A “New” Code of the West Conference
Where Anti-Government Extremism
and
Anti-Indian Bigotry Roam Free

Montana Human Rights Network    /    P.O. Box 1509    /    Helena, MT 59624    /    network@mhrn.org    /    www.mhrn.org
The Montana Human Rights Network is a grassroots, state-based human rights non-profit organization in Montana working to promote democratic values such as pluralism, equality and justice; challenge bigotry and intolerance; and organize communities to speak out in support of democratic principles and institutions. The Network uses a multi-faceted approach to expand the base for human rights in Montana, including pursuing progressive public policy, exposing the radical right, and supporting local community organizing.

The Network has researched and reported on the activities of the radical right for more than 25 years. To learn more about this work, please visit our website at https://mhrn.org/right-wing-research/. You can find more of the Network’s reports and issue briefs here: https://mhrn.org/resources/.
Featuring a lineup of speakers with histories of bashing the federal government, conservationists, and American Indian policy, right-wing extremists claim “A ‘New’ Code of the West” will reveal how a shadowy “Deep State” is impacting the West.¹

Scheduled to be held in Whitefish, Montana, on October 13, 2018, the keynote speaker is Ammon Bundy, a member of the notorious anti-government family that has engaged in two high-profile armed standoffs with the federal government in Nevada and Oregon. The family refuses to recognize the legitimacy of the federal government, and members of the Bundy family now travel the country teaching their false version of American history, their unconstitutional sovereign citizen views as fact, and encouraging communities to follow the contentious Bundy example.

This will be the third time in eight months a member of the Bundy clan will have spoken in northwestern Montana. Both the organizers of the event and many of the speakers are enthusiastic supporters of the Bundy family and their armed standoffs against the government.

The speakers for the Code of the West promote an array of extremist conspiracy theories that trace back to the militia movement of the 1990s. Many of these militia conspiracies were modified only slightly from the anti-Semitic versions that are used by the white supremacist movement.

While espousing slightly different versions of the same conspiracy, the Code of the West speakers spread fear and hatred of the federal government, which they claim is working with shadowy cabals to implement a one-world government that will enslave Americans.

The list of speakers includes Montanans and others from around the region, and they are well acquainted with each other. They interview each other on their online radio and talk shows. Many have shared the speakers’ podium together before, including at the right-wing conspiracy fests known as the Red Pill Expo. They promote each other’s books and cite each other’s work, along with serving together on boards of directors. Instead of being a unique combination of speakers, they are all part of the band of conspirators that travels the country peddling fear, paranoia, and sometimes a call to arms.

“This West is OUR West” is the driving force behind the conference. Up until now, the group has mostly existed online, maintaining a website that espouses an ideology at the nexus of the anti-government, anti-Indian, and anti-environmental movements. The website has predominately been a vehicle for Elaine Willman, the most prominent anti-Indian activist in the Pacific Northwest.

The anti-Indian movement seeks to eradicate the treaty rights guaranteed to American Indians and uses tactics that amplify discrimination and bigotry towards American Indian community members.

Willman moved to Montana a few years ago specifically to fight against the treaty rights of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT). Willman is scheduled to speak at the Code of the West event.

Laura Lee O’Neil is the registered agent...

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¹ One of the Code of the West’s main organizers is Laura Lee O’Neil, an avid supporter of the John Birch Society. On Facebook, she posted this photo of local Birch Society supporters getting ready for a parade, and she’s posted videos by the group’s founder, Robert Welch.
for the corporation This West is OUR West and the primary organizer of the Code of the West conference. O’Neil launched the This West is OUR West website in October 2016, and it was greeted enthusiastically by militia activists.

She frequently travels with Elaine Willman, records Willman’s presentations, and posts them online. Like Willman, O’Neil has fought against the CSKT Flathead Water Compact, at one point calling it “THE most important issue” for Republicans to consider during the 2018 Primary Election. She’s an avid supporter of the extremist John Birch Society and has supported the Bundy family, saying “Cliven Bundy isn’t WRONG.”

This West is OUR West is offering discounted rates to the event for elected officials and candidates for office to help mainstream its radical beliefs. Should these leaders attend the event, they will be fed conspiracy theories that target community members who are American Indian, federal employees, conservationists, and many others who will be portrayed as enemies to America.

