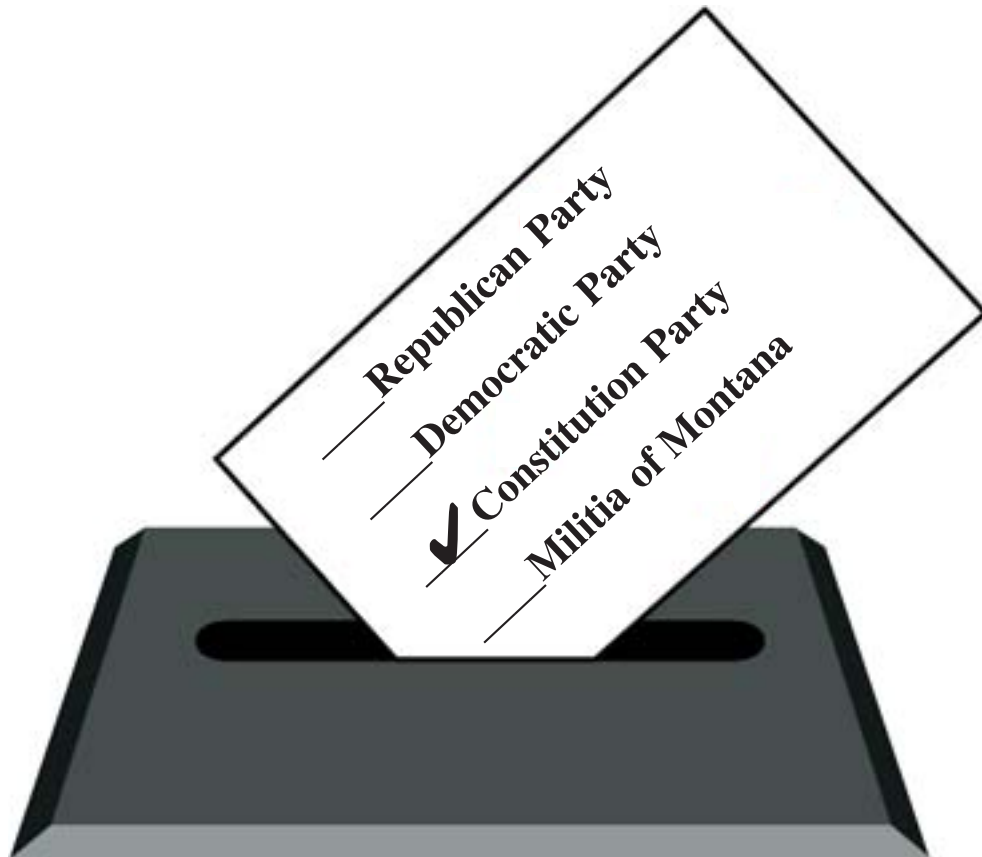


# The Constitution Party of Montana



## The Radical Right Wing's Collision with Mainstream Politics

Report Issued by:  
Montana Human Rights Network  
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*The Constitution Party of Montana:  
The Radical Right Wing's Collision with Mainstream Politics  
by the  
Montana Human Rights Network*

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Second Edition: Copyright 2006  
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## Introduction

In 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana gained ballot access for the first time. Many political pundits and the media 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 the party'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 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 Freeman 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, 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," 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.<sup>1</sup>

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. The Constitution Party of Montana continues this practice.

As the party positions itself as representing "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.<sup>2</sup>

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."<sup>3</sup> During the 2004 election cycle, a 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."<sup>4</sup> 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."<sup>5</sup> The Democrat won the election.

As the debate continues in the Montana Republican Party over what constitutes a "true conservative," the Constitution Party of Montana 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, the Constitution Party 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 the Constitution Party'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 the Constitution Party of Montana 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.”<sup>6</sup>

Jore also stated the Constitution Party 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

The Constitution Party of Montana is not a “conservative” entity in the political mainstream sense. Its platform supports “unorganized militias,” groups like the Militia of Montana. It seeks to repeal the 14<sup>th</sup> 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, it 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 the Constitution Party of Montana 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 Republican Party “We not only have to promote our candidates,

**Constitution Party Costs GOP Races**

Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
<b>2000</b>	Constitution	Pascal Redfern	198
	Republican	A.G. Deschamps	2101
	Democrat	Holly Raser	2110
Result: Republican lost by nine votes			
Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
<b>2002</b>	Constitution	Kent Holtz	122
	Republican	Jim Whitaker	495
	Democrat	Brennan Ryan	518
Result: Republican lost by 23 votes			
Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
<b>2004</b>	Constitution	Renn Bodeker	214
	Republican	Steve Simonson	2112
	Democrat	Paul Clark	2288
Result: Republican lost by 176 votes			
Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
<b>2006</b>	Constitution	Terry Poupa	95
	Republican	James Whitaker	1518
	Democrat	Deobrah Kotel	1597
Result: Republican lost by 79 votes			
Year	Party	Candidate	Votes
<b>2008</b>	Constitution	Sieglinde Sharbono	11523
Secretary of State Race	Republican	Brad Johnson	227596
	Democrat	Linda McCulloch	232070
Result: Republican lost by 4,474 votes			

but we also have to let people know what the stakes are and how important it is to vote Republican.”<sup>9</sup> Denowh said there are three to four races where the Constitution Party could have an impact, including Libby’s House District 1 and Red Lodge’s House District 59.<sup>10</sup>

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.”<sup>11</sup>

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 box on page 5).<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

For their part, Constitution Party 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.”<sup>14</sup>

The Constitution Party of Montana identified the following races as critical in 2006: House District 12 (Rick Jore), House District 6 (Rick Komeda), House District 35 (Torry MacLean), House District 23 (Christopher Gregory), House District 89 (Gil Turner), and Ron Marquardt’s run for Clerk of the Montana Supreme Court.<sup>15</sup> 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 the party 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,” it 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,” the Constitution Party’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 the Constitution Party seeks to drastically swing the state’s idea of conservatism way to the right.

Travis McAdam  
Research Director  
August 2006

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## 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."<sup>16</sup> Jore (2000-2006) said the party more accurately reflected his values.<sup>17</sup>

The Constitution Party of Montana 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 the party; 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, the Constitution Party of Montana followed that example (for more on the national party see "Howard Phillips and the National Constitution Party").<sup>18</sup>

While it took the Constitution Party of Montana 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.<sup>19</sup> 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 most influential activists at the conference, including Rick Jore and Jonathan Martin (2000-2006).<sup>20</sup>

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 Elmo's Michael Heit (2000).<sup>21</sup>

### Platform

The Constitution Party of Montana fuses the ideology of the anti-government "patriot" movement (see box on page 8) 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 14).

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."<sup>22</sup> 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 most people.<sup>23</sup>

Even with minor changes made over the years, the party’s platform is still full of farfetched ideas. Since 2000, the preamble to the party’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.”<sup>24</sup> Pascal Redfern (2000) put it simply, writing “God is not democratic; it is his way or else.”<sup>25</sup>

With its Christian Reconstructionist dogma, there is no separation of church and state, as far as the party 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.”<sup>26</sup> 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.”<sup>27</sup>

Rick Jore fleshes out these theocratic ideas with his own interpretation of history. He has claimed that the Declaration of Independence imposed a “theistic view” at America’s founding. “Every law is based on somebody’s religion,” he has said. “If it’s not based on Christian principles...it’s based on an atheistic assumption...and atheism is a theology.” Jore has lamented that “secular humanism” is the dominant theology today.

He has claimed secular humanism began in the Garden of Eden when Satan told Eve she could be like God. For Jore, this worldview cannot be reconciled with his brand of Christianity. The Constitution Party was a perfect choice for Jore, because he said the party had a “blatant theistic” view that God was “sovereign.” He said he evaluates laws based on his “biblical premise” of what God established.<sup>28</sup>

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.”<sup>29</sup> Jonathan Martin has said

## 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.



America's founders knew that the nation had to be based on Christianity, because "pluralism as a source of a nation" wouldn't work.<sup>30</sup> "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."<sup>31</sup>

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

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.

Since 2000, the party has endorsed "unorganized militias."<sup>32</sup> 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."<sup>33</sup> During his time with the Michigan Militia, Olson frequently encouraged people to take up firearms against government tyrants.<sup>34</sup> The Constitution Party of Montana 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.<sup>35</sup>

It doesn't matter what adjective the party uses to describe militias, whether it be "unorganized" or "community level." The fact is militia groups are far from benign.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, Michael Heit was a founding member of Project 7.<sup>38</sup> When its leaders faced criminal lawsuits, Heit jumped to their defense. In a letter to the "patriot"-oriented *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.<sup>39</sup> Heit also forwarded a message by Burgert discussing Burgert's views



*John Trochmann  
Militia of Montana*

of police to militia activists around the country.<sup>40</sup>

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.<sup>41</sup> At one Project 7 meeting, Burgert told his militia, "Kill them [law enforcement officers] all. Kill them all, even their wives and children."<sup>42</sup>

The Constitution Party of Montana'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.<sup>43</sup>

Heit said Trochmann was “a man dedicated to his beliefs and task at hand” and “For this, I have great respect.”<sup>44</sup> As late as February 2000, the party’s website was part of the “RealAmerican Patriot/Militia Ring.”<sup>45</sup> 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 icon Bo Gritz’s website.<sup>46</sup> Gritz, like Trochmann, is an adherent of Christian Identity [see box on this page].<sup>47</sup> Jonathan Martin, in 2004, said he was “not opposed to it [Militia of Montana] and agree with some of their ideas.”<sup>48</sup>

Given the party’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.<sup>49</sup> 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.”<sup>50</sup>

“I am totally against gun control,” Mark DeGroot (2004) stated. “Gun control erodes liberty and increases the potential for tyranny.”<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup>

The party’s 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 “patriot” 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup>

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.<sup>56</sup> This common-law ideology touts the superiority of “sovereign citizens” over “14<sup>th</sup> Amendment/state citizens.” For the Montana Freemen,

this distinction had a racist underpinning, as the group’s leaders followed Christian Identity.<sup>57</sup> The party’s platform echoes the “sovereign citizens” versus “14<sup>th</sup> Amendment citizens” ideas.

The Constitution Party of Montana seeks to abolish the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.<sup>58</sup> Under Michael Heit’s leadership, the party’s website linked to “Barefoot” Bob Hardison, an Idaho Freemen activist, for its explanation.<sup>59</sup> According to Hardison, the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment subjected

citizens to both federal and state jurisdiction.<sup>60</sup> 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.”<sup>61</sup> Heit wrote that America’s system of checks and balances was destroyed, because the “organic [emphasis in original] Constitution” had been abandoned.<sup>62</sup> The “organic” Constitution leaves out the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

### 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.”

Freemen believe the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 Freeman document stated, “Almighty God created native born Citizens,” but “Acts of congress created United States citizens” and “United States citizens cannot be Sovereign.”<sup>63</sup> 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.”<sup>64</sup> For more discussion on the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, see the “Race” subsection on page 17.

The Constitution Party of Montana’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 Heit frequently addressed the idea of

“sovereign citizens” versus “state citizens” during his time with the party. The party’s platform 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.”<sup>65</sup>

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.”<sup>66</sup>

Another area of commonality between the freemen movement and the party involves the designation of “Titles of Nobility.” Both the party and freemen activists claim that the current 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is not the correct one. Instead, the “original” 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment that forbade Americans from accepting titles

of nobility was removed. Documents drafted by LeRoy Schweitzer and other members of the Montana Freeman referenced titles of nobility.<sup>67</sup>

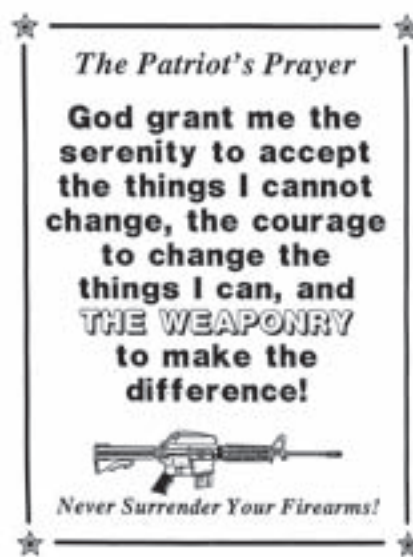
According to “Barefoot” Bob Hardison, the original 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment stated any citizen accepting a “Title of Nobility or Honor” from “external powers” would be unable to hold elected office and would “**cease to be a citizen** [emphasis in original].” According to Hardison, the current 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment was originally listed as the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.<sup>68</sup> In 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana’s website linked to Hardison’s explanation for supporting the restoration of this “original” 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution.<sup>69</sup>

Both Hardison and Michael Heit belonged to “Project 13,” a group trying to restore the “original” 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment.<sup>70</sup> The Constitution Party of Montana said restoration was necessary, because the original amendment had been “treasonously subverted and removed” from the Constitution.<sup>71</sup> The language of the party’s plank titled “Restoration of the Constitution of the United States of America” has remained the same since 2000.<sup>72</sup> However, the party’s 2006 website does not link to Hardison’s freemen reasoning.<sup>73</sup>

In 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana had a platform plank titled “Fully Informed Juries.”<sup>74</sup> 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 before it.” Known as jury nullification, adherents believe juries can render judgment based solely on their conscience, because they are the **fast 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].”<sup>75</sup>

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



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

of Montana has sold videos featuring presentations by FIJA “expert” Red Beckman, an anti-Semite formerly of Billings.<sup>76</sup>

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.<sup>77</sup> 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”<sup>78</sup>

The party has adopted the “patriot” movement’s fears of international cabals orchestrating one-world government under the banner of the “NewWorld Order.” Since 2000, the party’s platform has specifically named the NewWorld Order in many places. It has declared, “We are opposed to any New World Order, and we flatly reject U.S. participation in any NewWorld 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.”<sup>79</sup> Jonathan Martin has stated President Bush is part of the “same secret societies and internationalist



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

organizations” as the other politicians pushing the New World Order.<sup>80</sup>

The cabal pushing for the New World Order is the United Nations, according to the party. The party’s “American Sovereignty” principle stated, “We are opposed to our membership in the United Nations, we support the abolishment of the UN.”<sup>81</sup> Its platform has called on the U.S. to withdraw from the U.N. and require “the

**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.*

U.N. to move out of the United States.” The party’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.”<sup>82</sup>

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.”<sup>83</sup>

Steve Groff, a self-identified Constitution Party of Montana activist from Martin City 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 questioning 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.<sup>84</sup> Groff summed up his views very simply in another letter: “The U.N. wants you dead.”<sup>85</sup>

Groff’s communications to legislators got more specific about who was pushing the New World Order. The culprits were power-hungry Jews, and Groff cited *The Protocols of Learned Elders of Zion* as proof.<sup>86</sup> *The Protocols*, an anti-Semitic forgery produced in the early 20<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup>

Another document sent to lawmakers by Groff was an essay by Idaho’s Edgar Steele.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup>

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 ADL 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.<sup>92</sup>

### 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. The party’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.”<sup>93</sup>

The party 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



Marilyn Hatch

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.”<sup>94</sup>

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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> In a message to National Right to

## 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 that 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.

A main contribution made by Rushdoony was his promotion of a pre-Enlightenment and medieval view of a God-centered world. Rushdoony de-emphasized humanity's ability to reason independently of God. He argued that all human knowledge was invalid unless it was rooted in the Bible. For Rushdoony, any thought that does not begin with God and the Bible is rebellion. Therefore, thinking becomes strictly a religious activity.

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, who also added, "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 bloodthirsty 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*, Sara Diamond's *Roads to Dominion*, Michael McVicar's "The Libertarian Theocrats: The Long, Strange History of R.J. Rushdoony and Christian Reconstructionism," and R.J. Rushdoony's *The Institute of Biblical Law*.

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 THREATENING ME [emphasis in original]!”<sup>97</sup>

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 of God.”<sup>98</sup> Lou Hatch left the Republican Party, because it thought it was “okay to kill your unborn baby whenever you feel like it.”<sup>99</sup> At a 2006 meeting, the party passed a resolution calling on President Bush to declare that a fetus had “full legal protection under the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.”<sup>100</sup>

Many party 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 party 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.”<sup>102</sup>

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).<sup>103</sup> Hatch has been arrested in Alabama, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin for obstructing access to healthcare clinics.<sup>104</sup> She has defined her work as “rescuing”—risking her life by putting herself in between the woman and abortion provider.<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup>

She’s referred to clinics as “abortion mills” and “death camps.” She has claimed that clinic workers protect

pedophiles who engage in sexual assault.<sup>107</sup> She has also chastised Montana lawmakers for looking the other way as their fetal constituents were “slaughtered” and put into “buckets of babies” at health clinics.<sup>108</sup>

Hatch has teamed up with Kandi Matthew-Jenkins at venues other than outside Blue Mountain Clinic. In December 2006, the two women joined Rick Jore in addressing a Missoula Hellgate High School class. When a student asked about reproductive freedom, a newspaper account stated “Matthew-Jenkins and Hatch hijacked the bulk of the remaining 25 minutes to lecture the girl that abortion is murder, passing a life-sized plastic fetus back and forth like a baton.”<sup>109</sup>

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.<sup>110</sup> In 2003 and 2005, party activists testified against legislation in Montana to create a buffer zone between anti-choice protestors and people seeking medical care at health clinics.<sup>111</sup> The bill became law in 2005. The party has deemed these laws unconstitutional.<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup>

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, the party 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 the Constitution Party of Montana wants to end public education all together. 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 stated education should be “properly placed in the dominion of their [children] 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 parents would not have to send their children to schools of which they disapproved, the party supports repealing compulsory education laws.<sup>114</sup>

Many Constitution Party of Montana 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.”<sup>115</sup> Joe Seipel, who ran for Cascade County Commissioner in 2000 on the party’s ticket, was an integral part of a group called Cut Unnecessary Taxes (CUT) in 1995.<sup>116</sup> CUT’s main goal was defeating mill levies that provided public schools in Great Falls with funding.<sup>117</sup> Michael Heit supported charter schools and wanted prayer and Bible reading in public schools.<sup>118</sup> However, no party 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.”<sup>119</sup>

With 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 other kids for 12 years.<sup>120</sup>

Party activists Jonathan Martin, Rick Jore, and Pascal Redfern have all served as contact points for the Montana Home School Reference guide.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup>

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[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.”<sup>123</sup> 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.”<sup>124</sup> In a radio interview, Redfern claimed that home schooled children were taught values that kept them from falling for the lies of liberals. He proudly told listeners that one of his children worked for the Home School Legal Defense Association.<sup>125</sup>

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.<sup>126</sup> The group has an online petition supporting its agenda. Party activists who have signed include: Craig Chambers, Michael Heit, Kandi Matthew-Jenkins, Rick Jore, Jonathan Martin, and Pascal Redfern.<sup>127</sup>

### 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 the phrase 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, the Constitution Party of Montana was billed as “The Constitution Party of Montana And The 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment Restoration Coalition.”<sup>128</sup> While the Restoration Coalition designation has been dropped, the party still stridently supports states’ rights and local control. Since its first platform, the party 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.”<sup>129</sup>



Even while the party 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 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and place the election of U.S. Senators with the Montana Legislature.<sup>130</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment. O’Neil, who has attended Constitution Party of Montana events and meetings, failed both times.<sup>131</sup> In 2005, his resolution died in committee, while in 2003 it was defeated handily on the Senate floor.<sup>132</sup>

The party’s support for repealing the 17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment.”<sup>134</sup> Rep. Harris stood by his fliers, saying that he supported the Democratic Party platform and assumed DeGroot would do the same with the Constitution Party of Montana’s.<sup>135</sup> DeGroot filed a complaint with the Commissioner of Political Practices over the materials Harris issued. The Commissioner eventually ruled in Harris’ favor.<sup>136</sup>

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, the party encouraged use of the death penalty. In fact, it favored allowing both state and local governments to “execute criminals.”<sup>137</sup>
- 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” subsection on page 19). The party’s “logic” would lead to both the federal and state governments starving for funds.<sup>138</sup>

### 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 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, supporting anti-immigrant policies, and repealing the Voting Rights Act.

The party has called for abolishing the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which grants equal protection under the law to all citizens.<sup>139</sup> As mentioned earlier, the party once linked to freemen justifications for abolishing the amendment. Freeman “Barefoot” Bob Hardison claimed the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment was ratified, citizens were subjected to both state and federal jurisdiction. Ultimately, Hardison pronounced the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment unconstitutional, stating it was only ratified by 15 of the 37 states.<sup>140</sup>

Since Jonathan Martin became the party’s chairman, the freemen explanation for abolishing the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment has not appeared on the party’s website. The party still supports abolishing the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, but no other documentation accompanies it.<sup>141</sup> The Constitution Party of Montana has failed to explain what it would do to guarantee the rights of people of color and women if the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment was repealed.

Immigration policy has served as an example of the “margins-to-the-mainstream” dynamic, with the party’s right-wing notions on immigration finding their way into



Mark DeGroot

the political mainstream. Currently both Republicans and Democrats are debating reforms to America's immigration policy at the federal level. The focus of the current debate is on the country's Southern border where the vast majority of immigrants are people of color. Issues regarding 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, the Constitution Party of Montana's immigration plank has remained the same since 2000.

The party 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 undocumented 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 undocumented immigrants. The party also has rejected "the practice of bestowing U.S. citizenship" to children of undocumented immigrants born in America. It has opposed bilingual ballots.<sup>142</sup>

Many of the party's 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 the Constitution Party of Montana. "We must reinvest meaning in citizenship, getting rid of the incentive to birth so-called anchor babies on U.S. soil," Tancredo has stated.<sup>143</sup> He has vehemently opposed any legislation permitting amnesty for undocumented 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."<sup>144</sup>

In August 2006, Tancredo brought his anti-immigrant positions to Hamilton 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.<sup>145</sup>

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."<sup>146</sup> He has praised the Minuteman Project, a border militia with ties to white supremacists.<sup>147</sup> Mentioned as a possible presidential candidate, Tancredo received the endorsement of longtime Klansman David Duke.<sup>148</sup>

Another area of crossover between the GOP's right wing in the U.S. House and Constitution Party ideology



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.*

has been supporting the repeal of the Voting Rights Act. Since 2000, the Constitution Party of Montana has advocated for the Act's repeal.<sup>149</sup> 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.<sup>150</sup>

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."<sup>151</sup> The Voting Rights

Act, in its entirety, was eventually extended for another 25 years.<sup>152</sup>

### Taxes

The Constitution Party of Montana has fervently opposed taxation in almost all forms, from the income tax to the property tax. The party's platform supports "abolishing" the 16<sup>th</sup> amendment.

Many party activists, including Michael Heit, don't believe the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment was properly ratified, so the income tax is unconstitutional.<sup>153</sup> Heit said he refused to deal with the IRS because "they are not a government agency, and they know it." He proudly reported 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.<sup>154</sup> Through April 2000, the party's website linked to websites featuring titles like "Proof That You Do Not Have to File An Income Tax Return."<sup>155</sup>

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."<sup>156</sup> Since 2000, the party has advocated abolishing the Internal Revenue Service.<sup>157</sup>

The Constitution Party of Montana 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."<sup>158</sup> The 2006 version of the "Seven Principles" contended that a person's ability to use their property without regulation was a "God given right."<sup>159</sup> In order to restore "our Constitutional Republic," the party has advocated that "property taxes of all forms must be abolished."<sup>160</sup> 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.<sup>161</sup>

All taxes, especially at the federal level, are viewed by the party as a confiscation of taxpayer funds for unconstitutional programs.<sup>162</sup> 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]."<sup>163</sup> "Republicans want corporate welfare while Democrats fancy individual welfare," said Gary Hall (2002), and the Constitution Party of Montana hoped to eliminate both types.<sup>164</sup> Overall, the party seeks to replace America's current tax system with one "based on the original design of our founding fathers."<sup>165</sup> 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 the party's candidates have signed "Taxpayer Protection Pledges" from Montanans for Better Government and Americans for Tax Reform, promising they would not raise taxes if elected.<sup>166</sup>



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

### 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."<sup>167</sup>

While opposition to gay marriage occupied a small section of the party's platform, its 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"<sup>168</sup>

Back in 2000, Michael Heit complained that America had become a nation where "children are taught homosexuality is ok, that there is no God."<sup>169</sup> He also objected to the "acceptance of homosexual deviant behaviour [sic], in contradiction to Gods [sic] word" being considered a right.<sup>170</sup>

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.<sup>171</sup> DuPaul, Martin and Kandi Matthew-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." Matthew-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.<sup>172</sup>

## 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."<sup>173</sup>

Michael Heit personally attacked U.S. Sen. Conrad Burns (R-MT), the Montana Republican Party and Right to Life of Montana 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 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Amendments were not properly ratified, meaning Heit doesn't have to pay taxes.<sup>174</sup>

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."<sup>175</sup> 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."<sup>176</sup> He encouraged people to "join our [Constitution Party] cause and lets [sic] beat the snot our [sic] of the GOP!"<sup>177</sup>

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.<sup>178</sup>

In another message, he stated Republicans "killed America" when they "turned their back on God."<sup>179</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Rick Jore has made a career out of denouncing the Republican Party since switching his allegiance to the Constitution Party. 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 goat of the legislature, because he was a constitutionalist. "We are not headed into socialism," he also remarked. "We are already there."<sup>180</sup>

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.<sup>181</sup>

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."<sup>182</sup>

After leaving the GOP, Jore became even more outspoken against his former party. He noted an "entrenched, statist, mentality" in both parties that promoted socialism. He said Democrats and Republicans were "two peas in a socialistic pod." The two major parties, he claimed, were only interested in keeping their

dominance. "Some of the socialists call themselves Republicans," he said, "and some of the socialists call themselves Democrats." He said both parties knew voters were pragmatic enough they would vote against someone, instead of for someone. Instead of being pragmatic, Jore gloated, the Constitution Party can be principled. "I will not vote for the lesser of two evils," he has said.<sup>183</sup>

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.<sup>184</sup>

Pascal Redfern stated a common Constitution Party of Montana 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.<sup>185</sup> He said conservatives "wished the Republican Party stood for something," but since it didn't, the Constitution Party would "stand for truth, honor and principle."<sup>186</sup> 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."<sup>187</sup>

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."<sup>188</sup> 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."<sup>189</sup>

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."<sup>190</sup> He also blasted Bush for saying "Muslims worship the same God as



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

Christians" and for "inviting them [Muslims]" to the White House.<sup>191</sup>

#### Right to Life of Montana are "Wannabe Conservatives"

Both Michael Heit and Jonathan Martin criticized Right to Life of Montana for not being extreme enough in its stance on abortion. In August 2000, Heit wrote to Steven Ertelt, director of Right to Life of Montana, and said he wouldn't accept an endorsement by the group. Heit believed Right to Life of Montana made decisions based on political realities, instead of scriptural doctrine. "Abortion is not nonpartisan [sic]," Heit wrote. "It kills all human life."<sup>192</sup> He lashed out at Right to Life of Montana for being "a bunch of wannabe conservatives that talk the talk but haven't got the guts to walk the

walk.”<sup>193</sup> Heit said the only endorsement he cared about was from Jesus Christ.<sup>194</sup>

In September 2000, Jonathan Martin wrote a letter to Ertelt criticizing Right to Life of Montana'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 Right to Life of Montana “who believe that government is God” were helping further America's “journey toward the sure judgement of God!”<sup>195</sup>

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 Right to Life of Montana received from the Republican Party. He told Ertelt that Bush's real goal was a “one world agenda.”<sup>196</sup>

#### Conservatives Still Cooperate with Constitution Party

Even with its vitriolic dislike of other conservatives, the Constitution Party of Montana has continued to receive their support. As for Montana Republicans, Rep. Verdell Jackson (Kalispell) and Sen. Jerry O'Neil (Columbia Falls) have attended the Constitution Party's meetings.<sup>197</sup> 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 (for more, see the “Constitution Party of Montana Events” section).<sup>198</sup>

Individual Republicans aren't the only ones supporting the Constitution Party of Montana. 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 (for more, see Rick Jore's profile in the “Officers” section).<sup>199</sup>

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.<sup>200</sup> The Republican Party did pay the majority of Jore's legal bills resulting from the House District 12 race.<sup>201</sup>

Certain Constitution Party of Montana 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 Constitution Party ticket in 2000.<sup>202</sup> 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.<sup>203</sup>

Like the Republicans, Right to Life of Montana has supported the Constitution Party, even as party members have viciously attacked Right to Life's credibility. After all the bickering in 2000, Right to Life of Montana endorsed eight party candidates, including Jonathan Martin.<sup>204</sup> That trend has continued. In 2006, Right to Life of Montana 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.<sup>205</sup>

The attacks by the party on other conservatives, and the conservatives' responses, are revealing. 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 of Montana, groups like the Montana Republican Party hope to retain their current followers, while at the same time persuading some Constitution Party activists to come back within the mainstream conservative fold. By doing this, however, mainstream conservatives provide legitimacy to the Constitution Party of Montana 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 the party's ticket.

