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### **Media Briefing Paper**

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## **Bozeman Tea Party Promoting Anti-Government “Patriots:” Event Features Militia Hero, Freeman Activist, and More**

At an upcoming event, the Bozeman Tea Party will feature a lineup of presentations that promote common themes of the anti-government “patriot” movement. The “Keeping the Flame Alive” event, set for April 15-16, 2011, lists Richard Mack as the keynote speaker. Mack became a rising star in the militia movement during the 1990s when he sued the federal government over the Brady Bill, a gun control measure. He began speaking on the anti-government “patriot” circuit in the early 1990s and never stopped.

“For almost two decades, Richard Mack has made a career out of appearing at events with notorious tax protestors, hardcore militia activists, and a laundry list of dubious self-styled ‘patriots,’” said the Human Rights Network’s Travis McAdam. “He’s found a new home with the national Tea Party movement, and now the Bozeman Tea Party is bringing him to their community. We hope Bozeman won’t be tricked into viewing him as some sort of national treasure.”

Mack is just the tip of iceberg. In the past, the Bozeman Tea Party has teamed up for public events with “patriot” groups like the [Oath Keepers](#). “Keeping the Flame Alive” continues this tradition of working with, and celebrating, anti-government ideologues.

The Montana Human Rights Network has released a special report (see “*Keeping the Flames Alive*” *Speakers* below) with background on four of the speakers and one of the main organizers. The slate of speakers includes a former sheriff adored by the militia movement; an activist with the Militia of Montana and the Montana Freeman; a current Madison County Commissioner; and a former Speaker of the Montana House of Representatives.

“The Bozeman Tea Party is a good example of how Tea Party groups aren’t promoting anything new,” says McAdam. “Instead, they merely repackaged fairly commonplace right-wing beliefs with a heavy dose of anti-government ideology. In Bozeman, you have a former Republican operative in Henry

Kriegel claiming to be non-partisan and featuring militia heroes, freemen activists, and bizarre conspiracy theorists at his group's major events.”

The Human Rights Network believes that Montanans need to understand the types of people providing the ideological foundation for Tea Parties in Montana. “We think these are the last people that communities should look to for answers,” says McAdam. “They are not interested in helping to create safe and welcoming communities. Instead, they fracture communities by mobilizing fear and resentment.”

## “Keeping the Flame Alive” Speakers

The Bozeman Tea Party believes that the federal government is “out of control” and has “exceeded its authority” under the US Constitution. The group claims to be “nonpartisan” and says it wants to “educate and inform the public about our core values....”<sup>1</sup> Based on who they are featuring at “Keeping the Flame Alive,” it is clear the Bozeman Tea Party’s values are way outside the mainstream. The lineup of speakers comes heavily from the anti-government “patriot” movement.

The Bozeman Tea Party is advertising its event as focused on “preparedness,” which is a common buzzword used by the “patriot” movement.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the 1990s, the Militia of Montana published its annual “Preparedness Catalog” and large survivalist expos were common across the country, especially [as the year 2000](#) approached. The Bozeman Tea Party states that the topics addressed at their event will help “patriots” know what to do when communication systems break down and hyperinflation destroys the economy.<sup>3</sup> The event is marketed as a chance to network with Tea Party activists from Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho. An indication that the Bozeman Tea Party will continue engaging in Montana politics is clear. It advertises that “liberty-minded” people will be able to “prepare for the 2012 elections” at the event.<sup>4</sup>

### **Henry Kriegel, Bozeman Tea Party**

Henry Kriegel is one of the Bozeman Tea Party’s main organizers. Prior to his time with the Tea Party, he was a longtime conservative and Republican Party operative. He’s been part of the Bozeman Tea Party’s outreach to anti-government groups, especially the Oath Keepers. The [Oath Keepers](#) is a “patriot” group which urges military and law enforcement personnel to sign an oath that encapsulates the one-world government conspiracy theories of the anti-government movement. The group’s founder, Stewart Rhodes, recently told supporters in the Flathead Valley to form militia groups to oppose the federal government.<sup>5</sup>

Oath Keepers teamed up with the Bozeman Tea Party for a march on July 4, 2009. Pictures of Kriegel speaking at the event in front of an Oath Keepers banner surfaced on numerous websites.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, Kriegel was listed as a featured speaker representing the Bozeman Tea Party at a December 2010 event convened by the Montana Oath Keepers in Helena.<sup>7</sup> Materials for the Helena event said it sought to explore solutions to protect “sovereignty” and to “preserve our heritage and legacy as Montanans and Americans.”<sup>8</sup> Those in attendance included Tea Party leaders, Republican legislators, candidates running for office, and militia activists.<sup>9</sup>

