

HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK NEWS

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FORMER NATIONAL ALLIANCE MEMBER SPEAKS OUT

***Editor's Note:** In November 2004, the Network published an article about the history of the National Alliance, a hate group, in Montana. The piece mentioned that a National Alliance member, Donovan Jenkins, had posted racist stickers on the Missoula campuses of the University of Montana and Hellgate High School in 2001. In the summer of 2005, Jenkins contacted the Network. He told us that he was no longer affiliated with the National Alliance or the white supremacist movement. He agreed to meet and talk with Network staff about his Alliance activism, why he got involved, why he got out, etc. It was easy to tell that Donovan regretted his actions and wanted to help prevent other youth from committing similar mistakes. What follows, with minimal editing, are Donovan's thoughts on his experience.*

By Donovan Jenkins

When I was in high school I was the average kid. I never got in trouble, played sports, went to church almost every Sunday, and earned pretty good grades. I had lots of friends and nobody that I considered an enemy. However, not even a year after graduating high school, I was a member of a racist organization and posting disgraceful stickers all around Missoula for my entertainment.

It is frightening to think how easy it was to make that transformation. It is also scary that I did it in such a short period of time and without friends and family realizing. Racism is a huge and growing problem. If I could become a member of the National Alliance, a large white supremacist organization, there are thousands of others out there who are equally vulnerable and must be helped before it is too late.

It must have all started when I was young, being exposed to the underlying institutional racist beliefs that are everywhere in society—seeing minorities portrayed negatively on television, hearing racist jokes at school, etc. When I got a little older, I started to pay attention to the news and current events and became interested in politics. I liked the ideas of cutting back wel-

(Jenkins, continued on page 2)



The National Alliance's Symbol

*Human Rights
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Nicholson.*

(Jenkins, continued from page 1)
fare programs, restricting immigration, and protecting the Second Amendment.

Despite these beliefs, I was still the typical teenage boy. I wanted to rebel against society, and I was curious. I appreciated the outlet that punk and metal music offered. It was the perfect trap for me when I stumbled onto Resistance Records [a white power music label run by the National Alliance], while browsing the Internet, after having my interest in racism sparked from watching *American History X*. I had found a place where I could get music that sounded good and promoted beliefs that were closer to mine than those that were present in the mainstream.

Apparently it does not take long for the hateful lyrics to desensitize an impressionable young man to the dehumanization of minorities. I began reading the literature that they [white supremacists] presented, such as *Mein Kampf* and *The Turner Diaries*. At first, I was selective in believing what I read. A lot of the ideas seemed to fit, but I was not a racist and did not agree with them on that issue. Eventually, the material didn't seem quite as extreme. The more biased information I read and listened to the quicker I slid down the slippery slope.

I eventually got to the point where I wanted to join an organization so that I could be in contact with people who shared my beliefs. I chose to join the National Alliance, because it promoted a "professional appearance" and didn't seem as extreme, or religious based, as other groups. I did not want to be a

Skinhead with swastika tattoos. I wanted to blend in with society.

I only went to one National Alliance meeting and that was while I was in Colorado. While there, I was struck by the variety of people in attendance. There were people of all ages and varying degrees of wealth. Despite the shirt-and-tie dress code, it seemed very unprofessional to me that the only things discussed were racist jokes and vandalism. That was the last and only time I met with any of those people. Then I moved to Missoula. During my short stay



One of the National Alliance's most successful tools in recruiting youth is its white power music label, Resistance Records.

there, I enjoyed spending some of my free time slapping up National Alliance stickers, a pastime that got the Montana Human Rights Network interested in me.

In May of 2001, I joined the Army. Immediately upon arrival to Basic Training in Georgia, I realized that I was the minority. I was surprised by the friendship and support that everybody there gave to me, regardless of their skin color. It did not take long at all for me to realize the stupidity and harmful nature of my previous choices. The different personalities and backgrounds of each person are what made them unique and fun to be around. We were all brothers.

In March of 2003, I was deployed to Iraq for the first time. I had the great opportunity to help train many Iraqi police and come to know them as brothers and friends as well. I was shocked by the incredible difference in living conditions of the

Iraqi people and that of Americans. The humanity of these people was blindingly obvious to me. They may not have enough money to buy shoes, but they love each other. I could see very strong similarities between Iraqi parents and mine. They loved and cared for each other. The main lesson that I brought home from Iraq is that we are all human beings and deserve the same human rights no matter who we are, where we live, male or female, what we believe, or the color of our skin. The other lesson that stuck with me is that life is short, why waste your time hating people.

