad Burns (R-MT), the Montana Republican Party, and Montana Right to Life through written correspondence. Heit accused Burns of unconstitutionally holding office, because there was not supposed to be direct-election of senators. Heit told Burns he could only legally hold office if the Montana Legislature appointed him to the position. Also, Heit espoused his claims that the Constitution’s 16th and 17th Amendments were not properly ratified, meaning Heit doesn’t have to pay taxes.¹⁷²

Heit attacked the Montana Republican Party in a letter to Matt Denny, then-chairman of the Montana Republican Party, on Aug. 29, 2000. Heit accused Republicans of no longer protecting the Constitutional Republic, stating, “I hate and loath all the pernicious lies and deceit the Republican Party has done to this Republic.” He also claimed Republicans had killed more “unborn babies” than the lives taken by Adolph Hitler and Joseph Stalin. He referred to the Republicans as “REPUBLIC-RATS [capitalization in original]” and told Denny, “May God have mercy on your miserable black souls.”¹⁷³ Heit said he disagreed with Democrats on all issues, but he appreciated they had “the guts and honesty to stand up and be truthful about their communist/socialist agenda.” On the other hand, Republicans “masquerade as ‘Christians’” but were nothing but “high price prostitutes selling [their] influence to highest bidder.”¹⁷⁴ He encouraged people to “join our [Constitution Party] cause and lets [sic] beat the snot our [sic] of the GOP!”¹⁷⁵

Heit went after Republican Gov. Judy Martz, calling her a “bought and paid stooge” of the federal government. He said Martz was trying to turn public schools into “defacto communist socialists [sic] training camps.” By not opposing Martz, Heit told Republicans they were showing themselves for the “prostitutes” they were.¹⁷⁶ In

another message, he stated Republicans “killed America” when they “turned their back on God.”¹⁷⁷

As mentioned earlier in the report, Rick Jore has made a career out of denouncing the Republican Party since switching his allegiance to CPOM. During a speech to the Constitution Party of Washington, he talked about his frequent battles with Republican Governor Marc Racicot when Jore served in the Montana House. Jore said he was the “black sheep” of the legislature, because he was a constitutionalist. “We are not headed into socialism,” he also remarked. “We are already there.”¹⁷⁸ Likewise, Jore told the Constitution Party of Utah that the GOP brow beat and criticized him for standing up for the Constitution as a legislator. He said the GOP leadership wanted a show of solidarity on an upcoming vote and demanded all party members vote the same way. Jore refused because, from his viewpoint, the bill under consideration was unconstitutional. He finally told his fellow Republicans that he didn’t “take an oath to the Republican Party” but to the Montana and U.S. Constitutions. “If I break my oath,” Jore concluded, “I am a perjurer, and I cannot sleep.” From that point on, Jore said he was labeled as not being a team player.¹⁷⁹

While still serving in the Montana House as a Republican, Rick Jore criticized the Republican National Committee for naming former Montana Gov. Marc Racicot chairman. Jore said conservative legislators routinely “expressed frustration with having to overcome a ‘RINO’ in the Governor’s office [Racicot].” He bashed Racicot for being “very cozy with the unions” and supporting “huge budget increases.” Jore said Racicot did not do enough to promote the idea that abortion was “what it truly is, murder.” He also complained that Racicot had “publicly supported removing the anti-sodomy statute from Montana Codes” and passed a “pro-homosexual policy” in state government hiring. Overall, Jore decided the Republican Party had picked the perfect person to push its “politically expedient, socialistic, unconstitutional, go-along-to-get-along, politics over principle agenda.”¹⁸⁰

On the fiscal level, Timothy Martin scolded the Montana Republican Party for increasing the money in Montana’s general fund. “It took Democrats over 20 years to reach a biennial budget of about one billion dollars,” Martin declared. “It took Republicans only 10 years to

double it.” He said at least Democrats were “honest when it comes to government spending,” always wanting more. He encouraged people to not vote for “RepubliCrats” if they wanted to reduce government taxes.¹⁸¹

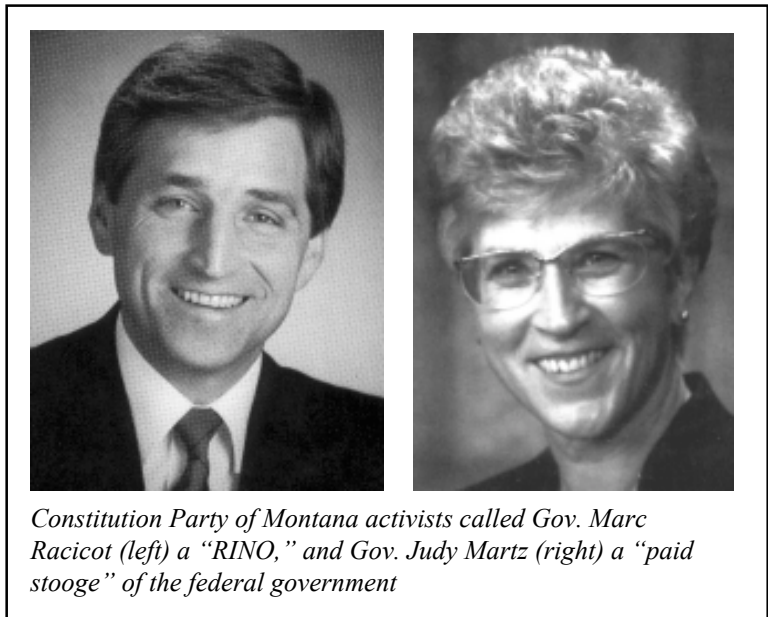
Pascal Redfern stated a common CPOM belief—there is no difference between the GOP and Democrats. He wrote that there was “no difference between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party except for their rhetoric.” He declared that the Constitution Party was a “CLEAR [emphasis in original] and different choice” for conservatives.¹⁸² He said conservatives “wished the Republican Party stood for something,” but since it didn’t, CPOM would “stand for truth, honor and principle.”¹⁸³ Likewise, Renn Bodeker (2004) claimed the two major parties had failed America. “You know it and I know it,” he stated. “If you want a viable alternative, follow my lead; vote the Constitution Party.”¹⁸⁴

Steve Larsen (2000) complained the Republican establishment too often backstabbed other conservatives. While he no longer supported the Constitution Party, he said it was easy to see that the “arrogance” of the GOP created the Constitution Party and other splinter groups that were formed by “disenfranchised Republicans.”¹⁸⁵ During the 2004 Montana gubernatorial race, Larsen lamented that conservatives were left with Republican frontrunners Bob Brown and Pat Davison, whom he claimed were “about as conservative as Ted Kennedy.”¹⁸⁶

In 2004, Jonathan Martin went after members of the Religious Right for supporting President George W. Bush. Martin criticized the support, saying Bush had “appointed more open homosexuals to positions in government” than all other presidents combined. He also complained that Bush supported “pro-abortion, pro-sodomite” U.S. Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA) for chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Martin said President Bush was not pro-life, because he “thinks it is alright to murder 15-20,000 little unborn children whose fathers happen to be rapists.” He concluded saying, “For a Christian to support a man like George W. Bush is to sin against God.”¹⁸⁷ He also blasted Bush for saying “Muslims worship the same God as Christians” and for “inviting them [Muslims]” to the White House.¹⁸⁸

Montana Right to Life are “Wannabe Conservatives”

Both Michael Heit and Jonathan Martin criticized Montana Right to Life for not being extreme enough in its stance on abortion. In August 2000, Heit wrote to Steven Ertelt, director of Montana Right to Life, and said he wouldn’t accept an endorsement by the group. Heit believed Montana Right to Life made decisions based on political realities, instead of scriptural doctrine. “Abortion is not nonpartisan [sic],” Heit wrote. “It kills all human life.”¹⁸⁹ He lashed out at Montana Right to Life



Constitution Party of Montana activists called Gov. Marc Racicot (left) a “RINO,” and Gov. Judy Martz (right) a “paid stooge” of the federal government

for being “a bunch of wannabe conservatives that talk the talk but haven’t got the guts to walk the walk.”¹⁹⁰ Heit said the only endorsement he cared about was from Jesus Christ.¹⁹¹

In September 2000, Jonathan Martin wrote a letter to Ertelt criticizing Montana Right to Life’s endorsement of George W. Bush. Among Martin’s list of grievances were: Bush appointed a “pro-abortion, pro-sodomite woman” to a judgeship in Federal District Court; Bush “denied Jesus Christ before America” on television; and Bush supported many of the same one-world policies advocated by Democrat Al Gore. Martin finished by saying groups like Montana Right to Life “who believe that government is God” were helping further America’s

“journey toward the sure judgement [sic] of God!”¹⁹²

Following Martin’s letter, Heit again wrote to Ertelt, asking if Ertelt had any “semblance of sanity or Christianity.” He asked Ertelt “how much blood money from the torn bodies of the unborn victims” had Montana Right to Life received from the Republican Party. He told Ertelt that Bush’s real goal was a “one world agenda.”¹⁹³

Conservatives Still Cooperate with Constitution Party

Even with its vitriolic dislike of other conservatives, CPOM has continued to receive their support. As for Montana Republicans, Rep. Verdell Jackson (Kalispell) and Sen. Jerry O’Neil (Columbia Falls) have attended CPOM meetings.¹⁹⁴ Likewise, Republican stalwarts like Rob Natelson and Scott Orr attended the party’s first convention, while eight Republican legislators attended the group’s 2005 Liberty Summit.¹⁹⁵

Individual Republicans aren’t the only ones supporting CPOM. Following 2004’s highly-contested race in House District 12, it was the Montana Republican Party that came to Rick Jore’s defense. A national Constitution Party website featured a communication from the Montana Republican Party asking for donations, because the Montana GOP would “likely be involved in litigation” over the race.¹⁹⁶ Jore stated he was initially surprised to find “numerous phone messages from Republican leaders” offering him help. Once he discovered the race held the key to Republican control of the Montana House, he understood their concern. Jore said he received a call from the executive director of the Montana Republican Party the day after the election. The GOP suggested an attorney for Jore, and said it would be willing to foot the bill. With the GOP’s financial backing, Jore retained the attorney.¹⁹⁷ The Republican Party did pay the majority of Jore’s legal bills resulting from the House District 12 race.¹⁹⁸

Certain CPOM activists have been unable to completely sever their ties with the Republican Party. In 2000, Kandi Matthew-Jenkins ran unsuccessfully for the legislature on the Constitution Party ticket. In 2004, she ran as a Republican, losing in the primary. During the same 2004 election cycle, Pascal Redfern also ran and lost as a Republican for the Montana Legislature. He ran on the CPOM ticket in 2000.¹⁹⁹ He’s back on the Republican ticket again in 2006. According to the Secretary of State, Redfern was appointed by the GOP as the candidate in House District 97 when the original candidate withdrew.²⁰⁰

Like the Republicans, Montana Right to Life has supported CPOM, even as party members have viciously attacked Right to Life’s credibility. After all the bickering in 2000, Montana Right to Life endorsed eight CPOM candidates, including Jonathan Martin.²⁰¹ That trend has continued. In 2006, Montana Right to Life also endorsed eight Constitution Party members: Jonathan Martin, Rick Komeda (2006), Rick Jore, Terry Poupa (2000-2006), Kent Holtz (2002-2006), Christopher Gregory (2002-2006), David Anderson (2006) and Kandi Matthew-Jenkins.²⁰²

The attacks by CPOM on other conservatives, and the conservatives’ responses, are revealing. By staking out hard-line positions on issues like abortion and taxes, CPOM hopes to distinguish itself from other conservative entities. By standing by its uncompromising positions, it hopes to attract people who are disgusted by politics trumping principles. Other conservatives know these strident positions appeal to some people. By continuing to work with CPOM, groups like the Montana Republican Party hope to retain their current followers, while at the same time persuading some CPOM activists to come back within the mainstream conservative fold. By doing this, however, mainstream conservatives provide legitimacy to CPOM that the party cannot achieve on its own.

Profiles of 2006 Candidates

Twenty Constitution Party of Montanan candidates filed for the Montana Legislature in 2006. Nineteen of them are running for the House, while one is running for the Senate. The party is also running a candidate for Clerk of Montana Supreme Court. Ten of the candidates have run for the legislature in the past on CPOM's ballot.

This section contains brief profiles of some of the CPOM candidates. The profiles provide a glimpse into the candidates' right-wing ideologies and support for the party's platform. In some cases, there are references to longer pieces on candidates, because they are CPOM officers and have longer profiles in the "Officers" section of this report.

House District 1

Name: Russell Brown

Residence: Libby

Occupation: Computer Analyst

Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party ticket in 2004.

Russell Brown serves as CPOM's Lincoln County contact.²⁰³ Brown's background includes extensive experience in information technology, including teaching business computer programming at Eastern Washington University and founding a software company. He also served in the U.S. Air Force and the Army National Guard.²⁰⁴ Brown frequently writes letters to the editor of

The Western News, illustrating his disdain of the two major political parties. The Republican Party has often received the brunt of the criticism.

Brown has complained Republicans were not doing enough to ban abortion. He chastised President Bush and the Republican majority in Congress for failing to pass the "Right to Life Act" sponsored by U.S. Rep. Duncan



Russell Brown

Photo from CPOM website

Hunter (R-CA). The Act would extend protections of the 14th Amendment to fetuses. Brown believed that Republicans could "end abortion in America in one week" if they would pass the bill. Sarcastically, Brown mentioned that maybe the U.S. Supreme Court needed more Republican-appointed judges, since "only seven of the nine were appointed by them [Republican presidents]."²⁰⁵

In one letter, Brown wrote, "I no longer have respect for the Republican or Democratic parties," because members of both parties had "often committed violations of the Constitution." He worried that President Bush was "assuming king-like authority" and violating the Constitution and Bill of Rights. For Brown, it was time for Americans to decide if they "want to trash the Constitution and turn our country over to some kind of monarchy."²⁰⁶

In another letter, Brown wrote that Republicans were trying to convince Americans that "they have not violated the U.S. Constitution." However, Brown contended President Bush violated the oath he took before entering office. He wondered if the oath of office was "only a formality" to Bush and asked readers if "voting for this type of person" was "really the lesser of two evils."²⁰⁷

During his previous run for the legislature, he stated that "the unconstitutional property tax should be eliminated."²⁰⁸ He also proved to be an ardent supporter of gun rights when filling out a survey from Gun Owners of America.²⁰⁹ Brown supported access to assault weapons and .50 caliber rifles, while opposing both background checks for firearms sold at gun shows and licenses for concealed weapons.²¹⁰

Brown also did not support the separation of church and state. He stated, "Political secularists, atheists and other anti-Christians" have created this constitutional issue through a "distorted interpretation" of the First Amendment. He believed, "Our founding fathers wrote the first amendment [sic] to protect the people from the government, not the government from the people." Therefore, "this 'wall of separation' is a one-way street." Congress could not restrict church activity, Brown wrote, and "religious principles, the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God, were absolutely essential to sound government."²¹¹

During his 2004 campaign, the Montana Commissioner of Political Practices officially ruled Brown non-compli-

ant, because he had not filed the required paperwork on time. His main campaign activity in 2004 was setting up a booth at the Libby Rodeo.²¹²

House District 2

Name: Freeman Johnson

Residence: Troy

Occupation: Had not yet filed a "Business Disclosure Statement" with the Commissioner of Political Practices

Political Experience with Party: None

Freeman Johnson, a veteran of the U.S. Navy, is another frequent letter writer to local newspapers. Like many of his fellow CPOM activists, he joined the party after many years of voting Republican. Johnson said that, after voting that way for 53 years, he switched to the Constitution Party on Armistice Day in 2004.



Photo from CPOM website

Freeman Johnson

In declaring his switch, Johnson listed issues he felt neither Democrats nor Republicans were addressing. One of the main complaints was illegal immigration. Johnson advocated closing the Mexican border and adopting legislation that would "require all illegals be sent back!" He also pleaded, "Get the United States out of the U.N., and the U.N. out of the USA!" Finally, he wanted to "Close the constitutionally illegal Dept. of 'Non' Education" that "eats taxes" and "grossly interferes in all local school districts."²¹³

In another letter, Johnson wrote he was done with "the Democrat and Republican political parties and their 'politically correct' Socialist/Communist keep-your-mouth-shut approach" to the "invasion of 20 million plus illegal aliens." He favored putting the National Guard on the Mexican border.²¹⁴

Johnson wrote of his severe dislike of liberals and the news media. He has called reporters "propagandists" and complained they were not homophobic enough and used the word "gay" to "hide what these men and women practice." He also blasted the media for using "democracy" to describe ideas that were really liberal, Socialist, progressive, and communist. He complained that the Bible

was not been a part of reporters' training. Johnson stated many Americans "believe that a socialist is not a communist and certainly not an atheist." However, to Johnson, "They are all the same." Finally, Johnson warned that, when Socialists can't get their way through "deceit, debate and confusion" they will "use the gun."²¹⁵

Early in his 2006 campaign, a Johnson filing with the Commissioner of Political Practices reported he did not have any money in the bank. Instead, he relied on funds "in my wallet," which came to \$26.25. Another filing said he received \$75.00 from the Constitution Party of Lincoln County. This entry contained a note reading, "Check to myself cashed." Fellow legislative candidate Russell Brown is acting as Johnson's campaign treasurer.²¹⁶

House District 3

Name: Tad Rosenberry

Residence: Columbia Falls

Occupation: Had not filed a "Business Disclosure Statement" with the Commissioner of Political Practices

Political Experience with Party: None

While Tad Rosenberry hasn't run for the Montana Legislature on the Constitution Party ticket, he has held office. He was elected to the Columbia Falls City Council in 2001.²¹⁷ He also was one of the founding board members for the Columbia Falls Planning Department.²¹⁸ Rosenberry stepped down from the Columbia Falls City Council in 2005, citing scheduling conflicts with his new employment.²¹⁹ He also resigned from his position with the planning department.²²⁰

Rosenberry ran for the Columbia Falls School Board in 2000. He finished last in a race featuring three candidates. Only the top two garnered spots on the School Board.²²¹

Editor's Note: Tad Rosenberry withdrew from his HD 3 campaign on July 4, 2006. Just as he did when he resigned from the Columbia Falls City Council, Rosenberry said his new job would make it "impossible" for him to carry out the position if elected.²²²

House District 6

Name: Rick Komeda

Residence: Olney

Occupation: Had not yet filed a "Business Disclosure

Statement” with the Commissioner of Political Practices
 Political Experience with Party: None

Rick Komeda serves as CPOM’s Flathead County contact.²²³ In that role, he turned out 10 party supporters to march in 2005 Northwest Montana Fair Parade. He and the others decorated a pickup with Constitution Party signs and passed out literature along the parade route. CPOM’s website enthusiastically noted the literature distribution meant that Komeda had “invited over 1,200 folks” to the Flathead County chapter’s next meeting.²²⁴

Komeda’s duties also entail giving updates on the activities of the Flathead Chapter during CPOM’s state meetings. These reports have included updates on selling tickets for both a “raffle for gold” and various “educational materials” in efforts to raise funds for the state party.²²⁵ He also served on the committee that organized the 2005 Liberty Summit held in Bozeman (for more on the Liberty Summit, see “Constitution Party of Montana Events”).²²⁶

House District 8

Name: Kurtis Oliverson
 Residence: Kalispell
 Occupation: Computer programmer for Merlin Information Services
 Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana Senate on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2004.

Currently CPOM’s treasurer, Kurtis Oliverson has served as a chapter leader for the John Birch Society.²²⁷

Following CPOM’s platform, Oliverson has stridently opposed reproductive freedom and the current tax system. He referred to abortion as “The killing of a baby” and found it “ludicrous” to pretend it was not “murder.” He also believed the current tax system involved the government taking people’s money “by force,” and that the system has “been running



Kurtis Oliverson

Photo from CPOM website

amok with the people’s money” for a long time.²²⁸

Not a supporter of public education, Oliverson has stated, “socialists/humanists have essentially hijacked this country’s educational bureaucracy and are using it to convert our children to their agenda.” He said educational materials should be based on “factual information” and not on “junk (or politically-motivated) science.”²²⁹ Oliverson supported home schooling without state regulation.²³⁰

Again echoing CPOM’s platform, Oliverson has refused to acknowledge the separation of church and state. He has contended God inspired America’s founders, saying, “the further we distance ourselves from them [God’s principles], the less great this country will become.”²³¹

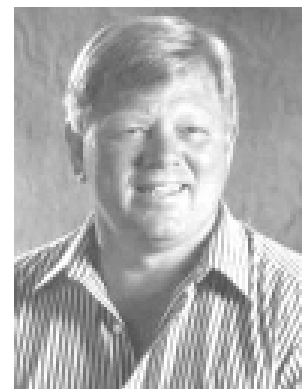
For more on Kurtis Oliverson, please see his profile in the “Officer” section of the report.

Editor’s Note: Kurtis Oliverson withdrew from his HD 8 campaign on June 22, 2006. He stated his reason was another “candidate with similar philosophies.”²³² He must have been referring to Craig Witte, the winner of the GOP primary for HD 8. Witte manages the Perkins Family Restaurant in Kalispell.²³³ The restaurant hosted a presentation by the founder of the National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act (for more on this group, see “Ties that Bind.”)²³⁴

House District 12

Name: Rick Jore
 Residence: Ronan
 Occupation: Owns and operates Westslope Trout Company
 Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2000, 2002, and 2004.

Rick Jore currently serves as CPOM’s vice-chairman and the party’s local contact in Lake County.²³⁵ When Jore joined CPOM in 2000, he was an incumbent Republican in the Montana House. Jore was always one of the most right-wing members of the GOP and frequently



Rick Jore

Photo from CPOM website

found himself at odds with members of his own party. He said the Constitution Party better reflected his views.²³⁶ Since switching parties, Jore has hit the Constitution Party speaking circuit denouncing Republicans.

Jore has been unable to win his seat back in the legislature while running on the CPOM ticket. However, he has continued to be the focal point of the party and the candidate with the best chance of winning an election. In 2004, Jore and his Democratic opponent were locked in a tie after a recount of the votes in Lake County. Then-Gov. Judy Martz broke the tie, appointing Jore the winner. This decision gave Republicans a one-person majority in the Montana House, as the GOP had 50, the Democrats 49, and Jore as the lone Constitution Party member. However, litigation was filed over certain ballots that were awarded to Jore. Eventually, the Montana Supreme Court ruled that Jore should not have been awarded those votes. The Democrat was given the seat in the Montana House.

For a more detailed profile of Rick Jore, along with more explanation of the controversial 2004 race, please see his profile in the "Officers" section of the report.

House District 18

Name: Timothy Sollid

Residence: Ulm

Occupation: Contractor

Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2002.

Timothy Sollid has been part of Pro-Life Great Falls, an anti-choice group that has picketed Planned Parenthood with grotesque placards. The group is led by Jonathan Martin, the chairman of the Constitution Party of Montana (for more on Pro-Life Great Falls, see Jonathan Martin's profile in the "Officers" section of the report).

In 2003, Sollid was part of a demonstration against reproductive freedom held in front of the Federal Building in Great Falls. Over 50 people participated in an event



Timothy Sollid

Photo from CPOM website

protesting the 30th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision, which legalized abortion. Sollid played the bagpipes at the event, which featured singing, praying and speeches. "I'm standing for truth," Sollid said. "Fetuses and embryos are children being murdered."²³⁷

During his 2002 campaign, the Commissioner of Political Practices ruled Sollid in non-compliance for failing to file required paperwork on time.²³⁸ According to his early filings with the Commissioner, his 2006 campaign had not raised any money.²³⁹

House District 20

Name: Terry Poupa

Residence: Great Falls

Occupation: Owner and operator of Lucke Construction

Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2000, 2002, and 2004.

Terry Poupa once described himself as a "family man with an idealistic view of what Montana can be" who will vote on "principle."²⁴⁰

During his 2000 campaign, Poupa stated he would like to get rid of most current taxes and institute a "head tax."²⁴¹ The head tax refers to one form of taxation mentioned in the Bible. It applied to every man over 20 years old and was the same amount for every person. Some Christians believe the head tax is the only legitimate tax, and "progressive taxation (progressive tax rates, taxation based on politics) is anti-Biblical."²⁴² Poupa stated he would support a voluntary exemption from the "head tax" for low-income people.²⁴³

Poupa favored selling off the Montana University System to private individuals. "The state shouldn't be competing with private institutions," he said.²⁴⁴ He also believed "the obligation of education should fall solely on the parents."²⁴⁵ "Parents are the key," Poupa explained, "because a good education must include religious and



Terry Poupa

Photo by Great Falls Tribune

moral training.” He preferred home schooling, private schools, and religious education.²⁴⁶

Since Poupa’s 2002 campaign, Nicole Martin, the daughter of the party’s chairman, has served as the treasurer for his campaigns.²⁴⁷

House District 21

Name: Kent Holtz
 Residence: Great Falls
 Occupation: Retired farmer
 Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2002, and 2004.

Kent Holtz spent four years in U.S. Naval Reserves and four years in the Montana Air National Guard. He also graduated from the Rocky Mountain Mission Bible training for pastors.²⁴⁸

He has claimed America’s currency is nothing more than “phony money.” He has called on America to go back to hard currency like gold and silver.²⁴⁹ Holtz has said he would not support any changes in taxes “until we introduce silver money into the economy.”²⁵⁰

As for CPOM’s negative impact on the GOP, Holtz said he could care less if CPOM swings a couple races to the Democrats. He explained that CPOM “should wake up the Republican Party to the fact that they’re heading in the wrong direction.” He claimed people frequently tell him and his fellow CPOM candidates that there is no difference between Democrats and Republicans. “Our intention is to offer an alternative to the other two parties,” he said. “We desire to get our governments back under the discipline of the Constitution.”²⁵¹

His initial filings with the Commissioner of Political Practices showed Holtz had not raised any money for his 2006 campaign.²⁵² He did not raise any money during his 2004 campaign. The Commissioner ruled Holtz in non-compliance during his 2002 campaign for not filing required paperwork on time.²⁵³



Kent Holtz

Photo from CPOM website

House District 23

Name: Christopher Gregory
 Residence: Great Falls
 Occupation: Carpenter
 Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2002 and 2004.

Christopher Gregory graduated from the Montana Wilderness School of the Bible, a college dedicated to “the practical training of Christian men and women.”²⁵⁴ Located in Augusta, the school declares that “students will come to know the Bible as absolute truth” and “will emerge equipped so that they will not be taken captive through the hollow and deceptive philosophy of the world.” Classes include “Equipping for Warfare” and “Scientific Creationism.” The “Warfare” class examines “spiritual warfare” in the areas of “angels, Satan, and demonology.” It also professes to expose “the lies of the enemy” and helps students develop “a strategy to deal with Satan’s attacks and temptations.” The “Creationism” class teaches a “Biblical view of creation” that the school claims “will stand up to science.”²⁵⁵

Gregory may have found additional support for his right-wing Christianity in his wife, Mary Koljonen-Gregory.²⁵⁶ She is likely related to the Rev. Gary Koljonen of Great Falls’ Triumph Lutheran Church. Koljonen’s church hosted a presentation by the leader of the radically anti-choice Operation Save America. Koljonen and CPOM Chairman Jonathan Martin also created an uproar at Great Falls High School in 2004 by forcing students to take Operation Save America fliers laced with anti-gay, anti-choice and anti-Muslim content (for more on Operation Save America and Rev. Koljonen, see Jonathan Martin’s profile in the “Officers” section of the report).²⁵⁷

According to previous comments made to the press, Gregory took his interpretation of Christianity into his political campaign. Among his chief concerns was encouraging people to acknowledge God in public places, along with “protecting the inalienable right to life, including the unborn.”²⁵⁸ He also listed gun rights as an issue he supported.²⁵⁹ During both of Gregory’s previous campaigns, the Commissioner of Political Practices ruled him in non-compliance for not filing required paperwork on time.²⁶⁰

House District 24

Name: Philip DuPaul
 Residence: Black Eagle
 Occupation: Self employed Internet salesman
 Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2000 and 2004.

