

TEMPEST IN TEXAS: RACIST CULT SPARKS FEARS

Intelligence Report

SPRING 2005 • ISSUE 117

THE YEAR IN HATE

HOLY WAR

THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT'S CRUSADE
AGAINST GAYS HEATS UP





EDITORIAL

Vilification and Violence

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

Are gay men and lesbian women “perverts”? Do they have “filthy habits” that lead inexorably to bestiality, incest and prostitution? Are they intent on purposely spreading sexual diseases? Destroying Christianity?

“Recruiting” youngsters in our public schools and “converting” them against nature to homosexuality?

The jihadists of the fundamentalist religious right say yes. These prominent Christian leaders, many of whom head gigantic ministries, are sure of it.

Moral Majority founder Jerry Falwell, who once raised funds off a “Declaration of War” on homosexuality, calls gays and lesbians “brute beasts” and says they are “part of a vile and satanic system [that] will be utterly annihilated.”

Traditional Values Coalition founder Lou Sheldon, who once suggested isolating victims of AIDS in “cities of refuge,” says they are “deviants” who “target children for recruitment” to gay sex, cross-dressing and sex-change operations.

Christian Coalition founder Pat Robertson, who once warned of tornadoes and earthquakes hitting Orlando, Fla., if Disney World didn’t cancel “Gay Day,” says that allowing gays to serve in the military gives “preferred status to evil.”

But science suggests these men are wrong.

The Straight Facts

Nothing in the legitimate scientific literature supports the notion that homosexuality is a “perversion” or a mental illness. The American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Counseling Association, the American Psychiatric Association, the American

Psychological Association, the National Association of School Psychologists, and the National Association of Social Workers have all taken the position that homosexuality is not a mental disorder. It needs no cure.

Similarly, there is absolutely no evidence — save the shrill and oft-repeated claims of the anti-gay movement’s leaders — that homosexuals are more likely than heterosexuals to molest children. In fact, the best available science suggests that children raised by gay couples

are no worse off, and in some ways may be better developed, than their peers in heterosexual households. The “studies” often cited by anti-gay leaders have been shown repeatedly to be based on junk science.

Even the notion that the Bible unswervingly condemns homosexuality is open to debate. Many scholars believe that several key passages actually are denouncing orgies and prostitution — or in the case of the town of Sodom, inhospitality — and not homosexuality. There are two Old Testament passages that do appear to condemn homosexual acts, one of them calling for the death penalty. But they both show up amid a long list of religious prohibitions, including eating pork and wearing mixed fabrics, that have been abandoned by almost all contemporary Christians.

Demonizing Gays

In this issue, the *Intelligence Report* takes a look at the religiously based crusade against homosexuals in America — a “thirty years war,” as the story points out, that has intensified since the U.S. Supreme Court struck down state anti-sodomy statutes in the 2003 *Lawrence* decision. Key points in the report include the religious right’s repeated use of bogus “science” and the bully-boy tactics of its leaders.

These leaders angrily rebut charges that their cruel name-calling — public descriptions of gays as “perverts,” “child molesters,” “deviants” and “evil” people — has led anyone to violence. They say they “hate the sin, but love the sinner.”

That is a hard one to swallow. When perpetrators of hate crimes against gays use identical words to describe their victims, you have to wonder where it began.

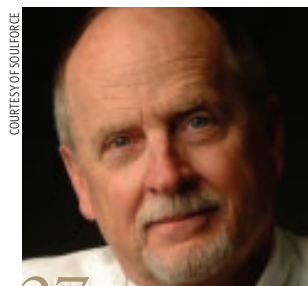
When Lou Sheldon reportedly tells a journalist that if given the chance gay men will kidnap people’s sons and convert them to gay sex, it’s hard not to recall the infamous “blood libel” against the Jews — the accusation that Jews kidnap Gentile children, kill them and drain them of blood to be used in making matzohs.

When religious leaders describe gays as voracious sexual beasts trying to “recruit” in the schools, it’s difficult to forget the way that 19th century racists ranted about “lust-crazed” and “demonic” black men intent on raping white women.

Fundamentalist Christians have every right to their views of religion. But when they use that right to launch vicious personal attacks on an entire group based on characteristics that most scientists see as immutable, they poison the political debate and subject the objects of their scorn to the very real possibility of violence and even death. And that can only damage a healthy democratic society. ▲



8 On The Cover From derisive name-calling to conducting bogus “scientific” studies, many of the biggest names on the religious right have fought a 30-year war against homosexuals and homosexuality. But only now, after a series of judicial and political decisions that have raised the very real possibility of legalizing gay marriage in the United States, has the anti-gay movement reached truly biblical proportions.



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The Rev. Mel White used to be a trusted ally of evangelicals like Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. That was until White revealed a secret he had kept for years — he was gay. In an interview, White discusses religious attacks on homosexuals.



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The apparent relocation of the “prophet” of a racist and polygamous cult and his followers has a small town in Texas worried: Could the group’s presence lead to the kind of standoff that scarred another Texas town a dozen years earlier?



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Many of their leaders are gone. Their organizations are in disarray. But their numbers are still growing and, with the dearth in leadership in some of the nation’s largest hate groups, the possibility for violent attacks may be on the rise.

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Authorities spent years searching for accused Olympics bomber Eric Rudolph. A new book says he probably could’ve been arrested much earlier.

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A white supremacist stage mother is trying to put a new and prettier face on the hate movement — that of her blonde-haired, pre-teen daughters.

CORRECTION

The Fall 2004 issue of the *Intelligence Report* reported incorrectly that Frank Weltner, a St. Louis radio personality who also runs the Jew Watch Web site, falsely claimed a bachelor’s and a master’s degree from the University of Missouri at Columbia. School officials later said they had found records showing he had completed those degrees. We regret the error.

INTELLIGENCE
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XENOPHOBIA

Extremist Heads Arkansas Anti-Immigrant Lobby

A reported member of a leading white supremacist group is heading a new anti-immigration organization in Arkansas that has been endorsed by at least one elected official.

State Sen. Jim Holt (R-Springdale) in January announced from the steps of the Capitol in Little Rock that Joe McCutchen would chair Protect Arkansas Now. McCutchen was a member of the white supremacist

Protect Arkansas Now was formed in January to support the passage of the “Arkansas Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act,” a bill introduced by state Sens. Holt and Denny Altest (R-Fort Smith) that would require anyone applying for state services, including immunizations and prenatal care, to prove that he or she is a legal U.S. resident. The proposed law is closely patterned on Proposition 200, an Arizona ballot initiative that passed last Election Day.

Shortly before that vote, the leaders of the group behind Proposition 200 came under fire when they selected Abernethy, a key national CCC leader, to chair Protect Arizona Now’s national advisory board. After the referendum was approved, Abernethy helped to create Protect America Now, a national organization that seeks to spawn similar efforts in other states, starting with Arkansas.

Two days after the Southern Poverty Law Center revealed McCutchen’s links to the CCC, Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee, a Baptist minister and a Republican, lambasted the Holt/Altest bill, calling it “inflammatory ... race-baiting and demagoguery” and adding that he drank “a different kind of Jesus juice” than Holt.

When he appeared at the Capitol with Holt, McCutchen had insisted that those backing the legislation were not “bigots, xenophobes, racists or anti-Semites.”

But it quickly came to light that McCutchen had written many letters to his hometown *Southwest Times Record* of Fort Smith alleging a vast Jewish conspiracy. In June 2003, he asserted that “the central government, banking, media (radio/TV) and entertainment are controlled by Jews.” Jews also “own the world monetary system” McCutchen declared.

When asked about these letters by the *Report*, McCutchen said he stood by everything he wrote. “Hell,” he said, “those are facts.”

DOMESTIC TERRORISM

It’s Official: Terry Nichols Admits OKC Role

After years of denying direct involvement in the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Terry Nichols has finally admitted to prosecutors that he played a major role in the mass murder, according to a report in *The Oklahoman*.

The admission from Timothy McVeigh’s convicted co-conspirator came to light when a copy of a 2003 “proffer,” or a statement that Nichols drafted with his lawyers, was leaked to the Oklahoma City newspaper. Proffers detail to prosecutors what a suspect will testify to in return for a hoped-for plea bargain.

In the document, Nichols admits that he accompanied McVeigh when the Gulf War veteran purchased most of the materials used to construct the fertilizer bomb that destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. Nichols also confessed that he had personally helped McVeigh build the bomb in the back of a Ryder truck the day before the attack.

Nichols was convicted of conspiracy and the involuntary manslaughter of eight federal employees in federal court in 1997 and sentenced to life without parole. Six years later, state prosecutors in Oklahoma charged him with capital murder in the attack’s other 160 fatalities.

Eager to escape the fate of McVeigh, who was tried separately and executed in June 2001, Nichols sought to persuade prosecutors to spare his life by offering them a written admission that included previously unknown details of the bombing.

The prosecutors were unmoved, noting that Nichols still refused to reveal the hidden location of leftover bomb components.

Nichols was convicted, but the jury deadlocked during the penalty phase. He was sentenced to a second life term without parole and returned to federal custody.

PROPAGANDA

Sam Francis, Voice of the Radical Right, Dies Unexpectedly

Samuel Francis, a white nationalist writer who grew into one of the most important voices of America’s racist right, died on Feb. 15 from complications following surgery for an aortic aneurism. He was 57.

Francis, a prize-winning syndicated columnist and former deputy editorial page editor of the arch-conservative *Washington Times*, was in recent years and until his death the chief editor for the Council of Conservative Citizens, a leading white supremacist hate group.

Francis evolved from a conservative to a right-wing radical over the years, writing increasingly for racist publications like the CCC’s tabloid, *Citizens Informer*, and, more recently, *The Occidental Quarterly*. He described himself as a “paleoconservative,” focused heavily on racial issues, and helped to turn the *Citizens Informer* in recent years into a major anti-immigration publication.

Francis’ definitive break with more mainstream conservatism came with his 1995 firing from *The Washington Times* after conservative author Dinesh D’Souza quoted a Francis speech to a conference of the neo-eugenicist *American Renaissance* magazine. D’Souza described Francis’ opinions as embodying the “new spirit of white bigotry.” After his firing, Francis increasingly focused on the dangers to American society supposedly posed by non-white immigration. He also criticized the Republican Party as essentially indistinguishable from the Democrats.

Francis joined the staff of the *Citizens Informer* in 1999 as co-editor with Chris Temple, an adherent of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology and crooked “financial advisor.” Unlike Francis,

Temple did not stay in his post long and, last year, pleaded guilty to mail fraud and money laundering charges.

The news of Francis’ death inspired a flurry of eulogies by prominent racists. “What a terrible waste that this immense fund of learning and insight should suddenly be struck down!” wrote Jared Taylor, editor of *American Renaissance*, which has described blacks as “deviant” and “psychopathological.”

Meanwhile, *The Washington Times* ran an understated obituary. The article failed to mention Francis’ 1995 firing from the *Times* or his prolific writings for white supremacist publications, instead describing him as “a leading voice of traditional conservatism.”

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

Extremist Joins S.C. Board of Education

Ron Wilson, the extremist former commander of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) Southern heritage group, now has a say in the approval of textbooks, curriculum, and school policy for hundreds of thousands of public school students in South Carolina.

Wilson’s new authority comes thanks to a 4-3 vote by the state’s Anderson County delegation, which elected him to the 17-member South Carolina Board of Education to replace a departing board member. Wilson, who has no college education, assumed his post in January over the protests of state Superintendent of Education Inez Tenenbaum, who said his election “sends a message of intolerance.”

“We have someone who has dedicated his life to activities that are absolutely contrary to what we’re trying to teach children in our

schools,” Tenenbaum said after the Southern Poverty Law Center publicized Wilson’s past.

Wilson is a former member of the League of the South and the Council of Conservative Citizens, both hate groups. His education expertise is limited to the business he ran out of his home selling textbooks to home-schoolers. One of these, *Barbarians Inside the Gates*, theorized that Jews are working towards world domination – and was specially touted by Wilson’s Web site, which insisted, “You MUST READ THIS BOOK.”

In his role heading the 32,000-member SCV, Wilson was part of a takeover attempt by extremists, and led efforts to purge more than 300 members for publicly condemning racism in the SCV. Since Wilson left that post in August 2004, the SCV has started to implode as the raging internal controversy continues.

Wilson, according to a recent report in *The Greenville News*, says he supports an English-only curriculum, wants creationism taught in public schools and would never vote “to put a known sodomite in front of our children to teach.”

Wilson replaced John Hostetler, a former high school principal who is retiring. He was elected over Harris Wilks, a former member of the Anderson County Board of Education.

In a January public forum, state Sens. Billy O’Dell and Kevin Bryant faced openly hostile questions about Wilson’s selection. O’Dell said he knew little about Wilson’s background when he voted for him.

“If you’re that busy,” retorted parent Linda Hipsher, “maybe it’s time for you to resign your position.”

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Jim Holt

Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) in 2001, according to the CCC’s newspaper.

McCutchen also was photographed at that year’s annual CCC conference, where he spoke on a panel titled “Immigration Invasion” that was moderated by well-known racist immigrant-basher Virginia Abernethy. A year earlier, he wrote the race-science magazine *American Renaissance* to ask readers to support an anti-immigration group he had formed in Michigan.

In a recent interview with *Intelligence Report*, McCutchen denied ever being a member of the CCC. “I never belonged to it,” he said. “I don’t know what their philosophies are.”

McCutchen said CCC leaders invited him to speak at the conference because he is an “expert” on illegal immigration. Afterwards, he donated \$20 to the group, whose Web site has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.”

“I found them quite cordial,” he said.

POINTED PROTEST

Twice Crucified, a White Supremacist Wants More

Gregory Withrow wants to end the war in Iraq, close international borders, and secure the release of Aryan “political prisoners” convicted of hate crimes in California. To further his goals, and to “spread ideas of racism and atheism,” Withrow decided to crucify himself on the steps of the California State Capitol building in Sacramento this Feb. 5.

The “counter-crucifixion” failed when “armed forces” in the form of Capitol Police took away his hammer and nails, but not before Withrow’s assistant had already hammered the first six-inch nail through one of Withrow’s palms and into the board below.

Withrow had a permit for his protest, but he violated state law by deliberately injuring himself, explained State Capitol Permit Officer Keith Troy. “He didn’t tell us he was going to crucify himself,” Troy told a reporter. “It was gross. I witnessed two ladies get physically sick after they saw what he had done.”

It wasn’t the first time Withrow got nailed. A white supremacist youth leader and protégé of notorious California neo-Nazi Tom Metzger in the 1980s, Withrow had his hands nailed to a board in 1987 in a K-Mart parking lot by, he said, racist Skinheads angered by his renunciation of white supremacy.

He then parlayed his professed transformation and resulting crucifixion into a high-profile media campaign. Withrow appeared on “Donahue,” became a paid speaker for the antiracist Anti-Defamation League, and starred in a PBS documentary about his life, alongside his Mexican bride. In 1993, he testified at a California legislative hearing on proposed hate crime laws, which were passed. Then-Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy praised Withrow’s “courage

in choosing to speak out against racism and hatred.”

But 13 years after Withrow’s purported change of heart, he announced that the 1987 crucifixion attack had all been a hoax and that his disavowal of white power was an elaborate ruse designed to allow him to spy on the ADL from within. He said that California’s hate crimes laws should be repealed since they were based on perjured testimony — his own.

Apparently, even after the recent addition to his collection of personal stigmata, Withrow hasn’t had enough. In February, he filed a permit application for a second crucifixion protest in Sacramento this April. This time, however, he promises to be nailed to



boards elsewhere, sparing spectators “the horror of impalement.” Then, he said, he plans to “shoulder my cross and carry it after being crucified about two miles before reaching State Capitol grounds.”

But don’t cry for Greg Withrow. In his application, Withrow likens crucifixion to body piercing, writing that “only a weakling or a Jew like Christ would weep over such pain.”

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Zundel Deported From Canada, Charged in Germany

After he moved to Canada in 1958 to escape military service in his homeland of Germany, neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel pained



the government of his adopted country by establishing Toronto as the base of operations for Samisdat Publishing. Zundel’s firm eventually grew into one of the largest international distributors of Nazi memorabilia and Holocaust-denial propaganda, including texts authored by Zundel like *Did Six Million Really Die?* and *The Hitler We Loved and Why*.

Zundel also turned his home, in the words of a Canadian federal court, into “a revolving door for leaders of white supremacist groups with histories of violence.”

On March 1, culminating years of conflict with the government, Canada finally gave Zundel the boot, deporting him back to Germany. German officials promptly arrested him for past incitement of racial

WHITE POWER MUSIC

Panzerfaust Collapses Amid Aryan Purity Debate

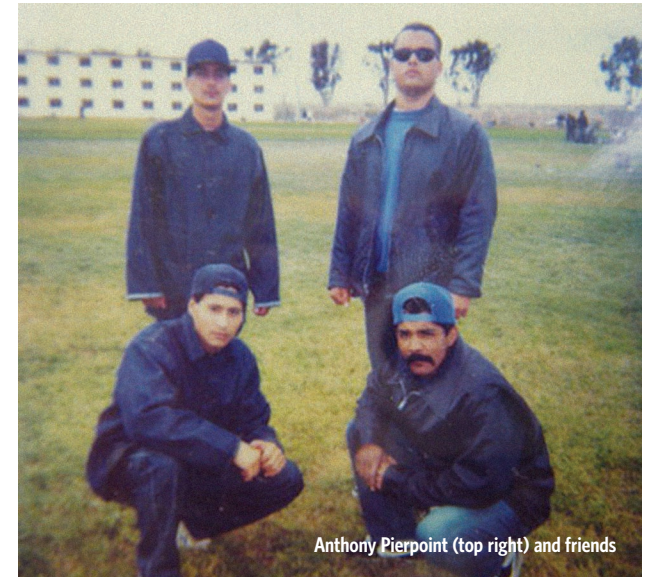
Questions about the “Aryan” blood of Anthony Pierpont, proprietor of the hate rock distributor Panzerfaust Records, have raged for years in the bizarre world of white supremacy. Pierpont has repeatedly sworn he’s white. But detractors have pointed to his suspiciously dark skin as evidence that Pierpont is actually a representative of “the mongrel hordes.”