Kriegel likes to claim that the Bozeman Tea Party is “nonpartisan.”<sup>10</sup> However, Kriegel himself has a long history of activism with the Republican Party. From 2007-2009, he served on the Gallatin County Republican Central Committee as a State Committeeman.<sup>11</sup> He also helped with the Republican Party’s Lincoln-Reagan Day dinner and fundraiser during two presidential-election cycles.<sup>12</sup> Kriegel has also

led Montanans for Tax Reform, which is the state chapter of Grover Norquist's Americans for Tax Reform.<sup>13</sup> The Montana group has asked candidates to sign a "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" and commit to not raising taxes.<sup>14</sup> The announcements regarding the signing of pledges have generally functioned as pep rallies for right-wing Republicans.<sup>15</sup>

Kriegel's opposition to taxes extended beyond his work for Montanans for Tax Reform. In 2009, it was reported that he had amassed almost \$13,000 in income tax debt, before a judge relieved part of it during bankruptcy proceedings. Kriegel told reporters that he didn't believe his tax history should keep him from speaking out about tax reform, and he also claimed the Tea Party's event on tax day in April 2009 had little to do with taxes.<sup>16</sup>

Kriegel was also instrumental in forming the Montana Tea Party Coalition.<sup>17</sup> In February 2010, the Coalition held its first meeting in Great Falls. It was planned by organizers to coincide with a Montana Republican Party kickoff event for legislative candidates. According to the Bozeman Tea Party, the Coalition meeting provided a forum for Tea Party leaders from Big Timber, Billings, Bozeman, Glendive, Great Falls, and Helena to discuss how they planned to influence the 2010 elections. The Coalition's gathering featured incumbent Republican legislators, including Rep. Joel Boniek (R-Livingston), Rep. Mike Miller (R-Helmville), and Rep. Gordon Vance (R-Bozeman). US Rep. Dennis Rehberg (R-MT) also met with the Coalition to discuss why it was necessary that the Republican Party aligned with the Tea Party movement.<sup>18</sup>

Kriegel's right-wing involvement goes back decades. From 1984-1989, he was involved with the Committee for a Free Afghanistan where he eventually became the executive director.<sup>19</sup> The Committee directly funded and trained most of the seven Mujahidin factions present in Afghanistan during the 1980s.<sup>20</sup> The Committee has been described as part of the "militant right-wing lobby" that came together during the 1980s to support military efforts against socialism and the Soviet Union.<sup>21</sup> It frequently teamed up with other right-wing groups, including the Conservative Caucus, Heritage Foundation, and entities connected to Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church.<sup>22</sup> As the Committee's executive director, Kriegel attended meetings at the Reagan White House with other right-wing luminaries.<sup>23</sup>

Dating back to the 1970s, Kriegel was active with The Church Universal and Triumphant (CUT), a cult with headquarters near Yellowstone National Park.<sup>24</sup> CUT is probably best known for getting into trouble during the 1990s for illegally purchasing and stockpiling semi-automatic weapons in their massive bomb shelter.<sup>25</sup> During the 1990s, Kriegel spoke out against the deprogramming efforts of anti-cult activists, saying he was the "victim of an attempted deprogramming" by people opposed to his CUT membership.<sup>26</sup>

### **Richard Mack, Militia Hero**

Richard Mack is listed as the "headliner" for the Bozeman Tea Party's "Keeping the Flame Alive" event.<sup>27</sup> Mack is a former county sheriff in Arizona and a hero to the "patriot" movement. He became a rising star in the militia movement during the 1990s when he sued the federal government over the Brady Bill, a gun control measure. He began speaking on the anti-government circuit in the early 1990s and never stopped. Mack's lawsuit and speaking time on the "patriot" circuit became central issues during his 1996 re-election bid for sheriff, and he didn't even make it out of the primary.<sup>28</sup>

For the last few years, he has toured the country trying to get sheriffs to read his booklet, *The County Sheriff: America's Last Hope*, and to adopt his brand of county supremacy. Mack's version of county

supremacy follows the tradition of the white supremacist Posse Comitatus. The Posse viewed the sheriff as the highest legitimate law officer in the land. It believed citizens were not subject to state or federal authorities. For the Posse, it was up to the sheriff to use force, if necessary, to prevent any perceived encroachment by federal institutions, especially when it came to tax and firearm regulations.<sup>29</sup>