Last May I was at home in Montana playing around on the Internet when I came across my name in a newsletter article from

the Montana Human Rights Network. I wondered what that could be about. I read the newsletter and was shocked to find out that my name was out in the public for being the one responsible for defacing Missoula with racist stickers. I was surprised. I had long since discarded those beliefs and nearly forgotten about my involvement in the white supremacist movement.

Now I am grateful that my mistakes were put up on a hill for everyone to see. Racism is a big problem and it does not deserve to be hidden. It is an unbelievably easy trap to get caught in, and I was lucky enough to break free from its deadly bite. Now that I am free, it would be wrong if I just forgot about it and let others wander into the same trap that I did. As I was reminded, just last week while traveling to a funeral of a good friend, life is short and hard; why waste it making life more difficult for
(Jenkins, continued on page 11)

NETWORK CONFERENCE EXAMINES ECONOMIC HUMAN RIGHTS PART OF EFFORT TO RAISE MINIMUM WAGE

In America, human rights work is synonymous with securing civil and political rights for all citizens. This has been an integral part of the Network's mission since its formation in 1990. On the international level, human rights work has a much larger scope—securing the right to housing, medical care, a living wage, etc.

The area of economic human rights is increasingly important to the Network, as Montana continues to be impacted by the economic inequality that is growing in America. Recent annual conferences by the Network have allowed it and its members to explore these issues. The Network's 2004 Conference featured progressive columnist Holly Sklar. Sklar discussed both the need for America to deal with its growing income disparity and the benefits of raising wages for workers. The Network returned to economic human rights at its 2005 Annual Conference. With a theme of "Beyond

Need: Economic Human Rights," the Network held the event in Missoula on Oct. 15, 2005. The conference featured two presentations focused on economic human rights.

Meizhu Lui of United For a Fair Economy was the keynote presenter. United For a Fair Economy highlights the growing gap in America between rich people and everyone else. For instance, CEOs of corporations now make \$301 to every \$1 earned by individual workers. The inequality also follows color lines. One example is that Latino households have an average income that is less than two-thirds of white households. United For a Fair Economy works to educate Americans about issues of wealth inequality and supports policies to bridge the divide between the rich and the poor.

The 2005 Annual Conference closed with a presentation by Doug Mitchell of Raise Montana. Mitchell discussed the upcoming campaign initiative in Montana that seeks to raise the minimum wage to \$6.15, which is \$1 more an hour than the current wage. The initiative will link the calculation of the minimum wage over time to a cost-of-living index maintained by the US Department of Labor. Raise Montana, the coalition of groups supporting the initiative, includes the AFL-CIO, Montana Progressive Labor Caucus, Working for Economic Equality and Liberation, the Network, and others.

Mitchell told conference attendees that polling shows 81% of Montanans support raising the current minimum wage by \$1 an hour. He said the raise to \$6.15 would positively impact the 27,000 minimum-wage workers in Montana. To get the initiative on the General Election ballot next November, Raise Montana needs to gather 22,340 signatures. If passed, the

new wage would go into effect January 1, 2007.

Award Presented at Annual Conference

The Network presented Julie Cajune with its "2005 Walt Brown Award." The award recognizes the achievement of an activist working for human rights in Montana. It is named after Walt Brown, an African-American civil rights activist from Great Falls who chaired the Network's board of directors during the 1990s.

Cajune served as the Indian Education Coordinator for the Ronan School District for many years. The Network recognized her for her steadfast advocacy in the area of Indian Education, both in terms of Native American students being successful in school and teaching Indian and non-Indian students about Native American culture and history. Along with winning the award, Cajune did a workshop at the Network's conference on the controversy surrounding schools using racist Indian mascots.

Looking at the Big Picture

Part of the Network's basis for getting involved with Raise Montana can be found in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Passed in 1948 by the United Nation's General Assembly, the document outlines the inalienable rights and inherent dignity of all people. Among its 30 articles, the *Universal Declaration* states that all workers have the "right to just and favourable remuneration" for their labor that is "worthy of human dignity." It also declares that all people have a "right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-

(Wage, continued on page 11)

CARROLL COLLEGE ATTEMPTS TO “DE-GAY” SHEPARD MURDER

In 1998, Matthew Shepard was assaulted, tied to a fence, and left to die outside of Laramie, WY. The perpetrators of this crime targeted Shepard because he was gay. The brutal nature of his murder shocked the entire nation and elevated the discussion of hate crimes legislation and the dangers when homophobia takes physical form.

Since his death, Matthew Shepard's mother, Judy, has traveled the country telling Matthew's story and speaking out against anti-gay discrimination and hate crimes. In October, Carroll College hosted a presentation by her. Since Matthew Shepard's sexual orientation was central to his murder, the Network was shocked when Carroll tried to “de-gay” the Shepard story.