This section contains brief profiles of some of the party's 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 party officers and have more substantial 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 the party's Lincoln County contact.<sup>206</sup> 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.<sup>207</sup>



Photo from CPOM website

Russell Brown

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

Hunter (R-CA). The Act would extend protections of the 14<sup>th</sup> 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]."<sup>208</sup>

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."<sup>209</sup>

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."<sup>210</sup>

During his previous run for the legislature, he stated that "the unconstitutional property tax should be eliminated."<sup>211</sup> He also proved to be an ardent supporter of gun rights when filling out a survey from Gun Owners of America.<sup>212</sup> 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.<sup>213</sup>

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."<sup>214</sup>

In a guest editorial opposing a national healthcare system, Brown stated the government was "like fire" in



that it was a “dangerous servant and a fearful master .” He said many “constitutionalists” believe it is too late to “save this country from the socialist mindset.” Brown said the idea of universal healthcare was not a new idea, claiming that every “dictator” in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries advocated “government-sponsored medicine” regardless of if they were “communist, fascist or disguised.” He also linked universal healthcare to his anti-choice ideology writing:<sup>215</sup>

“If you think the dangers of medical killing in America is remote, perhaps you might consider those among us who think nothing of killing unborn children as a form of preventive medicine. Consider those who think nothing of experimenting on fetuses, harvesting their ova and brains for medical and scientific purposes...National health care would give them the sanction they want.”<sup>216</sup>

He said universal healthcare was advocated by “elitists” who “advocate an immoral system.” Brown concluded his editorial by stating that a national healthcare system would violate the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment and was unconstitutional.<sup>217</sup>

Brown also celebrated the defeat of national legislation to reform immigration law, claiming that it would have granted “amnesty” to undocumented immigrants. He complained that politicians were not doing enough to deport undocumented immigrants. He stated that children born in the United States should not be citizens if their parents are not citizens.<sup>218</sup>

During his 2006 campaign, Brown said his legislative interests included “illegal immigration” and tax reform. He also said he was anti-choice and opposed gay marriage. If elected, he would sponsor bills on those four topics. He cited right-wing Sen. Aubyn Curtiss (R-Fortine) has a state legislator he respected.<sup>219</sup>

Following the mid-term elections in 2006 which found Republicans at the national level losing control of the U.S. House and U.S. Senate, Brown took a shot at the GOP. He stated that many conservatives in Montana voted for Libertarian Stan Jones and that was why Jon Tester beat incumbent Sen. Conrad Burns. He stated the GOP lost because Republicans had advocated amnesty for undocumented immigrants; supported “historically high subsidies” to Planned Parenthood; expanded the federal role in education; and approved “anti-family” policies.

With Democrats in charge, he continued, Americans needed to wake up to what was going on or else the move toward a “New World Order” would continue to advance.<sup>220</sup>

During his 2004 campaign, the Montana Commissioner of Political Practices officially ruled Brown non-compliant, 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.<sup>221</sup>

## House District 2

Name: Freeman Johnson

Residence: Troy

Occupation: Retired

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 party 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. In declaring his switch, Johnson listed issues he felt neither Democrats nor Republicans were addressing. One of the main complaints was undocumented immigrants.

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.”<sup>222</sup>

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.<sup>223</sup>



Freeman Johnson

Photo from CPOM website

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 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.”<sup>224</sup>

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.<sup>225</sup>

### 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.<sup>226</sup> He also was one of the founding board members for the Columbia Falls Planning Department.<sup>227</sup> Rosenberry stepped down from the Columbia Falls City Council in 2005, citing scheduling conflicts with his new employment.<sup>228</sup> He also resigned from his position with the planning department.<sup>229</sup>

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.<sup>230</sup>

*Editor’s Note:* Tad Rosenberry withdrew from his House District 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.<sup>231</sup>

### House District 6

Name: Rick Komeda

Residence: Olney

Occupation: Forester

Political Experience with Party: None

Rick Komeda is a veteran of the U.S. Air Force and a forester living in Olney.<sup>232</sup> He said he felt he needed to run for the Montana Legislature to slow down the “runaway state government.” He said he believes the state should control all public lands in Montana and that the state shouldn’t have to follow the Endangered Species Act. During his 2006 campaign, Komeda signed the Americans for Tax Reform’s tax pledge stating he would not support any tax increases.<sup>233</sup>

He has served as the party’s Flathead County contact.<sup>234</sup> In that role, he turned out 10 party supporters to march in the 2005 Northwest Montana Fair Parade. He and the others decorated a pickup with Constitution Party signs and passed out literature along the parade route. The party’s website enthusiastically noted the literature distribution meant that Komeda had “invited over 1,200 folks” to the Flathead County chapter’s next meeting.<sup>235</sup>

Komeda’s duties also entailed giving updates on the activities of the Flathead Chapter during the party’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.<sup>236</sup> 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”):<sup>237</sup>

During his 2006 campaign, Komeda said the state’s surplus should be used to eliminate property taxes. He stated his legislative interests included property rights, gun rights, and restoring the Constitution. He cited right-wing Representatives Roger Koopman (R-Bozeman) and George Everett (R-Kalispell) as “good men” who were “well-versed in the Bill of Rights.”<sup>238</sup>

**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 the party's treasurer, Kurtis Oliverson has served as a chapter leader for the John Birch Society.<sup>239</sup>

Following the party'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 amok with the people's money" for a long time.<sup>240</sup>



Photo from CPOM website

Kurtis Oliverson

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."<sup>241</sup> Oliverson supported home schooling without state regulation.<sup>242</sup>

Again echoing the party'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."<sup>243</sup>

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

*Editor's Note:* Kurtis Oliverson withdrew from his House District 8 campaign on June 22, 2006. He stated his reason was another "candidate with similar philosophies."<sup>244</sup> He must have been referring to Craig Witte, the winner of the GOP primary for House District

8. Witte manages the Perkins Family Restaurant in Kalispell.<sup>245</sup> 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.")<sup>246</sup>

**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 the party's vice-chairman and the party's local contact in Lake County.<sup>247</sup> When Jore joined the Constitution Party of Montana 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 found himself at odds with members of his own party. He said the Constitution Party better reflected his views.<sup>248</sup> Since switching parties, Jore has hit the Constitution Party speaking circuit denouncing Republicans.



Photo from CPOM website

Rick Jore

Jore has been unable to win his seat back in the legislature while running on the Constitution Party of Montana 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).



Photo from CPOM website

Timothy Sollid

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 protesting the 30<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>249</sup>

During his 2002 campaign, the Commissioner of Political Practices ruled Sollid in non-compliance for failing to file required paperwork on time.<sup>250</sup> According to his early filings with the Commissioner, his 2006 campaign had not raised any money.<sup>251</sup>

### 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."<sup>252</sup>

During his 2000 campaign, Poupa stated he would like to get rid of most current taxes and institute a "head tax."<sup>253</sup> 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."<sup>254</sup>



Photo by Great Falls Tribune

Terry Poupa

Poupa stated he would support a voluntary exemption from the "head tax" for low-income people.<sup>255</sup>

Poupa favored selling off the Montana University System to private individuals. "The state shouldn't be competing with private institutions," he said.<sup>256</sup> He also believed "the obligation of education should fall solely on the parents."<sup>257</sup> "Parents are the key," Poupa explained, "because a good education must include religious and moral training." He preferred home schooling, private schools, and religious education.<sup>258</sup>

Since Poupa's 2002 campaign, Nicole Martin, the daughter of the party's chairman, has served as the treasurer for his campaigns.<sup>259</sup>

### 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 School training for pastors.<sup>260</sup>

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.<sup>261</sup> Holtz has

said he would not support any changes in taxes “until we introduce silver money into the economy.”<sup>262</sup>

As for the party’s negative impact on the GOP, Holtz said he could care less if the Constitution Party of Montana swings a couple races to the Democrats. He explained that his party “should wake up the Republican Party to the fact that they’re heading in the wrong direction.” He



Photo from CPOM website

Kent Holtz

claimed people frequently tell him and his fellow Constitution Party of Montana 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.”<sup>263</sup>

His initial filings with the Commissioner of Political Practices showed Holtz had not raised any money for his 2006 campaign.<sup>264</sup> 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.<sup>265</sup>

### 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.”<sup>266</sup> 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.”<sup>267</sup>

Gregory may have found additional support for his right-wing Christianity in his wife, Mary Koljonen-Gregory.<sup>268</sup> 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 party 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).<sup>269</sup>

According to previous comments made to the press, Christopher 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.”<sup>270</sup> He also listed gun rights as an issue he supported.<sup>271</sup> During both of Gregory’s previous campaigns, the Commissioner of Political Practices ruled him in non-compliance for not filing required paperwork on time.<sup>272</sup>

### 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.<sup>273</sup> “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.”<sup>274</sup>

DuPaul wanted to “see less government intervention in our lives not more,” including when it came to funding public education.<sup>275</sup> Along with reducing administrative costs in schools, DuPaul thought citizens should “wrestle our schools out of the control of federal and state bureaucrats.”<sup>276</sup> He supported an increase in home schooling and private schools.<sup>277</sup>



Philip DuPaul

Photo by Great Falls Tribune

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.<sup>278</sup>

During both of his legislative campaigns, the Commissioner of Political Practices ruled DuPaul in non-compliance for not filing required paperwork on time.<sup>279</sup>

### 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.<sup>280</sup> 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.<sup>281</sup>

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.”<sup>282</sup>

Like many of his fellow party 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.<sup>283</sup>

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 “outright cover-up for government complicity.”<sup>284</sup>



David Anderson

Photo from CPOM website

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.”<sup>285</sup> The so-called Citizens Commission included “patriot” newspaper editor Don Harkins and Greg Szymanski, a contributor to the anti-Semitic *American Free Press*.<sup>286</sup> The report included articles detailing many conspiracy theories about the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

“I believe what we need is people worried about our government,” Anderson said during his 2006 campaign. “I believe we need to put principles before our politics. I believe that it’s not a function of our government to keep our citizens from falling into error, but that it’s the function of our citizens to keep our government from falling into error.”<sup>287</sup>

During the 2007 legislative session, Anderson lobbied on behalf of bills rejecting Montana's participation in the federal Real ID Act of 2005. The Act grew out of recommendations by the 9/11 Commission to make it more difficult to counterfeit or tamper with driver's licenses. States would be responsible for funding the changes, which many viewed as a step towards national identification cards.<sup>288</sup>

"I will destroy every piece of ID I have. I will be hunted, I will move into the mountains and let them come for me," Anderson told the committee hearing two bills opposing Real ID. Anderson appeared before the committee as the vice-chairman of the Yellowstone County Constitution Party.<sup>289</sup>

### 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.<sup>290</sup> 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."<sup>291</sup>

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.<sup>292</sup> 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*.<sup>293</sup> 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*.<sup>294</sup> The book details Stanko's belief that he and his meatpacking business were destroyed by a Jewish conspiracy.<sup>295</sup>

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.<sup>296</sup>

Sometimes McKean doesn't just write letters. In 1996, the Molt-based *The Northern Light* listed McKean as a writer.<sup>297</sup> 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.<sup>298</sup>

During his 2006 campaign, McKean stated he believed in the sanctity of life and opposed gay marriage. He also said he believed in the "true freedom of Christianity, not freedom from Christianity" an apparent jab at the separation of church and state. He listed top priorities as cutting taxes to control government and promoting extractive industry.<sup>299</sup>

He also complained that the Montana Supreme Court was overstepping its bounds. Specifically he complained that the Court had found the Rob Natelson backed CI-75 unconstitutional (see page 58 for more). He said this example illustrated how the Montana Supreme Court made law instead of following it. "After it was part of the [Montana] Constitution," he said, "the high court threw it out as unconstitutional."<sup>300</sup>

**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 House District 87 and Bob Lake in House District 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 party officer and serves as the chairman of the Ravalli County Constitution Party<sup>301</sup>. 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”).<sup>302</sup>

Originally, 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: Owner of Montana Craft Connection

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 the party’s ticket in 2002.

Kandi Matthew-Jenkins is a perennial candidate for office. After running for the Montana Legislature as a Constitution Party of Montana member in 2000, she ran as a Republican in 2004.<sup>303</sup> She lost both times. In Missoula, Matthew-Jenkins ran unsuccessfully for the

Missoula City Council and mayor<sup>304</sup>. After failing to win her campaign for mayor in 2001, she spearheaded an unsuccessful attempt to recall Mayor Mike Kadas in 2002.<sup>305</sup>

Her main area of activism right now is a campaign against Montana’s Child Protective Services.<sup>306</sup> 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.<sup>307</sup> In one missive, she declared everyone knew there were “too many insane social workers” who “lie and abuse families.”<sup>308</sup> Matthew-Jenkins derided Child Protective Services for “ripping apart families for profit” and referred to it as an “unholy and evil department.”<sup>309</sup> The agency, she stated, was engaged in a “usurpation of our God given rights to parent children.”<sup>310</sup>

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.<sup>311</sup> 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.”<sup>312</sup> 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.<sup>313</sup> For their actions, Brian Christine received 12.5 years in prison, and Ruth Christine received 7.5 years.<sup>314</sup>



*Kandi Matthew-Jenkins*

Photo from CPOM website



During her 2006 campaign, Matthew-Jenkins was asked what interest groups she represented. "The biggest interest group I answer to is God," she said. She also told the press that she would not support creating any new laws. Instead, she wanted to see laws repealed. However she did say she would sponsor legislation to end abortion in Montana. She also complained that public schools were no longer focused on academics but were teaching students about "social issues."<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> 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."<sup>317</sup>

**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.<sup>318</sup> He is also the party's contact point in the Great Falls area.<sup>319</sup>

Along with his Constitution Party activism, Martin leads Pro-Life Great Falls, which has picketed in front of Planned Parenthood.<sup>320</sup> 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.<sup>321</sup> The catalyst for his clinic protests is 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."<sup>322</sup>

Martin has served as Montanans for Better Government's "regional representative" from Great Falls.<sup>323</sup> The anti-tax group, started by Rob Natelson,

sponsored many tax-cut initiatives over the years. In 1993, 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.<sup>324</sup>

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 thatWord." Martin has stated the party wants to "return our nation to Biblical and Constitutional principles."<sup>325</sup>

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



Photo by Great Falls Tribune

Jonathan Martin

**Other Candidates**

The following people are also running for office on the the party's 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, the Constitution Party of Montana 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 the party'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 chaired the Constitution Party of Montana.<sup>326</sup> 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.<sup>327</sup> His family frequently appears at public events with him. Michael Peroutka, the Constitution Party's 2004 presidential candidate, glowingly referred to the Martin family as the "Marvelous Montana Martin Family" because of their dedication to the party.<sup>328</sup>

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 the Constitution Party of Montana'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 Christians 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 the party's, is to "return our nation to Biblical and Constitutional principles."<sup>329</sup>

During previous campaigns, Martin has promoted the inaccurate "Christian America" notion (see box on page 35). "The real purpose of government was to preserve and protect our God-given rights to life, liberty and property," he told the media.<sup>330</sup> 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 the party's website, he condemned "the slaughter of millions of innocent children" through abortion.<sup>331</sup> He has also stated

fetuses should "not be deprived of life without due process of law."<sup>332</sup> He has opposed all forms of contraception.<sup>333</sup> His war against reproductive freedom has taken place in front of Great Falls Planned Parenthood and at the Montana Legislature.



Photo by Great Falls Tribune

*Jonathan Martin*

Pro-Life Great Falls:  
Protesting Planned Parenthood

In 2001, Missionaries to the Preborn toured Montana, stopping in Helena, Bozeman, Great Falls, Livingston, and Billings.<sup>334</sup> 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 Trewhella, 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."<sup>335</sup> Trewhella 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 Trewhella's group.<sup>336</sup> Martin is joined by his wife and daughters at the protests, and the clinic does not even perform abortions.<sup>337</sup>

In August 2001, the placards became the center of legal fight between Martin's Pro-Life Great Falls and city government. Citing a public nuisance statute, the city

## Myth of a “Christian Nation”

The Constitution Party of Montana 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*.

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.<sup>338</sup>

Jonathan Martin responded that the City of Great Falls was “trampling on our First Amendment and constitutional right.”<sup>339</sup> He admitted the placards were upsetting, but maintained 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.<sup>340</sup>

The City of Great Falls withdrew the ban on the placards, after Pro-Life Great Falls threatened legal action.<sup>341</sup> 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.”<sup>342</sup>

Representing Martin and the other Pro-Life Great Falls members was the Thomas More Law Center.<sup>343</sup> The Law Center, founded by Domino Pizza magnate Tom Monaghan, frequently represents the interests of Religious Right organizations.<sup>344</sup> 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.”<sup>345</sup> 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.<sup>346</sup>

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 been "disruptive and threatening" toward clinic staffers away from the clinic.<sup>347</sup> They yell at people entering Planned Parenthood, claiming that the clinic "feasts on the blood of the innocent," calling clinic staff "baby killers."<sup>348</sup>

A Planned Parenthood spokesperson told Montana legislators that, at least once a week, protestors surround clinic staff in their cars and yell at them.<sup>349</sup> She also stated clinic staff members were frequently forced to call law enforcement because of the protestors' actions.<sup>350</sup>

#### 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.<sup>351</sup> 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" and "overthrow the tyrannical regime that oppresses them."<sup>352</sup> An Operation Rescue co-founder

signed the declaration calling the murder of abortion providers justifiable.<sup>353</sup> 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."<sup>354</sup>

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.<sup>355</sup>

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.<sup>356</sup>

Jonathan Martin met Flip Benham at a large Operation Save America protest in the summer of 2001.<sup>357</sup> Martin has served on Operation Save America's "Ecclesiastical Court."<sup>358</sup> The court exists to issue pretend indictments against the U.S. Supreme Court for violating God's Law.<sup>359</sup> Martin brought Benham to Montana in 2002 for a speaking tour that stopped in Great Falls, Missoula, and Kalispell.<sup>60</sup>

During Benham's speeches in Montana, it was easy to see why Martin is drawn to him. Benham echoed the party's claims of a "Christian nation," saying America was "founded on the gospel of Jesus Christ." Benham talked about his career of clinic protests, saying he had been arrested many times for "bringing gospel to the gates of hell."



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

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 bashing 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.<sup>361</sup>

In 2004, Jonathan Martin handed out Operation Save America literature outside Great Falls High School. He was joined by Rev. Gary Koljonen's and other members of Triumph Lutheran Brethren Church.<sup>362</sup> 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.<sup>363</sup> One piece claimed public schools "had become the very gates of hell," while another called gays and lesbians "sodomites" who are culturally, spiritually, and physically harmful.<sup>364</sup> The school eventually got the police involved, after parents complained that Martin's crew was chasing and badgering students into taking the literature.<sup>365</sup> 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."<sup>366</sup>

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.<sup>367</sup> The media has described Koljonen as "a full-time pastor and part-time home builder."<sup>368</sup> The home builder description provides an interesting link to the party'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.<sup>369</sup> 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.<sup>370</sup> 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.<sup>371</sup>

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.<sup>372</sup>

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.<sup>373</sup> 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."<sup>374</sup> However, that did not keep the Montana Coalition of Home Educators from giving Martin a seat on its executive committee in 1993.<sup>375</sup> He has also published a home-schooling newsletter and served as a contact point for the Montana Home School Reference guide.<sup>376</sup>

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 because of it."<sup>377</sup> He went so far as to say that the State of Montana did not have the authority to spend any money on public education.<sup>378</sup> Instead, schools, which he



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

has referred to as “gulag[s],” should be supported only by parents who have children in the system.<sup>379</sup> The larger issue for Martin, though, was that he didn’t think religion and education could be separated.<sup>380</sup> For Martin, public schools told his children to “live by someone else’s philosophy [and] someone else’s values.”<sup>381</sup> 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.<sup>382</sup>

#### 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.<sup>383</sup> 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.<sup>384</sup>

In March 2003, Martin helped organize an “Answering Sodom” seminar given by the Covenant Church’s Pastor Ralph Ovadal.<sup>385</sup> Formerly a leader of Missionaries to the Preborn, Ovadal has been arrested over 70 times for obstructing access to clinics.<sup>386</sup> 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.<sup>387</sup>

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.<sup>388</sup>

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.”<sup>389</sup> He warned that “militant sodomites” were working to win acceptance for “behavior” that “brings sickness, death and damnation.”<sup>390</sup> For Martin, calling “evil by its name” might not be popular, but ignoring God’s Law would cause America to “follow Sodom to destruction.”<sup>391</sup>

#### 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 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.<sup>392</sup>

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.<sup>393</sup> 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.<sup>394</sup>

**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.<sup>395</sup>

Jore has stated he became active in politics because:

"I became concerned that my freedom, my property rights [and] my rights as a parent, were being undermined by an aggressive and out of control government. I wanted to do something about it."<sup>396</sup>



Photo from CPOM website

Rick Jore

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."<sup>397</sup> Jore believed that the Constitution was based on "transcendent absolute truths that never change."<sup>398</sup>

This 18<sup>th</sup> 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 the Constitution Party of Montana 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."<sup>399</sup>

From the moment he announced his switch of party affiliation, Jore went on the attack against the GOP. "There's no longer any philosophical difference between the Democrats and Republicans," he stated.<sup>400</sup> 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."<sup>401</sup>

Jore parlayed his disgust with the Republican Party, and his incumbent status, into frequent speaking opportunities at Constitution Party events all over the country.<sup>402</sup> In 2000, he addressed a meeting of the Constitution Party National Committee in Baltimore, Maryland.<sup>403</sup> *The Spotlight*, the largest anti-Semitic publication in the country at the time, quoted Jore at the meeting:<sup>404</sup> "Reject socialism—the standard is the Constitution," he told attendees.<sup>405</sup>

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.<sup>406</sup> 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.<sup>407</sup>

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."<sup>408</sup> Since leaving the GOP, Jore said that the "vast majority" of his colleagues in the Montana Legislature had not read the Constitution, which they swear to uphold. He said that constituted "perjury."<sup>409</sup>

Jore's crusade never changed. It is just under the banner of a different political party. In 2000 and every election cycle since, he has been the party's 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.<sup>410</sup> 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.<sup>411</sup> 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.<sup>412</sup> 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."<sup>413</sup> 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.<sup>414</sup> 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.<sup>415</sup> With the race so close, a recount was conducted. The initial recount declared Jore the winner by one vote. However, there were five questionable ballots, and the recount board decided to do



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

another vote tally for one precinct. After the recount, the board declared the race a tie.<sup>416</sup>

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.<sup>417</sup> These ballots had been awarded to Jore resulting in the tie.<sup>418</sup> Without the restraining order, Republican Secretary of State Bob Brown could officially certify the tie, allowing outgoing Republican Governor Judy Martz to pick the winner. Martz most likely would pick Jore, so Republicans could keep a majority in the Montana House.<sup>419</sup>

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.<sup>420</sup> The Montana Supreme Court declined to settle House District 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.<sup>421</sup>

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.<sup>422</sup> As expected, Martz declared Jore the winner.<sup>423</sup> 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.<sup>424</sup>

The Montana Supreme Court accepted the case and examined the seven ballots in question.<sup>425</sup> 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 House District 12. It ruled that at least one of the contested ballots was invalid, which broke the tie and made Windham the victor.<sup>426</sup> 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.<sup>427</sup>

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...."<sup>428</sup> 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."<sup>429</sup>

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.<sup>430</sup> 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.<sup>431</sup> 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."<sup>432</sup>

### 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.<sup>433</sup>

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 attorneys' fees when the legal battle started.<sup>434</sup> In fact, Big Spring's attorney reported that Jore's lawyer "made the fees much higher."<sup>435</sup>

Jore raised money from supporters to take his fight against the order before Judge Christopher.<sup>436</sup> His main argument was he did not feel he "morally owe[d] this debt."<sup>437</sup> 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.<sup>438</sup> The Foundation is aligned with the Christian Reconstructionism movement.<sup>439</sup> Jore said interposition allows lower courts to overrule higher ones.<sup>440</sup>

Judge Christopher ruled the Supreme Court's decision stood, and Jore announced he would not pay the fees.<sup>441</sup> "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.<sup>442</sup> 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.<sup>443</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> 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."<sup>45</sup>

### 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 the Constitution Party of Montana 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 the Constitution Party, 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 House District 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 the Constitution Party of Montana'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."<sup>46</sup>

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

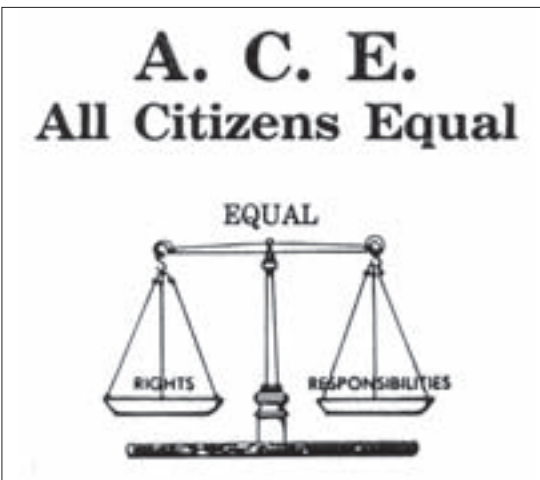
### Fighting Tribal Sovereignty

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.<sup>47</sup> 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."<sup>48</sup> He opposed treaty-based Indian sovereignty.<sup>49</sup>

During his 2000 campaign, he refused to support any state-tribal agreements.<sup>50</sup> 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 campaigns surrounding the 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."<sup>51</sup>

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 declared the movement racist in its 2000 report *Drumming Up Resentment*.<sup>52</sup> Roland and Lisa Morris, two anti-Indian activists and supporters of Rick Jore (see below), sued the Human Rights Network over the report.<sup>53</sup> The



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

case was settled out of court without the Network having to change the report.

Jore sponsored legislation during the 1995 session to terminate the State-Tribal Hunting and Fishing Agreement.<sup>454</sup> The agreement required non-tribal members to purchase hunting permits from tribal government to hunt and fish on lands within a reservation's borders.<sup>455</sup> While his bill failed, it made Jore an immediate favorite of Flathead anti-Indian activists.

Del Palmer had protested the State-Tribal Hunting Agreement since it became law.<sup>456</sup> 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.<sup>457</sup> Palmer, a well-known anti-Indian activist, 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.<sup>458</sup>

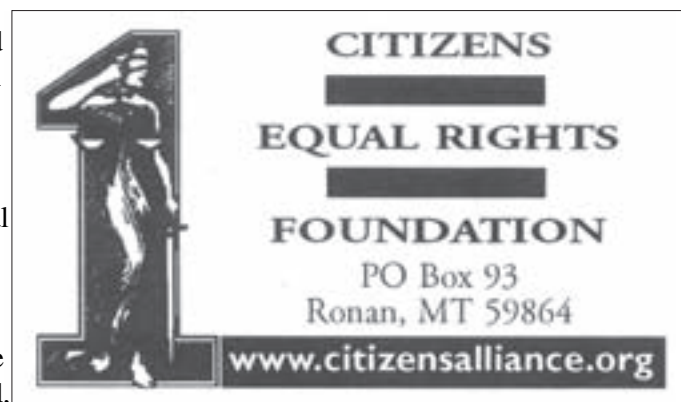
In 1995, Palmer was cited for hunting without a tribal permit. A rally was held to show support for him, and Jore was a featured speaker. "We need to continue the revolution" to protect property rights, he told attendees. Jore said giving tribal government control over everyone on the reservation was 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.<sup>459</sup>

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.<sup>460</sup> The Indian Self-Determination Act made such a transfer possible.<sup>461</sup> Lisa Morris organized the rally.<sup>462</sup> Morris and her husband, Roland, were leaders of All Citizens Equal, the largest anti-Indian group in the Flathead area.<sup>463</sup> 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.<sup>464</sup>

Dick Green, also a GOP legislator at the time, spoke at the event against the transfer.<sup>465</sup> 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.<sup>466</sup>

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.<sup>467</sup> 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.<sup>468</sup>

In 1999, for the third session in a row Jore sponsored a bill to rescind the State-Tribal Hunting and Fishing Agreement.<sup>469</sup> Palmer and All Citizens Equal showed up again to support it.<sup>470</sup> The 1999 session also found Jore casting one of his most infamous votes against Native Americans. The legislature passed a law to remove the



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

word “squaw” from geographic areas administered by the state, because the word is a derogatory term for Native American women.<sup>471</sup> Jore was one of eight legislators who opposed the bill in the House.<sup>472</sup>

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.<sup>473</sup> 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.<sup>474</sup> When another round of controversy erupted in 2003 over the proposed transfer of the Bison Range to the Salish and Kootenai Tribes, Jore was there to oppose it with the Morrises.<sup>475</sup> At one meeting organized by Lisa Morris, he discussed his 1997 resolution against transfer of the Bison Range.<sup>476</sup> Currently, Jore is listed as an “honorary” board member for Lisa Morris’ latest anti-Indian group, the Christian Alliance for Indian Child Welfare.<sup>477</sup> Jore also stayed in touch with Del Palmer. In 2000, he showed up to observe Palmer’s illegal pheasant hunt.<sup>478</sup>

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.”<sup>479</sup> 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.<sup>480</sup>

### Targeting Public Education

As a legislator, Rick Jore personified the Constitution Party of Montana’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.”<sup>481</sup> 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.<sup>482</sup>

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.”<sup>483</sup> Repealing compulsory education was “vital” to upholding “parental rights.”<sup>484</sup> 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.<sup>485</sup>

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.<sup>486</sup> He also strongly felt that the “monopolistic nature of state schools” needed be addressed.<sup>487</sup> This “socialistic monopoly” contributed to the disintegration of the family he said.<sup>488</sup> Ultimately, he believed that “Government should simply get out of the child care business.”<sup>489</sup> He is one of the party’s 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.<sup>490</sup>

On a Missoula Community Access Television program in 2004, Jore said he “refused” to send his kids to public schools, because it was his parental duty to protect his children from physical, emotional, and spiritual harm. He claimed that schools taught the religions of “secular humanism” and evolution. He stated that “government schools” were geared towards “creating a collectivist” view.<sup>491</sup>

### 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.<sup>492</sup> Not surprisingly, Jore consistently has opposed any tax increases and supported tax cuts.<sup>493</sup>

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.”<sup>494</sup> While in the Montana Legislature, Jore twice failed to abolish Montana’s estate tax.<sup>495</sup> He claimed the estate tax was contrary to American values.<sup>496</sup> His efforts received support from Joe Balyeat, president of

Montanans for Better Government at the time and now a state senator.<sup>497</sup> 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.<sup>498</sup> Also in 1999, Jore unsuccessfully tried to reduce state income taxes by 20% through a credit based on property taxes.<sup>499</sup> Balyeat and Montanans for Better Government supported the proposal, along with Montana Libertarian Party.<sup>500</sup>

One reason Jore adamantly opposed taxes was because he disliked government programs helping people in need. Government, according to Jore, was not supposed to “take care of people from cradle to grave.”<sup>501</sup> Instead, he desired a society based on social Darwinism. Since government spending on “social problems” was “not cutting the mustard,” Jore stressed “individual responsibility.”<sup>502</sup> Programs benefiting the public were “statist and socialistic schemes.”<sup>503</sup>

On a community-access television show, Jore complained that resources were taken from one person and given to others through “socialistic tendencies” that have created “special welfare.” He said it was unconstitutional for the government to appropriate funds for social programs. Jore complained that Democrats were the “tax and spend” party, while Republicans were the “borrow and spend” one, which was basically the same thing. “Socialism promoted by Republicans is just as bad as socialism promoted by Democrats,” he said. Jore claimed that high school teachers taught students how to fill out welfare forms.<sup>504</sup>

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 1 bills he sponsored started with the word “abolish.”<sup>505</sup>

#### “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.<sup>506</sup> Jore was

one of eight legislators who carried “bills that clearly support themes and ideas of Montana’s well-known so-called patriot activists....”<sup>507</sup>

During the 1995 Montana Legislature, Jore signed a 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.<sup>508</sup> 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.<sup>509</sup>

A major recruiting vehicle for the “patriot” movement throughout the 1990s was the issue of gun rights.<sup>510</sup> 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.”<sup>511</sup> 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.<sup>512</sup> He has called all gun-control measures “repugnant” and said that it is “absurd” to think the Second Amendment refers to a collective right.<sup>513</sup> He has said America’s founders adopted the Second Amendment to guarantee that citizens could fight off the government. For Jore, it was the “greatest tyrannical act of government” to “diminish an individual’s right to self-preservation.”<sup>514</sup> In his runs for office, Jore has frequently received endorsements from the National Rifle Association and the Montana Shooting Sports Association.<sup>515</sup>

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



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

the rally, referring to the EPA and federal bureaucrats as “petty tyrants” that had too much power.<sup>516</sup>

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.<sup>517</sup>

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.”<sup>518</sup> 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.<sup>519</sup>

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.<sup>520</sup> The Free State Project wants to mobilize 20,000 “liberty-oriented” people to move to New Hampshire.<sup>521</sup> 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.<sup>522</sup> The Militia of Montana promoted a conference by the Free State Project held in Montana.<sup>523</sup> Overall, the Project attracted the attention and praise of many national “patriot” figures.<sup>524</sup>

In 2007, Rick Jore appeared on a program aired by Missoula Community Access Television. Called “Sovereign Solutions,” it was hosted by Missoula’s Rich Angell.<sup>525</sup> Angell has served as a contact point for the “patriot” alternative currency known as “Liberty Dollars” for the National Organization for Repeal of the Federal Reserve. Angell claims he has spent more than \$10,000 on the coins.<sup>526</sup> Angell was also an enthusiastic supporter of the Free State Project.<sup>527</sup>

Other episodes of Angell’s public access show included interviews with anti-Semite Red Beckman, “patriot” journalist Dan Harkins, and Liberty Dollar creator Bernard von NotHaus. As an introduction to the show, Angell described his program as exposing “the financial elite who are building a New World Order to enslave us all.”<sup>528</sup>

During the program, Jore and Angell discussed many issues, including some that find their origin in the “patriot movement.” Angell stated he had heard that people in court who tried to quote from the U.S. Constitution were silenced. He wondered if current courts were constitutional or if they worked on the basis of the “corporate state” perspective, a reference to common law language. Jore said he was not an expert on this particular issue, but he believed it dealt with an “improper flag” in the courtroom that featured gold fringe, the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, and “corporate citizen” status.<sup>529</sup> The gold-fringed flag and so-called “admiralty law” are common rhetoric of the “patriot” movement.<sup>530</sup>

Angell also complained that jurors were told that they cannot judge the law, which is the main complaint of the Fully Informed Jury Association. Jore agreed that was horrible, saying jurors judging law was a basic principle supported by America’s founders. He discussed how he had sponsored legislation to pass the Fully Informed Jury Amendment.<sup>531</sup>

Bringing up another favorite topic of the anti-government movement, Angell asked Jore if he had ever seen an American Liberty Dollar from the National Organization for the Elimination of the Federal Reserve. Jore affirmed he had seen one before and stated his party believed that the Federal Reserve System needed to be abolished.<sup>532</sup>

In 2007, Jore endorsed Larry Kilgore, a Texas candidate for the U.S. Senate, who was running on a platform that called for Texas to secede from the union and become a republic with laws based on the Old Testament.<sup>533</sup> Kilgore railed against abortion and politicians who were willing to compromise on “child murder” and compared pro-choice supporters to Nazis.<sup>534</sup> He lost his race to incumbent U.S. Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX), receiving 18.5% of the vote.<sup>535</sup>

Rick Jore was featured as a speaker at the National Constitution Party’s Spring National Committee Meeting that was held in Idaho in April 2007. Also speaking was Chris Simcox, co-founder of the border militia group Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, and William Norman Grigg, a writer for John Birch Society’s magazine.<sup>536</sup>

#### 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.<sup>537</sup> "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.<sup>538</sup>

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 "regulations and taxation were hindering my ability to pursue my happiness."<sup>539</sup> During his time in the Montana Legislature, he unsuccessfully tried to terminate property taxes.<sup>540</sup>

Like many of his fellow party activists, Jore is also 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."<sup>541</sup> 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."<sup>542</sup> A featured 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).<sup>543</sup>

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."<sup>544</sup>

He complained that the U.S. Supreme Court cited international law in its 2003 ruling *Lawrence v. Texas*. The ruling declared that anti-gay sodomy laws were unconstitutional. Jore said the ruling declared the "right to sodomy" and was a perfect example of why Congress should impeach judges. The ruling, he said, was "treasonous." He was also "adamantly opposed to homosexual marriage," because it should be "self evident" that marriage is only between a man and a woman.<sup>545</sup>

#### 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 Constitution Party of Montana's 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 the Constitution Party not running candidates against Rep. Ray Hawk (R-Florence) and Rep. Bob Lake (R-Hamilton), according to the rumor mill. 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 Constitution Party candidates not to run against Lake (House District 88) and Hawk (House District 90). He said the GOP told the Constitution Party candidates that it viewed House District 88 and House District 90 as important swing districts. Denowh reported 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 the Constitution Party of Montana would have a solid foothold in Montana and an easier time recruiting new members.<sup>546</sup>

#### **Secretary Diane Rotering Missoula, Montana**

Diane Rotering took over as Secretary in May 2005.<sup>547</sup> 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.<sup>548</sup> 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.<sup>549</sup> Her counseling techniques include shouting “Don’t go in there, they kill babies” to people seeking healthcare at Blue Mountain Clinic.<sup>550</sup>

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.<sup>551</sup> 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.”<sup>552</sup>

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 left written testimony by Marilyn Hatch with legislators.<sup>553</sup>

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.<sup>554</sup>

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.<sup>555</sup> 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.<sup>556</sup> 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.<sup>557</sup> 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.<sup>558</sup> 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].”<sup>559</sup> Himes failed to gather enough signatures to put the recall of Judge Langton the ballot.<sup>560</sup>

**Parliamentarian  
Gil Turner  
Stevensville, Montana**

Gil Turner has been involved with the Constitution Party of Montana since 2000.<sup>561</sup> In addition to serving as the party’s parliamentarian, Turner is also chairman of the party’s Ravalli County group.<sup>562</sup> Like Michael Heit, Turner exemplifies the party’s affinity for the “patriot” movement.

Before serving as a party officer, Turner served on the board of Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment and operated a NORFED “Redemption Center.”<sup>563</sup> The Missoula-based Citizens to Preserve the Second Amendment is a gun-rights group that recruited heavily from the “patriot” movement.<sup>564</sup> It featured John Trochmann, founder of the Militia of Montana, as a speaker on at least three separate occasions.<sup>565</sup>

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.<sup>566</sup> Turner’s Redemption Center, and others like it, accepts Liberty Dollars as payment. The Justice Department has determined using Liberty Dollars as currency to buy items is a federal crime.<sup>567</sup>

**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.<sup>568</sup> 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.<sup>569</sup>

Like the party’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.”<sup>570</sup>

Oliverson once complained that “socialists/humanists have essentially hijacked this country’s educational bureaucracy and are using it to convert our children to their agenda.” He said education should be based on “factual information” and not on “junk (or politically-motivated) science.”<sup>571</sup> Oliverson has supported home schooling without state regulation.<sup>572</sup> 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.”<sup>573</sup>

Oliverson has strongly supported gun rights. He believed 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.<sup>574</sup> 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.<sup>575</sup>

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’s 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.”<sup>576</sup>



*Kurtis Oliverson*

Photo from CPOM website

## 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 party 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 socialist

Gary Marbut, head of the Montana Shooting Sports Association and a Republican candidate for the legislature at the time, followed Natelson.<sup>579</sup> Marbut casts himself as a gun-rights policy guru and lobbyist, but he also has extensive ties to the militia movement.<sup>580</sup> 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 the Constitution Party for being committed to the right causes.<sup>581</sup>



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

agenda without freely admitting it. The speakers included some Republicans, along with party activists.<sup>577</sup>

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 the Constitution Party of Montana 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."<sup>578</sup>

Rick Jore spoke about his problems with the current two-party system. "Both major parties accept the premise 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.<sup>582</sup>

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 Reconstructionists beliefs, he said, "The Constitution created a republic under 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.<sup>583</sup>

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.<sup>584</sup> Frami has supported the work of the John Birch Society and backed the formation of militia groups.<sup>585</sup>

Michigan's Cal Zastrow, an Assembly of God minister, gave one of the most impassioned speeches.<sup>586</sup> 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.<sup>587</sup>

Zastrow came to Montana in 2000 to help gather signatures to get the party on the ballot. While in Montana, he was arrested for protesting in front of Planned Parenthood in Billings, but the charges were dropped.<sup>588</sup> He came back to Montana to attend the state party's 2005 annual convention.<sup>589</sup> By 2006, he was leading Michigan Citizens for Life's attempt to put a constitutional amendment on the ballot declaring life begins at conception.<sup>590</sup>

### 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 Alabama 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.<sup>591</sup>

Jonathan Martin and the party 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?"<sup>592</sup> The Militia of Montana distributed three press releases by Martin promoting the event and asking for help with turnout.<sup>593</sup> 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."<sup>594</sup>

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.<sup>595</sup>

Roy Moore kept the audience engaged with a multimedia presentation. He said God is the source 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."<sup>596</sup>

Even before Moore spoke in Montana, the party 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.<sup>597</sup> The Constitution Party of Montana co-sponsored the rally with the Montana Family Coalition, Right to Life of Montana, Montana Eagle Forum, and other Religious Right groups. Jore and Jonathan Martin were the contact people for the event.<sup>598</sup>

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.<sup>599</sup>

### 2005 Liberty Summit

The Constitution Party of Montana took over organizing and planning the 2005 Liberty Summit. The event 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.<sup>600</sup>

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.<sup>601</sup> The venue was an interesting choice, because it served as the meeting point during the 1990s for Citizens for a Free America, the Bozeman chapter of the Militia of Montana.<sup>602</sup> 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.<sup>603</sup>

The Human Rights Network was very concerned Republican legislators attended the event. It wrote to the lawmakers to make sure they understood what the Constitution Party of Montana 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 the Constitution Party of Montana that the party could not accomplish on its own.<sup>604</sup>

When contacted by the media, Rick Jore claimed the summit was not a Constitution Party event.<sup>605</sup> However, attendees made their checks out to the party and minutes from the party's meetings showed its activists organized the summit.<sup>606</sup> 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.<sup>607</sup>

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.<sup>608</sup> 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."<sup>609</sup>



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

Instead of denouncing the party 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, the Constitution Party of Montana 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.”<sup>610</sup>

Events held by the 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 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 the Constitution Party of Montana just a party with militia roots. Instead, it is a party worth the attention of public officials.

Party Activists Attend Reconstructionist Conference

In October 2006, several party legislative candidates attended the “Myths, Lies and Half Truths” conference in Helena.<sup>611</sup> The event was put on by Gary DeMar’s

**Lending Their Political Credibility**



*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.*

organization, American Vision out of Georgia, and sponsored locally by the Montana Coalition of Home Educators and Whitehall's Covenant Community Church.<sup>612</sup>

Approximately 100 people attended the event, which featured tables of Christian Reconstructionist literature authored by the likes of R.J. Rushdoony, Greg Bahnsen, and John Eidsmore.<sup>613</sup> The party was not listed as a sponsor. However, a member of the Whitehall church, Steven Wagner, attended a party meeting to pitch the conference. Wagner described the event as equipping “Christians to evangelize the world” and encouraged all party candidates to attend.<sup>614</sup>

Gary DeMar is one of the most prominent Christian Reconstructionists in the country. He contends that America was founded as a “Christian Nation” and that democracy should be replaced by theocracy. “The Bible is clear on moral issues that are culture-killers: homosexuality, homosexual marriage, and abortion,” he has stated. While he doesn't insist that gays and lesbians should be rounded up and systematically executed in a “reconstructed” society, he does think that the occasional execution of a “sodomite” would be good for society. It

would drive “the perversion of homosexuality underground, back in the closet” he has said. Another long-term goal he has supported would be the execution of abortion providers.<sup>615</sup>

DeMar spoke twice during the weekend conference. He told the audience that Christians had been silent for too long on social issues. He said America’s problems stem from humanism, atheism, and secularism. America was founded on Christian principles, he stated, and the erosion of these ideas is what is causing problems. He said Christians needed to set the terms of the political debate and force their opponents to prove the constitutionality of separation of church and state. He was nostalgic for America’s early colonies having laws that mandated office holders had to be Christians. He warned that, if America became totally secular, Islam would take over the country in 20 years.<sup>616</sup>

“Christians have abandoned the world God has given us,” DeMar declared. He said Christians needed to quit viewing the media as “tools of the anti-Christ” and use technology to advance God’s Kingdom. He compared public school teachers to German Nazis. He complained that too many pastors were worried about their church’s tax status. Instead, he said pastors must address political issues from the pulpit and churches don’t need tax-exempt status. DeMar claimed churches are inherently immune from taxes, adding that the government should not be able to tax any property. He said politics should be based on biblical principles, because both church and state were created by God.<sup>617</sup>

The other speakers at the conference continued the message of merging politics and ultra-conservative Christian doctrine. Tim Ewing, president of a conservative

Christian book company called Tolle Lege Press in West Virginia, promoted a seminar series geared toward involving Christians in politics to bring about a biblical worldview. “Christ wants us to dominate all nations,” he said, adding, “We need to repair our Christian foundations.” He also plugged his magazine, *Rare Jewels*, which he said armed Christians with true facts about gays and abortion.<sup>618</sup>

Another speaker, David Barrett of Idaho’s Biblical Worldview Learning Center, also spoke to the crowd twice. One of his presentations focused on how current “political conservatism” was not the answer. Barrett said current conservatives did not approach interpretation of the Constitution from the correct perspective—the biblical perspective. Without a biblical approach, he said conservatives by default used humanism.

According to Barrett, a biblical approach made sure the government was a voice of God and civil servants were ministers of God. He went on a long rant against so-called activist judges for rulings in favor of reproductive freedom and against the posting of Ten Commandments in public buildings. “I believe that God mandates that all judges should be pro-life,” he claimed. He also encouraged attendees to take their kids out of public schools. “I don’t believe there should be public schools,” he commented, saying that the Bible would not let good Christians put kids in “humanistic anti-God schools.” Barrett ended by saying what America needed was “an uncompromising Christian political party.”<sup>619</sup>

The organizers of the event took time to publicly thank people who helped pull the conference together. Among those thanked were Constitution Party of Montana officers Rick Jore and Diane Rotering.<sup>620</sup>

## 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 the party 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, the Constitution Party of Montana promoted an anti-government/anti-environmental rally held in Libby on April 15, 2000.<sup>621</sup> The event drew militia activists and white supremacists from Idaho and Montana.<sup>622</sup> When the original organizers tried to cancel the event due to objections voiced by the community, Michael Heit asked them to join forces with the party. “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.”<sup>623</sup> Although none of the organizers were listed in meeting minutes, one of them, Scott Orr, did attend the party’s convention in September 2000.<sup>624</sup>

The Libby rally was not the only crossover between the Constitution Party of Montana and the anti-environmental “wise use” movement. Party candidate Gary Hall was a board member for Montanans for Multiple Use at the same time he was running for the Montana Legislature.<sup>625</sup> Hall has served as vice president and editor of Montanans for Multiple Use’s newsletter.<sup>626</sup> He has ascribed to the “wise-use” notion that environmentalists are part of a sinister conspiracy to shut down Montana’s economy.<sup>627</sup> “There is no compromise with the radical leaders of the environmental movement,” Hall wrote, “because they



Gary Hall

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 difference of opinion” but “spiritual warfare.”<sup>628</sup> Hall also complained the Forest Service “has



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

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.<sup>629</sup> 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.”<sup>630</sup> Through fish and wildlife policies, Hall worried about the federal government’s “colonization” of Montana.<sup>631</sup>

Other party 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.<sup>632</sup> 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].”<sup>633</sup>

Lou Hatch claimed Montana’s economy declined when “we locked a lot of the logging companies out of the woods.”<sup>634</sup> He chastised the Montana Supreme Court for its rulings protecting the state’s natural resources.<sup>635</sup>

*Lou Hatch*

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 UN’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.<sup>636</sup> Rick Jore has also frequently used anti-

environmental “wise use” rhetoric. He believed that public ownership of land was unconstitutional, meaning that national parks and national forests should not be allowed. “The Forest Service shouldn’t exist,” he said. He stated all of that land had been turned into “government land,” and federal agencies were locking Americans out.<sup>637</sup>

In addition to supporting the Fully Informed Jury Association, the party 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.<sup>638</sup> Michael Heit served as the Montana contact for the national JAIL group.<sup>639</sup>

In February 2000, both Rick Jore and Dick Green spoke at a rally organized by the Christian Coalition of Montana. 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.<sup>640</sup> Back in 1995, Green attended a Christian Coalition meeting to start a chapter in Ravalli County.<sup>641</sup>

Dick Green spoke at a 1996 meeting held by the “patriot” group We The People, which supported Bitterroot militia leader Calvin Greenup.<sup>642</sup> 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.<sup>643</sup> Green told meeting goers that the American government was “socialistic” and “liberals are universally intellectually weak individuals...they’re a school of bottom feeders.”<sup>644</sup>

Another crossover between the party and the militia movement is Michael New. New was sent to Macedonia in 1992 as part of a UN Peacekeeping force. He refused to wear the UN’s insignia and obey orders from his commanding officer and received a court martial.<sup>645</sup> 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, the party 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 party activist Tom Farrenkopf with “Citizen Medals of Honor” for their dedication to “patriot” causes.<sup>646</sup> Both Heit and Farrenkopf were members of New’s “Home Guard,” which was dedicated to supporting Michael New.<sup>647</sup> Heit also went on the road with Dan New in both Montana and Idaho.<sup>648</sup>



*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

Bitterroot-area residents Tom and Lynn Farrenkopf were instrumental in the party gaining ballot access in 2000, according to Rick Jore.<sup>649</sup> Their business, Ought Six Wear, designed T-shirts for the party.<sup>650</sup> Tom has served as president of the Missoula-based Citizens to Preserve the Second

Amendment (CPSA).<sup>651</sup> 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 meetings on at least three occasions about one-world-government conspiracy theories.<sup>652</sup> 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."<sup>653</sup> 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.'"<sup>654</sup>

Tom Farrenkopf participated in the "Jarbidge Rebellion" and attended the road reopening in Elko, Nevada, on July 4, 2000.<sup>655</sup> 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 in Jarbidge River.<sup>656</sup> On July 4, Farrenkopf and others "reopened" the road by removing a large boulder.<sup>657</sup> Constitution Party Presidential can-

didate Howard Phillips addressed the road openers over the holiday weekend, saying if he was elected he would drastically reduce the size of the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.<sup>658</sup>

While in Elko, Farrenkopf joined fellow "patriot" Jeff Head for the "50 Million Round March."<sup>659</sup> 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."<sup>660</sup> Farrenkopf's Ought Six Wear designed the campaign's T-shirts.<sup>661</sup>

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."<sup>662</sup> Among other demands, it called for the United States' withdrawal from the UN 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*.<sup>663</sup> *The Jubilee* supports the racist theology Christian Identity. Identity claims Jews are the literal children of Satan and ethnic minorities are "mud people."

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.<sup>664</sup>

Tom Farrenkopf's wife, Lynn, had her own way of supporting the "patriot" movement. She ran the Big Sky Redemption Center in Victor.<sup>665</sup> 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



NORFED Flier



A shirt available from Tom Farrenkopf's Ought Six Wear

are worthless, while Liberty Dollars are supposedly backed by gold and silver.<sup>666</sup> 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."<sup>667</sup>

"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.<sup>668</sup>

Farrenkopf isn't the only party activist to have run a redemption center. Others have included: Marilyn Hatch in Lolo; Klaus Gilchrist in Polson (former party vice-chairman); and Michael Heit in Elmo.<sup>669</sup> The contact information for Heit's redemption center was identical to the information listed for the Constitution Party of Montana on the party's website. During Heit's tenure as chairman, other Montana redemption centers were also listed on the party's website. It said that Heit's center was used to support the efforts of the party.<sup>670</sup>

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.<sup>671</sup> Rick Jore, an incumbent Republican legislator at the time, supported CI-75.<sup>672</sup> 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.<sup>673</sup> 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.<sup>674</sup>



*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.<sup>675</sup> Matthew-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.<sup>676</sup> Terry Poupa worked on Natelson's 1996 gubernatorial campaign.<sup>677</sup> 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."<sup>678</sup>

## 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.<sup>679</sup> The names may have changed, but the party has always revolved around one man, its founder 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 fell 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.<sup>680</sup> 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.<sup>681</sup>

Phillips resigned from the Nixon Administration after the court ruling and began creating new conservative groups.<sup>682</sup> The first was the Conservative Caucus.<sup>683</sup> The Caucus' purpose was to mobilize conservatives at a grassroots level to influence their legislators and policy decisions.<sup>684</sup> 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.<sup>685</sup>

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.<sup>686</sup>

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.<sup>687</sup> Author Sara Diamond wrote that the Phillips' effort showed he was "willing and eager to take over a party led by veterans of the racist Citizens' Councils."<sup>688</sup> 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 Majority the catalyst for today's Religious Right.<sup>689</sup> 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.”<sup>690</sup> 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.<sup>691</sup>

In the early 1980s, Phillips was a founding member of the Council for National Policy.<sup>692</sup> The secretive group of some 500 members provides right-wing activists and funders an opportunity to network and plot strategy outside public view.<sup>693</sup>

### 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.”<sup>694</sup> 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.”<sup>695</sup>

Phillips top choice for his party’s presidential candidate was Pat Buchanan.<sup>696</sup> 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.<sup>697</sup>

Like Buchanan, Republican Alan Keyes announced in 2000 he might join the Constitution Party if the GOP softened its anti-choice position.<sup>698</sup> Keyes withdrew his threat after George W. Bush announced Dick Cheney was his running mate.<sup>699</sup>

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.”<sup>700</sup> A week after leaving the GOP, Smith said he was resigning from the Taxpayers Party, in order to maintain his political independence.<sup>701</sup> 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, 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

## 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.*

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.<sup>702</sup>

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.<sup>703</sup>

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.<sup>704</sup> 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.<sup>705</sup>

J. Curtis Frazier was the second choice.

Frazier, the former chairman of the Missouri Constitution Party, was a doctor specializing in emergency medicine.<sup>706</sup> 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."<sup>707</sup> 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.<sup>708</sup> 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."<sup>709</sup> On the Montana front, Frazier and members of his family gave Rick Jore \$500 for Jore's 2002 legislative campaign.<sup>710</sup>

### 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.<sup>711</sup> In a judicial opinion, Moore once declared 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."<sup>712</sup> Between his anti-gay views and his support of the Ten Commandments, Moore seemed

## The Presidential Ticket of 2004



Michael Peroutka



Chuck Baldwin

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.<sup>713</sup> 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.<sup>714</sup> 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."<sup>715</sup>

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.<sup>716</sup> However, Moore did run for office—the Alabama Governor's Office in 2006 on the Republican Party ticket.<sup>717</sup> In the end, Moore lost the Republican gubernatorial primary 36%-64%.<sup>718</sup>

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.<sup>719</sup> 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."<sup>720</sup> To a Washington crowd, he said, "The acknowledgement of God is not an exercise of religion, it's a founding principle of government."<sup>721</sup>

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 occasion 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.'"<sup>722</sup>

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."<sup>723</sup> He was also arrested in 1991 for drunk driving. He received probation and a month of restricted driving privileges.<sup>724</sup>

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.<sup>725</sup> 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 the Constitution Party of Montana's annual convention.<sup>726</sup>

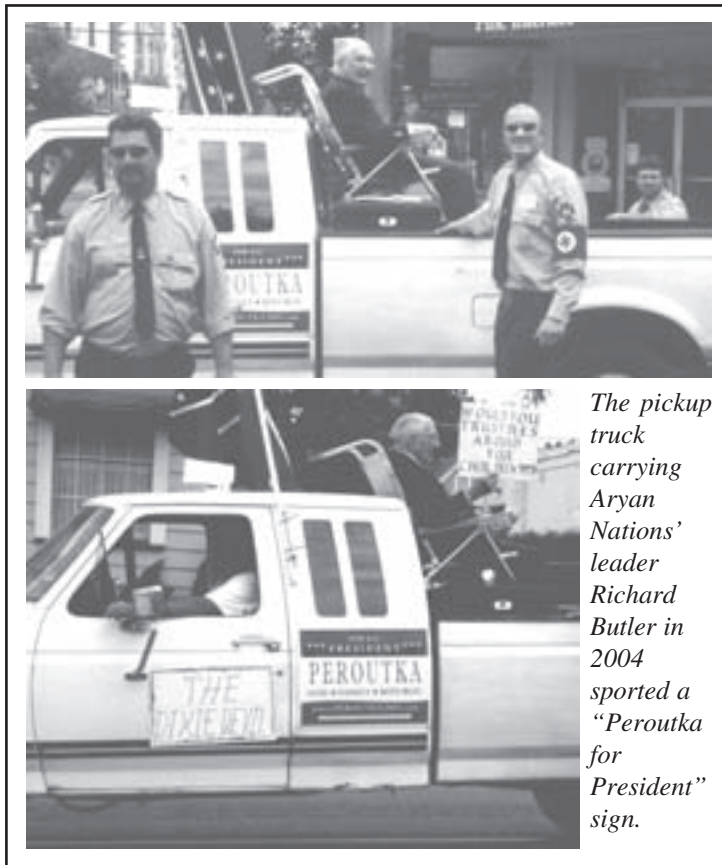
Once Peroutka gained the Constitution Party's presidential nomination, Howard Phillips declared him the "only constitutionally correct choice" in the race for the White House.<sup>727</sup> In his acceptance speech, Peroutka complained that "sodomites" served in the military and that America "tortures 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 innocent, defenseless, unborn children in the womb." He promised to appoint U.S. Attorneys who would secure fetuses' right to life.<sup>728</sup>

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."<sup>729</sup> 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."<sup>730</sup>

Peroutka's campaign drew support from the white supremacist movement. The pickup truck carrying Richard Butler during the Aryan Nations' 2004 parade in Idaho featured a "Peroutka for President" sign.<sup>731</sup> 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.<sup>732</sup> He told attendees that the GOP was "committed to an anti-American agenda."<sup>733</sup> He received the League's endorsement for, among other reasons, being an "opponent



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

of the current American Empire” and supporting “States Rights and the right of secession.”<sup>734</sup>

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.<sup>735</sup> 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.<sup>736</sup>

In the 1990s, Baldwin used his radio show on the Christian Patriot Network to promote the militia movement.<sup>737</sup> 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’ Councils 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*.<sup>738</sup> 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.”<sup>739</sup>

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.”<sup>740</sup> 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.”<sup>741</sup>

Peroutka described Baldwin as an “American patriot and hero” when announcing Baldwin had joined the party’s presidential ticket.<sup>742</sup> 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.”<sup>743</sup>

The Peroutka-Baldwin ticket did better than the Phillips-Frazier one in 2000. They received over 144,000 votes to Phillips’ 98,000.<sup>744</sup> 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.<sup>745</sup> 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.<sup>746</sup> Gun Owners of America draws its membership from people who believe the NRA is too soft on gun issues.<sup>747</sup>

Another speaker was R.J. Rushdoony.<sup>748</sup> Rushdoony is generally regarded as the founder of the Christian Reconstructionism movement.<sup>749</sup> He has condemned democracy as “the great love of the failures and cowards of life.”<sup>750</sup> He has also opposed interracial marriage and desegregation, saying the Bible “recognizes that some people are by nature slaves.”<sup>751</sup>

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,



Larry Pratt  
*Gun Owners of America*

because “The Bible teaches religious superiority not racial superiority.”<sup>752</sup>

Howard Phillips has said Rushdoony and Christian Reconstructionism “provided (evangelical Christian) leaders with the intellectual self-confidence” to become politically active.<sup>753</sup> 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.<sup>754</sup>

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.<sup>755</sup> 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.<sup>756</sup> 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.”<sup>757</sup> 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.”<sup>758</sup>

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.<sup>759</sup> He also signed a declaration saying that murdering abortion providers was “justifiable homicide.”<sup>760</sup> Trehwella was one of a half-dozen anti-choice activists investigated as conspirators in the murder of Florida doctor John Britton.<sup>761</sup> Following a 1995 USTP conference, Planned Parenthood reported that USTP circulated a 100-page training manual titled *Principles Justifying the Arming and Organizing of a Militia*.<sup>762</sup>

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.”<sup>763</sup> A 1994 USTP candidate for the Wisconsin legislature told reporters, “abortionists should be put on trial and put to death.”<sup>764</sup>



## Conclusion

### National Party not Conservative Enough for Montana

Despite the extremist ideas of the national party and its activists, the Constitution Party of Montana 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 the Montana chapter.<sup>765</sup>

The Montana delegates to the National Committee Meeting in Florida reported back to the Constitution Party of Montana 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.<sup>766</sup>

Secretary Diane Roterling 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.<sup>767</sup>

Martin's letter told the national party that it was with "much sadness" that the Montana party voted to disaffiliate. He scolded the national 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."<sup>768</sup>

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, the party 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."<sup>769</sup>

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. The Constitution Party of Montana 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."<sup>770</sup>

The Bush Administration has catered to the Religious Right more than any other presidency.<sup>771</sup> In fact, Bush told supporters God wanted him to run for President. Additionally, he told a 2004 crowd, "I trust God speaks

through me.”<sup>772</sup> 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.<sup>773</sup>

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.<sup>774</sup> 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.”<sup>775</sup>

The Constitution Party appeared to have a big-name candidate for its 2008 presidential run, Jim Gilchrist. Gilchrist is the co-founder of the anti-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 Constitution Party supported Gilchrist in 2005 when he ran as an independent for the U.S. Congress in California.<sup>776</sup> His congressional campaign came under scrutiny when staff members revealed they had allowed neo-Nazis to help with the campaign.<sup>777</sup>



*Jim Gilchrist  
Running in 2008?*

By 2007, Gilchrist was falling out of favor with some of his supporters. The board of directors for his Minuteman Project ousted him, claiming he was abusing his power and couldn’t account for over \$400,000 of the group’s money. Gilchrist filed a lawsuit seeking to regain control of the Project. He accused his opponents of diverting funds into accounts they controlled and stealing other resources from the Minuteman Project. The board members also filed a complaint against Gilchrist with the IRS, saying he never obtained non-profit status for the Minuteman Project.<sup>778</sup>

In March 2007, a California judge rejected Gilchrist’s attempt to regain control of the Minuteman Project. The judge also ruled that the three board members in question could not use organizational funds.<sup>779</sup> The judge said

there were “serious issues concerning the credibility of the claims” made by both Gilchrist and the board members.<sup>780</sup> In April, Gilchrist dropped the remaining portions of his lawsuit against his former board members. He announced he had established a new organization—the Jim Gilchrist Minuteman Project, Inc. Like the past, it appeared the national party would not have a big-name candidate on its presidential ticket in 2008.<sup>781</sup>

### In Montana

It is too early to tell what will result from the Constitution Party of Montana 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, party 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 of ficer, 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.<sup>782</sup> He now calls it Rocky Mountain Reliable Radio.<sup>783</sup> He says he has helped build 30 of his low-power radio stations, but admits that some of the people broadcasting 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 since they don’t know about jury nullification.<sup>784</sup> In other words, 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.<sup>785</sup> In reality, Heit didn’t advance past the rank of Private First Class and never 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 POWNetwork’s website.<sup>786</sup>

In 2007, Heit’s mischaracterizations finally caught up with him. He faced federal charges of falsely claiming to be a decorated Vietnam War veteran while seeking treatment at the Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Spokane, Washington. The counts against him included falsely altering his military certificate of discharge, claiming to have been a prisoner of war and filing papers claiming he had been awarded a Purple Heart.<sup>787</sup> Heit pleaded guilty to the charges and received six months of house arrest.<sup>788</sup>

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 the party as a legitimate outlet for frustrated conservatives. In 2000, the party fielded 11 candidates at the state level. By 2006, that number had 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 races to the Democrats.

While demonstrating an ability to impact legislative races, the party 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. The party just hopes that disgruntled Republicans will continue to accept the party as an outlet for their activism.

## Third Edition:

# Rick Jore and the Rise of Right-Wing Republicans

*Editor's Note:* The following sections were written between the 2007 Montana Legislature and the 2008 General Elections.

The 2006 Election cycle produced a few victories for the Constitution Party of Montana. First, Rick Jore won a seat in the Montana House of Representatives. He beat incumbent Democrat Jeanne Windham, getting over 55% of the vote and becoming the first Constitution Party candidate ever elected to a state legislature. Second, the party continued its tradition of causing Republicans to lose elections. In House District 20, Terry Poupa received only 95 votes; however, that was enough to swing the race to the Democrat.

Finally, in a smart political move, the party ran a candidate in the statewide race for Clerk of the Montana Supreme Court. There was no Republican in the race, meaning Ron Marquardt picked up over 86,000 "conservative" votes.<sup>789</sup> That total guaranteed the party would have ballot access going into the 2008 election cycle.

The 2006 elections resulted in another closely-divided Montana Legislature. The Democrats held a small 26-24 majority in the Senate, following Sen. Sam Kitzenberg (D-Glasgow) officially switching his party affiliation to the Democratic Party.<sup>790</sup> In the House, the Republicans held a similarly small majority over the Democrats, 50-49, with Jore rounding out the 100 seats.

From the beginning, it was clear that the right wing of the Republican Party had control of the Montana House, and they would embrace Jore as one of their own. It also became quickly apparent that this faction of the GOP planned to make their ideological stand both at the committee level and on the House floor. This dynamic began with the election of House leadership.

Rep. Scott Sales (R-Bozeman) defeated the more moderate Rep. Alan Olson (R-Roundup) for the position of Speaker of the House. Sales announced the upcoming session would be a "war."<sup>791</sup> Rep. Michael Lange (R-Billings) was elected House Majority Leader. He stated it was his job to be a "partisan bully" and not give "quarter to the Democrats as they try to push their liberal agenda."<sup>792</sup> These comments set the tone for the contentious and acrimonious session in the Montana House. Republican House leadership sent a clear message that compromise, in the narrowly divided House, was not an option.

### The Rise of the Religious Right

Having Sales and Lange in House leadership positions was a payoff for the Religious Right's long-time targeting of Republican politics. Over the last 30 years, the Religious Right successfully fused conservative political activism with fundamentalist Christianity. Its activists used a two-pronged approach to influence the GOP. On an internal level, activists utilized the mechanics of the party. For instance, they served on GOP central committees, ran for public office, worked on campaigns, served as delegates to state and national conventions, etc. On the external side, they formed organizations and third parties that kept pressure on the GOP, providing a tangible threat to the Republican Party if it strayed from the Religious Right's agenda.

The election of House leadership in 2007 was the crowning achievement for the Religious Right's internal targeting of the Republican Party. The external dynamic provided the point of entry for Jore and the Constitution Party of Montana.

As the Constitution Party of Montana continued to position itself as representative of "true conservatives," it also engaged the debate over what constituted a "true Christian." As its platform illustrates, the party holds that its brand of fundamentalist Christianity cannot be separated from politics and public policy.

It has declared a political vision based on "our full submission and unshakable faith in our Creator God," and that America's founding laws were "rooted in Biblical law."<sup>793</sup> Both the Constitution Party of Montana and Religious Right Republicans feel it is their duty to advocate for laws that represent their theological/political worldview.

While the Constitution Party's views are more extreme, it was not surprising that House leadership and its Republican supporters viewed Jore as one of their own during the 2007 session. They viewed each other, to a certain degree, as coming from and representing the same base of support.

The fusion of theology and political activism in Montana began with the formation of the Christian

Coalition of Montana in 1992. The group held a conference, titled “God’s Building an Army,” to launch the new organization. A number of leading Republicans spoke at the conference, including Attorney General Marc Racicot (who would become Montana Governor and later chairman of the National Republican Committee), State GOP Chairman Rick Hill (who would be elected to the U.S. House), and various state legislators.<sup>794</sup> Ralph Reed of the national Christian Coalition was a featured speaker and he urged the Montana group to operate secretly and deceptively as it mobilized for its political work in the state.<sup>795</sup>

The Christian Coalition of Montana became a constant presence in right-wing politics after hiring Laurie Koutnik as its executive director in September 1992. “The times we live in demand that Christians be involved in the long-term political process,” she said. She declared the Christian Coalition of Montana would be a “sphere of influence” within the state.<sup>796</sup>

During her time leading the group, Koutnik engaged the GOP internally by serving as a committeewoman for the Lewis and Clark Republican Central Committee.<sup>797</sup> Her replacement as director of the Christian Coalition of Montana in 1999, Julie Millam, also served on the local central committee.<sup>798</sup> In fact, when the central committee was required to nominate somebody to fill an open legislative seat in 2004, Millam finished second in the voting.<sup>799</sup>

The practice of Religious Right activists serving on Republican Central Committees was a pattern found throughout the state.<sup>800</sup> The Religious Right had successfully fused fundamentalist Christianity with conservative politics. To a certain degree, being active on local GOP central committees became an expression of faith.

As more and more central committees were dominated by Religious Right activists, the more their right-wing perspective became part of the Republican Party. As these activists gained power within the party, they were able to tailor the GOP platform to their culture war issues—opposing reproductive freedom, supporting second-class citizenship for gays and lesbians, de-funding public education, chipping away at the separation of church and state, etc. The platform adopted by the

Montana Republican Party in 2008 still reflects this influence, featuring language like:

- “We support the clear will of the people of Montana expressed by legislation to keep homosexual acts illegal.”
- “We affirm our belief in traditional family values and support the preservation of innocent human life at every stage of life beginning at conception.”
- “We strongly support the right of parents to choose the way in which their children shall be educated, consistent with their academic expectations and personal values. We support freedom of choice for church, public, charter, private, or home schools.”
- “The Montana Republican Party affirms its belief and support for family values.”<sup>801</sup>

This language is similar to that found in the Constitution Party of Montana’s platform. The Constitution Party’s rhetoric and ideology is both more extreme and more blatantly religious, which is necessary for it to differentiate itself from the Republican Party in the battle for “true conservatives” and “true Christians.” The party’s platform provides the basis to criticize the Republican Party for

being too moderate and represents a tangible, external threat from the GOP’s right-wing flank. On issues similar to the ones addressed above by the Montana GOP, the Constitution Party of Montana’s platform reads:

- “The law of our Creator defines marriage as the union between one man and one woman. The marriage covenant is the foundation of the family. We affirm, therefore, that no government may authorize or define marriage or family relations contrary to what God has instituted.”
- “The pre-born child, whose life begins at fertilization, is a human being created in God’s image.”
- “We support the unimpeded right of parents to provide for the education of their children in the manner they deem best, including home, private or religious.”<sup>802</sup>

While Religious Right activists were pushing their ideology in political parties, an array of right-wing religious organizations kept putting pressure on the GOP from the outside. Following his run for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988, Pat Robertson formed the Christian Coalition of America. It was the major player at the



*The Christian Coalition of America’s Montana affiliate served as the catalyst for Religious Right activists in the state to tar get the Republican Party.*

nexus of Religious Right organizations and Republican politics over the next decade. Its annual “Road to Victory” conferences served both as Republican rallies and trainings on the nuts-and-bolts of political organizing.<sup>803</sup>

As offensive comments by Pat Robertson (see inset box on this page) increased the amount of political baggage associated with the Christian Coalition at the national level, the centers of Religious Right power shifted. The change also played out in Montana.

The Christian Coalition of Montana transformed into the Montana Family Coalition. In early 2004, board members from that group started a competing organization, the Montana Family Foundation. The head of the Family Foundation was Republican Rep. Jeff Laszloffy (Laurel). This was a tactical shift, as the Montana Family Foundation was the state-level affiliate of Focus on the Family.<sup>804</sup>

As Pat Robertson continued to lose credibility and the Christian Coalition lost its tax-exempt status due to its overt GOP politicking, Dr. James Dobson and his Focus on the Family were more than capable of stepping in to fill the void.<sup>805</sup>

The Christian Coalition's tax problems led many Religious Right groups, including Focus on the Family, to form 501(c)4 entities that could be politically active.

In 2004, Dobson created his group's political arm, Focus on the Family Action. It has supported Republicans

## Pat Robertson Speaks, Political Baggage Grows



Photo from New York Times

“When lawlessness is abroad in the land, the same thing will happen here that happened in Nazi Germany. Many of those people involved in Adolph Hitler were Satanists. Many of them were homosexuals. The two things seem to go together.” — *700 Club*, Jan. 21, 1993.

“I think the government is going to step up its attacks against Christians...The government frankly is our enemy and we're going to see more and more of the people who have been placed in office last year...getting control of the levers of power, they will begin to know how to use them and they'll use them to hurt those who are perceived as their enemies.” — *700 Club*, Jan. 4, 1994.

“The game is to do exactly what Joseph Goebbels did in Nazi Germany, to take the Jewish people and stigmatize them as something less than normal and place them in ghettos and ultimately exterminate them. We're not going to let that happen [to Christians] because we're in the process of rebuilding a wall of morality around America.” — *700 Club*, Jan. 19, 1995.

On the terrorist attacks of 9/11: “We have a court that has essentially stuck its finger in God's eye and said we're going to legislate you out of the schools...We have insulted God at the highest levels of our government. And, then we say, ‘Why does this happen?’ Well, why it's happening is that God Almighty is lifting his protection from us.” — *700 Club*, Sept. 13, 2001.

“There is the god of the Bible...who is Jehovah. When you see L-O-R-D in caps, that is the name. It's not Allah, it's not Brahma, it's not Shiva, it's not Vishnu, it's not Buddha. It is Jehovah God. They [other religions] don't have a relationship with him. He is the God of all Gods. These others are mostly demonic powers. Sure they're demons. There are many demons in the world.” — *700 Club*, Nov. 6, 2006.

**Sources:** People for the American Way's *Right-Wing Watch* and Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

espousing the beliefs of the Religious Right.<sup>806</sup>

The switch in national power to Focus on the Family was smooth. Dobson and his group were already engaged in conservative politics. Since the mid-1990s, Dobson has publicly called out the GOP for not being conservative enough and tried to force Republicans to put his conservative Christian ideology into policy and support it. When he believed Republicans were not following his directions, he criticized GOP lawmakers and threatened to bolt from the party. Sometimes his pressure worked. In 1998, GOP leaders U.S. Reps. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and Tom DeLay (R-TX) agreed to push Dobson's agenda and establish a "Values Action Team" that would report weekly to Dobson and other Religious Right leaders.<sup>807</sup>

Dobson was seen as more mainstream than Pat Robertson. However, his history with the national Constitution Party helps illustrate that he was just as far to the right. In 1995, he met with Howard Phillips, who was running as the US Taxpayers Party (now the Constitution Party) candidate for president. After the meeting at Focus on the Family headquarters, Phillips said Dobson was "very supportive of the work of the U.S. Taxpayers Party."<sup>808</sup> Dobson voted for Howard Phillips in 1996, instead of Republican Bob Dole.<sup>809</sup> Dobson also supported both Pat Buchanan and U.S. Sen. Bob Smith (R-NH) leaving the Republican Party.<sup>810</sup> Both were courted by the Constitution Party to run on its ticket for president. Early on in the 2008 presidential race, Dobson appeared ready to bolt from the GOP if it didn't follow his directives. At a meeting of Religious Right leaders in Salt Lake City he announced he would consider a third-party candidate if he didn't like the GOP choice for president.<sup>811</sup>

The selection of House leadership for the 2007 Montana Legislature signaled a major victory for the Religious Right's attention to nuts-and-bolts political strategy over the long-term. What began with the Christian Coalition of Montana in 1992 culminated in Scott Sales and Mike Lange having control of the Montana House. It also helped explain why they viewed Jore as a fellow culture warrior.

With the Montana House so closely divided, it was clear that Jore would play a central role during the 2007 session. Right-wing Republicans, especially in House

leadership, recognized this as well and used it to their advantage. They were able to push right-wing ideology through the House, saying they had no choice because they needed Jore's vote. This was just an excuse to push policy they already supported. Before examining the role Jore played, it is first important to examine Sales and Lange, who handed Rick Jore the power he needed to mainstream the ideas of the Constitution Party of Montana.

Rep. Scott Sales (R-Bozeman):  
The Pulpit and Party Leadership

Despite never chairing a legislative committee, Rep. Scott Sales (R-Bozeman) won the race for Speaker of the House. It didn't take long to recognize that his support came from right-wing conservatives. "I think people in the [GOP] caucus were looking for a change," he said. "People want Republicans to be Republicans."<sup>812</sup>

The Montana Republican Party announced that Sales' election to the post had national conservatives "excited." It reported that national ultra-conservative activist Grover Norquist said Sales' leadership provided the "opportunity for a break with the tax-and-spend policies of the past." The Montana GOP proudly announced Sales was scheduled to appear on Norquist's radio program.<sup>813</sup>

The Montana Republican Party's enthusiasm for Norquist helped illustrate its willingness to stand by controversial right-wing ideologues. Norquist became a powerbroker as the right-hand man of then-U.S. Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) in the mid-1990s. He helped author the GOP's "Contract with America" and has been a mainstay with right-wing Republicans ever since. Famously, he once stated he wanted to cut government to the point where he could "drown it in the bathtub."<sup>814</sup>

Sales' conservative Christian beliefs have guided his tenure as a lawmaker. He said it was important to him that, during the 2007 legislative session, Republican's "family issues" like abortion, parental rights, and anti-gay policies be emphasized. Sales stated that, by abandoning Religious Right issues, the GOP had "emboldened" more people to run on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket.<sup>815</sup>



*Rep. Scott Sales  
(R-Bozeman)  
Speaker of the House*

His desire to emphasize Religious Right issues wasn't surprising. Sales has served as a board member for Bozeman's Heritage Christian School. The school's curriculum is based on the "infallible and inspired" word of God, including science classes that teach biblical creationism. In order to attend the school, a student must have at least one parent who is a born-again Christian. The *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* reported that all fifth graders recite a pledge to the Christian flag every day. "I pledge allegiance to the Christian flag, and to the Savior for whose Kingdom it stands," the pledge stated, "one Savior, crucified, risen, and coming again with life and liberty for all who believe."<sup>816</sup>

Sales has consistently displayed anti-gay views. He supported efforts to keep Montana's unconstitutional sodomy law on the books, even though it was unenforceable, because he thought it set a moral standard.<sup>817</sup> When the Montana Supreme Court ruled the state must make the same benefits available to same-sex couples that it does to unmarried heterosexual couples, Sales attacked the court. "We have a very activist court that doesn't reflect...the rank and file people of Montana," he said. "They think they are rulers instead of judges." He finished by calling the Supreme Court justices "a group of despots."<sup>818</sup>

While positioning himself for Speaker of the House, Sales echoed a common rationale for the national losses by Republicans in November 2006—the GOP had abandoned its conservative values.<sup>819</sup> "Republicans are for limited government and property rights," he stated. "I don't think we delivered on those issues in the past 15 years like we could have or should have."<sup>820</sup>

He also emphasized that he was one of the few GOP members willing to criticize his own party. Sounding like a Constitution Party member, he complained there hadn't been much of a difference between Republicans and Democrats in recent years, and he would lead the party back to its conservative roots. He promised to hold the line on government spending and to reduce the "bloated government."<sup>821</sup> Sales also said he hoped to use his new position to recruit candidates for office who shared his views.<sup>822</sup>

Rep. Mike Lange (R-Billings):  
The Partisan Pit Bull

House Majority Leader Rep. Mike Lange (R-Billings) shared a history similar to that of Sales when it came to supporting the Religious Right. As a union member, Lange originally ran for the state Senate as a Democrat in 1996. He said he switched to the GOP because he is anti-choice and anti-tax.<sup>823</sup>

Lange championed himself as "a Christian" who always kept a Bible on his desk during the legislature. He served on the board of directors for Right to Life of Montana. He proudly reported he had a 100% voting record from anti-choice and gun rights groups. He warned there was a "values war" waged by "the far left obstructionists" against traditional values. Sounding like Rick Jore, Lange has said the federal government should not have anything to do with public education.<sup>824</sup>

During the 2007 session, Lange sponsored a bill touting a favorite campaign of the Religious Right—"parental rights."<sup>825</sup> When examining websites for groups like the Traditional Values Coalition, Focus on the Family, and the Family Research Council, it becomes clear that "parental rights" is an umbrella term for the movement's overall objectives of

limiting reproductive freedom, promoting homophobia, and undermining public education.<sup>826</sup>

Beyond the religious implications, "parental rights" is sometimes used by parents who are charged with abusing their children.<sup>827</sup> The parental rights movement conveys the idea that parents have absolute control over their children, even if they abuse that authority. As the Rutherford Institute, a Christian Reconstructionist law firm, stated in a position paper on corporal punishment and parental rights:

"...if a parent were charged with a crime such as battery, the parent could raise the defense of parental privilege and avoid criminal liability by demonstrating that his use of force against his child was reasonable exercise of the parental rights of discipline."<sup>828</sup>



*Rep. Mike Lange  
(R-Billings)  
House Majority Leader*



Lange's bill squeaked out of the House by a 51-49 vote (Rick Jore voted for it), before being tabled by the Senate Judiciary Committee.<sup>829</sup>

Nationally, Republicans treat the Constitution Party like political lepers, as the party is correctly viewed as an extremist organization not a political entity. In Montana, right-wing Republicans actively support the Constitution Party of Montana because of significant overlap in ideology and both believe they represent "true conservatives."

House GOP leadership welcomed Jore into the fold. His beliefs and background fit the same culture-warrior

mentality of Sales and Lange. Leadership viewed him as a friend, and they provided Jore the platform to bring his right-wing agenda into the halls of the Capitol. His acceptance and participation were not merely symbolic. Sales rewarded Jore's extremism with the chairmanship of the House Education Committee. The message was clear. GOP leadership did not value public education, and they turned the committee over to a party and activist that wanted to dismantle public schools. Being a culture warrior didn't inhibit Jore's power during the 2007 session. In fact, it enhanced it.

## Rep. Rick Jore (C-Ronan) Goes to the Legislature

### Enemy of "Government Schools" Heads Education Committee

Given Speaker Sales' personal ideology and background, it wasn't surprising he awarded right-wing Republicans with leadership of House committees. However, he turned many heads when he named Rep. Rick Jore (C-Ronan) the chair of the House Education Committee. Jore told the media he had not requested the position, instead Sales approached him.<sup>830</sup> "Rick is for getting the federal government out of education," Sales said. "I happen to be for that as well."<sup>831</sup> Jore told Sales, "If [you're] willing to take the heat over it [the appointment], I'd be willing to do it."

Upon naming Jore chairman, Sales said he didn't think schools necessarily needed more funds.<sup>832</sup> He told a right-wing blog, "If I thought Rick was a critic of public education, I wouldn't have put him in this position."<sup>833</sup>

This comment by Sales was absurd, when you consider Jore's long-time efforts to undermine public education (see pages 15-16 and 44 for more). Supporters of public schools quickly denounced Jore's appointment. Superintendent of Public Instruction Linda McCulloch said, "I think when you put someone as chair who is clearly not supportive of public education, it sends a message that that's where the House Leadership is on public education."<sup>834</sup> Eric Feaver, of the Montana Education Association, commented, "Those of us who believe in public education will have to quarrel with a legislator who doesn't."<sup>835</sup> The Montana Human Rights Network called the choice "outright ideological warfare."<sup>836</sup>

Jore's selection as chairman didn't moderate his rhetoric. "We need to be honest enough to address the fact that a monopolistic system of education is not conducive to the various educational philosophies that parents and guardians have," he said after his appointment.<sup>837</sup> "If schooling becomes strictly monopolistic and centralized with government control," he told the media, "it could be used for social control and

manipulation (Hitler-style) in an entirely improper fashion."<sup>838</sup>

The 2007 Montana Legislature was still going to have to deal with the Montana Supreme Court's 2004 "quality education" ruling, which implied that significantly more education funding was constitutionally mandated.<sup>839</sup> This also made Jore's appointment problematic. Back in 2004, he said the legislature had no constitutional obligation to "acquiesce" to the Court's ruling. He also claimed the "judiciary is out of control" and lawmakers weren't doing their job of keeping the courts in check.<sup>840</sup>

Jore did not temper his comments or hide his ideology once the 2007 session started. Speaking to a local civic group in Helena, he lamented that Montana schools had been "socialized." Since children spent a good part of their days in schools away from their parents, Jore claimed public education contributed to the "disintegration of the family." He complained the country had made a "tremendous mistake" and embraced "secularism." He added that he didn't believe the Montana Supreme Court

should be able to tell the legislature what to do.<sup>841</sup>

Jore's personal views and political alliances were on full display during Education Committee hearings. The right-wing has targeted public education for decades.<sup>842</sup> That orientation, combined with an Education Committee chairman from a party that wants to systematically dismantle public schools, resulted in an interesting mix of people during hearings. Religious Right activists and opponents of public education found warm receptions before the committee. Support for merging biblical instruction with public-school curriculum was common, as were rants against anything testifiers or committee members deemed liberal. Especially frequent were accusations that public schools were pushing anti-family policies, such as acceptance of gay and lesbian people.

### Opening the Microphone to the Religious Right

Rep. Rick Jore wasted little time demonstrating he would cater to right-wing conservatives, especially



*Rep. Rick Jore  
(C-Ronan)*

Religious Right activists. In the opening days of the session, Jore sponsored an open microphone session in House Education. He didn't give much prior public notice, announcing it the previous afternoon. However, the Religious Right and members of the conservative Christian home schooling movement were apparently aware of the opportunity and showed up in force.<sup>843</sup>

Montana Eagle Forum was represented by two activists, Jane Nofsinger and Elaine Sollie Herman. While Nofsinger kept her comments focused mostly on protesting federal funding and sex education, Herman, who was the Republican nominee for Superintendent of Public Instruction in 2008, launched into a right-wing rant. She said public schools were set up to "abuse our children" and frequently brought in non-profits to push "political agendas." She said the Ten Commandments should be taught in public schools, because we have "dysfunction, murder, and every type of chaos" in schools without them. She summed up her remarks saying that, when she was growing up, "God was in our country. God was in our schools, and God was in our families."<sup>844</sup>

Helena's Becky Stockton also spoke during the hearing. Stockton has become a consistent lobbyist on behalf of Religious Rights issues during recent sessions. She has supported teaching biblical creationism and its derivative, "Intelligent Design," in public schools.<sup>845</sup> She has given lawmakers books claiming gay and lesbian people can change their sexual orientation by accepting Jesus Christ.<sup>846</sup> She has also supported legislation requiring the filing of death certificates following abortion procedures.<sup>847</sup>

Stockton and her husband had been active with the Helena Parents Commission, a group that organized against Helena Public Schools during the 1990s. In a letter supporting the Commission that was sent to Republicans, Tom Stockton railed against programs established so "our local school board can suck up to the Federal trough" and turn over "our children's education... to the D.C. educrats." He encouraged Republicans to

join the Commission's efforts against the "egalitarian, feel good mush that the liberals" wanted. He said schools needed to quit teaching "leftist ideals of welfare" and concentrate on "rugged individualism."<sup>848</sup> Becky Stockton's testimony to the House Education Committee echoed these sentiments.<sup>849</sup>

Barbara Rush testified that she quit teaching when schools became "cash cows" for federal money and complained about schools adopting bullying-prevention policies. She was also active with the Helena Parents Commission. In 1994, she and Tom Stockton ran one of the Commission's meetings, at which the group discussed teaming up with the Republican Party and right-wing gubernatorial candidate Rob Natelson. Everyone in attendance was asked to get information about the Helena Parents Commission into their church bulletins.<sup>850</sup>

Helena's Mike Kecskes' testimony to the House Education Committee hit on many of the Religious Right's favorite issues, some of which had nothing to do with education. He talked about wanting to bring God and prayer back into the schools. He complained that courts have declared gay marriage a right. He mentioned the so-called "War on Christmas," the posting of the Ten Commandments in public buildings, and the need to keep the "Under God" reference in America's national motto. He concluded, "Let us again make God the final arbiter of good and evil, of right and wrong, a partner in the education of our children." Trent Moore, a school psychologist from Townsend, said the committee should support schools having "more of a biblical influence."<sup>851</sup>

Jerry Pauli, Superintendent of the Thompson Falls School District, testified in favor of public education, but ended up reinforcing many Religious Right themes. Under questioning from committee vice-chairman Rep. Roger Koopman (R-Bozeman), Pauli talked about the possibility of using religious teachings in schools to deal with drug abuse. Pauli said this could be accomplished if administrators were risk takers. "If I'm going to be lynched," he stated, "let me be lynched over values and my belief in Jesus Christ and God." He talked about using churches to raise money to bring abstinence-



Photo from Herman's 2008 campaign website

*Elaine Sollie Herman, the 2008 Republican candidate for the Superintendent of Public Instruction, represented Montana Eagle Forum during Rep. Rick Jore's open microphone session.*

only speakers into the community for nighttime presentations, if the local school ran out of money to host such programs during the day.<sup>852</sup>

The open microphone session sent a clear message. For the rest of the session, attacks on public education would be well-received. Former Education Committee member Rep. Dan Villa (D-Anaconda) described the hearing as being dominated by “a small minority who came up here to a friendly committee and vented.”<sup>853</sup>

House GOP leadership legitimized Jore’s history of targeting public education by naming him chair of the committee. This gave the opponents of public education a clear signal that the House Education Committee was the place to push their extreme beliefs. The acceptance of Religious Right activists and their agendas by Jore and Republicans on the committee played out time after time during the session. Those seeking to dismantle public education were no longer on the outside looking in. Instead, they had direct access to power .

#### Getting Rid of Compulsory Education

Harkening back to his days as a Republican legislator Jore once again sponsored legislation to eliminate compulsory education laws.<sup>854</sup> He said such laws enabled “parental irresponsibility” by taking over parental duties.<sup>855</sup> He admitted his bill generated lots of controversy but claimed it was misunderstood. He said his bill stood for what “our nation was founded on,” which was that parents are the “final authority” over children’s education. At the hearing on his 2007 bill, he introduced John Taylor Gatto from New York and gave him ample time to testify.<sup>856</sup>

Like Jore and many other Constitution Party activists, Gatto supports the Alliance for the Separation of School and State. Gatto was a featured speaker at the group’s 2004 national gathering in Washington D.C. Also speaking were columnist Joe Sobran (briefly the Constitution Party’s vice-presidential candidate in 2000) and Michael Farris, founder of the Home School Legal Defense Association.<sup>857</sup>

Gatto’s testimony to the House Education Committee wasn’t his first appearance in Montana. He spoke at the 2002 “Montana State Home School Convention” in Missoula. He told that crowd that forced public schooling was intended to provide weak-thinking citizens to serve big business and the government.<sup>858</sup>

Gatto told the House Education Committee he had won “Teacher of the Year” numerous times, even though he suspended compulsory attendance laws for his classes. He said he did this with the permission of his students’ parents, but did not clear it with school administrators. He claimed compulsory education was “radical social engineering” that was “destroying the economy of the United States.”

Another supporter of Jore’s bill, Billings’ Robin Miller, said compulsory education leads to “indoctrination” and institutionalizes welfare and socialism. Others supporting the bill included Helena’s Becky Stockton and Constitution Party of Montana officer Kurtis Oliverson.<sup>859</sup>

Jore ended the hearing by saying that “freedom and liberties are just the antithesis of compulsion.” “Freedom is our most valuable asset,” he stated. “We have forgotten that.”<sup>860</sup> The House Education Committee killed his bill. Jore only received the votes of fellow right-wing committee members Reps. George Everett (R-Kalispell), Roger Koopman (R-Bozeman), and Michael Lange (R-Billings).<sup>861</sup>

While Jore’s bill died, the hearing was a “win” in itself. It allowed Jore, his “expert,” and allies to propose an extreme idea as legitimate public policy. Simply having the bill introduced and heard in the established political process helps re-define the political mainstream. Right-wing based legislation establishes a new outpost on the political spectrum that pulls the definition of conservatism further to the right. The vote on Jore’s bill also revealed he had the support of fellow ideologues on the committee.

#### Undermining Sound Science Curriculum

House Joint Resolution 21 supported the separation of church and state when designing science curriculum.<sup>862</sup> It was similar to a bill introduced during the 2005 session. Both bills were a direct response to the Religious Right’s attempts in 2003-2004 to get biblical creationism or “Intelligent Design” taught in public schools in Darby.<sup>863</sup>

The Religious Right started using the terms “Intelligent Design” and “objective origins” after teaching creationism in public schools was repeatedly declared unconstitutional. In 1987, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public schools could not teach creationism. It stated that doing so violated the separation of church and state, because it sought to “employ the symbolic and financial support of government to achieve a religious purpose.”<sup>864</sup>

Federal courts have found Intelligent Design to be a new version of creationism. In 2005, a U.S. District Court in Pennsylvania declared that teaching Intelligent Design in science classes violates the separation of church and state. District Judge John Jones III said it was clear Intelligent Design's purpose was to "advance creationism."<sup>865</sup>

House Joint Resolution 21 was introduced on January 26, 2007, and referred to Jore's House Education Committee.<sup>866</sup> According to the website run by Montana Legislative Services, the bill was scheduled for a hearing on February 26, 2007. Because the hearing was right before transmittal, the Human Rights Network figured Jore planned to use the deadline to kill the bill. However, with the hearing scheduled for a month after the bill was introduced, the Network had plenty of time to arrange people from the Bitterroot Valley to come to the Capitol to testify about the nightmare the debate over Intelligent Design caused in their community. Hope for getting House Joint Resolution 21 out of committee was slim, but at least the Network figured the bill would have a good hearing.

As of 12:30 on Wednesday, February 21, the Network still believed the hearing was scheduled for February 26. Without hardly any notice, the hearing was first moved to February 21 at 3:00 p.m. and then canceled. Jore had asked Rep. Robin Hamilton (D-Missoula), the sponsor of the bill, to cancel the hearing under the guise of saving the committee's time. In exchange, Jore told Hamilton he would cancel the hearing for House Bill 796, sponsored by the committee's vice-chairman, Rep. Roger Koopman (R-Bozeman). House Bill 796 encouraged teaching creationism, Intelligent Design, and "alternative theories of origin."<sup>867</sup> Rep. Hamilton's options were few, and he agreed to the deal.

In contrast to House Joint Resolution 21, Koopman's bill had been introduced, referred to committee, and scheduled for a hearing in one day.<sup>868</sup> The Human Rights Network believed that House Bill 796, arguably unconstitutional on its face, was introduced to facilitate the killing of House Joint Resolution 21. Through his open microphone session, Jore demonstrated a willingness to use his committee to give special treatment to his Religious Right allies. In working with Koopman, he showed an openness to conspire with like-minded

members of his committee to try to kill House Joint Resolution 21 and deny it a public hearing.

After clearing the hearing room for executive action on February 21, Jore told the committee that both Hamilton and Koopman "wished to cancel" the two bills. He claimed House Joint Resolution 21 was never referred to the committee. After going through an abbreviated mock hearing, Jore led the committee in tabling House Joint Resolution 21 and House Bill 796.<sup>869</sup>

The Human Rights Network believed Jore and Koopman manipulated the democratic process with their



*Rep. Jore and Rep. Roger Koopman (R-Bozeman) served on the House Education Committee together. During the 2007 session, they frequently teamed up to push bills supporting right-wing ideology.*

actions to kill House Joint Resolution 21. It held a press conference to expose the below-board actions that had occurred. Koopman crashed the press conference and repeatedly interjected, "That's not true" after speakers recounted what had happened to House Joint Resolution 21 and House Bill 796. Koopman claimed Jore "didn't even have the slightest involvement" in the decision to kill the bills.<sup>870</sup> Later that same day, Jore contradicted Koopman, telling a Network staffer he had approached Hamilton with the deal.

House Joint Resolution 21 illustrated how ideology dictated the treatment of legislation by the House Education Committee. If a bill promoted right-wing ideas, especially the Religious Right agenda, it was fast tracked. If it didn't, the democratic process was manipulated to stack the deck against it. The actions surrounding House

Joint Resolution 21 also showcased the close working relationship between Jore and right-wing Republicans, especially Koopman. They would team up at the committee level throughout the 2007 session.

#### Promoting Right-Wing “Intellectual Diversity”

Jore and Koopman teamed up on another bill. This one promoted a right-wing campaign against higher education for being too liberal. House Joint Resolution 55, introduced by Koopman, came out of the David Horowitz playbook.

Horowitz has made a name for himself by labeling specific academics left-wing and writing books like *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*. His solution for the bias he sees in higher education comes in the form of proposals like an “Academic Bill of Rights” and claims of supporting academic freedom and diversity. Critics of Horowitz point out that his accusations are not supported by facts and his writings contain many falsehoods.<sup>871</sup> One 2008 study



David Horowitz

found that the personal politics of academics have little impact on what their students think.<sup>872</sup>

Koopman took two shots at pushing this piece of ideology. He started with House Bill 525, which promoted “intellectual diversity” in the

Montana University System.<sup>873</sup> When that measure died on the House floor, he came back with House Joint Resolution 55, which created a legislative committee to study the current level of “intellectual diversity” in higher education.<sup>874</sup> The resolution’s hearing demonstrated how the right-wing Republicans on Jore’s House Education Committee felt enabled to treat testifiers however they wanted.

There were no supporters for the House Joint Resolution 55 at the hearing, and Koopman noted he didn’t line up anyone to testify on its behalf. Many university students showed up to oppose it.<sup>875</sup>

Gallatin Gateway’s John Vincent, who had run against Koopman during the 2006 election cycle, opposed House Joint Resolution 55 as well. He said the 1972 Montana Constitutional Convention intended to keep politics out of the education system. He said he taught in high schools for 30 years and that students form their own opinions. He also pointed out there was no evidence that there was a problem with intellectual diversity in Montana universities. He implied the studies Koopman cited had problems with their methodology.<sup>876</sup>

During his closing statements, Koopman condescendingly reprimanded some of the students for making “disrespectful comments,” saying they had proven the need for his bill. However, the real fireworks happened at the end of Koopman’s closing. He told the committee that, although John Vincent was a teacher for 30 years and was popular among his students, “many, many parents particularly of a more conservative persuasion” were “extremely concerned about what he taught in the classroom to their kids.”<sup>877</sup> Koopman failed to mention that Vincent had run against him during the 2006 campaign.<sup>878</sup>

When Vincent rose and stated that Koopman had made “unsubstantiated claims,” chaos broke loose as Republican committee members tried to stop Vincent from speaking. Finally, Rep. Holly Raser (D-Missoula) said she would use a point of personal privilege to make Vincent’s point. Rep. Ed Butcher (R-Winifred) responded by saying Vincent’s comments were a “political vendetta,” and he didn’t need to “hear any more of this.” Jore defended Koopman. When Vincent tried to say something, Butcher yelled, “Call for security.” Jore cut Vincent off and said no other comments needed to be made. Butcher yelled at Vincent, “Sit down.”<sup>879</sup>

House Joint Resolution 55 died in committee on a vote of 7-8.<sup>880</sup>

The hearing on House Joint Resolution 55 demonstrated how much freedom conservatives on the committee had to use their positions to badger their perceived political enemies. A committee chair who cared about the democratic process would not have allowed Koopman’s personal attack against Vincent. Jore, however, allowed Koopman and Butcher to engage in character assassination of a citizen testifying before the committee. The three of them made it clear that only the input of their allies was valued. Political intimidation like this undermines the democratic process.

## Rep. Jore: I Have a Right-Wing Agenda and I'm Not Afraid to Use It

As he did when he served in the mid-1990s as a Republican, Jore announced early on that his sole focus wasn't just on undermining public education. He promised to bring a full right-wing agenda with him to the Capitol. In a guest editorial, he said he would carry bills to establish a constitutional right to life beginning at the moment of conception and to attack the ability of the state to enter into compacts with Indian tribes. He also said he looked forward to "tax reduction bills" that he promised to introduce.<sup>881</sup> Jore was in a good position to help push his ideological agenda, as he was a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which hears bills dealing with many contentious issues—reproductive freedom, equal protection for gay and lesbian people, state-tribal relationships, etc.

### "Patriot" Fears of the New World Order

One of the bills Jore carried pandered to the fear of the United Nations and one-world government conspiracy theories of both the Constitution Party and the "patriot" movement. Called the "Montana Sovereignty Protection Act," the bill said the United Nations charter was not a treaty but a "constitution for world government." The legislation outlawed the flying of a UN flag on any State of Montana property. The bill also forbade the Montana Legislature to spend any public funds on programs carried out under the authority, or with the cooperation, of the UN.<sup>882</sup>

Jore stated his bill contained "foundational principles of freedom."<sup>883</sup> On the House floor, Rep. Michael Lange (R-Billings) said the bill was "patriotic" and "what America is all about."<sup>884</sup> After several attempts, Jore's bill passed out of the House.<sup>885</sup>

During the bill's hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Jore told lawmakers that the UN charter was not a treaty as defined by the U.S. Constitution. He said America's founders, including James Madison, Thomas

Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, would agree. This was a frequent claim by Jore, who routinely couched his right-wing ideas behind rhetoric associating himself with America's founders. He stated his bill kept Montana a free and independent state. Jore explained it was "pre-emptive action" to keep the UN from meddling in Montana's affairs.<sup>886</sup>

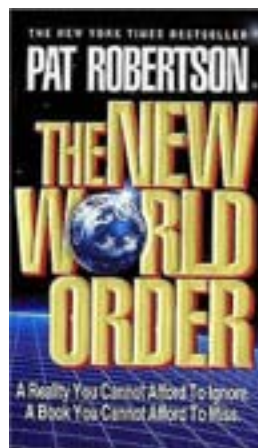
Religious Right organizations supported the anti-UN bill at the hearing. Dallas Erickson of Montanan Citizens for Decency Through Law testified on behalf of the bill. Since the early 1990s, Erickson has made a name for himself in Religious Right circles by supporting passage of local censorship laws in the form of anti-obscenity ordinances.<sup>887</sup> A major voice of the anti-gay lobby, he routinely equates homosexuality with

bestiality, necrophilia, and incest when addressing legislative committees.<sup>888</sup> He has also repeated the false "Christian Nation" (see page 35 for more) mantra to lawmakers, including the claim that James Madison based the Bill of Rights on the Ten Commandments.<sup>889</sup>

Gilda Clancy, representing Montana Eagle Forum, also endorsed Jore's anti-UN bill.<sup>890</sup> Since taking over as lobbyist for Montana Eagle Forum, Clancy, a former Republican legislator, has generally prefaced her remarks by stating her group lobbies on behalf of "God, country, and family values."<sup>891</sup>

Since Jore's bill relied heavily on "patriot" ideology the support of Religious Right groups may seem out of place. However, Religious Right leaders commonly spout conspiracy theories about one-world government, and the United Nations is a frequent target.

The late Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority, once stated that the United Nations was "the infrastructure, the stage on which the Antichrist will build his one-world government."<sup>892</sup> Likewise, in his book *The New World Order*, Pat Robertson wrote, "...for the past two hundred years the term *new world order* [italics in original] has been the code phrase of those who desired



*Like the "patriot" movement, some Religious Right activists also promote one-world government conspiracy theories. Pat Robertson wrote an entire book detailing his fears of a New World Order.*

to destroy the Christian faith” and “replace it with an occult-inspired world socialist dictatorship.” In his book, Robertson outlines a vast conspiracy for one-world government that includes the same villains as “patriot” groups—United Nations, Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission, and others. He based his book on numerous anti-Semitic sources, including the works of Nesta Webster and Eustace Mullins.<sup>893</sup>

While some Religious Right icons attack the United Nations using a biblical framework, they rely on the same anti-Semitic conspiracy theories commonly espoused by the militia and white supremacist movements. Therefore, it was not surprising to find Religious Right organizations supporting Jore’s anti-UN bill.

The ACLU of Montana and the Montana Human Rights Network testified against Jore’s bill. The ACLU gave a detailed history of how and why the United Nations was formed and explained how the UN charter is in fact a treaty.

The Human Rights Network told committee members that Jore’s legislation was the latest incarnation of the militia movement’s “New World Order” conspiracy theories.<sup>894</sup> The Network discussed the forms these conspiracies take, including the Militia of Montana’s John Trochmann trying to use a map found on a Kix cereal box as proof of a global conspiracy theory.<sup>895</sup> The Network believed the irrational fear of the UN found in Jore’s bill evolved from the commonly expressed “patriot” conspiracy theories, and the bill sought to turn anti-government ideology into statute.<sup>896</sup>

During questions from the committee, Sen. Aubyn Curtiss (R-Fortune) told Jore she was concerned about the case of Michael New, who refused to serve under the UN (for more, see page 56). She said she worried about what will happen to Montanans who are unwilling to show “proper allegiance to the UN.” Jore said he was also concerned about the New case. Curtiss also wondered if the bill was just an assertion of 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment rights. Jore said that was how he viewed it.<sup>897</sup>

The bill also found favor with the John Birch Society which sent out a legislative alert supporting it.<sup>898</sup> It wasn’t enough. The Senate Judiciary killed the bill on an 8-4

vote, with only Republican Senators Curtiss, Dan McGee (R-Laurel), Jerry O’Neil (R-Columbia Falls) and Gary Perry (R-Manhattan) voting for it.<sup>899</sup>

#### Anti-Choice Crusade: Life Begins at Conception

Jore continued his participation in the right-wing culture war by sponsoring a constitutional amendment declaring that a fertilized egg had a “paramount and fundamental right to life.”<sup>900</sup> If it had passed the legislature, the amendment would have been voted on in the 2008 General Election. The bill was part of the anti-choice movement’s goal of bestowing rights to a fetus that are equal, if not superior, to the rights of a pregnant woman.

Jore told the House Judiciary Committee that America used to celebrate life, but it had drifted away from its “moral base.” The bill, Jore said, allowed voters to answer the question, “When does human life begin and where do we say it begins?” Jore told the committee that Dr. Patrick Johnston had come all the way from Ohio to testify for the legislation, and Jore said Johnston would receive all the time he needed.<sup>901</sup>

The fact that Johnston was the featured proponent of the bill revealed the ideology behind the proposed constitutional amendment. Johnston is the founder of the Association of Pro-Life Physicians, which is comprised of doctors who believe “life begins at conception” and will not perform or refer patients to have an abortion. He also founded a group dedicated to Christian home schooling, the Alliance to Reform Education Funding, and the Coalition for Justice for All. The Coalition records the license plates, names and addresses, along with taking pictures, of people accessing healthcare at clinics that perform abortions. Johnston’s website stated that he and his wife support the “restoration of Biblical law and constitutional government in America.”<sup>902</sup>

The blog “Talk to Action,” which reports on the Religious Right, determined that Patrick Johnston’s full name is James Patrick Johnston. It reported that Johnston practices medicine as James Johnston, while he conducts his right-wing political activity as Patrick Johnston. Johnston has supported legislation in Ohio banning abortion, claiming that the policy was endorsed by the



*James Patrick Johnston*



Army of God.<sup>903</sup> The Army of God is a loosely-affiliated network that promotes the murder of people who work at health clinics that provide abortions. A manual by the group describes how to commit clinic violence and how to build bombs. The Army of God also celebrates anti-choice activists who have killed clinic staff and bombed clinics.<sup>904</sup> Johnston has also been active with Operation Save America.

Talk to Action reported that Johnston's past writings endorsed murdering abortion providers and using the death penalty against gay and lesbian people. However, Talk to Action stated Johnston had been trying to clean up his image as he tried to move away from the Constitution Party of Ohio and gain legitimacy by joining the Ohio GOP.<sup>905</sup>

Johnston didn't reveal any of this to the House Judiciary Committee when testifying for Jore's constitutional amendment. Instead, he described himself merely as a family practitioner. He said lawmakers needed to "draw a line in the sand" and that it was "immoral" for states not to stop the "assaults" against "innocent life." He said the Bible gave the moral reason to pass Jore's bill, and it was the duty of lawmakers to enforce God's law.<sup>906</sup>

Many Religious Right and Christian Reconstructionists showed up to the support Jore's bill. Right to Life of Montana, the Montana Family Foundation, and Concerned Women for America spoke in favor of it. "Unborn babies," Harris Himes of Montana Values Alliance declared to the committee, "have the same legal rights" as all Montanans. The Montana Catholic Church urged the committee to respect and protect life from conception.<sup>907</sup>

Constitution Party of Montana activists Rick Komeda, Roger Nelson, Timothy Sollid, and Jonathan Martin testified. Martin warned "God won't bless our people" if America continued to kill the unborn. Steven Wagner from Whitehall's Covenant Community Church said the members of his church "grieve over the culture of death." Wagner's church sponsored the Helena conference featuring Reconstructionist leader Gary DeMar (see pages 53-54 for more).<sup>908</sup>

Opponents of Jore's bill pointed out significant problems with it, including how it would impact doctor-patient relationships.<sup>909</sup>

During questions from the committee, Jore admitted he sponsored the bill because he wanted to limit abortion and create "due process for protecting" the fetus and

give it equal rights to the pregnant woman. In closing the hearing, Jore said the context of this bill was to make the legislature "stop and look and ask if we've lost our moral bearing."<sup>910</sup>

The bill made it out of the House Judiciary Committee. On the House floor, Jore said it would outlaw abortion in all cases, even when pregnancy resulted from rape or incest or the mother's life was in danger.<sup>911</sup> He also told his fellow representatives, "My view is that we're simply giving due process rights to a human being that can't defend itself." He also admitted the amendment would be used to investigate women who experienced miscarriages.<sup>912</sup> His bill died on the House floor on third reading on a 45-53 vote.<sup>913</sup> The bill would resurface during the 2008 election cycle as CI-100 (see pages 102-104 for more).

The bill revealed inconsistencies within the Constitution Party of Montana's own doctrine. While Jore and company promoted the sanctity of "unborn life," they had little positive to offer when a child was born. They party calls for "abolishing" the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, which grants equal protection under the law to citizens. While Jore wanted to give due process rights to a fetus, he and his party wanted to take it away from other Americans. The party also pays lip service to keeping the government out of citizens' lives, while at the same time it promoted Jore's bill which guaranteed the state would have had an intrusive role in every decision a pregnant woman made.

Jore's proposal was part of national anti-choice effort to re-define when life begins in an effort to overturn the *Roe v. Wade* decision. The backgrounds of the people supporting the bill also illustrated that its backers were not mainstream conservatives. Instead, they were people who terrorize health clinics and seek to merge civil law with Old Testament biblical law. Had Jore's bill become law, radical theology would have been placed into the Montana Constitution.

### The Indian Fighter Returns

As he did when he served as a Republican in the 1990s, Jore sponsored legislation to undercut the status of tribal governments and tribal sovereignty. His House Bill 306 would have prohibited the State of Montana from entering into tribal-state compacts that give jurisdiction over reservation land owned by non-tribal members to

tribal governments.<sup>914</sup> The issue of tribal jurisdiction and sovereignty has frequently drawn Jore's contempt. He has said sovereignty "flies in the face of everything that this country is all about" and that he opposes recognizing treaty rights.<sup>915</sup>

During the hearing on House Bill 306, Jore complained that the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes pursued an "aggressive" plan every year to buy back land on the reservation owned by non-tribal members. Jore said 70%-80% of the Flathead Reservation's population was non-tribal, and 50% of the land is owned by these people.<sup>916</sup>

What Jore didn't explain is that non-tribal ownership of land on Indian reservations resulted from a land grab by the federal government that started over 100 years ago with the Dawes Act. The law was President Chester Arthur's attempt to deal with what he called "the Indian problem."<sup>917</sup> After the federal government confined Indians to reservations, the Dawes Act facilitated turning much of that land over to non-Indians. Each Indian household received 160 acres of farmland or 320 acres of grazing land. Many times these acres were split up and disconnected. Remaining tribal lands were declared "surplus" and opened up to non-Indian settlers.<sup>918</sup>

Jore told the House Judiciary Committee that non-tribal members wanted to be recognized as Montana citizens and that was why he carried the bill. He said the tribal-state hunting and fishing compacts were "taxation

without representation." The only person speaking in favor of the bill was anti-Indian activist Del Palmer who introduced himself as the current chairman of All Citizens

Equal. He told the committee that All Citizens Equal supported the state and federal constitutions that affirm all citizens are equal. He claimed the state-tribal compacts were "negotiated secretly between the state and the tribes." That, Palmer stated, "directly" violated the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law.<sup>919</sup>

During questions from the committee, Rep. Koopman asked Jore if tribal-state compacts could lead to other kinds of authority over non-tribal property, such as taxation or land-use regulations. Jore said that was what concerned him, and it was wrong to just "assume that the tribes have jurisdiction" over the entire reservation. While House Bill 306 passed out of the right-wing controlled Judiciary Committee with

an easy 10-7 vote, it died on second reading in the House, 36-64.<sup>920</sup>

Along with seeking to undermine tribal sovereignty, Jore's bill signaled the anti-Indian movement going on the offensive. The anti-Indian movement had not had a true ally in the legislature since Jore lost his seat in 2000. The full assault on tribal self-determination that Jore led as a Republican legislator essentially disappeared in his absence. House Bill 306 allowed the likes of Jore and All Citizens Equal to re-introduce their anti-Indian ideology in their euphemistic terms of "equal rights."



*Del Palmer  
All Citizens Equal*

## House Republicans Conspire with Jore to Derail the Budget: Cracks in the Republican Party Magnify

With the House GOP leadership signaling ideological warfare from the start, it was easy to see that the debate over the state's budget was going to be ugly. The House leadership announced that the government funding dealt with in House Bill 2 would be split into six bills, which were referred to as the "six pack."

This was a dramatic departure from normal procedure. GOP House leadership made the decision behind closed doors. "I'm not telling what my plans are," Rep. Mike Lange stated. "We're [Republicans] not going to ask their [Democrats] permission. It's completely our call."<sup>921</sup>

By February 2007, the Republicans revealed they had split House Bill 2 into separate bills. The decision disregarded all of the work already conducted by various House Appropriations subcommittees, along with all the testimony citizens had given to those panels.

Before the budget debate even began, Jore wrote, "The pressure to increase spending will influence many legislators, I am sure. My commitment is to adhere to my campaign promise of supporting less spending and long-term tax relief."<sup>922</sup>

As the GOP's "six pack" was heading to the House floor, Jore said he planned to oppose the measures, because he opposed any increase in spending. He called the Republican proposals "outrageous." Speaker of the House Scott Sales responded that, if all Democrats united against the six bills, "we're [Republicans] going to have to cut the budget to get Jore to vote for it."<sup>923</sup> Likewise, Rep. Lange stated, "We will take out whatever we have to [in order to pass them]."<sup>924</sup>

Jore told the media that GOP leadership had assured him spending levels would decrease to the level he wanted in order to get his vote.<sup>925</sup> A major point of contention for Jore was federal funding that came into the state. "I have been criticized heavily for my concern about the percentage of federal dollars that make up our state," he said, "and my willingness to reject them."<sup>926</sup>

He believed federal spending on education and human services was unconstitutional. He warned lawmakers that they were "kidding ourselves" if they thought the state could survive on "this federal government dole."<sup>927</sup> Jore said he wanted to "get rid of a lot of government programs."<sup>928</sup>

The House Republican leadership was more than happy to cut funding from their budget bills. The low point came when House leadership announced they would slash the Health and Human Services budget from \$3 billion to \$300. The cuts impacted programs like Medicaid, Meals on Wheels, the Children's Health Insurance Program, and mental health programs. Speaker Sales stated that, without Democrat support, the GOP had no choice but to appeal to conservatives in his own party and to Jore.<sup>929</sup>

Ultimately, Rep. William Glaser (R-Huntley) withdrew his amendment to decrease Health and Human Services funding to \$300, saying he decided there was enough support to pass the bill without the amendment. However, Reps. Glaser and Sales said the amendment would be offered again to get the bill out of the House if necessary.<sup>930</sup> Rep. Lange

repeatedly stated he would cut the budget dramatically in order to get Jore's support, saying, "We'll knock it down exactly where we need to be to get it where [Jore] wants."<sup>931</sup>

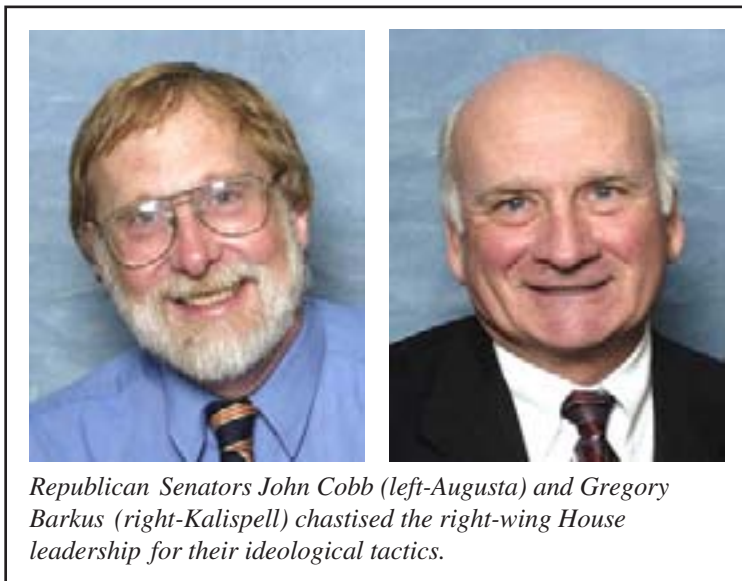
Blaming funding cuts on Jore was a convenient and hypocritical ploy by Republican leadership. During the 2006 campaign season and their previous sessions as lawmakers, Reps. Sales, Lange, and their allies had demonstrated the desire to severely cut government to the point where it could be drowned in the bathtub, as their ideological mentor Grover Norquist had put it. Rep. Jore was a perfect tool to accomplish this. They cut funding, which they already wanted to do, and blamed the representative from the Constitution Party of Montana. Jore, a brother-in-arms when it came to ideology, proved to be a means to an end.



Rep. William Glaser  
(R-Huntley)

Republicans were able to get three of their budget bills out of the House by trimming back the spending to get Jore's vote.<sup>932</sup> However, the 2007 Montana Legislature ended without passing a budget for the next two years.<sup>933</sup>

Right-wing Republicans and Jore got exactly what they wanted. By not passing a budget, they made government look dysfunctional and inept. This fits with their mantra that government is incapable of functioning efficiently. What this analysis disregards is that House leadership obstructed the political process and ignored public participation to implement their "six pack" budget scheme. Sales and his allies accomplished this by holding the House GOP caucus together and keeping Jore as an ally. However, as legislators got ready to go home, the fight for control of the Montana Republican Party was just beginning.



*Republican Senators John Cobb (left-Augusta) and Gregory Barkus (right-Kalispell) chastised the right-wing House leadership for their ideological tactics.*

#### Internal Dissent Bubbles to Surface

By the end of the session, cracks started to appear in the Republican caucus, as some GOP lawmakers became increasingly frustrated with their right-wing colleagues in the House. Reps. Sales and Lange had worked hard to keep their fellow House Republicans in line. However, the Senate was a different story. Again, the budget for Health and Human Services provides an example. The Senate Finance Committee pumped \$160 million back into the agency's budget. The action had bipartisan support.

Sen. Gregory Barkus (R-Kalispell) said, "The Senate has again proved that they are a more deliberate and reasonable body."<sup>934</sup> Sen. John Cobb (R-Augusta) said House Republican leadership was acting like "thugs."<sup>935</sup>

The Republican leadership in the House did little to live down this growing reputation. Towards the end of the session, Democratic Governor Brian Schweitzer and Rep. Lange met to discuss the budget and various tax bills in an effort to work out a compromise. After the meeting, Lange told his fellow party members that the governor had tried to bribe him by saying Lange would get credit for tax cuts based on Democrat ideas.

"The governor can go straight to hell as far as I am concerned for trying to do that," Lange told the GOP caucus. "I'm pissed off at the S.O.B. on the second floor that thinks he is going to run this state like a dictator."<sup>936</sup> "So my message to the governor is to stick it up your ass," Lange continued, "That's my message to him. Stick it up your ass." Some members of the Republican caucus applauded and started chanting "stay till May," a reference to a special session to work out a budget.<sup>937</sup> "He can table every bill I have," Lange concluded. "I don't give a shit."<sup>938</sup>

After his tirade, Lange told the press:

"Everything I said in there is exactly what I meant, exactly what I stand on, and I'm not budging off one comment...I meant the truth. That's no showmanship. That's called dignity and honor."<sup>939</sup>

A reporter asked Lange if telling the governor to shove something up his ass was honorable.

Lange said, "In the real world, you bet it is. When the shoe fits, wear it."<sup>940</sup> After being criticized far and wide for his conduct, Lange apologized for his language on the House floor.<sup>941</sup>

Lange's tirade added to the growing rift in the Republican Party. "This isn't the way I grew up, in Montana, of doing business or speaking to people," said Rep. Bill Jones (R-Bigfork). "I'd like more civil discourse." Sen. John Brueggeman (R-Polson) added, "To say (what Lange said) publicly makes Republicans look unprofessional as a whole."<sup>942</sup> Other GOP lawmakers found it "galvanizing." Rep. Jesse O'Hara (R-Great Falls) compared Lange's outburst to a football coach firing up his team before a game.<sup>943</sup>

Republican Ideologues, Jore  
Lose Control of the Special Session

Gov. Brian Schweitzer and his staff recognized the increased polarization within the GOP and took advantage of it. As expected, Schweitzer called a special session for May 2007 to pass a budget.<sup>944</sup> During a weekend before the special session, members of Schweitzer's cabinet met at a lodge outside Helena with 13 Republican lawmakers. They hammered out a compromise that served as the foundation for tax cuts, the budget, and



Rep. John Sinrud  
(R-Bozeman)

energy policy. The media described the Republicans in attendance as moderates. However, the group did include Rep. Lange.<sup>945</sup>

Noticeably absent at the pre-special session gathering was House Speaker Sales, who was not invited, because the Republicans present said they only wanted people who would negotiate. By the end of the weekend,

the participants had agreed to an 8.5% increase in school funding over the next two years, and a \$48 million cut in the spending increases approved by the Senate during the regular session.<sup>946</sup>

Asked about the meeting, Sales said, "I think the fix is in."<sup>947</sup> Rep. John Sinrud (R-Bozeman), chair of House Appropriations, was also not at the gathering. "Basically they're going to shove this down our throat and say 'This is the way it is,'" he stated.<sup>948</sup> Sinrud and Sales were not the only Republicans upset by the meeting. Rep. Koopman called the meeting an "unholy alliance" between "liberal Republicans and a liberal governor."<sup>949</sup>

The special session ended with the passage of a budget for Montana. The cracks in the Republican Party continued to grow.

Fight Continues in Montana GOP

The tension in the Republican caucus came to a head after the special session adjourned. Republicans ousted Lange from his position as House Majority Leader. The ultra-conservative members of the GOP caucus booted

Lange, feeling he had violated their trust by participating in the special meeting between Gov. Schweitzer's staff and a dozen Republicans before the special session convened. "It didn't sit well with me, and it didn't sit well with the (Republican) caucus," House Speaker Sales said.<sup>950</sup>

Not all members of the Republican Caucus were happy to see Lange removed. Rep. Bill Jones (R-Bigfork) said the Republicans voting for the ouster were "destroying the party." "They just want the Constitutional Republican right-wing party with a platform of no taxes, no government, no mercy," he said.<sup>951</sup> Right-wing Republicans said Lange wouldn't be the last casualty. They talked about taking out moderates in the 2008 primary elections.<sup>952</sup> Koopman would fulfill this prophecy (see page 98 for more).

Democratic House Floor Leader Art Noonan (D-Butte) wrote an editorial following the special session recapping why passing a budget had been so difficult. He said the tone of the legislature was set by "a Republican ideology so narrow and rigid it didn't even represent mainstream Republicans." Instead of passing policy to benefit all Montanans, Noonan stated, the House GOP leadership was concerned with "conservative social revolution" and the "radical conservatives' hatred of government."<sup>953</sup> What Noonan described was how the House GOP, prodded and bullied by its ideological leadership, collectively advocated an ideology practically no different from the Constitution Party of Montana.

As the Montana Republican Party prepared for its 2007 Annual Convention, the schisms in the GOP remained close to the surface.

The Republican Party told Lt. Gov. John



Rep. Bill Jones  
(R-Bigfork)



Lt. Gov. John Bohlinger  
(R-Billings)

Bohlinger (R-Billings) that he was not welcome at the party's convention. Montana GOP Executive Director Chris Wilcox said Bohlinger was no longer a Republican. "It's pretty cut and dried," he said. "He [Bohlinger] filed for office as part of a Democratic ticket." Bohlinger stated he was still a Republican, but he was forced to run as a Democrat because Montana law does not allow a split gubernatorial ticket. Bohlinger characterized the snub as showing there was no longer room in the Montana Republican Party for moderates. "We were the party of the big tent to accommodate elephants," he said. "Now, it's a pup tent."<sup>954</sup>

Perhaps the most vocal of the ultra-conservative faction at the convention was Koopman. He worried there was "malaise" in his party "after getting beat to death in the last legislative session." He didn't want to see another candidate for governor like former Gov Marc Racicot, whom he labeled too "liberal." Koopman claimed people had approached him about running for governor; however, he said it would take a groundswell of support for him to undertake it.<sup>955</sup>

In a guest editorial about the upcoming gubernatorial race, he worried the Republican Party would end up with a "wishy-washy" moderate at the top of the ballot. He claimed that 2004 gubernatorial candidate Bob Brown lost to Schweitzer because Brown was perceived as a "liberal." Koopman said he would "actively support" any "principled conservative" who declared for the office.<sup>956</sup>

The schism even showed in reaction to presidential candidate Mitt Romney's appearance. Koopman said Romney was a RINO (Republican In Name Only) and no more of a Republican than the legislators who voted with Democrats to pass Montana's budget. "Frankly, there's no unity between integrity and treachery," he stated. "What happened in the special session with some Republicans was treachery. It was out-and-out abandonment of the Republican Caucus."<sup>957</sup>

Meanwhile, Reps. Jesse O'Hara (R-Great Falls) and Gordon Hendrick (R-Superior) told the media they liked Romney's message.<sup>958</sup> Likewise, Sen. Jerry Black (R-Shelby) said, "We need to move toward the middle—in the mainstream—and we need to be able to negotiate more effectively."<sup>959</sup> For right-wing Republicans, moving toward the middle was not an option.

The fallout from infighting continued through the end of 2007. In November 2007, Rep. Bill Jones (R-Bigfork) announced he was not going to run for re-election in 2008, because he was uncomfortable with his GOP colleagues. "My party has pushed a lot of people like me out of the party," Jones said. He was a vocal supporter of expanding the Children's Health Insurance Program and full-day kindergarten during the 2007 session. Jones said he was "uncomfortable" with the right-wing House leadership, even though he had Religious Right credentials like participating in anti-choice rallies.<sup>960</sup> Jones characterized his "divorce" from the GOP as amicable.<sup>961</sup>

The Montana GOP now faced two challenges over who represented "true conservatives." Right-wing Republicans like Scott Sales and Roger Koopman were actively trying to push their party further to the right. At the same, Rick Jore and the Constitution Party of Montana were acting as an external force, constantly questioning the "conservative credentials" of the Republican Party.

While this inside-outside dynamic wasn't new, it generally didn't play out as publicly as it did during 2007. Montanans watched as ultra-conservative Republicans teamed up with Jore during the 2007 Montana Legislature to promote extreme ideology. They also watched as the fissures that started during the session within the GOP continued through the end of the year. It was clear that the battle for "true conservatives" would continue to play out during the 2008 election cycle.

## Ron Paul and the Constitution Party of Montana: Challenging the GOP From the Right

The battle over who represented “true conservatives” continued with the dawn of 2008. The Constitution Party of Montana had already successfully exploited infighting within the Republican Party. By claiming to be the voice for “true conservatives,” the party had carved out its own reputation as a place for disaffected Republicans.

Thanks to Jore, the party could boast about having an elected candidate to the Montana Legislature who played a significant role in state budget discussions and also chaired a legislative committee. As the struggle between the factions of the Montana Republican Party continued to play out, a deeper schism might find more right-wing Republicans leaving the GOP for a fringe party.

At the national level, the Religious Right and right-wing conservatives were also struggling as they tried to find a Republican presidential candidate to support. After eight years of supporting President George W. Bush, Religious Right activists faced a tough choice. They had to decide if they wanted to remain politically relevant by backing a candidate who could clearly win but wasn't a “culture warrior.” Or, did they stay true to their principles and rally behind a long-shot candidate who reflected their values. Much maneuvering and posturing occurred as the right wing dealt with the problem. This played out in Montana as well.

### Ron Paul Takes Advantage of Montana Caucus

In August 2007, officials for the Montana Republican Party voted to hold a Super Tuesday Caucus in February 2008 instead of waiting for the votes from Montana's June Primary Election. Three thousand party officials were eligible to cast a ballot at the Caucus. The only eligible voters in the Caucus were precinct captains, county central committee members, statewide party officials, and Republicans elected to office in partisan races.



*2008 Republican Presidential Candidate  
U.S. Rep. Ron Paul (R-TX)*

Constitution Party of Montana activists exploited the Caucus and rallied behind U.S. Rep. Ron Paul (R-TX).

Although former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney won the Republican Caucus with 38.3% of the vote, the most noteworthy result was the strong showing by U.S. Rep. Ron Paul. While he finished second with 24.5% of the vote, his success in Montana demonstrated the right wing's willingness to engage political institutions and its extremism. It also revealed how Constitution Party activists used both their party and the GOP to push their ideological agenda.

Paul finished well in counties where Republican precinct committee seats had been vacant.<sup>962</sup> His Montana coordinator, David Hart, had sent an e-mail to supporters explaining the rules of the Montana Republican Caucus, including how local precinct people would be able to vote. Hart wrote, “...there are still open precinct positions available, but you must act now” He urged people who cared “about the future of this Republic” to get involved and outlined how people could get on local central committees.<sup>963</sup>

Hart claimed there were up to 1,800 precinct positions open in early 2008, and he wanted to fill them all with Paul supporters. He succeeded in Flathead County where he said Paul supporters had filled every vacancy since August 2007.<sup>964</sup> Paul supporters also filled 12 open spots (out of 14 total) in Wibaux County.<sup>965</sup> The story was similar in Madison County. Hart said some Republican Central Committees were “concerned there is going to be a change in the power base, and they should be.”<sup>966</sup>

The type of change Paul and his allies supported was radical. While the media and some potential voters focused on Paul's opposition to the Iraq War, his political history is profoundly anti-government. Paul's tenure in Congress began in 1976, and he claims that President Richard Nixon catapulted him into politics with the decision to take America off the gold standard in 1971.<sup>967</sup> Paul has been a favorite of the radical right ever since.

*The New Republic*'s James Kirchick published an expose about the various right-wing newsletters that have come out under Paul's name since 1978. With names like *Ron Paul's Freedom Report* and *The Ron Paul Survival Report*, Kirchick discovered that Paul wasn't "the plain speaking antiwar activist" he portrayed himself as.

Instead, Paul was a "member in good standing of some of the oldest and ugliest traditions in American politics." One of Paul's publications referred to people of color as "animals," while another celebrated former Ku Klux Klansman David Duke receiving 44% of the vote in the 1990 Louisiana Senate primary. One of Paul's publications also called South Africa's transition to a multi-racial democracy a "destruction of civilization."<sup>969</sup>

Paul's various newsletters also supported anti-government conspiracy theories and frequently railed against supposed global powerbrokers like the Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission, and the Bilderbergs. This made him a favorite of the burgeoning militia movement of the 1990s, and he repaid the adulation. Three months before militia activist Timothy McVeigh bombed a federal building in Oklahoma City, one of Paul's newsletters carried an article titled "Ten Militia Commandments" that called militia groups "one of the most encouraging developments in America."<sup>970</sup>

Years after the Oklahoma City bombing, in a message circulated by the Militia of Montana, Paul stated he didn't think Americans knew "the full truth" about the bombing, implying that militia activists played no part in it.<sup>971</sup> Paul also frequently echoed his militia supporters' rants about the "federal murders at Ruby Ridge" and the siege of the Branch Davidians at Waco, Texas.<sup>972</sup>

Author David Neiwert, who has written extensively about the "patriot" movement, provides a concise description of Paul's political career:

"Ron Paul has made a career out of transmitting extremist beliefs, particularly far-right conspiracy theories about a looming 'NewWorld Order,' into the mainstream of public discourse by reframing and repackaging them for wider consumption, mostly by studiously avoiding the more noxious and often racist elements of those beliefs. Along the way, he has built a long record of appearing before and lending the credibility of his office to

## "Patriot" Ron Paul

U.S. Rep. Ron Paul (R-TX) has always been a favorite of the "patriot" movement, partly for his strident support of guns. "Patriots" believe they will ultimately have to fight off an invasion by "NewWorld Order" forces. Therefore, the Second Amendment is seen as the last line of defense against a tyrannical government. Paul echoes these concerns.

"All government power is ultimately gun power and serves the interests of those who despise or do not comprehend the principles of liberty." Paul believed it was government agents, not citizens, who needed to be disarmed, stating, "We need to control the bureaucrats, disarm them, and then abolish their agencies." – *Texas Straight Talk*, Oct. 20, 1997.

"The Second Amendment...is about preventing tyranny. The Founders knew that unarmed citizens would never be able to overthrow a tyrannical government as they did. They envisioned government as a servant, not a master, of the American people. The muskets they used against the British Army were the assault rifles of that time." —*Sierra Times*, Nov. 7, 2006.

"They [UN] believe in global government, and armed people could stand in the way of their goals." —*Sierra Times*, June 27, 2006.

Because of his fear of one-world government conspiracy theories, Paul has made it an annual tradition to introduce his "American Sovereignty Restoration Act." It would direct the president to terminate America's participation in the United Nations. Groups including the Christian Coalition of America, Gun Owners for America, and the American Policy Center have praised him for the bill.<sup>968</sup>

a whole array of truly noxious organizations, and has a loyal following built in no small part on members of those groups."<sup>973</sup>



In some cases, Paul has had difficulty distancing himself from overt racists. During his presidential campaign, Paul received a \$500 contribution from notorious white supremacist Don Black. Paul refused to return the donation, claiming he would use the money to “try and spread the message of freedom.”<sup>974</sup> Pictures of Don Black with Ron Paul at the Religious Right’s 2007 “Values Voters” Summit also surfaced on white supremacist websites.<sup>975</sup>

Meanwhile, white supremacist Bill White, leader of the American National Socialist Workers Party, claimed Paul and his advisers “regularly meet” with members of racist organizations. “I have attended these dinners, seen Paul and his aides there, and been invited to his offices in Washington to discuss policy,” White claimed. White said Paul had always been a “white nationalist.”<sup>976</sup>

A favorite on the racist speaking circuit, Idaho’s Edgar Steele, also supported Paul. The former Aryan Nations’ attorney frequently used his e-mail list to provide commentary on the current campaign season and his take on the mainstream media’s coverage of Paul.<sup>977</sup> He even appeared on James Edwards’ radio show, “The Political Cesspool,” to support Paul’s campaign.<sup>978</sup> Edwards’ radio show was sponsored by the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens and the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review.<sup>979</sup>

White supremacists volunteered for Paul’s campaign. Michigan’s Rudy Gray II was a member of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The Paul campaign said it did not know about Gray’s white supremacy activism.<sup>980</sup> In Idaho, Paul’s campaign had the support of white supremacist Richard Masker.<sup>981</sup> Masker lived at the Aryan Nations compound during the 1980s and runs the International Conspiratological

Association which details the supposed conspiracies of “International Zionist Jews” against the white race.<sup>982</sup>

Anti-Semitic publications like *American Free Press* frequently publish Ron Paul’s columns. His rhetoric and ideology in these pieces help illustrate his popularity with the radical right wing. In one column, Paul ranted about the United Nations, “global government,” and “globalist bureaucrats.”<sup>983</sup> Another found him chastising “activist judges” for “perverting” the First Amendment and upholding the separation of church and state.<sup>984</sup> He also used his columns to attack the Republican Party for “abandoning” limited government and urged “true conservatives to retake the conservative movement.”<sup>985</sup> He

blasted President George W. Bush for appointing advisers who were “Big-Government Republicans” and “former leftists.”<sup>986</sup>

Paul also draws on the radical right in his desire to abolish both the income tax and the Federal Reserve System. He believes the income tax is a form of slavery.<sup>987</sup> In Paul’s book *The Case for Gold*, David Neiwert wrote that Paul took “far-right theories about the legitimacy of the monetary system and launder[ed]

them of their sometimes explicit anti-Semitism and present[ed] them as devout and reasoned patriotism.” He noted Paul’s arguments had been used by the Posse Comitatus and various tax protestors, including the Montana Freemen.<sup>988</sup> In addition to his book, Paul frequently shares the stage with tax protestors.

In March 2005, Paul spoke at the “Health and Freedom Rally” in California. The list of speakers for the event included numerous high-profile tax protestors, including We the People’s Bob Schulz, former IRS agent Joe Banister, and Freedom Law School’s Peymon Mottahedeh. Paul was the featured speaker at



Photo from Stormfront

Ron Paul (left) pictured with white supremacist Don Black (middle) at the 2007 “Values Voters Summit.”



Bill White

the Saturday night banquet. The event was advertised in *American Free Press*.<sup>989</sup>

Paul had previously supported Bob Schulz and his organization. Schulz and the We the People Foundation for Constitutional Education claim most Americans don't owe income taxes and that the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution is fraudulent and invalid. They claim that only foreign-based companies owe income taxes. In 2001, Schulz went on a 20-day hunger strike while asking the government to address his claims about the tax code. Paul supported Schulz's request, and the Justice Department eventually agreed to send a representative to meet with Schulz and his allies.<sup>990</sup>

For his efforts, *American Free Press* has referred to Paul as the "foremost champion of taxpayers in Congress." It applauded him for introducing legislation to void the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment and Congress' power to levy an income tax. Paul claimed his "Liberty Amendment," which sought repeal of the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment, could serve as a "flashpoint" for tax protestors who were part of a "serious groundswell movement."<sup>991</sup>

During his presidential campaign, Paul hired Peter Schiff as an economic adviser. Schiff's father is the notorious tax protestor Irwin Schiff, who, at the time, was serving his third stint in federal prison for tax crimes. Peter Schiff co-wrote *The Great Income Tax Hoax* and has said he believes his father's views on taxes are correct. However, he says he pays his income taxes.<sup>992</sup>

In addition to abolishing the income tax and the IRS, Paul has fervently advocated that America return to the gold and silver standard and get rid of the Federal Reserve System.<sup>993</sup> This made him a favorite of "patriots" who believe Federal Reserve Notes are worthless currency. In November 2007, federal agents raided the National Organization for the Elimination of the Federal Reserve offices in Indiana and Idaho. The raid happened right before NORFED was preparing to mail out its first batch of "Ron Paul Dollars," copper coins that were to be sold for \$1 and featured Paul's face. NORFED had already shipped out over 10,000 in silver Ron Paul Dollars that sold for \$20.

An affidavit filed by the federal government stated that NORFED engaged in mail fraud, wire fraud, money laundering, and conspiracy. Two years before, the U.S. Mint issued a warning against using NORFED's "Liberty Dollars."<sup>994</sup>

Paul's campaign announced he had nothing to do with NORFED's issuing of the Ron Paul coins. NORFED

founder Bernard von NotHaus confirmed this, saying he knew Paul because they "move in the same circles" but that he hadn't consulted with Paul about the plan or printing. Von NotHaus encouraged NORFED supporters to show their anger about the federal raid by donating to Paul's campaign.<sup>995</sup>

#### Back in Montana...

With his history of support from and allegiance to right-wing "patriots" across the country, it was not surprising that Paul found similar support in Montana. He proudly announced Rep. Rick Jore (C-Ronan) had endorsed him.<sup>996</sup> There was no doubt that some of Paul's support in the Montana GOP Caucus came from the Constitution Party of Montana.

In Yellowstone County, Mae Woo said she and other Paul supporters filled about one-third of the county's open GOP precinct positions.<sup>997</sup> She was listed as the secretary of the Yellowstone County Constitution Party in a letter to state legislators in 2005.

Before the Caucus, Woo claimed "spin news and propaganda" was being used to divert attention from "satanic agendas." She said Christians knew that most governments around the world would be "used as a tool of the devil" to help Satan rise again. According to Woo, Ron Paul was the only candidate who stood "firmly for the tenets of his Christian faith" and didn't "pander for votes."<sup>998</sup>

She was pictured in the *Billings Gazette* putting up Paul campaign signs.<sup>999</sup> Following the Caucus, Woo complained it was structured to hurt Paul supporters.<sup>1000</sup> The *Missoulian* also featured a picture of Constitution Party of Montana Secretary Diane Rotering casting her GOP Caucus ballot for Paul.<sup>1001</sup>

Constitution Party activists filled newspaper editorial pages with letters and columns singing Paul's praises. Columbia Falls' Richard Stevens, active with the Flathead County Constitution Party, recommended Paul supporters look at joining the Constitution Party. At a Ron Paul meeting he attended, Stevens said it was clear the Republican Party was "afraid" of Paul supporters. He said the GOP gave up its "moral values" years ago, and they "hide under the name of conservatives." He stated conservatives needed a new party, and the Constitution Party was it.<sup>1002</sup>

Frequent Constitution Party legislative candidate Russell Brown wrote an editorial praising Ron Paul. He

## Constitution Party Activists Support Paul in GOPCaucus



*Mae Woo (left) was pictured in the Billings Gazette putting up Ron Paul signs. Diane Rotering (right) was pictured in The Missoulian casting her ballot for Ron Paul during the Montana Republican Caucus.*

lamented that China was in a position to “blackmail economically” America by possessing trillions in economic reserves. Brown said the only presidential candidate who could turn this around was Paul. He warned that the “top tier Republican candidates” would only continue the policies of the “New World Order.” Brown also supported Paul’s anti-choice ideology and his “Sanctity of Life Act,” which declared life began at conception.<sup>1003</sup>

Constitution Party activists also participated in Ron Paul “Meet Up” groups. Jonathan Martin was a member of the one in Great Falls.<sup>1004</sup> Rep. Rick Jore took part in a meet up in Kalispell.<sup>1005</sup> In 2007, Jore also spoke at a street-side rally for Paul’s presidential campaign in Bozeman. He explained that he was endorsing Paul, even though Jore didn’t belong to the Republican Party. Jore said he was comfortable doing this, because Paul was a “constitutionalist.” He said Paul was “unparalleled” when it came to supporting the Constitution and freedom.<sup>1006</sup>

At same rally, Rep. Roger Koopman spoke at length in support of Paul’s candidacy. He said Paul had “courage beyond description” when it came to politics.<sup>1007</sup> He characterized Paul as the only presidential candidate who would stand for liberty and the Constitution. Koopman emphasized Paul’s anti-choice views. “If the baby in the womb could choose...I don’t think they would vote ever for abortion,” he said. “Ron Paul will be their vote.”

Koopman said we couldn’t “live in liberty in a nation that kills its babies.”<sup>1008</sup>

Koopman also had harsh words for the Republican Party. He complained there were many elected politicians who would vote for Paul, but they wouldn’t be public about their support.<sup>1009</sup> “I think the Republican Party is at a very critical point in its history,” Koopman said. “I think the Republican Party is having its very soul tested [about] what it truly believes and perhaps what it no longer is.” He complained that GOP candidates often campaign in primaries as “born-again tax cutters;” however, these same candidates move to the left in the General Election and further to the left if they get elected.<sup>1010</sup>

Koopman wasn’t the only right-wing Republican to endorse Paul. Others included: Sen. Joe Balyeat (Bozeman), Sen. Aubyn Curtiss (Fortine), Rep. Tom McGillvray (Billings), Public Service Commissioner Brad Molnar (Laurel), Sen. Jerry O’Neil (Columbia Falls), Rep. Diane Rice (Harrison), Rep. Scott Sales (Bozeman), and Rep. Jack Wells (Bozeman).<sup>1011</sup>

“Patriot” Gary Marbut and his Montana Shooting Sports Association also enthusiastically supported Paul’s campaign. “If Ron Paul doesn’t win the Republican nomination, I’ll vote for Paul as a third-party candidate,” Marbut stated. “If he doesn’t run as a third-party

candidate, I'll vote for him as an independent. If Paul doesn't run as an Independent, I'll write him in. Period. There are lots out there like me."<sup>1012</sup> Marbut circulated an e-mail from David Hart asking people to join the Paul campaign.<sup>1013</sup> Marbut also tried to recruit people to help Koopman staff a table for Paul at the 2007 Montana GOP Convention.<sup>1014</sup>

In February 2008, Paul announced he was calling off his presidential campaign, because he needed to focus on winning reelection to his U.S. House seat. "If I were to lose the primary for my congressional seat," he told supporters, "all our opponents would react with glee, and pretend it was rejection of our ideas. I cannot and will not let this happen."<sup>1015</sup> He also announced he would not run as a third party candidate for the presidency. He said he would continue to fight on through the rest of the primaries and at the national convention.<sup>1016</sup>

Ron Paul came to Montana in April 2008 and spoke to a large crowd at the University of Montana. He said he didn't expect to win the Republican nomination, but he wasn't planning to endorse U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-AZ). He also reaffirmed he wouldn't run on the Libertarian Party's ticket. He pounded home his message of no income taxes and no big government. He also reaffirmed his anti-choice position.<sup>1017</sup> He had dinner with Koopman, O'Neil, and David Hart while in town.<sup>1018</sup>

Montana's Primary Election was in June. While the Republican votes didn't officially count because the Montana GOP held a Caucus, the vote total for Ron Paul was another example of Montana's conservative politics shifting to the right. Paul received 22% of the vote, the

second-highest percentage he received in any state (he got 24% in Idaho).

Paul returned to Montana in June 2008, as the featured speaker at the Montana Republican Convention. In his speech, he advocated getting rid of the Federal Reserve System and received his loudest applause when he talked about abolishing the income tax.<sup>1019</sup>

Before the convention, David Hart said Paul supporters would attend the convention. "We just want to let the party know we're here to stay," Hart said. "Some of the party thought we'd drop out after the caucus and after Dr Paul dropped out."<sup>1020</sup>

While Paul was no longer campaigning for president, he was given a prime speaking spot. However, the winner of the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate, Bob Kelleher, was denied a speaking slot. All he got was a side room, as the party did not claim him as one of their own.<sup>1021</sup> Instead of

trying to promote a current candidate, the leaders of the GOP decided to celebrate a radical right-wing ideologue instead.

When it came time to elect Montana delegates to the national GOP convention, none of the delegates were given to Paul. Paul backers claimed they were treated like "second-class candidates" by the Republican establishment during the process.<sup>1022</sup> Hart said "the process was slanted and skimmed so it was difficult for our people to have a chance to be elected."<sup>1023</sup>

Ron Paul would not appear on the General Election Ballot in Montana for the Republican Party. For now, his supporters faced the question of whether they should write him in when they cast their votes. However, the Constitution Party of Montana would come to their rescue.



Gary Marbut  
*Montana Shooting Sports Association*

## Sarah Palin's Connections to the Constitution Party

U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-AZ), who would become the Republican nominee for president, finished third in the Montana GOP Caucus with 21.9% of the vote. In August 2008, when McCain announced his running mate would be Alaska Governor Sarah Palin, the Religious Right and other right-wing extremists got their dream candidate.

Palin, an evangelical Christian, was immediately embraced by the Religious Right because of her adamant opposition to abortion. She opposed abortion even when pregnancy resulted from rape or incest. She was immensely popular for choosing to not have an abortion, even though she knew one of her children would be born with Down Syndrome. "It is almost impossible to exaggerate how important that is to the conservative faith community," Ralph Reed, formerly of the Christian Coalition of America, said.<sup>1024</sup>

Palin's Religious Right credentials were impeccable. Before becoming governor she was the mayor of a small town. When she ran for the position in 1996, she focused on the culture war issues of abortion and gun rights, instead of local issues like paving streets and sidewalks.<sup>1025</sup> A national anti-choice organization even did mailings to support her candidacy. The church she attended promoted one of Focus on the Family's "Love Won Out" conferences, which are geared towards convincing the gay and lesbian community that they can change their sexual orientation by turning their lives over to Jesus Christ.<sup>1026</sup>

When Palin was termed out of the mayoral position, her husband's stepmother ran for the post. Palin did not support her because she was pro-choice.<sup>1027</sup> During her gubernatorial run in 2006, she displayed even more of her Religious Right credentials. She supported the 1998 state constitutional amendment banning gay marriage. "I believe that honoring the family structure is important," she commented.<sup>1028</sup> She opposed offering benefits to same-sex partners of public employees.<sup>1029</sup> She also announced she thought biblical creationism should be taught in public schools alongside evolution.<sup>1030</sup>

Shortly after being announced as the vice-presidential candidate, it was reported that Palin was a member of

the Alaska Independence Party for two years in the 1990s, which the national Constitution Party calls its state affiliate. At times, the Independence Party has supported Alaska's secession from the union.<sup>1031</sup> Lynette Clark, the chairman of the Alaska Independence Party, told ABC News that Palin and her husband were members in 1994 and attended the statewide convention that year. Clark was the party's secretary at the time.<sup>1032</sup>

The Alaska Division of Elections, however, reported Palin first registered to vote in the state in 1982 and



*U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) and his running mate Sarah Palin.*

registered as a Republican. Clark later said she was mistaken, but did remember Palin as a kindred spirit. Clark confirmed Palin's husband was a member of the Alaskan Independence Party. Also, Sarah Palin addressed the party's 2006 conference while running for governor. Earlier in 2008, Palin had sent a video message to the Alaska Independence Party for its annual convention. At that meeting, Vice-Chair George Clark told the gathering Palin was a member of the party when she was elected mayor. The McCain camp said all the allegations were false.<sup>1033</sup>

Further investigative reports found more connections between Palin and the Alaska Independence Party. The party's activists played a major role in getting Palin elected mayor. In return, she backed efforts by a party activist, Mark Chryson, as he successfully advanced anti-tax and pro-gun initiatives. One such initiative made it easier to form anti-government militia groups in the state. As mayor,

she tried to appoint a John Birch Society member to an open city council seat.<sup>1034</sup>

In September, reports surfaced that Palin supported the Fully Informed Jury Association. FIJA's website featured a picture of Palin with Alaska's most notorious FIJA activist, Frank Turney. Accompanying the photo was a description of FIJA's annual "Jury Rights Day" events. It stated that governors in Alaska (Palin), Washington, and New Hampshire had signed proclamations commemorating the day. The brief article



*This photo was on the website for the Fully Informed Jury Association. It pictures Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin with one of the state's FIJA activists.*

explained the day celebrated the concept of "jury nullification."<sup>1035</sup>

While the media questioned Palin's qualifications to be vice president and her affiliations with right-wing activism, the Religious Right's enthusiasm continued. Journalist Max Blumenthal reported that the Council for National Policy met with Palin to get to know her before the formal announcement. Both Focus on the Family's James Dobson and the Family Research Council's Tony Perkins were at the event.

The pick of Palin solidified McCain's support from the Religious Right.<sup>1036</sup> American Values' Gary Bauer called picking her a "grand slam home run" that would "energize values voters." The Liberty Counsel's Mathew Staver called it an "absolutely brilliant choice."<sup>1037</sup> Eagle Forum's Phyllis Schlafly said the choice of Palin made "all of the Republicans that were holding back" ready to support the McCain-Palin ticket.<sup>1038</sup>

The Palin pick also helped James Dobson's transition to a McCain supporter. He called Palin an "outstanding choice" who was "extremely reassuring to the conservative base" of the GOP.<sup>1039</sup> "If I went to the polling booth today, I would pull the lever for John McCain," he announced. At the same time, Family Research Council's Tony Perkins and Focus on the Family Action's Tom Minnery also announced their support for McCain.<sup>1040</sup>

The reaction in Montana was similar. Montana GOP Chairman Erik Iverson said Palin gave conservatives in Montana who were wary of McCain a reason to vote in the General Election. "She appeals to a wing of the Republican Party that has not had the high level of enthusiasm for John McCain as they had with George Bush," he stated.

Likewise, Rep. Jesse O'Hara (R-Great Falls) said the choice would "alleviate" the "apprehension" of some conservatives regarding McCain. Republican gubernatorial candidate Roy Brown said he thought Palin's pick would "energize" Montana Republicans.<sup>1041</sup> Sen. Greg Barkus (R-Kalispell) stated, "I think Sen. McCain probably pulled off one of the most ingenious, dynamic choices in his vice-presidential selection."<sup>1042</sup> "I'm excited about her ability to lead, and I'm excited that she's a mother," said former U.S. Sen. Conrad Burns. "She is everything that is Montana."<sup>1043</sup>

The choice of Palin was a clear signal by McCain to right-wing conservatives that he desperately wanted their vote. It also signaled that he was abandoning his "maverick" image, running to the right, and pandering for support.

McCain's choice provided another example of paving the way for a marginal figure with extreme ideas to move into the mainstream. Palin's dalliance with the Constitution Party and Fully Informed Jury Association placed her outside the mainstream definition of conservative. Now those views were part of the presidential ticket for a major political party. As a current of ficer of the Alaska Independence Party stated:

"There's a lot of talk of her moving up. She was a member of [our party] when she was a mayor of a small town, that was a nonpartisan job. But to get along and to go along she switched to the Republican Party...She is pretty well sympathetic because of her membership."<sup>1044</sup>

The officer said Palin could serve as a model for political infiltration. The game Palin played with the Alaska Independence Party is the same one played by activists with the Constitution Party of Montana. It is common to find party activists who continue nurturing relationships with the GOP. Sometimes it's running on the GOP ticket one election cycle and the Constitution Party ticket the next. Other times, its taking advantage of GOP structures like the Montana Republican Caucus. While the ideal for Constitution Party of Montana activists is principles over politics, the desire to advance politically is a hard one to drop.

## 2008 Montana Races

The 2008 elections found the Constitution Party of Montana running another slate of candidates. It also found Rep. Roger Koopman trying to cleanse the GOP of moderates. Finally, it represented a significant growth in the Constitution Party of Montana's political development.

### Constitution Party Candidates

Having used a statewide candidate in 2006 to maintain ballot access, the Constitution Party of Montana employed the same strategy in 2008. The party ran Stevensville's Sieglinde Sharbono for Secretary of State. On her website, Sharbono stated incumbents who voted against the Constitution had violated their oath of office and should not be certified to be elected again.<sup>1045</sup>

She told the media that voting for the Patriot Act was a violation of the oath of office. Since U.S. Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT) and U.S. Rep. Denny Rehberg (R-MT) voted for the Patriot Act, Sharbono told the media she would not certify their re-election if she was Secretary of State.

She claimed to have not come to that conclusion on her own. "I am working in conjunction with a citizens' advisory council," she said. "It's not just me. It's we the people."<sup>1046</sup> Her website also stated, "I am wholeheartedly against anything that has anything to do with the NWO [New World Order] agenda."<sup>1047</sup>

Sharbono is also an enthusiastic supporter of Ron Paul. She has written letters to the editor supporting his presidential bid.<sup>1048</sup> One of her daughters was a Paul delegate at the Montana Republican Convention.<sup>1049</sup> She said she had traveled around the state with two other women on a mission promoting Ron Paul's presidential campaign.<sup>1050</sup>



*Sieglinde Sharbono's campaign website featured this picture of her with Ron Paul.*

Since term limits kept Rick Jore from running for his House District 12 seat again, the Constitution Party of Montana had to put its hope for maintaining its presence at the legislature on the nine candidates it fielded in 2008. Six have already been profiled in this report:

- Senate District 50 – Kandi Matthew-Jenkins (pages 32-33)
- House District 1 – Freeman Johnson (pages 25-26)
- House District 20 – Terry Poupa (page 28)
- House District 21 – Kent Holtz (pages 28-29)
- House District 22 – Jonathan Martin (pages 34-38)
- House District 23 – Christopher Gregory (page 29)

Two of the other three Constitution Party legislative candidates ran before on the party's ticket. Plains' Renn Bodeker ran for House District 13. A retired contractor, he ran for the same seat on the party's ticket in 2004. During his previous run, he said he did "not support any more taxes in any way, shape or form." He believed "every citizen is sovereign" and Montanans don't need "some bureaucracy to tell them what they can and can't do." Bodeker said the Constitution Party of Montana

was the only "viable alternative" to the two major parties.<sup>1051</sup>

The other returning candidate was Kalispell's Timothy Martin, who is Jonathan Martin's brother. Timothy Martin ran for House District 6. A semi-retired logger, he ran for the legislature in 2000, 2002, and 2004 on the party's ticket.<sup>1052</sup> During a previous run, he said it didn't make a difference whether Republicans or Democrats were in control, because the "the State budget keeps galloping



upward.” He stated he wanted the “restoration of Constitutional government” where the state protected “unborn children” and didn’t have property taxes.<sup>1053</sup>

During his 2004 campaign, he said he thought the private sector could do a better job running Montana schools, citing charter and private schools as options.<sup>1054</sup> During his 2008 run, he said the “two-party system has failed us.” He stated the government shouldn’t be involved in service programs, saying it should be left to charities and churches.<sup>1055</sup>

The other 2008 candidate was Polson’s M. Neal Donohue, who ran for Senate District 6. In a guest editorial, Donohue castigated conservatives who “lie in bed with Republicans” and hadn’t tried to stop President Bush from “spending 1/3 of a billion tax dollars a day.” He said we needed to “get rid of them [conservatives]. All of them.” He wrote there was no longer hope for the Republican Party and criticized John McCain as the presidential nominee. He promised he would beat incumbent Sen. John Brueggeman (R-Polson), “despite the debutantes lingering in the Republican Party.”<sup>1056</sup>

As in past election cycles, Right to Life of Montana endorsed a couple of Constitution Party candidates-- Jonathan Martin and Kandi Matthew-Jenkins.<sup>1057</sup> The Montana Shooting Sports Association also endorsed Martin and Matthew-Jenkins, along with Freeman Johnson.<sup>1058</sup> M. Neal Donohue, Kandi Matthew-Jenkins, Freeman Johnson and Jonathan Martin signed pledges from Americans for Tax Reform and Montanans for Tax Reform to oppose any attempt to increase taxes.<sup>1059</sup>

Two former Constitution Party of Montana candidates ran as Republicans during the 2008 election cycle. Polson’s Ron Marquardt and Livingston’s Joel Boniek followed in the steps of other activists like Kandi Matthew-Jenkins and Pascal Redfern, both of whom have gone back and forth between the two tickets. The big difference with Marquardt and Boniek was that they won Republican primaries.

Ron Marquardt, the Constitution Party’s candidate for Clerk of Supreme Court in 2006, ran as a Republican for House District 12, formerly Rick Jore’s seat. On his website, Marquardt proudly announced he was the only candidate for House District 12 who was “endorsed both by Rick Jore and Ron Paul!”<sup>1060</sup>

In response to a survey by the Montana Family Foundation, Marquardt revealed his opposition to public schools and a disposition towards home schooling and

vouchers. He opposed same-sex couples receiving employment benefits equal to those of heterosexual couples, and he “strongly opposed” amending civil rights laws to outlaw discrimination based on sexual orientation. He also strongly opposed reproductive freedom.<sup>1061</sup>

Marquardt signed a pledge by Grover Norquist’s Americans for Tax Reform to “oppose and vote against any and all efforts to increase taxes.”<sup>1062</sup> He signed an identical pledge from Montanans for Tax Reform.<sup>1063</sup> Marquardt won the three-way Republican primary for House District 12 with 59% of the vote.<sup>1064</sup>

Before the General Election, Rick Jore wrote a letter to the editor asking people to support Marquardt. He referred to Marquardt as “my friend” and said he “strongly support[ed] him.” Jore stated Marquardt understood “the proper function of government,” would protect individual rights, and would uphold the state and federal constitutions.<sup>1065</sup>

The endorsement wasn’t surprising. After all, Marquardt’s website listed protecting property rights, supporting anti-choice policies, and fighting for gun rights as issues about which he was “passionate.”<sup>1066</sup> When those issues are combined with his answers to the Family Foundation and his anti-tax pledges, the major tenets of the Constitution Party of Montana and Jore’s ideology are covered.

Joel Boniek didn’t just run as a Republican during the 2008 cycle. He was part of “The Liberty Project” spearheaded by Rep. Roger Koopman that targeted moderate Republican incumbents [see page 98 for more]. In 2004, Boniek ran on the Constitution Party ticket for the Montana Legislature. In 2008, he ran in the House District 61 Republican primary against incumbent Rep. Bruce Malcolm (R-Emigrant).

A crane operator and seasonal hunting guide, Boniek stated his top priority was rolling back state spending and balancing the budget.<sup>1067</sup> In a fundraising letter, Boniek revealed his Constitution Party credentials by describing his broader culture war agenda. He stated he would fight for extractive industry, to defend gun rights, to lower taxes, and to put parents in charge of education instead of “government bureaucrats.”

He also blasted Rep. Malcolm for supporting “three-quarters of the new spending bills introduced last session.”<sup>1068</sup> During his campaign, he signed the anti-tax pledges from Americans for Tax Reform and Montanans for Tax Reform.<sup>1069</sup>

In his fundraising letter, Boniek also stated he believed “life is precious and begins at the moment of conception,” and said he would work to end “abortion-on-demand” in Montana.<sup>1070</sup> In his responses to a survey by the Montana Family Foundation, Boniek reinforced his anti-choice views. One question asked candidates to rate their response to the statement, “Abortion should be prohibited, except when the life of the mother is in danger” Boniek crossed out the language following “Abortion should be prohibited.” Similarly, he altered another statement to show he opposed abortion even when pregnancy resulted from rape or incest. The Family Foundation survey also revealed Boniek’s opposition to equal rights for gay and lesbian people.<sup>1071</sup>

Boniek beat the incumbent Malcolm in the Republican primary with 56% of the vote.<sup>1072</sup>

The Constitution Party of Montana’s ideology may be represented during the 2009 Montana Legislature. While Jore could not seek re-election because of term limits, it is possible that one of his party mates will win their race. More likely is that either Marquardt or Boniek will get elected as a Republican.

While political pragmatism may have led them to run as Republicans during the 2008 election cycle, the ideologies of Marquardt and Boniek clearly still follow the Constitution Party. If elected, they will be part of the GOP caucus. However, they will follow in the steps of right-wing Republicans like Rep. Roger Koopman and continue trying to pull the GOP further to the right.

#### Roger Koopman and his RINO Hunt

During the 2008 election cycle, the Constitution Party of Montana provided the external threat from the right to the Republican Party. Rep. Roger Koopman (R-Bozeman) was the internal one. He conducted his own RINO hunt, and it began with a legislative scorecard released by Rob Natelson’s Montana Conservatives.

Natelson said the record showed that “while Democrat lawmakers generally voted strongly liberally, most of their Republican counterparts were not very conservative.” He noted that no Republicans received a 100% rating from his group. He said only five Montana senators scored above 70%, while 32 scored below 30%. In the House, Natelson said an “astonishing 76 of the 100 [representatives] voted liberal at least 70% of the time.” Rep. Rick Jore (C-Ronan) scored the highest with 98%.<sup>1073</sup>

In March 2008, Koopman announced “The Liberty Project.” In an e-mail to David Hart, Ron Paul’s state coordinator, Koopman outlined his intention to recruit 13 “pro-freedom, Constitutional conservatives” to run in primaries against “socialist incumbent ‘Republicans’” who had “consistently sold out the cause of liberty in the Montana Legislature.”<sup>1074</sup>

Enlisting Ron Paul’s people was a natural choice for Koopman. He served as a congressional aide to Paul

### Targets of Rep. Roger Koopman’s RINO Hunt

Rep. Duane Ankney (R-Colstrip)  
Rep. Elsie Arntzen (R-Billings)  
Sen. John Brueggeman (R-Polson)  
Rep. Bill Glaser (R-Huntley)  
Rep. Llew Jones (R-Conrad)  
Rep. Harry Klock (R-Great Falls)  
Rep. Carol Lambert (R-Broadus)  
Sen. Dave Lewis (R-Helena)  
Rep. Gary MacLaren (R-Victor)  
Rep. Bruce Malcolm (R-Emigrant)  
Rep. Mike Milburn (R-Cascade)  
Rep. Walter McNutt (R-Sidney)  
Rep. Jesse O’Hara (R-Great Falls)  
Rep. John Ward (R-Helena)

before moving to Montana.<sup>1075</sup> Koopman offered to design campaign plans for those conservatives who decided to run.<sup>1076</sup> Hart stated there was “obviously a need in the party to clean house and get rid of the ‘Republicans in name only.’”<sup>1077</sup> Seven of the ten House members Koopman targeted attended the meeting before the 2007 special session with the Schweitzer Administration.<sup>1078</sup>

While Koopman may have expected his fellow right-wing allies to support his project, all he received was widespread condemnation. Rep. Tom McGillvray (R-Billings), who was leading the Montana Republican Party’s candidate recruiting efforts, blasted Koopman’s effort. He said it was wrong to expect all Republicans “to goose-step to one person’s philosophy” because that was what “cults are made of.” He said, if other lawmakers took Koopman’s approach, Republicans would “self destruct.” He believed Koopman was “destroying his credibility.”

Koopman responded by saying McGillvray had known for eight months about his plan and had never discouraged him.<sup>1079</sup>

McGillvray is far from moderate. He served on the board for Dallas Erickson's Montanans for Decency Through Law, which pushes local Religious Right censorship ordinances.<sup>1080</sup> McGillvray sponsored legislation in 2007 to revive Montana's anti-choice parental notification law, which has already been ruled unconstitutional.<sup>1081</sup> As for the likely prospect that his bill would face lawsuits if passed, McGillvray said, "bring'em on."<sup>1082</sup>

During his time on the House Judiciary Committee, he has been an anti-gay voice, especially in opposing any proposals he thinks would encourage gay and lesbian couples to adopt children.<sup>1083</sup> In a guest editorial, he warned Montanans not to "reject freedom" or we would "cower in the dependence of social welfare, government regulation" that "binds us in poverty."<sup>1084</sup>

Sen. John Brueggeman (R-Polson) took issue with Koopman using the Montana Conservatives scorecard to create the list. "It's an absolute hack piece," Brueggeman said of the ratings. "It was narrowly tailored to make a number of us look bad."<sup>1085</sup>

In the Bitterroot Valley, fellow GOP lawmakers rallied around one of the targets, Rep. Gary MacLaren (R-Victor). Rep. Bob Lake (R-Hamilton) revealed Koopman had "very little credibility in the state Legislature." Sen. Jim Shockley (R-Victor) said Koopman was "way out of line" and he supported MacLaren.<sup>1086</sup>

Another of Koopman's targets, Rep. Bill Glaser (R-Huntley), said Koopman recruited his primary challenger from the Ron Paul camp. He complained Koopman was challenging legislators who had taken it "upon ourselves to solve the stalemate that went on in the legislative session." Many of the challengers facing off against the Koopman-identified incumbents were supporters of Ron Paul.<sup>1087</sup>

Asked about The Liberty Project, Erik Iverson of the Montana Republican Party said the party did not get involved in primaries. He did remind Republicans of Ronald Reagan's Eleventh Commandment—"Thou shalt not speak ill of a fellow Republican." A spokesperson for the Montana Democratic Party said this was another example that the Republican Party was no longer a big tent, instead it had turned into a "small shack with more people getting booted out than at a bar at closing time."<sup>1088</sup>

Conservative columnist Tamara Hall called Koopman's actions "unreasonable" and "divisive." She also complained he was trying to "hijack the Republican Party."<sup>1089</sup>

As mentioned earlier, one of Koopman's targets was Rep. Bruce Malcolm (R-Emigrant). Koopman recruited former Constitution Party of Montana candidate Joel Boniek to run in the Republican primary against Malcolm. Malcolm did not just face opposition from Koopman and Boniek. He was targeted by postcards from two right-wing PACs during the primary campaign.<sup>1090</sup> "The movement is Roger Koopman's movement," Malcolm said. "A while back he called me a socialist."<sup>1091</sup> Boniek beat Malcolm in the Republican primary with 56% of the vote.<sup>1092</sup>

Koopman also worked with Mike Miller who ran against Rep. John Ward (R-Helena) in House District 84. Ward claimed Miller was trying to make him look like a "goose-stepping Democrat."<sup>1093</sup>

Ward said he received criticism from conservatives for hosting the meeting before the special session between Republicans and the Schweitzer Administration. He had a simple answer to why he did it: "The state's more important than the partisan bull\*\*\* that was taking place." He touted his membership in the NRA and anti-choice groups as proof of his conservative credentials. He said finding compromise was part of politics. "I don't think (Democrats)



Rep. Bruce Malcolm  
(R-Emigrant)



Rep. John Ward  
(R-Helena)

have horns,” he said, “and they shouldn’t think I have horns.”<sup>1094</sup>

Miller challenged Ward’s conservative credentials. He said he came from a family of traditional Republicans and believed in the GOP principle of “small government.” He circulated a pamphlet claiming Ward voted with Democrats and against Republicans on about a dozen issues during the 2007 session. He stopped circulating it when he was told it didn’t meet legal requirements. Ward said the piece misrepresented his voting record.<sup>1095</sup>

On Primary Day, Miller beat Ward by 25 votes.<sup>1096</sup>

While not on his original list, Koopman was also involved in the House District 70 primary. He helped Michael More challenge Rep. Bill Warden (R-Bozeman).<sup>1097</sup> More said people were “losing grasp of what true conservative government” was. He promoted “limited government, limited taxation, and self-governance of the people.” He received endorsements from Ron Paul and the Montana Shooting Sports Association.<sup>1098</sup>

Meanwhile, Rep. Jon Sonju (R-Kalispell) voiced his support for Warden in a letter. He said attacks against Warden as a “liberal Republican” shouldn’t be believed. Towards the end of his letter, Sonju said “favorable ratings” from the NRA, Montana Chamber of Commerce, Right to Life of Montana, and the Montana Family Foundation “does all the talking for him [Warden].”<sup>1099</sup> More beat Warden by 23 votes on Primary Election Day.

Bozeman Rep. John Sinrud’s Western Tradition Partnership participated in Koopman’s RINO hunt. It mailed fliers into Rep. Carol Lambert’s House District 39 before the primary. Lambert’s opponent, Lee Randall, also mailed a letter saying he was the only anti-choice candidate in the race. “Time has already run out for the 1.37 million babies killed last year by abortion,” the letter stated. Lambert said she wasn’t pro-choice, but she did vote against a bill that would have outlawed all abortions.<sup>1100</sup> She had opposed Jore’s proposed constitutional amendment during the 2007 session.<sup>1101</sup> Randall defeated Lambert by 38 votes.<sup>1102</sup>

Koopman’s Liberty Project obviously had some success. Six Koopman protégés, including Michael More, ran against incumbents. Four of them won. While waiting for some election results to be finalized, Koopman said he considered his project a success. “These incumbents, even if they win, are going to say, ‘I need to reassess my positions,’ or switch to the Democratic Party, if they feel more comfortable in that realm,” Koopman said. He claimed to have been involved in at least 20 primary races.<sup>1103</sup> Koopman also said he didn’t have anything to

do with the nasty PAC postcards that came into the districts targeting the incumbents.<sup>1104</sup>

Following their losses, Malcolm, Ward, and Lambert announced they would run as write-in candidates. Koopman said it was ignorant of them to blame their losses on the PAC postcards, and they should accept their defeat.<sup>1105</sup>

### Right-Wing Leadership Lost

While Roger Koopman may have recruited some right-wing believers to run for office, three significant Republicans from the Montana House did not run for re-election—Reps. Michael Lange, John Sinrud, and Koopman himself. Lange decided to run for the U.S. Senate. He lost the Republican primary Sinrud withdrew his candidacy. He said he had to concentrate on providing for his family after the state shut down his architectural drafting business.<sup>1106</sup> Koopman’s decision was less clear.

Koopman had told people, including House Speaker Sales, he planned to file for re-election.<sup>1107</sup> “I don’t think Roger anticipated the backlash he was going to get from his efforts,” Sales said. “I think he was feeling some heat from Republicans.”<sup>1108</sup>

In a guest editorial, Koopman continued to blast the Republican Party. He repeated his accusation that the Montana Conservatives’ scorecard revealed that every Democrat was a liberal and only 19% of Republicans were conservative. He complained that “liberal Republicans broke ranks” during the 2007 legislative session and met with the Schweitzer Administration in a “conspiracy against the taxpayers.” He characterized primaries as the place where differences in a party should be played out, and that was why he decided to recruit conservatives to run against moderates.<sup>1109</sup> All that said, Koopman would not be back in 2009.

Lee Newspaper columnist Charles Johnson wrote that the House would be “a more civil place without” Lange, Sinrud, and Koopman.<sup>1110</sup> The *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* echoed Johnson’s sentiments. In an editorial, it stated that the 2007 session had a “divisive and unproductive” record that Sinrud and Koopman were “right in the thick of.” It encouraged Sales to continue his recent use of a more “conciliatory tone.”<sup>1111</sup>

The internal battle between moderate Republicans and the party’s right-wing has been going on for decades. However, normally it is confined to “inside baseball” political circles. Beginning with the 2007 Montana

Legislature and continuing through the 2008 election cycle, the GOP's dirty laundry was on public display . It is interesting to note that targeted moderates have responded to being labeled a RINO by trying to demonstrate Religious Right and other right-wing credentials.

With the Constitution Party of Montana wedging itself into the debate over "true conservatives," the longer the Republican infighting continues, the better for the fringe party. Right-wing Republicans may get sick of the fighting and look for somewhere else to exercise their political activism. The Constitution Party of Montana would be waiting with open arms and a heavy dose of extreme ideology.

## Constitution Party Runs “Fetal Personhood” Initiative

When Rep. Rick Jore (C-Ronan) failed to get his proposed constitutional amendment declaring every fertilized egg had a “fundamental right to life” out of the right-wing controlled Montana House in 2007, he decided to run it as a citizen’s initiative.

Jore was upfront about the initiative, which would become known as CI-100. He said it challenged “the very foundation of *Roe v. Wade*,” and, if passed, would probably be challenged all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.<sup>1112</sup> CI-100, he noted, was part of a national anti-choice strategy to redefine the definition of personhood and establish due process rights for fetuses. “My view of ‘due process’ is that you have to have had a trial and be found guilty,” he said, “and I have a very hard time understanding how we could find an unborn child guilty of anything.”<sup>1113</sup>

Jonathan Martin told the press that CI-100 was crafted by the Thomas More Law Center, which was working to pass “fetal personhood” initiatives in three states.<sup>1114</sup> Jore said the Center was willing to fight for these “fetal personhood” amendments all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.<sup>1115</sup>

When Jore submitted his proposed language for CI-100, he said it was on behalf of the Constitution Party of Montana.<sup>1116</sup> To get CI-100 on the 2008 General Election ballot, Jore and the party had to gather 44,615 signatures statewide and at least 10% of the registered voters in at least 40 of the state’s 100 House districts. For the ballot measure campaign, the Constitution Party of Montana organized under the name “Life for Montana.” In an early announcement about the campaign, the group said it would focus its efforts on churches and anti-choice individuals.<sup>1117</sup>

Shortly after Jore submitted the proposed language, four organizations formed a committee to oppose the measure. The Human Rights Network joined the ACLU of Montana, NARAL Pro-Choice Montana, and Planned Parenthood of Montana to create a ballot committee, Montanans for Safe and Healthy Families.

Montanans for Safe and Healthy Families got the word out about the dangers posed by CI-100. The amendment opened the door for politicians and the State of Montana to interfere with confidential medical decisions. It could be used to prohibit birth control and ban stem-cell research and in-vitro fertilization.

Montanans for Safe and Healthy Families also reminded voters that Rep. Rick Jore had said this type of law would be used to investigate women who experienced miscarriages.<sup>1118</sup> Finally, it pointed out the irony that the Constitution Party of Montana claimed it wanted government out of people’s lives, at the same time it supported a policy that gave the state an intrusive role in every decision a pregnant woman made.

Religious Right organizations did not turn out enthusiastically to gather signatures for CI-100. The Montana Family Foundation announced it would probably support CI-100 if it made it to the ballot.<sup>1119</sup> Initially, the Right to Life of Montana PAC did not take a formal position on CI-100. However, the group did eventually endorse it.<sup>1120</sup>

Jore and Life for Montana were dealt a significant blow when the Catholic Church in Montana announced it would not support CI-100. In March 2008, the church declared CI-100 was not an effective anti-choice strategy, because it would be overturned in the courts if it was passed.<sup>1121</sup>

The Catholic Bishops announced they were “disallowing support for CI-100 in our parishes and church sponsored organizations, be it through endorsement, financial support, signature gathering, or distribution of promotional materials.”<sup>1122</sup> The Bishops’ condemnation was a key to defeating CI-100, as the Catholic Church was a major reason the constitutional amendment banning gay marriage in Montana qualified for the ballot in 2004.

In response to the decision by the Catholic Church, a group of CI-100 supporters in the Flathead Valley started a group called “Catholic Christians Supporting CI-100.” The group sent a letter to the Bishops asking them to reconsider. The activists claimed CI-100 followed the directives of Pope John Paul II and the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops when it came to supporting life. The group also pointed out that the church supported Jore’s House Bill 403 during the session.<sup>1123</sup> The Bishops did not reconsider.

### Gathering Signatures Comes Down to Primary Day

Gathering over 44,000 signatures from the required number of districts was a huge undertaking. While reports trickled in to Montanans for Safe and Healthy Families

about signature gathering, it was clear Jore and his allies did not have a large, organized campaign. Also, the rules for signature gathering had changed following fraudulent practices on behalf of three right-wing initiatives during the 2006 cycle.<sup>1124</sup> At a Great Falls rally in early 2008, both Rick Jore and Jonathan Martin said they didn't really know what the rules were.<sup>1125</sup>

Jore and his allies gathered signatures during St. Patrick's Day parades in Kalispell and Butte.<sup>1126</sup> Jonathan Martin gathered them at his coffee house, leaving them on unattended tables. He stopped after calling the Secretary of State's Office and finding out it was illegal to gather signatures in that manner.<sup>1127</sup> Montanans for Safe and Healthy Families also received reports of petition gatherers in Billings, Whitefish, Great Falls, and Missoula.<sup>1128</sup>

Life for Montana realized it was not on track to meet the required number and distribution of signatures. It started emphasizing having volunteers at polling locations on Primary Election Day in June 2008.

In late April, Jore held a training in Missoula for CI-100 supporters and about 20 people attended. He said they planned to focus their energies on Primary Day, and they wanted to have somebody at every polling place in the state. Jore reported a large number of signatures had been gathered in churches, including over 1,000 in Kalispell.<sup>1130</sup>

Life for Montana also imported some people from Colorado for Primary Day. While Montana law prohibited them from gathering signatures, the Coloradoans were in Billings for moral support. Called the "American R TL [Right to Life] RoadTrip to Billings," it was organized by Cal Zastrow, who had been to Montana before to help out the Constitution Party.<sup>1131</sup>

CI-100 supporters ran into some problems on Primary Day. In Billings, they were forced to leave the polling place at a middle school, and the county elections department reported "heavy complaints" about CI-100 petitioners at various schools in the area.<sup>1132</sup>

Constitution Party of Montana activist Philip DuPaul was arrested in Great Falls for trespassing and illegal electioneering, both misdemeanors. He was asked to leave a polling place three times and was arrested after refusing to do so.<sup>1133</sup> Contentious atmospheres were also reported at polling locations in Bozeman and throughout the Flathead.<sup>1134</sup> Montanans for Safe and Healthy Families mobilized over 350 volunteers for Primary Day who educated voters about the dangers of CI-100 at the polls.

## CI-100 Supporters

The Life for Montana website featured lists of churches, businesses, and organizations that endorsed CI-100.<sup>1129</sup>

### Churches

Butte's Floral Park Baptist Church  
 Frenchtown's Community Church,  
 Great Falls' Westside Baptist Church  
 Great Falls' Triumph Lutheran Church  
 Lewistown's Lighthouse Baptist Church  
 Libby's Family Worship Center  
 Libby's First Baptist Church  
 Montana Assemblies of God

### Businesses

Great Falls' Five Loaves Coffeehouse and Bakery  
 (Jonathan Martin)

Great Falls' K.C. Enterprises  
 (Gary Koljonen)

Ronan's Westslope Trout Company  
 (Rick Jore)

### Organizations

American Life League  
 Butte-Silver Bow Pro-Life Committee  
 Central Montana Right to Life  
 Flathead Pro-Life  
 Human Life International  
 Lutherans for Life of Montana  
 Montana – Help Our Moral Environment  
 Operation Rescue/Operation Save America  
 Pro-Life Action League  
 Pro-Life Montana  
 Right to Life of Montana  
 Waco Right to Life (Texas)

Following Primary Day, Life for Montana sent out an e-mail thanking its best volunteers. Jonathan Martin specifically thanked the following people:

- Rick Jore and Nancy Jore in Ronan gathered 550 signatures.
- Russ Wahl in Cut Bank gathered 568 signatures.
- Robert Snyder in Lewistown gathered 600 signatures.

Martin said the best result from Primary Day was the “FIRE that was ignited in the hearts of many of the workers as they experienced first-hand the battle with the forces of darkness!” He admitted he didn’t know how many more signatures were needed, but “with the Lord’s help I KNOW we can make it.”<sup>1135</sup>

Jore, Martin, and their allies did not make it. They gathered 26,332 signatures, and CI-100 only qualified in 16 House Districts. With an active Flathead County Constitution Party, it was not surprising that 10 of the qualified districts were in that area of the state.<sup>1136</sup> However, it is worth noting that it didn’t qualify in Rick

Jore’s House District 12. When it became clear CI-100 would not qualify, Jore said he hoped a lawmaker would re-introduce the bill during the 2009 legislative session.<sup>1137</sup>

While CI-100 didn’t qualify for the ballot, it was still successful for the Constitution Party of Montana. It gave the party’s candidates a tangible issue to talk about when they went door-to-door. It provided an opening for more discussions between the party and the evangelical community. It provided the same dynamic for the party with local, state, and national anti-choice groups. Just because of the media coverage alone, the party reached thousands of Montanans who had never heard of or thought about the Constitution Party of Montana. It was truly a party-building experience, and Constitution Party of Montana activists now had a broader infrastructure to call on in the future.



## Constitution Party of Montana to the Rescue: Ron Paul on the Ballot

While the Republican Party dealt with infighting and Primary Elections in 2008, the Constitution Party of Montana was focused on the General Election. The fact that GOP infighting had gone public gave the Constitution Party of Montana an opportunity to continue positioning itself as the political outlet for “true conservatives.” The Constitution Party of Montana also had a final trump card to play in the 2008 election cycle regarding Ron Paul.

In early September, reports surfaced that the Constitution Party of Montana had placed Ron Paul on the ballot in the state as its presidential candidate.<sup>1138</sup> Since it was no longer affiliated with the national Constitution Party (see page 65 for more), it felt no obligation to put the national candidate, Chuck Baldwin, on its ticket. The Montana party listed Michael Peroutka as the vice president.<sup>1139</sup> A notice sent out by the Montana Shooting Sports Association reported the Paul campaign knew the party was planning to do this.<sup>1140</sup>

However, Ron Paul asked to be taken off the ballot in mid-September. He claimed his name was placed on the ballot without his permission. Initially, Rick Jore claimed Paul asked to be taken off the ballot at the request of U.S. House Rep. Dennis Rehberg (R-MT). A spokesperson for Rehberg denied the congressman had anything to do with it. Paul said the national Constitution Party candidate, Chuck Baldwin, should be on the ballot. Paul had endorsed Baldwin for the presidency, saying he couldn't endorse McCain. The Secretary of State's Office said it was too late to remove Paul. At the time they placed Paul on the ballot, the Constitution Party of Montana claimed to have his permission.<sup>1141</sup>

David Hart, Paul's campaign manager in Montana, said Paul gave him permission the previous week. “I told him the Montana Constitution Party made this request,” Hart said. “He said he was not going to encourage or discourage it, and as long as it didn't require him to sign a form with the secretary of state, it would be fine. I'm a little perplexed now.”<sup>1142</sup>

The ambiguity worked well for Paul. By protesting his place on the ballot, he could save face with Republicans who still supported him. However, being on the Constitution Party of Montana's ticket placed him in his

ideological home and allowed him to continue ruffling the feathers of the GOP establishment.

In September 2008, the Montana Shooting Sports Association declared that voters should support Paul on the Constitution Party of Montana ticket over either McCain or Obama. The group gave McCain a “D” and Obama an “F” on gun rights issues. Paul received an “A.” However, MSSA said that “pragmatic” voters should vote for McCain, in an effort to keep Obama from being elected.<sup>1143</sup>

By placing Paul on the ballot, the Constitution Party of Montana truly made itself look like a valid alternative to the Republican Party. Not only did Paul run for the Republican nomination, he was the featured speaker at the 2008 Montana Republican Convention. Similarly, not only did Paul place second in the Montana Republican Caucus with 24.5% of the vote, but he received 22% in Montana's Republican primary. The primary didn't count because of the Caucus, but it showed 22% of Republican voters disliked the party's presidential nominee, John McCain, and favored Paul in a head-to-head matchup.

With Paul on the ballot and getting conservative votes, the Constitution Party of Montana had the potential to swing Montana for Democratic nominee Barack Obama. The last time the state voted for the Democratic candidate was in 1992. That year, Bill Clinton received 38% of the vote, while George Bush got 35%. Third-party candidate Ross Perot received 26%. Ron Paul had the potential to swing a close election in 2008.

### The Constitution Party's Political Evolution

The decision to place Paul on its ticket is another indication that the Constitution Party of Montana is evolving when it comes to political strategy. After swinging legislative races for Democrats at the expense of Republicans, the party positioned itself to swing the State of Montana to the Democratic presidential candidate in 2008.

It has also learned how to exploit statewide candidates to receive enough votes to maintain its ballot access. Years of gathering signatures for ballot access provided

skills for running a statewide initiative campaign as they did with CI-100. Along with raising the party's profile through media exposure, the initiative motivated activists in communities. Instead of just ballot access, initiatives like CI-100 gave them hope of placing their radical theology into civil law.

The Constitution Party of Montana is still driven by a small core of activists. However, it is learning how to spread its message more widely and how to frame its messages so it sounds less extreme. Getting one of its candidates (Rick Jore) elected to the Montana Legislature also helped the party's credibility. All of these positive developments for the Constitution Party of Montana come as the Montana Republican Party battles itself over what constitutes a "true conservative." For the Constitution Party, there isn't a similar debate, and its activists are more than happy to continue exploiting the GOP's problems.

# 2008 Election Wrap Up

*Editor's Note:* This section was written after the 2008 General Elections.

## Constitution Party of Montana Swings Secretary of State Race

None of the Constitution Party of Montana candidates won office in 2008. Unlike past election cycles, the party did not cost Republicans any legislative races. This time it was at the statewide level. The party's candidate for Secretary of State, Sieglinde Sharbono, received 11,722 "conservative" votes.<sup>1144</sup> That was more than enough votes taken from incumbent Republican Brad Johnson to result in Democrat Linda McCulloch winning the office. The Constitution Party of Montana's presidential candidate, U.S. Rep. Ron Paul (R-TX), did not fair as well as many predicted. He received only about 2% of the vote, and the state still went for Republican John McCain in the presidential race.

The two former Constitution Party of Montana legislative candidates who were on the ballot as Republicans had mixed results. Ron Marquardt lost his attempt to win Rick Jore's old House District 12 seat. Democrat John Fleming beat Marquardt with almost 63% of the vote. However, Livingston's Joel Boniek easily won his race for House District 61. While he doesn't formally represent the Constitution Party of Montana, he brings that perspective with him. This was partially revealed by his participation in an "End the Fed" rally in late November 2008 (see picture on this page). Boniek will join three other members of Rep. Roger Koopman's RINO hunt. Mike Miller, Michael More, and Lee Randall all won their elections to the Montana House.<sup>1145</sup>

Before the General Election, the Flathead County Constitution Party voted to support incumbent Republican Bill Beck in his race for House District 6. Although the Constitution Party of Montana had a candidate in the race (Timothy Martin), spokesperson Richard Stevens said Martin did not attend party functions. However, Stevens said Beck did attend their meetings. Stevens said endorsing Beck continued

the Flathead Constitution Party's history of supporting "constitutionally based Republicans." Beck won the race.<sup>1146</sup>

## Religious Right Struggles Nationally, Still Exerts Influence in Montana

U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) lost the race for the presidency. It didn't take long for Republicans to start pointing fingers at each other and blaming different factions of the party for the loss. Some Republicans blamed the McCain campaign for picking Alaskan Governor Sarah Palin as his running mate to appease the Religious Right. Religious Right activists responded by



*Incoming Republican Reps. Joel Boniek (middle) and Bob Wagner (right) participated in an "End the Fed" rally in Helena in late November 2008. The Helena event was part of a national protest of the Federal Reserve organized by Ron Paul supporters.*

blaming the Republican Party for not pandering to them enough.

Moderate Republicans, including former EPA head Christine Todd Whitman, said the results were proof that the party "had been taken hostage by 'social fundamentalists.'" They stated McCain lost because he

abandoned the support of moderates. They blasted McCain for picking Palin to demonstrate his commitment to the Religious Right, since Palin made many voters “uncomfortable.” Whitman said the choice of Palin was a “cynical sop to social fundamentalists.” She stated that anyone who believed McCain lost because the Religious Right didn’t support him was “suffering from a political strain of Stockholm syndrome.”<sup>1147</sup>

The Religious Right responded aggressively to the criticism. The Family Research Council’s Tony Perkins stated Palin was “the most compelling part of the Republican ticket.”<sup>1148</sup> He said, besides Palin, the Religious Right “had no real horse in this race.”

He blamed the Republican Party for picking McCain as its candidate, saying his candidacy was why Religious Right activists were “less active” this election cycle. He blasted Republicans for ignoring the Religious Right when it won races and for blaming them when the party lost.<sup>149</sup> Perkins claimed the future of the Republican Party depended on embracing a “positive message of faith and family.”<sup>1150</sup>

While the debate rages about who is to blame, the Religious Right actually won an organizing tool with Barack Obama’s victory. The Religious Right was so closely tied to the Bush Administration and the Republican Party that it ended up supporting policies out of touch with mainstream America. With Obama as president, it is on the outside of power again. The good news for the Religious Right—its activists now have a single enemy to unite against. Shortly after the election, its activists started laying the groundwork.

Perkins warned that January 2009 would see “the most radical, left-wing president and Congress” in history take control. He told his followers that “extreme liberalism” didn’t work as policy and there would be a “rapid backlash” against it. He said the Family Research Council would continue to expose America’s “liberal leaders’ radicalism” to Americans.<sup>1151</sup> Similarly, Focus on the Family’s James Dobson told followers he was in “the midst of a grieving process” because of election

results. He said Obama’s win meant that the “most committed pro-abortion president in our history” would take office.<sup>1152</sup> While the Religious Right may need some time to regroup, it finds itself the embodiment of the old saying that an external threat creates internal solidarity.

Some activists aren’t taking any time off. Right-wing leaders including Perkins, Grover Norquist, and Richard Viguerie met in Virginia shortly after the election to plan how to fight the Obama Administration. They announced more such meetings were planned. The consensus was the Republican Party had been defeated because it didn’t pay enough attention to conservative principles.<sup>1153</sup>

While the Religious Right appears in some disarray nationally, it still holds control of the GOP in Montana. This can be seen by who was elected to lead the Republican Party in the Montana House during the 2009 legislature.

As with recent elections, the 2008 results led to a closely-divided Montana Legislature. The House is tied 50-50 between the two major parties, and Republicans hold a 27-23 advantage in the Senate.

Right-wing conservatives still control the GOP in the House, as evidenced by the leadership elected by the party. Rep. Scott Sales (R-Bozeman) was named Republican Party Leader and fellow culture warriors Scott Mendenhall (R-Clancy), Tom McGillvray (R-Billings), and Krayton Kerns (R-Laurel) were elected to leadership positions in the House. Both Sales and Mendenhall beat out challengers who called for more civility and respect in the GOP caucus.<sup>1154</sup> The ideologues are still in control.

While Speaker of the House Bob Bergren (D-Havre) talked about “governing from the middle,” Sales said the fact that Republicans kept all 50 of their seats meant that Montanans approved of their actions during the 2007 session. Sales said he thought Republicans had a “mandate” for their agenda going into the 2009 session.<sup>1155</sup> While the GOP is technically the minority in the House, it is the Democrats who are talking about moderation. The GOP is, once again, talking about ideological stands.

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## Appendix

*Editor's Note:* This introduction to the Appendix was written before the 2006 General Election. However, the raw data and analysis for the 2006 and 2008 election cycles are now included in the following tables.

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.

The party 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 the party also fielded candidates for the Montana Senate. In 2006, the party is running a candidate for Clerk of the Supreme Court.

As is the case with most third parties, the Constitution Party of Montana has yet to have one of its candidates win an election and serve in the Montana Legislature. However, unlike other third parties, the Montana party has made an impact on legislative races. No party 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 his party 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 were 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 party 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 Constitution Party of Montana 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 Constitution Party of Montana candidate cost the Republican the election:

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

When it came to Rick Jore's races, the Republican candidates evened the score by denying Jore victory:

- ◆ 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 party 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 party 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 party 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 the party'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 extreme version of Christian fundamentalism into the political mainstream. Despite its radical ideology the party 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 in 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 the Constitution Party of Montana will continue to influence elections in ways that do not benefit the GOP cause. Instead, the party'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

	<b>Constitution</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Other</b>
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)*



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### 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

	<b>Constitution</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Other</b>
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

	<b>Constitution</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Other</b>
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 Overview

Number of Candidates	20	
Total Number of Votes	93038	
Highest Vote Total Without a Republican	86027	Ron Marquardt
Highest Vote Total Without a Democrat	1032	Jonathan Martin
Highest Vote Total With a Republican and a Democrat	574	Rick Komeda
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Republican	55.7%	Rick Jore
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Democrat	17.1%	Torry MacLean
Highest Percentage of Vote With a Republican and a Democrat	12.0%	Rick Komeda
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Republican	3 out of 4 (75%)	
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Democrat	0 out of 1 (0%)	
Number of Races Over 19% With a Republican and a Democrat	0 out of 15 (0%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Republican	3 of 4 (75%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Democrat	0 of 1 (0%)	
Number of Races Over 24% With a Republican and a Democrat	0 of 15 (0%)	



## 2006 Raw Data

	Constitution	Democrat	Republican	Other
HD 1	Russell Brown	Eileen Carney	Ralph Heinert	
Votes	172	1576	1594	
Percentage	5.1%	47.1%	47.7%	
HD 2	Freeman Johnson	Ken Utter	Chas Vincent	
Votes	209	1543	2118	
Percentage	5.4%	40.0%	54.7%	
HD 3	Tad Rosenberry	Douglas Cordier	Dee Brown	
Votes	198	1815	1560	
Percentage	5.5%	50.8%	43.7%	
HD 6	Rick Komeda	Scott Wheeler	Bill Beck	
Votes	574	1937	2305	
Percentage	12.0%	40.2%	47.8%	
HD 12	Rick Jore	Jeanne Windham		
Votes	2045	1643		
Percentage	55.7%	44.5%		
HD 18	Timothy Sollid	Geannine Rapp	Jesse O'Hara	
Votes	90	1724	2812	
Percentage	1.9%	37.3%	60.8%	
HD 20	Terry Poupa	Deborah Kottel	James Whitaker	
Votes	95	1597	1518	
Percentage	3.0%	49.8%	47.3%	
HD 21	Kent Holtz	Tim Callahan	Rick Tryon	
Votes	158	1880	1346	
Percentage	4.7%	55.6%	39.8%	
HD 22	Roger Nelson	Bill Wilson	Mary Jolley	
Votes	116	1643	1084	
Percentage	4.0%	57.8%	38.1%	
HD 23	Christopher Gregory	John Parker		
Votes	682	1851		
Percentage	27.0%	73.1%		

*(2006 Raw Data, continued on next page)*

### 2006 Raw Data, continued

	<b>Constitution</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Other</b>
HD 24	Philip DuPaul	Eve Franklin	James Drew	
Votes	77	1002	696	
Percentage	4.3%	56.5%	39.2%	
HD 25	Robert O'Connor	Sue Dickenson	Larry Steele	
Votes	122	2757	1217	
Percentage	3.0%	67.3%	29.7%	
HD 35	Torry MacLean		Wayne Stahl	
Votes	663		3218	
Percentage	17.1%		82.9%	
HD 43	David Anderson	Steven Erb	Duane Ankney	
Votes	155	1944	2120	
Percentage	3.7%	46.1%	50.2%	
HD 59	Jay McKean	Paul Beck	Scott Boggio	
Votes	151	2109	2234	
Percentage	3.4%	47.0%	49.7%	
HD 87	George Karpati	John Schneeberger	Ron Stoker	
Votes	141	1491	3070	
Percentage	3.0%	31.7%	65.3%	
HD 89	Gil Turner	Richard Marcus	Gary MacLaren	
Votes	143	1384	3260	
Percentage	3.0%	28.9%	68.1%	
HD 96	Kandi Matthew-Jenkins	Teresa Henry	Carol Minjares	
Votes	188	2044	1439	
Percentage	5.1%	55.7%	39.2%	
SD 11	Jonathan Martin	Trudi Schmidt		Mike Kaszula
Votes	1032	4291		480
Percentage	17.8%	74.0%		8.3%
Clerk of Supreme Court	Ron Marquardt	Ed Smith		Howard Butler
Votes	86027	223717		37972
Percentage	24.7%	64.3%		10.9%

## 2008 Overview

Number of Candidates	11	
Total Number of Votes	28554	
Highest Vote Total Without a Republican	2605	Kandi Matthew-Jenkins
Highest Vote Total Without a Democrat	2330	M. Neal Donohue
Highest Vote Total With a Republican and a Democrat	11523	Sieglinde Sharbono
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Republican	28.6%	Kandi Matthew-Jenkins
Highest Percentage of Vote Without a Democrat	25.7%	M. Neal Donohue
Highest Percentage of Vote With a Republican and a Democrat	5.1%	Timothy Martin
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Republican	2 out of 2 (100%)	
Number of Races Over 19% Without a Democrat	1 out of 1 (100%)	
Number of Races Over 19% With a Republican and a Democrat	0 out of 8 (0%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Republican	2 of 2 (100%)	
Number of Races Over 24% Without a Democrat	1 of 1 (100%)	
Number of Races Over 24% With a Republican and a Democrat	0 of 8 (0%)	

### 2008 Raw Data

	<b>Constitution</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Other</b>
HD 1	Freeman Johnson	Eileen Carney	Gerald Bennett	
Votes	136	1491	2413	
Percentage	3.4%	36.9%	59.7%	
HD 6	Timothy Martin	Scott Wheeler	Bill Beck	
Votes	316	2674	3160	
Percentage	5.1%	43.5%	51.4%	
HD 13	Renn Bodeker	Jim Elliott	Pat Ingraham	
Votes	150	2097	3143	
Percentage	2.8%	38.9%	58.3%	
HD 20	Terry Poupa	Deb Kottel	Jack Allen	
Votes	99	1878	1565	
Percentage	2.8%	53.0%	44.2%	
HD 21	Kent Holtz	Anders Blewett	Rick Tryon	
Votes	124	2082	1675	
Percentage	3.2%	53.6%	43.2%	
HD 22	Jonathan Martin	Bill Wilson		
Votes	772	2382		
Percentage	24.5%	75.5%		
HD 23	Christopher Gregory	Carlie Boland	Lance Olson	
Votes	Did not appear on ballot	1639	1501	
Percentage	0.0%	52.2%	47.8%	

*(2008 Raw Data, continued on next page)*

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### 2008 Raw Data, continued

	<b>Constitution</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Other</b>
SD 50	Kandi Matthew-Jenkins	Cliff Larsen		
Votes	2605	6511		
Percentage	28.6%	71.4%		
SD 6	M. Neal Donohue		John Brueggeman	
Votes	2330		6746	
Percentage	25.7%		74.3%	
Secretary of State	Sieglinde Sharbono	Linda McCulloch	Brad Johnson	
Votes	11523	232070	227596	
Percentage	2.4%	49.2%	48.3%	
President	Ron Paul	Barack Obama	John McCain	
Votes	10499	229700	241836	
Percentage	2.2%	47.2%	49.7%	

## Constitution Party in Presidential Elections

	<b>Constitution/US Taxpayers Party</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>
2008	Chuck Baldwin	Barack Obama	John McCain
Votes	186,457	67,048,575	58,498,190
Percentage	0.20%	52.7%	46.0%
2004	Michael Peroutka	John Kerry	George W. Bush
Votes	144,499	59,028,439	62,040,610
Percentage	0.10%	48.3%	50.8%
2000	Howard Phillips	Al Gore	George W. Bush
Votes	98,022	51,033,926	50,460,110
Percentage	0.10%	48.4%	47.8%
1996	Howard Phillips	Bill Clinton	Bob Dole
Votes	184,820	47,400,125	39,198,755
Percentage	0.20%	49.2%	41.0%
1992	Howard Phillips	Bill Clinton	George Bush
Votes	43,369	44,909,806	39,104,550
Percentage	0.00%	43.0%	37.5%

## End Notes

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- 7) *Lake County Leader*, "New Parties Enter Lake County Legislative Races," Feb. 10, 2000.
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- 10) Ibid; *Billings Gazette*, "Constitution Party Fields 22 Candidates," March 24, 2006.
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- 12) Montana Human Rights Network, "Right-Wing Roundup," *Network News*, June 2006.
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- 28) Google Video, Missoula Community Access Television, "Sovereign Solutions," Aug. 17, 2007.
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- 30) Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes on Senate Bill 2 hearing, March 16, 2005.
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- 32) 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.
- 33) Michael Heit, online posting, <http://www.greatdreams.com>, Dec. 6, 1999.
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