Mack's statements over the years reflect the Posse tradition. "The federal government doesn't have any jurisdiction to tell me what to do as sheriff," he has told the press.<sup>30</sup> While running for the US Senate in 2006, Mack stated he would "do everything in my power to abolish the income tax and its 'Gestapo' police, the IRS."<sup>31</sup> In a 2009 interview, Mack said he "prayed for the day that a sheriff in this country will arrest an IRS agent" for enforcing tax law.<sup>32</sup> Mack believes it is up to the sheriff and anti-government militias to save America from "utter despotism." Before his recent revival as a "patriot" hero, he was selling cars in Arizona.<sup>33</sup>

Mack's sympathy and support for the militia movement is well documented. He's been called "one of the chief contact points between the NRA and the militias."<sup>34</sup> Following the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 by a militia adherent, Mack said, "People get all upset when they hear about militias, but what's wrong with it? I wouldn't hesitate for a minute to call out my posse against the federal government if it gets out of hand."<sup>35</sup> In a 1996 article about the arrest of 12 members of the Arizona Viper Militia who were accused of plotting to blow up buildings, Mack told the press, "What I support and what I see in most militias is the type of courage to stand for freedom as exemplified by the Chinese students in Tiananmen Square."<sup>36</sup> In 2004, he edited a book by Randy Weaver, whose standoff at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, was a seminal moment for the militia movement of the 1990s.<sup>37</sup>

Mack has appeared multiple times at events across Montana over the last two years. He was featured at Celebrating Conservatism's "[Liberty Convention 2010](#)" held last summer in Missoula. He told the crowd that he prays that sheriffs will stand up to the IRS. He also said that the Second Amendment is not about guns. Instead, it's about creating militia groups. He also told the crowd he was willing to work with anyone who was "against the real enemy, the federal government."<sup>38</sup>

Since Oath Keepers was founded in 2009, Mack has been a favorite speaker at the group's events. He is also a favorite speaker at Tea Party events around the country.<sup>39</sup> In April 2010, the Southern Poverty Law Center named Mack one of the 35 people "at the heart" of the resurgent "patriot" movement.<sup>40</sup>

### **Paul Stramer, Lincoln County Watch**

In its promotional materials, the Bozeman Tea Party describes Paul Stramer as a "liberty activist" who makes his living through online marketing. It says he specializes in selling "precious metals" and communication equipment. He is scheduled to speak on why Tea Partiers should know how to use communication devices besides cell phones.<sup>41</sup>

During the 1990s, Paul Stramer was actively involved with the state's two most notorious "patriot" groups—the Militia of Montana and the Montana Freeman. He sold radio equipment to the Montana Freeman and helped arrange the sale of weapons to the group.<sup>42</sup> In 1995, Stramer, the Militia of Montana's John Trochmann, and others were arrested in Roundup after an altercation with law officers. It involved one of Stramer's cohorts trying to file documents supporting a member of the Montana Freeman and an armed confrontation at the Musselshell County Jail.<sup>43</sup> When they were arrested, Stramer and the other "patriots" were equipped with plastic restraining devices, duct tape, video and radio equipment, \$80,000 in cash and coins, and numerous weapons. Stramer was charged with criminal syndicalism; however, he was later cleared of the felony charge due to insufficient evidence.<sup>44</sup>

At a Lincoln County Watch meeting in 2008, Stramer said the incident in Musselshell County began because he accepted a bogus check from Freeman leader LeRoy Schweitzer for radio equipment. He said he had planned to help the Montana Freeman set up a radio network all across the state. During his remarks, Stramer said he believes that bogus Freeman checks were just as valid as Federal Reserve Notes. He also said the false liens placed by Freeman on the property of local criminal justice personnel were “lawful.”<sup>45</sup> The filing of false liens is a common “patriot” tactic known as [“paper terrorism.”](#)

Stramer’s current group, Lincoln County Watch, began to support US Rep. Ron Paul’s failed bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008.<sup>46</sup> It’s not surprising that Stramer gravitated towards Paul, who has been a favorite of the “patriot” movement since the 1990s and by the broader right wing for decades. A reporter for *The New Republic* who studied the various newsletters Paul had published since the 1970s called him a “member in good standing of some of the oldest and ugliest traditions in American politics.” Paul’s various newsletters supported anti-government conspiracy theories and frequently railed against supposed global powerbrokers. This made him a favorite of the burgeoning militia movement of the 1990s, and he repaid the adulation. Three months before militia adherent Timothy McVeigh bombed a federal building in Oklahoma City, one of Paul’s newsletters carried an article titled “Ten Militia Commandments,” which called militia groups “one of the most encouraging developments in America.” 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>47</sup> At the encouragement of the Ron Paul campaign, many supporters became local Republican precinct committeemen, including Stramer in Lincoln County.<sup>48</sup>