“There may be some in the community who wonder why Carroll would host the Shepard lecture given the Catholic Church's teachings on homosexuality,” said Carroll Vice President for Student Life Jim Hardwick, in the press release for the event. “It is important for the community to understand that the Shepard lecture is not about homosexuality. The Shepard lecture focuses on the need for all of us to protect human life.”

The Network contacted Carroll College to express its concerns about the school's depiction of Judy Shepard's presentation. “Your press release does everything possible to dance around the fact that Matthew Shepard was murdered because he was gay,” wrote Network Co-Director Christine Kaufmann. Hardwick's quote, she continued, sent “the message that gay is not OK, and that the college would never be so foolish (or

blasphemous) as to hold a public lecture ‘about homosexuality.’” Kaufmann reminded Hardwick that it is impossible to “de-gay” Matthew Shepard.

Hardwick responded that his intention was not to exclude the gay and lesbian community. Instead, he hoped the audience would look beyond anti-gay hate crimes and see the need to respect the dignity of all people.

The Network was not convinced. Kaufmann said Carroll was still “trying to dance around the issue [gay equality].” She illustrated the apparent anti-gay sentiment at work with an example. She wondered, if Judy Shepard had an African-American son who was murdered in a hate crime, would Carroll leave out his race and say the lecture was not about racism.

Integral Part of the Anti-Gay Lobby

Part of the Network's apprehension about Carroll's message related to the Montana Catholic Church's activism against gay and lesbian equality. Kaufmann reminded Hardwick that the Montana Catholic Conference, which is the lobbying arm of both Montana Bishops, has told lawmakers that the state of Montana is justified in discriminating against gays and lesbians.

During the 2005 Montana Legislature, the Catholic Conference was a strong and consistent voice against equal rights and protection under the law for Montana's gay and lesbian community. During a committee hearing, the Conference's lobbyist stated that homosexuality was “de-

structive” and warned that the proposed bill would prevent “just discrimination” against gays. It also opposed including sexual orientation in Montana's hate crimes statute. Shepard's brutal murder, if it happened in Montana, would not be considered a hate crime. The Catholic Conference consistently lobbies to keep it that way.

While the Catholic Conference represents Montana's two bishops, the Diocese of Helena founded Carroll College. The school's mission statement says it is still “related” to the Diocese. It also calls the school a “Catholic, diocesan, liberal arts college” and promises to represent “the magisterial teachings of the Catholic Church.” With the relationships between Carroll, the Helena Diocese and the Catholic Conference, the Network was concerned that the anti-gay ideology driving the Catholic Conference also played a role in Carroll's framing of Judy Shepard's presentation.

“God Hates Fags” Preacher Used to Deny Table

The Network proposed that Carroll allow it to have a table at the Shepard event, thereby making sure that gay and lesbian equality had a presence. Around this same time, the Westboro Baptist Church announced it planned to picket the Shepard event.

The Westboro Baptist Church, based in Kansas, is comprised of Fred Phelps' family and relatives. It made national headlines when it picketed Matthew Shepard's funeral with anti-gay placards and chants. *The (Carroll, continued on page 10)*