Attendees will be encouraged to manufacture controversy and pick fights with both federal and tribal governments using inaccurate history and false legal theories. This event will provide nothing of value to the community. At best, it will create the kind of divisiveness that pits neighbor against neighbor. At worst, the Bundy family will continue establishing the next beachhead for its war with the federal government, but this time it could be in Montana.

A “New” Code of the West: Scheduled Speakers and Organizers

Elaine Willman
Citizens Equal Rights Alliance

Elaine Willman is the most prominent anti-Indian activist in the Pacific Northwest, if not the entire country. The anti-Indian movement seeks to deny legally-established rights to American Indians by terminating treaty rights and tribal sovereignty, while also erasing Indian culture in favor of white European culture.

Willman has served on the board of the largest anti-Indian group in the country, the Citizens Equal Rights Alliance, for years, including six years as its board chair. Willman tells audiences that treaty rights should be terminated, and she claims that treaties with American Indians are “absolutely invalid,” unconstitutional, and “dead language.”

She moved to the Flathead in 2015 to fight against the CSKT Flathead Water Compact, which she said could spark a second American Revolution.

Earlier this year, Willman revealed the role that race plays in the anti-Indian movement. On Facebook, she posted a meme asking, “When is White History Month?” that featured the white supremacist mantra “100% White” and “100% Proud.” Various white supremacist record companies sell merchandise featuring this same “100% White/Proud” saying.

She posted another meme stressing the importance of white European culture: “You are WHITE.
Your ancestors did not steal this country...they BUILT this country.” She frequently promotes this belief that white settlers created the West, and American Indians should just be happy they weren’t totally exterminated.

A key to Willman’s anti-Indian activism is her claim to being “part Indian.” She routinely says that she is part Cherokee, including telling a recent audience that a DNA test revealed she is 30% American Indian. However, when she discusses her ancestry, it is in the past tense.

She’s commented how she “deeply treasures” her Cherokee heritage; however, she then asserted the superiority of her American citizenship. Her message is clear – American Indian ancestry and culture need to be left in the past. Anti-Indian groups like to prominently feature their few American Indian activists as a rhetorical foil against charges of racism. This assumes that a person cannot be prejudiced against a group of people to which the person belongs.

Willman weaves her anti-Indian activism into popular right-wing conspiracies. She claims the CSKT Flathead Water Compacts is part of “implementing communalism and socialism consistent with Agenda 21.” The Agenda 21 conspiracy claims that a United Nations document promoting sustainability and planning crafted in 1992 is a sinister plot to subvert property rights and enslave Americans.

In a video posted by a leader of the militia-based Montana Oath Keepers, Willman said American Indians work with “environmental extremists” and the United Nations, because all of them are “adversarial to the United States.” She’s also claimed the UN is using tribes to “facilitate the dismantling of our country.”

She taps into the right wing’s fear of Muslims by promoting a conspiracy theory that Middle Eastern countries are using reservations as staging areas for future attacks. With these views, it’s no surprise that Willman has been involved in Red Pill Expos, speaking at the 2017 event in Bozeman, Montana, and attending the 2018 event in Spokane, Washington.

During this election cycle, Willman has peddled stories that voter fraud on reservations resulted in electoral wins for US Sen. Jon Tester (D-Montana). She’s claimed that the State of Montana has no ability to provide oversight of election results on reservations, and Democrats pay American Indians to vote for their candidates.

Kerry White
Montana State Representative

Montana State Rep. Kerry White (R-Bozeman) has been one of the central actors for Montana’s anti-environmental “wise use” movement for decades. The “wise use” or “multiple use” movement began in the 1980s with funding and guidance from extractive industry, which created astroturf community groups to promote industry’s agenda. While the movement’s agenda is focused on opposing conservation, it has long intersected with the anti-Indian and militia movements, especially at the local levels.

White helped found, and has been a longtime leader of, Citizens for Balanced Use (CBU), a well-known Montana wise use and ATV group that has opposed wilderness, forest planning, the Endangered Species Act, and many other policies. White himself has been active locally in a variety of land use and property rights issues. In 2011, he was axed from the Gallatin County Planning Board due to his antagonistic and polarizing presence.

White routinely displays how his anti-conservation views are based on underlying conspiracies, which he sees manifested as environmental regulations and policies. Particularly, White subscribes to a one-world government conspiracy that wealthy elites (in White’s version it’s environmentalists) are taking over the world through the United Nations and conservation groups. He has claimed, “Agenda 21 is the most aggressive attack on our country and personal freedoms we as a nation have ever experienced. Population control, private property control, energy control, food control, etc. Learn what Agenda 21 is and you will be alarmed and angry.”