Philip DuPaul has concentrated on taxes in his previous campaigns for the Montana Legislature. "We are all being forced to fuel an out-of-control government," he stated. "I will not look to reform the tax structure, but to abolish it." By getting rid of property, income, and inheritance taxes, DuPaul believed government could be downsized and many service programs would go back to private entities.²⁶¹ "I would work to free Montanans from the slavery of taxation," he said. "Taxes are supporting a top heavy government that has tried to impersonate Santa Clause rather than be a steward protecting Montanans' tax money."²⁶²

DuPaul wanted to "see less government intervention in our lives not more," including when it came to funding public education.²⁶³ Along with reducing administrative costs in schools, DuPaul thought citizens should "wrestle our schools out of the control of federal and state bureaucrats."²⁶⁴ He supported an increase in home schooling and private schools.²⁶⁵

He did not win a seat in the 2005 Montana Legislature, but DuPaul did show up to lobby against equal protection under the law for Montana's gays and lesbians. His testimony revealed that he had a gay brother who died of AIDS. He told lawmakers that his brother was "coerced into this [gay] lifestyle" while still in school. He said the gay "lifestyle" is "one of death" and is "destructive." DuPaul blamed his brother's death on Montana refusing to enforce its unconstitutional sodomy law. He urged lawmakers to "safeguard our communities and children" by continuing to discriminate against gays and lesbians.²⁶⁶

During both of his legislative campaigns, the Commis-



Philip DuPaul

Photo by Great Falls Tribune

sioner of Political Practices ruled DuPaul in non-compliance for not filing required paperwork on time.²⁶⁷

House District 43

Name: David Anderson
 Residence: Huntley
 Occupation: Self employed/Building maintenance
 Political Experience with Party: None

David Anderson serves, not only as the Constitution Party's Yellowstone County contact, but also the party's Yellowstone County Vice Chairman.²⁶⁸ Originally from Pennsylvania, Anderson says his family "was active in the Revolutionary War, on the winning side, of course." He served in the U.S. Navy, and he moved to Montana five years ago.²⁶⁹

Anderson has stated he is "pro-Constitution and pro-Second Amendment." He believed the federal government was "overstepping [its] Constitutional" limits, and it was up to the people to "tell them [government] that they are out of bounds and to rein them back in." Anderson also said federal agencies are illegally administering public lands in Montana, stating that "just because two parties agree to an act doesn't make that act constitutional."²⁷⁰

Like many of his fellow CPOM candidates, Anderson has demonstrated he is not a fan of public education. He criticized the Montana Supreme Court's 2004 ruling that said the Montana Legislature was not fulfilling its constitutional obligation of funding a quality education. Anderson warned that "our forefathers warned us not to let the judges... legislate from the bench." He said he has home schooled in the past and plans to do so in the future.²⁷¹

Anderson also thought "we should be closing our borders and tracking illegal aliens." He also questioned the media coverage of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He said researchers have "detailed serious flaws" in official government reports that "whitewash" the real issues in an



David Anderson

Photo from CPOM website

“outright cover-up for government complicity.”²⁷²

In 2005, the officers of the Yellowstone County Constitution Party—Anderson, John Smith, and Mae Woo—mailed to Montana legislators a copy of a report titled “The Report of the Citizens Commission on 9/11.” The cover letter stated the report was full of information “not readily available through the mainstream media.”²⁷³ The so-called Citizens Commission included “patriot” newspaper editor Don Harkins and Greg Szymanski, a contributor to the anti-Semitic *American Free Press*.²⁷⁴ The report included articles detailing many conspiracy theories about the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

House District 59

Name: Jay McKean

Residence: Roberts

Occupation: Had not yet filed a “Business Disclosure Statement” with the Commissioner of Political Practices

Political Experience with Party: None

Jay McKean’s letters show up in all sorts of publications, even the anti-Semitic *American Free Press*. *American Free Press* is the latest incarnation of *The Spotlight*, which was started by Holocaust Denier and virulent anti-Semite Willis Carto.²⁷⁵ A McKean letter espoused the “patriot” movement’s belief that Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh did not act alone, and multiple bombs inside the Murrah Federal Building actually destroyed it. McKean wrote the same type of thing was happening in regards to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He commented, “I’m sure the airplanes did not cause” the collapse of the Trade Center Towers. Instead, he thought the cause was a “series of explosions.”²⁷⁶

McKean also wrote a letter supporting a white supremacist running for Justice of the Peace in Billings. In 1994, McKean touted the qualifications of Rudy Stanko for the position.²⁷⁷ Stanko is a longtime, self-proclaimed leader of the racist Church of the Creator. His activism with the group began while he was serving a prison sentence for selling tainted meat to school lunch programs. He started a business called Creator Publishing to sell the group’s books, which feature titles like *The White Man’s Bible*, *On the Brink of a Bloody Racial War*, and *Building a Whiter and Brighter World*.²⁷⁸

McKean’s letter acknowledged that Stanko had served time in prison; however, McKean thought that was a good

qualification. “We all know how corrupt and lawless our political leadership is,” he wrote. “The court system is even worse, if that is possible.” McKean suggested people read Stanko’s book *The Score*.²⁷⁹ The book details Stanko’s belief that he and his meatpacking business were destroyed by a Jewish conspiracy.²⁸⁰

In a letter to the *Billings Outpost*, McKean lambasted Christians for not understanding what was wrong with government and society. “Christians are to fear God and have no other God,” he wrote. “Christians today fear the IRS and are careful to appease this modern idol.” He chastised them for sending their children to “government-controlled schools” where “the theory of evolution is taught as fact” and “secular humanism is the only religion permitted.” McKean stated that America was a “Christian Nation,” but there was a “great movement... afoot to remove Christianity from society.” He closed wondering where the “Christian leaders” were that would stand against this trend.²⁸¹

Sometimes McKean doesn’t just write letters. In 1996, the Molt, Montana-based *The Northern Light* listed McKean as a writer.²⁸² The publication catered to the “patriot” and Religious Right movements. It once stated, “Once, God’s law was the foundation of our country,” and “Chastity was preferred over unwed pregnancy; life-long marriages over family breakup; prayer was preferred over profanity.” *Billings Outpost* Editor David Crisp stated in a piece about *The Northern Light* that its stories contained many “pseudo-facts” and “Some of the information in the paper is flatly wrong,” citing as proof a quote attributed to Abraham Lincoln that the president never said.²⁸³

House District 87

Name: George Karpati

Residence: Hamilton

Occupation: Had not yet filed a “Business Disclosure Statement” with the Commissioner of Political Practices

Political Experience with Party: None

George Karpati initially filed to run in House District 88. However, he withdrew and filed again in House District 87. Both districts are represented by incumbent Republicans—Ron Stoker in HD 87 and Bob Lake in HD 88.

House District 89

Name: Gil Turner
 Residence: Stevensville
 Occupation: Had not yet filed a "Business Disclosure Statement" with the Commissioner of Political Practices
 Political Experience with Party: None

Gil Turner is a CPOM officer and serves as the chairman of the Ravalli County Constitution Party.²⁸⁴ He has served on the board of the Missoula-based Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment and ran a NORFED Redemption Center (for more both groups, see "Ties that Bind").²⁸⁵

Originally, Gil Turner filed to run in House District 90; however, he withdrew and filed again in House District 89. For more on Turner, see his profile in the "Officers" section of the report.

House District 96

Name: Kandi Matthew-Jenkins
 Residence: Missoula
 Occupation: Had not yet filed a "Business Disclosure Statement" with the Commissioner of Political Practices
 Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2000. Her husband, John, ran for the Montana House on CPOM's ticket in 2002.

Kandi Matthew-Jenkins is a perennial candidate for office. After running for the Montana Legislature as a CPOM member in 2000, she ran as a Republican in 2004.²⁸⁶ She lost both times. In Missoula, Matthew-Jenkins ran unsuccessfully for the Missoula City Council and mayor.²⁸⁷ After failing to win her campaign for mayor in 2001, she spearheaded an unsuccessful attempt to recall Mayor Mike Kadas in 2002.²⁸⁸



Kandi Matthew-Jenkins

Photo from CPOM website

Her main area of activism right now is a campaign against Montana's Child Protective Services.²⁸⁹ A self-described target of the agency, she's organized events for Montanans to stand up against the "fraud, waste, and abuse" perpetrated by social workers.²⁹⁰ In one missive, she declared everyone knew there were "too many insane social workers" who "lie and abuse families."²⁹¹ Matthew-Jenkins derided Child Protective Services for "ripping apart families for profit" and referred to it as an "unholy and evil department."²⁹² The agency, she stated, was engaged in a "usurpation of our God given rights to parent children."²⁹³

Matthew-Jenkins got involved in a high-profile case involving Child Protective Services in 2001. Ruth and Brian Christine took their children away from social workers at gun point in Oregon and fled to Montana. Ruth was arrested and held in Missoula, while Brian was captured in Big Timber and jailed in Billings.²⁹⁴ White supremacist attorney Edgar Steele agreed to represent the Christines in a case he said was a "story of citizens against a government seemingly out of control."²⁹⁵ While Ruth was jailed in Missoula, Matthew-Jenkins developed a "relationship" with her. She even wrote to the judge presiding over the case once the Christines were extradited back to Oregon. Matthew-Jenkins stated that families all across America were victim to "miscreant family service caseworkers" who "fabricate lies" that are used as evidence against parents. She told the judge she thought the Christines holding social workers at gunpoint was the action of "any 'reasonable parents' who were faced with the loss of their children." Their actions should be "commended not condemned," she concluded.²⁹⁶ For their actions, Brian Christine received 12.5 years in prison, and Ruth Christine received 7.5 years.²⁹⁷

Matthew-Jenkins has been a steady presence in anti-choice activities in the Missoula area, even serving as the former director of the Birthright Crisis Pregnancy Center.²⁹⁸ She has testified at the Montana Legislature to limit reproductive freedom and against equal rights for gays and lesbians. She told legislators, "Abortion kills a human child" and tension ran high outside clinics because anti-choice protesters oppose murder. She said supporters of reproductive freedom knew they were "morally wrong."²⁹⁹

Senate District 11

Name: Jonathan Martin
 Residence: Great Falls
 Occupation: Owner of Five Loaves Coffehouse and Bakery
 Political Experience with Party: Ran for the Montana House on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket in 2000, 2002 and 2004.

Jonathan Martin has served as CPOM's chairman since June 2000.³⁰⁰ He is also the party's contact point in the Great Falls area.³⁰¹

Along with his Constitution Party activism, Martin leads Pro-Life Great Falls, which has picketed in front of Planned Parenthood.³⁰² He has been active with Operation Save America, a national anti-choice group that routinely tries to obstruct access to health clinics all across the country.³⁰³ The catalyst for his clinic protests was clear. "The life of the child in the womb was once considered precious," Martin said. "Today we witness the slaughter of million of innocent children through abortion."³⁰⁴

Martin has served as a Montanans for Better Government's "regional representative" from Great Falls.³⁰⁵ The anti-tax group, started by Rob Natelson, sponsored many tax-cut initiatives over the years. In 1993,



Photo by Great Falls Tribune

Jonathan Martin

Martin served on the Executive Committee for the Montana Coalition of Home Educators, and he has fought attempts to require home school students to take standardized tests.³⁰⁶

Whether or not people ascribe to his religious viewpoints, Martin has said "ALL [emphasis in original] people...should desire Christians as their leaders," because "sincere Christians honor and obey God's Word." It was God that gave "us a set of absolute principles with which to govern our lives, our families, our communities and our nation." For Martin, his religious doctrine cannot be separated from views on American history and government. "Our Declaration of Independence and Constitution are on that [God's] Word," Martin has declared. "Our [American] laws have been considered to be subject to that Word." Martin has stated CPOM wants to "return our nation to Biblical and Constitutional principles."³⁰⁷

For more on Jonathan Martin and his activism with anti-choice groups, see his profile in the "Officers" section of the report.

Other Candidates		
The following people are also running for office on the CPOM ticket. The Human Rights Network has not come across these individuals while working in Montana communities.		
HD 22	Roger Nelson	Great Falls
HD 25	Robert O'Connor	Great Falls
HD 35	Torry MacLean	Richland
Clerk of Supreme Court:	Ron Marquardt	Polson

Officers

As with most fringe groups, CPOM has relied on a small set of aggressive and motivated activists since it came onto the scene in 2000. This section of the report gives more detailed profiles of current party officers. These officers give life to CPOM's right-wing ideology, and the party's platform transforms from words on paper into action. They also demonstrate the Constitution Party of Montana's connection to other right-wing fringe groups, both in Montana and at the national level.

Chairman
Jonathan Martin
Great Falls, Montana

Since June 2000, Jonathan Martin has been the Constitution Party of Montana's chairman.³⁰⁸ He has run for the Montana Legislature every election cycle since the party first qualified for the ballot in 2000. Martin, along with his wife and three daughters, used to operate New Life Furniture and now run Five Loaves Coffeehouse and Bakery.³⁰⁹ His family frequently appears at public events with him. Michael Peroutka, the Constitution Party's 2004 presidential candidate, glowingly referred to them as the "Marvelous Montana Martin Family" because of their dedication to CPOM.³¹⁰

Martin is a significant driving force behind the party. While Rick Jore may be the party's most famous activist, Martin organizes the party's events and recruits many of the candidates. His passion for the party has led to a steady slate of candidates running on CPOM's ticket in the Great Falls area. He also helped recruit one candidate from the Flathead area, his brother Timothy Martin.

Jonathan Martin brings the ultra-conservative brand of Christian fundamentalism that is a central catalyst for the Constitution Party of Montana. For Martin, American history is bound together with his theological doctrine. He has stated that all Americans "should desire Chris-



Photo by Great Falls Tribune

Jonathan Martin

tians as their leaders," regardless of their own religious beliefs, because "sincere Christians honor and obey God's Word." Martin has professed that the Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution are "based on that Word" and that America's "laws have been considered to be subject to that Word." Martin's ultimate goal, which is the same as CPOM's, is to "return our nation to Biblical and Constitutional principles."³¹¹

During previous campaigns, Martin has promoted the inaccurate "Christian America" notion (see inset box on next page). "The real purpose of government was to preserve and protect our God-given rights to life, liberty and property," he told the media.³¹² Within his theological framework, another mainstay of Martin's campaigns has been opposing reproductive freedom. However, this battle has not been limited just to election years. On CPOM's website, he condemned "the slaughter of millions of innocent children" through abortion.³¹³ He has also stated fetuses should "not be deprived of life without due process of law."³¹⁴ He has opposed all forms of contraception, including birth control pills.³¹⁵ His war against reproductive freedom has often taken place in front of Great Falls Planned Parenthood and at the Montana Legislature.

Pro-Life Great Falls: Protesting Planned Parenthood

In 2001, Missionaries to the Preborn toured Montana, stopping in Helena, Bozeman, Great Falls, Livingston and Billings.³¹⁶ Missionaries to the Preborn is best known for protesting in front of health clinics with gruesome placards. The founder of Missionaries to the Preborn, Matthew Trehwella, signed a declaration stating that use of "lethal force" was "justifiable provided it was carried out for the purpose of defending the lives of the unborn."³¹⁷ Trehwella has been active with the national Constitution Party.

Shortly after the Missionaries tour in Montana, Martin started Pro-Life Great Falls. The group regularly pickets in front of the Planned Parenthood clinic in Great Falls with grotesque placards like the ones used by Trehwella's group.³¹⁸ Martin is joined by his wife and daughters at the protests, and clinic does not even perform abortions.³¹⁹

In August 2001, the placards became the center of le-

Myth of a “Christian Nation”

CPOM and other theocrats who espouse the notion of a “Christian America” have based their beliefs on a flawed understanding of history. The mythology that our Founding Fathers built America on Christian principles begins with the notion that they were all devout Christians. The fact is that many of our country’s founders were Deists. They believed in a creator, but not the divinity of Jesus Christ. Deists professed that people were equipped with rationality and were charged with solving society’s problems through reason alone. It was not an accident that the Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution make no reference to Christianity. In fact, James Madison stated, “The Constitution of the U.S. forbids everything like an establishment of a national religion.”

The Founding Fathers supported separation of church and state. They believed it protected the right of every citizen to worship, or not worship, in the manner by which they choose. Separation of church and state protects the minority from the majority. As Thomas Jefferson wrote, “I do not believe it is for the interest of religion to invite the civil magistrate to direct its exercises, its disciplines, or its doctrines; nor of the religious societies that the general government should be invested with the power of affecting any uniformity of time or matter among them.” Author Frederick Clarkson summarizes the motivations behind America’s founding like this:

“...the framers of the U.S. Constitution explicitly rejected the idea of a Christian nation. The framers, seeking to inoculate the new nation against the religious persecution and warfare that had wracked Europe for a millennium, made America the first nation in the history of the world founded without the blessing of an official god, church or religion. They were leaving behind local theocracies that had governed the colonies for the previous 150 years in which only white propertied men who were members of the correct, established sect were able to vote and hold public office”

The framers of our democracy knew that, for our society to survive, the rights of the minority had to be valued equally with the rights of the majority.

Sources: James Madison’s *Detached Memoranda*, Thomas Jefferson’s January 23, 1808 letter, and Political Research Associates’ Winter 2005 *Public Eye*.

gal fight between Martin’s Pro-Life Great Falls and city government. Citing a public nuisance statute, the city attorney told the protestors they were creating a traffic hazard because of rubbernecking drivers. The attorney said he finally took action against the group because of an increasing number of complaints filed over the signs. Incidents included one car accident and claims that the protestors were stepping in front of cars and yelling at drivers and Planned Parenthood patients. The city attorney told Pro-Life Great Falls it could keep protesting in front of the clinic, if it used signs without the photographs.³²⁰

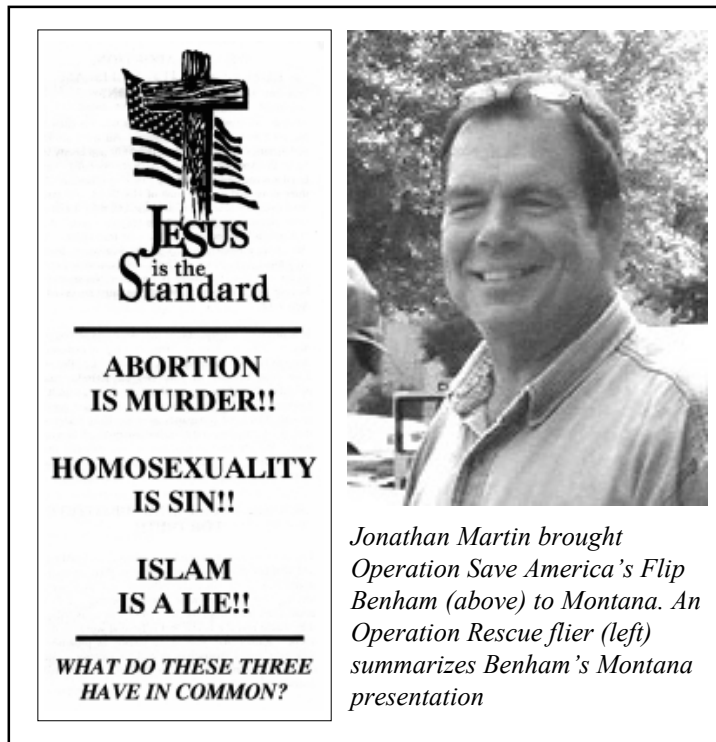
Jonathan Martin responded that the City of Great Falls was “trampling on our First Amendment and constitutional right.”³²¹ He admitted the placards were upsetting, but they were necessary to show the results of abortion. Martin also claimed that signs featuring only text would be more dangerous, because drivers would be trying to read the placards instead of concentrating on driving. Pro-Life Great Falls received support from the national clinic-blockade movement, which flooded city officials with e-mails from across the country.³²²

The City of Great Falls withdrew the ban on the placards, after Pro-Life Great Falls threatened legal action.³²³ However, Martin and members of Pro-Life Great Falls went ahead with a lawsuit against the city. The lawsuit sought to declare the protestors’ rights had been violated and asked for compensatory and punitive damages. “Our rights were violated, even if it’s now past tense,” Martin told the media. “Their [city officials] First Amendment violation pales when compared to the millions of little babies killed through abortion.”³²⁴

Representing Martin and the other Pro-Life Great Falls members was the Thomas More Law Center.³²⁵ The Law Center, founded by Domino Pizza magnate Tom Monaghan, frequently represents the interests of Religious Right organizations.³²⁶ Law Center Attorney Robert Muise said the lawsuit was filed to make it clear that protestors could “speak out against killing the unborn by showing people that abortion is truly an act of violence that results in

the death of a child."³²⁷ In 2002, the Law Center declared victory when U.S. District Court Judge Sam Haddon ruled that the city's ban on the signs was unconstitutional. The judge ruled that the city attorney had to pay Martin and the other plaintiffs a little over \$9,300 in damages and attorneys' fees.³²⁸

Pro-Life Great Falls does more than just stand quietly with their placards. Along with the traffic problems cited by the Great Falls City Attorney, the protestors have sent threatening letters to Planned Parenthood staff. They have even been "disruptive and threatening" toward clinic staffers away from the clinic.³²⁹ They yell at people entering Planned Parenthood, claiming that the clinic "feasts on the blood of the innocent," calling clinic staff "baby killers."³³⁰ A Planned Parenthood spokesperson told Montana legislators that, at least once a week, protestors surround clinic staff in their cars and yell at them.³³¹ She also stated clinic staff members were frequently forced to call law enforcement because of the protestors' actions.³³²



Jonathan Martin brought Operation Save America's Flip Benham (above) to Montana. An Operation Rescue flier (left) summarizes Benham's Montana presentation

and "overthrow the tyrannical regime that oppresses them."³³⁴ An Operation Rescue co-founder signed the declaration calling the murder of abortion providers justifiable.³³⁵ Echoing that sentiment, an Operation Rescue activist said, "It is your God-given right to destroy any man or woman calling themselves doctors who willingly slaughter innocent children."³³⁶

Operation Rescue changed its name to Operation Save America in 1999 to broaden its agenda. Instead of focusing solely on abortion, it now opposes gay rights and the "absence of God" in public schools. Since 1994, Flip Benham has led the group. Benham has had many tussles with the law. In 1998, he and his group's members were fined \$10 million for stalking and harassing a physician and his wife in Texas.³³⁷ Also in 1998, Benham received a six-month prison term for a demonstration he led in front of a high school in Lynchburg, Virginia. He and 150 students from Liberty University, founded by Religious Right icon Jerry Falwell, blocked students from entering and exiting the high school as they passed out

right-wing literature and held placards featuring allegedly aborted fetuses.³³⁸

Jonathan Martin met Flip Benham at a large Operation Save America protest in the summer of 2001.³³⁹ Martin has served on Operation Save America's "Ecclesiastical Court."³⁴⁰ The court exists to issue pretend indictments against the U.S. Supreme Court for violating God's Law.³⁴¹ Martin brought Benham to Montana in 2002 for a speaking tour that stopped in Great Falls, Missoula and Kalispell.³⁴²

During Benham's speeches in Montana, it was easy to see why Martin is drawn to him. Benham echoed CPOM's claims of a "Christian nation," saying America was "founded on the gospel of Jesus Christ." Benham talked

Dangerous Dogma:

Operation Save America and Triumph Lutheran Church

Jonathan Martin's war against reproductive freedom extends beyond Great Falls. He has been active with the national group Operation Save America, which is the latest incarnation of Operation Rescue. Randall Terry formed Operation Rescue in 1988, and the group began organizing massive protests in front of health clinics shortly thereafter.³³³ He found his recruits on the fringes of the Religious Right and the "patriot" movement. As far back as 1995, Terry told people to "take up the sword"

about his career of clinic protests, saying he had been arrested many times for “bringing gospel to the gates of hell.” He declared his long criminal record wouldn’t hurt his chances of getting into heaven, because he’s doing God’s work. While abortion was a central topic, Benham spent significant time maligning Islam. He stated, “Allah is a lie from the pit of hell,” and Americans’ only choice was to convert Muslims to Christianity or kill them. During his time in Great Falls, he joined Martin and Pro-Life Great Falls at its protest of Planned Parenthood.³⁴³

In 2004, Jonathan Martin handed out Operation Save America literature outside Great Falls High School. He was joined by Rev. Gary Koljonen and other members of Triumph Lutheran Brethren Church.³⁴⁴ For an entire week, the church members handed out a different pamphlet every day on topics ranging from homosexuality being an abomination to anti-Islamic tirades.³⁴⁵ One piece claimed public schools “had become the very gates hell,” while another called gays and lesbians “sodomites” who are culturally, spiritually, and physically harmful.³⁴⁶ The school eventually got the police involved, after parents complained that Martin’s crew was chasing and badgering students into taking the literature.³⁴⁷ The pamphlets encouraged students to attend a discussion at the end of the week held at the Triumph Lutheran Brethren Church. “Nothing in the fliers contains hatred,” Rev. Koljonen said. “They are biblically based and God’s word.”³⁴⁸

Jonathan Martin’s teaming up with Rev. Gary Koljonen was not surprising. Koljonen’s church served as the venue for Flip Benham’s speech in Great Falls.³⁴⁹ The media has described Koljonen as “a full-time pastor and part-time home builder.”³⁵⁰ The home builder description provides an interesting link to CPOM’s Great Falls-area candidates. Timothy Sollid, Terry Poupa, and Christopher Gregory also work in the construction business. Also, Gregory is married to Mary Koljonen.³⁵¹ Rev. Koljonen’s circle of influence seems to help the party’s ability to recruit candidates in the Great Falls area, especially when combined with Martin’s presence.

Fighting Clinic Access in Legislative Halls

During both the 2003 and 2005 Montana Legislatures, Jonathan Martin testified against bills to create a buffer zone between anti-choice protestors and clinic patients.³⁵² Both bills kept protestors from coming within eight feet of anyone entering or leaving a healthcare facility. This

“bubble” applied within 36 feet of a clinic.³⁵³

The proposed bills struck a balance between the protestors’ freedom of speech and patients’ right to privacy while seeking medical care. Groups like Pro-Life Great Falls could still picket; however, there would be less opportunity for protestors to threaten and harass individuals seeking healthcare. Courts have repeatedly upheld “bubble bills” as constitutional.

During the 2003 Montana Legislature, Martin said he protested with Pro-Life Great Falls because that is what God told him to do. He claimed Planned Parenthood was only interested in money, and that was why its clinics were increasing the number of abortions performed. He said clinic staff protected pedophiles and promoted “sodomy and lesbianism.” He claimed Planned Parenthood’s programs caused more pregnancies and disease.³⁵⁴

Martin returned in 2005 to oppose similar legislation. Even though the bill allowed anti-choice protestors to continue demonstrating, Martin said the proposal was “patently unconstitutional.” He claimed the bill was “not designed to protect people from us” but to “protect them [clinic patients] from the truth.” He characterized the *Roe v. Wade* ruling as “perverted” and based on “lies.” Ultimately, Martin said, the bill “takes away a baby’s choice to live.” Two of his daughters and members of the Koljonen family joined Martin in opposing the legislation.³⁵⁵ The 2005 bill became law.