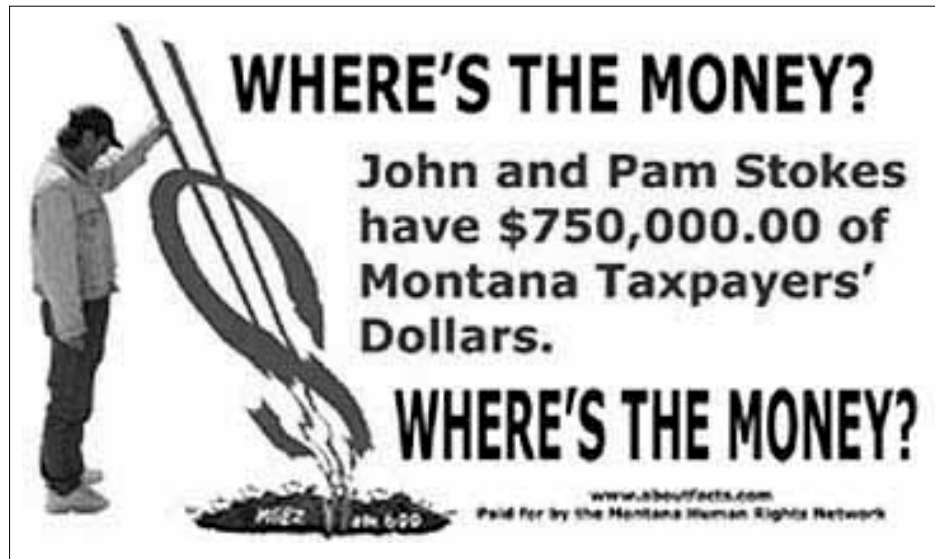
DIVING FOR DOLLARS: RIGHT-WING RADIO SETTLES LAWSUIT WITH

STATE John Stokes benefited in two ways by purchasing Kalispell's KGEZ Radio in 2000. First, he could use the public airwaves to wage his right-wing battle against conservationists and anyone who disagreed with him. Second, the state of Montana had discussed expanding Highway 93 for years. Occupying property next to the highway, KGEZ Radio was also a financial investment. When the Montana Department of Transportation (DOT) needed some of the property for the highway expansion in 2001, Stokes began a long legal battle over how much the sliver of land was worth.

Since taking over KGEZ Radio, Stokes and his callers have used his talk show, "The Edge," to target and harass people in the Flathead community. They have discussed violent acts they would like to carry out against local activists, even giving directions and addresses to targets' homes. Stokes has burned green swastikas at his station twice to intimidate local conservationists. He encouraged listeners to call in bomb threats to the Montana Capitol. He has even allowed local militia activists to use the public airwaves to promote anti-government ideologies. Stokes' ownership of KGEZ has fostered an environment where threats and intimidation sought to replace community dialogue and the democratic process.

Stokes Gets \$400,000 of State Funds

The legal battle between Stokes and the DOT was antagonistic from the start. The DOT needed less than one acre of KGEZ property for the highway expansion. It appraised the land's value at around \$100,000. Stokes initially said the land was worth \$2.2 million, before cutting his asking price to \$1.1 million. Using a current law, Stokes got the DOT to cut him a check for \$750,000.



In 2004, the Network put up this billboard on Highway 93 in an effort to find out what John Stokes had done with all the money he received from the Department of Transportation.

The funds were deposited with the district court in Kalispell.

During the course of the lawsuit, Stokes claimed that the expanded highway would force him off the air or require him to relocate. He upped his demand to \$4.7 million, saying that the DOT needed to pay for the station's move or compensate him for lost earnings. The DOT argued that Stokes' claims were false, as KGEZ stayed on the air during construction and continues broadcasting today.

"Through this entire process, Stokes' hypocrisy was blatant," says the Network's Travis McAdam. "Stokes spends hours on the air complaining about wasteful government spending, yet he displayed an endless appetite when it came to feeding from the public trough."

Stokes' attorney, Anaconda's Wade Dahood, withdrew the \$750,000 deposited with the district court. Dahood took \$270,000 for his legal fees. Bigfork's Questa Resources, which had loaned Stokes the money to buy KGEZ, received approximately \$294,000. Stokes received about \$73,500 to pay off a lien on his Lake County home and back taxes for KGEZ. Much of the rest went to consultants for the lawsuit. There was a
(Stokes, continued on page 9)

LOCAL AGENCY BUYS INTO “ECO-TERRORIST” PROPAGANDA

In September, the Bitterroot National Forest held a press conference to release a statement regarding a controversial timber sale. The Forest Service invited six people, including local elected officials, who supported its plan. However, when three local conservationists tried to attend, armed security guards and agency staffers confronted and removed them from the event. While disturbing in its hostile relationship to the democratic process, the incident also demonstrates the anti-environmental “Wise Use” movement’s impact on government agencies.

No Room for Democratic Principles

When the local Forest Service announced it was unveiling the Middle East Fork Environmental Statement, three members of Friends of the Bitterroot decided to attend the event. Jim Miller, Larry Campbell, and Stewart Brandborg showed up at the local Forest Service building and tried to attend the press conference. Armed law officers wearing bullet-proof vests escorted Miller from the building, while Forest Service staffers stopped Campbell and Brandborg as they entered the building.

The Forest Service’s actions prompted immediate controversy. Armed guards, denying citizens access to an agency event, and removing citizens from a public building seemed to fly in the face of constitutional rights. All of this came without provocation, as Friends of the Bitterroot uses the democratic process to ensure that the Forest Service follows established environmental regulations. The group’s activism is centered on citizen participation in the democratic process and working

with land-use agencies.

In the agency’s defense, Bitterroot Supervisor Dave Bull claimed he was trying to create a “safe environment” for supporters of the Forest Service’s plan. Bull said the press conference was not a public event and was open only to invited guests.