White has also promoted “coordination,” a relatively new name for the county supremacy beliefs found in both the wise use and anti-government...
movements. “Coordination” is a convoluted notion that counties can pass natural resource plans and make federal agencies adopt them. He’s long promoted the notion of county supremacy. He used CBU’s e-mail list to promote a workshop by wise use attorney Karen Budd-Falen back in 2010, and he attended the workshop she gave in the Bitterroot Valley in November 2017.

Over the past year or so, White has actively campaigned to release Wilderness Study Areas and open them to motorized use. He’s claimed that conservation organizations are funded by Chinese and Russian money to support wilderness designations, in order to “increase our dependence on unfriendly foreign nations.” He’s been a major proponent of making the federal government transfer public lands to the states.

White supported the Bundy family in their armed standoffs with the federal government. In April 2014, he announced plans to go to Nevada and stand with Bundys. During the Bundy standoff in Oregon, White called on the local sheriff in Oregon to protect the militia supporters from federal agents. He’s characterized the Bundys as “honest farmers and ranchers.” The Bundy family isn’t his only foray into militia circles. In 2011, he shared the speaker podium with militia favorite Richard Mack at a rally in Bozeman, Montana.

Alex Newman
John Birch Society’s The New American

Alex Newman currently serves as a foreign correspondent for The New American magazine, the flagship publication for the John Birch Society.

Founded in 1958, the John Birch Society fought the perceived infiltration of communists in American society, even calling Dwight Eisenhower an “agent of the Communist conspiracy.” Promoting an extreme right-wing ideology, the group vigorously opposed the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, claiming it was an effort to create a “Negro Soviet Republic” in the United States. The Birch Society was also a close ally of the segregationist Alabama Governor George Wallace.

As the Cold War subsided, the Birch Society took aim at the United Nations and became a purveyor of one-world government conspiracy theories, in addition to promoting Christian fundamentalism and the abolishment of numerous federal agencies.

Newman is viewed by right-wing extremists as an expert on the supposed “Deep State” after authoring a Birch Society report on the topic. The idea of the Deep State isn’t new and has generally referred to government entities like the armed forces, intelligence agencies, administrative agencies, and others working to undermine a country’s elected leadership. The Trump Administration popularized the notion by claiming a Deep State is trying to stop his efforts, as his administration faces internal leaks, critical media coverage, and opposition to his agenda.

For his part, Newman likes to take the Deep
State conspiracy even further, making its anti-Semitic roots clearer. He claims this Deeper State is comprised of power brokers, like the Rothschilds, Rockefellers, Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission, Bilderbergs, and Illuminati. These are the same boogeymen used by white supremacists and anti-government militias in their one-world government conspiracies.

According to Newman, these entities “dominate every organ of government.” He also frames the battle taking place in spiritual terms, claiming Deep State entities are “absolutely involved with the dark side, with what Lucifer is up to” and that they engage in demonic rituals.

Newman is a hostile critic of the public education system. He believes the current education system should be viewed as an “act of war” trying to overthrow the US Constitution. He has claimed public schools are “the heart of this globalist effort” to “enslave the world.” For him, parents leaving their children in public schools are “failing in their duty to protect, nurture, love and disciple their child.” A major component of his criticism is that public schools are systematically undermining Biblical religion and Christianity, which he views as part of the one-world government agenda.

Like many other Code of the West speakers, Newman is connected to the Red Pill Expo, serving as an editor for the so-called Red Pill University and speaking at the events. While promoting the Code of the West, Willman said Newman would tie tribal issues to emerging one-world government efforts. Also like many Code of the West speakers, Newman has supported the Bundy family.

Dan Happel
Host of Connecting the Dots

Dan Happel, who has lived in Montana most of his life, is best-known in anti-government circles for being a so-called expert when it comes to the conspiracy theories regarding Agenda 21. He claims Agenda 21 was crafted by a group of 35-40 international bankers called the Club of Rome in 1968, where they decided to use “environmentalism” as a tool to subjugate the world to one-world government.

He is obsessed with the idea that Agenda 21 will enslave America to “global governance” by the United Nations. He also shares the militia movement’s beliefs that the government is establishing prison camps, with Happel stating such “relocation centers” currently could house 20 million people.

He’s been a frequent supporter of the Bundy family, calling them a very “law-abiding” family and “decent genuine” citizens. He’s encouraged listeners to his radio show to do anything they can to help the Bundy family and their supporters, whether it’s financial help or moral support. In true Happel fashion, he’s claimed the federal government’s actions against the Bundy family are part of Agenda 21.

Happel has promoted the Oath Keepers, an anti-government entity dedicated to recruiting law officers and military personnel into the militia movement. An Army veteran himself, Happel was a featured speaker at a 2010 conference convened by the Montana Oath Keepers while he was a Madison County Commissioner. During his 2010 campaign for the county commission, he distributed business cards with his image and the name of his radio show, Connecting the Dots.
Happel serves on the Leadership Council for Freedom Force International. Freedom Force stages the “Red Pill Expos.” Happel has framed the expos as being about stopping the “transformation of our constitutional republic and individual rights into a Marxist/technocratic/corporatist world government controlled by powerful and ruthless men intent on ruling over mankind.” He chaired the 2018 Red Pill Expo held in Spokane, Washington. He told the media he was excited that the Expo would feature a film glorifying one of the militia leaders who helped lead the Bundy standoff in Oregon.

Happel has been an avid proponent of various anti-government beliefs, including that gold and silver are the only legitimate currency. He testified for legislation that would have required the State of Montana to back transactions with gold and silver coin.

Happel has also supported bills euphemistically supporting “states’ rights,” which declared the federal government was acting unconstitutionally and included language about secession and declaring the income tax unconstitutional.

While his ideology exists on the fringe, Happel has used political activism as a way to try and mainstream his views. He has served as a member of the Madison County Commission, and he has also been active with the Montana Republican Party, currently serving as its Finance Chair.

He has fought to keep extreme right-wing values in the Montana GOP’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 16th Amendment; to remove the US from the United Nations and kick the organization out of the country; and in support of the “Birther” conspiracy regarding President Obama’s citizenship.

In 2015, he ran unsuccessfully to be chair of the Montana Republican Party, claiming Montanans were “losing our unalienable rights” due to “Federal over reach[sic].” His connection to the Oath Keepers became a liability during his campaign.

Matt Shea
Washington State Representative

The Code of the West bio for Washington State Rep. Matt Shea (R-Spokane Valley) says he is “recognized nationally as a Constitutional conservative and pro-liberty legislator.” That’s a sanitized way of saying he regularly shows up in anti-government circles, and he’s used the Bundy standoffs to raise his profile.

Shea worked with the Oath Keepers to send a delegation of state legislators to the Bundy Ranch in Nevada. He compared the militia supporters engaged in the armed standoff to the colonists during the American Revolution with Britain, saying the Nevada standoff was between “freedom-loving Americans” and “Constitution-ignoring socialists.”

He more actively participated in the Bundy standoff in Oregon, even funneling intelligence from the FBI to the militia members. In Oregon, he also hooked up standoff members with a Three Percent Militia activist who helped anti-government occupiers flee as law enforcement closed in. Shea later presented this Three Percenter with a “2016 Patriot of the Year” award.

His support of the Bundy family was hardly his first venture into militia circles. He’s claimed the federal government was behind the Oklahoma City bombing, which was perpetrated by militia adher-
ent Timothy McVeigh. He believes FEMA is constructing concentration camps in which it will imprison Americans. He’s spoken at Oath Keepers events and encouraged people to buy copies of militia agitator Richard Mack’s book to give to their sheriffs.

His connection to right-wing extremists was also on display at a previous Montana event at which he spoke in the Flathead. Back in 2011, he spoke at the Preparedness Expo sponsored by a militia group, The Flathead Liberty Bell. The group’s name came from a militia strategy of forming phone trees that would rally militia members to intimidate law enforcement during situations like traffic stops. At the Preparedness Expo, Shea shared the podium with anti-government preacher Chuck Baldwin, Oath Keepers founder Stewart Rhodes, and militia agitator Richard Mack.

Shea has embraced many extremist ideas, not just of the anti-government variety. In June 2016, he helped form a Spokane chapter of the anti-Muslim ACT for America, which is designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center and is the largest purveyor of Islamophobia in the country. ACT for America equates all Muslims with terrorists and claims Islam a political ideology, not a religion, that wants to destroy Western civilization. Shea has promoted common anti-Muslim conspiracy theories, including that the Muslim Brotherhood has infiltrated the highest levels of the federal government.

Like many other Code of the West speakers, he has participated in Red Pill Expos, servings as master of ceremonies for the 2018 Red Pill Expo, along with presenting during a breakout session.

Christopher Kortlander
Custer Battlefield Museum

Christopher Kortlander is an antiquities dealer probably best known for buying and owning the town of Garryowen, Montana, which is in Big Horn County on the Crow Reservation. He also owns and operates the Custer Battlefield Museum, which is located on the land where the first shots of the Battle of the Little Big Horn were fired. His presence at the Code of the West probably stems from his history of anti-Indian activism and his decades-long struggles with the BLM and other federal agencies.

Kortlander purchased Garryowen in 1993 and moved his antiquities operation to the community from California. He came under federal investigation after the BLM received complaints that he was selling artifacts that were allegedly recovered from the Little Big Horn Battlefield. The investigation of Kortlander led to search warrants being carried out by federal agents in 2005 and 2008. In 2009, the federal government decided not to prosecute him and returned most of the confiscated artifacts, although some were kept to determine who legally owned them.

Kortlander’s view of these developments reads like a soap opera script. He claims the whole federal investigation stemmed from the jealous ex-husband of Kortlander’s girlfriend who happened to be an unethical BLM agent. As he weaves his tale in his book Arrow to the Heart, he talks about shady informants, agents engaged in entrapment, untrustworthy community members, and lots of litigation. He also speculates that members of the Crow Tribe were involved, saying it was “correct to believe that both bureaucratic and Indian politics were fueling...
the federal assault on Garryowen.”

After this experience, Kortlander adopted language toward federal agents that any militia member would endorse:

- He called the agents carrying out the search warrants “black-clad federal agents in hiked-up jackboots” and “storm troopers run amok sent by an all-powerful central government.”
- He said he and others have been a “victim of similar Nazi Gestapo-like raids by overzealous” federal agents.
- Federal agencies, he claimed, had adopted “a ‘Rambo’ type attitude and they’ve been running amok, threatening and raiding innocent private citizens.”

He also framed his experience in terms of the Deep State conspiracy, referring to federal agents as “the deep state entrenched.” He said these “deep-staters” operate as if they are “invincible and untouchable.”

His hatred of the BLM seems to have made him an instant ally of the Bundy family. Arrow to the Heart contains a chapter about the Bundys characterizing them as innocent victims. Kortlander says the Bundys and their supporters have begun to “turn the spotlight on several governmental organizations, including the BLM, that need to be scrutinized and taken to task for their abusive use and displays of power.”

Ammon Bundy wrote the forward to Arrow to the Heart while he was still in prison and has promoted the book on his Facebook page. Kortlander thanked Bundy for his “willingness and determination” to inspire “countless Americans to join the fight against federal overreach.”

In addition to his militia connections, Kortlander works with the anti-Indian movement. He was first elected to the Citizens Equal Rights Alliance board in 2005 and is still listed as a member. Fellow board member and Code of the West speaker Elaine Willman calls Kortlander a long-time friend.

In the early 2000s, he was involved in litigation against a tax imposed by the Crow Tribe. He and other business owners refused to pay a resort tax, with some threatening violence against the tribe if needed.

Claims about Indian voter fraud have recently garnered Kortlander much attention in right-wing circles. One chapter of his book is dedicated to supposed voter fraud by the Crow Tribe that helped elect Jon Tester to the US Senate in 2006. Among his claims are:

- Tribal members used different names to vote in more than one precinct.
- The Crow Tribe issued multiple tribal identification cards, one in a person’s Crow name and one in the person’s English name, so tribal members could vote twice.
- The Montana Democratic Party paid American Indians $40 per vote for Tester.

Blaming tribal sovereignty, Kortlander claims the State of Montana lacks the authority to administer and supervise elections conducted on reservations. That leads to, he claims, voter fraud being “rampant” with no way to “guarantee the sanctity and validity of each individual vote.” Various conservative groups have picked up on these allegations and are touting them as fact during the current election cycle.

Norman Semanko
Water Rights Attorney

Norman Semanko is a GOP operative and attorney from Idaho who has made a name for himself representing water and property rights, including efforts to undermine American Indian treaty rights. In Idaho, he has served as the chair of the state’s Republican Party; run a failed campaign for US Congress; and served on the staff of US Sen. Larry Craig (R-ID). At the national level, he currently serves on the Republican National Committee on Rules and Order of Business, which follows a stint as the General Counsel for National Committee.

His reason for being invited to speak at the Code of the West is most likely related to his years of working in water rights, including almost two decades with the Idaho Water Users Association. While heading that group, Idaho ranchers filed a lawsuit against the BLM. Ranchers and the BLM had both filed thousands of overlapping claims to in-stream stock watering rights.
After two decades of court battles, the Idaho Supreme Court ruled that the BLM couldn’t own the water rights, because it didn’t own livestock and couldn’t use the water. “The cattle owner is the one who owns the water right,” Semanko said, “because they put it to beneficial use.” The basis of this argument — that using a resource creates a property right — is often used by militia supporters to justify the Bundys’ defiance of federal agencies.

As an attorney, Semanko is well known among Idaho’s conservation community as a tenacious water and property rights attorney who has consistently opposed measures to protect clean water and salmon habitat. He’s railed against “strident radicals in the environmental movement” and “extremist enviros” that he claims are attacking “the sovereignty of Idaho water.” Like many other speakers slated for the Code of the West event, Semanko supports transferring public lands to states.

While representing water users, Semanko has opposed American Indian tribal efforts to preserve treaty rights when it comes to water and represented non-tribal members in litigation opposing tribal sovereignty. Semanko has lauded a Snake River agreement with the Nez Perce Tribe that sacrificed water rights guaranteed by treaty to the tribe in favor of non-tribal entities.

The group putting on the Code of the West event describes Semanko as working with North West Property Owners Alliance against the Coeur d’Alene Tribe on water issues. Additionally, Semanko has previously shared the stage with Elaine Willman at a 2017 water rights event in Idaho.

His time with the Water Users Association wasn’t perfect. While Semanko led the group, the media discovered he had obtained loans from the Association for over $170,000. These loans were used for a down payment on a house and home improvement projects. While not illegal in Idaho, the media noted the practice was illegal in other states. It also questioned if some of the loan was used to pay off debt from his failed congressional campaign the year before. Semanko denied the charge.

The Code of the West crowd no doubt finds Semanko’s anti-tribal efforts intriguing. The Idaho Water Users Association fights against tribal water rights is similar to the fight over the CSKT Flathead Water Compact, during which a Western Montana Water Users Association formed. Comprised of non-tribal irrigators, this Association also challenged tribal water rights in the courts.
Endnotes

1) This West is OUR West, “A ‘New’ Code of the West.”
3) The Mental Militia, “This West is Our West,” Dec. 4, 2016.
5) Laura O’Neil, Facebook, May 31, 2018; Letter for Ravalli County Commission, Feb. 28, 2015; Montana Legislative Services, Exhibit, March 27, 2013.
11) Examples include Tightrope Productions and NSM88 Records.
18) Elaine Willman, “Indian ‘Nations’ -- and Other Sham Terms: Let’s Speak Clearly and Truthfully,” Jan. 27, 2017
25) Citizens for Balanced Use, E-mail, Oct. 25, 2010; Theresa Manzella, Facebook, Nov. 20, 2017
26) Kerry White, Facebook, July 30, 2018; Facebook, Jan. 14, 2018; Facebook, Feb. 7, 2018.
27) Kerry White, Facebook, July 30, 2018.
32) Citizens for Balanced Use, E-mail, April 11, 2011; Bozeman Tea Party, E-mail, April 14, 2011.
34) Southern Poverty Law Center, ”Bringing Back Birch,” March 1, 2013.
38) Ibid.
43) Ibid.
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57) 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.
59) A “New” Code of the West, Speaker Biographies.
64) Center for Western Priorities, Going to Extremes, July 7, 2016.
66) Center for Western Priorities, Going to Extremes, July 7, 2016.
75) Arrow to the Heart, Website, Aug. 30, 2018.
79) Christopher Kortlander, Arrow to the Heart, 2018, p. 90.
80) Ibid, p. 76.
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84) This West Is OUR West, “Author of Shocking Expose Talks about BLM Director William Woody’s Patterns of Abuse,” Downloaded Sept. 6, 2018.
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90) Christopher Kortlander, Arrow to the Heart, 2018, p. 39.
92) Christopher Kortlander, Arrow to the Heart, 2018, p. 108-120.
102) This West is OUR West, “The Idaho Public Utilities Commission Has Decided to Cancel the July 23rd Hearing in Boise!” Aug. 31, 2018.