Stramer, like he had with the Montana Freeman, tried to help the Militia of Montana set up a statewide communication network, and the Militia of Montana sold a video featuring him at a Eureka militia meeting.<sup>49</sup> The militia group often referred to him as its “communications man.”<sup>50</sup> In 2008, Stramer told Lincoln County Watch that John Trochmann, co-founder of the Militia of Montana, had helped set up anti-government militias which were the “lawful militia.”<sup>51</sup> Stramer’s business has offered discounts on radio equipment to anti-government groups. One advertisement read, “We now have volume discounts which are very substantial for groups of you who are gearing up to defend our country from new world order tyranny.”<sup>52</sup>

Stramer runs a website based around “patriot” conspiracy theories that the Federal Reserve System is unconstitutional, and our current dollar bills should be replaced with gold and silver coins.<sup>53</sup> The theory is based on a belief that America went bankrupt in 1933 when the country went off the gold standard. The conspiracy theory promotes the notion that Federal Reserve Notes, our dollar bills, are worthless pieces of paper.<sup>54</sup>

At a Lincoln County Watch meeting, he encouraged attendees to subscribe to *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](#). Stramer told the crowd that he had read *American Free Press* for 10 years, and it used to be called *The Spotlight*.<sup>55</sup>

More recently, Stramer has written that he is a “Birther,” which means he believes President Barack Obama is not an American citizen, and, therefore, not the legitimate president. [“Birthers”](#) continue to promote this belief even though it has been debunked by numerous organizations and news media. Stramer says he believes Obama was born in Kenya. For Stramer, that means every action Obama has taken since he entered office is “Null and Void.”<sup>56</sup>

## **Dan Happel, Madison County Commissioner**

Materials by the Bozeman Tea Party describe Commissioner Dan Happel as being “deeply concerned about Sound Money.” He is scheduled to present on how “metal based currency” will help Tea Partiers make it through “tough times” that they may “soon face.”<sup>57</sup> The term “sound money” is generally used to indicate that a “patriot” believes in the conspiracy theory regarding currency which was described above.

Happel has promoted the Oath Keepers and has been featured at the group’s events. During his 2010 campaign, he distributed business cards for Oath Keepers at table displays.<sup>58</sup> Happel was also listed as a featured speaker for the December 2010 event convened by the Montana Oath Keepers in Helena.<sup>59</sup> This was the same event attended by the Bozeman Tea Party’s Henry Kriegel.

Like Paul Stramer, Happel has been a vocal supporter of US Rep. Ron Paul (R-TX). On Ron Paul’s “Campaign for Liberty” website, he posted a comment regarding an upcoming meeting in January 2009. He said he looked forward to meeting the other local members of the group. He mentioned how proud he was that Madison County had voted heavily for Ron Paul in 2008, and that he was from an area of the state that could be described as “Constitutional Republican conservative.”<sup>60</sup>

Also like Stramer, he promotes “patriot” beliefs that gold and silver are the only legitimate currency. He has testified for bills promoting these ideas at the Montana Legislature.<sup>61</sup> While testifying on a bill that would have required the State of Montana to back transactions with gold and silver coin, he told legislators that the proposal was the “most important bill” of the session. Identifying himself as a Madison County Commissioner, Happel said he predicted 3.5 years ago the current state of “financial Armageddon.”<sup>62</sup>

Happel has also testified in support of legislation euphemistically supporting “states’ rights” that declared the federal government was acting unconstitutionally. These bills included language about secession and declared the income tax unconstitutional. These bills also implied that Montana would not have to follow federal court decisions that it deemed unconstitutional.<sup>63</sup> Happel has stated that he believes America is “a constitutional republic and not a liberal democracy.”<sup>64</sup> This refers to the “patriot” belief that America’s current democratic form of government is illegitimate. Instead, “patriots” believe that the individual state is supreme and exists outside the federal government’s jurisdiction.