Under intense public scrutiny, Bull issued an open letter to the community. He said he regretted his actions had “led to bad feelings,” bruised working relationships, and “public skepticism.” Bull’s letter seemed more about saving face than making an apology.

In November, Miller, Campbell, and Brandborg filed a lawsuit against Bull. The lawsuit stated that Bull violated their constitutional rights by barring their attendance at the press conference. The conservationists said they hope their lawsuit will guarantee that citizens will always be able to access the democratic processes of policymaking.

In discussing the lawsuit, the conservationists spoke of how the incident was part of a larger problem. In a letter to the editor, Campbell wrote that “the threats and intimidation in the Bitterroot Valley do not come from us,” instead it is conservationists who are targeted with “assaults, threats, and arson.” He relayed a personal story about being assaulted in the Forest Service’s parking lot during a logging rally.

Campbell’s experience illustrates what Network research consis-

tently reveals—Wise Use activists are the ones prone to using intimidating tactics. In 2002, the Network published *School Yard Bullies*, a report documenting cases of conservationists being harassed and intimidated in the Flathead. As it was putting the report together, the Network

kept hearing law enforcement and Wise Use groups talking about eco-terrorism in Montana. The Network sent information requests to land-use agencies and industry associations, seeking concrete details of the incidents to which they kept alluding. Unlike the events recorded in *School Yard Bullies*, the departments and associa-

tions did not produce information on tree spiking or the other eco-terrorism that was supposedly common in Montana.

“Our research shows that Wise Use activists are the ones who use intimidation and violence,” says the Network’s Travis McAdam. “With the Bush Administration’s adoption of Wise Use ideology, it isn’t surprising that the Forest Service is trying to ignore reality and paint conservationists as violent.”

Wise Use and Conservative Politics

When it comes to forest policy, Mark Rey personifies the Bush Administration’s adoption of Wise Use activism. Rey, the Undersecretary of Natural Resources and Environment, is responsible for all for-

(Wise Use, continued on page 8)



Undersecretary of Natural Resources and Environment
Mark Rey

STRING OF ANTI-GAY HATE CRIMES PLAGUES

COMMUNITIES In October, both Missoula and Butte were sites of anti-gay hate crimes. Even though anti-gay bias fueled these crimes, they are not treated as hate crimes under Montana's Malicious Intimidation or Harassment Act. Despite current law, a look at the recent cases demonstrates that anti-gay violence happens in Montana.

Higgins Avenue Assault

Late on the night of October 15, Wally Catton and Marcus Chebul were leaving downtown Missoula. Near the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Fourth Street, a Chevy Blazer passed them on the street. The vehicle's occupants screamed anti-gay slurs at the two men and mocked Chebul's hat and glasses. The Blazer returned and stopped next to the two men.

The five young men in the Blazer got out and continued harassing Catton and Chebul. They took Chebul's hat and glasses, telling him he looked less like a "fag" without them. According to press reports, two of the attackers, Brian Gunderson and James Kelly, began beating Catton and Chebul. When Chebul was knocked unconscious, Catton ran across the street to a gas station to call the police. He returned to the scene and attempted to write down the Blazer's license plate number. One of the attackers returned to assault Catton again for his efforts.

Both Catton and Chebul were hospitalized for injuries sustained during the attack. Repeated punches broke Catton's jaw and cracked several of his teeth. A titanium plate had to be inserted in his jaw, which also had to be wired shut. Chebul suffered a concussion, a cheekbone

fractured in three places, and an abrasion on his forehead.

What actions the individual attackers took in the assaults are still being sorted out in court. However, according to press reports:

◆ Brian Gunderson and James Kelly are the primary attackers. Both have pleaded not guilty to charges of felony assault and robbery.

◆ Joshua Lamp assaulted Catton when he saw Catton writing down the Blazer's license plate number. Lamp faces charges of misdemeanor assault.

◆ Ryan Albiston faces felony robbery charges for stealing Chebul's hat and glasses. He pleaded not guilty to the charges.

While the crime was based on anti-gay bias, neither Catton nor Chebul are gay.

Fear in a University Dorm

The anti-gay harassment experienced by Xavier Old Chief, a University of Montana student, reached its worst in early October. Old Chief locked himself in his dorm room for two days, not even venturing out for food. This was the result of ever-escalating anti-gay harassment.

Old Chief received threatening notes slid under his door. One stated, "The only good fag is a dead fag," while another referenced Bible passages used by right-wing Christians to demonize homosexuality. He was forced to call 911 and campus security when people began pounding on his door and screaming, "You fu***** fag, we're going to get you" and "[You'll] have to come out sometime."