Education is Religion: Home Schooling the Martin Way

Jonathan Martin has fought legislative attempts to implement standards for home schooling in Montana. Not surprisingly, his home-school advocacy originates from a dislike of public education. His efforts began in 1991 when he helped defeat a proposal requiring home-school students to take standardized tests. The *Great Falls Tribune* reported that, even in home school circles, Martin was regarded as a “zealot.”³⁵⁶ However, that did not keep the Montana Coalition of Home Educators from giving Martin a seat on its executive committee in 1993.³⁵⁷ He has also published a home-schooling newsletter and served as a contact point for the Montana Home School Reference guide.³⁵⁸

Martin and his wife home schooled two of their daughters. He believed the public school system was “flawed” and students succeeded “in spite of the system, not be-

cause of it.”³⁵⁹ He went so far as to say that the State of Montana did not have the authority to spend any money on public education.³⁶⁰ Instead, schools, which he has referred to as “gulag[s],” should be supported only by parents who have children in the system.³⁶¹ The larger



Operation Save America fliers, like the ones handed out by Martin and Rev. Koljonen, feature this image.

issue for Martin, though, was that he did not think religion and education could be separated.³⁶² For Martin, public schools told his children to “live by someone else’s philosophy [and] someone else’s values.”³⁶³ Martin signed a petition in support of the Alliance for Separation of School and State, a national organization pushing for parents to remove their children from public schools.³⁶⁴

Slamming the “Sodomites”

Jonathan Martin is vocal about his disdain for gays and lesbians. He handed out anti-gay pamphlets to high school students and has testified against equal rights for gays and lesbian at the Montana Legislature.³⁶⁵ He also teamed up with Wisconsin’s Pilgrim Covenant Church and Wisconsin Christians United. In 2003, the groups held an “International Conference on Homo-Fascism” that examined the “machinery of homo-fascist tyranny” being set up in America.³⁶⁶

In March 2003, Jonathan Martin helped organize an “Answering Sodom” seminar given by the Covenant

Church’s Pastor Ralph Ovadal.³⁶⁷ Formerly a leader of Missionaries to the Preborn, Ovadal has been arrested over 70 times for obstructing access to clinics.³⁶⁸ Over two days in Great Falls, he gave four, one-hour presentations on how to respond to “Sodom’s onslaught.” Martin declared that Ovadal gave attendees “doses of God’s ‘unvarnished’ truth” and helped “prepare us for the battle ahead.” Ovadal thanked the Martin family for making the seminar a “powerful time of teaching and fellowship.” He joined Martin and Pro-Life Great Falls in protesting at Planned Parenthood while he was in town.³⁶⁹ Later in 2003, Ovadal again praised Martin for his anti-gay activism. He said Martin and Rev. Koljonen passed out anti-gay literature produced by Wisconsin Christians United, while manning a “Freedom from Sodomy/Freedom in Christ” booth at the Montana State Fair.³⁷⁰

When it comes to homosexuality, Jonathan Martin has stated, “His [God’s] word is very plain in identifying sin, and homosexuality is no exception.” He has said the Bible plainly declared that no “sodomite” would “inherit the kingdom of God.”³⁷¹ He warned that “militant sodomites” were working to win acceptance for “behavior” that “brings sickness, death and damnation.”³⁷² For Martin, calling “evil by its name” might not be popular, but ignoring God’s Law would cause America to “follow Sodom to destruction.”³⁷³

Rounding Out a Right-Wing Agenda: No Taxes, No Government Services

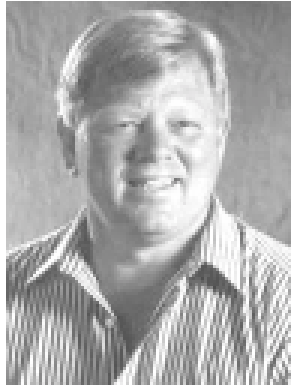
While Jonathan Martin’s right-wing Christian fundamentalism jumps off the page, he has also been active in the anti-tax movement. He served as a Montanans for Better Government’s “regional representative” from Great Falls. Rob Natelson started the anti-tax group, and it sponsored many tax-cut initiatives over the years. Martin was a regional representative during the group’s campaign to pass a constitutional initiative that would have allowed the public to vote on new taxes and certain increases of existing taxes. While the measure passed, the Montana Supreme Court subsequently declared it unconstitutional in 1999.³⁷⁴

Martin has also expressed the desire to abolish income and property taxes for both individuals and corporations. He would replace the taxes with user fees, thereby accomplishing his goal of reducing the size and ability of state government.³⁷⁵ He also has supported the right-wing

idea that the government has no role in helping people in need. He preferred to eliminate government healthcare and welfare programs. "The government has no right to be a nanny," Martin said.³⁷⁶

**Vice Chairman
Rick Jore
Ronan, Montana**

When Rick Jore switched from the Montana Republican Party to the Constitution Party in 2000, he became the party's best chance at winning a seat in the Montana Legislature. Having already served three terms as a Republican legislator, Jore had all the benefits of incumbency, even though he was no longer part of the GOP establishment. Another benefit was a family connection in the area. At the time, his brothers operated Jore Corporation, a tool company in Ronan that was one of the area's major employers.³⁷⁷



Rick Jore

Photo from CPOM website

Jore's right-wing ideology was already well established with his constituents by 2000. His tenure in the Montana House pegged him as an ultra-conservative Republican who frequently fought with members of his own party. This conflict resulted from Jore's position as a "strict constructionist" of the U.S. Constitution, which meant he believed the document was frozen in time. "The concept of a living Constitution is in my mind an absolute perversion," he said. "There's no reason why we can't know the original intent of the constitution."³⁷⁸

This 18th Century perspective frequently put him at odds with the Republican agenda of the 1990s, much of which Jore considered unconstitutional. One ally he did have was Dick Green, who was also a Republican legislator in 1995 and joined CPOM in 2000. "The one thing that chokes most firm, solid conservatives is this thing that the Constitution is a living document," Green said. "I just want to scream when someone says that."³⁷⁹

From the moment he announced his switch of party affiliation, he went on the attack against the GOP. "There's no longer any philosophical difference between

the Democrats and Republicans," Jore stated.³⁸⁰ Part of his reasoning was based on his conclusion that both parties had abandoned America's Christian roots. "Like the signers of the Declaration [of Independence], I believe that our rights...are inalienable because they come from God," wrote Jore, "and that the purpose of civil government is to secure these rights."³⁸¹

Jore parlayed his disgust with the Republican Party, and his incumbent status, into frequent speaking opportunities at Constitution Party events all over the country.³⁸² In 2000, he addressed a meeting of the Constitution Party National Committee in Baltimore, Maryland.³⁸³ *The Spotlight*, the largest anti-Semitic publication in the country at the time, quoted Jore at the meeting.³⁸⁴ "Reject socialism—the standard is the Constitution," he told attendees.³⁸⁵

Sometimes he has taken his anti-GOP message into more Republican-oriented circles. In July 2003, Rob Natelson's Montana Conservatives convened a Liberty Summit in Missoula.³⁸⁶ Most of the day-long event focused on strategies to make the Montana Republican Party more accountable to conservatives. The day's final panel featured Rick Jore and three other speakers critical of the GOP. Jore told attendees he left the Republican Party, because it "accepted and refuses to reject socialism." He said he agreed with Militia of Montana founder John Trochmann, who had spoken earlier in the day, that Republicans are merely taking America over a cliff at a slower speed than Democrats. "Quit supporting the lesser of two evils," Jore told audience members, "because it is still evil." He added that U.S. Sen. Conrad Burns (R-MT) and U.S. Rep. Dennis Rehberg (R-MT) needed conservatives to put party loyalty above principles in order to tolerate "unconstitutional votes." When audience members were allowed to participate, Pascal Redfern blamed the GOP for Jore's loss in 2002. He said Lake County Republicans should have supported Jore instead of running their own candidate.³⁸⁷

While Jore may have officially left the Republican Party in 2000, he had unofficially checked out years before. A former Republican colleague in the Montana House described Jore's time there as a "crusade" for his beliefs and an attempt to recruit "people to join his crusade."³⁸⁸ Jore's crusade has never changed. Now, it is just under the banner of a different political party. In 2000 and every election cycle since, he is the CPOM candidate with the best chance of getting elected. He has also been a

leader in trying to get others to follow his departure from the Republican Party.

Even with all the advantages of incumbency, Jore discovered that leaving the GOP did cost him his seat in the Montana House. In 2000, Jore lost by 54 votes to Democrat Joey Jayne.³⁸⁹ In 2002, he faced off against Jayne again; however, this time there was also a Republican in the race. Jore lost to Jayne by about 200 votes, but he received almost four times as many votes as the Republican candidate.³⁹⁰ That is a significant ratio, as it is very rare for a conservative third party to so handily beat a Republican candidate. Due to the redrawing of districts, Jore ran in a new district in 2004. He faced two opponents, Democrat Jeanne Windham and Republican Jack Cross. It was a race featuring recounts and litigation, and the result ultimately determined which political party controlled the Montana House.

The Battle for House District 12

The morning after the 2004 General Election, Rick Jore led his Democratic opponent by one vote with a handful of provisional ballots left to count.³⁹¹ The national Constitution Party declared Jore the victor, announcing he had become “the first State legislator in the nation to be elected on the Constitution Party ticket.”³⁹² The accomplishment was significant enough that even white supremacists took note. On the “Stormfront” website, a clearinghouse for white supremacist information, racists celebrated Jore’s apparent victory. One posted a note that Jore’s win meant “There is hope yet,” while another wished the Constitution Party would gain more power.³⁹³ All of the celebrations were short lived, since the morning after the election was only the beginning of a long struggle over the accuracy of the vote count.

The House District 12 race had huge implications for the Montana House. If Jore won, as the initial announcement indicated, Republicans would hold a 50-49 advantage. If Jeanne Windham won, the House would be tied 50-50. If the House was tied, Democrats would pick leadership, since the party also held the Governor’s Office. With so much on the line, the State of Montana tuned in to see the final result.

When the Lake County Election Department counted the provisional ballots, Jore gained one more vote, putting him two ahead of Windham.³⁹⁴ With the race so close, a recount was conducted. The initial recount de-

clared Jore the winner by one vote. However, there were five questionable ballots, and the recount board decided to do another vote tally for one precinct. After the recount, the board declared the race a tie.³⁹⁵

Windham filed a temporary restraining order in Helena to keep the vote officially tied, until she could legally challenge some of the ballots. She said these ballots should be thrown out, because they contained marks next to both Jore and Republican Jack Cross.³⁹⁶ These ballots had been awarded to Jore resulting in the tie.³⁹⁷ Without the restraining order, Republican Secretary of State Bob Brown could officially certify the tie, allowing Republican Governor Judy Martz to pick the winner. Martz most



Rep. Jeanne Windham (D-Polson) ultimately won the HD 12 race in 2004.

likely would pick Jore, so Republicans could keep a majority in the Montana House.³⁹⁸

Windham filed a lawsuit with the Montana Supreme Court, stating Lake County officials illegally speculated about the intent of voters in regards to the questionable ballots. She asked the court to examine seven ballots on which the ovals next to Jore and Cross were both filled in. These ballots violated the court’s standard that “ballots that do not clearly express the intent of the voter will be disallowed,” Windham’s filings stated.³⁹⁹ The Montana Supreme Court declined to settle HD 12’s outcome. In a 4-3 decision, the Court ruled it could not take the case until a winner was declared. The ruling cleared the way for Martz to break the tie and give Republicans control of the Montana House. However, the Court’s decision said the election results could be challenged in Lake

County District Court.⁴⁰⁰

In response to the Supreme Court ruling, Ronan resident Anita Big Spring filed a lawsuit in District Court. She asked the judge to throw out the seven “mismarked” ballots. “They were spoiled ballots and they [election officials] should have thrown those ballots in the garbage can,” Big Spring stated. “Instead, they trashed the constitution.” District Court Judge Kim Christopher refused to hear the case until a winner was announced.⁴⁰¹ As expected, Martz declared Jore the winner.⁴⁰² Judge Christopher then upheld the recount board’s ruling of a tie vote and declared the seven contested votes for Jore were valid. Big Spring appealed Judge Christopher’s decision to the Montana Supreme Court.⁴⁰³

The Montana Supreme Court accepted the case and examined the seven ballots in question.⁴⁰⁴ At the end of December with the 2005 Montana Legislature only days away, the Supreme Court ruled 6-1 that Windham was the winner in HD 12. It ruled that at least one of the contested ballots was invalid, which broke the tie and made Windham the victor.⁴⁰⁵ The Court said Lake County officials did not follow the rules when they presumed to know the wishes of five voters who marked their ballots for both Jore and Cross.⁴⁰⁶

Jore believed the ultimate decision should not have been made outside Lake County. He disagreed with the “implication, insinuation, or assumption” that Lake County officials did not handle the recount with the “utmost integrity and adherence to election laws...”⁴⁰⁷ He also said he didn’t like the idea that “we’ve got to have the Supremes determine every little issue” and that “we can’t have our county government do something as simple as hold an election.”⁴⁰⁸

Other party activists echoed Jore’s views. The Supreme Court “should never have become involved” with an election that was “unquestionably determined by the people of Lake County” in Jore’s favor, said Russell Brown.⁴⁰⁹ In another missive, Brown wondered how the people of Lake County felt about being “usurped by a centralized power,” since it was clear they supported Jore.⁴¹⁰ Jonathan Martin declared the Supreme Court had “no respect for the ‘rule of law’ or the wishes of Lake County voters.” Martin continued, “In their ‘supreme’ wisdom they have trashed the law and the democratic process.”⁴¹¹

Jore Loses Seat, Money

Along with the stinging loss of a legislative seat, Jore was subject to a stipulation in the lawsuit requiring the loser to pay the winner’s legal bills. This meant he owed Anita Big Spring’s attorney \$16,000. A disagreement ensued over who should pay the attorney fees. The Republican Party had paid most of Jore’s legal bills; however, it said it wasn’t responsible for paying the \$16,000. Jore announced he would not pay the fees.⁴¹²

Big Spring’s attorney initiated collection against Jore, seizing the money in his bank accounts and the county sheriff was authorized to seize Jore’s property to satisfy the judgment. Jore said the Supreme Court’s order allowing the seizure was a “blatant injustice,” and he hoped Montanans would recognize the “arrogance that emanates” from the Court. Big Spring’s attorney said Jore’s lawyer refused to waive the collection of attorney’s fees when the legal battle started.⁴¹³ In fact, Big Spring’s attorney reported that Jore’s lawyer “made the fees much higher.”⁴¹⁴

Jore raised money from supporters to take his fight against the order before Judge Christopher.⁴¹⁵ His main argument was he did not feel he “morally owe[d] this debt.”⁴¹⁶ He also argued that Judge Christopher could “interpose” herself between the Supreme Court and her local constituents. He submitted to her a tract titled “The Doctrine of Interposition” by John Eidsmore of the Plymouth Rock Foundation.⁴¹⁷ The Foundation is aligned with the Christian Reconstructionism movement.⁴¹⁸ Jore said interposition allows lower courts to overrule higher ones.⁴¹⁹

Judge Christopher ruled the Supreme Court’s decision stood, and Jore announced he would not pay the fees.⁴²⁰ “I believe this is a travesty of justice, and that this arrogance and abuse by the Supreme Court needs to be challenged,” he stated. He also said he would not accept help from his supporters.⁴²¹ Asking supporters was the “easy way out,” he said, and he was determined to meet his God-given responsibility to preserve justice and liberty for future generations.⁴²²

Other Constitution Party activists endorsed Jore’s sentiment about the collection order. Kurtis Oliverson (2004-2006) couldn’t believe the Supreme Court had the “mean-

spirited gall” to require Jore to pay the legal fees. He recommended the public officials who would carry out the seizure quit their posts before doing it.⁴²³ Writing from his new home in Washington, Michael Heit wrote that another American revolution might be needed to “rid ourselves of the power brokers who have systematically destroyed the election system.”⁴²⁴

Republicans Shifted “Conservatism” to the Right

It would seem the media covered every angle of the hotly-contested legislative race in House District 12. The press reported on the recount, the litigation, and the political fallout in the Montana House based on the Jore-Windham race. A significant point, however, was missed.

When Gov. Judy Martz awarded the legislative seat to Jore, she gave a fringe party a place at the Capitol. Jore was repeatedly described as a “conservative” by the press and not being much different from Martz or Republicans. There is much more to the Constitution Party, and there is a reason it has failed to hold state-level office anywhere in the country. Its affiliations with the “patriot” movement and anti-choice zealots place it outside the political mainstream’s notion of “conservative.”

In addition, Jore and CPOM are part of the ultra-conservative faction criticizing the Montana Republican Party itself. They insist the GOP is marching towards liberalism, or worse, socialism. By choosing Jore and paying his legal bills, Martz and the GOP placed the Constitution Party of Montana on the same level as Republican conservatism. Wanting to keep Republicans in control of the Montana House, Martz provided legitimacy to CPOM, something it has been unable to accomplish on its own. For short-term political gain, Martz facilitated Montana conservatism taking another gigantic step to the right.

Jore: The Republican Years

Had Jore won the HD 12 election, there is little speculation about how he would have acted as a legislator. After all, he served three terms in the Montana House and established himself as a representative of the Republican Party’s right wing. As his record shows, he supported CPOM’s platform before it even existed. While running in 2006, Jore summed up his past, present, and future political ideology:

“I support, without compromise, the following issues which I believe are fundamental to freedom: The right to life, private property, traditional families, free market economics, gun rights, less taxation, less regulation, less government spending, rights of parents regarding the education of their children, individual responsibility, and government by consent of the governed.”⁴²⁵

Three areas of his policy activity—anti-Indian, anti-public education and anti-tax—help demonstrate his priorities.

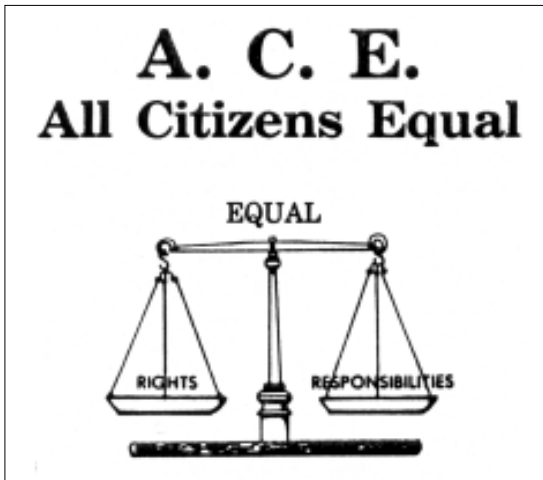
Fighting Tribal Sovereignty

When Rick Jore was elected to the Montana House in 1995, it signified a shift in the tactics used by Montana’s anti-Indian movement. Instead of reacting to tribal initiatives, it now was able to go on the offensive.⁴²⁶ Jore summed up his position on Indian issues when he said tribal sovereignty “flies in the face of everything that this country is all about.”⁴²⁷ He opposed treaty-based Indian sovereignty.⁴²⁸

During his 2000 campaign, he refused to support any state-tribal agreements.⁴²⁹ Based on those beliefs, it’s easy to understand why Jore put himself right in the middle of the high-profile, anti-Indian causes surrounding the National Bison Range and the State-Tribal Cooperative Hunting and Fishing Agreement.

Anti-Indian campaigns in Montana always have the issue of race near the surface. The mid-1990s controversy surrounding the National Bison Range featured, according to the *Char-Koosta* newspaper, anti-Indian activists firing “ignorant stereotypical epithets with scattergun imprecision at any and all Indians and their perceived shortcomings.”⁴³⁰

Even with the bigoted stereotypes set aside, the anti-Indian movement is a systematic effort to deny legally-established rights to a group of people who are identified on the basis of their shared culture, history, religion and tradition. Based on this, the Human Rights Network asserted that the movement was racist in its 2000 report *Drumming Up Resentment*.⁴³¹ Roland and Lisa Morris, two anti-Indian activists and supporters of Rick Jore (see below), sued the Human Rights Network over the report.⁴³² The case was settled out of court without the Network having to change the report.



During his time in the legislature, Rick Jore championed the views of anti-Indian groups like All Citizens Equal.

Jore sponsored legislation during the 1995 session to terminate the State-Tribal Hunting and Fishing Agreement.⁴³³ The agreement required non-tribal members to purchase hunting permits from tribal government to hunt and fish on lands within a reservation's borders.⁴³⁴ While his bill failed, it made Jore an immediate favorite of Flathead anti-Indian activists.

Del Palmer, a well-known anti-Indian activist, had protested the State-Tribal Hunting Agreement since it became law.⁴³⁵ Every year, he would hunt and kill a pheasant without obtaining a tribal permit and challenge state, tribal and county officials to prosecute him. He, along with Rick Jore, claimed people did not need a tribal hunting permit on the Flathead Reservation as long as they had a valid Montana hunting license.⁴³⁶ Palmer has distributed anti-Semitic publications around the Flathead Reservation and claimed that the possibility of African Americans and Native Americans holding elected office is a threat to society.⁴³⁷

In 1995, Palmer was cited for hunting without a tribal permit. A rally was held to show support for him, and Jore was a featured speaker. "We need to continue the revolution" to protect property rights, he told attendees. Jore said giving tribal government control over everyone on the reservation was wrong. The real problem, he said, was "faceless bureaucrats" who pushed policies non-Indians didn't want. That would come back to "haunt the tribes," Jore warned.⁴³⁸

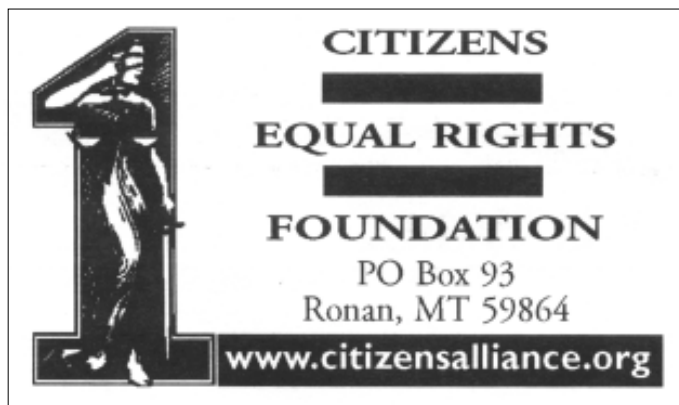
Later in 1995, Jore spoke at another anti-Indian rally.

The event was a protest against transferring management of the National Bison Range from the federal government to the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.⁴³⁹ The Indian Self-Determination Act made such a transfer possible.⁴⁴⁰ Lisa Morris organized the rally.⁴⁴¹ Morris and her husband, Roland, were leaders of All Citizens Equal, the largest anti-Indian group in the Flathead area.⁴⁴²

The great irony of the controversy over the Bison Range was that anti-Indian activists, who in other realms express their utter dislike of the federal government, found themselves lauding the federal administration of the Bison Range while opposing local control by tribal government.⁴⁴³ Dick Green, also a GOP legislator at the time, spoke at the event against the transfer.⁴⁴⁴ Like Jore, he was a frequent opponent of tribal sovereignty. Back in 1974, Green helped organize Montanans Opposing Discrimination, the premiere anti-Indian group on the Flathead Reservation at the time.⁴⁴⁵

In his subsequent trips back to the Montana Legislature, Jore didn't forget his friends at All Citizens Equal. During the 1997 Montana Legislature, he sponsored a resolution opposing the transfer of the National Bison Range's management to the tribes.⁴⁴⁶ Lisa Morris and Del Palmer were among the bill's supporters. The two also showed up to support Jore's 1997 bill to rescind the State-Tribal Hunting Agreement.⁴⁴⁷

In 1999, for the third session in a row, Jore sponsored a bill to rescind the State-Tribal Hunting and Fishing Agreement.⁴⁴⁸ Palmer and All Citizens Equal showed up again to support it.⁴⁴⁹ The 1999 session also found Jore casting one of his most infamous votes against Native Americans. The legislature passed a law to remove the word



When Roland and Lisa Morris began organizing on behalf of CERA/CERF, Rick Jore continued speaking at their events.

“squaw” from geographic areas administered by the state, because the word is a derogatory term for Native American women.⁴⁵⁰ Jore was one of only eight legislators who opposed the bill in the House.⁴⁵¹

Jore has worked hard over the years to maintain his relationships with anti-Indian activists. In 1997, All Citizens Equal encouraged people to come and meet Jore at the group's annual picnic.⁴⁵² Jore remained close to Roland and Lisa Morris as well. While a legislator, he partnered with the Morrises to create a Christian-based, non-emergency medical transportation business.⁴⁵³ When another round of controversy erupted in 2003 over the proposed transfer of the Bison Range to the Salish Kootenai Tribes, Jore was there to oppose it with the Morrises.⁴⁵⁴ At one meeting organized by Lisa Morris, he discussed his 1997 resolution against transfer of the Bison Range.⁴⁵⁵

Currently, Jore is listed as an “honorary” board member for Lisa Morris' latest anti-Indian group, the Christian Alliance for Indian Child Welfare.⁴⁵⁶ Jore also stayed in touch with Del Palmer. In 2000, he showed up to observe Palmer's illegal pheasant hunt.⁴⁵⁷

While the anti-Indian movement's attacks on Native Americans try to downplay race, Jore went over the top with a proposal in 1999. He requested legislation be drafted to ban affirmative action programs. “The idea of preferential policies to compensate for past discrimination is the seed for animosity,” Jore stated. “Two wrongs don't make a right.”⁴⁵⁸ Opponents quickly derided his proposal, explaining that affirmative action programs help give minorities a chance to realize equality.

All of Jore's anti-Indian legislative efforts proved fruitless. He was unable to rescind the State-Tribal Cooperative Hunting and Fishing Agreement, and the Salish and Kootenai Tribes now share management of the Bison Range with the federal government.⁴⁵⁹

Targeting Public Education

As a legislator, Rick Jore personified CPOM's goal for public education—getting rid of it. Before being elected, he wrote that the federal government lacked “constitutional authority to spend money on education.” He added, “Honesty demands that we admit that prayer in the schools is not the problem; federal involvement is.”⁴⁶⁰ This hostility to, as he calls them, “government schools” stayed with him after he was elected to office.

Every legislative session he served, Jore sponsored bills to repeal Montana's compulsory education law.⁴⁶¹ The bills were necessary, he said, because “Children are granted as a gift from God and parents have a responsibility to educate and nurture them.”⁴⁶² Repealing compulsory education was “vital” to upholding “parental rights.”⁴⁶³ He stated that making children go to public schools didn't mean they learn. He also expressed outrage that he was forced to register with his county superintendent of schools in order to home school his kids.⁴⁶⁴

Jore home schooled two of his five children and was “ashamed” that his oldest three went to “government schools.” “I've since developed a real conviction that government schools just aren't proper,” he said.⁴⁶⁵ He also strongly felt that the “monopolistic nature of state schools” needed be addressed.⁴⁶⁶ This “socialistic monopoly” contributed to the disintegration of the family, he said.⁴⁶⁷ Ultimately, he believed that “Government should simply get out of the child care business.”⁴⁶⁸ He is one of the CPOM activists who signed the petition supporting the Alliance for Separation of School and State, a national organization pushing for parents to remove their children from public schools.⁴⁶⁹

Read My Lips: No ~~New~~ Taxes

For Jore, taxes of all forms are downright un-American. “Our country is moving toward a socialist mindset,” he commented. “The government takes the fruit of the labor of one person and bestows it arbitrarily to other persons.” Jore referred to taxation as “slavery” that is hidden behind “fancy terms” like welfare and subsidies.⁴⁷⁰ Not surprisingly, Jore consistently has opposed any tax increases and supported tax cuts.⁴⁷¹

In his legislative campaigns, Jore has proudly reported that he signed petitions by Americans for Tax Reform and Montanans for Better Government. The petitions are a promise that legislators will “oppose all tax increases.”⁴⁷² While in the Montana Legislature, Jore twice failed to abolish Montana's estate tax.⁴⁷³ He claimed the estate tax was contrary to American values.⁴⁷⁴ His efforts received support from Joe Balyeat, president of Montanans for Better Government at the time and now a state senator.⁴⁷⁵ At a hearing on his bill in 1999, Jore told fellow legislators he believed each person should start out with what prior generations had left them, instead of on equal footing.⁴⁷⁶ Also in 1999, Jore unsuccessfully tried to reduce

state income taxes by 20% through a credit based on property taxes.⁴⁷⁷ Balyeat and Montanans for Better Government supported the proposal, along with Montana Libertarian Party.⁴⁷⁸

One reason Jore adamantly opposed taxes was because he dislikes government programs helping people in need. Government, according to Jore, was not supposed to “take care of people from cradle to grave.”⁴⁷⁹ Instead, he desires a society based on social Darwinism. Since government spending on “social problems” was “not cutting the mustard,” Jore stressed “individual responsibility.”⁴⁸⁰ Programs benefiting the public were “statist and socialistic schemes.”⁴⁸¹

Jore was never deterred by his inability to sponsor successful legislation. “I have advanced the historical concepts of constitutional, limited government, and people’s individual responsibility for their own welfare,” he said. If nothing else, a reporter wrote, Jore was “proud” that at least one out of every 11 bills he sponsored started with the word “abolish.”⁴⁸²

“Patriot” Rick Jore

During his time in the Montana Legislature, Rick Jore didn’t just cozy up to anti-Indian activists. He also brought issues from the “patriot” movement into the political mainstream. The Human Rights Network cited him in its 1998 “Margins to the Mainstream” report.⁴⁸³ Jore was one of eight legislators who carried “bills that clearly support themes and ideas of Montana’s well-known so-called patriot activists....”⁴⁸⁴

During the 1995 Montana Legislature, Jore signed the pro-militia petition circulated by Rep. Aubyn Curtiss (R-Fortune). Dick Green, then a fellow GOP legislator, also signed the petition. The petition asked Gov. Marc Racicot to request a special Grand Jury and allow “patriots” to present their grievances against the government. It also asked Racicot to grant “patriots” amnesty to travel and testify at the event.⁴⁸⁵ The petition resurfaced during the Montana Freeman standoff in 1996. John Trochmann, founder of the Militia of Montana, used the petition to prove anti-government “patriots” had support in the Montana Legislature.⁴⁸⁶



Jore came to the defense of Rep. Scott Orr (above) when Orr was battling the EPA.