Happel hopes to keep extreme right-wing values in the Montana Republican Party’s platform. In a report on the 2010 platform convention, he commended participants for putting together a “very conservative Republican platform.” As proof, he referenced planks to repeal the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment; to remove the US from the United Nations and kick the organization out of the country; and in support of “Birther” concerns regarding President Obama’s citizenship.<sup>65</sup> From “sound money” to “Birther” beliefs, Happel is another “Keeping the Flame Alive” speaker bringing “patriot” perspectives to the event.

## **Scott Sales, Americans for Prosperity**

The Bozeman Tea Party touts Scott Sales as somebody who will help event attendees know how to “work toward smaller government and less regulation....”<sup>66</sup> The Tea Party doesn’t mention that Sales oversaw one of the most dysfunctional legislative sessions ever witnessed in Montana.

Despite never chairing a legislative committee, Scott Sales was elected Speaker of the House for the 2007 Montana Legislature. That session, the makeup of the Montana House was 50 Republicans, 49 Democrats, and one Constitution Party of Montana member. It didn't take long to recognize that his support came from right-wing conservatives. "I think people in the caucus were looking for a change," he said. "People want Republicans to be Republicans."<sup>67</sup> Sales promised the session would be a "war."<sup>68</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>69</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>70</sup> He also emphasized that he was one of the few GOP members willing to criticize his own party. 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>71</sup>

Given Sales' personal ideology and background, it wasn't too surprising that he awarded fellow right-wing Republicans with positions of influence. However, he turned many heads when he named Rep. Rick Jore (C-Ronan) the chair of the House Education Committee. Jore, the lone representative for the "patriot"-based [Constitution Party of Montana](#), told the media he had not requested the position, instead Sales approached him.<sup>72</sup> "Rick is for getting the federal government out of education," Sales said. "I happen to be for that as well."<sup>73</sup>

Under Sales' leadership, the 2007 Montana Legislature failed to pass a budget, which forced a special session. Democratic Gov. Brian Schweitzer was able to broker a compromise with a group of more moderate Republicans that did lead to a budget being approved during the special session. Sales voted against the budget bill.<sup>74</sup>

After being termed out of the Montana House, Sales ran for the Gallatin County Commission in 2010 against incumbent Joe Skinner in a primary election. During the campaign, legislators who had been members of the House Republican Caucus during Sales' tenure as House Speaker spoke out against him. One such member, Rep. Jesse O'Hara (R-Great Falls), said, "The truth is Scott Sales was a disaster."<sup>75</sup> Sales lost the primary race. In January 2011, [Americans for Prosperity](#) announced he was going to be the group's state director, citing his "long political career."<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, "Welcome to E-mail Newsletter."

<sup>2</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, e-mail, March 28, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, e-mail, March 28, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, website, "Keeping the Flame Alive."

<sup>5</sup> *Daily Interlake*, March 10, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> For one example, see: America's Second Revolution, <http://americassecondrevolution.wordpress.com/about/hk-ind-day-tea-party/>.

<sup>7</sup> Montana Oath Keepers, press release, Jan. 1, 2011.

<sup>8</sup> Montana Oath Keepers, flier for "Statewide Liberty Leadership Forum/Conference," Dec. 18, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from Montana Oath Keepers conference, Dec. 18, 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, "Welcome to E-mail Newsletter."

<sup>11</sup> Montana Human Rights Network, archives, Gallatin County Republican Central Committee, 2007-2009.

<sup>12</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, March 29, 2005; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, March 23, 2003.

<sup>13</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, April 15, 2005; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, May 30, 2008; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, Oct. 29, 2008.

<sup>14</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, Oct. 29, 2008; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, Jan. 9, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, April 15, 2005; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, May 30, 2008; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, Oct. 29, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, July 4, 2009; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, June 15, 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, website, "Results of 2010 Primary Survey.....," undated.

<sup>18</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, website, "First Montana Tea Party Coalition.....," Feb. 16, 2010.

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- <sup>20</sup> The Russian General Staff, *The Soviet Afghan War*, Forward by Theodore C. Mataxis, February 2002.
- <sup>21</sup> Sayid Khybar, "The Afghan Contra Lobby," unpublished paper, March 1988, p. 1.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-9.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
- <sup>24</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1993.
- <sup>25</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, Feb. 27, 1995; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, March 14, 1995.
- <sup>26</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, March 15, 1992.
- <sup>27</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, e-mail, March 28, 2011.
- <sup>28</sup> Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door* (2002), pp. 309-310; Associated Press, May 26, 1999.
- <sup>29</sup> James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face* (1991), pp. 109-141; Montana Human Rights Network and Coalition for Human Dignity, *Racist to the Roots: John Trochmann and the Militia of Montana* (1995); Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door* (2002).
- <sup>30</sup> *Bismarck Tribune*, April 23, 1995; For similar variations on the same idea, see: You Tube, "Sheriff Richard Mack 'The Federal Government is Not Our Boss,'" undated; You Tube, "1/3 Sheriff Mack on Hardball with Chris Matthews," February 2010.
- <sup>31</sup> Freedom's Phoenix, [www.freedomsphoenix.com](http://www.freedomsphoenix.com), March 22, 2006.
- <sup>32</sup> You Tube, "Oath Keeper Sheriff Richard Mack," April 19, 2009.
- <sup>33</sup> *New York Times*, Feb. 16, 2010.
- <sup>34</sup> David Neiwert, *In God's Country* (1999), p. 332.
- <sup>35</sup> Jack Anderson, *Inside the NRA* (1996), p. 84.
- <sup>36</sup> Knight-Ridder News Service, July 3, 1996; Anti-Defamation League, "News About the Militia Movement," March 5, 1997.
- <sup>37</sup> *Idaho Observer*, April 2004; Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics* (2009), pp. 301-319.
- <sup>38</sup> Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from the Liberty Convention 2010, May 21-22, 2010.
- <sup>39</sup> Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, *Tea Party Nationalism* (Fall 2010), pp. 63-64.
- <sup>40</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, "Meet the 'Patriots,'" April 20, 2010.
- <sup>41</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, e-mail, March 22, 2011.
- <sup>42</sup> You Tube, "Paul Stramer/Lincoln County Watch," Oct. 6, 2008.
- <sup>43</sup> *Billings Gazette*, March 7, 1995.
- <sup>44</sup> *Billings Gazette*, March 5, 1995; *Billings Gazette*, March 7, 1995; *Tobacco Valley News*, April 6, 1995.
- <sup>45</sup> You Tube, "Lincoln County Watch – Paul Stramer," Oct. 6, 2008; You Tube, "Paul Stramer/Lincoln County Watch," Oct. 6, 2008.
- <sup>46</sup> *AlterNet*, Nov. 21, 2010.
- <sup>47</sup> *The New Republic*, Jan. 8, 2008; Militia of Montana, "E-mail Alert," Sept. 16, 1999.
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- <sup>49</sup> Militia of Montana, <http://www.militiaofmontana.com>, Aug. 23, 2002; *Tobacco Valley News*, April 6, 1995.
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- <sup>52</sup> *Billings Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1995.
- <sup>53</sup> Paul Stramer, <http://silverpatriot.com/>, June 29, 2009.
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- <sup>56</sup> Paul Stramer, "Is Obama's Life in Danger Because of Libya," April 4, 2011.
- <sup>57</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, e-mail, March 22, 2011.
- <sup>58</sup> Montana Human Rights Network, archives, materials from Dan Happel campaign table, Oct. 20, 2010.
- <sup>59</sup> Montana Oath Keepers, press release, Jan. 1, 2011.
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- <sup>61</sup> Montana Human Rights Network, archives, notes from HB 639 hearing in House State Administration, March 12, 2009; Montana Legislative Services, video archive for House State Administration Committee hearing on HB 513, March 14, 2011.
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- <sup>64</sup> *The Madisonian*, March 16, 2011.
- <sup>65</sup> Dan Happel, "Dear Friends of Liberty," June 25, 2010.
- <sup>66</sup> Bozeman Tea Party, e-mail, March 22, 2011.
- <sup>67</sup> *Daily Interlake*, Jan. 15, 2007.
- <sup>68</sup> *Great Falls Tribune*, Nov. 11, 2006.
- <sup>69</sup> *Montana Standard*, Dec. 3, 2006.
- <sup>70</sup> *Independent Record*, Jan. 5, 2007.
- <sup>71</sup> *Independent Record*, Dec. 31, 2006.
- <sup>72</sup> *Lake County Leader*, Dec. 14, 2006.
- <sup>73</sup> *Tobacco Valley News*, Jan. 11, 2007.
- <sup>74</sup> *Missoulian*, June 4, 2010; Montana Legislative Services, 2007 LAWS website, HB 2.
- <sup>75</sup> *Missoulian*, June 4, 2010.
- <sup>76</sup> Americans for Prosperity, press release, Jan. 31, 2011.