"I don't want to quit school," Old Chief told the campus newspaper, "but if that's what it leads to, I'm

going to quit."

Butte Reinforces "Cultural Apartheid"

Butte transsexual Kyle "Tawnie" Riekema used the women's restroom at the Park Palace in Butte. This isn't an unusual practice for Riekema, as she is in the midst of a sex change.

Upon entering the restroom she startled another woman. The other woman complained to the Palace's owner, Ted Deshner. Deshner grabbed a karaoke microphone and announced that all men needed to stay out of the women's restroom, even if they had a note from a doctor saying it was okay.

Following the announcement, Riekema found herself pushed out the door and, once outside, hit and kicked. Following the incident, local law enforcement issued a warning—not to the assailants but to the gay and lesbian community. "Be careful," Butte Silver Bow Sheriff John Walsh said. "Don't go to places that can be problematic for you."

PRIDE, Montana's gay and lesbian advocacy group, immediately condemned Sheriff Walsh's discriminatory comments. Karl Olson, the group's director, stated Montana has a long history of mistreating its minorities, and many marginalized individuals probably avoid Butte. However, Sheriff Walsh's job is not to reinforce this "cultural apartheid" by telling people to stay away.

These Are Hate Crimes, Just Not in Statute

Montana's hate crimes statute does not include sexual orientation, meaning that these incidents are not (*Anti-gay, continued on page 10*)

(Wise Use, continued from page 6)

est management. Before taking his current post, he spent two decades as a lobbyist for the timber industry, trying to open public lands to commercial logging. Rey viewed the catastrophic forest fires of 2000 as a way to open national forests to logging. Under this guise, the Bush Administration passed its "Healthy Forests Restoration Act." The Middle East Fork project in the Bitterroot is Montana's first operation under the law.

Long before it took its place in the Bush Administration, the Wise Use movement sought to marginalize conservationists. Ron Arnold, the Wise Use movement's founder, stated, "Our [Wise Use] goal is to destroy, to eradicate the environmental movement." There have been many strategies over the years to accomplish the goal. One was to portray extractive-industry workers as the "true" environmentalists, while blaming conservationists for economic problems in communities.

Montana has a prime example of a right-wing activist who makes a career out of attacking conservationists. Kalispell radio owner John Stokes uses his talk show, "The Edge," to blame conservationists for everything he sees going wrong in society [see related article on page 5]. Stokes also compares mainstream conservationists to both the 9/11 and domestic terrorists, referring to them as "Green Nazis."

Since most Americans support policies to create healthy environments, Wise Use adopted the strategy of equating mainstream groups, like the Sierra Club, to violent organizations. Norm Lenhart, the editor of a website devoted to all-terrain vehicles, provides an example. He wrote that his job is to provide the "cold, hard realities about hate groups masquerading as 'environmentalists.'" He closed by saying we need to stop "these sycopathic [sic] scum." While Stokes and Lenhart may seem far outside the political mainstream, Ron Arnold and others masterfully wedge Wise Use into the current political climate.

Since the 9/11 attacks, Arnold's anti-environmental message comes with a new twist reminiscent of Stokes. According to reporter Bill Berkowitz, Arnold is pushing the message that conservationists are "a breeding ground for terrorism in the homeland." Berkowitz quoted an

environmental leader saying, "Arnold has been recast as the fearless protector of corporate interests while mainstream environmentalists are being portrayed as terrorists." Arnold parlayed his Wise Use credentials into an anti-terrorism consulting position with the University of Arkansas. The framing of the environmental movement as terrorists can also be found in the Bush Administration's focus for law enforcement.

Do You Remember Oklahoma City?

In March 2005, *Congressional Quarterly* criticized the Department of Homeland Security for not listing right-wing domestic terrorist groups as threats to national security. Instead, the focus was eco-terrorism. Arsons and vandalism by the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front in 2004 had made it the top priority. There is no question that the Earth Liberation Front and other such groups are domestic terrorists. The problem is that right-wing activists continue trying to place mainstream conservation organizations into the category, just as Arnold and Stokes routinely do.

Ignoring right-wing terrorists was a serious omission by Homeland Security. The worst terrorist attack on American soil

before 9/11 was the Oklahoma City bombing, which was inspired by the militia movement. To provide a countervailing force to the Homeland Security list, the Southern Poverty Law Center published a list of 60 terrorist plots related to right-wing domestic terrorism since Oklahoma City [this can be accessed through the group's website at <http://www.splcenter.org>].

The Bush Administration's ambiguous "war on terrorism" lacks very many specific definitions. While terrorism is easily identified when airplanes are crashed into the World Trade Center, what does it look like locally? In the Bitterroot, Forest Supervisor Bull apparently thinks it is local conservationists trying to attend a press conference. His remarks about creating a "safe environment" echo the Wise Use rhetoric equating conservationists with violence. The Friends of the Bitterroot lawsuit is a positive step towards reclaiming the democratic process for citizens and opposing the right-wing's depiction of the environmental movement. □



Ron Arnold
Wise Use's Founder

(Stokes, continued from page 5)
caveat to the money received from the DOT. If the final value of the land was decided to be less than \$750,000 (either through a settlement or jury trial), Stokes would have to repay the difference. This possibility became a reality in November.

The settlement between the DOT and Stokes awarded Stokes \$400,000 of state money. That means that the state is due back \$350,000, which Stokes and Dahood have already spent. Along with coming up with the missing funds, Stokes now faces foreclosure at the hands of his investors.

Settlement Jumpstarts Foreclosure

Questa Resources loaned Stokes \$665,000 in 2000 to purchase KGEZ Radio and 60 acres of property in Lake County where he lives. A group of eight investors eventually bought the note from Questa.

According to press reports, the loan came due in March 2003, and Stokes was declared in default in July 2004. Since Stokes continued telling anyone who would listen that a big payday was coming from the DOT, the investors held off on foreclosure. However, with the DOT settlement, a Questa attorney now states that foreclosure proceedings will go forward.

Even with the roughly \$294,000 it received from Dahood, Questa has said Stokes still owes it over \$700,000 in principal and interest. However, Stokes claims he has paid

at least \$877,000 to Questa, and he thinks Questa should have to pay the money owed to the state. The foreclosure trial could start in May 2006.

FCC Looking at Broadcast Licenses

Throughout the DOT lawsuit and talk of foreclosure, the Federal Communications Commission was going through the process of renewing broadcast licenses for Montana radio stations. Part of this formal

process is allowing people impacted by a station to submit petitions outlining why a license should or should not be renewed.

The Network helped local citizens in the Flathead Valley submit petitions to the FCC documenting the harassment they experienced after being the subject of conversation on "The Edge." So far, 15 petitions have been filed against renewing Stokes'

broadcast license. The Network filed one of these petitions. It included numerous attachments and sound clips from "The Edge," so the FCC could hear Stokes in his own words.

Rep. George Everett (R-Kalispell) filed the only petition supporting renewal of Stokes' license. Rep. Everett has teamed up with Stokes in the past, including an unsuccessful lawsuit against Flathead Valley Community College in 2004. Everett has claimed conservationists are part of a "rural cleansing" against workers in extractive industries.

During the FCC process, two interesting items surfaced about KGEZ. First, Stokes' application for

renewal was hit with a "red light dismissal," meaning that somebody associated with the station had a debt to the government. The second development was that corporations used by Stokes to run KGEZ Radio were "involuntarily dissolved" by the Montana Secretary of State.

The debt Stokes owed to the government was most likely taxes. As mentioned earlier, Stokes used DOT money to pay taxes owed by KGEZ Radio. On the air, Stokes said his failure to pay was due to book-keeping problems. While he blamed it on a mistake, Stokes and his callers frequently promote the anti-government notion that paying taxes is voluntary.

"While Stokes claims bad record keeping led to his tax delinquency, we think there is more to the story," says McAdam. "He probably only paid his taxes when he was backed into a corner. Not paying jeopardized his broadcast license and could have limited the amount of money he could get from the DOT."

Stokes cleared up his taxes and went to file his corporate paperwork with the Montana Secretary of State. Two of his corporations—Skyline Broadcasters and Z-600 Inc.—had already been dissolved for not filing annual financial reports. This had happened in 2001 and 2002, a point brought to the FCC by the Network. It wondered how a corporation that no longer existed could receive a broadcast license.

Final Picture Still Unclear

How long Stokes will stay in the Flathead Valley and on the air is still unknown. He faces two monumental possibilities: foreclosure and losing his broadcast license. However,
(Stokes, continued on page 10)



Rep. George Everett (R-Kalispell) told the FCC to renew Stokes' broadcast license.

(Carroll, continued from page 4)

church, which has a website titled “God Hates Fags,” travels the country protesting anything it deems gay friendly. In February 2005, the group demonstrated in Montana against churches it claimed promoted homosexuality [see the June 2005 edition of *Network News* for more information]. Phelps’ press release announcing his plans to picket at Carroll contained the ominous warning, “Thank God for IEDs,” with IEDs explained as “Improvised Explosive Devices.”

After receiving the press release, Carroll used Phelps to deny the Network a table at the event. A college spokesperson told the media that, if it allowed the Network to set up a table, “we’re just asking for a confrontation” with Phelps. Kaufmann told Hardwick that the Westboro Baptist Church’s presence was all the more reason to have local resources about equality available at the event. Carroll was not persuaded and denied the Network a table.

“Quite frankly, they [Phelps’ cohorts] are less frightening and less damaging than political, religious, and educational institutions that will not support full equality and dignity for lesbians and gay men,” Kaufmann told Hardwick.

Carroll’s decision to exclude the Network was not without precedent. In September, Carroll College Presi-



A member of the Westboro Baptist Church protests in front of a Helena church in February 2005.

dent Thomas Trebon rescinded an invitation to a Planned Parenthood staffer to sit on a conference panel at the school. He said his action was because “the mission of Carroll College as a Catholic Diocesan liberal arts college is fundamentally opposed to a number of the policies and practices of Planned Parenthood.”

This provides additional insight into why the Network was denied a table. Based on the lobbying of the Montana Catholic Conference and the Catholic Church’s role in passing the Montana constitutional amendment banning gay marriage, the Montana Dioceses seem to oppose equal rights for gays and lesbians. Using Trebon’s logic, that would also make Carroll opposed to gay equality, one of the Network’s areas of activism. The threat of Phelps gave Carroll an easy excuse to deny the Network a table at the Shepard event.

Shepard Speaks the Truth

Not surprisingly, Judy Shepard’s presentation did specifically address gay rights and anti-gay discrimination. She spoke in favor of gay marriage, noting that

equal rights are at the core of the debate over gay equality. She encouraged gays and lesbians to stand up for themselves and to tell their stories. Over 500 people attended her lecture, including all Carroll freshmen. Noticeably absent were members of the Westboro Baptist Church. □

(Stokes, continued from page 9)

he does have another financial target lined up—Kalispell.

Kalispell wants to upgrade and expand its airport. The Federal Aviation Administration says that KGEZ’s broadcast towers must be moved as a safety precaution, before it will reimburse the city for any funds. No financial agreement has been reached; however, Stokes told listeners he wants \$2.5 million to move the towers. As he did in the DOT lawsuit, Stokes claims the city is trying to put him out of business and has only offered him \$300,000. Stokes continues to hope for one big payday at the expense of taxpayers.

□

(Anti-gay, continued from page 7)

hate crimes. However, these anti-gay attacks send a message to Montana’s gay and lesbian community that they are not welcome and their safety may be in peril. This is no different than the impact a burning cross has on all people of color in a community. While the legal statute may not apply, there is no doubt that the ideological determination of what constitutes a hate crime is present in the recent attacks.

The Network has repeatedly lobbied to include sexual orientation in Montana’s hate crimes statute. Anti-gay violence exists in Montana and needs to be condemned in both the public square and public policy.

□

(Wage, continued from page 3)

being” of their families. This standard of living includes having food, clothing, housing and medical care.

While an hourly wage of \$6.15 does not secure the rights listed in the *Universal Declaration*, the Network feels it is a step in the right direction. As corporate profits continue generating wealth for a few well-positioned people, the middle class is left behind. The distance between these two groups grows everyday. Raising the minimum wage, even if only by \$1 an hour, is a positive development. Also, if Montana voters pass the initiative, perhaps lawmakers will sit up and take notice. They may be more open to passing something closer to a “living wage,” which is enough to cover housing, food, health care, child care, etc. A living wage for a single adult in Montana is approximately \$9.07 an hour, while an adult with one child needs \$14.89 an hour. Raise Montana’s initiative can show lawmakers that the public, not only supports, but demands better wages for workers.

To get involved with Raise Montana and the minimum wage campaign, contact the Network at (406) 442-5506.

□

(Jenkins, continued from page 2)

others. Love is the answer, not hate. Viktor Frankl, in *Man’s Search for Meaning*, recalls a time when he was suffering in Auschwitz and began to think of his wife:

“A thought transfixed me: for the first time in my life I saw the truth as it is set into song by so many poets, proclaimed as the final wisdom by so many thinkers. The truth- that love is the ultimate and highest goal to which man can aspire. Then I grasped the meaning of the greatest secret that human poetry and human thought and belief have to impart: That salvation of man is through love and in love.”

I am sorry that I was not aware of this earlier. I am deeply ashamed of my past history with the National Alliance. I want to apologize to anyone that I may have affected with my ignorance. I cannot erase the past. The only things I can do are proclaim the incredible immorality of the beliefs and actions that I once participated in; educate people about the truth; and try to prevent others from following in my destructive footsteps.

□

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