Now, the controversy seems to have scuttled Panzerfaust, which had risen recently to become one of America’s two most important racist labels.

Early last year at an Aryan Fest rally in Arizona, Pierpont was manning a Panzerfaust booth, selling hundreds of white power CDs and T-shirts. When Aryan Fest security guards kicked out a cinnamon-skinned teenager for “not being white,” several racist Skinheads pointed out that the boy’s skin was obviously lighter than Pierpont’s.

But when White Revolution leader Billy Roper took the stage, he defended Pierpont’s pedigree with gusto. “I’m here to say *that’s* a white man!” Roper bellowed, pointing to Pierpont, who fervently Sieg-heiled from behind his stacks of merchandise.

Some neo-Nazis returned Pierpont’s salute, while others grumbled their dissent. But the controversy seemed to quiet down — for a time.



Anthony Pierpoint (top right) and friends

By last summer, Panzerfaust was posting its highest sales ever, and that fall Pierpont and his partner — Skinhead Bryant Cecchini, alias Byron Calvert — were in the headlines thanks to “Project Schoolyard,” a nationwide campaign to distribute free Panzerfaust sampler CDs to 100,000 middle and high school students.

But reporters weren’t the only ones whose attention was grabbed by the recruiting initiative. On Nov. 30, the Minnesota Gang Strike Force raided Pierpont’s home and arrested him after finding marijuana and traces of cocaine.

Cecchini was disgusted by his partner’s sloppiness. Plus, he says, he had recently discovered Pierpont’s birth certificate — a document that shows Pierpont’s mother is a Mexican-born woman named Maria Marcola del Prado. And Cecchini also found, as he recounted in an Internet posting, tawdry messages Pierpont posted detailing a “sex tour” he took in Thailand in October. The messages indicated that Pierpont had had sex with non-white prostitutes — a definite Aryan no-no.

The final act came when the Southern Poverty Law Center posted a picture of Pierpont posing with friends in a California prison yard where he had served time for a drug offense in the 1990s. His friends seemed clearly Hispanic.

Within days, Panzerfaust had shut down.

Now Cecchini has denounced his former ally, and the Panzerfaust Web site has been redirected to something called Free Your Mind Productions, apparently a new label. “Free Your Mind Productions is not associated with Panzerfaust Records or Anthony Pierpont,” the new site says. “Any deals made with him should be looked at as acts of treason.”



hatred by disseminating banned materials to Germany via the mails and the Internet from Canada.

Zundel had lived in Canada for nearly five decades, but authorities there never granted his repeated citizenship applications. Frustrated, he moved to the United States in 2000 hoping to obtain U.S. citizenship, but failed there as well. He was arrested in 2003 in Tennessee for overstaying his visa and returned to Canada. There, he was immediately jailed under an anti-terrorism law passed during his absence.

Zundel spent the next two years in solitary confinement fighting a legal battle to avoid deportation to his native country. In late February, Canadian Federal Court Justice Pierre Blais ruled that Zundel could reasonably be deemed a threat to national security, thereby making him subject to immediate deportation.

In his blistering 63-page decision, Justice Blais called Zundel a racist hypocrite who claimed to be a pacifist while actually working to support groups abroad that seek “the destruction of governments and multicultural societies.”



Communing with the hard right: This January, President Bush welcomed top editors of *The Washington Times*, including Managing Editor Fran Coombs (fifth from left) to the White House for an exclusive interview. Presumably, the president knew little of the newspaper's record on race.

The News That Fits

Long criticized for its brand of journalism, *The Washington Times* makes a habit of publishing the work of extremists — including the wife of the newspaper's managing editor **BY HEIDI BEIRICH & MARK POTOK**

Marian Kester Coombs is a woman who believes America has become a “den of iniquity” thanks to “its efforts to accommodate minorities.” White men should “run, not walk” to wed “racially conscious” white women and avoid being out-bred by non-whites. Latinos are “rising to take this country away from those who made it,” the “Euroamericans.” Muslims are “human hyenas” who “smell blood” and are “closing in” on their “weakened prey,” meaning “the white race.” Blacks, Coombs sneers, are “saintly victims who can do no wrong.” Black solidarity and non-white immigration are imposing “racial revolution and decomposition” in America.

Coombs describes herself as just “a freelance writer in Crofton, Maryland.”

But this is one writer who's a bit more well-positioned than she lets on.

Marian Kester Coombs is married to Francis Booth Coombs, managing editor of the hard-right newspaper, *The Washington Times*. Fran Coombs has allowed his wife to write at least 35 news and opinion pieces for his paper, although his relation to her is not acknowledged in her *Times* bylines. And that's not all. Fran Coombs has presided over the *Times*' republication of excerpts taken from white supremacist hate groups, not to mention allowing a key employee at the paper to write fawning pieces about the same groups. Just this February, *Times* officials had to apologize to a Jewish group for publishing one anti-Semitic ad for a book called *For Fear of the Jews*.

What they didn't say was that they had published similar ads nine other times in a single month last fall, plus another from a key Holocaust denial outfit.

Both Coombses declined comment. So did *Washington Times* Editor in Chief Wesley Pruden and officials of the organization that owns the newspaper.

Most of Marian Coombs' especially inflammatory writings have appeared in white supremacist venues such as *The Occidental Quarterly*, which ran her glowing review of a book on “racially conscious” whites by Robert S. Griffin, a member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. But the *Times* has published its share.

In one opinion piece in the *Times*, Coombs described the whole of human history as “the struggle of . . . races.” Non-white

immigration, she wrote in another column, is “importing poverty and revolution” that will end in “the eventual loss of sovereign American territory.” In England, Muslims “are turning life in this once pleasant land into a misery for its native inhabitants.” In at least two *Times* pieces, Coombs cites Nick Griffin, head of the British National Party (BNP), as an authority on Muslim culture. In fact, eight paragraphs of one short story are quotations from Griffin. What Coombs forgets to mention is that the BNP is a whites-only extremist party whose leader has been convicted in England of race-hate crimes.

Elsewhere, she is more candid. In *Chronicles*, a key far-right publication, Coombs expanded on some of her ideas on race in an article bitterly condemning globalization. Healthy cultures, she suggested, will “proudly prefer [their] own people.” Such a people will, among other things, “revel in the unrivaled beauty of [their] characteristic complexion, hair texture, eye color and head shape.”

In another *Chronicles* article, Coombs offers her very own theory on the origins of homosexuality. Boys, she writes, become homosexual *in utero* because “[s]tress on the mother interrupts the vital action of the testosterone upon the male fetus, leaving his brain insufficiently male.” These mothers are “neurotic women” who have “unsexed their male infants in the womb.” And, she adds, a 1987 article in a gay magazine that discusses ways for gays to win further acceptance is “a sort of a *Protocols of the Elders of Queer*” — a secret takeover plot, in other words.

Before refusing further comment, Fran Coombs did tell the *Intelligence Report* in an e-mail that he had “no relationship with *The Occidental Quarterly*,” and did not know what it was. (Started in 2002, the journal is published by William H. Regnery II of the famous publishing family. Regnery said he started it because “conservatives have simply become indistinguishable from progressives on issues of race and ethnicity.” The magazine is dedicated to

the study of “racial character,” and its first issue called for dividing America into racial mini-states.) Coombs would not respond to any questions about his wife's frequent articles for the magazine.

That separates the *Times* from at least one other highly conservative periodical. When the *Report* told Thomas Winter, editor in chief of *Human Events*, that his managing editor, Kevin Lamb, also edited *The Occidental Quarterly*, Lamb was immediately let go. Lamb, who has also written for other racist publications, simultaneously lost his job as managing editor of *The Evans-Novak Political Report*. The same day, Winter ousted four contributors to *Human Events* whose background was provided by the *Report*: Wayne Lutton and Peter Gemma, both members of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens; Marian Kester Coombs; and Robert Stacy McCain, a key *Washington Times* editor who has suggested that “perfectly rational people” react with “altogether natural revulsion” to interracial marriage.

In its 60-year history, Winter told the *Report*, *Human Events* had never “knowingly hired a racist, never published racist articles, and never tolerated racist sympathies . . . and we never will.” Within hours, archives of articles by Coombs, McCain and the others had disappeared from the *Human Events* Web site.

But McCain still works at *The Washington Times*, where his articles run under headlines like “Backlash Building in White America.” Under the direction of Fran Coombs and National Editor Ken Hanner, in fact, McCain puts together the paper's page-two “Culture Briefs” section. In that section, McCain has used excerpts from racist venues including *American Renaissance* magazine and the VDARE Web site. (For her part, Coombs has written articles for VDARE and once wrote to *American Renaissance* with this: “Whites do not like crowded societies, and Americans would not have to live in crowds if our government kept out Third-World invaders.”) In fact, McCain may be the only mainstream newspaper reporter to have covered four *American Renaissance* conferences. Twice, he offered no description of the group, which is devoted to race science. Once, he said it was “critical of liberal positions on

race and immigration.” Only in 2004 did he note that some viewed it as racist.

McCain, who declined all comment, has also been identified by the League of the South hate group, for whom he occasionally writes, as a member.

Despite his well-known sympathies, McCain has written in the *Times* about the “pro-South” groups he favors. Last June 27, for instance, he penned an extremely long front-page article headlined “Southern Pride Rallies 'Round the Flag.” He was talking about the Confederate battle flag.

The *Washington Times* has taken something of a public-relations beating recently. This Jan. 20, it ran an ad attacking Jews as “those folks of the anti-Christ.” After the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Washington complained, *Times* General Manager Richard Amberg Jr. wrote the group to profusely apologize, claiming the *Times* “never knowingly” allows ads that “denigrate religions.”

That may be. But in just one sample period in late 2004, the newspaper ran at least nine similar ads — on Oct. 11, 13, 15, 20, 22, 26, 29, 30 and 31 — many of them plugging an anti-Semitic book called *For Fear of the Jews*. On Dec. 6, it went one better, publishing an ad for the Institute for Historical Review, a leading anti-Semitic hate group that specializes in denying the World War II Holocaust.

The Washington Times is relatively small (circulation 102,000) and money-losing (it's been estimated that its backer, the Unification Church, has spent more than \$1 billion to keep it going over the past 22 years). But its influence cannot be measured in those statistics. President Reagan once described it as his favorite paper. The first President Bush said it “in my view brings sanity to Washington, D.C.”

That influence may have reached a public peak this winter, when President George W. Bush invited its top leaders — including Coombs, Pruden, Hanner and others — to the White House for an exclusive, 40-minute interview. The resulting stories were spread across the front page of the *Times*' Jan. 12 edition. Presumably the president, who on Feb. 8 denounced “the baggage of bigotry” and called racism “the central defect of our founding,” knew little of the paper's record on race. ▲



THE RELIGIOUS CRUSADE AGAINST GAYS HAS BEEN BUILDING FOR 30 YEARS. NOW THE MOVEMENT IS REACHING TRULY BIBLICAL PROPORTIONS

BY BOB MOSER

On June 26, 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the convictions of two Texas men arrested for having sex. Writing for the majority in *Lawrence v. Texas*, Justice Anthony Kennedy said that the two men were “entitled to respect for their private lives.” The state, he declared, “cannot demean their existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime.”

The decision was unusually popular. A national survey found that 75% of Republicans and 88% of Democrats wanted to see sodomy laws struck down. But not everyone cheered.

“Six lawyers robed in black have magically discovered a right of privacy that includes sexual perversion,” said Jan LaRue, chief counsel for Concerned Women for America. “This opens the door to bigamy, adult incest, polygamy and prostitution,” said Ken Connor, president of the Family Research Council.

For anti-gay crusaders, who have been fighting gay rights for three decades, *Lawrence* was the most unsettling court decision since *Roe v. Wade*. Fundamentalist groups had filed 15 briefs supporting Texas’ sodomy laws, only to see their arguments — that gay sex was a threat to public health and “traditional family values,” and that gay people do not deserve equal rights — shot down. And with the Massachusetts Supreme Court widely expected to rule that fall (as it did) that gay citizens had a right to marry under that state’s constitution, anti-gay leaders realized the time was ripe to ratchet up their call to arms.

“America stands at a defining moment,” said Lou Sheldon, founder of the Traditional Values Coalition. “The only comparison is our battle for independence.”

Clockwise from upper left: Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Jimmy Swaggart, Phyllis Schlafly, Pat Robertson, Randall Terry and Lou Sheldon



The audience erupts during Pat Buchanan's prime-time speech at the 1992 Republican National Convention. "There is a culture war going on in our country for the soul of America," Buchanan famously declares.

The anti-gay movement was about to show why many believe it is, in the words of longtime religious right observer Frederick Clarkson, "the best-organized faction in politics." Immediately after the *Lawrence* decision, D. James Kennedy, president of Coral Ridge Ministries, issued a call to arms. Now that America's courts were "officially off-limits to the moral framework that has allowed us to enjoy freedom and prosperity," Kennedy said the holy war on gay rights should be renewed on the battlefield of public opinion, pressing for a federal marriage amendment.

For right-wing evangelical ministries like Coral Ridge, which brings in more than \$35 million annually, the stakes were never higher. Since the late 1970s, attacks on gay people and their "agenda" had helped to fuel, and pay for, the fundamentalist right's unprecedented rise to political power.

From *Lawrence* to Election Day, when 11 states voted on anti-gay marriage amendments, groups like Coral Ridge and Focus on the Family spent millions on ad campaigns and get-out-the-vote efforts, while gay marriage and "family values" became staples of cable-TV and talk-radio crossfire. These anti-gay messages were nothing new. For almost 30 years, the religious right in America has employed a variety of strategies, inside the courtroom and outside, in its efforts to beat back the increasingly confident gay rights movement. Many of its leaders have engaged in the crudest type of name-calling, describing homosexuals as "perverts" with "filthy habits" who seek to snatch the children of straight parents and "convert" them to gay sex. They have continually bandied about

disparaging "facts" about gays that are simply untrue — assertions that are remarkably reminiscent of the way white intellectuals and scientists once wrote about the "bestial" black man. But never has the anti-gay movement had the momentum it has now, and never has it been so close to achieving its larger, ultimate goal. That goal is winning, in the words of Focus on the Family founder James Dobson, a "second civil war" for control of the U.S. government.

The Power of the Sword

At the height of the civil rights movement, in 1965, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, an ambitious young minister in Lynchburg, Va., gave a sermon called "Ministers and Marches." Falwell laid into Christian leaders who were actively supporting civil rights, reminding them of a Bible verse that fundamentalists often invoked as evidence that God did not want them to participate in politics: "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh" (11 Corinthians 10:13).

Fourteen years later, Falwell co-founded the Moral Majority, the first national effort to stimulate fundamentalist political participation and elect candidates who would, in the words of co-founder Paul Weyrich, "Christianize America."

What explained this apparent sea change? While fundamentalist Christians had long stayed out of electoral politics, Falwell and many others were "extremely unhappy with the 'rights' movements that had sprung up in the '50s and '60s," says Didi Herman, author of *The Antigay Agenda*. "First black people, then women, now gay people? The frustration had been mounting. Their actions were catching up with their view." Falwell was plain enough about his views; in 1964, he told a local paper that the Civil Rights Act had been misnamed: "It should be considered civil wrongs rather than civil rights." His "Old Time Gospel

Hour" TV program hosted prominent segregationists like Govs. Lester Maddox of Georgia and George Wallace of Alabama. But Falwell, like other fundamentalists, worried about "tainting" his religious message by mixing it with politics.

The Rev. Mel White (see also interview, p. 27), an evangelical writer and filmmaker who ghostwrote Falwell's autobiography, says Falwell was led to politics in part by Dr. Francis Schaeffer, a rebellious fundamentalist who had begun spreading the word about "dominion theology" and who many see as the father of the anti-abortion movement. Dubbed the "Guru of Fundamentalists" by *Newsweek* in 1982, Schaeffer believed that Christians are called to rule the U.S. — and the world — using biblical law. That meant winning elections. "Dr. Schaeffer," says White, "convinced Jerry there was no biblical mandate against joining with 'nonbelievers' in a political cause."

Schaeffer was admired by a radical group of fundamentalist thinkers called Christian Reconstructionists. Led by Orthodox Presbyterian minister R.J. Rushdoony, the Reconstructionists

argued that the Second Coming couldn't occur until the faithful established a "Biblical kingdom." Democracy, which Rushdoony called "the great love of the failures and cowards of life," would be replaced by strict Old Testament law — meaning the death penalty for homosexuality, along with a host of other "abominations," including heresy, astrology, and (for women only) "unchastity before marriage."

D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries, like James Dobson of Focus on the Family and other Christian Right luminaries, unwaveringly preaches "dominion Christianity" and hosts an annual conference devoted to "Reclaiming America for Christ." Kennedy also is a longtime benefactor of former Alabama Chief Justice Roy Moore, known for the Ten Commandments monument he installed in the rotunda of that state's judicial building — and for being thrown out of office after refusing to obey federal court orders to remove it. In 2002, Moore wrote a lengthy concurrence in a custody case involving a lesbian mother. After describing homosexuality

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

A TIMELINE OF THE ANTI-GAY MOVEMENT

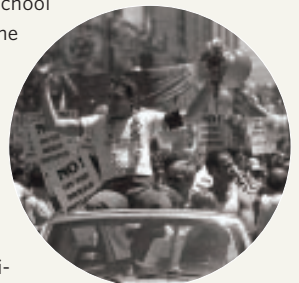
Born-again singer **Anita Bryant** campaigns to overturn an anti-discrimination law protecting gay men and lesbians in Dade County, Fla. Inspired by her victory, Bryant founds the first national anti-gay group, Save Our Children,



drawing unprecedented attention to gay issues and motivating gay groups to organize in response.

Gay activist Harvey Milk, elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors on Nov. 7, is assassinated 20 days later (along with Mayor George Moscone) by right-wing religious zealot Dan White, a former city supervisor who had resigned in protest when the board passed a gay-rights ordinance.

California State Sen. John Briggs floats a ballot initiative allowing local school boards to ban gay teachers. "One third of San Francisco teachers are homosexual," Briggs says. "I assume most of them are seducing young boys in toilets." The initiative is defeated, but the campaign inspires anti-gay crusaders like the Rev. Lou Sheldon, who will found the Traditional Values Coalition in 1981.



1977

James Dobson, author of 1969 pro-spanking book *Dare To Discipline*, founds Focus on the Family in Arcadia, Calif. Focus will move to Colorado Springs, Colo., in 1991, become America's wealthiest fundamentalist ministry, and spearhead the campaign against gay marriage.

1978

John Birch Society trainer and "family activist" Tim LaHaye publishes *The Unhappy Gays* (later retitled *What Everyone Should Know About Homosexuality*). Calling gay people "militant, organized" and "vile," LaHaye anticipates anti-gay arguments to come.

1979

The **Rev. Jerry Falwell** founds the Moral Majority, a national effort to stimulate the fundamentalist vote and elect Christian Right candidates. Early fundraising appeals include a "Declaration of War" on homosexuality.



as “abhorrent, immoral, detestable, a crime against nature,” Moore asserted that “[t]he State carries the power of the sword, that is, the power to prohibit [homosexual] conduct with physical penalties, such as confinement and even execution. It must use that power to prevent the subversion of children toward this lifestyle.”

Fear Mongering to the Fore

While conservative Christians have led historic crusades against a number of “evils” in America—witchcraft, alcohol, communism, feminism, abortion—gay sex was never more than a minor concern until 1969, when protests in New York City launched the contemporary gay-rights movement. In *Where We Stand*, Susan Fort Wiltshire recalls some early stirrings of a new crusade: “Around 1970, ambitious small-town preachers in the Northwest Texas Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church began to exploit ‘the gay issue.’ They saw that virulent anti-gay rhetoric could fill football stadiums for revivals in such tiny Panhandle towns as Tulia and Clarendon and Higgins and Perryton.”

The crusade went national in 1977, courtesy of Anita Bryant. The perky spokesperson for Coca-Cola, Tupperware and Florida orange juice, Bryant had converted a runner-up

finish in the 1959 Miss America pageant into a lucrative career singing “wholesome family music.” Bryant later said she knew next to nothing about gay people when she attended a 1977 revival at Miami’s Northside Baptist Church. The preacher railed against a new ordinance in Dade County that protected gay people from discrimination, saying he’d “burn down his church before he would let homosexuals teach in its school.”

Bryant was so impressed by the dangers of this new “homosexual agenda” that she launched an initiative to overturn the anti-discrimination ordinance, winning with a 70% vote. Bryant then founded a national group called Save Our Children and took her anti-gay message on the road, helping fundamentalists organize anti-gay ballot campaigns in the handful of American cities that had passed gay rights laws. These ballot initiatives would become the single most important organizing tool for the fundamentalist right, transforming thousands of previously apolitical churchgoers into grassroots activists.

Save Our Children’s primary tactic was fear mongering. Gay people were “sick,” “perverted,” “twisted,” and a threat to American families. “Homosexuals cannot reproduce,” Bryant often said, “so they must recruit. And to freshen their ranks they must recruit the youth of America.” Save Our Children distributed a press kit with a paper titled, “Why Certain

Sexual Deviations Are Punishable By Death.” Homosexuality was, of course, among those deviations. So was “racial mixing of human seed.”

Save Our Children collapsed in 1979, after Bryant had a well-publicized divorce and breakdown, but not before her success in getting national publicity and large donations caught the eye of new-right strategists like Paul Weyrich and Richard Viguerie, the pioneer of right-wing direct-mail fundraising.

“Their other issues just weren’t nearly as popular,” says Rob Boston, assistant communications director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State and author of *Close Encounters with the Religious Right*. “Most Americans supported abortion rights. Nobody believed communism inside the u.s. was really a threat. Slamming feminists, you risked alienating half the population. But gay people? Anita Bryant showed that gay-bashing could bring in some real money.”

Bryant had also outlined a new gay stereotype, one far removed from the old cliché of limp-wristed “fruits.” Inspired by Bryant, budding “family activist” Tim LaHaye painted a full-blown portrait in his 1978 book, *The Unhappy Gays*.

LaHaye, now famous for co-authoring the blockbuster *Left Behind* series of end-of-the-world thrillers, wrote that succumbing to the demands of the gay-rights movement would

be a mistake of apocalyptic proportions—literally. “The mercy and grace of God seem to reach their breaking point when homosexuality becomes normal,” LaHaye said. “Put another way, when sodomy fills the national cup of man’s abominations to overflowing, God earmarks that nation for destruction.”

The cover of *The Unhappy Gays* featured a close-up photograph of rusty chains, symbolizing the “captivity” of homosexuality. “Moral fidelity among homosexuals is almost unknown,” LaHaye wrote, citing as evidence “one psychologist writer” (unnamed) who “suggests that is not uncommon for a homosexual to ‘have sex’ with as many as 2,000 different people in a lifetime.” This “incredible promiscuity” leads to a life of lonely, selfish desperation, said LaHaye, but there is hope: “Homosexuals are made, not born!” and can be cured by being “born again.”

Facts and Fiction

There was something missing from these dark depictions of gay people and their “agenda”: evidence. It was one thing, after all, to claim that homosexuals were child “recruiters,” disease-ridden, and mentally unstable. It was quite another to prove it.

Enter Paul Cameron. After losing his job teaching psychology at the University of Nebraska, Cameron set himself up as an independent sex researcher in the late 1970s, churning

Paul Cameron, former psychol-

ogy instructor at University of Nebraska, begins publishing pseudo-scientific pamphlets “proving” that gay people commit more serial murders, molest more children, and intentionally spread diseases. Expelled from the American Psychological Association in 1983 for ethics violations, Cameron will continue to produce bogus “studies” widely cited by anti-gay groups.

Moral Majority allies in Congress propose the Family Protection Act, which would bar giving federal funds to “any organization that suggests that homosexuality can be an acceptable alternative lifestyle.” Despite **President Reagan’s** endorsement, the bill is defeated.

The U.S. Department of Defense issues a policy stating that homosexuality is “incompatible” with **military service**. Almost 17,000 gay soldiers will be discharged during the 1980s, though a 1989 Defense Department study will find gay recruits “just as good or better” than heterosexuals.



The Coalition on Revival is founded to promote “Christian government” in the U.S. and to agree on theological tenets — including anti-gay principles — that fundamentalists can rally around. Board members include Tim LaHaye, D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries and Donald Wildmon of the American Family Association. Founder **Jay Grimstead** later tells *The Advocate*, “Homosexuality makes God vomit.”



At the first Congressional hearings on anti-gay violence, Kathleen Sarris of Indianapolis tells of being stalked and assaulted by a “Christian soldier” who held her at gunpoint, beat and raped her for three hours, explaining that “he was acting for God; that what he was doing to me was God’s revenge on me because I was a ‘queer’ and getting rid of me would save children.”

Boston’s *Gay Community News* publishes a satire of anti-gay propaganda, beginning: “Tremble, Hetero Swine! We shall sodomize your sons, emblems of your feeble masculinity, of your shallow dreams and vulgar lives. We will raise vast private armies ... to defeat ... the family unit.” Anti-gay groups seize on the article as proof of a “secret homosexual agenda.”

1980

1981

1982

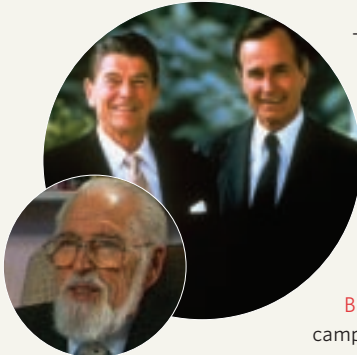
1983

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1985

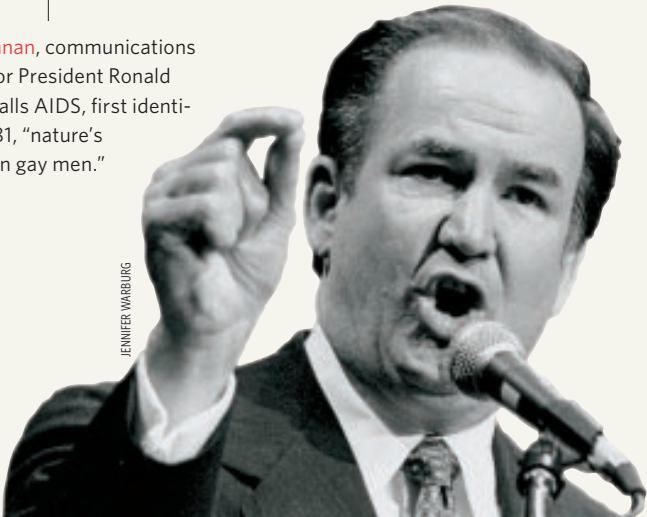
1986

1987



The Council for National Policy, a highly secretive club of America’s most powerful far-right religious activists, begins meeting quarterly at undisclosed locations. Among the members will be **R.J. Rushdoony**, who calls for death penalty for homosexuals, and anti-gay crusaders James Dobson, Beverly and Tim LaHaye, Jerry Falwell, Tony Perkins and Phyllis Schlafly. **George W. Bush** will meet with the Council during his first campaign for president.

Pat Buchanan, communications director for President Ronald Reagan, calls AIDS, first identified in 1981, “nature’s revenge on gay men.”



Addressing the annual Conservative Political Action Conference, Paul Cameron uses the AIDS crisis to suggest that “the extermination of homosexuals” might become necessary. The following year, Colorado’s Summit Ministries will publish *Special Report: AIDS*. Co-authored by Cameron, the popular pamphlet blames gay men for the epidemic and calls for a national crackdown on homosexuals.



Anti-gay groups cheer the U.S. Supreme Court’s 5-4 decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick* holding that state anti-sodomy statutes are constitutional. Four years later, Justice Lewis Powell, the swing vote, will tell New York University law students, “I probably made a mistake in that one.”



Stanley Kubrick's famous 1971 movie "A Clockwork Orange" depicted attempts to cure a young hoodlum by forcing him to watch sex films while using drugs to sicken him.

CURIOUS CURES

Defying mainstream science, 'ex-gay' ministries claim that homosexuality is a chosen behavior that can be 'cured'

In the not-so-distant past, gays and lesbians were routinely subjected to "reparative therapy" that included barbarous "aversion techniques" designed to "cure" them of homosexuality. Gay men were shown pictures of naked men and then administered electric shocks through electrodes attached to their testicles, or made to ingest drugs that made them vomit.

Not surprisingly, these brutal, "Clockwork Orange"-like methods proved to be totally ineffective — yielding not one credibly documented case of a "cured" homosexual — and had been discarded by all but lunatic fringe psychotherapists by the late 1970s.

But even now, more than 30 years after American Psychiatric Association deleted homosexuality from its official list of mental disorders, religious-right "ex-gay" ministries across the country propagate the myth that homosexuality is a curable disease.

The largest of these, San Rafael, Calif. -based Exodus International, is an umbrella group, funded largely by Focus on the Family. The group refers adult gays and lesbians, as well as teenagers whose parents are pushing them into counseling, to "ex-gay" ministries throughout the United States and Europe that have names like Straight Path Ministries, Breaking Free, and Straight Ahead.

Exodus' self-stated mission is, "Freedom from homosexuality through the power of Jesus Christ." In practical terms, that translates to support groups, pastoral counseling, intense Bible study, arranged "dates" with members of the opposite sex, and the occasional use of ammonia inhalers in conjunction with gay and lesbian porn.

The claims of ex-gay ministries that homosexuality can be deprogrammed are supported in propaganda disseminated by Exodus and the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality with the same brand of discredited pseudo-science that in recent decades has been cited as proof that homosexuals are more prone to be child molesters than heterosexuals and, more recently, that adopted children are worse off with gay or lesbian parents than with a heterosexual couple.

"There is no published scientific evidence supporting the efficacy of 'reparative conversion therapy' as a treatment to change one's sexual orientation," the American Psychiatric Association has officially stated. "Clinical experience suggests that any person who seeks conversion therapy may be doing so because of social bias that has resulted in internalized homophobia, and that gay men and lesbians who have accepted their sexual orientation are better adjusted than those who have not done so."

Perhaps the most famous case study in the failure of reparative therapy is that of two founders of Exodus International, Michael Bussee and Gary Cooper, who helped start Exodus in 1976 and worked to "convert" gay people for three years, until they fell in love and left Exodus in 1979. In 1982, they held a marriage ceremony and lived together until Cooper died nine years later.

"The desires never go away," Bussee said. "After dealing with hundreds of people, I have not met one who went from gay to straight. Even if you manage to alter someone's sexual behavior, you cannot change their true sexual orientation."

— David Holthouse

out scores of anti-gay pamphlets that were largely distributed in fundamentalist churches. Cameron's "studies" falsely concluded that gay people were disproportionately responsible for child molestation, for the majority of serial killings, and for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Gay people, according to Cameron's research, were obsessed with consuming human excrement, allowing them to spread deadly diseases simply by shaking hands with unsuspecting strangers or using public restrooms.

"Of all the vices," Cameron concluded in a pamphlet called *Medical Aspects of Homosexuality*, "only homosexuality constitutes a conspiracy against society."

Cameron's brand of "science" echoed Nazi Germany. "These themes of disease and seduction are strongly reminiscent of older, anti-Semitic discourse," writes Didi Herman in *The Antigay Agenda*. "Jews historically were associated with disease, filth, urban degeneration, and child stealing."

When the AIDS crisis broke out in the early 1980s, Cameron claimed gay people had unleashed "an octopus of infection spreading across the world," and had done it on purpose. (Jerry Falwell put it in simpler terms; he called AIDS "the gay plague.")

In several newspaper and magazine exposés, Cameron's studies were revealed to be anything but scientific. In one particularly egregious instance, Cameron published a 1983 study claiming lesbians were 29 times more likely than heterosexual women to intentionally infect their sex partners with venereal diseases. It was later discovered that Cameron's "scientific sample" for this conclusion consisted of just seven women.

After being expelled from the American Psychological Association in 1983 for violating ethical standards in his anti-gay publications Cameron began referring to himself as a sociologist — until the American Sociological Association passed a 1986 resolution declaring, "Paul Cameron is not a sociologist, and [this group] condemns his constant misrepresentation of sociological research."

But despite the crackpot nature of Cameron's theories and methodology, his "research" was extolled by many in the religious right. In 1986, Summit Ministries, a

right-wing Christian group in Colorado, distributed a booklet called *Special Report: AIDS*, co-written by Cameron, Summit leader David Noebel and Wayne Lutton (Lutton would later be an editor for an anti-immigrant hate group, the Social Contract Press, and act as editorial advisor to the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens). *Special Report* argued for a drastic solution: locking up "practicing homosexuals" in the name of public health. After all, the authors wrote, "During World War II we exiled Americans of Japanese ancestry simply because we felt they were a national threat during time of war." Since AIDS has made gay people a "threat to our national survival," they wrote, "We might well prepare holding camps for all sexually active homosexuals with special camps for homosexuals with AIDS."

Right-wing commentator Pat Buchanan and William Bennett, secretary of education in the Reagan administration, were publicly embarrassed when they touted Cameron's 1993 study claiming that gay men have only a 42-year life expectancy. As reporters soon discovered, Cameron had based the study on obituaries printed in gay newspapers — hardly a valid sample. Even so, just like many of Cameron's other "findings," the life-expectancy study continues to be cited as an established fact by anti-gay leaders like Focus on the Family's James Dobson, whose grasp of the facts was called into question earlier this

year after Dobson warned that the popular cartoon character SpongeBob SquarePants, who lives in a pineapple under the sea, was being used by gay rights proponents to promote the acceptance of homosexuality. (Dobson made the comments at a Jan. 19 black-tie dinner in Washington, D.C., where Focus on the Family political allies, including several members of Congress, celebrated last November's election results. "The video itself is innocent enough and does not mention anything overtly sexual," Dobson wrote in a statement released amidst the SpongeBob furor. "But while the video is harmless on its own, I believe the agenda behind it is sinister.")

Victory and Defeat

To the dismay of the anti-gay crusaders, polls showed rising public support for gay rights throughout the '80s and '90s. As a result, the crusaders began to rethink their message. "They finally started to realize the 'diseased pervert' rhetoric wasn't going to win over the majority of Americans," says *Close Encounters with the Religious Right* author Rob Boston.

In Colorado Springs, home to more than 50 Christian Right organizations by 1991, a whole new anti-gay strategy was being cooked up by Colorado For Family Values, organizers of Amendment 2, a statewide ballot initiative that would overturn

After a ferocious campaign by the fundamentalist Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA), Oregon voters overturn their governor's executive order banning anti-gay discrimination in state hiring. Led by anti-gay



crusader **Lon Mabon**, OCA claims "promiscuous sodomite activists" have called for "the closing of all churches that oppose them and the total destruction of the family."

U.S. Rep. William Dannemeyer (R-Calif.) publishes a landmark anti-gay tome, *Shadow in the Land: Homosexuality in America*. Calling lesbians and gay men "the ultimate enemy," Dannemeyer accuses straight people of "surrendering to this growing army without a shot," and predicts gay rights will "plunge our people, and indeed the entire West, into a dark night of the soul that could last hundreds of years."

Pat Robertson founds the American Center for Law and Justice, run by Christian Right attorney Jay Sekulow. ACLJ will be instrumental in fighting gay marriage, calling it a cancerous "perversion" that "directly attacks the family, which is the most vital cell in society."

1988

Televangelist **Pat Robertson** declares his candidacy for president, describing his core issues as abortion and homosexuality. After losing in the GOP primaries, Robertson uses his campaign mailing list to found the Christian Coalition, which quickly becomes the most powerful grassroots political network in the U.S.

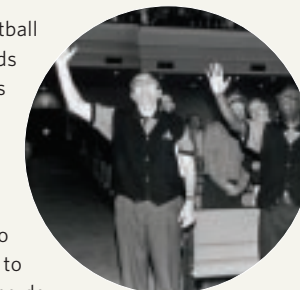


1989

1990

1991

University of Colorado football coach **Bill McCartney** founds **Promise Keepers**, which holds all-male stadium revivals promoting "traditional masculinity" throughout the 1990s. McCartney calls homosexuals "a group of people who don't reproduce, yet want to be compared with people who do reproduce," and says, "Homosexuality is an abomination of Almighty God."



gay anti-discrimination laws that had been passed by three Colorado towns and prevent any such future protections from being passed. Realizing the old arguments weren't working, one of Amendment 2's organizers, a born-again "ex-hippie" attorney named Tony Marco, produced a fresh argument: "special rights."

"What gives gay militants their enormous power are money and the operative presumption that gays represent some kind of 'oppressed minority,'" Marco wrote. He recommended "demolishing the presumption that gays are an 'oppressed minority.'" The best way to do that, Marco believed, was to drum up resentment against gay people — particularly among African Americans and working-class whites — by portraying them as wanting "special rights."

In a 1992 issue of Focus on the Family's *Citizen* magazine, Marco began making an economic case that gay people already had privileges that most Americans could only dream of. "Homosexuals have an average household income of \$55,340," he wrote, "versus \$32,144 for the general population and \$12,166 for disadvantaged African-American households."

Marco's numbers were grossly misleading and, like Cameron's crackpot science, reminiscent of anti-Semitic propaganda about Jews. His source for gay income was a 1988 sur-

vey of gay magazine readers — a skewed sample, *The Antigay Agenda* author Didi Herman notes, because "readers of glossy gay men's magazines are likely to be among the most affluent members of the gay and lesbian community."

Amendment 2 got a major boost in 1991, when James Dobson began to push it on his daily radio show. Dobson had moved his multimedia empire to a campus in Colorado Springs that same year. Known to most Americans as a soft-spoken purveyor of homespun parenting advice, Dobson was now displaying a much tougher side.

In 1990, Focus' *Citizen* magazine had published a special issue, declaring the '90s "the Civil War Decade." With the fall of Soviet communism, Dobson wrote, the Cold War would be replaced by a "culture war" fought on three fronts: abortion, public education and homosexuality. "Children are the prize to the winner of this second civil war," wrote Dobson and his Washington lobbyist, the Family Research Council's Gary Bauer, in *Children at Risk*, also published that same year. "We are to be intolerant of evil," Dobson told his radio audience in 1994. "Romans 12:9 says, 'Learn to be sincere. *Hate* what is evil'" (Dobson's emphasis).

When Dobson began pushing Amendment 2, its organizers had been struggling to get enough signatures to qualify for the

ballot. Overnight, the campaign was flooded with volunteers and money. Amendment 2 won by a 53%-47% margin.

The anti-gay movement had won a major round — in the court of public opinion, at least. In 1996, Amendment 2 was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Evans v. Romer*. Justice Anthony Kennedy's majority decision began with a pointed reference to *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the 1896 decision that allowed "separate but equal" treatment of black people and ushered in the Jim Crow era. The Colorado amendment, Kennedy wrote, imposed a "special disability" on gay men and lesbians, and constituted "a bare ... desire to harm a politically unpopular group."

But by then, the anti-gay movement had been thoroughly energized. In 1994, in what *The Washington Times* called "two days of top-secret meetings," around 35 state and national anti-gay leaders had convened in Colorado Springs. Bringing "greetings from Dr. Dobson," Focus on the Family's John Eldridge led things off by presenting a five-point plan to spread the anti-gay message.

"We must never appear to be mean-spirited or bigoted," he said. But as he wound up his exhortation, Eldridge sounded a different note. "I would not say this in other cultural contexts," he said, "but the gay agenda has all the elements of that which is evil. It is deceptive at every turn. It is destroying the souls and lives of those who embrace it."

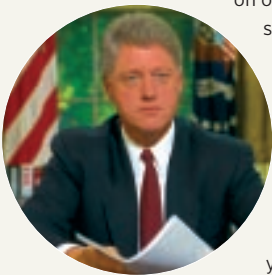
Calling Names

Old-school gay-bashing did not die away with the rise of the "special rights" strategizing. If anything, the rhetoric was ratcheted up in the 1990s, when President Bill Clinton's proposal to lift the ban on gay military service inspired a verbal arms race. Gary Bauer took the lead, sprinkling his fundraising appeals and Web-site columns with references to gay people as "perverts" and "weirdness on parade." On "The 700 Club," Pat Robertson said Clinton's proposal would give "preferred status to evil." Jerry Falwell worried aloud that if the ban were lifted, "our poor boys on the front lines will have to face two different enemies, one from the front and one from the rear."

Fundraising appeals became increasingly outrageous. In January 1998, Christian Action Network founder Martin Mawyer wrote: "The title character in the ABC-TV sitcom *Ellen* came out of the closet ... AND DUMPED HER FILTHY LESBIAN LIFESTYLE RIGHT IN THE CENTER OF YOUR LIVING ROOM!! IT'S THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF NETWORK TV THAT THE LEAD CHARACTER IS A SODOMITE!! ... Do you think TV ever portrays homosexuals as they really are? Having sex with hundreds of perverts in 'one-night stands' ... spreading their filthy sex diseases to millions of people ... molesting innocent children ... flaunting their grotesque lifestyle ... committing murder and sex crimes more than any other group of people."

Colorado voters approve Amendment 2, overturning municipal laws protecting lesbians and gay men from discrimination. One of the organizers, Tony Marco, hones a "special rights" argument, claiming that gay people are inordinately wealthy and politically powerful, and neither need nor deserve the rights they "demand."

At the Republican National Convention in Houston, Pat Buchanan famously declares in a prime time speech, "There is a culture war going on in our country for the soul of America." Cheering audience members wave signs reading "Family Rights Forever, 'Gay' Rights Never."



President Clinton's proposal to lift the ban on openly gay military personnel sends anti-gay activists into action, shutting down phone lines to Congress with hundreds of thousands of calls in protest. "Honestly," asks D. James Kennedy in a fundraising letter for Coral Ridge Ministries, "would you want your son, daughter, or grandchild sharing a shower, foxhole, or blood with a homosexual?"



The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party, by fundamentalist activists Scott Lively and Kevin Abrams, claims gays weren't victimized in the Holocaust, but instead helped mastermind the extermination of Jews (see story, p. 18). Repudiated by credible historians, the book is nevertheless praised by the Family Research Council and sold by several anti-gay organizations.

The Southern Baptist Convention announces a boycott of **Disney parks** and products because the company gives insurance benefits to partners of gay workers and allows "Gay Days" at its theme parks. "Beware of the Magic Kingdom," Focus on the Family advises parents. Gay Day protests become a staple of the anti-gay movement.



"*The Gay Agenda*," 20-minute video featuring racy scenes filmed at gay-pride marches, is released by Ty and Jeannette Beeson of the Antelope Valley Springs of Life church in Lancaster, Calif. Aired by Pat Robertson's "The 700 Club," it will become one of the most widely viewed pieces of anti-gay propaganda.

The battle over gay marriage is ignited when the Hawaii Supreme Court rules that denying same-sex couples marriage licenses violates "basic human rights" guaranteed in the state constitution — unless the state legislature can show a "compelling reason" to prevent gay marriage. Anti-gay groups begin a campaign to "defend marriage," with legal challenges led by ACLJ's Jay Sekulow.



The Cobb County (Ga.) Commission passes a resolution calling homosexuality "incompatible with the standards to which this community subscribes." Organizer Gordon Wysong declares, "We should blame them for every social problem in America." Cobb County will be dropped as a host for 1996 Atlanta Olympic events because of its anti-gay stance.

More than 40 fundamentalist groups, led by Focus on the Family, hold a summit in Colorado to coordinate a "special rights" argument to oppose gay rights. This strategy is also promoted by the Traditional Values Coalition's "Gay Rights, Special Rights," a 40-minute video claiming gay rights will erode the civil rights of African Americans.

The National Pro-Family Forum, dedicated to "one man-one woman" marriage, holds its first secret meeting in a Memphis church cellar with representatives from more than 20 major anti-gay groups. Before the end of the year, forum members successfully push the Defense of Marriage Act, a symbolic measure defining marriage as between a man and a woman, through Congress.

In *Romer v. Evans*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules Colorado's Amendment 2 (see 1992) unconstitutional by a 6-3 vote. The ruling puts an end to 20 years of state and local ballot initiatives aimed at stripping gays of anti-discrimination protections, leaving same-sex marriage as the main issue for anti-gay organizers.

In July 1998, Pat Robertson warned the citizens of Orlando, Fla., that if Disney World didn't cancel "Gay Day," their city would be subject to God's wrath, in the form of "terrorist bombs, earthquakes, tornadoes and possibly a meteor."

That same July, D. James Kennedy's Center for Reclaiming America, the Christian Coalition, Focus on the Family and other anti-gay groups launched a million-dollar ad campaign to promote "ex-gay" ministries specializing in "curing" lesbians and gay men of their sexual orientation (see story, p. 15). The ex-gay campaign was partly designed to reinforce the message that fundamentalists truly "love the sinner but hate the sin." Ex-gay people were also an essential part of the "special rights" campaign, their existence cited as proof that homosexuality was not genetic, but a matter of choice.

Most of the ex-gay ministries promoted in the campaign, including Focus on the Family's Exodus International, practiced "reparative therapy," a collection of methods that had long been thoroughly discredited in the world of psychology. Still, the ex-gay ads made a splash. John and Anne Paulk, the ex-gay Focus on the Family employees who were featured in the campaign, landed on the cover of *Newsweek*, which asked, "Gay for Life?" A year later, John Paulk was photographed hurrying out of Mr. P's, a gay bar in Washington, D.C., joining dozens of other ex-gay leaders who had suffered embarrassing relapses. Focus on the Family leaders quickly removed Paulk

GETTY IMAGES



MAKING MYTHS

Anti-gay religious crusaders claim homosexuals helped mastermind the Holocaust. They're not telling the truth

For decades now, "Holocaust revisionists" in the U.S. and Europe have published pseudo-scholarly papers and books claiming to prove that the Nazis never carried out a systematic extermination of Jews. In 1995, a book called *The Pink Swastika* made similar claims about the Nazis' treatment of homosexuals during the Holocaust. Written by fundamentalist activists Scott Lively and Kevin Abrams, *The Pink Swastika* says that rather than being victimized by the Nazis, gay men in Hitler's inner circle actually helped mastermind the Holocaust. "While we cannot say that homosexuals caused the Holocaust, we must not ignore their central role in Nazism," write Lively and Abrams. "To the myth of the 'pink triangle' — the notion that all homosexuals in Nazi Germany were persecuted — we must respond with the reality of the 'pink swastika.'"

Historians agree that this "reality" is utterly false. But many anti-gay crusaders have used the "gay Nazi" myth as proof that gay people are immoral and destructive. "When lawlessness is abroad in the land, the same thing will happen here that

happened in Nazi Germany," Pat Robertson once warned viewers of his *700 Club*. "Many of those people involved with Adolf Hitler were satanists. Many of them were homosexuals. The two seem to go together." *The Pink Swastika* has been promoted by anti-gay groups like the Family Research Council. The FRC's Dr. Howard Hurwitz called the book "a thoroughly researched, eminently readable, demolition of the 'gay' myth, symbolized by the pink triangle, that the Nazis were anti-homosexual."

In fact, while the number of homosexuals who died in the Holocaust does not approach the number of Jewish or Gypsy victims, the historical record shows that between 50,000 and 100,000 men were arrested for homosexuality (or suspicion of it) under the Nazi regime. They were routinely sent to concentration camps and marked with a pink triangle on their prison garb. They were not systematically exterminated. But huge numbers are believed to have died in the work camps, along with an untold number of homosexual Jews, Gypsies and other "defectives" who were sent to extermination camps.

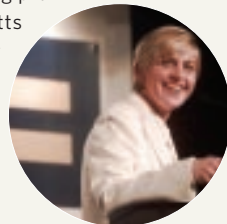
The myth that Nazis condoned or promoted homosexuality sprang up as a slander against Nazi leaders by their socialist opponents in the

1930s. Only one of the half-dozen leaders in Hitler's inner circle, Ernest Rohm, is believed by credible historians to have been gay. The "gay Nazi" slander stuck, though, partly because German laws against homosexuals remained in place for a quarter of a century after World War II ended. That effectively silenced many homosexual victims of the Holocaust from telling their stories. A landmark survivor's memoir, *The Men With the Pink Triangle*, began to break that silence in 1972.

There is no question that the Nazis saw homosexuality as one aspect of the "degeneracy" they were determined to extinguish. When it came to power in 1933, the Nazi Party moved quickly to strengthen Germany's existing penalties against homosexuality. On Oct. 11, 1936, Hitler's security chief, Heinrich Himmler, went further, announcing that homosexuality was to be "eliminated" in Germany, along with miscegenation between the races. In 1942, the death penalty was instituted for homosexuality. Offenders in the German military were routinely shot. "That wasn't a punishment," Himmler explained, "but simply the extinguishing of abnormal life. It had to be got rid of, just as we pull out weeds, throw them on a heap, and burn them."

— Bob Moser

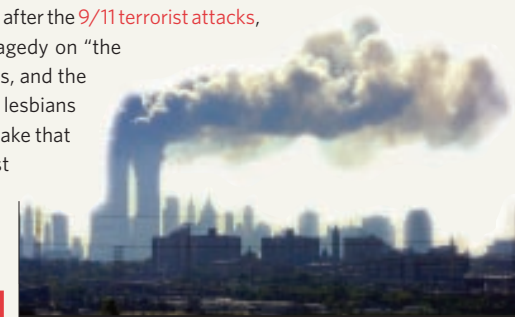
Ellen DeGeneres' character on the TV sitcom "Ellen" comes out as a lesbian, initiating protests and boycotts of sponsors led by Donald Wildmon and Jerry Falwell, who calls the actor "Ellen Degenerate."



In a TV interview, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) compares gay people to alcoholics and "kleptomaniacs," earning praise from anti-gay activists. "Leaders willing to be set apart and stand solidly in the truth are rare in today's permissive culture," says James Dobson.

Vermont Democratic Gov. Howard Dean signs a law sanctioning same-sex civil unions, entitling gay couples to marital rights and benefits. Anti-gay leader Gary Bauer calls it "an unmitigated disaster" that is "worse than terrorism."

On "The 700 Club" two days after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Jerry Falwell blames the tragedy on "the Pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists and the gays and lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle." Host Pat Robertson responds: "Well, I totally concur."



A coalition of fundamentalist groups led by Coral Ridge Ministries sponsors "Truth in Love," a million-dollar advertising campaign promoting "ex-gay ministries," which use discredited psychological methods to "cure" gay people. One day before a second round of "Truth in Love" ads is released, gay college student Matthew Shepard dies after being savagely beaten and left tied to a fence in Wyoming. The murder spurs a national debate about the connection between anti-gay rhetoric and hate crimes.



"Teletubbies" cartoon character Tinky Winky is "outed" as gay in a "Parents' Alert" in Jerry Falwell's *Liberty Journal*, which asserts, "He is purple — the gay-pride color; and his antenna is shaped like a triangle — the gay-pride symbol."



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS



The U.S. Supreme Court rules 5-4 that the Boy Scouts of America can continue to ban gay scoutmasters. Anti-gay activists like Robert Knight of the Family Research Council use the scouting controversy to revive anti-gay "child molester" propaganda. After CBS morning-show host Bryant Gumbel interviews Knight, he is heard on air commenting, "What a fucking idiot." Anti-gay groups label CBS the "Christian Bashing System" and lobby unsuccessfully for Gumbel's firing.

The Rev. Michael Bray, a convicted abortion clinic bomber and leading advocate of murdering abortion doctors, praises Saudi Arabia for beheading three gay men on New Year's Day. "Let us give thanks," Bray proclaims. "Let us welcome these tools of purification. Open the borders! Bring in some agents of cleansing."



as chairman of Exodus International despite his protestations that he had “no sinful intentions” in visiting Mr. P’s.

‘The Ultimate Ex-Gay’

On Oct. 6, 1998, one day before D. James Kennedy’s anti-gay coalition put out a second round of ex-gay TV ads, 21-year-old college student Matthew Shepard was savagely murdered in Wyoming. Journalists jumped on the connection between the ex-gay campaign and the prejudice that fuels hate crimes. “You call a group of people evil and sick and immoral often enough and some nutcase out there is going to act on it,” wrote columnist Donald Kaul in the *Des Moines Register*. *The Advocate*, a gay newsmagazine, pointedly called Shepard “the ultimate ex-gay.”

A counter-attack was not long in coming. In an Orlando *Sun-Sentinel* op-ed, Gary Bauer accused the “militant homosexual lobby” of a “new McCarthyism” with its claims that anti-gay rhetoric leads to violence. Pat Buchanan agreed: “The left is now using Mr. Shepard’s murder both to diabolize Christian teachings on homosexuality and to impose on society its own moral code.”

The Family Research Council, along with other anti-gay groups, had often cited a similar fear of being demonized as its rationale for opposing hate-crime laws, asserting that hate crimes legislation would lead to “thought crime” prosecutions of Christians. In 1996, sparked by the fact that Hawaii seemed to be close to legalizing gay marriage, a related argument was

deployed — the idea that legalization ultimately would lead to hate crimes prosecutions of Christians who opposed homosexuality. In January of that year, more than 20 anti-gay groups, including Focus on the Family and the Christian Coalition, sent representatives to a church cellar in Memphis, Tenn., for the first secret meeting of the National Pro-Family Forum. The Forum, which continued to meet every three months, scored a symbolic victory that fall, when its members convinced Congress to pass the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), defining marriage as the union of one man and one woman.

Writing in support of DOMA, Bauer predicted that gay marriage would have dire consequences for Americans of faith: “If they succeed, all distinctions based on sex may fall, and the worst aspects of the rejected Equal Rights Amendment will be imposed. Homosexuals will gain the ‘right’ to adopt children; . . . churches will be pushed outside civil law; and government power will be wielded against anyone who holds the biblical view of homosexuality.”

Forest Fire

After the Supreme Court legalized sodomy in 2003, the gay marriage battle was on, with anti-gay crusaders once again sharpening their knives of dire rhetoric.

“Our great nation is under violent attack from within,” said Stephen Bennett, Christian singer and ex-gay minister. “We are now at the 11th hour, a point of no return.”

Alan Sears, head of the Alliance Defense Fund, co-authors *The Homosexual Agenda*, a book that asserts gay activists’ ultimate goal is “silencing” conservative Christians. Sears also accuses cartoon character **SpongeBob SquarePants** of being gay.



Constitutional amendments prohibiting same-sex marriage pass by wide margins in all 11 states, including Ohio and Oregon. Anti-gay groups meet in Washington, D.C., to plan for 10 more state initiatives in 2005.

James Dobson’s Focus on the Family Action organizes “Mayday for Marriage” rallies in six major cities to promote anti-gay marriage ballot initiatives in 11 states. An estimated 150,000 turn out for Oct. 15 protest in Washington, D.C., where Dobson declares, “[E]verything we care about is on the line. It’s now or never.”

2003

2004



The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court rules 4-3 that gay and lesbian couples have a right to marry. In the *Washington Dispatch*, legendary fundamentalist organizer **Paul Weyrich** declares marriage “The Final Frontier for Civilization as We Know It.”

The U.S. Supreme Court overturns state anti-sodomy statutes in *Lawrence v. Texas*, ruling that gay people are entitled to “an autonomy of self that includes freedom of thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct.” Dissenting Justice Antonin Scalia complains that “the court has largely signed onto the so-called homosexual agenda.”

San Francisco officials begin issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples in February, with a handful of other U.S. municipalities following suit. Later that month, **President George W. Bush** announces his support for a Federal Marriage Amendment to the Constitution.



“I’ve never seen a man in my life I wanted to marry. And I’m gonna be blunt and plain: if one ever looks at me like that, I’m gonna kill him and tell God he died.”

JIMMY SWAGGART



“What’s at stake here,” said Family Research Council president Tony Perkins, “is the very foundation of our society, not only of America but all Western civilization.”

“I’ve never seen a man in my life I wanted to marry,” said the Rev. Jimmy Swaggart. “And I’m gonna be blunt and plain: if one ever looks at me like that, I’m gonna kill him and tell God he died.”

From the 2003 Texas sodomy decision until Election Day 2004, the gay-marriage debate seemed to bring out the warrior in everyone. The anti-gay campaign, said Human Rights Campaign Executive Director Cheryl Jacques, was marked by “the highest level of intensity and aggression ever.” In the 11 states where anti-gay marriage measures were on the ballot, television ads urged voters to “defend marriage.” In Ohio, Phil Burress’ anti-gay group gathered 575,000 signatures in fewer than 90 days to put their constitutional amendment on the ballot. “It’s a forest fire with a 100-mile-per-hour wind behind it,” Burress told *The New York Times*.

Just five months after *Lawrence vs. Texas*, the Pew Research Center found that opposition to gay marriage had climbed from 53 to 59%. A new majority of Americans, 55%, now characterized gay sex as a sin. Thirty years of anti-gay crusades had begun to pay.

As Election Day drew near, James Dobson was taking no chances. His political spin-off group, Focus on the Family Action, organized large rallies in six cities last fall, attracting crowds even Anita Bryant couldn’t muster. Three weeks before the election, about 150,000 turned out for Dobson’s “Mayday for Marriage” rally in Washington, D.C. On Oct. 22 in Oklahoma City, Dobson brought the crowd to its feet with a message that Bryant might have delivered in 1977. “Homosexuals are not monogamous,” he said. “They want to destroy the institution of marriage. It will destroy marriage. It will destroy the earth.”

On Nov. 2, the anti-gay marriage amendments passed handily in all 11 states — including Ohio, the state that ultimately swung the election in George W. Bush’s favor. Many commentators argued that the huge voter turnout in that pivotal battleground state — and therefore George W. Bush’s victory — was due largely to the anti-gay amendment driving conservative voters to the polls in record numbers.

“Just a year ago, justices of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that same-sex couples have the legal right to marry. George W. Bush is thanking them today,” *Boston Globe* columnist Joan Vennochi wrote November 4.

The week after the election, Burress called anti-gay leaders together in Washington to start planning for 10 state amendment campaigns in 2005, while other fundamentalist power brokers made it clear to Bush as he prepared for his second term that they expected some return for their considerable investment, including his unwavering support for an amendment to the United States Constitution banning gay marriage nationwide.

“In your re-election, God has graciously granted America — though she doesn’t deserve it — a reprieve from paganism,” wrote Bob Jones II, President of Bob Jones University, in an open letter of congratulations to President Bush. “You have been given a mandate. We the people expect your voice to be heard with the clear and certain sound of a trumpet. Undoubtedly you will have the opportunity to appoint many conservative judges and exercise forceful leadership with the Congress in passing legislation that is defined by biblical norms regarding the family and sexuality. You have four years to leave an imprint for righteousness upon this nation that brings with it the blessings of Almighty God.” ▲

‘A MIGHTY ARMY’

A DOZEN MAJOR GROUPS HELP DRIVE THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT’S ANTI-GAY CRUSADE

ALLIANCE DEFENSE FUND

SCOTTSDALE, ARIZ. >> www.alliancedefensefund.org

In 1993, with gay-rights issues increasingly being contested in the courts, a coalition of 35 Christian Right groups founded the Alliance Defense Fund (ADF). Key founders included D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries, Donald Wildmon of the American Family Association, and James Dobson of Focus on the Family. ADF President Alan Sears was a culture-war veteran, having served as executive director of Attorney General Edwin Meese’s Commission on Pornography during the Reagan Administration. Sears believed the fundamentalist right needed to get serious after years of liberal court victories: “They hit and they hit and they hit, and finally we’re defending.” Sears claims that the ultimate goal of the gay-rights movement is to “silence” Christians. In 1994, ADF solicited funds on Christian radio with an ad claiming, “Pro-life demonstrations may soon be illegal. ... Religious broadcasting may soon be censored. Hiring homosexuals in Christian schools, churches, and even as Sunday School teachers may soon become the law of the land. ... Don’t let Christianity become a crime.” In 2003, Sears and ADF Vice President Craig Osten expanded on that theme in *The Homosexual Agenda: Exposing the Principal Threat to Religious Freedom*, which ties homosexuality to pedophilia and other “disordered sexual behavior.” In 2000, the ADF helped defend the Boy Scouts of America’s ban on openly gay scoutmasters, which was upheld by a narrow 5-4 majority of the U.S. Supreme Court. The ADF has also mounted legal challenges to gay military service, marriage, adoption and foster-parenting, as well as to domestic partner benefits around the nation. It trains other attorneys “to battle the radical homosexual legal agenda” in free, week-long National Litigation Academies, whose participants commit to “provide 450 hours of pro bono legal work on behalf of the Body of Christ.”

Inspired by the organizing successes of early anti-gay crusaders like Anita Bryant, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, fundamentalist political activists have turned the anti-gay movement into a virtual industry over the last three decades. Below are profiles of a dozen of today’s most influential anti-gay groups. Groups designated as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center are marked with an asterisk.

AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION

TUPELO, MISS. >> www.afa.net

Best known for leading boycotts of advertisers who support “indecent” in the mass media (including the supposedly cocaine-snorting Mighty Mouse), the Rev. Donald Wildmon, a former Methodist minister, has led a series of religious-right groups since 1976. Appointed by Alan Sears (see Alliance Defense Fund) to the Meese Commission on Pornography in 1985, Wildmon successfully urged the removal of *Playboy* and *Penthouse* from some 17,000 convenience stores. But another favorite target has been homosexuality. In the 1980s, Wildmon succeeded in getting ads pulled from shows like “Thirtysomething,” added to Wildmon’s list of “Trash TV” because its plot included a gay romance. The American Family Association (AFA), created by Wildmon in 1977 as the National Federation for Decency but renamed AFA in 1988, has built an empire — a 200-station radio network, about 100 employees and a monthly *AFA Journal* sent to 180,000 people — largely on the basis of anti-gay appeals. In one October 2004 article, the *AFA Journal* suggests that gay influences are leading to a “grotesque culture” that will include “quick encounters in the middle school boys’ restroom.” In its 1994 booklet *Homosexuality in America*, the AFA claims “[p]rominent homosexual leaders and publications have voiced support for pedophilia, incest, sadomasochism, and even bestiality.” AFA’s direct-mail appeals are particularly shrill. “For the sake of our children and society, we must OPPOSE the spread of homosexual activity! Just as we must oppose murder, stealing, and adultery!” says one such recent fundraising letter. “Since homosexuals cannot reproduce, the only way for them to ‘breed’ is to RECRUIT! And who are their targets for recruitment? Children!” AFA has 21 state directors, including Cali-

fornia’s Scott Lively, co-author of *The Pink Swastika*, a book that claims “homosexuals are the true inventors of Nazism and the guiding force behind many Nazi atrocities” (see also story, p. 18). In late 2004, the AFA called for a boycott of Proctor & Gamble, calling it “one of the largest promoters of the homosexual agenda,” partly because it advertises on TV shows “Will and Grace” and “Queer Eye for the Straight Guy.” By late January 2005, AFA claimed more than 380,000 people had signed its boycott petition. With Wildmon reportedly in shaky health, his son, Tim, now serves as AFA president.

AMERICAN VISION*

ATLANTA, GA. >> www.americanvision.org

Founded in 1978 by Gary DeMar, one of America’s most prominent proponents of Christian Reconstructionism, American Vision produces a wide variety of “educational resources” designed to “restore America’s Biblical foundation.” Like R.J. Rushdoony, the founder of Reconstructionism (see Chalcedon Foundation), DeMar contends that the U.S. was founded as a “Christian nation” and that its democracy should be replaced by a theocratic government run by Christians who will strictly impose certain Old Testament prohibitions, including passages they interpret as opposing homosexuality and abortion. “The Bible is clear on moral issues that are culture-killers: homosexuality, homosexual marriage, and abortion,” says DeMar, who is closely allied with D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries, where he frequently speaks. While DeMar insists that homosexuals wouldn’t be rounded up and systematically executed under a “reconstructed” government, he does believe that the occasional execution of “sodomites” would serve society well, because “the law that requires the death penalty for homosexual acts effectively drives the perversion of homosexuality underground, back into the closet.” Another “long-term goal,” he writes elsewhere, should be “the execution of abortionists and parents who hire them.” DeMar is also down on anti-poverty programs. “Nowhere in the Bible is civil government given authority to help the poor by raising taxes on the rich,” he insists in the American Vision Web site essay. “In fact, as history shows, the ‘war on poverty’ became the war on the poor.” DeMar is tightly linked to other Reconstructionists, including Gary North, with whom he co-authored *Christian Reconstruction: What It Is, What It Isn’t*. In 1993, American Vision helped county commissioners in Cobb County, Ga., pass an anti-gay resolution so strongly worded that it sparked a national controversy. Cobb County Commissioner Gordon Wysong spoke at American Vision’s annual fundraising banquet the following year, saying of gay people, “We should blame them for every social failure in America.”

CHALCEDON FOUNDATION*

VALLECITO, CALIF. >> www.chalcedon.edu

The late Rousas John Rushdoony, known as the “father of Christian Reconstructionism,” established the Chalcedon Foundation in 1965. The think tank’s name refers to the Council of Chalcedon,

which in 451 A.D. proclaimed the state’s subservience to God. Rushdoony’s message, articulated in his massive 1973 opus, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, is similar: fundamentalist Christians must take control of governments and impose strict biblical law on America and the world. That would mean the death penalty for “practicing homosexuals,” among many other “abominators.” Rushdoony, whose book is revered by Reconstructionists as their foundational document, was also a racist. He opposed “unequal yoking” — interracial marriage or even “enforced integration” — insisting in the book that “[a]ll men are NOT created equal before God... . Moreover, an employer has a property right to prefer whom he will in terms of ‘color,’ creed, race or national origin.” The Bible, Rushdoony wrote, “recognizes that some people are by nature slaves.” In fact, American slavery was “generally benevolent” despite misguided attempts to make whites feel guilty about it. Rushdoony was also a Holocaust denier, attacking the “false witness” that some 6 million Jews were murdered in World War II. In the early 1990s, Rushdoony was reportedly a member of the board of governors of the secretive Council of National Policy Board, an exclusive group of arch-conservative leaders, where he was feted on his 80th birthday by Howard Phillips (Phillips ran for president twice on the extremist Constitution Party ticket). Although most fundamentalist leaders now deny holding Reconstructionist beliefs, several — including Beverly and Tim LaHaye (see Concerned Women for America), Donald Wildmon (see American Family Association) and D. James Kennedy (see Coral Ridge Ministries) — did serve alongside Rushdoony and other Chalcedon associates on the Coalition for Revival, a group formed in 1981 to “reclaim America.”

CHRISTIAN ACTION NETWORK

FOREST, VA. >> www.christianaction.org

Martin Mawyer, longtime editor of Jerry Falwell’s *Moral Majority Report*, founded the Christian Action Network (CAN) in 1990, a year after Falwell folded the original Moral Majority. In his “dirty and dangerous” battle against “militant homosexual groups,” Mawyer has not held back. In 1997, after Ellen Degeneres came out as a lesbian on her TV sitcom, Mawyer accused her of “DUMPING HER FILTHY LESBIAN LIFESTYLE RIGHT IN THE CENTER OF YOUR LIVING ROOM!! ... If we allow the tidal wave of gay and lesbian smut to continue to pour into our homes, it will utterly consume us in no time at all!” In 1999, he asked the Federal Communications Commission to put an “HC [homosexual conduct] warning label” on TV programs with gay characters. The following year, CAN caused a national stir when TV stations refused to air its inflammatory ad attacking Hillary Clinton, who was then running for U.S. Senate. Over ominous drumbeats, the narrator intoned: “It is rumored that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian. It is rumored that Hillary Clinton supported homosexual marriage. It is rumored that Hillary Clinton will leave her husband upon taking office. ... Sometimes, rumors are true. Shouldn’t you know the truth? For more information on traditional family values, please contact the Christian Action Network.” More recently, CAN protested

“Gay Days” at Disney World and other theme parks — events that Mawyer’s wife and CAN partner, Bonnie, says demonstrate “the true intent of these homosexuals: they are after our children!!” A 2000 Mawyer mailing incorporated militia-like paranoia: “I am not ready to give this great nation over to one-world government extremists ... radical, disease-carrying homosexuals ... anti-family lesbian feminists ... or anti-American U.N. globalists!” CAN activists today are familiar faces at Gay Days, videotaping “bad behavior.” In 2003, CAN turned its footage of “homosexual kissing, hugging and fondling” into a video tour of the Southeast, warning parents about the perils of Gay Days and warning that “homosexuals live in a pattern of sin and debauchery.”

CONCERNED WOMEN FOR AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D.C. >> www.cfw.org

When she founded Concerned Women for America (CWA) in 1979, Beverly LaHaye was a budding “family activist” best known for *The Act of Marriage*, a fiery anti-feminist bestseller co-authored with her husband, Tim. LaHaye’s goal was to energize the anti-feminist (or “pro-family”) cause with an advocacy group that might rival the National Organization for Women — which LaHaye calls “anti-God, anti-family” — in both size and political power. With a daily radio show that now reaches more than 1 million listeners, four affiliate organizations, and a cadre of attorneys, researchers and lobbyists battling the “radical, leftist crusade to transform America into Sex-topia,” LaHaye has done just that. She pins much of the blame for the “radical crusade” on gay people. In 1992, LaHaye said gay activists “go after boys by becoming teachers and Boy Scout leaders.” In 1998, CWA called homosexuals “people who make lewd phone calls, expose themselves to others, and engage in prostitution.” In 2001, LaHaye hired two of America’s most prominent anti-gay propagandists, Robert Knight and Peter LaBarbera, to launch CWA’s Culture and Family Institute. LaBarbera, a former *Washington Times* reporter and editor of an inflammatory anti-gay journal called *The Lambda Report on Homosexual Activism*, had earlier been thrown out of the American Psychological Association due to his faulty “science.” That didn’t prevent him from producing CWA’s *11 Ways You Can Fight the Homosexual Agenda* manual. Knight, called “America’s premier gay-basher” by Rob Boston of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, produces reams of sensationalistic reports like “Sexual Orientation and American Culture,” which warns that accepting “sexual orientation as a civil right” will lead to “a loss of stability in communities, with a rise in crime, sexually transmitted diseases and other social pathologies.” Knight has also accused gays of preying on “shy and artistic young boys,” using the boys’ desire for male affirmation to make them into “an easy mark for seduction.” After the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, CWA accused same-sex partners of those killed of “trying to hijack the moral capital of marriage.” Last year, CWA raised a ruckus over a gay Canadian couple that wanted to visit the U.S. together, calling the men “a new threat to border security” and “the latest pair of ‘domestic terrorists.’” The

group has also accused the Harry Potter books of promoting the practice of witchcraft among children.

**CORAL RIDGE MINISTRIES /
CENTER FOR RECLAIMING AMERICA**
FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA. >> www.coralridge.org

Beginning in the early 1960s, the Rev. D. James Kennedy turned conservative Coral Ridge Presbyterian into a mega-church that now claims 10,000 members. In 1974, Kennedy branched out with Coral Ridge Ministries, which has since become one of the largest fundamentalist enterprises in America with some 160 employees, several divisions including a Washington-based Center for Christian Statesmanship, and radio and television studios producing shows that reach a combined weekly audience of 3 million. In his book *Stranger at the Gate*, evangelical minister Mel White (see interview, p. 27), who produced a popular film for Kennedy called “Like a Mighty Army,” says Coral Ridge “practically funded its television outreach on ... disgusting, inflammatory antigay propaganda.” In one typical newsletter, Kennedy published a photograph of two sweet-looking children under a headline reading, “Sex with Children? Homosexuals Say Yes!” Elsewhere, he has written that “homosexuals prey on adolescent boys” and “take America’s children.” After Kennedy cited bogus claims about AIDS transmission, U.S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, himself a conservative evangelical, attacked his statement as “reprehensible” and “homophobic.” “I just cannot believe the poor scholarship of so many Christians,” Koop said, adding that Kennedy refused his subsequent offer of a briefing on the facts of AIDS transmission. Kennedy denies that he subscribes to the extremist ideology of Christian Reconstructionism, which calls for killing “practicing homosexuals,” but he is tied closely to leading Reconstructionists. Kennedy has described the works of Reconstructionism founder R.J. Rushdoony (see Chalcedon Foundation), which are laced with anti-black racism and anti-gay vitriol, as “essential.” His ministry has sold a book by leading Reconstructionist George Grant that laments the abandonment of legal codes prescribing death for homosexuals. And he certainly holds theocratic views closely related to Reconstructionism, as reflected in the name he chose for Coral Ridge’s political outreach arm: the Center for Reclaiming America (CRA). Since its founding in 1996, the CRA has brought together fundamentalist groups in campaigns like “Truth in Love,” a million-dollar 1998 ad campaign that promoted “ex-gay” ministries offering discredited methods of “curing” homosexuals. CRA sponsors an annual conference, Reclaiming America for Christ, that has featured leading Reconstructionists like Grant (who is also a former Coral Ridge vice president) and Gary DeMar (see American Vision), along with anti-gay stalwarts like Robert Knight (see Concerned Women of America). Coral Ridge also has been a generous supporter of deposed Alabama Chief Supreme Court Justice Roy Moore, the “Ten Commandments Judge” who in a 2002 “special concurrence” court opinion suggested that the state could impose “physical penalties, such as confinement and even execution” to protect children from gays and lesbians. Moore’s new Alabama outfit, the Foundation for Moral Law, is being partly bankrolled by Coral Ridge.



**MEL WHITE WAS A CULTURE WARRIOR ON THE RELIGIOUS
RIGHT — UNTIL HE CAME OUT**

From the 1960s through the early 1990s, the Rev. Mel White played a behind-the-scenes role in the resurgence of evangelical Christianity. While pastoring several West Coast churches and working with national crusades like Youth for Christ, White produced films and ghostwrote books for a “who’s who” of evangelical leaders, including the Revs. Billy Graham, Jerry Falwell, D. James Kennedy and Pat Robertson. Unknown to his friends and colleagues, White was also a closeted gay man who was nearly driven to suicide after two decades of struggling to save his marriage — and, he believed, his soul — with “reparative therapies” including electric shock and exorcism. In 1993, White came out publicly and wrote a memoir, *Stranger at the Gate: To Be Gay and Christian in America*. Ignored or rejected by all his famous colleagues — Robertson advised more therapy and “healing” — he began a campaign of nonviolent resistance against “spiritual violence,” leading protests of anti-gay intolerance at events like the Southern Baptist Convention.

In 1998, White founded Soulforce, an organization inspired by the civil-disobedience tactics of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. He has been arrested during several protests, and may face jail time again this spring, when Soulforce holds three days of vigils and protests at Focus on the Family's headquarters in Colorado Springs, Colo. The Intelligence Report interviewed White this January in Washington, D.C.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: You've compared the anti-gay movement to the Nazi movement against Jews in Germany. Is that really a fair comparison?

MEL WHITE: I'm convinced that if you walk through the Holocaust Museum here in D.C. and substitute the word "gay" for the word "Jew" during those early years of the Nazi regime, you will be convinced that what [Hitler's chief propagandist] Goebbels did is exactly what Jerry Falwell and [Focus on the Family's] James Dobson and Pat Robertson and Pope John Paul II are doing now.

They are demonizing us. They are creating a case for why we're the problem, and why the nation has gone foul. They are describing us as disease-carriers, child-snatchers, money-grubbers. All that demonizing creates a deadly environment. The killing here has been isolated and scattered so far, but it certainly has begun.

IR: And you hold religious leaders primarily responsible?

WHITE: It is the Christian Right movement that has become the number one enemy of God's gay children. Their churches are the primary sources of misinformation about gay and lesbian people that leads to suffering and death. No longer am I afraid of Skinheads and neo-Nazis and white supremacists, by comparison to a church that's committed to the destruction of the civil rights and human rights and families of my sisters and brothers.

Skinheads and Klansmen I can recognize for the enemies that they are. But anti-gay Christians come in the disguise of love, and that disguise is a powerful weapon in itself. They demonize, but they don't see themselves as responsible for the violence their demonizing causes.

I try to bring up examples like that terrible killing of a gay couple in California by the Williams brothers [Matthew and Tyler, in 1999]. When one of them was asked by his mother, "Why'd you do it?" he said, basically, "The Bible says the world would be better off without them." There are so many of these stories. What kind of smoking gun is more smoking than that?

IR: You've talked personally with both Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson about gay issues. How did they respond when you charged them with responsibility for fomenting anti-gay violence?

WHITE: "You lie! You have no proof that *anything* happens because of what we say. We *love* gay people." Dobson is saying that a lot now, because everybody is recognizing how hateful he is.

"We love gay people," he'll say. "But they're ruining the nation, and they're seducing your children, and they're bringing disease to your community. Of course, we love them — although they shouldn't have gay marriage, and they shouldn't be able to adopt because you know what they do to children. But we really love gay people!"

IR: You don't believe the religious right truly "loves the sinner but hates the sin"?

WHITE: To say, "I love you, but I have reservations" is to say, "I don't love you." To say, "I love you as you are" — that's love. There is no "but" or "if" in love. When are they going to get that? You can't love the sinner and hate the sin, when the sin is what I *am*. I am a gay man, and I love my partner of 23 years, Gary Nixon.

Can you love me and not love my relationship with Gary? Give us a break! Quit using that. That is total false adver-

tising. You don't love me at all unless you love me as I am.

IR: In *Stranger at the Gate*, you note that even conservative churches almost never talked about homosexuality when you were growing up. What happened to end that silence and bring anti-gay preaching to the fore?

WHITE: It has to be seen as part of the historic resurgence of political fundamentalism we're seeing around the world. Whether it's Muslim or Hindu or Jewish or Christian, fundamentalism is back, and it is bloodthirsty, and it is seeking to destroy everything that threatens it — and gay people apparently are threatening to it. Fundamentalism is a cleansing movement. The urge to purge is at the heart of it. They want to bring back the glory of what was — even though it never really was — and they want to make it safe for God to rule the nation.

For Christian fundamentalists, the goal is to purify the United States so that it reflects God, in ways that nations have never reflected Him. And that thinking leads them to say, "OK, What's wrong with America? How can we purify it?" Then they start hunting for impurities.

IR: Considering that the Old Testament spells out hundreds of "abominations," why did homosexuality come to be viewed as the primary "impurity" in America?

WHITE: Again, you have to look at it in historical context. When Jerry Falwell started the Moral Majority, he sat down with [influential fundamentalist leader] Francis Schaeffer and said, "We can't win this country to Christ. We're too small a group." Schaeffer said, "Well, use pagans to do it." Because that's what happened in the Old Testament, Schaeffer said. God used pagans — which means anybody who isn't a fundamentalist Christian — to do the work of God. So Falwell said, "How do we do that?" Schaeffer said, "Through co-belligerency issues. You find issues that you can work together on with pagans."

The first co-belligerency issue, of course, was the "godless Soviet empire." Falwell raised the Moral Majority mailing list of 6 million mostly by going to

all the state capitols with the choir from Liberty [Falwell's school in Lynchburg, Va.] and talking about the Soviet Union and waving flags.

When that issue petered out, and eventually the [Berlin] wall fell, the political fundamentalists had already tried out the demographics of two other issues, homosexuality and abortion. As strategically as anybody in American marketing, they switched to the "godless abortion threat" and the "godless homosexual threat."

Of course, fewer people see abortion as murder than see what gay people do in bed as icky. So spreading fear and misinformation about gay people has been

their best means to mobilize volunteers, to create a mass, and to raise money.

IR: How sincere are the anti-gay leaders about their cause?

WHITE: I know Jerry Falwell as well as he knows himself; I wrote his autobiography. He is sincere. Most of them are sincere, but they are sincerely wrong on the gay issue. It's something they believe, but it's their marketing gurus — people like [President Bush's political adviser] Karl Rove and [Moral Majority co-founder] Paul Weyrich — who've told them, "This is the one to push."

Homosexuality itself is not important to most of these guys. But it's an important means to an end they believe in,

and that is straightening out America to make sure Jesus can come back. Even if they're using anti-gay politics insincerely, they are sincerely interested in taking over the democratic process.

So that's why it became such a major issue. It came from the top down. This new, loud voice against homosexuality came through the parent-church leaders, like Falwell, who began to tell the world that homosexuality was a threat. Then it trickled down to local churches, and now it has become one of the great hate movements, I think, in history. It's dangerous stuff, because it knows no questions. It hears no response. It is a juggernaut. It is a bulldozer. It is a *blitzkrieg* that doesn't stop to reason.

IR: How have civil rights leaders reacted to Soulforce?

WHITE: We have many civil rights activists who have stood with us, though we've been shocked at how many will not. Dr. Rodney Powell is one of the most distinguished of the black activists, and he has been one of Soulforce's leading teachers and supporters. He's been arrested with us all over the place. [Georgia Congressman] John Lewis has been supportive of the gay movement. And at our opening session, Gandhi's grandson Arun took a tremendous stand for Soulforce, and so did King's daughter, Yolanda.

IR: Some black leaders, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson, have said you can't compare this movement to black civil rights, because gay people in America haven't suffered the way black people have.

WHITE: I don't want to compare civil-rights movements. Why compare injustice? I believe that it's very difficult to be raised as black — far more difficult than life has been for me. I would say that as a white man, I am still privileged by that, even after coming out. If I were a white



PHOTO COURTESY OF SOULFORCE

Supporters of Soulforce, founded by the Rev. Mel White, rally for religious tolerance of gays and lesbians.



“I know Jerry Falwell as well as he knows himself; I wrote his autobiography. He is sincere. Most of them are sincere, but they are sincerely wrong on the gay issue.”

Partners and co-founders of Soulforce: Gary Nixon and the Rev. Mel White

woman, I would be less privileged, and so forth down the line.

But one of my biggest heroes, James Lofton, once told me, “Quite frankly, Mel, it would be harder to be gay than it is to be black.” I said, “What?” This distinguished civil rights activist said, “We have our churches and our families on our side. You don’t.”

He had a point. We may not be kept from voting, we may not be kept from water fountains by signs, but people believe we’re destroying everything good in America. And our mommies don’t like us. Our preachers don’t like us. That’s pretty significant. My mom said, when I told her I was gay, “I’d rather see you at the bottom of that swimming pool, drowned, than to hear this.” Would hearing that from a Ku Klux Klan member have as much impact? I’m 65 and I still hurt.

Blacks suffer, we suffer — it’s suffering, whoever it is. When you generate self-hatred in somebody, which the anti-gay people do, what’s worse than that? When you teach me to hate myself — and teach others to hate me — is that not a hate movement?

IR: In *Stranger at the Gate*, you call right-wing Christians “the real Sodomites.” Could you explain?

WHITE: The meaning of the destruction of Sodom is discussed in the Bible by five prophets and Jesus. None of them mentions sex. They all say this was a city that could have saved a lot of people’s lives if its citizens would just open their doors at night and not keep people out in the cold and in the jungles. Instead, Sodomites closed their doors every night after six o’clock. They were arrogant, and they did not offer safety or succor to people who needed it. That’s why Sodom was destroyed.

So — who’s locking gay people out? Who’s keeping us out at night? Who’s

failing to offer us safety and succor? The church and this nation. They are the true Sodomites. They are doing what the city of Sodom was destroyed for doing. God came — Jesus came — to say, “Love your enemy, feed your neighbor, house those in need.” Jesus came to rescue outcasts. Fundamentalists are *making* outcasts. And they don’t see the difference. So they’re Sodomites.

Dobson and Falwell and these bishops and these priests — I’m struggling to save their souls. I believe they are victims of misinformation, and that they’re victimizing people in turn. We must stop them for their own sakes if for nobody else’s. Because when you look back and you see the damage that you’ve done, and nobody told you that you were doing it — it’s going to be sad.

IR: You’ve done all you can to reach your old friend, Falwell.

WHITE: I’ve tried. Gary and I have sat there almost every Sunday for two years, looking up at him from the fifth row in that church [Thomas Road Baptist, in Lynchburg, Va.]. We stand up and protest silently when he starts lying about gay people — we bow our heads and stand there as long as he’s talking about it. And 5,000 people see him talking, and us standing. That’s the only way I know to bear witness to these people, because they’re not interested in my material. They’re not interested in my story.

IR: When you talk to straight Christians who are willing to listen, how do you explain the effect that anti-gay religious rhetoric has on gay people?

WHITE: I say this: Picture yourself in a world where your heterosexuality is called a choice. Where your heterosexuality, what you do in bed, is considered dirty and sinful. Where your relationships are dishonored and demeaned and caricatured by everyone. Picture a

world where you are the scum of the earth in the eyes of civic, civil and religious authority. And ask yourself: How would I feel about myself if I was seen as the enemy of God, and the enemy of the nation? How would I feel if I could lose my job in most states by simply putting my partner’s picture on my desk, or if I couldn’t adopt, couldn’t serve in the military, couldn’t lead most churches? You would feel pretty rotten. You would feel like the scourge of the earth.

IR: In 1993, you wrote Pope John Paul II a letter, accusing him of “advocating an anti-gay policy that leads to the suffering and death of God’s children in your care.” Was there any response?

WHITE: No. There’s no church leader interested in hearing our side of the story now. None. We went over [to Rome], though. We finally got arrested inside Vatican Square, kneeling on the place where a Sicilian gay man had burned himself to death [to protest the church’s anti-gay pronouncements] beneath the pope’s window.

They’re walking a silly tightrope. Such a large percentage of their priests and popes and cardinals are gay, and always have been. And if John Paul II just said, “You know what? God made gays, and they should be who they are,” the whole world would change. It would end a terrible, terrible confusion and allow gay people to be what God created them to be.

That’s the whole thing: We have to get past the issue so that gay people can do what we were called to do. We have unique gifts to contribute to civilization, let alone to the church. If we aren’t free to give those gifts, if we’re always on the defensive and always on the outside, the greatest tragedy is not that we aren’t accepted. The greatest tragedy is that we’re not allowed to exercise our gifts on behalf of humankind. ▲

Tempest in Texas

BY SUSY BUCHANAN

Racist cult ‘prophet’ Warren Jeffs is on the move, and a tiny West Texas town fears another Waco

ELDORADO, Texas — This is a town of 1,951 residents, 13 churches, three restaurants, and a motel that fills with hunters during deer season. The town paper, the *Eldorado Success*, covers high school football, wedding anniversaries and city council meetings — typical small-town stories in what was once a typical west Texas town.

All that changed on March 24, 2004, when the biggest story to ever hit Eldorado debuted on the paper’s front page: “Corporate Retreat or Prophet’s Refuge?” the headline read. The *Success* sold 200 copies in a single day, causing a near-traffic jam outside the paper’s office, says editor Randy Mankin.

Warren Jeffs has turned a hunting ranch into a small city in less than a year.

The story Mankin broke concerned the true identity of Eldorado's new neighbors.

In November 2003, David Allen Steed had purchased a 1,691-acre ranch just outside of town, telling locals it would be used as a hunting retreat for business clients from Las Vegas.

But Mankin discovered that Steed was actually an agent for a breakaway Mormon sect known as the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS) and based in an Arizona-Utah border community long known as Short Creek (encompassing the twin cities of Hildale, Utah, and Colorado City, Ariz.). He began researching the FLDS, and what he would learn would astonish him: stories of "blood atonement," child brides, rabid racism, multiple wives, and a secretive, religious dictator.

The more he learned, the more apparent it became that the folks at the ranch had no interest in hunting at all.

The FLDS is a polygamous religious cult led by 48-year-old "prophet" Warren Jeffs, who teaches his followers (he claims an estimated 10,000) that blacks are the descendants of Cain, "cursed with a black skin" and selected by God to be "the servants of servants." Since taking over leadership of the group when his father died in 2002, Jeffs has demanded absolute

obedience from his followers and preached blood atonement, an early Mormon doctrine dictating the extrajudicial killings of certain sinners. (Modern Mormon officials have said that blood atonement was never actually carried out, but researchers have produced some evidence to the contrary.) Jeffs says that the government is "wicked," as are outsiders and the mainstream Mormon Church (leaders prefer its full name, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or LDS), and that all will soon be stricken from the earth by God's hand.



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

An explosive situation appears to be developing.

Gary Engels, an investigator from Arizona, says Jeffs recently predicted that the world would end on April 6 — the day the sect believes Jesus was born — and has instructed his followers to ready a temple for the second coming.

Attorneys general in Utah and Arizona are investigating

Jeffs and the FLDS, concerned by allegations of forced marriages involving underage girls.

And former cult members filed lawsuits last July in Utah that accused Jeffs of a litany of crimes, from sodomizing a 5-year-old nephew to making terroristic threats.

But process servers in the civil cases have been unable to locate the prophet, who has not been seen in public for months, and some law enforcement officials worry that any possible encounter with Jeffs could spark violence. Many observers suspect that Jeffs is leading a permanent departure from Short Creek, where there are signs that hundreds of his followers are moving out and bringing the polygamist cult and its problems to Eldorado.

An FLDS spokesman told a reporter last fall that Eldorado was being set up merely as a new "outpost and retreat" for some 500 Short Creek residents tired of negative press attention. But that hasn't mollified the locals, who have not forgotten that they were lied to about the purpose of the ranch.

"There's a new town moving into our county," says Mankin. "They could easily outnumber everyone here in the city if they need to. We're very concerned about that."

The last thing Mankin wants for his town is to see it become another Short Creek — no matter how many newspapers he sells along the way. Even more frightening is the specter of another Waco.

"From the moves I see [Jeffs] make, I think he's unstable," says Mankin. "Mass excommunications, the reassigning of wives, children

and families, and a reckless disregard for business. They are gutting that town out there [Short Creek] and are coming here to Eldorado."

All Mankin can do is watch and wait.

Short Creek

Warren Jeffs' empire is, for the moment, headquartered in an area north of the Grand Canyon and south of Zion National Park known as the Arizona Strip, in the isolated community of Short Creek, where time has stood still in many ways since the polygamists moved there during the Great Depression. The FLDS split from the mainstream LDS after the church banned polygamy in 1890 under pressure from the federal government.

The FLDS further distanced itself from the LDS when the church reversed a longstanding position and began allowing blacks to become priests in 1978. Jeffs has described the day blacks were given the keys to heaven as a victory for the devil. He says the LDS "became the great and terrible church on the earth" and will be destroyed by God.

Despite longstanding laws forbidding polygamy, the group has been largely left alone since a disastrous 1953 raid on Short Creek by Arizona law enforcement became a public relations nightmare for then-Gov. Howard Pyle. The media told stories of families and children torn apart, and the public was outraged.

Pyle's attempt to eradicate what he called "the wicked theory that every maturing girl child should be forced into the bondage of multiple wifehood with men of all ages" would end his political career.



JACQUE MERCANDETTI PHOTOS



Warren Jeffs (above left) appears to be abandoning his former stronghold in the area known as Short Creek (left and above).

That a devout religious sect wishing to be left alone with their faith would choose to settle in Short Creek is understandable. The red rocks of Canaan Mountain loom like sentries above the town. The vast cerulean sky is dark and crisp at 6,000 feet.

There is also a harsh edge to the wind that turns the cheeks of the women ruddy and tousles their carefully constructed braids.

Clad in frocks and simple dresses, they appear trapped in an endless episode of “Little House on the Prairie.” Dust stirs under their footfalls, swirling their long skirts as they walk the quiet streets.

Although it’s hard to study their faces at any length because they’re quick to turn away from strangers, there’s a sense of déjà vu with each high forehead, pointed nose, and reddish-gold mane.

In Short Creek, it’s not uncommon for your sister to be your cousin or your uncle your stepfather. The lack of new blood — this is a sect you must be born into — explains the recurring facial structures.

In a more tragic way, it also explains the town’s baby cemetery, a large plot of land devoted exclusively to the headstones of newborns and infants.

Marriage between close relations can bring out the worst in genetics.

‘Obey the Prophet’

Short Creek is completely dominated by Jeffs. FLDS members control the city government, the police force, the schools, and every aspect of life.

“Obey the prophet when he speaks and you’ll be blessed,” Jeffs has said. “Disobey him and it’s death.”

In late 2004, Jeffs asked his disciples to stand if they would be willing to die for him. No one remained seated.

“He asked them would they die for him. Well, that’s a veiled question,” says Richard Holm, a former elder in the FLDS church who was excommunicated in 2003. “‘Would you kill for me?’ is the subtle question within that question.”

In the two years since he became prophet, Jeffs has ordered all dogs shot; closed the town zoo; forbidden television, holidays, movies and music; banned laughter; forbidden swimming and water sports, and sent “God Squads” of young men to inspect residences and report any violations of his edicts.

Marriages are arranged and performed exclusively by Jeffs in order to keep his chosen people pure. “The devil is trying to get people to go out and marry and mix with the world,” he preaches, “even different colored people. That is why we marry *only* who the prophet says.”

Strangers (“gentiles”) touring the town are met with glances ranging from hostile to fearful. Outsiders, residents have been told, are “wicked.”

Everywhere visitors go in Short Creek, they are shadowed by an entourage of men in SUVs and pickups watching their

every move, taking note of where they go and who they speak with — a silent intimidation of both the visitors and anyone who accommodates them.

Not that there’s much in town to draw a tourist.

Short Creek has a restaurant that sells religious books and homemade soup.

The supermarket shelves offer eight-pound “family packs” of hamburger meat.

There’s a drugstore that’s devoid of condoms but offers \$1 ovulation testing and free popcorn.



JACKIE MORGAN/GETTY IMAGES

Houses are ramshackle and look like modular gerbil cages, one mismatched habitat slapped onto another to accommodate burgeoning families and multiple wives. (FLDS believes that three wives are necessary to reach the highest level of heaven.)

Short Creek also has a “launching pad,” a grassy field near the baby cemetery that has been used several times as a gathering place when the prophet declared the Lord was coming to destroy the wicked and “lift them up.”

Colorado City historian Ben Bistline says he remembers three separate occasions the community was told to gather for lift-off. “People were scared to death that the end of the world was coming,” Bistline says.

“They were crowding the supermarkets, loading up with food,” Bistline recalls. “I saw a little girl reach into her mother’s basket and take something out. ‘Can I eat this, mommy?’ she asked. Her mother told her, ‘No, honey! That food’s for heaven.’”

When the Lord failed to appear, the prophet pronounced his flock unworthy and urged them to pray harder.

King Warren

“There is not another town, municipality or city that is anything like this. There is nothing like this in America,” says Gary Engels, the investigator with the Mohave, Ariz., county attorney’s office who has been working in Short Creek since last fall. Engels had done his polygamy homework before his



FLDS children (above left) are taught to fear outsiders and to only marry within the cult — a practice that has led to the deaths of many infants (above) due to problems resulting from inbreeding. Young girls’ husbands are selected by FLDS prophet Warren Jeffs, who historian Benjamin Bistline (left) predicts will meet “some kind of violent death.”

arrival, but still was surprised at the extent of control Jeffs has over the population.

“It’s like a fiefdom and everyone lives and survives by the will of Warren Jeffs. He can take away your family, your business, and your home. What king has ever had that power?” he asks.

At first glance, Engels looks and acts like a cop out of central casting. His hardened exterior comes from years on the streets as a homicide cop, and it’s precisely this stubbornness that

makes him an ideal man for what has to be one of the loneliest jobs in the county. No one in Short Creek wants him there.

“I’m here to investigate any and all crimes that may or may not have taken place,” Engels says from behind his desk in the trailer Mohave County installed him in last fall. The trailer is shared by Child Protective Services and social service workers, the idea being that a distraught polygamist could come in for benefits and use the opportunity to talk with Engels about spousal abuse, statutory rape, forced marriage or any other crimes without arousing suspicion.

Well, that’s the idea. It hasn’t happened as of yet, and Engels doubts it will anytime soon. He hopes that “over time they will get used to me.”

It’s a tough town for Engels. The police are followers of Jeffs and are not warm to Engels’ presence among them. They follow him regularly, and they carry guns.

Rumors about a cave in the cliffs filled with a stockpile of weapons have been circulating for years. The cave exists, but Engels can’t say for sure what’s inside. He does offer this: “We do know that in 1982, 150 assault rifles were brought here as well as a few hundred thousand rounds of ammunition.”

What happened to the weapons is unclear.

Threats come Engels’ way every so often, which he takes as a sign he’s getting to the locals. Still, he is cautious.

In His Own Words

FLDS ‘prophet’ Warren Jeffs offers up some harsh opinions on blacks, women, gays, violence and the end of the world

ON BLACKS

“The black race is the people through which the devil has always been able to bring evil unto the earth.”

“[Cain was] cursed with a black skin and he is the father of the Negro people. He has great power, can appear and disappear. He is used by the devil, as a mortal man, to do great evils.”

“Today you can see a black man with a white woman, et cetera. A great evil has happened on this land because the devil knows that if all the people have Negro blood, there will be nobody worthy to have the priesthood.”

“If you marry a person who has connections with a Negro, you would become cursed.”

“I was watching a documentary one day and on came these people talking about a certain black man. ... And then it showed the modern rock group, the Beatles. ... And so the manager of the group called in this Negro, homosexual, on drugs, and the Negro taught them how to do it. And what happened then, it went world wide... . So when you enjoy the [rock] beat ... you are enjoying the spirit of the black race and that’s what I emphasize to the students. And it is to rock the soul and lead the person to immorality, corruption, to forget their prayers, to forget God. And thus the whole world has partaken of the spirit of the Negro race, accepting their ways.”

ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN

“You can’t go to heaven and be a god unless you have more than one wife.”

“Don’t go that sad road, young ladies. Don’t be wooed and tricked by the cute and cool

and cunning boys or men that try to get you to like them.”

“I have been instructed that any young man who will not leave our girls alone is to be sent away and not allowed to be among us, even before they destroy the girl.”

ON HOMOSEXUALITY

“The people grew so evil, the men started to marry the men and the women married the women. This is the worst evil act you can do, next to murder. It is like murder. Whenever people commit that sin, then the Lord destroys them.”

ON VIOLENCE

“I want to remind you what the prophets have taught us, that whenever a man of God is commanded to kill another man, he is never bloodthirsty.”

THE END OF THE WORLD

“For our God has a controversy with the nations, and He is about to stretch forth His hand and sweep the wicked off this land.”

“Today the Lord rules over this people through President Jeffs, yet we’re under the bondage of the gentiles here in America. Soon the Lord will overthrow our nation and the priesthood people will rule over this land because the priesthood people will be the only ones left.”

“Your only survival will be to be lifted up. It will be the greatest earthquake ever to come on the earth. The great war before the earthquake will kill 2 billion and the earthquake will kill quite a bit of those that are left — besides diseases and other things.”

“When we finally go to Zion, then another planet is going to crash into this earth.”

“They are totally, completely, 120% loyal to Warren. If he told them someone needed to be killed, the fringe people would take it upon themselves to do so.” Engels says. “The biggest thing they are taught is obedience and to not question anything.” Anything at all.

‘Stinkin’ Bastard’

Gary Engels estimates more than 300 men have been excommunicated under Jeffs’ rule. With staggering birth rates and multiple wives, the number of people whose lives have been torn apart is in the thousands.

Richard Holm lost his \$700,000 home, two wives and 10 children to excommunication in November 2003, and the experience has nearly broken him. Needless to say, Warren Jeffs is a bit of a sore subject.

Holm squints into the sun as he tells his story, doing his best to curse like a sailor. Despite the intensity of his anger, he doesn’t have the appropriate vocabulary to let it emerge. He’s been taught all his life to be subservient, to push strong emotion from his soul and “keep sweet” for the Lord.

And so, when rage comes roiling out of the balding 50-year-old, the best he can muster is to call the man who stole his wives and children a “stinkin’ bastard.” The words fly from his mouth like bullets.

Holm had not only pledged his life to this religion, but also a good chunk of money. Over the past 25 years, Holm estimates he’s tithed upwards of \$10 million, profits from construction and other businesses he has overseen.

And then one day, in one phone call, the world as he knew it ceased to exist.

The call came from his wives’ father (Holm had married sisters), and it let him know, third-hand, that God had deemed him unworthy of the priesthood.

Apparently, the Lord woke Jeffs that morning and delivered a list of sins that Holm had committed. Jeffs then called Holm’s father-in-law, who was asked to relay the bad news to Holm. Holm was ordered to give up his wives and children and leave the community immediately to “repent from afar.”

Jeffs tells men he excommunicates that if they can come up with a list of their sins that matches the list Jeffs received from the Lord, they can return.

It’s a cruel game. Of course, the lists submitted by the hopeful men never quite equal what the Lord said, and Jeffs amasses a collection of deep, dark secrets as the men describe in detail, on paper, every bad thing they have ever done.

Holm was no exception. “I packed an overnight bag, hugged my family and went to my motel fully expecting to only be gone a day or two. I wrote [Jeffs] a letter that night and dropped it off at his house. Then I tried calling him. Warren would not answer my calls. I wrote him six detailed letters about my life, not only my challenges but also my faithfulness.”

Six weeks later, Holm changed his mind about trying to get back in favor with Jeffs.

Richard Holm has lost his home and wives because of Warren Jeffs, and now he fears for the future of his teenage daughters. “If he’s a prophet of anything,” Holm says, “he’s a prophet of evil and doom.”

Holm learned his wife and children had been reassigned.

“I got a phone call from that little bastard brother of mine saying he was now married to my two wives,” Holm remembers, tightening his shoulders.

“I told him how rotten and wrong he was. Then I had to get out of town or I would have killed the bastard.”

Holm suspects his brother, Edson, received his wives as a reward.

“Edson had given one 17- and two 18-year-old daughters to Warren, who married them to three of his buddies.” Looking back, it all made sense.

“Ed turned in three daughters in one fell swoop and here was a way to reward him. That was so stinkin’ wrong, and it convinced me that we’re dealing with an evil stinkin’ bastard.”

Holm has visitation with his children each week. The visits are loving, but tense.

The prophet tells Holm’s children that apostates like their father are “the worst of beings, and the terror and pain they will suffer cannot be described.”

For his part, Holm says he is buying a home with a swimming pool, a pool table and a big-screen TV, all things that are



JACKIE MERCANDETTI

forbidden to his children. He hopes to offer the kids glimpses of a different world, and allow them to choose which to be a part of when the time comes.

But he is not overly optimistic about their fates.

Holm has three daughters and one son who are in polygamous relationships and won't have anything to do with him, including grandchildren he is not allowed to see.

And lately he's become especially fearful of losing his 18-year-old daughter.

He's told her he wants her to experience courtship and to marry someone of her own age and choosing. He's told her that if Jeffs marries her off against her will, he'll come for her, even if she is taken to Texas. But Holm fears she is "leaning the wrong direction."

Swimming pools and big-screen TVs can't compete with the influence of Warren Jeffs, who says polygamy and obedience can turn young women into goddesses.

"There's been a seduction taking place where [Jeffs] seems to represent this exotic celestial world in a compound where everything you want is at your fingertips," says Holm. "But it's a mirage, and she doesn't seem to realize that those walls are there to keep her in as much as they are there to keep the world out."

Holm says each of the girls at school received a special note last fall.

"There is a place for each one of you in Zion. When you are ready, I will come and get you personally," it said.

The note was signed "Warren S. Jeffs."

Old Wives' Tales

"If they start taking child brides [to Eldorado], then I have a problem with that and we will do something," promises David Doran, sheriff of Texas' Schleicher County. Forced marriages and statutory rape will not be tolerated.

Those who have fled Short Creek understand why.

Pennie Petersen is an outspoken blonde with laughing eyes and a no-nonsense demeanor who has helped several women escape from polygamy. One of those women was her sister, Ruth Stubbs, who was married at 16 to Rodney Holm, a Short Creek police officer who was 32 and had two other wives. Stubbs bore him three children, two before she turned 18, but then she fled. Stubbs filed charges against her husband, with Petersen's help, and Rodney Holm was convicted in Utah for unlawful sexual conduct with a minor and bigamy, both felonies.

Petersen was not so lucky with two other sisters, who were married to William Black and both pregnant before they turned 15. Black and the girls have vanished.

Petersen herself began running away from Short Creek when she was 9 years old, hitchhiking or riding a horse to Kanab, Utah, a distance of 38 miles.

"The police were nice and would let me play pool and eat pizza before they took me back," she says, smiling. "Then my father would beat me until I couldn't crawl. Then I'd do it again."

She turned 14, found out she was to be married to a 48-year-old man who she says had previously molested her, and ran away for good.

Petersen advocates education as an important element to any sort of solution in Short Creek. Currently, many boys and girls never make it past the eighth grade, and even then their schooling is done in private, religious schools under the supervision of Jeffs. "I'd like them to educate the women that they can be and do everything. If they do that [FLDS is] gonna lose a lot of girls," Petersen maintains.

"Show my 17 year-old daughter a 70 year-old man and tell her that's going to be her new husband, she'll tell you, 'Hell, no,' and beat the crap out of you."

What Petersen and her sister escaped was a life Pam Black says she lived until she was excommunicated by FLDS in 1998.

A coltish redhead in her 50s who married at 17, Black says FLDS women lack a fundamental sense of self-esteem. "The only time I ever felt loved in my life, the only time anyone ever sent me flowers, is when I had a little baby to love me back. If you

"Welfare fraud, child abuse, spousal abuse -- prosecute the damn stuff!" says Pennie Petersen (right) who fled the FLDS religion when she was 14.

JACKIE MERCANDETTI



have a baby, that's your sanity." She would have 14 children in 22 years.

Mental illness among the women of Short Creek is common, she says, a reaction to oppression and the relentless pressure to produce as many children as possible. Black claims that many women in Short Creek are on Prozac.

"I think every woman here goes berserk just from having so many children. I went crazy and beat my oldest child once, kicked him and hit him because I was just so angry," she admits.

Black is fearful about what may come to pass in Short Creek and Eldorado. Attention from law enforcement and media, she says, has only served to strengthen Jeffs' hold on his people. Persecution has been a part of their faith since the days of LDS founder Joseph Smith (who married an estimated 33 women), who was shot and killed by a mob in 1844. "Jeffs is going to be a martyr. His exodus from Short Creek has already made him a martyr," she warns.

Watching Over

A few weeks before Christmas, newspaperwoman Kathy Mankin steps into a small plane with a telephoto lens on her camera.

The Piper 180 shimmies down the runway at the Eldorado airport. Gradually the small wings take hold in the air despite the crosswind. Pilot J.D. Doyle greets the weather with a grin.

Doyle is a self-described "high-tech redneck," a technology instructor at the local high school as well as a pilot. Like

ELDORADO SUCCESS



Some of the homes constructed on the Eldorado compound measure nearly 30,000 square feet.

many who have flown Eldorado's skies this past year, he keeps watch on the burgeoning compound just four miles from his town.

Eldorado is a tolerant place, Doyle explains, pointing out a monastery at one end of the county and a convent at the other as the plane moves toward the ranch. Religion has never been such an issue before. Nothing has.

As the plane circles, Kathy steadies her camera and begins shooting. Fifteen hundred feet below her is a startling sight.

There's a rock quarry, rock crushing plant, barns, sheds, fruit trees, a garden, a concrete plant, a giant crane and stone cutting area, chicken coops, a gravesite, eleven large buildings that appear to be multi-story residential halls, a guard station, a commissary, the foundation of a massive temple, and a meeting hall larger than the Eldorado airport. All were built within the last nine months.

That they are coming to Eldorado is no longer a question in anyone's mind — not in Texas or even in Arizona. "Our concern is that if leadership leaves [Short Creek], there's a lack

of a safety net for those who are left behind," says Andrea Esquer, spokesperson for Arizona Attorney General Terry Goddard.

Jeffs has abandoned his walled compound in Short Creek, and appears to have little interest in seeing that town prosper.

The FLDS is selling large parcels of land north of the town and reportedly entertaining any reasonable offer.

Crises have hit several local institutions. In years past, FLDS followers were encouraged to take out as many loans as possible and told the world would end before they would have to pay them back. Civilization survived, but the Bank of Ephraim didn't, collapsing last November.

Meanwhile, teacher paychecks from the Colorado City School District reportedly began bouncing last fall, allegedly because FLDS got the district to hire far more of its members than were actually needed, draining the district's coffers. Nevertheless, the district owns a private plane that is used to transport school board members to meetings.

How many will move to the Eldorado compound — known as Yearning For Zion (YFZ) Ranch — and what their plans are remain the subject of much speculation. Gary Engels estimates that between 400 and 500 men from Short

Construction on the Ranch

This aerial view taken last December reveals a ranch the size of a small town, all constructed within one year. What FLDS said was to be a hunting ranch has become a new home for prophet Warren Jeffs and an untold number of followers. Inset descriptions are taken from the *Eldorado Success* newspaper.

- 1 Three-story rock saw, used in the construction of the temple
- 2 Limestone temple, built early this year
- 3 Concrete plant
- 4 Commissary
- 5 Various residential buildings
- 6 First buildings constructed on the site, early last year
- 7 Meeting hall
- 8 Large chicken coop and grain silos

Creek have been dispatched to Texas to help with construction.

Jon Krakauer, who wrote about Jeffs in his 2003 book *Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith*, has been watching the YFZ Ranch with great interest. He spent this New Year's Day in West Texas, flew over the compound, and believes he photographed Jeffs himself at a temple dedication ceremony surrounded by followers.

"Jeffs is becoming increasingly paranoid. He has several civil actions against him and I expect sometime soon a felony warrant for his arrest," Krakauer says. Utah's interested in prosecuting Jeffs on statutory rape charges for fathering children with at least two women under the age of 18. But no matter where any charges may be filed, Krakauer predicts "the drama's going to be played out in Texas," calling Eldorado "ground zero in the effort to bring Jeffs to justice."

Ben Bistline, the local historian who has written two books on Short Creek, fears any attempt to arrest Jeffs on criminal charges would be disastrous. "If they try to go into that compound they'll have a Waco," he says matter-of-factly. "It's like trying to serve a warrant on the pope."

But nobody in law enforcement, especially Sheriff Doran, wants to talk about Waco. That was 12 years ago and 260 miles away. Doran says he hasn't seen any weapons or any signs of violence from anyone at the YFZ Ranch. No criminal charges have been filed against Jeffs, and if they are, Doran says he'll know how to handle it.

Krakauer sees it differently. "I've been called an alarmist," he says, "but there is a very, very real possibility of a tragedy on a massive scale."

Whether or not legal proceedings provoke any kind of confrontation, FLDS members have been enduring a situation for years that will likely be exported to Eldorado as part of their culture, no matter what happens to Warren Jeffs.

Even if Jeffs is removed as prophet, "it's not like [the FLDS] will transform into the Unitarian church," says Krakauer. "It's still going to be a bad place for women and kids."

Gary Engels agrees. "I look at these 14-, 15-, 16-year-old girls, and I know they will never have a future," he says. "I'd like to see the government make this place a priority, make an attempt to bring 20th-century beliefs back in."

Engels sees a long road ahead for those who choose to leave. People who join cults most often have a life before the cult that they can work to reclaim, but FLDS members know next to nothing about the outside world. "With these people there's no place to take them back to."

Pam Black remembers well the first time she ever touched a black person — a friend's foster child — whose skin she had been taught all her life bore the mark of the devil. "I was so afraid," she says, shuddering with her memory. "But when I held that little baby, a shift happened in my heart. How could anybody tell me God doesn't love this little child?"

When so much of the world has been called wicked and disobedience is punished by eternal damnation, Black says those who want to help people coming out of polygamy don't know where to begin. "People here are brainwashed," she says, and it brings her to tears. ▲

Sweet Home Alabama

Frightened right-wingers gather to keep the 'Cradle of the Confederacy' safe from leprosy, pedophiles, Spanish and rampant godlessness

BY SUSY BUCHANAN



With tea bags stapled to their hats, Alabamians gathered for the third annual Alabama Tea Party.

presentation of the American flag by the Jefferson County Sheriff's Department Honor Guard, Russ Fine showed that he was no shrinking violet.

"Today, the Alabama Tea Party declares war on illegal immigration in this state!" the goateed radio man roared. "If you intend to pursue the American dream, and we encourage you to do so, you *will* do it legally! You *will* pay all the taxes everyone else pays, and you *will* learn to read and speak our language!"

"This is America, by God, and we speak English here!"

One of the Tea Party's "celebrity guest speakers" was former Alabama Supreme Court Chief Justice Roy Moore, who was accompanied by his wife, four children, and professional bodyguard Leonard Holyfield, the cousin of former world heavyweight boxing champion Evander Holyfield, a 10th degree black belt — and one of the very few black people inside the crowded Alabama Theater.

Moore, who is reportedly considering a run for Alabama governor, plugged his new autobiography, *So Help Me God: The Ten Commandments, Judicial Tyranny, and the Battle for Religious Freedom*. He bemoaned his fate since being kicked off the Alabama Supreme Court for refusing federal court orders to remove the Ten Commandments statue he secretly erected one night in the state's Judicial Building. He spoke of the "moral foundation" of the law. All in all, it was the same speech Moore has given repeatedly at extremist gatherings in the last year.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Accompanied by the mournful strains of a giant Wurlitzer organ, a crowd of almost 1,600 mostly white, mostly elderly Alabamians inside Birmingham's resplendent Alabama Theater this March sang "God Bless America" with gusto, swaying slightly while lifting their arms to the gilded ceiling. Many had teabags lashed or stapled to their hats in honor of this special occasion — the third annual "Alabama Tea Party," a one-day, ultra-conservative gathering organized and hosted by husband-and-wife talk radio team Russ and Dee Fine.

The couple was well known to their audience. During their decade on the air at WERC-AM in Birmingham, the Fines have reportedly boycotted the Martin Luther King holiday. Their Web site has long linked to a racist anti-immigrant hate group, American Patrol. When photos

surfaced in 2001 of Auburn University Halloween parties where fraternity brothers dressed up in blackface and Klan robes and posed with nooses in front of a Confederate battle flag, Dee Fine belittled the ensuing protests. What the lads had done, she insisted, was no worse than dressing up as a witch — and "you don't see witches out there protesting."

The Fines specialize in launching attacks on illegal immigration, taxes and the separation of church and state. The goal of this year's Tea Party, their promotional material explained, was "to send a message to elitist officials that Alabamians are mad as hell" about these issues "and we're not going to take it any more!"

The event sometimes resembled an old-fashioned, all-American gathering of conservatives. But following "God Bless America," the pledge of allegiance, and the

Support for Moore is high in Alabama — polls show him leading other potential Republican gubernatorial candidates including sitting Gov. Bob Riley — and he enjoys a 72% approval rating among registered Republicans.

At the Tea Party, it was more like 100%.

"No judge on earth has the authority to tell you you can't consider God!" he yelled to the crowd. "You tell 'em, Judge Roy!" a voice cried back.

Moore explained that when judges are forbidden from making rulings according to the word of his God, people start making up their own "rights," such as the right to privacy (which Moore said leads to sodomy) and the right of all children to public education (which Moore said leads to higher taxes). Moore went on to defend his opposition to Amendment 2, the referendum that would have removed segregationist language from the Alabama constitution. Amendment 2 was defeated last November after Moore and a few other arch-conservatives campaigned against the proposition by claiming it would lead to court decisions that mandated tax hikes to fund the public school system.

"It's always about taxes!" the former justice bellowed.



Russ and Dee Fine (from left) hosted right-wing luminaries including ejected Alabama Supreme Court Justice Roy Moore at an event that focused on illegal immigration.

Moore received a standing ovation. Next up was Hugh McInnish, a far-right-wing member of the Alabama GOP's executive committee as well as the Alabama Course of Study Committee for Social Studies, which oversees public education curriculums. McInnish, an avowed enemy of multiculturalism, speaks regularly at events hosted by the Council of

Conservative Citizens, which describes blacks as "a retrograde species of humanity." He also has corresponded with leading Holocaust denier David Irving about the gas chambers in Nazi death camps.

McInnish introduced Erin Anderson, a self-professed "illegal immigration expert," a regular on the "Russ and Dee Show," and one scary speaker.

Anderson said she grew up near the Mexican border in Cochise County, Ariz., where her ranching family settled in the late 1880s. Now, she splits her time between the family spread and Washington, D.C., where she works as an anti-immigration lobbyist. Like Moore, she is a popular speaker on the far-right-wing conference circuit. Anderson is scheduled to appear in early September 2005 at the National Federation of Republican Assemblies' "Turn up the Heat on the Left!" national convention in Scottsdale, Ariz., and is booked to appear later that month back in Birmingham before the Mid Alabama Republican Club.

A professional alarmist with a baby-doll voice, Anderson fires up audiences with wild claims about Mexican immigrants, portraying them as disease-ridden, child-molesting "invaders" bearing down on an unsuspecting and hapless America. Transcripts of her speeches are regularly posted to widespread acclaim on white supremacist and neo-Nazi Web sites like the Vanguard News Network.

Anderson opened her presentation at the Alabama Tea Party with images of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in flames. She then told the startled crowd that 2,000 to 3,000 illegal aliens tromp through her family's valley every night, claiming that "children trying to go to school risk being ambushed by illegal aliens. Every one of us has been ambushed at one time or another."

That certainly wasn't the end of it.

Anderson said there are schools in Latin America where Middle Eastern terrorists are training to pass as Mexicans once they infiltrate America. She said pedophiles from Mexico are flocking to the United States in droves to escape death at the hands of Mexican law enforcement. She spoke of the deadly diseases illegal immigrants supposedly bring to America in their blood: west Nile virus, hepatitis B and C, tuberculosis. She said illegals have spawned an outbreak of leprosy near Boston, and have tainted the blood supplies in major metropolitan areas such as Houston, Miami and Los Angeles with chagas, a disease found mainly in Latin America that she claimed kills more people than AIDS and has no cure. (The truth is that chagas is only occasionally fatal).

Of all the stories Anderson told about the consequences of illegal immigration that day, it was the one about the Mara Salvatrucha that was the most chilling. Andersen said "La Mara," a violent, international gang of El Salvadoran nationals and immigrants formed in the late '80s, has left its U.S. base of Los Angeles and can now be found near large, well-established illegal alien communities. She dwelled in some detail on how La Mara likes to disembowel, dismember and scalp people.

"And yes," she told her audience to gasps, "they are here in Alabama."

Then Anderson held up her "proof" — a photograph clipped from a Birmingham newspaper story last fall about graffiti. The picture showed a building with "sureños" (Spanish for "southerners") painted on it. She did not explain how that piece of graffiti revealed the presence of the disembowelers.

For her final act, Anderson hauled out yet another piece of evidence, this one designed to prove that scary Muslim foreigners are invading the United States via our southern borders. A Muslim prayer rug, she told her audience as she displayed a shiny green rug, had been found near her family's Arizona ranch prior to 9/11. Well, it wasn't actually the rug she was holding, she conceded. But it *was* "similar."

Flashbulbs popped. Frightened "oohs" and "ahhs" filled the room. This was one group of Alabamians who had been thoroughly warned. ▲

the year in hate

Key organizations on the radical right have lost their charismatic leaders. But the racist movement is still very much alive

BY MARK POTOK

Some of the best known hate groups in America have lost their leaders and fallen on hard times recently. But the radical right as a whole remained remarkably steady last year, fueled by street-level activism welling up from below.

The Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project counted 762 hate groups that were active during 2004, up slightly from the 751 groups tallied the year before. "The larger hate groups have suffered through a bad couple of years," said Joe Roy, chief investigator for the Intelligence Project. "But the white supremacist movement as a whole does not seem to have shrunk at all."

The country's leading neo-Nazi groups were in bad shape. The most important, the National Alliance, continued a spiraling descent that began with the 2002 death of its founder. The Aryan Nations, already deprived of its compound, saw its own founder die last September. And the Creativity Movement, once known as the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), was struggling to survive after its leader was convicted last spring of soliciting the murder of a federal judge.

Each of these groups, arguably the most important hard-line organizations on the radical right, had been tightly identified with the personality and politics of its leader. Each, after losing its führer to prison or the grave, shrank rap-

idly but staved off complete implosion thanks to spontaneous activity from its lower ranks.

That could create problems. Ironically, as extreme as the ideology of hate group leaders is, these men often have the effect of holding their followers back. With large numbers of white supremacists and other extremists operating essentially without leaders, the danger of criminal violence is now unusually high.

At the same time, white power music labels suffered a body blow. Resistance Records, owned by the National Alliance and once the leading such distributor in the Western hemisphere, provoked complaints by failing to fulfill orders and may well

be losing money. Its aggressive young competitor, Panzerfaust Records, collapsed after other neo-Nazis accused its olive-skinned founder of being of Mexican descent.

Racist Skinheads, whose numbers last crested in the late 1980s and early 1990s, were back on the street, continuing an earlier trend. Although Skinheads are notoriously difficult to count — they are migratory and often not organized into larger groups — the Project found 48 groups in 2004. That total was up from 18 groups in 2002 and 39 in 2003 — a 167% jump over the two years ending in 2004.

Much of the organized racist activity of 2004 — leafleting, rallies and counter-demonstrations — came not because of, but in spite of, the official leaders of hate groups. In a similar way, much of the movement's energy seemed concentrated in open electronic forums where leaders hold relatively little sway. For example, the Stormfront Forum, part of a leading hate site run by former Klan leader Don Black, boasted 46,300 members as of this March. That's more than twice the 21,000 Stormfront had just 16 months earlier — and Black's senior forum moderator, James Kelso, has boasted that he expects to have 88,000 members by 2006.

The year 2004 was also marked by an upsurge in attempts to market white supremacy to the masses. Hate groups put up billboards, leafleted in huge numbers, adopted highways for cleanup, wrote letters to the editor and generally attempted to put a publicly palatable face on the movement. White

power music samplers were reportedly distributed to thousands of school kids. In St. Louis, one neo-Nazi group even managed to get advertisements put up throughout the subway system.

However, the movement's electronic presence diminished somewhat. The Intelligence Project found 468 hate Web sites on the Internet that were active in 2004, down by almost 7% from the 497 hate sites counted the year before.

Here's a more detailed look at the hate movement by sectors:



Charles Juba, head of an offshoot faction of the Aryan Nations, before ceding control to August Kreis

NEO-NAZIS The leading neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance, has lost more than half its membership and most of its paid staff since founder and long-time leader William Pierce died in July 2002. It has suffered repeated embarrassments, business problems and management failures since it was taken over by Erich Gliebe — a former boxer quite unlike Pierce, a one-time university physics professor.

This Pennsylvania Skinhead was one of about 100 white supremacists who rallied at the Valley Forge National Historic Park last September.

Last spring, Alliance principals brought a stripper named “Ice” to what is meant to be a key event — the group’s semi-annual “leadership conference.” That, along with an Alliance girlie calendar featuring Ice and a number of her fellow strippers from a local men’s club, created great embarrassment for Gliebe, who is supposed to be too much of a good “Aryan” for that kind of behavior.

More recently, many Alliance members were disgusted to learn that their chairman’s latest girlfriend is a woman named Erika Snyder, a one-time stripper who posed for issues of *Playboy* in 1996 and 1997. It hasn’t helped that Snyder runs the “First United Church of Adolf Hitler” Web site and apparently has racist pagan ideas that are an anathema to the more orthodox Nazis of the Alliance.

These and other problems have sparked an exodus of key players. The latest among them, membership coordinator David Pringle, left in late 2004 and was especially important. By one count, the Alliance has lost 40 key players since Pierce died. In just the last year, unit leaders from Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Washington state have quit. One former member in Phoenix wrote in an Internet posting that the Alliance was “a dying organization that can’t admit that it’s going nowhere.” