

Americans for Legal Immigration (ALI-PAC): Xenophobia, Nativism and Anti-Immigrant Hysteria

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The mission of the Center for New Community is to build community, justice, and equality. The Center's Building Democracy Initiative works to counter emerging threats to civil and human rights.

**Americans for Legal Immigration (ALI-PAC):
Xenophobia, Nativism and Anti-Immigrant Hysteria**

Americans for Legal Immigration (ALI-PAC) is a small, vocal, and new North Carolina-based anti-immigrant organization that has in recent months burst onto the national stage. Fronted by William Gheen, legislative assistant for North Carolina State Senator Hugh Webster (R-Alamance), ALI-PAC is based in Raleigh. Since its founding in September 2004, it has managed to parley its sprawling interactive website, local political connections, and willingness to ally itself with the most vehement faction of the anti-immigration movement into a significant North Carolina media profile.¹

According to its mission statement, “Americans for Legal Immigration (ALI-PAC) has formed to address the disparity between the public’s desire for more control of illegal immigration and the actions of lawmakers.... ALI is dedicated to supporting candidates who make illegal immigration reduction a top priority.”²

By emphasizing “illegal” immigration to the United States, both in name and mission, ALI-PAC seeks to associate itself with order, security, and the rule of law. But even the organization’s name is something of a misnomer. A version of the organization’s platform, available until June 2005 on its website, states that “ALIPAC supports those that legally immigrate, but we also support a ‘time out’ or reduction of legal immigration levels until our borders are secured.”³ Like the majority of anti-immigrant groups, ALI-PAC is concerned not only with undocumented immigrants, but with all recent immigrants.

This report acknowledges that immigration is a complex issue and that there are problems with current American immigration policy. The approach of ALI-PAC, however, is to criminalize and demonize immigrants, withhold public services, and pretend that immigrants, regardless of their documentation, make no contributions to our society. Herein we document the activities and associations of ALI-PAC, activities that have created an inhospitable climate for immigrants (of whatever status) in North Carolina, and a political climate in which the real needs of the community are all but impossible to address.

Cozying Up to Racists and Vigilantes: *What Happens in Las Vegas...*

...stays in Las Vegas, or so claims the city’s advertising campaign. After the 2005 Memorial Day weekend gathering of anti-immigrant activists in Nevada’s “Sin City,” Americans for Legal Immigration might wish it true. The Unite to Fight Against Illegal Immigration Summit (“Summit”) featured some of the most vehement activists of the anti-immigrant movement. Many of them espouse a bizarre conspiracy theory—the *reconquista*, or re-conquest, of the American Southwest by Mexico (in collaboration with a variety of agents, from the Mexican government, the Catholic Church, liberal politicians and the Ford Foundation). Present were those who advocate for and organize vigilante border patrols.

Yet if Americans for Legal Immigration president William Gheen is in the least concerned by his association with some of the most bigoted of the anti-immigrant activists, his actions do not reflect that concern. Not only did Gheen promote this meeting on the organization’s website prior to the event, but he also allowed the posting of event photos, some of which depict him literally with his arm around Minuteman

organizer James Gilchrist. This is not surprising, given that Gheen has been a vocal supporter of Gilchrist's vigilante project.

The Minuteman Project was a month-long effort by anti-immigrant vigilantes to conduct armed patrols along a section of the Arizona border. The spectacle in the desert included armed participants in camouflage gear and remote-control drone aircraft, and it attracted the attention of media and white supremacists. A retired accountant from Orange County, California, James Gilchrist launched the project in October 2004 with Chris Simcox—another former Californian who runs the anti-immigrant vigilante project Civilian Homeland Defense out of Tombstone, Arizona.

Simcox has made disparaging remarks about Mexicans in particular, and about immigrants in general. At his speech at the Las Vegas summit he stated that “These people [undocumented immigrants] prey on the American way of life.”

Simcox has been one of the leading advocates of using vigilante militias for border patrol (in apparent violation of Arizona statutes, which specifically prohibit armed paramilitary groups).⁴ For all his law and order rhetoric, Simcox was convicted in May 2004 of carrying a concealed weapon on federal land while tracking migrants, and then lying to a federal officer about it.⁵

By emulating an old stunt of David Duke's (Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan staged a similar event near the California border over two decades ago), Gilchrist and Simcox claimed that they would attract thousands of supporters to the desert. When the day in April finally arrived, reporters outnumbered participants, just as when Duke tried it. Nonetheless, the group gained international attention, and the support of some members of Congress.

The Minuteman Project has, in the past, publicly denied that it consists of anti-immigrant vigilantes. In a speech to a California Coalition for Immigration Reform meeting on May 24, Gilchrist changed his position significantly, exclaiming, “I'm damn proud to be a vigilante.”⁶ Gilchrist is prone to vitriolic language, making statements such as “Illegal immigrants will destroy this country.”⁷ One attendee at the Vegas summit reports that Gilchrist continued by saying “Every time a Mexican flag is planted on American soil, it is a declaration of war.”

Organizers claimed that there would be no room for racists in the Minuteman ranks. However, among the prominent participants in the project were members of the

neo-Nazi National Alliance, and the outspoken white nationalist, Joe McCutchen, who now heads the anti-immigrant group Protect Arkansas Now.⁸

Other prominent anti-immigrant activists at the event included Barbara Coe of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, John Vincent of the American Immigration Control Foundation, and Rick Oltman of the Federation for American Immigration Reform.

Coe is an avid supporter of the *reconquista* conspiracy theory and is vehemently anti-Latino. She commented in typical fashion during her Las Vegas presentation: “We are suffering robbery, rape, and murder of law-abiding citizens at the hands of illegal barbarians who are cutting off heads and appendages of blind, white, disabled gringos.” She added, speaking of the United States: “This is a New World Order regime and Third World people will easily accept this tyranny. These people are traitors. They are a malignancy destroying the host.”⁹

Coe helped lead the petition drive for California’s infamous Proposition 187, and she has stated elsewhere that “The goals of the Mexican government” include the conquest of “all the southwestern states for Mexico as the ‘NATION OF AZTLAN,’ the “Take over [sic] & control the United States government” and to “Establish communism in the United States.”¹⁰

John Vincent of American Immigration Control (AIC), reportedly told the Las Vegas crowd that “Immigration is the result of leftist, Communist lust for power.” AIC is the most extreme of the national anti-immigrant groups. Its affiliated foundation, the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) has received more than \$186,000 in grants from the white supremacist Pioneer Fund.¹¹ The late Sam Francis, perhaps the most prominent white nationalist in the United States, was a board member for several years. Brent Nelson, a member of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens, continues to sit on AICF’s board. AICF leader John Vinson has compared multicultural America to a psychologically deranged person and written that: “Before the 1960s, America was a confident land which insisted on unquestioned standards of assimilation: use of English language and adoption of the Anglo-European values that were the foundation of the country.”¹²

Also sharing the stage with Gheen in Las Vegas was Rick Oltman of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), who has strong ties to the racist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). The Council’s own publication, the Citizen

Informer, has described Oltman as a member,¹³ and he has been involved in a number of CCC activities over the years. For example, in 1997 he spoke on a CCC panel titled “Immigration – Are We Being Overrun?” with avowed white “separatist” Virginia Abernethy.¹⁴ At a January 17, 1998 anti-immigration rally in Cullman, Alabama, Oltman shared the podium with Council of Conservative Citizens leaders and William Burchfield, a onetime Alabama state leader of Thom Robb’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁵

The most influential of the anti-immigrant organizations, FAIR nonetheless has considerable relationships to white nationalist groups. Since its founding, FAIR has received over \$1.2 million in grants from the white supremacist Pioneer Fund. A thorough examination of FAIR can be found in a Center for New Community special report, available at www.buildingdemocracy.org.

Billboards and Monuments

The cause that launched ALI-PAC beyond North Carolina into the national spotlight was its opportunistic internet-based opposition to a series of Los Angeles billboards promoting a Spanish language newscast on KRCA-TV Channel 62. The controversial billboards, which appeared in the spring of 2005, depicted two Hispanic newscasters in front of the LA skyline. The caption, “Los Angeles, CA,” floats above their heads—only, the state abbreviation is crossed out and followed with “Mexico”, written in bright red letters.

ALI-PAC spokesperson Daryl Jurbala told the *Los Angeles Times*: “I think it’s irresponsible corporate citizenship to be promoting that type of message. I don’t think it’s responsible for anyone to encourage or reward or try to make illegal immigrants feel welcome.”¹⁶

The billboard, of course, does not mention “illegal immigrants.” It uses a form of ironic, even sardonic, cultural appropriation. The target audience is rather transparently Spanish speakers of Mexican origin, with no regard to their immigration status. The billboard also features the phrase, “Tu Ciudad. Tu Equip.” Or, “Your City. Your Team.”¹⁷

ALI-PAC president William Gheen failed to see the irony, “It’s not even cute,” he told the press. “What’s upsetting is that the fringe elements within the illegal-support community don’t recognize the territorial claims of the United States. They are consistently saying, ‘It’s our land, we are taking it back.’”¹⁸

Besides promulgating the anti-Mexican *reconquista* conspiracy theory—wherein newscast promotional advertising and Mexican flags become prima facie evidence of a diabolical plot to seize American territory—one might well ask what a small North Carolina political action committee was doing in the middle of this California controversy? The short answer: it was dramatically increasing its own presence via the web.

Shortly after the controversy came to light, ALI-PAC began to advocate the defacement of the billboards. “Some patriotic Americans have climbed this sign and draped Old Glory over the word 'Mexico' providing America with another picture worth a thousand words,” wrote Gheen on the organization’s website. “Thus Los Angeles’s correct address as part of the sovereign territory of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA is now displayed for all to see. It appears that patriotic Americans are liberating Los Angeles today.”¹⁹ Gheen told the Whittier Daily News that he was receiving “15-25 e-mails an hour,”²⁰ all of which put ALI on the virtual map and demonstrated its relationship of convenience to the rule of law.

ALI-PAC has chosen to ally itself closely with the California group, SaveOurState.²¹ Prior to the joint action with ALI-PAC on the Channel 62 billboards, SaveOurState’s most visible action was a protest at the site of a public monument in Balwin Park, California. The monument, titled *Danzas Indigenas*, is a tribute to the region’s indigenous and Mexican heritage. It includes the inscriptions: “This land was Mexican once, Indian always, and is and will be again,” and “It was better before they came.”²²

Of the SOS protest at the monument, ALI’s Gheen writes, “About 50 Save Our State protestors found themselves outnumbered almost 10 to 1 by a violent mob of illegal aliens supported by local politicians and radical leftist groups.” He continued, “The most concrete evidence that *Reconquista* is real and that there is a rebellion brewing in the pro-illegal alien ranks in S. California was on proud display by those defending the monument in Balwin Park.”²³

Rhetoric of this kind, adapted chapter and verse from the California anti-Mexican conspiracy theorists, has contributed to the contentious political climate in North Carolina, stalling badly needed legislation and inflaming nativist sentiments.

Public Policy and Immigration

Closer to home, Americans for Legal Immigration has focused on two issues: barring the issuance of North Carolina drivers licenses to undocumented immigrants, and barring the children of undocumented immigrants from attending state colleges. Both of these are in accord with ALI's platform, a portion of which states:

3. Remove incentives that encourage illegal immigration such as driver licenses, free healthcare, free education, bilingual translators at government agencies, guest worker programs. We should not have to "Press One for English" and taxpayers should not be forced to pay for those that break our laws. The American public votes "NO" to becoming a bilingual society. Immigrants should integrate themselves to our nation's language and culture.²⁴

What ALI describes as "incentives" to "illegal immigration" others would describe as practical and humane steps to accommodate and integrate human beings who live in the state, contribute to the economy, and obey the laws of the land.

As in other states, the issuance of driver's licenses to undocumented residents has been a key issue for the anti-immigrant groups. Gheen contends that "North Carolina is one of the last license-magnet states." He added, "Other states are locking up their doors; we're putting out the welcome mat."²⁵

There is a strong and abhorrent pretense in this, a pretense that "allowing" undocumented immigrants to have licenses somehow detracts from the quality of life in our communities. It is difficult to understand how this is so, since driving is a virtual prerequisite for earning a living in most parts of the United States. In almost any imaginable scenario, it is to the benefit of everyone that drivers on the road be licensed. Gheen's claim that "If we enforce our existing immigration laws, we won't have to worry about the damages that illegal aliens cause," is a classic case of denial, a longing for a wrongly imagined simpler time before the Immigration Act of 1965. This denial betrays not just a lack of generosity, but a disconnection from reality.²⁶

Similar is ALI-PAC's vehement opposition to a modest North Carolina state bill, one which began with strong bi-partisan support, to allow the children of undocumented immigrants who had attended high school for four years in the state, graduated, and had applied for legal immigration status, to pay in-state tuition rates at the North Carolina colleges.²⁷

ALI-PAC's opposition helped stall the bill, and the flavor of that opposition can best be summed up by Gheen's response to a credible poll conducted by an Elon University political scientist. The poll, which surveyed 842 adults between April 18 – 26, 2005, found that 49% of the North Carolinians supported the bill, while only 41% opposed it, *when the provisions were explained in detail.*²⁸ Gheen's response: "That's a joke. Where are those 49 percent on the call-in shows? That poll's a lie. On the ground, it's hard to find the one out of 10 that would support this bill."²⁹

Though it comes as no surprise that there would be a dearth of supporters for this bill on right-wing talk radio, Gheen's own claim to mass support rests more on the virtual vagaries of the internet than on anyone actually putting up cold cash for his cause. According to the its most recently available Federal Election Commission reports, ALI-PAC raised less than \$2,000 in 2004, \$800 of which was in the form of a loan from Gheen himself.³⁰ Moreover, as of June 2005, the ALI-PAC website has only 864 registered users, most from outside North Carolina—hardly the groundswell of support Gheen would like to portray to the press.

Immigrant advocacy organizations across the state are deeply concerned by the emergence of ALI-PAC. Many note that the rhetoric associated with opposition to the tuition bill was the ugliest they have ever seen - in spite of the fact that the bill originally had thirty-five co-sponsors, including several Republicans. At the height of the debate around the bill, legislators and immigrant advocacy organizations received harassing emails and phone calls. One email reported stated: "Illegal Aliens have no Rights to anything in the U.S. other than deportation.... TAKE YOUR MEXICAN FLAG AND STICK IT!!!"³¹

Traditional Values?

Given ALI-PAC's support for border vigilantes, racist conspiracy theorists, and destructive public policy, it might come as no surprise that the person hired by the organization as its lobbyist, James Lafferty, has close ties to one of the least tolerant, most blatantly theocratic organizations of the so-called Christian Right, Louis Sheldon's Traditional Values Coalition (TVC).³²

TVC has been described by the ACLU as "the most active anti-gay group there is."³³ An example of Sheldon's rhetoric is his comment that the BRAVO television

network, which airs the popular “Queer Eye for the Straight Guy,” should “consider airing a series called AIDS Hospice ... [that would] far more accurately portray the end results of homosexual sodomy.”³⁴

How close is Lafferty—who along with Gheen attended the Las Vegas anti-immigrant summit discussed above—to the Traditional Values Coalition? Beyond receiving pay as a registered lobbyist for TVC, Lafferty has been listed as the executive director of the TVC-sponsored Christian Seniors Association (CSA). According to the Rev. C. Welton Gaddy, president of the Washington-based Interfaith Alliance and a 20-year member of the Baptist World Alliance's Christian Ethics Commission, “Obviously it [CSA] is not about trying to serve senior citizens in this nation. Rather, it is about trying to enlist senior citizens to support a very narrow agenda and to advance a particular ideology that isn't even in the best interests of the nation.”³⁵

Lafferty has also lobbied for the international anti-choice organization Life Dynamics, is the registered lobbyist for the organization the Policy Communications Groups, and is married to Louis Sheldon's daughter, Andrea Sheldon Lafferty—the current executive director of the Traditional Values Coalition.³⁶

Insider Trading

Besides serving as president of Americans for Legal Immigration–PAC, William Gheen is also the legislative assistant to Republican State Senator Hugh Webster. Earlier this year Webster introduced a bill, modeled on the provisions of Arizona's Proposition 200, that would deny public benefits—education and health care—to undocumented immigrants. Gheen stepped forward at a press conference in late March 2005 to answer questions about the bill, a move that drew criticism from the opposition and eventuated in Gheen taking an unpaid leave of absence in order to lobby fulltime on immigration issues. The ALI president later told the press that he was working for Webster at the time of the news conference and that he only did ALI-PAC work on his personal time outside of the Legislature. He also reassured the public that since he was not a paid lobbyist, he was not required to register as such with the state of North Carolina.³⁷

It is not surprising that Gheen would be employed by Senator Webster, whose views are consistent with the anti-immigrant, Christian Right leanings of those in the ALI-PAC orbit. Besides sponsoring the bill that essentially duplicates ALI's anti-immigrant

agenda, Webster has introduced a notorious bill “protecting” college students from the views of “liberal professors.” Referred to as the “Academic Bill of Rights,” the bill is a thinly disguised attempt to stifle classroom discussion by making controversial topics such as evolution and human sexuality nearly impossible to teach without threat of legal repercussion.³⁸

Conclusions

Americans for Legal Immigration–PAC is a relatively small organization that has, like a number of techno-savvy political groups, made a relatively big splash by taking on a hot button issue and making creative use of the internet. ALI-PAC’s message, however, is characterized by hysterical fear-mongering and xenophobic, anti-Latino conspiracy theories.

ALI appeals to the worst aspects of American nativism, and attempts to dress up its positions with rule of law rhetoric. No such rhetoric can hide the fact that its attacks are opportunistic, sensational and disconnected from reality. Immigrants, with or without documents, come to the United States to find a better life. Good public policy seeks to construct strong institutions and respond creatively to new arrivals, to integrate them into the structure of local communities, and find a place for them in our society. Overheated rhetoric about North Carolina colleges “swamped” with applicants taking the place of “real Americans” is not helpful; racist conspiracy theories and vigilante activities truly do undermine faith in public order and the rule of law. The people of North Carolina deserve better.

NOTES

¹ According to FEC Form 1, Statement of Organization, Americans for Legal Immigration – PAC was originally formed October 9, 2004, with a Raleigh, NC post office box as its business address. It was subsequently assigned FEC Identification Number C00405878. FEC filings can be found online at < <http://www.fec.gov/> >.

² “Help Stop Illegal Immigration! Join Americans for Legal Immigration Today!” URL: < <http://alipac.us/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=16> >, Accessed: June 6, 2005. Though still available on the ALI-PAC website as of this writing, the link to this page was deleted when the organizational platform was modified without notice on June 5, 2005.

³ URL: < <http://www.alipac.us/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=14> > Accessed: June 4, 2005. Note that the current platform available at the above addressed, though it continues to carry the publication date of 2004-09-16, was modified some time between the evening of June 4, 2005 and the morning of June 6, 2005. The older version of the platform is still available, at the time of this writing, though the Google cache.

⁴ In presentations, Simcox has often spun ominous tales of Mexican immigrants spreading tuberculosis in America's public schools, and conspiracy theories about Red Chinese troops spreading out across the US-Mexico border, poised for invasion. In 2003, Simcox's newspaper, the *Tombstone Tumbleweed*, the headline: “Enough is Enough! A Public Call to Arms!”

⁵ Tyche Hendricks, “Dangerous Border: Militias round up illegal immigrants in desert Migrant advocates say deceptive patrols increase peril, seldom face legal scrutiny,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 31, 2004. Simcox was sentenced to two years' probation for the conviction.

⁶ Martin Wisckol, *The Orange County Register*, May 26, 2005.

⁷ Jennifer Delson, “PROFILE: JAMES GILCHRIST; One Man's Convictions Launched a Border Crusade,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 2005 Part B; Pg. 2.

⁸ According to the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) newspaper, *the Citizens Informer*, in 2001 McCutchen was a member of the group. McCutchen now denies membership, though does admit to speaking at the CCC's national conference. McCutchen's former group, MICHIMPAC also took out advertisements in *the Citizens Informer*. As recently as summer 2003, McCutchen wrote anti-Semitic letters to his hometown newspaper in Fort Smith, Arkansas.

⁹ According to an attendee at the Unite to Fight Against Illegal Immigration Summit, held at the Cashman Theater in Los Vegas.

¹⁰ Barbara Coe, writing in *9*1*1*, the newsletter of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, June 1997.

¹¹ The Pioneer Fund is infamous not only for its funding of classic eugenics research in the pre-World War II era, but also for continued funding of opposition to civil rights and racist science. The current Pioneer director is University of Western Ontario psychologist J. Philippe Rushton. Rushton is best known for his advocacy of a theory correlating genital size inversely with intelligence and morality and parsing this by race (J. P. Rushton, *Race, Evolution and Behavior* [New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Press, 1995], chapter 10). For a closer look at the Pioneer Fund see W. H. Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund* (Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

¹² John Vinson, *Immigration Out of Control* (Washington, D.C.: American Immigration Control Foundation, 1992), p. 14.

¹³ *Citizens Informer*, Winter 1997/1998, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Citizens Informer*, Winter 1997/1998, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Citizens Informer*, Spring 1998, p. 6.

- ¹⁶ Eric Malnic, "Cable TV Station Revamping Ads That Created Stir," *Los Angeles Times* (Home Edition), May 5, 2005, p. B10.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*
- ¹⁸ Marianne Love, "Spanish-language TV Billboards Strike a Nerve," (California) *Whittier Daily News*, April 28, 2005, News Section.
- ¹⁹ URL: < <http://www.alipac.us/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=381> > Accessed: May 25, 2005.
- ²⁰ Marianne Love, "Spanish-language TV Billboards Strike a Nerve," (California) *Whittier Daily News*, April 28, 2005, News Section.
- ²¹ SaveOurState was founded by Joseph Turner in 2004 < <http://www.saveourstate.org/> >.
- ²² "Immigration Reform Group Wants Baldwin Park Monument Removed," Associated Press, May 11, 2005.
- ²³ William Gheen, "Illegal Alien Uprising Brewing in California? SOS Rally Exposes Growing Tensions," < <http://www.alipac.us/article409.html> >, May 16, 2005, Accessed: May 25, 2005.
- ²⁴ URL: < <http://www.alipac.us/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=14> > Accessed: June 4, 2005. Note that the current platform available at the above addressed, though it continues to carry the publication date of 2004-09-16, was modified some time between the evening of June 4, 2005 and the morning of June 6, 2005. The older version of the platform is still available, at the time of this writing, though the Google cache.
- ²⁵ Taft Wireback, "Driver's License Rules Under Fire," *News & Record* (Greensboro, NC), January 16, 2005, p. A1.
- ²⁶ Veronica Gonzalex, "License Proposal Prompts Debate," *Wilmington NC Star News*, May 4, 2005, pp. 1B, 5B.
- ²⁷ North Carolina House Bill 1183.
- ²⁸ *Winston-Salem Journal* (Winston-Salem, NC), April 28, 2005, Metro Edition.
- ²⁹ *ibid.*, Final Edition.
- ³⁰ According to FEC Form 3X, Schedule A (October 10, 2004), Gheen loaned Americans for Legal Immigration – PAC \$800 on September 1, 2004. The organization's year-end receipts for 2004, according to FEC Form 3X, Detailed Summary Page of Receipts, Line 19 (January 23, 2005), were \$1,907.79, including the loan from Gheen.
- ³¹ *Winston-Salem Journal* (Winston-Salem, NC), April 28, 2005, Final Edition.
- ³² James Lafferty is named as ALI-PAC's lobbyist on its Executive Members page, which can be found here < http://www.alipac.us/modules.php?name=Content&pa=list_pages_categories&cid=2 >, Accessed: June 6, 2005. His organization bio, found here < <http://www.alipac.us/content-15.html> > mentions his lobbying activities for TVC.
- ³³ Hanna Rosin, "A Family Business: For the Rev. Lou Sheldon And His Daughter, Marriage Means Only One Thing," *Washington Post*, May 20, 2004, p. C01.
- ³⁴ Excerpted from the Southern Poverty Law Center Profile of the Traditional Values Coalition at URL: < <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?pid=872> >, Accessed: June 6, 2005.

³⁵ Bill Hogan, "Consumer Alert: Christian Crusaders? Or Not? Fledgling Group Purports to Represent 'Christian Seniors,'" AARP Bulletin, July – August 2003, URL:
< <http://www.aarp.org/bulletin/consumer/Articles/a2003-08-19-crusaders.html> >, Accessed: June 6, 2005.

³⁶ Hanna Rosin , "A Family Business: For the Rev. Lou Sheldon And His Daughter, Marriage Means Only One Thing," *Washington Post*, May 20, 2004, p. C01.

³⁷ Associated Press, April 5, 2005.

³⁸ *News & Record* (Greensboro, NC), April 11, 2005.