A major recruiting vehicle for the “patriot” movement throughout the 1990s was the issue of gun rights.⁴⁸⁷ Jore stepped up to the plate on this issue as well. In 1999, he sponsored a resolution calling for the repeal of the Brady Bill. It stated the Brady Bill was “unwanted,” “unnecessary” and “hostile” to Montana’s history. The resolution also asserted Montanans do not “lightly accept outside influence that imposes significant changes on Montana traditions, culture, and individual and state rights.”⁴⁸⁸ The resolution was consistent with Jore’s past statements. In 1998, he said the Brady Bill was a violation of the Second Amendment, and the State of Montana should declare it null and void.⁴⁸⁹ He has called all gun-control measures “repugnant.”⁴⁹⁰ In his runs for office, Jore has frequently received endorsements from both the National Rifle Association and the Montana Shooting Sports Association.⁴⁹¹

In 1997, Jore came to the defense of fellow Rep. Scott Orr (R-Libby) in a dispute with the Environmental Protection Agency. Orr was upset that the EPA wanted to know if local businesses were following clean-water regulations with the toxic chemicals going down their floor drains. He started “Citizens Against Government Encroachment” and held a rally in Libby. Jore spoke at the rally, referring to the EPA and federal bureaucrats as “petty tyrants” that had too much power.⁴⁹² Jore also wrote a guest editorial supporting Orr’s campaign. He said the EPA wanting to inspect floor drains was an example of how “liberal socialists have forfeited liberty and justice.” He also warned that citizens didn’t want to be “subject to unconstitutional government regulations” and “overzealous bureaucrats” who only cared about keeping their jobs.⁴⁹³

Likewise, Dick Green spoke at the Orr rally. He bragged that, during his time as a legislator, he had voted against most bills because they infringed on individual rights. “Government grants no rights,” he told those in attendance. “God grants rights and government only secures them.”⁴⁹⁴ In a letter to the editor, Green said Orr was taking a stand against a “despotic bureaucratic edict.” Green commended Orr for “standing against tyrannical, unconstitutional demands” by the EPA.⁴⁹⁵

Following the 2004 election while trying to avoid paying attorneys fees, Jore appealed to another fringe group

for help. A member of the Free State Project reported Jore encouraged Project members to attend a rally supporting Jore and to call him if they could help his cause.⁴⁹⁶ The Free State Project wants to mobilize 20,000 “liberty-oriented” people to move to New Hampshire.⁴⁹⁷ When it was trying to select the targeted state, Montana was in the running. With its 20,000 like-minded activists, the Project hoped to repeal laws regulating guns, drugs, and prostitution, along with privatizing many government functions.⁴⁹⁸ The Militia of Montana promoted a conference by the Free State Project held in Montana.⁴⁹⁹ Overall, the Project attracted the attention and praise of many national “patriot” figures.⁵⁰⁰

Rounding Out a Right-Wing Agenda: Sanctity of Property Rights and Culture War Issues

As witnessed in his support of Rep. Scott Orr’s fight with the EPA, Jore stridently supported the sanctity of private property rights. He felt environmental laws overstep their bounds by telling landowners what they can and can’t do with property.⁵⁰¹ “Environmental concerns should not outweigh...private property rights,” he has stated. Also, he thought the government should compensate landowners if any land-use planning might, in the eyes of the landowner, diminish a property’s value.⁵⁰²

Jore’s strong feelings on property rights helped motivate him for his initial run for the Montana Legislature. He felt he needed to act, because “our freedoms were being eroded and diminished, and that regulations and taxation were hindering my ability to pursue my happiness.”⁵⁰³ During his time in the Montana Legislature, he unsuccessfully tried to terminate property taxes.⁵⁰⁴

Like many of his fellow CPOM activists, Jore is vehemently against reproductive freedom. “I believe human life begins at conception,” Jore wrote, “and the Fifth Amendment in the Bill of Rights...applies to pre-born, innocent babies.”⁵⁰⁵ In 2005, he wrote a letter congratulating Ronan’s Christian Missionary Alliance Church for hosting an anti-choice event. He said the event included ringing chimes 32 times to represent “each year of the abortion holocaust” since the *Roe v. Wade* decision. Jore claimed the “false foundation” of *Roe* was “crumbling.” He said the U.S. Supreme Court cannot “legalize” anything and *Roe* would someday be “rejected.”⁵⁰⁶ A fea-

tured speaker at the event was Diane Rotering, who currently serves as the Constitution Party of Montana’s Secretary (for more on Rotering, see her profile in the “Officers” section).⁵⁰⁷

Also like his party cohorts, Jore has opposed equal rights for gays and lesbians. In one interview, he compared gays and lesbians to pedophiles, murderers and thieves. Efforts to recognize gays and lesbians as equal citizens were a sign to Jore that “we’ve done away with all right and wrong.”⁵⁰⁸

The Race in 2006

During the 2006 campaign season, Jore and incumbent Democrat Jeanne Windham face off again in House District 12. There is no Republican running this time. In 2000, Jore ran on the CPOM ticket against a Democrat with no GOP candidate, and he lost by 54 votes. In both 2002 and 2004, the GOP candidate received enough votes to result in Jore’s losses. The lack of a Republican in 2006 benefits him.

Press reports have stated the GOP did not field a candidate because it knew a Republican would lose to Jore, thereby hurting the “conservative cause.” Rumors circulated that the Montana GOP struck a deal with the Constitution Party. The GOP agreed to not run anyone against Jore in exchange for CPOM not running candidates against Rep. Ray Hawk (R-Florence) and Rep. Bob Lake (R-Hamilton). The Human Rights Network followed up with the GOP’s Chuck Denowh. He said part of the rumor was true. Denowh confirmed that the Montana Republican Party had asked two CPOM candidates not to run against Lake (House District 88) and Hawk (House District 90). He said the GOP told the CPOM candidates that it viewed HD 88 and HD 90 as important swing districts. Denowh reported that the two CPOM candidates, Gil Turner and George Karpati, said they would withdraw from the districts and file in different ones. This agreement had nothing to do with Jore, Denowh stated. In fact, he said the Republican Party tried to find somebody to run against Jore, because it thought a Jore victory was bad for the GOP. With a legislative win, Denowh said CPOM would have a solid foothold in Montana and an easier time recruiting new members.⁵⁰⁹

**Secretary
Diane Rotering
Missoula, Montana**

Diane Rotering took over as Secretary in May 2005.⁵¹⁰ Like Chairman Jonathan Martin, Rotering has been a frequent protester in front of health clinics. Her battle against reproductive freedom teamed her up with Marilyn Hatch for demonstrations in front of Missoula's Blue Mountain Clinic.⁵¹¹ Rotering said she protested on Wednesdays, because "that's when they [clinic staff] are murdering" in the clinic. Rotering's niche in the anti-reproductive freedom crowd is her group Mercy Company. According to Rotering, the group counsels women who have had abortions.⁵¹² Her counseling techniques include shouting "Don't go in there, they kill babies!" to people seeking healthcare at Blue Mountain Clinic.⁵¹³

Along with yelling at clinic staff and patients, the protestors at Blue Mountain have threatened staff and keep dossiers on the staff and patients—home addresses, license plate numbers, photographs, etc. The tension created by the protestors is heightened, since Blue Mountain was burned to the ground by an anti-choice activist in 1993.⁵¹⁴ Rotering has written that she and the other protestors "miss them [aborted fetuses] and recognize their worth." She hoped people would put their faith in Christianity and that God would forgive "our [society's] attitudes of intellectualism and greed."⁵¹⁵

As a clinic protestor, it was not surprising that she joined Jonathan Martin at the 2005 Montana Legislature to oppose passage of clinic-buffer legislation. Along with telling lawmakers about Mercy Company, she said she had protested at Blue Mountain for the last 18 months. She also left written testimony by Marilyn Hatch with legislators.⁵¹⁶

Rotering takes her anti-choice activism to the national level. She served as the Missoula contact point for the "Life Chain 2006" anti-choice event, a nationwide gathering of protestors to pray for "our nation and for an end to abortion." It was set to be a "visual statement of solidarity by the Christian community that abortion kills children..." Another Montana contact point was Jacquie Trude, wife of the leader of Right to Life Montana, Gregg Trude.⁵¹⁷

Finding Rotering working with other Religious Right groups in Montana was not unusual. She supported the

attempted recall of Judge Jeffrey Langton in the Bitterroot Valley.⁵¹⁸ The leader of the recall effort was Harris Himes, head of the Montana Family Coalition. Himes claimed his reason was Judge Langton pleading guilty to drunk driving.⁵¹⁹ However, the Religious Right had been gunning for Judge Langton since he ruled obscenity ordinances, which were pushed by the Religious Right, unconstitutional in 1999.⁵²⁰ When the Religious Right tried to push through similar ordinances in 2002, Himes volunteered to defend the county, in cooperation with a national Religious Right law firm, if it faced future litigation.⁵²¹

Rotering wrote that Himes' recall effort was required for citizens to hold their leaders accountable and to "move the course of history in a morally responsible direction." She urged Bitterroot residents to not "let the blood of innocent people be on your hands because of pity for a sick man [Langton]."⁵²² Himes failed to gather enough signatures to put the recall of Judge Langton the ballot.⁵²³

**Parliamentarian
Gil Turner
Stevensville, Montana**

Gil Turner has been involved with the Constitution Party of Montana since 2000.⁵²⁴ In addition to serving as the party's parliamentarian, Turner is also chairman of CPOM's Ravalli County group.⁵²⁵ Like Michael Heit and Dick Green, Turner exemplifies the party's affinity for the "patriot" movement.

Before serving as a CPOM officer, Turner served on the board of Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment and operated a NORFED "Redemption Center."⁵²⁶ The Missoula-based Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment is a gun-rights group that recruited heavily from the "patriot" movement.⁵²⁷ It featured John Trochmann, founder of the Militia of Montana, as a speaker on at least three separate occasions.⁵²⁸

Turner's operation of a NORFED Redemption Center also places him in the "patriot" movement. NORFED stands for the "National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act." It is part of a "patriot" scheme to disrupt the banking system that claims Federal Reserve Notes are worthless. NORFED issues "Liberty Dollars" that are supposedly backed by gold and silver.⁵²⁹ Turner's Redemption Center, and others like it, accepts Liberty

Dollars as payment.

**Treasurer
Kurtis Oliverson
Kalispell, Montana**

Along with Gil Turner, Kurtis Oliverson keeps the party connected to the “patriot” movement. In addition to being a Constitution Party of Montana officer, Oliverson has served as a chapter leader for the John Birch Society.⁵³⁰ Founded in 1959, the John Birch Society contended that both the United States and Soviet governments were controlled by a cabal of internationalists, politicians, and world bankers. These shadowy powerbrokers, headed by liberals, were engaged in a “godless conspiracy” to create a one-world socialist government. Charges of racism and anti-Semitism have plagued the Birch Society since its inception. Currently, the Birch Society is running a campaign called “Get US out of the UN!” which is a manifestation of the “patriot” movement’s fear of one-world government.⁵³¹

Like the CPOM’s other officers and activists, Oliverson is stridently anti-choice. He has referred to abortion as “the killing of a baby” and found it “ludicrous” to pretend it was not “murder.” He has not been a supporter of taxes. He has stated the current tax system involved the government taking people’s money “by force,” and that the system has “been running amok with the people’s money” for a long time. Oliverson once contended that each individual state was its own “sovereign nation,” and the U.S. Constitution acted “as a treaty between these nations.”⁵³²

Oliverson once complained that “socialists/humanists have essentially hijacked this country’s educational bureaucracy and are using it to convert our children to their



Kurtis Oliverson

Photo from CPOM website

agenda.” He said education should be based on “factual information” and not on “junk (or politically-motivated) science.”⁵³³ Oliverson has supported home schooling without state regulation.⁵³⁴ He also adamantly disagreed with the Montana Supreme Court’s 2004 ruling that the state was not adequately funding education. He believed the court usurped the Montana Legislature’s authority. “The Legislature should start impeachment proceedings for these out-of-control judges,” he said. The Legislature shouldn’t increase “funding for this creature” that is “demanding all of the taxes to feed it.”⁵³⁵

Oliverson has strongly supported gun rights. He believes that “If guns are outlawed, only outlaws (and the government) will have guns.” He stated the more guns that are in circulation, the less crime there will be.⁵³⁶ His support of gun rights also came through when he filled out Gun Owners of America’s candidate questionnaire during his 2004 campaign. He supported access to assault weapons and .50 caliber rifles, while opposing background checks for firearms sold at gun shows and licensing for concealed weapons.⁵³⁷

Again echoing his party’s platform, Oliverson once referred to the separation of church and state as ridiculous. He stated God inspired America’s founders. He said, “the further we distance ourselves from them [God’s principles], the less great this country will become.” That is the path Oliverson sees American walking. He has stated the “lack of faith in God, the most extreme form of which is atheism/humanism, is the root of all false governing concepts.” He claimed only people who want to lose their freedom will continue voting for “atheists, humanists, and/or those who merely do lip service to Christian principles.”⁵³⁸

Constitution Party of Montana Events

The Party's First Convention

In 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana held its first convention in Kalispell. About 70 people attended the event at the Outlaw Inn, with a good number of CPOM candidates attending with their families. Literature available included the John Birch Society's *The New American*, Fully Informed Jury Association handouts, along with Ten Commandments yard signs, and lots of videos and newsletters featuring Howard Phillips. From the beginning, speakers praised Rick Jore for leaving the GOP. A major theme of the event was that Republicans were worse than Democrats, because they advanced a social-

Association and a Republican candidate for the legislature at the time, followed Natelson.⁵⁴¹ Marbut casts himself as a gun-rights policy guru and lobbyist, but he also has extensive ties to the militia movement.⁵⁴² He said the right to bear arms was "the cornerstone of liberty," because when government tried to take rights away "we need the right to take [them] back." He told audience members he was running as a Republican because it increased his chances of winning in his district. Like Natelson, Marbut said he admired CPOM for being committed to the right causes.⁵⁴³

Rick Jore spoke about his problems with the current two-party system. "Both major parties accept the premise



The Constitution Party of Montana's first convention featured right-wing speakers from Montana, including Gary Marbut (left). National activists like Cal Zastrow (right) addressed the crowd.

ist agenda without freely admitting it. The speakers included some Republicans, along with CPOM activists.⁵³⁹

Rob Natelson, who the convention's program called "Montana's best known conservative activist," was the first to the podium. He thanked the attendees for supporting him in the Republican gubernatorial primary and praised CPOM for being an outlet for principled conservatism. "The problem with Montana's political system is that it is dysfunctional," he said. "The rules are stacked against us [true conservatives]." He concluded his remarks by saying that Montana needed a new Constitution that acknowledged "the ultimate sovereign is God."⁵⁴⁰

Gary Marbut, head of the Montana Shooting Sports

it's okay to take from some and give to others," he said. He declared all welfare was unconstitutional, and that it was "blackmail from the federal government." "You're either voting for socialism and statism," he concluded, or fighting to regain individual freedoms.⁵⁴⁴

Constitution Party Presidential candidate Howard Phillips was the biggest of the national speakers. He claimed Republicans and Democrats had adopted the Socialist Party's platform over the last 30 years. "Republicans are the greater evil," he said. "They fly a false flag." He promised to abolish the Federal Reserve and income tax if elected. Revealing his Christian Reconstructionist beliefs, he said, "The Constitution created a republic un-

der God. We are the stewards of God's sovereignty." Alluding to one-world government fears, Phillips said international trade agreements made Americans "slaves to the New World Order" and NATO was the "mercenary army of international socialists." During a panel discussion, Phillips said he would close down the EPA, ATF, Department of Education and Planned Parenthood if elected.⁵⁴⁵

Ed Frami, the Constitution Party's National Vice Chairman, also spoke. He said he was formerly part of the militant anti-choice movement that blockaded clinics. He decided to abandon that and focus on trying to get the right type of people elected to office. "The people who are involved with the Constitution Party are the ones asking what they can do for God," he told conference goers.⁵⁴⁶ Frami has supported the work of the John Birch Society and backed the formation of militia groups.⁵⁴⁷

Michigan's Cal Zastrow, an Assembly of God minister, gave one of the most impassioned speeches.⁵⁴⁸ Zastrow, a member of Missionaries to the Preborn, said the real threat to America wasn't political parties. Instead, the danger was "demons from hell manifested as lies," he seethed, because a "law that lets women murder unborn children is hell." Claiming only born-again Christians were God's chosen people, Zastrow asked the crowd, "Which is louder? A few Christians singing in church on Sundays or the death screams of unborn children having their arms and legs ripped off?" To help the anti-choice movement, he encouraged adults to sponsor young adults in the militant anti-choice movement, because they don't have as much to lose by getting arrested.⁵⁴⁹

Zastrow came to Montana in 2000 to help gather signatures to get CPOM on the ballot. While in Montana, he was arrested for protesting in front of Planned Parenthood in Billings, but the charges were dropped.⁵⁵⁰ He came back to Montana to attend the state party's 2005 annual convention.⁵⁵¹ By 2006, he was leading Michigan Citizens for Life's attempt to put a constitutional amendment on the ballot declaring life begins at conception.⁵⁵²

Bringing the "Ten Commandment Judge" to Montana

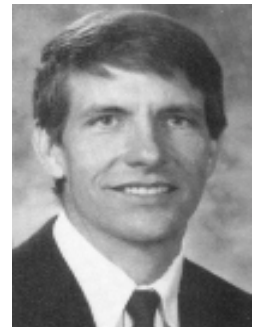
Roy Moore, formerly the Alabama Supreme Court's Chief Justice, became the darling of right-wing Christians in 2001. He installed a 5,280 pound granite sculpture of the Ten Commandments in the lobby of the Ala-

bama Judicial Building. A federal court ordered that he remove it because it violated the separation of church and state. He refused, and his Supreme Court colleagues suspended him from office. Praised as the "Ten Commandments Judge," he became a favorite of ultra-conservative Christians who abhor the separation of church and state and toured the right-wing speaking circuit.⁵⁵³

Jonathan Martin and CPOM brought Moore to Montana in 2004. Martin said he believed Moore had been "raised up by God" to fight the separation of church and state. Martin said the central question Moore would address was "Can the state acknowledge God?"⁵⁵⁴ The Militia of Montana distributed three press releases by Martin promoting the event and asking with help on turnout.⁵⁵⁵ When questioned by the media about using the Militia of Montana for help, Martin said he sent the releases to several groups, and he was "not opposed to" the Militia of Montana and "agree[d] with some of their ideas."⁵⁵⁶

In February 2004, Moore packed the Civic Center in Great Falls. The tone for the evening was set by Rev. Gary Koljonen who gave the invocation. He stated there was only one God, and Jesus Christ was his son. He implied that God was speaking the truth through Moore, and that America was founded as a Christian nation. Jonathan Martin then introduced Rick Jore, who railed against the "moral relativism," "humanistic thinking" and "political correctness" that ran rampant in society. Jore said Moore was encouraging people to "accept God's law" instead.⁵⁵⁷

Roy Moore kept the audience engaged with a multi-media presentation. He said God is the source



While running for governor, both Ken Miller (top) and Tom Keating (bottom) attended a Constitution Party of Montana rally in support of Roy Moore.

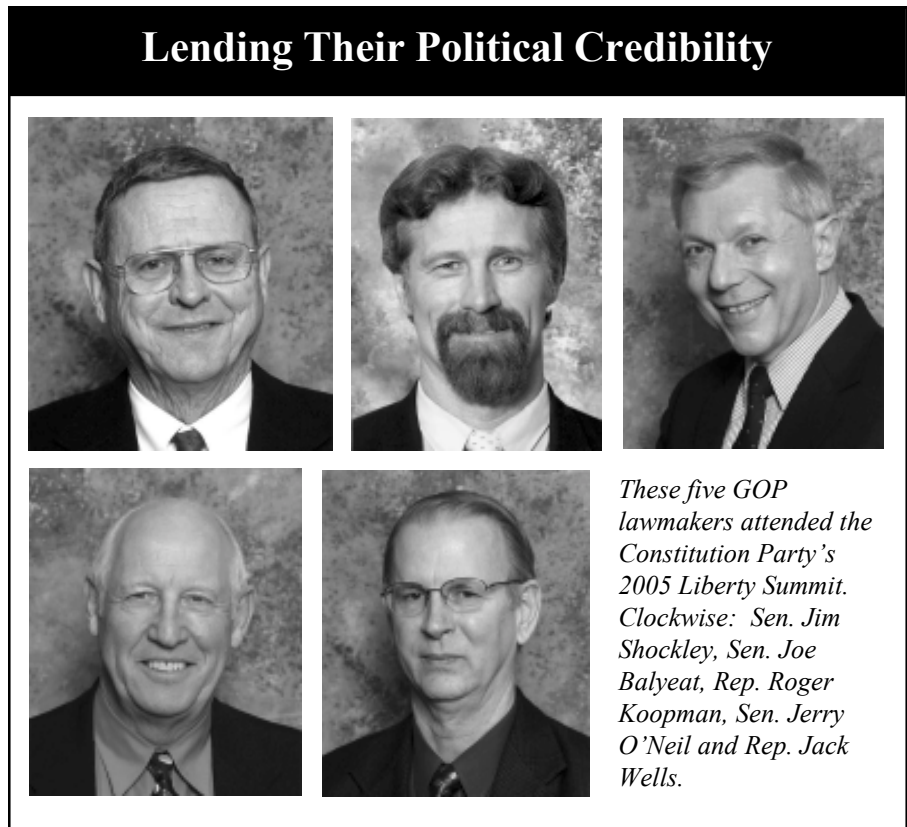
of all law, and that was why he placed the Ten Commandments in the Judicial Building. His fight was not about the Ten Commandments, he claimed, but about acknowledging that God created law and government. Moore compared himself to Daniel in the Bible who also refused to renounce God. He complained that judges today think they can make law. However, he said Alabama judges invoke God to establish justice, so he couldn't do his job without recognizing the Lord. He ended by encouraging people in attendance to pray and turn away from their wicked ways, because God's judgment would come if we didn't "stem the evil tide."⁵⁵⁸

Even before Moore spoke in Montana, CPOM supported him. In late 2003, Rick Jore helped organize a rally at the state Capitol in Moore's honor after the judge was removed from office. The event was part of the National Coalition to Restore the Constitution's plan to hold rallies in every state on the same day.⁵⁵⁹ The Constitution Party of Montana co-sponsored the rally with the Montana Family Coalition, Montana Right to Life, Montana Eagle Forum, and other Religious Right groups. Jore and Jonathan Martin were the contact people for the event.⁵⁶⁰

Jore reported that 160 people went to the event in the Capitol Rotunda. Two Republican gubernatorial candidates attended—Tom Keating and Ken Miller. Harris Himes, leader of the Montana Family Coalition, told pastors they needed to teach a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible and lead their congregations like preachers did during the American Revolution. Rob Natelson said he has the Ten Commandments on the wall of his office at the University of Montana Law School and has publicly challenged anyone to sue him to take them down.⁵⁶¹

2005 Liberty Summit

The Constitution Party of Montana took over organizing and planning the 2005 Liberty Summit. The event



These five GOP lawmakers attended the Constitution Party's 2005 Liberty Summit. Clockwise: Sen. Jim Shockley, Sen. Joe Balyeat, Rep. Roger Koopman, Sen. Jerry O'Neil and Rep. Jack Wells.

was organized by a committee consisting of Libby's Russell Brown, Kalispell's Bruce Boone, Stevensville's Samuel Hostetler, Plains' Roxsanna Ryan, Olney's Charlotte Komeda, and Missoula's Diane Rotering. Rob Natelson's ability to attend the summit was central to the committee's planning.⁵⁶²

Promotional materials called the event "Judges and the Constitution: Take Back the Courts" and said the conference would combat "judicial abuses." The meeting was held at King Tool near Belgrade, which is owned by former Republican state Sen. Casey Emerson.⁵⁶³ The venue was an interesting choice, because it served as the meeting point in the 1990s for Citizens for a Free America, the Bozeman chapter of the Militia of Montana.⁵⁶⁴ About 45 people attended the Liberty Summit, including five Republican legislators—Senators Joe Balyeat (Bozeman), Jerry O'Neil (Columbia Falls) and Jim Shockley (Victor); and Representatives Roger Koopman (Bozeman), and Jack Wells (Bozeman). Koopman acted as the event's Emcee and announced the focus of the day was the many abuses by the Montana Supreme Court and "activist judges" in the federal judiciary.⁵⁶⁵

The Human Rights Network was very concerned Republican legislators attended the event. It wrote to the lawmakers to make sure they understood what CPOM is and represents, explaining the party's combination of "patriot" movement ideology and Christian Reconstructionism. The letter also mentioned the contempt the Constitution Party of Montana holds for the GOP, and that most conservatives around the country treat the party as a fringe group. In conclusion, the Human Rights Network warned the legislators that, by participating in the Liberty Summit, they provided a sense of legitimacy and credibility to CPOM that the party could not accomplish on its own.⁵⁶⁶

When contacted by the media, Rick Jore claimed the summit was not a Constitution Party event.⁵⁶⁷ However, attendees made their checks out to CPOM and minutes from the party's meetings showed its activists organized the summit.⁵⁶⁸ Rep. Wells told the press he agreed with "99%" of what the Constitution Party stood for, saying he believed America was founded as a Christian nation.⁵⁶⁹

Sen. Shockley was the only legislator to respond directly to the Human Rights Network. He said the Network engaged in "character assassination," and he resented the implication that the Network could tell a lawmaker what meetings he could attend.⁵⁷⁰ The Network responded that Shockley, and everyone else for that matter, may certainly go to any meeting the person wants to attend. "However, when you attend meetings featuring extremist organizations or speakers, we feel the public should know," wrote the Network. "If you want to lend your political reputation to groups like the Constitution Party of Montana, it is absolutely your right to do so. We're just trying to make sure you do it while being well informed."⁵⁷¹

Instead of denouncing CPOM and its connections to

extremist groups, the GOP legislators attacked the Human Rights Network. By turning their attendance at the Liberty Summit into a debate over the First Amendment, they dodged a central issue—their constituents had a right to know what kind of political company they keep. Ironically, these legislators who referenced the First Amendment seemed unconcerned about violating the Network's right to critique public officials.

After the Liberty Summit, where Rob Natelson, Sen. Joe Balyeat, and Rick Jore were featured speakers, CPOM announced a broad work plan. It said there were six main areas of discussion that would be narrowed down over time:

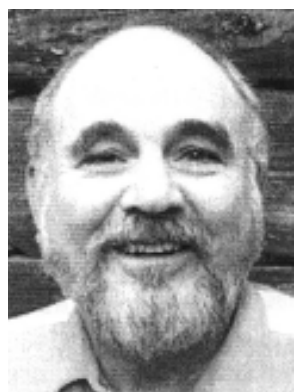
"(1) Citizens' grand jury, (2) prohibiting tax money from being used on lobbying and lawsuits, (3) FIJA (Fully Informed Jury Amendment), (4) making it legal for non-lawyers to be judges, (5) providing for recall of public officials without cause, and (6) disallowing lawyers to appear before judges to whose campaign they contributed."⁵⁷²

Events held by CPOM continually draw members of the Montana Republican Party. Instead of treating the Constitution Party with the same disdain it shows for the GOP, Republicans attend the events to solidify their image as "true conservatives." This allows the Constitution Party to continue its efforts to wedge itself into the political mainstream by pointing to its interaction with incumbent politicians. No longer is CPOM just a party with militia roots. Instead, it is a party worth the attention of public officials.

Ties That Bind

In analyzing the activities of groups and individuals in political movements, it is important to understand that there are differing perspectives and beliefs among participants. For example, “right to life” is a position taken by the “right wing,” but not all individuals who support the right to life ascribe to the movement’s belief. It is also important that the exception (for example the pro-choice member of the Christian Coalition) not drive the analysis of a movement’s goals and activities. This section of the report deals with CPOM as a part of the right wing and examines the connections between party leaders and activists with other groups and individuals supporting the right wing. Some of these relationships have already been discussed. A few more are described below.

On its website, CPOM promoted an anti-government/anti-environmental rally held in Libby on April 15, 2000.⁵⁷³ The event drew militia activists and white supremacists from Idaho and Montana.⁵⁷⁴ When the original organizers tried to cancel the event due to objections voiced by the community, Michael Heit asked them to join forces with CPOM. “It is with sadness I have read about the cancellation of the freedom rally,” he wrote. “If you have the stomach for a good and worthy fight, please attend our meeting in April.”⁵⁷⁵ Although none of the organizers were listed in meeting minutes, one of them, Scott Orr, did attend the party’s convention in September 2000.⁵⁷⁶



Gary Hall

The Libby rally was not the only crossover between the Constitution Party of Montana and the anti-environmental “wise use” movement. CPOM Candidate Gary Hall was a board member for Montanans for Multiple Use at the same time he was running for the Montana Legislature.⁵⁷⁷ Hall has served as vice president and editor of Montanans for Multiple Use’s newsletter.⁵⁷⁸ He has ascribed to the “wise-use” notion that environmentalists are part of a sinister conspiracy to shut down Montana’s economy.⁵⁷⁹ “There is no com-

promise with the radical leaders of the environmental movement,” Hall wrote, “because they have a completely different set of values.” These values view “Christianity as a threat to nature” and seek to replace Western values “with some form of pantheism.” Hall concluded that wise use’s battle with conservationists wasn’t merely “a dif-



Montanans for Multiple Use is one of the largest wise use groups in the state.

ference of opinion” but “spiritual warfare.”⁵⁸⁰ Hall also complained the Forest Service “has a history of caving into greens [conservationists],” and wise use activists needed to keep the agency from using “‘science’ provided by greens” to make decisions.⁵⁸¹ In a Hall letter distributed by the Militia of Montana, he wrote that current federal policies “tend to lock up those [natural] resources” and will send America back to a “stone age culture.”⁵⁸² Through fish and wildlife policies, Hall worried about the federal government’s “colonization” of Montana.⁵⁸³

Other CPOM activists have also espoused “wise use” ideas. Kandi Matthew-Jenkins called Montana’s environmental laws “unrealistic” and anti-business. She also advocated focusing Montana’s economy on extractive industry.⁵⁸⁴ She, along with Steve Groff, signed an online petition demanding gates be removed from Forest Service roads. The explanation for the petition stated Americans’ rights were being “VIOLATED BY EXTREMIST GROUPS WHO CALL THEMSELVES ENVIRONMENTALISTS [emphasis in original].” It also warned that conservationists had infiltrated government and instituted their “COMMUNIST VIEWS [emphasis in original].”⁵⁸⁵

Lou Hatch claimed Montana’s economy declined when

*Lou Hatch*

“we locked a lot of the logging companies out of the woods.”⁵⁸⁶ He chastised the Montana Supreme Court for its rulings protecting the state’s natural resources.⁵⁸⁷ The Ravalli County Constitution Party campaigned against land-use planning and “Agenda 21.” Jerry Fleischman, representing the local group, told the state party that the U.N.’s Agenda 21 was a push to negate the U.S. Constitution and

abolish private property rights. Gil Turner reported that the Ravalli County group was planning a seminar on Agenda 21 for sometime in 2006.⁵⁸⁸

In addition to specifically mentioning the Fully Informed Jury Association, CPOM advocated for the Judicial Accountability Initiative Law (JAIL). JAIL claimed the judicial system was acting with impunity, and citizens needed to stop judges from abusing their power. JAIL would have created a “Special Grand Jury” to hear cases against “abusive” judges. If a judge received an indictment by the jury, the judge would be permanently removed from office. The cost of the Special Grand Jury would come from a 2.9% deduction from the gross judicial salaries of all judges. The judicial system would no longer be a check on the legislative and executive branches of government, because the Special Grand Jury would be supervised by the legislature.⁵⁸⁹ Michael Heit served as the Montana contact for the national JAIL group.⁵⁹⁰

In February 2000, both Rick Jore and Dick Green spoke at rally organized by the Montana Christian Coalition. The rally was aimed at protesting so-called liberal decisions by the Montana Supreme Court. One speaker, Joe Balyeat, summarized the overall tone of the rally, saying, “seven political terrorists in black robes” had taken Montana hostage.⁵⁹¹ Back in 1995, Green attended a Christian Coalition meeting to start a chapter in Ravalli County.⁵⁹²

Dick Green spoke at a 1996 meeting held by the “patriot” group We The People, which supported Bitterroot militia leader Calvin Greenup.⁵⁹³ Greenup, who was affiliated with the Indiana-based North American Volunteer Militia, was best known for calling out fellow militia members in an attempt to shoot down a National Guard helicopter flying over his property in 1995.⁵⁹⁴ Green told meeting goers that the American government was “so-

cialistic” and “liberals are universally intellectually weak individuals...they’re a school of bottom feeders.”⁵⁹⁵

Another crossover between CPOM and the militia movement is Michael New. New was sent to Macedonia in 1992 as part of a U.N. Peacekeeping force. He refused to wear the U.N.’s insignia and obey orders from his commanding officer and received a court martial.⁵⁹⁶ New immediately became a hero and martyr to the militia movement for standing up to the “New World Order.” His father, Dan New, has continued to spread his son’s story as Michael’s case went through the military court of appeals. In 2000, CPOM had a link to Dan New’s website, and Dan New was a featured speaker at the party’s 2000 convention. “Communism hasn’t collapsed. It’s morphing,” he told convention goers. “You don’t need the Soviet Union when you’ve got the White House.” He also claimed the Civil Rights Movement financed the Ku Klux Klan in the 1960s to generate public support. He presented Michael Heit and CPOM activist Tom Farrenkopf with “Citizen Medals of Honor” for their dedication to “patriot” causes.⁵⁹⁷ Both Heit and Farrenkopf were members of New’s “Home Guard,” which was dedicated to supporting Michael New.⁵⁹⁸ Heit also went on the road with New in both Montana and Idaho.⁵⁹⁹

Bitterroot-area residents Tom and Lynn Farrenkopf were instrumental in CPOM gaining ballot access in 2000, according to Rick Jore.⁶⁰⁰ Their business, Ought Six Wear,



Dick Green spoke at rally criticizing the Montana Supreme Court that was organized by the Christian Coalition of Montana.

Photo from Ought Six Wear website



Tom Farrenkopf

meetings on at least three occasions about one-world-government conspiracy theories.⁶⁰³ Farrenkopf clearly stated his belief in the New-World-Order conspiracy in a column he wrote for CPSA's newsletter in 1997. He claimed, "The CFR [Council on Foreign Relations] has been promoting One World Government for over 75 years."⁶⁰⁴ The Council is frequently listed as one of the entities plotting to overthrow the United States government. In a letter printed in the *Western News*, Farrenkopf stated the "pestilence of war" was imminent and mocked the fact that he "carr[ie]d the black plague of being 'anti-government.'"⁶⁰⁵

Tom Farrenkopf participated in the "Jarbidge Rebellion" and attended the road reopening in Elko, Nevada, on July 4, 2000.⁶⁰⁶ The rebellion centered on a road under Forest Service jurisdiction that Elko County claimed to own. The Forest Service decided not to reopen the road after a landslide to protect the endangered bull trout

designed T-shirts for the party.⁶⁰¹ Tom has served as president of the Missoula-based Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment (CPSA).⁶⁰² Although it tried to portray itself as a local NRA-type group, CPSA shared the militia movement's ideology. CPSA had the Militia of Montana's John Trochmann speak at its

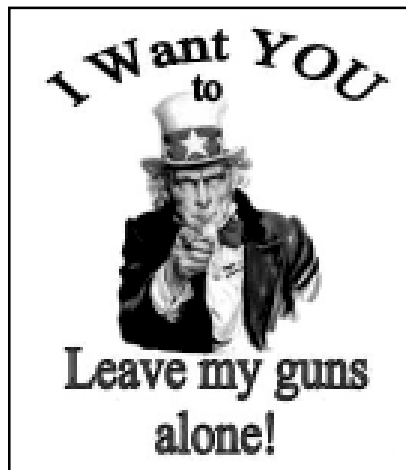
the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.⁶⁰⁹

While in Elko, Farrenkopf joined fellow "patriot" Jeff Head for the "50 Million Round March."⁶¹⁰ Head, from Idaho, organized the event to show support for the Second Amendment. He urged "patriots" to send letters, along with spent cartridges or used targets, to their congressmen, because the amendment was "MEANT [emphasis in original] to be a latent threat to politicians."⁶¹¹ Farrenkopf's Ought Six Wear designed the campaign's T-shirts.⁶¹²

In 2000, Michael Heit signed Jeff Head's "A Modern Declaration of Liberty." The document claimed the federal government was acting outside its Constitutional powers and was "on the road to totalitarianism in a Marxist or Fascist form."⁶¹³ Among other demands, it called for the United States' withdrawal from the U.N. and for the abolishment of the Federal Reserve and Department of Education. The declaration was circulated throughout the "patriot" movement, including the racist tabloid *The Jubilee*.⁶¹⁴ *The Jubilee* supports the racist theology Christian Identity. Identity claims Jews are the literal children of Satan and ethnic minorities are "mud people."



NORFED Flier



A shirt available from Tom Farrenkopf's Ought Six Wear

in Jarbidge River.⁶⁰⁷ On July 4, Farrenkopf and others "reopened" the road by removing a large boulder.⁶⁰⁸ Constitution Party Presidential candidate Howard Phillips addressed the road openers over the holiday weekend, saying if he was elected he would drastically reduce the size of

When Heit ran for the legislature in 2000, he was listed as an "Approved Candidate" by Jeff Head's "Restoration 2000 Campaign." Head's group required candidates to support eliminating income taxes, the IRS and the Federal Reserve, along with terminating America's membership in the United Nations.⁶¹⁵

Tom Farrenkopf's wife, Lynn, had her own way of supporting the "patriot" movement. She ran the Big Sky Redemption Center in Victor, Montana.⁶¹⁶ Redemption centers are part of the "patriot" movement's strategy to disrupt the banking system. Currency, known as American Liberty Dollars, is issued by a group called the National Organization for the Elimination of the Federal Reserve (NORFED). NORFED believes Federal Reserve Notes are worthless, while Liberty Dollars are supposedly backed by gold and silver.⁶¹⁷ Summing up this viewpoint, Michael Heit said, "The United States of America

(Corporate America) was declared bankrupt in 1933 and has been in receivership ever since.”⁶¹⁸ “Patriots” issued Liberty Dollars by NORFED can take it to redemption centers to get the equivalent in gold and silver or pay for services. In September 2000, the Farrenkopfs hosted a meeting of Montana redemption centers in Missoula that was addressed by a national NORFED representative.⁶¹⁹

Farrenkopf isn’t the only CPOM activist to have run a redemption center. Others have included: Marilyn Hatch in Lolo; Klaus Gilchrist in Polson (former vice-chairman of CPOM); and Michael Heit in Elmo.⁶²⁰ The contact information for Heit’s redemption center was identical to the information listed for CPOM on the party’s website. During Heit’s tenure as chairman, other Montana redemption centers were also listed on CPOM’s website. It said that Heit’s center was used to support the efforts of CPOM.⁶²¹

Many Constitution Party of Montana activists supported CI-75, a 1998 campaign initiative spearheaded by Rob Natelson’s Montanans for Better Government. CI-75 required public votes for almost all tax increases. Voters passed it, but it was overturned by the Montana Supreme

Court which ruled it unconstitutional.⁶²² Rick Jore, an incumbent Republican legislator at the time, supported CI-75.⁶²³ Heit stated CI-75 was a mandate to the Montana Legislature to do something about taxes. “People are saying to government, ‘Listen to us. We are tired of high taxes, we are tired of unresponsiveness,’” he said.⁶²⁴ Jay McKean (2006) stated the Supreme Court had “lawlessly nullified the will of the majority” and, since Natelson led the CI-75 campaign, he should be elected governor.⁶²⁵



Constitution Party of Montana activists have been faithful to Rob Natelson over the years.

The party’s activists have enthusiastically supported Rob Natelson over the years. After Natelson lost the 2000 Republican gubernatorial primary, Kandi Matthew-Jenkins was part of an effort to mount a write-in campaign for Natelson.⁶²⁶ Jenkins was also part of a split in the Missoula Republican Party that occurred following the CI-75 campaign. She and others left the GOP, because her fellow Republicans didn’t support CI-75.⁶²⁷ Terry Poupa worked on Natelson’s 1996 gubernatorial campaign.⁶²⁸ Natelson himself spoke at the party’s first convention where he mentioned CI-75. He said, “The Supreme Court overturned the people’s will” after the “government and political establishment cried foul.”⁶²⁹

Howard Phillips and the National Constitution Party

Since its beginning in 1992, the national Constitution Party attracted right-wing activists. Originally called the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP), it changed its name in 1999 to better reflect its political mission.⁶³⁰ The names may have changed, but the party has always revolved around one man, Howard Phillips. Phillips has been the perennial presidential candidate for the party. He ran for the presidency three times on the party's ticket. In many election cycles, the party tried to recruit a bigger-name candidate, but the job has generally fallen to Phillips. He has a long history in conservative politics, dating back to the Nixon Administration.

Following his victory in 1968, Richard Nixon showed his appreciation to conservatives by appointing right-wing activists to government posts. One of those activists was Howard Phillips, who was sent to the Office of Economic Opportunity. He was chosen specifically to dismantle programs allegedly dominated by liberals as part of Nixon's "Defund the Left" campaign.⁶³¹ Phillips aggressively followed the mandate, eliminating the agency's regional offices and terminating funds for many anti-poverty programs. However, Phillips had not been confirmed by the U.S. Senate to his post, so a federal court ruled his action illegal.⁶³²

Phillips resigned from the Nixon Administration after the court ruling and began creating new conservative groups.⁶³³ The first was the Conservative Caucus.⁶³⁴ The Caucus' purpose was to mobilize conservatives at a grassroots level to influence their legislators and policy decisions.⁶³⁵ One area of policy work was helping the South African regime that supported apartheid. The Caucus led trips to South Africa to meet with officials who were not allowed in the United States due to the regime's apartheid policies. The support of a racist regime is a little easier to understand, considering Richard Shoff was on the Caucus' board. Shoff was an officer with the Indiana Ku Klux Klan, which held cross burnings on his property.⁶³⁶

The Conservative Caucus opposed reproductive freedom. "If personhood [of the fetus] is declared and established, *Roe v. Wade* goes by the wayside, all of the other defenses of abortion by the wayside," Phillips stated. To that end, the Conservative Caucus, and other right-wing groups, supported passage of the "Paramount Human Life Amendment," which would have established legal personhood at conception.⁶³⁷

In 1976, Phillips, along with right-wing political operatives Paul Weyrich and Richard Viguerie, decided to create a political party to the right of Republicans, whom they thought were becoming too moderate. They attended

Founders of the "Moral Majority"



Howard Phillips



Paul Weyrich



Jerry Falwell

the convention of the American Independent Party with the intention of getting Viguerie on the national ticket. The American Independent Party formed for George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign and was a coalition that included Klansmen and John Birch Society members. The party's convention bypassed Viguerie in favor of Lester Maddox, a notorious racist who threatened African Americans who tried to patronize his Georgia restaurant.⁶³⁸ Author Sara Diamond wrote that the Phillip's effort showed he was "willing and eager to take over a party led by veterans of the racist Citizens' Councils."⁶³⁹ The fact they weren't successful didn't stop Phillips and his friends.

In early 1979, Phillips and Weyrich approached Rev. Jerry Falwell with the idea of creating the Moral Major-

ity, the catalyst for today's Religious Right.⁶⁴⁰ Phillips and his cohorts were concerned that the Republican Party was drifting to the left, and they identified fundamentalist Christians as an untapped source of conservative voters. Viguerie said that Phillips "spent countless hours with electronic ministers like Jerry Falwell, James Robison and Pat Robertson, urging them to get involved in conservative politics."⁶⁴¹ By July 1980, the Moral Majority and its religious allies claimed to have registered 2.5 million voters and swept Ronald Reagan into the White House.⁶⁴² In the early 1980s, Phillips was a founding member of the Council for National Policy.⁶⁴³ The secretive group of some 500 members provides right-wing activists and funders an opportunity to network and plot strategy outside public view.⁶⁴⁴

Courting the Fringe

In 1992, Phillips, a Christian Reconstructionist, left the GOP for good and started the U.S. Taxpayers Party. He summed up his reasons for forming the party, declaring the Republican Party was "no longer a coalition to change policy, but rather a conspiracy to hold power."⁶⁴⁵ As one journalist put it:

"Phillips and fellow conservatives [felt] burned by their support of George Bush in '88 and '92, and even Reagan in the '80s—because when the 12 consecutive years of Republican White House occupancy were over, abortion remained legal, the Department of Education was still in business, and lesbians and gays had continued to gain acceptance."⁶⁴⁶

Phillips top choice for his party's presidential candidate was Pat Buchanan.⁶⁴⁷ His courting of Buchanan was the start of a familiar trend. Most election cycles, Phillips would try to recruit a well-known conservative for the ticket's presidential ticket. Buchanan toyed with the idea in 2000, before deciding to take control of the Reform Party.⁶⁴⁸ Like Buchanan, Republican Alan Keyes announced in 2000 he might join the Constitution Party if the GOP softened its anti-choice position.⁶⁴⁹ Keyes withdrew his threat after George W. Bush announced Dick Cheney was his running mate.⁶⁵⁰

In 1999, U.S. Sen. Bob Smith (R-NH) announced he had left the Republican Party and would run for president as a member of the Taxpayers Party. Smith left the GOP, because it had abandoned its principles when it

came to gun rights and abortion. He declared, "Come home conservatives, and Bob Smith will be the next president of the United States." He also hoped the Taxpayers Party would change its name to the "Conservative Party."⁶⁵¹ A week after leaving the GOP, Smith said he was resigning from the Taxpayers Party, in order to maintain his political independence.⁶⁵² In all these examples, Phillips ended up filling the top slot on the party's presidential ticket.

While Phillips ran for president on the Constitution Party ticket three times, the party's candidate for vice president changed. In 1996,

Two That Got Away



Both Pat Buchanan (left) and U.S. Sen. Bob Smith (right) considered running for president on the Constitution Party ticket. Both decided against it, leaving Howard Phillips as the candidate.

it was Herb Titus. Titus left the Republican Party in 1988 to join the U.S. Taxpayers Party. He served as the dean of Pat Robertson's Regent University Law School, until he was fired in 1993 after 14 years at the school. Titus said Robertson fired him for being too extreme. He began questioning Robertson's conservatism, saying Robertson was moderating his views to expand the influence of the Christian Coalition. "I don't think Pat Robertson is that much to the right," Titus said.⁶⁵³ While running with Phillips, Titus said, if they were elected, they would only appoint federal district attorneys who would prosecute abortion providers on charges of murder.⁶⁵⁴

Finding a 2000 candidate for vice president was difficult for the party. The party initially selected right-wing columnist Joe Sobran. He used to be an editor for the *National Review*, but left because of the anti-Semitic tone of some of his writing.⁶⁵⁵ His columns appeared in the anti-Semitic tabloid *The Spotlight*. Sobran gave up the vice-president slot, saying he felt he could do more for the cause as a columnist than a candidate.⁶⁵⁶

J. Curtis Frazier was the second choice. Frazier, the former chairman of the Missouri Constitution Party, was a doctor specializing in emergency medicine.⁶⁵⁷ He considered himself a "Biblical Constitutionalist" and upheld the party's anti-choice views saying, "The primary duty of civil government is to protect the shedding of innocent blood."⁶⁵⁸ In a speech before the Wisconsin Constitution Party, Frazier stated, "Hating that which is evil (abortion, bribery, theft, tyranny, sodomy, oppression of the poor) is a mandate" from God.⁶⁵⁹ On providing health care, Frazier was quoted in *The Spotlight* as saying, "beseeching the government for health care is like asking Bill Clinton for marriage counseling."⁶⁶⁰ On the Montana front, Frazier and members of his family gave Rick Jore \$500 for Jore's 2002 legislative campaign.⁶⁶¹

The 2004 Ticket

As in previous election cycles, the Constitution Party hoped to land a big-name conservative in 2004, and they appeared to have one on the hook. "Ten Commandments Judge" Roy Moore spent much of 2004 touring the country and speaking at Constitution Party events, including in Montana.⁶⁶² In a judicial opinion, Moore once declared

The Presidential Ticket of 2004



Michael Peroutka



Chuck Baldwin

homosexuality "abhorrent, immoral, detestable, a crime against nature," and asserted the state carried "the power of the sword, that is, the power to prohibit [gay] conduct with physical penalties, such as confinement and even execution."⁶⁶³ Between his anti-gay views and his support of the Ten Commandments, Moore seemed to have the necessary Christian Reconstructionist values for the job.

Moore's relationship with the Constitution Party went back to 1998 when he spoke at a party event.⁶⁶⁴ Howard Phillips was a major supporter of Moore's Ten Commandments cause, even helping promote a petition drive to persuade President Bush to nominate Moore to the U.S. Supreme Court. Herb Titus served as Moore's attorney during his attempts to reclaim his spot on the Alabama Supreme Court.⁶⁶⁵ Frederick Clarkson described why the marriage between Moore and the party would work: "Certainly Moore has a lot in common with the party. The former judge personifies a kind of theocratic right-wing populism that sees the federal government as its major opponent."⁶⁶⁶

Moore told the press he didn't want to run for office until he finished his legal fight to regain his position as chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court.⁶⁶⁷ However, Moore did run for office—the Alabama Governor's Office in 2006 on the Republican Party ticket.⁶⁶⁸ In the end, Moore lost the Republican gubernatorial primary 36%-

64%.⁶⁶⁹

When Moore did not take the bait, the Constitution Party turned to Maryland attorney Michael Peroutka. Peroutka made a name for himself in conservative circles through his Institute on the Constitution, which peddles 12-week seminars teaching a Biblical version of American history and government.⁶⁷⁰ The ideology behind the seminars made Peroutka a logical choice for the Constitution Party. "The God of the Bible must be first," he often told audiences. "It's just as wrong to vote for Gomorrah as it is to vote for a slightly more evil Sodom."⁶⁷¹ To a Washington crowd, he said, "The acknowledgement of God is not an exercise of religion, it's a founding principle of government."⁶⁷²

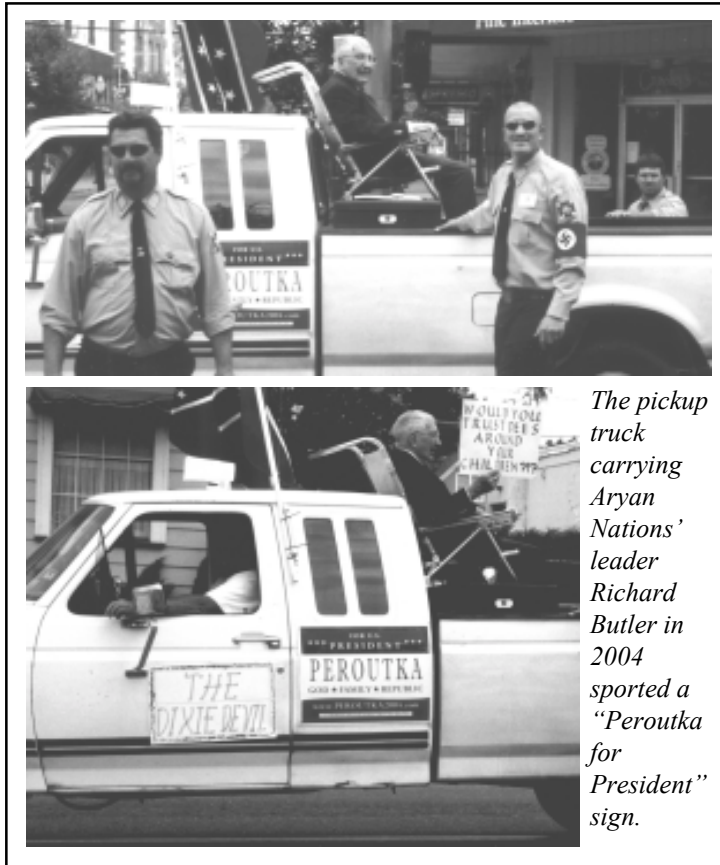
Peroutka's background tarnished his pro-God, pro-family rhetoric. According to an expose in the *Baltimore City Paper*, Peroutka and his wife forced his wife's two daughters from a previous marriage to become wards of Maryland's foster care system. This happened after one of the daughters told her Catholic youth group that Peroutka had sexually abused her. This claim was never substantiated, and the girl later recanted the accusation. However, the Peroutkas still transferred custody of both girls over to the state and severed all contact with them. In court records, one daughter recalled "several occasions where my stepfather [Michael Peroutka] would mash my face into the floor, sit on me to restrain me, push me against a wall, and pull my hair while demanding I call myself a 'slut.'"⁶⁷³ Peroutka's take on all of this was that it showed "the evil that occurs when the jurisdiction of the family is invaded by agencies of the state."⁶⁷⁴ He was

also arrested in 1991 for drunk driving. He received probation and a month of restricted driving privileges.⁶⁷⁵

It was common during 2004 to find Peroutka serving as the opening act for Moore, including at Moore's speech in Great Falls. Peroutka discussed his perception that a culture war was being waged against Christians.⁶⁷⁶ He referred to the judicial system as an "unelected oligarchy." He then introduced Roy Moore. This was a pattern followed all over the country. Peroutka would return to

Montana in 2005 to speak at CPOM's annual convention.⁶⁷⁷

Once Peroutka gained the Constitution Party's presidential nomination, Howard Phillips declared him the "only constitutionally correct choice" in the race for the White House.⁶⁷⁸ In his acceptance speech, Peroutka complained that "sodomites" served in the military and that America "tortures and executes" over one million "unborn [babies] a year." He promised to acknowledge God as the source of all law and to only appoint people who acknowledge God to the judiciary. He criticized President Bush for failing to stop the "systematic slaughter of



The pickup truck carrying Aryan Nations' leader Richard Butler in 2004 sported a "Peroutka for President" sign.

innocent, defenseless, unborn children in the womb." He promised to appoint U.S. Attorneys who would secure fetuses' right to life.⁶⁷⁹

On the campaign trail, he consistently stated he was "100% pro-life, all nine months, no exceptions" and that "if elected I promise abortion will end my first day in office."⁶⁸⁰ He promised to close down the Department of Education, because "public schools are a cesspool of politically correct, condom dispensing, sodomy promoting sewage that calls itself education."⁶⁸¹

Peroutka's campaign drew support from the white supremacist movement. The pickup truck carrying Rich-

ard Butler during the Aryan Nations' 2004 parade in Idaho featured a "Peroutka for President" sign.⁶⁸² The League of the South, a neo-confederate group categorized as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, had Peroutka speak at its 2004 annual meeting.⁶⁸³ He told convention attendees that the GOP was "committed to an anti-American agenda."⁶⁸⁴ He received the League's endorsement for, among other reasons, being an "opponent of the current American Empire" and supporting "States Rights and the right of secession."⁶⁸⁵

Running on the ticket with Peroutka was Florida's Chuck Baldwin, the founder and pastor of Crossroads Baptist Church, a host of a syndicated radio talk show, and a right-wing columnist.⁶⁸⁶ He upheld the party's anti-choice platform. His church planted 2,400 small white crosses on its property to represent the number of abortions in Escambia County, Florida.⁶⁸⁷

In the 1990s, Baldwin used his radio show on the Christian Patriot Network to promote the militia movement.⁶⁸⁸ Like Peroutka, Baldwin is involved with white supremacist neo-Confederate groups. The Council of Conservative Citizens (categorized a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center) is the modern-day incarnation of the White Citizens' Council that supported segregation and opposed the Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s. Baldwin has been a contributing writer to the group's main publication, *Citizens Informer*.⁶⁸⁹ His support of neo-Confederates was hard to miss. As one journalist wrote:

"Judging by his office stuffed with Confederate memorabilia, Bibles and a stuffed-and-mounted coyote he shot, Baldwin is about as pro-Dixie and pro-gun as he is anti-abortion. He says that flying the Confederate Flag—like bearing arms—is a means to identify with a culture that protests federal tyranny, expressed in Supreme Court decisions like *Roe v. Wade*, which legalized abortion in 1973."⁶⁹⁰

Baldwin left the Republican Party in 2004, just in time to get nominated as vice president for the Constitution

Party's ticket. He said there were no longer differences between Republicans and Democrats, and "both parties are marching to the same drummer with only a slightly different cadence." He complained that neither major party "has any intention of outlawing abortion-on-demand" and both were committed to "granting legitimacy to homosexuality." Baldwin said he joined the Constitution Party, because it shared his "pro-life, pro-liberty, and pro-constitution convictions."⁶⁹¹ He frequently criticized the Bush Administration in editorials for not appointing truly conservative judges to the U.S. Supreme Court and giving subsidies to "pro-abortion and pro-homosexual organizations."⁶⁹²



Larry Pratt
Gun Owners of America

Peroutka described Baldwin as an "American patriot and hero" when announcing Baldwin had joined the party's presidential ticket.⁶⁹³ Baldwin replied it was an honor to be on the ticket, because continuing to support the major parties would have meant continuing to support "big government spending, an out of control federal judiciary, and further excursions into an international New World Order."⁶⁹⁴

The Peroutka-Baldwin ticket did better than the Phillips-Frazier one in 2000. They received over 144,000 votes to Phillips' 98,000.⁶⁹⁵ However, the increase still did not come to 1% of the total vote.

Just Like Montana: The National Party and Extremists

The Constitution Party's appeal to extremists originated while it was still the U.S. Taxpayers Party. A USTP conference in 1996 provided an example. Larry Pratt, director of Gun Owners of America, was a featured speaker.⁶⁹⁶ Pratt made headlines in 1996 when he was forced to leave Pat Buchanan's presidential campaign because of his ties to militia and white supremacist groups.⁶⁹⁷ Gun Owners of America draws its membership from people who believe the NRA is too soft on gun issues.⁶⁹⁸

Another speaker was R.J. Rushdoony.⁶⁹⁹ Rushdoony is generally regarded as the founder of the Christian Reconstructionism movement.⁷⁰⁰ He has condemned democracy as "the great love of the failures and cowards of life."⁷⁰¹ He has also opposed interracial marriage and de-

segregation, saying the Bible “recognizes that some people are by nature slaves.”⁷⁰²

Rushdoony founded the Chalcedon Foundation (designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center) to promote his Reconstructionist theology. Its website has stated that “orthodox, Biblical Christianity should govern every area of thought and life.” According to a disclaimer on its website, white supremacist groups began linking to Chalcedon’s website. The disclaimer stated the foundation did not condone racist views, because “The Bible teaches religious superiority, not racial superiority.”⁷⁰³

Howard Phillips has said Rushdoony and Christian Reconstructionism “provided (evangelical Christian) leaders with the intellectual self-confidence” to become politically active.⁷⁰⁴ Phillips was a Rushdoony protégé. Calling himself a “Christian of Jewish heritage,” Phillips said Rushdoony “helped to remove the scales from my eyes, and motivated me to reexamine every area of my life.” The “scales” expression refers to the belief of some Christians that Jews are spiritually blind, because they have not accepted Jesus Christ’s divinity.⁷⁰⁵

USTP’s leadership and candidates for office had strong ties to the violent anti-choice movement. Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, was USTP’s Northeast regional co-chairman in 1996.⁷⁰⁶ Operation Rescue recruited from the radical fringe of the Religious Right and the anti-government “patriot” movement, staging massive protests in front of Planned Parenthood facilities across America during the 1990s.⁷⁰⁷ In 1993, a letter to Operation Rescue members stated, “It is your God-given right to destroy any man or woman calling themselves doctors who willingly slaughter innocent children.”⁷⁰⁸ Operation Rescue changed its name to Operation Save America and has increased its anti-gay rhetoric and opposition to church/state separation. Terry showed little interest in other conservatives:

“I want to see the righteous lead. I [want to] see Christian statesmen who believe that the Bible is

the foundation of civilization, and that the Ten Commandments must be the foundation of this republic...I don’t want a place at the table, because the table is corrupt. We don’t want equal time with baby-killers and homosexual recruiters and latex losers...We’re tired of their table. I’m looking for people who will do what is right because they fear God and because they are filled with a passion for what is right...If America does not return to biblical values, we cannot survive.”⁷⁰⁹

The person who garnered the most media attention for USTP and brought the party’s extremist nature into the spotlight was Matthew Trehwella, co-founder of the anti-choice Missionaries to the Preborn. During USTP of Wisconsin’s 1994 convention, he advocated forming militias and teaching children how to use guns. He told attendees, “This Christmas I want you to do the most loving thing and I want you to buy each of your children an SKS rifle and 500 rounds of ammunition.” Trehwella has advocated forming church-based militias.⁷¹⁰ He also signed a declaration saying that murdering abortion providers was “justifiable homicide.”⁷¹¹ Trehwella was one of a half-dozen anti-choice activists investigated as conspirators in the murder of Florida doctor John Britton.⁷¹² Following the 1995 USTP conference, Planned Parenthood reported that USTP circulated a 100-page training manual titled *Principles Justifying the Arming and Organizing of a Militia*.⁷¹³

Abortion has been a focal point for USTP and Constitution Party candidates running for public office. During his presidential run in 1992, Phillips ran television ads in Iowa with pictures, names, photos and addresses of Planned Parenthood medical directors saying, “A vote for Howard Phillips is a vote to prosecute the baby killers for premeditated murder.”⁷¹⁴ A 1994 USTP candidate for the Wisconsin legislature told reporters, “abortionists should be put on trial and put to death.”⁷¹⁵

Conclusion

National Party Not Conservative Enough for Montana

Despite the extremist ideas of the national party and its activists, CPOM decided in July 2006 to end its relationship with the national entity. The decision focused on the issue of abortion, and it wasn't made because of the national party's support of anti-choice zealots. Instead, it was because the national party was becoming too soft on the issue of abortion, according to CPOM.⁷¹⁶

The Montana delegates to the National Committee Meeting in Florida reported back to CPOM on efforts to weaken the Constitution Party's "100% Pro-Life Plank." The debate focused on two candidates running on the Independent Party of Nevada's ticket. The Nevada party is an affiliate of the national Constitution Party, and the candidates in question were supporting abortion in cases of rape and incest. A vote was taken at the Florida meeting to disaffiliate the Nevada group. However, it failed, and the Montana delegates felt the leaders of the Constitution Party didn't allocate proper time and resources to the vote, instead just wanting to move the meeting along.⁷¹⁷

Secretary Diane Rotering reported that many state affiliates were upset with the national leaders and the vote allowing Nevada to keep its status. She said affiliates in New York, Ohio, Oregon and Missouri had terminated their relationships with the national party. The members of the Constitution Party of Montana voted 51-5 to disaffiliate from the national party. Jonathan Martin was asked to write a letter to the national party expressing their disappointment with national leadership.⁷¹⁸

Martin's letter told the national party that it was with "much sadness" that the Montana party voted to disaffiliate. He scolded the party for repeatedly compromising its position on abortion. He said this compromise was "not only an abomination in the eyes of God" but represented a "forfeiture of Trust" with the Constitution Party of Montana. His letter said the state party would retain the name "Constitution Party of Montana." It told the national party it could no longer use the names of Montana candidates in any mailings. Martin concluded that Montana was leaving, but was willing to keep "the door open to possible reconciliation."⁷¹⁹

The decision to sever ties with the national party has

the possibility to cause problems for the party during the 2006 election cycle. As in every cycle, CPOM again had to gather signatures to gain ballot access. Instead of "Constitution Party of Montana," the petitions the activists used referred to the party as the "Constitution Party." In essence, the activists gathered signatures to get a party on the ballot with which they are no longer affiliated. That could open up the possibility of litigation to deny the Constitution Party of Montana ballot access, since the qualifying signatures were for the "Constitution Party."⁷²⁰

Beyond the campaign law questions, the disaffiliation decision speaks volumes about the extreme ideas of the Montana party. For them, having a relationship with a party full of militia-oriented, anti-reproductive freedom activists wasn't far enough to the right on the political spectrum. Instead, they saw the national party moderating its views. CPOM is now using the same argument against the national Constitution Party that it has used against Republicans—it has placed politics above principles.

The National Party

While the Constitution Party at the national level has not mounted anything close to a successful presidential campaign, it has achieved one of Howard Phillips' major desires—pulling the Republican Party to the right and infusing it with Christian fundamentalism. Former Republican strategist Kevin Phillips summarized it like this:

"The essential U.S. conditions for a theocratic trend fell into place in the late 1980s and '90s with the growing mass of evangelical, fundamentalist and Pentecostal Christianity expressed politically by the religious right; and the rise of the Republican Party as a powerful vehicle for religious policy-making and eventual erosion of the accepted degree of separation between church and state."⁷²¹

The Bush Administration has catered to the Religious Right more than any other presidency.⁷²² In fact, Bush told supporters God wanted him to run for President. Additionally, he told a 2004 crowd, "I trust God speaks

through me.”⁷²³ Bush’s “faith-based initiatives” have funneled money to conservative Christian groups providing social services. Current policy already allowed this, but the Bush Administration wanted groups getting federal funds to be able to discriminate in hiring practices and use the funds to proselytize.⁷²⁴

Going into the midterm 2006 Elections, the Republican Party pushed an “American Values Agenda” in Congress. It included bills banning gay marriage, cutting funds from public education, and preventing federal courts from hearing lawsuits dealing with church-state separation.⁷²⁵ The agenda was part of a plan to turn conservative Christian voters out to the polls for the GOP. Even with all of these “Christian Nation” attempts by the Republican establishment, the Constitution Party has consistently made sure that the GOP understood it had not swung far enough to the right to please all conservatives.

It is no accident that the Constitution Party is in the middle of the drive to marry politics with religion. The party’s ideology is based on Christian Reconstruction, which is working to make civil law identical to Old Testament biblical law. Author Rob Boston explains Reconstruction’s current influence:

“The main groups promoting it [Christian Reconstruction]...do not have large budgets but are recognized as having established the framework for mixing religion and politics that many Religious Right leaders cite as a model for their activism.”⁷²⁶

The Constitution Party already may have a big-name candidate for its 2008 presidential run, Jim Gilchrist. Gilchrist is the co-founder of the anti-illegal immigrant, border militia group The Minuteman Project. In May 2006, he announced he was looking at the Constitution Party, because Republicans had “sold out our sovereignty.” The party supported Gilchrist in 2005 when he ran as an independent for the U.S. Congress in California.⁷²⁷ His congressional campaign came under scrutiny

when staff members revealed they had allowed neo-Nazis to help with the campaign.⁷²⁸ Only time will tell if the Constitution Party will retain the high-profile Gilchrist as a candidate, or if he will abandon them as other big-ticket conservatives have in the past.

In Montana

It is too early to tell what will result from CPOM severing ties with the national party. Along with the ballot access questions, it will be interesting to see if national party activists are still willing to come to Montana, as Howard Phillips and Michael Peroutka have in the past. The national party may try to maintain a relationship. That way, should Rick Jore get elected, they can still claim the victory.

Since 2002, CPOM activists have emphasized Christian Reconstructionism more than the ideology of the “patriot” movement. That is no doubt a result of Michael Heit not serving as a party officer, eventually leaving the state, and being the subject of criticism. He now lives in Washington and is selling equipment for people to operate their own low-power radio stations. This business venture began when Heit started the Rocky Mountain Communications Company while still in Montana.⁷²⁹ He now calls it Rocky Mountain Reliable Radio.⁷³⁰

He says he has helped build 30 of his low power radio stations, but admits that some of the people broad-

casting with his equipment have been shut down and fined by the FCC. He says people can get around the FCC by paying for equipment with gold and silver, since the FCC can only regulate business done with Federal Reserve Notes. He concludes by telling people to take “whatever steps necessary to stay out of the courts,” because most jurors will side with the government, not understanding the concept of jury nullification.⁷³¹ He is still peddling his “patriot” message.

The military community has also condemned Heit. He has referred to himself as a former Army helicopter pilot who flew missions in Vietnam.⁷³² In reality, Heit did not advance past the rank of Private First Class and never



*Jim Gilchrist
Running in 2008?*

left the United States. He also was not a helicopter pilot, but a medical specialist. Heit's claims and contradicting military records are now posted under the "Phonies and Wannabes" section of the POW Network's website.⁷³³

While Heit may be gone, much of the "patriot" ideology he brought to the party remains in the platform. Now, the Constitution Party of Montana finds itself the catalyst and driving force behind Montana's anti-choice protests in front of health clinics. Jonathan Martin and Marilyn Hatch lead two of the most prominent groups in the state.

The Constitution Party of Montana is the most successful third party in the state. It has maintained a motivated core group of activists, some of whom have repeatedly run for the Montana Legislature. Included in that group are two former GOP legislators, Rick Jore and Dick Green. Both ran for the legislature in 2000, which helped establish CPOM as a legitimate outlet for frustrated con-

servatives. In 2000, the party fielded 11 candidates at the state level. By 2006, that number has grown to 21. The Constitution Party of Montana has aggressively taken on the Montana Republican Party and demonstrated the ability to cause problems in the electoral arena. Since 2000, it has garnered enough votes to cause Republicans to lose three races to the Democrats.

While demonstrating an ability to impact legislative races, CPOM has accomplished the same thing as the national party—it has redefined the idea of a "true conservative" in Montana. No longer are the theocratic myths of a "Christian Nation" and the militia's fears of black helicopters relegated to the very fringes of the political debate. The Constitution Party of Montana has brought them into the political mainstream and is selling them as political currency. CPOM just hopes that disgruntled Republicans will continue to accept the party as an outlet for their activism.

Appendix

Since gaining ballot access for the first time in 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana has fielded slates of candidates in 2000, 2002, 2004 and 2006 [see the following pages for the list of the candidates and their vote totals]. On the last day to file for the 2006 elections, 20 CPOM candidates jumped into contention for the Montana Legislature. That is the highest number of candidates fielded by the party.

CPOM has relied on a core group of activists to run for office. Three activists (Jonathan Martin, Terry Poupa, Lou Hatch, Rick Jore and Timothy Martin) ran in 2000, 2002, and 2004. Two others (Kent Holtz and Christopher Gregory) have run in both 2002 and 2004. As Montana heads into the 2006 campaign season, 10 of the party's 20 candidates have run before on the party's ticket. While concentrating mostly on races for the Montana House, in 2004 and 2006 CPOM also fielded candidates for the Montana Senate. In 2006, the party is also running a candidate for Clerk of the Supreme Court.

As is the case with most third parties, CPOM has yet to have one of its candidates win an election and serve in the Montana Legislature. However, unlike other third parties, CPOM has made an impact on legislative races. No CPOM candidate has had more impact than Rick Jore. Since abandoning the Republican Party in 2000, Jore has come incredibly close to winning back his seat in the legislature. When there has been a Republican candidate in the race, Jore always received more votes, which is unusual for a third-party office seeker. In fact, had GOP candidates not run in 2004 and 2002, it is likely Jore would have won the elections.

In 2004, the Lake County Elections Bureau declared that Jore and Democrat Jeanne Windham had tied. This meant that Republican Gov. Judy Martz would choose who got the seat, and the seat was incredibly important. If Jore was declared the winner, Republicans would have held 50 seats in the Montana House, with Democrats having 49. Jore and CPOM would have held the remaining spot. This meant Republicans would have a majority in the House. However, a Lake County citizen filed a lawsuit seeking to have certain election ballots thrown out. These ballots were filled out incorrectly and had been awarded to Jore. The case went all the way to the Montana Supreme Court, which threw out the questionable ballots and awarded the seat to Jeanne Windham.

The 2004 Election was the closest a CPOM candidate came to winning. However, they have impacted three other races where they drew enough votes away from the Republican candidate to make Democrats victorious. While it's important to note that CPOM candidates are not merely "conservative," it's logical to assume that its candidates and Republicans split the "conservative" vote. Therefore, in the following three races, the case can be made that the CPOM candidate cost the Republican the election:

- ◆ In 2000, Missoula-area CPOM candidate Pascal Redfern received 198 votes. Republican A.G. Deschamps lost to the Democrat by nine votes.
- ◆ In 2002, Great Falls-area CPOM candidate Kent Holtz received 122 votes. Republican Jim Whitaker lost to the Democrat by 23 votes.
- ◆ In 2004, Trout-Creek area CPOM candidate Renn Bodeker received 214 votes. Republican Steven Simonson lost to the Democrat by 176 votes.

When it came to Rick Jore's races, the Republican candidates balanced the score:

- ◆ In 2002, Jore got 1,339 votes, while the Republican received 245. Jore lost to Democrat Joey Jayne by 200 votes.
- ◆ In 2004, the recount by the Lake County Elections Bureau said Jore and Democrat Jeanne Windham tied with 1,559 votes. The Republican got 1,107 votes. The Montana Supreme Court eventually awarded Windham the legislative seat.

In 2006, a rematch between Jore and Windham, with no Republican, will determine if conservatives really want to be represented by a far-right radical.

While Jore came the closest to winning an election, other CPOM candidates have earned respectable percentages of the total votes cast in their races. In 2004, Bozeman's Mark DeGroot and Black Eagle's Philip DuPaul both received over 30% in their races. However, there was not a Republican candidate in either race, so they received all the "conservative" votes. Back in 2000, the Bitterroot's Dick Green and the Flathead's Timothy Martin both got over 20% of the vote. In these races, there were no Democrats. This means Green and Martin won over 20% of the "conservative" vote going head-to-head with GOP candidates.

Many CPOM candidates have received less than 10% of the votes cast in their races. This makes it tempting to consider it a third party with little meaningful impact. To do that requires dismissing Jore's strong showings and the three races in which the party captured enough "conservative" votes to shift the elections to Democrats. While CPOM candidates may not have won elections, they have had a significant impact on some races. Other well-known third parties, such as the Libertarian, Reform, and Green Parties, haven't produced similar results.

Montanans should be concerned about CPOM's success and not just because it has influenced elections. More significantly, it has funneled the conspiracy theories of the anti-government movement and the most right-wing of Christian fundamentalism into the political mainstream. Despite its radical ideology, CPOM has fielded at least 10 candidates in every legislative election since 2000. Within the last couple of years, it has created local branches in the Bitterroot and Flathead areas, along with Cascade, Lincoln and Yellowstone counties. This concentration on local communities is no doubt responsible for the party's slate of 20 candidates in 2006. The party's growing number of candidates, increased grassroots organizing, and ability to influence legislative elections means it must be treated as more than a political novelty.

The great threat for the Republican Party is not simply that CPOM will continue to influence elections in ways that do not benefit the GOP cause. Instead, CPOM's presence will pull some mainstream conservatives toward a far-right ideology and cause an irreconcilable rift in the party. Moderate Republicans, and there still are some in the legislature and many more in the populace, may find their party captured by the far right, leaving them without a comfortable "home."

Results from Previous Election Cycles

2000 Overview

Number of Candidates	11	
Total Number of Votes	7417	
Highest Vote Total Without a Republican	1818	Rick Jore
Highest Vote Total Without a Democrat	1413	Dick Green
Highest Vote Total With a Republican and a Democrat	274	Lou Hatch
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Republican	49.3%	Rick Jore
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Democrat	24.9%	Dick Green
Highest Percentage of Vote With a Republican and a Democrat	9.9%	Jonathan Martin
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Republican	4 out of 4 (100%)	
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Democrat	2 out of 2 (100%)	
Number of Races Over 19% With a Republican and a Democrat	0 out of 5 (0%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Republican	1 of 4 (25%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Democrat	1 of 4 (25%)	
Number of Races Over 24% With a Republican and a Democrat	0 of 5 (0%)	

2000 Raw Data

	Constitution	Democrat	Republican	Other
HD 41	Jonathan Martin	Brennan Ryan	James Whitaker	
Votes	158	716	718	
Percentage	9.9%	45.0%	45.1%	
HD 42	Terry Poupa	Trudi Schmidt		
Votes	754	2649		
Percentage	22.2%	77.8%		
HD 46	Philip DuPaul	Brett Tramelli	Rick Linafelter	
Votes	129	1380	791	
Percentage	5.6%	60.0%	34.4%	
HD 61	Dick Green		Jim Shockley	Erik Jerde
Votes	1413		4254	518
Percentage	24.9%		75.1%	8.4%
HD 62	Lou Hatch	Jean Belangie-Nye	Butch Waddill	
Votes	274	2100	2246	
Percentage	5.9%	45.5%	48.6%	
HD 66	Kandi Matthew-Jenkins	Gail Gutsche		
Votes	698	2808		
Percentage	19.9%	80.1%		

(2000 Raw Data, continued on next page)

2000 Raw Data, continued

HD 70	Pascal Redfern	Holly Raser	A.G Deschamps	E.L. Bernosky
Votes	198	2110	2101	123
Percentage	4.4%	46.6%	46.4%	2.7%
HD 73	Rick Jore	Joey Jayne		
Votes	1818	1872		
Percentage	49.3%	50.7%		
HD 74	Michael Heit	Jack Guns	John Brueggeman	Phoncelle Shapel
Votes	130	2026	2388	185
Percentage	2.7%	42.8%	50.5%	3.9%
HD 77	Timothy Martin		Rod Bitney	
Votes	1105		3332	
Percentage	24.9%		75.1%	

2002 Overview

Number of Candidates	10	
Total Number of Votes	2876	
Highest Vote Total Without a Republican	369	John Jenkins
Highest Vote Total Without a Democrat	N/A	
Highest Vote Total With a Republican and a Democrat	1339	Rick Jore
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Republican	15.1%	John Jenkins
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Democrat	N/A	
Highest Percentage of Vote With a Republican and a Democrat	42.9%	Rick Jore
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Republican	0 of 1 (0%)	
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Democrat	N/A	
Number of Races Over 19% With a Republican and a Democrat	1 of 9 (11%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Republican	0 of 1 (0%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Democrat	N/A	
Number of Races Over 24% With a Republican and a Democrat	1 of 9 (11%)	

2002 Raw Data

	Constitution	Democrat	Republican	Other
HD 41	Kent Holtz	Brennan Ryan	Jim Whitaker	
Votes	122	518	495	
Percentage	10.7%	45.6%	43.6%	
HD 42	Terry Poupa	Eve Franklin	Jan Cahill	
Votes	184	1654	921	
Percentage	6.7%	59.9%	33.4%	
HD 43	Jonathan Martin	Tim Callahan	Mat Rowley	
Votes	204	1723	1152	
Percentage	6.6%	56.0%	37.4%	
HD 45	Christopher Gregory	John Parker	Art Dickhoff	
Votes	68	1295	1080	
Percentage	2.8%	53.0%	44.2%	
HD 50	Timothy Sollid	Bradley Hamlett	Rick Ripley	Greg Gordon
Votes	94	1431	2016	172
Percentage	2.5%	38.5%	54.3%	4.6%
HD 62	Lou Hatch	Hugh Warford	Ray Hawk	
Votes	137	1693	1842	
Percentage	3.7%	46.1%	50.2%	

(2002 Raw Data, continued on next page)

2002 Raw Data, continued

HD 66	John Jenkins	Gail Gutsche		
Votes	369	2072		
Percentage	15.1%	84.9%		
HD 73	Rick Jore	Joey Jayne	Josh King	
Votes	1339	1539	245	
Percentage	42.9%	49.3%	7.8%	
HD 77	Timothy Martin	Richard Kuhl	Rod Bitney	
Votes	137	1507	2261	
Percentage	3.5%	38.6%	57.9%	
HD 80	Gary Hall	Mike Jopek	Bob Lawson	
Votes	222	1497	1664	
Percentage	6.6%	44.3%	49.2%	

2004 Overview

Number of Candidates	13	
Total Number of Votes	7147	
Highest Vote Total Without a Republican	1607	Mark DeGroot
Highest Vote Total Without a Democrat	N/A	
Highest Vote Total With a Republican and a Democrat	1559	Rick Jore
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Republican	36.6%	Mark DeGroot
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Democrat	N/A	
Highest Percentage of Vote With a Republican and a Democrat	36.9%	Rick Jore
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Republican	3 of 4 (75%)	
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Democrat	N/A	
Number of Races Over 19% With a Republican and a Democrat	1 of 9 (11%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Republican	2 of 4 (50%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Democrat	N/A	
Number of Races Over 24% With a Republican and a Democrat	1 of 9 (11%)	

2004 Raw Data

	Constitution	Democrat	Republican	Other
HD 1	Russell Brown	Eileen Carney	Ralph Heinert	
Votes	146	1776	1825	
Percentage	3.9%	47.4%	48.7%	
HD 7	Timothy Martin	James Dettmann	Jon Sonju	
Votes	217	1130	2725	
Percentage	5.3%	27.8%	66.9%	
HD 12	Rick Jore	Jeanne Windham	Jack Cross	
Votes	1559	1559	1107	
Percentage	36.9%	36.9%	26.2%	
<i>Note: The Montana Supreme Court ruled there was no tie, and Windham was the winner.</i>				
HD 13	Renn Bodeker	Paul Clark	Steve Simonson	
Votes	214	2288	2112	
Percentage	4.6%	49.6%	45.8%	
HD 21	Terry Poupa	Tim Callahan		
Votes	756	2718		
Percentage	21.8%	78.2%		
HD 22	Jonathan Martin	Bill Wilson	Dave Davis	
Votes	219	1895	1057	
Percentage	6.9%	59.8%	33.3%	

(2004 Raw Data, continued on next page)

2004 Raw Data, continued

HD 23	Christopher Gregory	John Parker		Paul Stephens
Votes	548	2097		263
Percentage	18.8%	72.1%		9.0%
HD 24	Philip DuPaul	Eve Franklin		
Votes	615	1383		
Percentage	30.8%	69.2%		
HD 61	Joel Boniek	Bruce Rinnert	Bruce Malcolm	
Votes	409	1731	2950	
Percentage	8.0%	34.0%	58.0%	
HD 66	Mark DeGroot	Christopher Harris		
Votes	1607	2783		
Percentage	36.6%	63.4%		
HD 100	Lou Hatch	John Lynn	John Balyeat	
Votes	136	1960	2026	
Percentage	3.3%	47.5%	49.2%	
SD 6	Kurtis Oliverson	Lucinda Willis	John Brueggeman	
Votes	462	3456	5193	
Percentage	5.1%	37.9%	57.0%	

2006 Preview

	Constitution	Democrat	Republican	Other
HD 1	Russell Brown	Eileen Carney	Ralph Heinert*	
HD 2	Freeman Johnson	Ken Utter	Chas Vincent	
HD 3	Tad Rosenberry	Douglas Cordier	Dee Brown*	
HD 6	Rick Komeda	Scott Wheeler	Bill Beck	
HD 8	Kurtis Oliverson	Randy Kenyon	Craig Witte	
HD 12	Rick Jore	Jeanne Windham*		
HD 18	Timothy Solid	Geannine Rapp	Jesse O'Hara	
HD 20	Terry Poupa	Deb Kottel	James Whitaker	
HD 21	Kent Holtz	Tim Callahan*	Rick Tryon	
HD 22	Roger Nelson	Bill Wilson*	Mary Jolley	
HD 23	Christopher Gregory	John Parker*		
HD 24	Philip DuPaul	Eve Franklin*	Jim Drew	
HD 25	Robert O'Connor	Sue Dickenson*	Larry Steele	
HD 35	Torry MacLean		Wayne Stahl*	
HD 43	David Anderson	Steven Erb	Duane Ankney	
HD 59	Jay McKean	Paul Beck	Scott Boggio	
HD 87	George Karpati	John Schneeberger	Ron Stoker*	
HD 89	Gil Turner	Richard Marcus	Gary MacLaren*	
HD 96	Kandi Matthew-Jenkins	Teresa Henry*	Carol Minjares	
SD 11	Jonathan Martin	Trudi Schmidt*	Paul Schroer	Mike Kaszula
Clerk of Supreme Court	Ron Marquardt	Ed Smith*		Howard Butler
<i>Note: Asterisk indicates the candidate is an incumbent</i>				

Endnotes

- 1) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003; Montana Human Rights Network, "From the Margins to the Mainstream," *Network News*, February 1998.
- 2) Montana Human Rights Network, *Drumming Up Resentment: The Anti-Indian Movement in Montana*, 2000, pp. 38-39.
- 3) *Daily Interlake*, "How Deep is Split in the GOP?" June 27, 2004.
- 4) Ibid.
- 5) *Daily Interlake*, "Flathead Republicans Try to Take Back Party," Oct. 19, 2004.
- 6) *Independent Record*, "New Party Alarming to Many," Feb. 15, 2000.
- 7) *Lake County Leader*, "New Parties Enter Lake County Legislative Races," Feb. 10, 2000.
- 8) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, July 24, 2006.
- 9) *Billings Gazette*, "Constitution Party Gain Strength, Could Hurt Republicans," April 9, 2006.
- 10) Ibid; *Billings Gazette*, "Constitution Party Fields 22 Candidates," March 24, 2006.
- 11) *Billings Gazette*, "Constitution Party Fields 22 Candidates," March 24, 2006.
- 12) Montana Human Rights Network, "Right-Wing Roundup," *Network News*, June 2006, p. 9.
- 13) *Independent Record*, "New Party Alarming to Many," Feb. 15, 2000.
- 14) *Billings Gazette*, "Constitution Party Gain Strength, Could Hurt Republicans," April 9, 2006
- 15) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, July 1, 2006.
- 16) *Independent Record*, "Constitution Party Draws Concern from State's Left and Right," Feb. 15, 2000.
- 17) *Lake County Leader*, "New Parties Enter Lake County Legislative Races," Feb. 10, 2000.
- 18) *Billings Gazette*, "Conservative Constitution Party Eligible for Ballot This Year," March 18, 2000.
- 19) *Independent Record*, "Home Schoolers Hold Commencement," May 30, 1994.
- 20) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana's first convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 21) American Heritage Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 24, 1999.
- 22) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 23) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 24) Ibid; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 25) *Missoulian*, "True Christians Won't Impose Faith, But Persuade Others to Follow Christ," May 28, 2005.
- 26) *Western News*, letter to the editor, June 25, 2004.
- 27) *Missoula Independent*, "Right and Proud," June 2, 2000.
- 28) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 29) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes on Senate Bill 2 hearing, March 16, 2005.
- 30) Kandi Matthew-Jenkins, campaign pamphlet, not dated.
- 31) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 32) Michael Heit, online posting, <http://www.greatdreams.com>, Dec. 6, 1999.
- 33) *Billings Gazette*, "'Patriots' Organize to Defend 'Freedoms,'" March 22, 1995; Associated Press, "Militias See Signs of Takeover," undated.
- 34) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 35) Southern Poverty Law Center, "Terror From the Right," *Intelligence Report*, Summer 2005; Militia Watchdog, "Calendar of Conspiracy," website, <http://www.adl.org/mwd/leo.asp>.
- 36) Montana Human Rights Network, *Newsflash*, March 2002; Montana Human Rights Network, "Jailed Militia Member Facing Additional Charges," *Network News*, August 2000, p. 3; Montana Human Rights Network, "Burgert Pleads Guilty to Weapons Violations," *Network News*, July 2003, p. 4; Montana Human Rights Network, "Right-Wingers Corralled by Long Arm of the Law," *Network News*, October 2003, p.10; Montana Human Rights Network, "More Arrests in Project 7 Militia Case," *Network News*, July 2004, p. 10.
- 37) *Daily Interlake*, "Chezem Testifies for Himself in Weapons Trial," June 8, 2005.
- 38) *Idaho Observer*, letter to the editor, August 2002.
- 39) Michael Heit, e-mail, Nov. 29, 2001.
- 40) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Court Won't Release Alleged Members of Militia Group," May 13, 2004.
- 41) *Daily Interlake*, "Project 7 Suspects Will Remain Jailed," May 14, 2005.
- 42) Aryan Nations, press release, April 5, 1995; Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003, p. 11.
- 43) Michael Heit, e-mail, April 1, 2000.
- 44) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org/>, Feb. 18, 2000.

- 45) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org/>, April 10, 2000.
- 46) Anti-Defamation League, "Extremism in America," website, <http://www.adl.org/learn/default.htm>, Aug. 18, 2006.
- 47) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Party's Enlistment of Militia Upsets Human Rights Group," Feb. 27, 2004.
- 48) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 49) Michael Heit, e-mail, Nov. 4, 2000.
- 50) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 21, 2006.
- 51) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.digisys.net/users/jko/cpmt>, Nov. 11, 2002.
- 52) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Liberty Summit, July 26, 2003.
- 53) Militia of Montana, E-mail Alert, Jan. 3, 2000; Nov. 23, 1999; March 20, 2002; Nov. 15, 2001, Feb. 21, 2003; and April 9, 2003.
- 54) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003.
- 55) Christian Common-Law Government for Planet Earth, website, <http://www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org>, "Schweitzer Files," May 2005.
- 56) Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism in America*, "Christian Identity," <http://www.adl.org>, Sept. 19, 2006; Christian Common-Law Government for Planet Earth, website, <http://www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org>, "Schweitzer Files," May 2005.
- 57) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 58) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 59) "Barefoot" Bob Hardison, website, <http://www.nidlink.com/~bobhard/>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 60) Christian Common-Law Government for Planet Earth, website, <http://www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org>, "Schweitzer Files," May 2005.
- 61) Michael Heit, e-mail, May 31, 2000.
- 62) Christian Common-Law Government for Planet Earth, website, <http://www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org>, "Schweitzer Files," May 2005.
- 63) Michael Heit, e-mail, June 21, 2000.
- 64) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 65) Michael Heit, e-mail, June 21, 2000.
- 66) Christian Common-Law Government for Planet Earth, website, <http://www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org>, "Schweitzer Files," May 2005.
- 67) "Barefoot" Bob Hardison, website, <http://www.nidlink.com/~bobhard/>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 68) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 69) Project 13, website, <http://www.13th-amendment.org>, Sept. 19, 2000.
- 70) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 71) Ibid.
- 72) Ibid.
- 73) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 74) Fully Informed Jury Association, *Juror's Handbook*, <http://www.fija.org>, July 12, 2001.
- 75) Militia of Montana, website, <http://www.militiaofmontana.com>, Sept. 13, 2002.
- 76) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 77) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 78) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 79) Jonathan Martin, website posting, <http://www.rr-bw.com>, Oct. 13, 2004
- 80) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 81) John Birch Society, website, <http://www.getusout.org>, Aug. 21, 2006.
- 82) Ibid.
- 83) *Missoulian*, letter to the editor, June 26, 2006.
- 84) *Daily Interlake*, letter to the editor, March 26, 2002.
- 85) Steve Groff, e-mail, Feb. 8, 2005; Feb. 9, 2005; and May 15, 2005.
- 86) Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door*, Thomas Dunne Book, 2002, pp. 28-29.
- 87) Steve Groff, e-mail, May 15, 2005.
- 88) Steve Groff, e-mail, July 24, 2006.
- 89) *Spokesman Review*, "Butler Attorney Seeks to Suppress Testimony," Aug. 29, 2000; *Spokesman Review*, "Ex-Guard Tells of Firebomb," Aug. 30, 2000; *Washington Post*, "Aryan Nations Property Given Up," Sept. 22, 2000; *Spokesman Review*, "Judge Refuses Butler's Request for a New Trial," Oct. 27, 2000.
- 90) Edgar Steele, "Conspiracy Pen Pal," June 16, 2004; Aug. 27, 2006; and June 24, 2003; Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, "Freed from Prison, David Duke Mounts

- a Comeback," Summer 2004.
- 91) Steve Groff, letter to the Anti-Defamation League, Feb. 16, 1994.
- 92) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 93) Ibid.
- 94) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 29, 2000.
- 95) Michael Heit, e-mail, Sept. 26, 2000.
- 96) Michael Heit, e-mail, Nov. 4, 2000.
- 97) Jonathan Martin, e-mail, Sept. 24, 2000.
- 98) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.digisys.net/users/jko/cpmt/>, Nov. 11, 2002.
- 99) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, Feb. 18, 2006.
- 100) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on Senate Bill 274, March 18, 2003.
- 101) *Missoulian*, letter to editor, June 6, 2000.
- 102) Western States Center, "Clinic Harassment Reflects National Climate," Spring 2004.
- 103) Ibid; *Missoulian*, "Abortion Fight Plays Out Every Wednesday at Missoula Clinic," March 29, 2004.
- 104) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on House Bill 615, March 26, 2003.
- 105) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Anti-Choice Protestors Must Abide by 'Bubble,'" June 2005.
- 106) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on House Bill 615, March 26, 2003.
- 107) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on Senate Bill 274, March 18, 2003; Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on Senate Bill 324, March 10, 2005.
- 108) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 109) Montana Human Rights Network, "Anti-Choice Protestors Must Abide by 'Bubble,'" *Network News*, June 2005; Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on House Bill 615, March 26, 2003.
- 110) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 111) *Washington Post*, "Supreme Court Backs Abortion Protestors," Feb. 28, 2006; Feminist Majority Foundation, *Drawing the Line Against Anti-Abortion Violence and Harassment*, 2005.
- 112) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 113) *Bitterroot Star*, "Legislative Race-Dick Green Goes for it Again," Feb. 18, 1998.
- 114) *Billings Gazette*, "Constitutional Problems Found in Property Tax Plan," Nov. 18, 1995.
- 115) *Great Falls Consumer Press*, advertisement, "Cut Unnecessary Taxes," July 12, 1995.
- 116) *Missoulian*, "HD 74," Oct. 26, 2000.
- 117) Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Aug. 23, 2006.
- 118) Home School Legal Defense Association, "Home Schooling Statesmen," *The Home School Court Report*, July/August 1998.
- 119) Montana Home School Reference Guide, 1993-1994 and 1996.
- 120) *Missoulian*, "Private, Home School Numbers Hold Steady," Nov. 25, 2001; *Missoulian*, "Value of Home Schooling Proves Itself Over Time," June 14, 2002.
- 121) *Missoulian*, "Value of Home Schooling Proves Itself Over Time," June 14, 2002.
- 122) *Independent Record*, "Group Wants Education Options," Oct. 19, 2003.
- 123) KGEZ Radio, "The Edge," May 21, 2002.
- 124) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Liberty Summit, July 26, 2003.
- 125) Alliance for the Separation of School and State, website, <http://www.honestedu.org>, July 5, 2006.
- 126) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 127) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 128) Ibid.
- 129) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, May 5, 2005; Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Liberty Summit, June 27, 2005.
- 130) 2005 Montana Legislature, Senate Bill 464; 2003 Montana Legislature, Senate Joint Resolution 10.
- 131) *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, "Protesters Take Harris to Task for Campaign Literature," Oct. 27, 2004.
- 132) *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, letter to the editor, Oct. 20, 2004.
- 133) *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, "Protesters Take Harris to Task for Campaign Literature," Oct. 27, 2004.
- 134) Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, "Status of Official Complaint Docket," July 18, 2006.
- 135) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 136) Ibid.

- 137) Ibid.
- 138) "Barefoot" Bob Hardison, website, <http://www.nidlink.com/~bobhard/>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 139) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 140) Ibid; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 141) *Human Events*, "Tancredo Takes Charge on Immigration," Jan. 16, 2006.
- 142) *Washington Post*, "On the Capitol Ground, Grass Roots Rising," Feb. 9, 2006.
- 143) *Missoulian*, "Hamilton Forum Puts Focus on Northern Border," Aug. 29, 2006.
- 144) *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "Vocal Foe of Amnesty Pushes On," May 2, 2006.
- 145) *Washington Post*, "Crossing the Line," March 19, 2006; *USA Today*, "Minuteman's Goal: To Shame Feds Into Action," May 25, 2006.
- 146) *The Nation*, "Republicanizing the Race Card," March 23, 2006.
- 147) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 148) U.S. Department of Justice, "The Voting Rights Act of 1965," website, <http://www.usdoj.gov>.
- 149) *Washington Post*, "Voting Rights Act Extensions Pass House Despite GOP Infighting," July 14, 2006.
- 150) *Washington Post*, "Bush Signs Voting Rights Extension," July 27, 2006.
- 151) Michael Heit, e-mail, Dec. 7, 2000.
- 152) Michael Heit, e-mail, July 20, 2000.
- 153) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org/>, April 10, 2000.
- 154) *Ravalli Republic*, "Incumbent, Two Third Party Candidates Race for HD 61," Oct. 18, 2000.
- 155) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 156) Ibid.
- 157) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 158) Ibid; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 159) Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Aug. 23, 2006.
- 160) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 161) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 162) *Daily Interlake*, "Three-Way Race on Tap for Whitefish House District 80," Oct. 17, 2002.
- 163) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 164) *Missoulian*, letter to the editor, Nov. 2, 2000; Americans for Tax Reform, "Taxpayer Protection Pledge," Aug. 5, 2004, and June 2, 2006.
- 165) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 166) PRIDE, legislative questionnaire, May 2000.
- 167) Michael Heit, e-mail, July 20, 2000.
- 168) Michael Heit, e-mail, Oct. 15, 2000.
- 169) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on House Bill 259, Jan. 17, 2005.
- 170) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on Senate Bill 199, Jan. 17, 2005.
- 171) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 172) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 4, 2000.
- 173) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 29, 2000.
- 174) Michael Heit, e-mail, Oct. 26, 2000.
- 175) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 3, 2000.
- 176) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 29, 2000.
- 177) Michael Heit, e-mail, May 31, 2000.
- 178) *Idaho Observer*, "Three-Term Former Legislator Sheds Light on Political Process at Constitution Party Dinner," October 2001.
- 179) Constitution Party of Utah, notes from Utah State Convention, not dated.
- 180) Constitution Party, website, <http://www.constitutionparty.com>, Dec. 2001.
- 181) *Daily Interlake*, guest editorial, Sept. 18, 2002.
- 182) Pascal Redfern, e-mail, May 13, 2000.
- 183) *Missoulian*, letter to the editor, May 18, 2000.
- 184) *Missoulian*, "House District 13," Oct. 28, 2004.
- 185) *Missoulian*, letter to the editor, Nov. 2, 2005.
- 186) *Missoulian*, letter to the editor, Jan. 30, 2004.
- 187) Jonathan Martin, website posting, <http://www.rr-bb.com>, Oct. 13, 2004.
- 188) *Great Falls Tribune*, letter to the editor, Oct. 13, 2004.
- 189) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 25, 2000.
- 190) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 28, 2000.
- 191) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 25, 2000.
- 192) Jonathan Martin, e-mail, Sept. 24, 2000.
- 193) Michael Heit, e-mail, Sept. 26, 2000.

- 194) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, May 5, 2005.
- 195) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000; Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Legislators Lend Credibility to Right-Wing Party," October 2005.
- 196) Michael Peroutka, website, <http://www/peroutka2004.com>, Dec. 2, 2004.
- 197) Rick Jore, posted on Michael Peroutka website, <http://www/peroutka2004.com>, not dated.
- 198) *Missoulian*, "Jore Balks at Paying Opponent's Bill," June 10, 2005.
- 199) Montana Human Rights Network, *Newsflash*, April 2004.
- 200) Montana Secretary of State, website, <http://www.sos.mt.gov>, Sept. 20, 2006.
- 201) Montana Right to Life, press release, Oct. 6, 2000.
- 202) Montana Right to Life, website, <http://www.rtlmt.org>, July 14, 2006.
- 203) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 204) *Missoulian*, House District 1 Profiles, Oct. 16, 2004.
- 205) *Western News*, Letter to the Editor, Aug. 1, 2005.
- 206) *Western News*, Letter to the Editor, Dec. 23, 2005.
- 207) *Western News*, Letter to the Editor, Jan. 20, 2006.
- 208) *Missoulian*, House District 1 Profiles, Oct. 16, 2004.
- 209) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003.
- 210) Gun Owners of America, e-mail, Oct. 27, 2004.
- 211) *Western News*, Letter to the Editor, June 25, 2004.
- 212) Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, Russell Brown file, 2004.
- 213) *Western News*, Letter to the Editor, Feb. 22, 2005.
- 214) *Western News*, Letter to the Editor, Aug. 3, 2005.
- 215) *Libby Montanan*, Letter to the Editor, Nov. 22, 2000.
- 216) Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, Freeman Johnson file, 2006.
- 217) *Daily Interlake*, "Pool Okayed, Kennedy Elected Mayor," Nov. 7, 2001.
- 218) City of Columbia Falls, website, <http://www.columbiafallschamber.com/city/>, July 1, 2005.
- 219) *Daily Interlake*, "All Races on Nov. 8 Ballot are Uncontested," Oct. 28, 2005.
- 220) City of Columbia Falls, Finance Committee Meeting Minutes, Oct. 17, 2005.
- 221) Columbia Falls School District, e-mail, Sept. 12, 2006.
- 222) Commissioner of Political Practices, Tad Rosenberry file, 2006.
- 223) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, July 24, 2006.
- 224) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 225) Constitution Party of Montana, Meeting Minutes, Feb. 18, 2006.
- 226) Constitution Party of Montana, Meeting Minutes, May 5, 2005.
- 227) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Dec. 23, 2004.
- 228) Ibid.
- 229) Ibid.
- 230) Montana Family Foundation, 2004 Voting Guide, website, <http://www.montanafamily.org>.
- 231) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Dec. 23, 2004.
- 232) Commissioner of Political Practices, Kurtis Oliverson file, 2006.
- 233) Montanans for Multiple Use, newsletter, October 2004.
- 234) KGEZ Radio, "The Edge," Sept. 13, 2001.
- 235) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, July 28, 2006.
- 236) *Lake County Leader*, "New Parties Enter Lake County Legislative Races," Feb. 10, 2000.
- 237) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Roe v. Wade Anniversary Spurs Local Celebration, Spirited Demonstrations," Jan. 23, 2003.
- 238) Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, Timothy Sollid file, 2002.
- 239) Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, Timothy Sollid file, 2006.
- 240) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Constitution Party Candidate Out to Unseat Schmidt," Nov. 5, 2000.
- 241) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Political Newcomer Challenges Schmidt," Nov. 2, 2000.
- 242) Illinois Review: Crossroads of the Conservative Community, website, <http://www.illinoisreview.typepad.com>, May 16, 2006.
- 243) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Political Newcomer Challenges Schmidt," Nov. 2, 2000.
- 244) *Great Falls Tribune*, "House District 42 Candidates Stress Experience, Principles," Nov. 2, 2002.
- 245) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Constitution Party Candidate Out to Unseat Schmidt," Nov. 5, 2000.
- 246) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Political Newcomer Challenges Schmidt," Nov. 2, 2000.
- 247) Commissioner of Political Practices, Terry Poupa files, 2002, 2004, and 2006.
- 248) *Great Falls Tribune*, "HD 41: Kent Holtz – Brennan Ryan – Jim Whitaker," Nov. 3, 2002.
- 249) Ibid.
- 250) *Great Falls Tribune*, "HD 19: Brennan Ryan – Mike Milburn – Kent Holtz," Oct. 31, 2004.
- 251) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Constitution Party Fields 22 Candidates," March 24, 2006.
- 252) Commissioner of Political Practices, Kent Holtz file, 2006.

- 253) Commissioner of Political Practices, Kent Holtz files, 2002 and 2004.
- 254) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Constitution Party Candidate Says He Hopes to Limit Government's Sweep," April 15, 2004.
- 255) Montana Wilderness School of the Bible, website, <http://www.mwsb.org>, July 13, 2006.
- 256) Commissioner of Political Practices, Christopher Gregory file, 2002.
- 257) *Great Falls Tribune*, "GFH Students, Parents Object to Church Fliers," May 8, 2004; and Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Christian Right Targets Schools Across Montana," July 2004.
- 258) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Constitution Party Candidate Says He Hopes to Limit Government's Sweep," April 15, 2004.
- 259) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Third-Party Candidates Challenge Parker for HD 23 Seat," Oct. 23, 2004.
- 260) Commissioner of Political Practices, Christopher Gregory files, 2002 and 2004.
- 261) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Three Blue-Collar Workers Running Hard in HD 46," Nov. 5, 2000.
- 262) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Constitution Party Candidates Takes on Veteran Lawmaker," Oct. 27, 2004.
- 263) Ibid.
- 264) *Great Falls Tribune*, "HD 24: Eve Franklin – Phil DuPaul," Oct. 31, 2004.
- 265) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Three Blue-Collar Workers Running Hard in HD 46," Nov. 5, 2000.
- 266) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearings on Senate Bill 199 and House Bill 259, Jan. 17, 2005.
- 267) Commissioner of Political Practices, Philip DuPaul files, 2000 and 2004.
- 268) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006, and July 24, 2006.
- 269) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 270) Ibid.
- 271) Ibid.
- 272) *Billings Outpost*, letter to the editor, June 9, 2005.
- 273) Yellowstone County Constitution Party, letter, undated.
- 274) Citizens Commission, *The Report of the Citizens Commission on 9/11*, 2005; Don Harkins edits the *Idaho Observer*, <http://www.proliberty.com/observer>; Greg Szymanski was listed as a staff writer for *American Free Press* during 2005.
- 275) Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, ADL, 1996, pp. 21-25.
- 276) *American Free Press*, letter to the editor, Oct. 22, 2001.
- 277) *Agri-News*, letter to the editor, March 18, 1994.
- 278) Montana Human Rights Network, "Briefing Paper on the Church of the Creator," March 10, 2003.
- 279) *Agri-News*, letter to the editor, March 18, 1994.
- 280) Montana Human Rights Network, "Briefing Paper on the Church of the Creator," March 10, 2003.
- 281) *Billings Outpost*, letter to the editor, April 7, 2005.
- 282) *The Northern Light*, Fall 1996.
- 283) *Billings Outpost*, "Editor's Notebook: Northern Light Sheds a Little," undated.
- 284) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Aug. 2, 2006; *Ravalli Republic*, letter to the editor, May 26, 2006.
- 285) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003, p. 27.
- 286) Montana Human Rights Network, *Newsflash*, August 2004.
- 287) *Missoulian*, "Torma, Childers Win Races," Nov. 3, 1999; *Missoulian*, "Former Opponent Seeks Recall of Kadas," Nov. 5, 2002.
- 288) *Missoulian*, "Former Opponent Seeks Recall of Kadas," Nov. 5, 2002.
- 289) *Ravalli Republic*, "Child Protective Services Investigation Put on Hold," July 13, 2004.
- 290) Montanans for Multiple Use, e-mail, May 17, 2003; *Independent Record*, "Lawmakers Nix Probe of Child Cases," Aug. 11, 2004.
- 291) Montanans for Multiple Use, e-mail, May 17, 2003.
- 292) *Great Falls Tribune*, letter to the editor, March 8, 2002.
- 293) Kandi Matthew-Jenkins, e-mail, July 5, 2004.
- 294) *Missoulian*, "Gerwan Home Search Yields Guns, Survival Gear," Aug. 23, 2001.
- 295) Militia of Montana, E-mail Alert, Sept. 4, 2001.
- 296) Kandi Matthew-Jenkins, letter, May 22, 2002.
- 297) *Independent Record*, "Sentence Reduction Denied in Oregon Kidnapping Case," Nov. 30, 2004.
- 298) *Missoulian*, "Views of the Candidates for HD 66 Seat," Oct. 31, 2000.
- 299) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on Senate Bill 324, March 10, 2005.
- 300) Michael Heit, e-mail, June 3, 2000.
- 301) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Aug. 24, 2006.
- 302) *Great Falls Tribune*, "City Tells Abortion Protestors to Stop Using Graphic Signs," Aug. 11, 2001.
- 303) Montana Human Rights Network, "Christian Right Targets Schools Across Montana," *Network News*, July 2004.
- 304) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 305) Montanans for Better Government, *The Montana Companion*, July-September, 1998.
- 306) Montana Coalition of Home Educators, website, <http://www.mtche.org>, Feb. 28, 2003; *Great Falls Tribune*, "Daughter: 'The Lord Wanted Me at Home,'" Feb. 23, 1997.
- 307) Constitution Party of Montana, website,

- <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, June 26, 2006.
- 308) Michael Heit, e-mail, June 3, 2000.
- 309) Commissioner of Political Practices, Jonathan Martin file, 2006.
- 310) Michael Peroutka, website, <http://www.theamericanview.com>, June 19, 2006.
- 311) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.digisys.net/users/jko/cpmt>, Nov. 11, 2002.
- 312) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Businessman Martin files for House District 43 Seat," April 2, 2002.
- 313) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.digisys.net/users/jko/cpmt>, Nov. 11, 2002.
- 314) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Businessman Martin files for House District 43 Seat," April 2, 2002.
- 315) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Anti-Abortion Activists Sue City Officials," Aug. 22, 2001.
- 316) *Livingston Enterprise*, "Abortion Protestors Come to Town," June 8, 2001.
- 317) *Newsweek*, "Inside the Anti-Abortion Underground," Aug. 29, 1994.
- 318) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Dangerous Dogma," May 2002.
- 319) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Candidate Wants to Reduce Government's Role," April 3, 2004.
- 320) *Great Falls Tribune*, "City Tells Abortion Protestors to Stop Using Graphic Signs," Aug. 11, 2001.
- 321) Ibid.
- 322) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Anti-Abortion Activists Flood City with E-mail," Aug. 16, 2001.
- 323) *Great Falls Tribune*, "City Backs Off, Allows Photos of Abortions," Aug. 17, 2001.
- 324) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Anti-Abortion Advocates Sue City Officials," Aug. 22, 2001.
- 325) Ibid.
- 326) Americans United for Separation of Church and State, "Intelligent Design Poses Threat to Science Education," website, <http://www.au.org>, November 2005.
- 327) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Anti-Abortion Advocates Sue City Officials," Aug. 22, 2001.
- 328) Thomas More Law Center, press release, March 28, 2002.
- 329) Planned Parenthood Federation of America, "Chronicle of Clinic Violence and Harassment," 2003.
- 330) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Roe v. Wade Anniversary Spurs Local Celebration, Spirited Demonstrations," Jan. 23, 2001.
- 331) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on House Bill 324, March 10, 2005.
- 332) Montana Legislative Services, notes from hearing on House Bill 324, Jan. 24, 2005.
- 333) James Risen and Judy Thomas, *Wrath of Angels*, Basic Books, 1998, p. 218.
- 334) Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, Summer 1998.
- 335) Frederick Clarkson, *Eternal Hostility*, Common Courage Press, 1997, p. 143.
- 336) *Mother Jones*, November/December 1993.
- 337) Associated Press, Feb. 6, 1998; KXAS-TV, Feb. 6, 1998.
- 338) Associated Press, Feb. 18, 1998.
- 339) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Flip Benham presentation, April 19, 2002.
- 340) Operation Save America, website, <http://www.operationsaveamerica.org>, March 23, 2004.
- 341) *Salon*, "Abortion Under Siege in Mississippi," Aug. 1, 2006.
- 342) *Missoulian*, April 6, 2002; Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Dangerous Dogma," May 2002.
- 343) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Flip Benham presentation, April 19, 2002.
- 344) *Great Falls Tribune*, "GFH Students, Parents Object to Church Fliers," May 8, 2004; Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Christian Right Targets Schools Across Montana," July 2004.
- 345) *Network News*, "Christian Right Targets Schools Across Montana," July 2004.
- 346) *Great Falls Tribune*, "GFH Students, Parents Object to Church Fliers," May 8, 2004.
- 347) Ibid; Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Christian Right Targets Schools Across Montana," July 2004.
- 348) *Great Falls Tribune*, "GFH Students, Parents Object to Church Fliers," May 8, 2004.
- 349) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Flip Benham presentation, April 19, 2002.
- 350) *Great Falls Tribune*, "GFH Students, Parents Object to Church Fliers," May 8, 2004.
- 351) Commissioner of Political Practices, Christopher Gregory file, 2002.
- 352) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearings on House Bill 615, March 26, 2003; and Senate Bill 324, March 10, 2005.
- 353) 2003 Montana Legislature, House Bill 615; 2005 Montana Legislature, Senate Bill 324.
- 354) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from House Bill 615 hearing, March 26, 2003.
- 355) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Senate Bill 324 hearing, March 10, 2005.
- 356) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Daughter: 'The Lord Wanted Me at Home,'" Feb. 23, 1997.
- 357) Montana Coalition of Home Educators, website, <http://www.mtche.org>, Feb. 28, 2003.
- 358) Montana Home School Reference Guide, 1993-1994 and 1996; *Great Falls Tribune*, "Daughter: 'The Lord Wanted Me at Home,'" Feb. 23, 1997.
- 359) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Daughter: 'The Lord Wanted Me

- at Home,” Feb. 23, 1997.
- 360) *Great Falls Tribune*, “Candidates for House District 41 Feel They Have Personal Insight into Rural Concerns,” Oct. 15, 2000.
- 361) Ibid; Jonathan Martin, website posting, <http://www.rr-bw.com>, Oct. 13, 2004.
- 362) *Great Falls Tribune*, “Candidates for House District 41 Feel They Have Personal Insight into Rural Concerns,” Oct. 15, 2000.
- 363) *Great Falls Tribune*, “Daughter: ‘The Lord Wanted Me at Home,’” Feb. 23, 1997.
- 364) Alliance for the Separation of School and State, website, <http://www.honestedu.org>, July 5, 2006.
- 365) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, “Christian Right Targets Schools Across Montana,” July 2004; Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on House Bill 259, Jan. 17, 2005.
- 366) Pilgrim Covenant Church, website, <http://www.pccmonroe.org>, Sept. 13, 2003.
- 367) Pilgrim Covenant Church, website, <http://www.pccmonroe.org>, April 7, 2003.
- 368) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, “US Taxpayer Party Candidates Define Views,” Aug. 19, 1994.
- 369) Pilgrim Covenant Church, website, <http://www.pccmonroe.org>, April 7, 2003.
- 370) Pilgrim Covenant Church, website, <http://www.pccmonroe.org>, Sept. 13, 2003.
- 371) *Great Falls Tribune*, letter to the editor, March 6, 1993.
- 372) *Great Falls Tribune*, letter to the editor, May 3, 2002.
- 373) *Great Falls Tribune*, letter to the editor, March 6, 1993.
- 374) Montanans for Better Government, *The Montana Companion*, July-September, 1998.
- 375) *Great Falls Tribune*, “Candidates for House District 41 Feel They Have Personal Insight into Rural Concerns,” Oct. 15, 2000.
- 376) *Great Falls Tribune*, “Candidate Wants to Reduce Government’s Role,” April 3, 2004.
- 377) *Missoula Independent*, “Right and Proud,” June 2, 2000.
- 378) *Independent Record*, “Jore Says He Looks to Country’s Founders for Guidance on Direction of Government,” Jan. 25, 1999.
- 379) *Missoula Independent*, “Right and Proud,” June 2, 2000.
- 380) Ibid.
- 381) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.digisys.net/users/jko/cpmt/>, Nov. 11, 2002.
- 382) Constitution Party, National Committee Meeting, April 30, 2005; Constitution Party, National Committee Meeting, Sept. 1, 2000; Constitution Party of Washington, Sept. 22, 2001; Constitution Party of Utah, May 20, 2006; National Committee Meeting, May 18-19, 2001.
- 383) Constitution Party, press release, Sept. 1, 2000.
- 384) Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism*, ADL, 1996, pp. 21-25.
- 385) *The Spotlight*, “Constitution Party Begins Drive to Win Back America,” Sept. 18, 2000.
- 386) *Montana Standard*, “Missoula ‘Liberty Summit’ Questions GOP Leadership,” July 27, 2003.
- 387) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Liberty Summit, July 26, 2003.
- 388) *Independent Record*, “Jore Says He Looks to Country’s Founders for Guidance on Direction of Government,” Jan. 25, 1999.
- 389) *Missoulian*, “Jore Gains Votes, but Loses Bid for Seat in House,” Nov. 14, 2000.
- 390) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, “Right-Wingers Defeated,” November 2002.
- 391) *Billings Gazette*, “Control of House Awaits Vote Count,” Nov. 6, 2004.
- 392) Constitution Party, press release, Nov. 12, 2004.
- 393) Stormfront, website, <http://www.stormfront.org>, Nov. 30, 2004.
- 394) *Missoulian*, “Lake County Election Results Official,” Nov. 10, 2004.
- 395) *Billings Outpost*, “Fight for Control of House Heading to Court,” Dec. 2, 2004.
- 396) Ibid.
- 397) *Independent Record*, “GOP: Drop Legal Fight Over Race,” Dec. 2, 2004.
- 398) *Billings Outpost*, “Fight for Control of House Heading to Court,” Dec. 2, 2004.
- 399) *Billings Gazette*, “Tie-Making Votes May Go to Court,” Dec. 7, 2004.
- 400) *Great Falls Tribune*, “Court Deals Democrats a Setback,” Dec. 10, 2004.
- 401) *Billings Gazette*, “Activist Sues Over Tied Election,” Dec. 11, 2004.
- 402) *Independent Record*, “Martz Picks Jore for House, Giving GOP Slim Edge,” Dec. 16, 2004.
- 403) *Lake County Leader*, “HD 12 Case Heads to Montana Supreme Court,” Dec. 23, 2004.
- 404) *Independent Record*, “Court Wants to Review Seven Disputed Ballots in House Race,” Dec. 23, 2004.
- 405) *Missoulian*, “Court Ruling Gives Win to Windham,” Dec. 29, 2004.
- 406) *Billings Gazette*, “Court Explains Ruling on Tie Vote,” March 22, 2005.
- 407) *Lake County Leader*, letter to the editor, Dec. 23, 2004.
- 408) *Missoulian*, “Court Ruling Gives Win to Windham,” Dec. 29, 2004.
- 409) *Missoulian*, letter to the editor, Jan. 9, 2005.
- 410) *Western News*, letter to the editor, Jan. 14, 2005.
- 411) *Bitterroot Star*, letter to the editor, Jan. 5, 2005.

- 412) *Missoulian*, "Jore Balks at Paying Opponent's Bill," June 10, 2005.
- 413) *Lake County Leader*, "Attorney Begins Collection Activity Against Jore for Legal Fees," Sept. 16, 2005.
- 414) *Missoulian*, "Judge Tells Jore She Can't Void Fees," Sept. 20, 2005.
- 415) Rick Jore, letter to Anita Big Springs, July 14, 2005; *Lake County Leader*, "Rick Jore's Request for Exemption Denied," Sept. 22, 2005.
- 416) *Lake County Leader*, "Rick Jore's Request for Exemption Denied," Sept. 22, 2005.
- 417) *Missoulian*, "Judge Tells Jore She Can't Void Fees," Sept. 20, 2005.
- 418) Americans United for Separation of Church and State, "People and Events," March 1999; Chip Berlet (editor), *Eyes Right: Challenging the Right Wing Backlash*, South End Press, 1995, p. 69.
- 419) *Missoulian*, "Judge Tells Jore She Can't Void Fees," Sept. 20, 2005.
- 420) *Ibid.*
- 421) *Lake County Leader*, "Jore Says He'll Ignore Supreme Court Order to Pay Legal Fees," June 17, 2005.
- 422) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, May 5, 2005.
- 423) *Lake County Leader*, letter to the editor, Jan. 15, 2005.
- 424) *Lake County Leader*, letter to the editor, May 12, 2005.
- 425) *Lake County Leader*, candidate profiles, June 1, 2006.
- 426) Montanan Human Rights Network, *Drumming Up Resentment*, 2000, pp. 32-33.
- 427) *Missoulian*, Jan. 4, 1998.
- 428) *Missoulian*, "Rights Network Targets the Right," Jan. 4, 1998.
- 429) *Lake County Leader*, "Political Profile-Rick Jore," Oct. 25, 2000.
- 430) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Reservation Resentment," July 2003.
- 431) Montana Human Rights Network, *Drumming Up Resentment*, 2000.
- 432) *Roland and Elisabeth Morris v. Ken Toole*, Montana Human Rights Network, Lake County District Court, 2000.
- 433) 1993 Montana Legislature, House Bill 486.
- 434) *Missoulian*, "Tribal Fishing, Hunting Pact Opposed," Feb. 10, 1999.
- 435) *Missoulian*, "Permit Foe Still Taunting State with Illegal Hunts," Oct. 13, 2000.
- 436) *Missoulian*, "FWP Didn't Record Permit Foe's Call to Hotline," Nov. 3, 2000.
- 437) *Missoulian*, "Ralliers Hoping to Rein in Tribes," April 13, 1995.
- 438) *Missoulian*, "Non-Indians Worried About Property Rights," April 1995.
- 439) *Independent Record*, "Protesters Want Status Quo at Range," May 14, 1995.
- 440) *Missoula Independent*, "Range Transfer Draws Opposition from Unusual Suspects," June 19, 2003.
- 441) *Independent Record*, "Protesters Want Status Quo at Range," May 14, 1995.
- 442) Montana Human Rights Network, *Drumming Up Resentment*, 2000.
- 443) *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.
- 444) *Independent Record*, "Protesters Want Status Quo at Range," May 14, 1995.
- 445) Montana Human Rights Network, *Drumming Up Resentment*, 2000, p. 12.
- 446) *Char Koosta News*, "Jore Sponsors Bill Opposing Tribal Management of Bison Range," Feb. 7, 1997.
- 447) Montana Human Rights Network, *Drumming Up Resentment*, 2000, p. 33.
- 448) *Missoulian*, "Tribal Fishing, Hunting Pact Opposed," Feb. 10, 1999.
- 449) *Char Koosta News*, "Strike Three—Jore's Cooperative Agreement Termination Bill Dies Again," Feb. 12, 1999.
- 450) 1999 Montana Legislature, House Bill 412.
- 451) *Great Falls Tribune*, "House Passes Bill Removing 'Squaw' from Place Names," Feb. 14, 1999.
- 452) All Citizens Equal, newsletter, August 1997.
- 453) *Lake County Leader*, "Medi-Cab Folds: Business Gets New Name, Funding Source," Sept. 28, 1995.
- 454) *Missoula Independent*, "Range Transfer Draws Opposition from Unusual Suspects," June 19, 2003.
- 455) *Lake County Leader*, "Opponents Object to Tribal Management of Bison Range," March 20, 2003.
- 456) Christian Alliance for Indian Children Welfare, website, <http://www.caicw.org>, June 28, 2006.
- 457) *Missoulian*, "Permit Foe Still Taunting State with Illegal Hunts," Oct. 13, 2000.
- 458) *Billings Gazette*, "Ronan Republican Again Files Bills Seeking to Prevent Affirmative Action," Jan. 8, 1999.
- 459) *Independent Record*, "Deal Struck on Bison Range," Dec. 16, 2004.
- 460) *Lake County Leader*, letter to the editor, April 8, 1993.
- 461) *Missoula Independent*, "Right and Proud," June 2, 2000.
- 462) *Billings Gazette*, "'Forced Schooling Law Hit,'" Feb. 7, 1995.
- 463) *Independent Record*, "Compulsory School Law Repeal Sought," Jan. 13, 1995.
- 464) *Billings Gazette*, "Jore Tries Again to Kill Compulsory Education," Jan. 19, 1999.
- 465) Home School Legal Defense Association, "Home Schooling Statesmen: Making a Positive Difference Across America," *The Home School Court Report*, July/August 1998.
- 466) *Lake County Leader*, candidate profiles, June 1, 2006.

- 467) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Home-School Advocate Takes Views to Teachers' Convention," Oct. 19, 1997.
- 468) Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Oct. 24, 2000.
- 469) Alliance for the Separation of School and State, website, <http://www.honestedu.org>, July 5, 2006.
- 470) *Missoula Independent*, "Right and Proud," June 2, 2000.
- 471) *Lake County Leader*, "Candidates Offer Voters Wide Variety of Choice," Oct. 26, 2000; Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Aug. 31, 2006.
- 472) Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Oct. 24, 2000 and Aug. 31, 2006.
- 473) 1997 Montana Legislature, House Bill 424; 1999 Montana Legislature, House Bill 253.
- 474) Montana Legislative Services, notes from hearing on House Bill 253, April 9, 1999.
- 475) Montana Legislative Services, notes from hearing on House Bill 253, Jan. 21, 1999.
- 476) Montana Legislative Services, notes from hearing on House Bill 253, April 9, 1999.
- 477) 1999 Montana Legislature, House Bill 386.
- 478) Montana Legislative Services, notes from hearing on House Bill 386, Feb. 3, 1999.
- 479) *Lake County Leader*, "Candidates Agree—Montana Should Remain Sales Tax Free," July 29, 2004.
- 480) *Missoulian*, "HD 73 Candidates Disagree Across the Board," Oct. 28, 1998.
- 481) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.digisys.net/users/jko/cpmt>, Sept. 20, 2002.
- 482) *Missoulian*, "HD 73 Candidates Disagree Across the Board," Oct. 28, 1998.
- 483) *Missoulian*, "Rights Network Targets the Right," Jan. 4, 1998.
- 484) Ibid.
- 485) Montana Human Rights Network, archives.
- 486) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "From the Margins to the Mainstream," February 1998.
- 487) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003.
- 488) 1999 Montana Legislature, House Resolution 5.
- 489) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Liberty Summit, Sept. 18, 1998.
- 490) Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Oct. 24, 2000.
- 491) *Char-Koosta News*, advertisement, Oct. 30, 1998; *Valley Journal*, advertisement, Oct. 27, 2004; Montana Shooting Sports Association, Candidate Endorsements, 1996, 1998, and 2006.
- 492) *Western News*, "Group Says Enough Federal Intrusion," Aug. 23, 1997.
- 493) *Missoulian*, guest editorial, March 28, 1997.
- 494) *Western News*, "Group Says Enough Federal Intrusion," Aug. 23, 1997.
- 495) *Missoulian*, letter to editor, Oct. 7, 1997.
- 496) Ben Irvin, e-mail, Sept. 18, 2005.
- 497) Free State Project, website, <http://www.freestateproject.org>, Aug. 30, 2006.
- 498) *Washington Post*, "Group Weighs Move to Libertarian Utopia," April 23, 2003; Free State Project, website, <http://www.freestateproject.org>, Aug. 30, 2006.
- 499) Militia of Montana, website, <http://www.militiaofmontana.com>, May 7, 2003.
- 500) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003, pp.20-21.
- 501) *Missoulian*, "HD 73 Candidates Disagree Across the Board," Oct. 28, 1998.
- 502) Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Oct. 24, 2000.
- 503) *Missoula Independent*, "Right and Proud," June 2, 2000.
- 504) 1997 Montana Legislature, House Bill 603.
- 505) Rick Jore, website, <http://www.rickjore.com>, Oct. 24, 2000.
- 506) *Valley Journal*, letter to the editor, Feb. 2, 2005.
- 507) Ibid; Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Aug. 21, 2006.
- 508) *Missoula Independent*, "Right and Proud," June 2, 2000.
- 509) *Missoulian*, "Jore in House District 12 Race; Windham Faces Primary," March 26, 2006; Montana Human Rights Network, phone interview with Chuck Denowh, Sept. 22, 2006.
- 510) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, May 5, 2005.
- 511) *Missoula Independent*, "Blue Mountain Brigade," Oct. 29, 2003; *Missoulian*, "Abortion Fight Plays Out Every Wednesday as Missoula Clinic," March 29, 2004.
- 512) *Missoulian*, "Abortion Fight Plays Out Every Wednesday as Missoula Clinic," March 29, 2004.
- 513) *Missoula Independent*, "Blue Mountain Brigade," Oct. 29, 2003.
- 514) *Missoulian*, "Fresh Start: Health Clinic Sets Fundraiser to Celebrates 10 years in New Offices," undated.
- 515) *Missoulian*, letter to the editor, Feb. 6, 2004.
- 516) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on Senate Bill 324, March 10, 2005.
- 517) Life Chain, website, <http://www.lifechain.net>, June 26, 2006.
- 518) *Ravalli Republic*, letter to the editor, Dec. 1, 2005.
- 519) *Ravalli Republic*, "Citizens Initiate Petition to Remove Judge Langton," Oct. 4, 2005.
- 520) *Ravalli Republic*, "After Delay, County Unveils Draft Obscenity Ordinances," March 12, 2002.
- 521) Ibid; *Ravalli Republic*, "Commissioners Challenge Obscenity Petitions," May 17, 2002.

- 522) *Ravalli Republic*, letter to the editor, Dec. 1, 2005.
- 523) *Missoula Independent*, "Etc." Jan. 19, 2006; *Ravalli Republic*, "Support for Langton Recall Petition Falls Short," Dec. 29, 2005.
- 524) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, March 18, 2000 and April 29, 2000.
- 525) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Aug. 2, 2006; *Ravalli Republic*, letter to the editor, May 26, 2006.
- 526) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003, p. 27.
- 527) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003.
- 528) *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 529) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 530) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Dec. 23, 2004.
- 531) Political Research Associates, "John Birch Society," <http://www.publiceye.org/tooclose/jbs.html>.
- 532) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Dec. 23, 2004.
- 533) *Ibid.*
- 534) Montana Family Foundation, 2004 Voting Guide, website, <http://www.montanafamily.org>.
- 535) *Missoulian*, "Profiles of SD 6 Candidates," Oct. 26, 2004.
- 536) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Dec. 23, 2004.
- 537) Gun Owners of America, e-mail, Oct. 27, 2004.
- 538) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Dec. 23, 2004.
- 539) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 540) *Ibid.*
- 541) *Ibid.*
- 542) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003, pp. 12-22.
- 543) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 544) *Ibid.*
- 545) *Ibid.*
- 546) *Ibid.*
- 547) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, "US Taxpayer Party Candidates Define Views," Aug. 19, 1994; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, "Taxpayers Party Lauds Trehwella," Aug. 18, 1994.
- 548) Cal Zastrow, e-mail, Oct. 19, 2000.
- 549) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 550) The Billings Police Department confirmed Zastrow was arrested for disorderly conduct on Feb. 3, 2000, and the charges were dropped.
- 551) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.hoome.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Nov. 30, 2005.
- 552) *Citizen Link*, "Michigan Petition Drive Has Republican Party Support," April 24, 2006.
- 553) *Salon*, "Will Roy Moore Crack the Bush Base?," May 4, 2004.
- 554) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Ousted Judge to Speak in Great Falls," Feb. 16, 2004.
- 555) Militia of Montana, E-mail Alert, Feb. 3, 2004; February 17, 2004; and Feb. 23, 2004.
- 556) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Party's Enlistment of Militia Upsets Human Rights Group," Feb. 27, 2004.
- 557) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Roy Moore presentation, Feb. 27, 2004.
- 558) *Ibid.*
- 559) *Lake County Leader*, letter to the editor, Nov. 20, 2003.
- 560) *Missoulian*, "Faith Rally to Kick Off Drive to Limit Courts' Reach," Nov. 22, 2003.
- 561) National Coalition to Restore the Constitution, website, <http://www.restoretheconstitution.org>, April 29, 2004.
- 562) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, May 5, 2005.
- 563) Constitution Party of Montana, Liberty Summit flier, not dated.
- 564) *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, "Militia to Air Radio Show," Sept. 7, 1995.
- 565) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from the Liberty Summit, June 27, 2005.
- 566) Montana Human Rights Network, letter, July 11, 2005.
- 567) *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, "Group Criticizes Local Lawmakers for Attending Forum," July 15, 2005.
- 568) Constitution Party of Montana, Liberty Summit flier, not dated; Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, May 5, 2005.
- 569) *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, "Group Criticizes Local Lawmakers for Attending Forum," July 15, 2005.
- 570) Sen. Jim Shockley, letter, July 14, 2005.
- 571) Montana Human Rights Network, letter, July 18, 2005.
- 572) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/>, Nov. 30, 2005.
- 573) Montana Human Rights Network, "Law Enforcement, Community, and Press Briefing Paper," April 13, 2000.
- 574) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "The On, Off, On Again Rally," May 2000.
- 575) Michael Heit e-mail, April 1, 2000.
- 576) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 577) Montanans for Multiple Use, letter, April 13, 2002.
- 578) Montanans for Multiple Use, e-mail, Sept. 23, 2003; Militia of Montana, E-mail Alert, July 22, 2003; Montanans for Multiple Use, newsletter, January 2004.

- 579) *Daily Interlake*, letter to the editor, Jan. 24, 2002.
- 580) Montanans for Multiple Use, newsletter, January 2004.
- 581) Montanans for Multiple Use, e-mail, Dec. 27, 2002.
- 582) Militia of Montana, E-mail Alert, March 1, 2002.
- 583) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from hearing on House Bill 283, Jan. 30, 2003.
- 584) *Missoulian*, "Views of the Candidates for HD 66 Seat," Oct. 31, 2000.
- 585) The Americans, website, <http://www.kd7cni.com/web/home.htm>, April 24, 2003.
- 586) *Ravalli Republic*, "House District 62," May 30, 2002.
- 587) *Ravalli Republic*, "Three Vie to Represent House District 62," Oct. 3, 2000.
- 588) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, Feb. 18, 2006.
- 589) Michael Heit e-mail, April 17, 2000.
- 590) Judicial Accountability Initiative Law, website, <http://www.jail4judges.org>, Aug. 24, 2004.
- 591) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Christian Coalition rally, Feb. 29, 2000.
- 592) *Ravalli Republic*, "Christian Coalition Visits," June 13, 1995.
- 593) *Ravalli Republic*, "Holy War in the Bitterroot," Sept. 12, 1996.
- 594) *Missoula Independent*, "The Next War," March 22, 1995.
- 595) *Ravalli Republic*, "Holy War in the Bitterroot," Sept. 12, 1996.
- 596) *Spokesman Review*, "The Ragged Edge," Dec. 3, 1995.
- 597) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 598) Daniel New, website, <http://www.mikenew.com>, Sept. 24, 2001.
- 599) Michael Heit, e-mail, Sept. 22, 2000.
- 600) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, March 18, 2000.
- 601) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 602) Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment, *Constitution Watch*, July 13, 1999.
- 603) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003, p. 22.
- 604) Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment, *Constitution Watch*, Dec. 10, 1997.
- 605) *Libby Western News*, letter to the editor, April 26, 2000.
- 606) J.B. Stone, "The Saga of South Canyon Road, Jarbidge, NV," <http://www.jarbidgehovelbrigade.com>, Sept. 18, 2000.
- 607) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "The Jarbidge Rebellion," February 2000.
- 608) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Right-Wing Guide to Holiday Fun," September 2000.
- 609) *Elko Daily Press*, "Peaceful Protest Unlocks Road," July 5, 2000.
- 610) Jeff Head, press release, July 4, 2000.
- 611) Jeff Head, press release, June 2, 2000.
- 612) Jeff Head, press release, June 21, 2000.
- 613) Jeff Head, "A Modern American Declaration of Liberty," <http://www.petitiononline.com/usdeclar/petition>, 2000.
- 614) *The Jubilee*, July/August 2000.
- 615) Restoration 2000 Campaign, website, <http://www.myplanet.net/jeffhead>, April 10, 2000.
- 616) National Organization for Elimination of the Federal Reserve, website, <http://norfed.org>, Sept. 18, 2000.
- 617) Ibid.
- 618) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 3, 2000.
- 619) Michael Heit, e-mail, Aug. 30, 2000.
- 620) Montana redemption centers, <http://www.libertydollars.org>, June 28, 2006.
- 621) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.ahpom.org>, Sept. 20, 2000.
- 622) *Missoulian*, "5 Quit Missoula GOP Committee," Dec. 17, 1999.
- 623) *Independent Record*, letter to the editor, Oct. 29, 1998.
- 624) *Billings Gazette*, "Conservative Constitution Party Eligible for Ballot This Year," March 18, 2000.
- 625) *Independent Record*, letter to the editor, Feb. 26, 2000.
- 626) *Missoulian*, "Group Pushes for Natelson Write-In," July 26, 2000.
- 627) *Missoulian*, "5 Quit Missoula GOP Committee," Dec. 17, 1999.
- 628) *Great Falls Tribune*, "Constitution Party Candidate Out to Unseat Schmidt," Nov. 5, 2000.
- 629) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Constitution Party of Montana convention, Sept. 15-16, 2000.
- 630) National Constitution Party, press release, Sept. 18, 1999.
- 631) Chip Berlet, *Eyes Right*, South End Press, 1995, p. 23.
- 632) Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, The Guilford Press, 1995, p. 116.
- 633) Ibid.
- 634) Sara Diamond, *Facing the Wrath*, Common Courage Press, 1997, p. 190.
- 635) Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror*, Dell Publishing Company, 1984, pp. 112-133.
- 636) Russ Bellant, *The Coors Connection*, South End Press, 1991, pp. 16-17.
- 637) Gloria Fedlt, *The War on Choice*, Bantam Books, 2004, p. 90.
- 638) Russ Bellant, *The Coors Connection*, South End Press, 1991, pp. 16-17.
- 639) Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion*, The Guilford Press, 1995, p. 130.
- 640) Lee Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution*, The Free Press, 1999, pp. 198-199.

- 641) Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror*, Dell Publishing Company, 1984, p. 115.
- 642) Lee Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution*, The Free Press, 1999, pp. 198-199.
- 643) Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror*, Dell Publishing Company, 1984, p. 417.
- 644) *Mother Jones*, "Power Preying," November/December 1995.
- 645) Skipp Porteus, "GOP Head Grilled at Council for National Policy," May 28, 1998.
- 646) *Mother Jones*, "Power Preying," November/December 1995.
- 647) Sara Diamond, *Facing the Wrath*, Common Courage Press, 1996, p. 188.
- 648) Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligent Report*, "Our Terrible Swift Sword," Fall 2003.
- 649) Associated Press, "Keyes Might Leave GOP if Party Weakens Anti-Abortion Platform," May 23, 2000.
- 650) Associated Press, "Alan Keyes Back Bush-Cheney for President," July 25, 2000.
- 651) *Washington Post*, "Smith to Go with the Taxpayers Party," Aug. 10, 1999.
- 652) *Washington Post*, "McCain Re-emerges; Receives Thompson Endorsement," Aug. 18, 1999.
- 653) *Birmingham News*, "Moore's Audacious Attorney," Aug. 31, 2003.
- 654) Frederick Clarkson, *Eternal Hostility*, Common Courage Press, 1997, p. 117.
- 655) Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting's *Extra!*, November/December 1995.
- 656) National Constitution Party, press release, April 9, 2000.
- 657) National Constitution Party, press release, Sept. 2, 2000.
- 658) Constitution Party of Texas, website, <http://www.acp-tx.org>, October 2, 2000; National Constitution Party, press release, Sept. 2, 2000.
- 659) Constitution Party of Texas website, <http://www.acp-tx.org/>, Sept. 2, 2000.
- 660) *The Spotlight*, Sept. 18, 2000.
- 661) Commissioner of Political Practices, Rick Jore folder, 2002 Election.
- 662) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Roy Moore speech, Feb. 27, 2004; Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, "God's Own Spoiler," Fall 2004.
- 663) Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, "Holy War," Spring 2005.
- 664) Associated Press, "Roy Moore Appearing with Constitution Party Presidential Candidate," July 6, 2004.
- 665) *Birmingham News*, "Constitution Party Hopes for Moore Candidacy," March 1, 2004.
- 666) *Salon*, "Will Roy Moore Crack the Bush Base?" May 4, 2004.
- 667) *Birmingham News*, "Constitution Party Hopes for Moore Candidacy," March 1, 2004.
- 668) Political Research Associates, *The Public Eye*, "Remaking America as a Christian Nation," Winter 2005.
- 669) *New York Times*, "Alabama Governor Defeats Former Justice in Primary," June 7, 2006.
- 670) Institute on the Constitution, website, <http://www.iotconline.com>.
- 671) Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, "God's Own Spoilers," Fall 2004.
- 672) *Spokesman Review*, "Candidates Bases Bid on God," June 30, 2004.
- 673) *Baltimore City Paper*, "God, Family, Republic," March 17, 2004.
- 674) *Washington Post*, "Candidate in 'Spiritual Battle'" Aug. 16, 2004.
- 675) *Baltimore City Paper*, "God, Family, Republic," March 17, 2004.
- 676) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Roy Moore speech, Feb. 27, 2004.
- 677) *Bigfork Eagle*, "Party Gains Strength," Oct. 26, 2005.
- 678) Howard Phillips, "Constitutionally Correct Peroutka," Oct. 19, 2004.
- 679) Michael Peroutka, acceptance speech, June 25, 2004.
- 680) Michael Peroutka, website, <http://www.peroutka2004.com>, May 14, 2004.
- 681) Michael Peroutka, website, <http://www.peroutka2004.com>, Dec. 25, 2003.
- 682) Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News*, "Aryan Congress: Racist Leader's Last Hurrah," November 2004.
- 683) *Birmingham News*, "Constitution Party Candidate to Address League of the South," Oct. 21, 2004.
- 684) *Times Daily*, "Peroutka Rallies Support from Old South Group," Oct. 23, 2004.
- 685) Michael Peroutka, website, <http://www.peroutka2004.com>, June 9, 2004.
- 686) *Sierra Times*, "Why I Joined the Constitution Party," July 28, 2004.
- 687) Chuck Baldwin, website, <http://www.chuckbaldwinlive.com>, July 13, 2006.
- 688) Anti-Defamation League, "Beyond the Bombing," 1995.
- 689) Center for New Community, *Party Crashers: White Nationalists and Election 2000*, June 20, 2000, pp. 13-14.
- 690) *Miami Herald*, "Pensacola a Magnet for Anti-Abortion Extremists," Aug. 31, 2003.
- 691) *Sierra Times*, "Why I Joined the Constitution Party," July 28, 2004.
- 692) Chuck Baldwin, "With Republicans Like These, Who Needs Democrats?" May 4, 2005; "As Usual, Conservative Christians Don't Get It," January 9, 2006; "Judge Roberts no Rhenquist," Sept. 20, 2005.

- 693) Michael Peroutka, website, <http://www.peroutka2004.com>, May 2, 2004.
- 694) Chuck Baldwin, website, <http://www.peroutka2004.com>, May 2, 2004.
- 695) US Election Atlas, website, <http://www.uselections.org>
- 696) *In These Times*, "Out on the Fringes," Sept. 9, 1996.
- 697) Devin Burghart and Robert Crawford, *Guns and Gavels*, Coalition for Human Dignity, 1996, p. 15.
- 698) Montana Human Rights Network, *Shooting for Respectability*, 2003.
- 699) *In These Times*, "Out on the Fringes," Sept. 9, 1996.
- 700) Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, "Taliban on the Palouse?," Spring 2004.
- 701) Ibid; Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, Holy War," Spring 2005.
- 702) Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, "A Mighty Army," Spring 2005.
- 703) Chalcedon Foundation website, <http://www.chalcedon.edu>, Sept. 28, 2000.
- 704) Frederick Clarkson, *Eternal Hostility*, Common Courage Press, 1997, pp. 92-93.
- 705) *Reform Judaism*, "Strange Bedfellows," Winter 1996.
- 706) Frederick Clarkson, *Out on the Fringes*, Oct. 9, 1996.
- 707) James Risen and Judy Thomas, *Wrath of Angels*, Basic Books, p. 218.
- 708) *Mother Jones*, "Both Sides From the Inside," November/December 1993.
- 709) William Martin, *With God on Our Side*, Broadway Books, 1996, p. 359.
- 710) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, "Trehwella Urges, 'Be a Good Shot,'" Aug. 18, 1994.
- 711) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, "Trehwella Talks About Gun Use," Aug. 17, 1994.
- 712) Frederick Clarkson, *Eternal Hostility*, Common Courage Press, 1997, pp. 152-153.
- 713) *New York Times*, "Radical Anti-Abortion Alliance Described," Aug. 18, 1994.
- 714) Planned Parenthood, "US Taxpayers Party," May 27-29, 1994.
- 715) *Milwaukee Sentinel*, "US Taxpayer Party Candidates Define Views," Aug. 19, 1994.
- 716) Constitution Party of Montana, meeting minutes, July 1, 2006.
- 717) Ibid.
- 718) Ibid.
- 719) Jonathan Martin, e-mail, July 23, 2006.
- 720) Constitution Party of Montana, website, <http://www.home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT>, Nov. 30, 2005.
- 721) *The Nation*, "Theocons and Theocrats," May 1, 2006.
- 722) Americans United for Separation of Church and State, "The Religious Right and American Freedom," June 2006.
- 723) *The Nation*, "Theocons and Theocrats," May 1, 2006.
- 724) American United, "The Bush 'Faith-Based' Initiative," Feb. 19, 2001.
- 725) *Washington Post*, "GOP Agenda Aims to Motivate Loyal Voters," July 19, 2006.
- 726) Americans United for Separation of Church and State, "The Religious Right and American Freedom," June 2006.
- 727) *Worldnet Daily*, "Founder of Minutemen Targets Run for President," May 1, 2006.
- 728) Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, "Minuteman Founder Said to Tolerate Neo-Nazis in Campaign," Spring 2006.
- 729) Rocky Mountain Communications Company, website, <http://www.rmccentral.com>, Nov. 3, 2000.
- 730) *Lake County Leader*, letter to the editor, May 12, 2005; Rocky Mountain Reliable Radio, website, <http://www.rockymountainreliable.us>, June 28, 2006.
- 731) Rocky Mountain Reliable Radio, website, <http://www.rockymountainreliable.us>, June 28, 2006.
- 732) Michael Heit, e-mail, August 3, 2000; Jeff Head, "A Modern Declaration of Liberty," Sept. 27, 2000; POW Network, website, <http://www.pownetwork.org>, Sept. 7, 2006.
- 733) POW Network, website, <http://www.pownetwork.org>, Sept. 7, 2006.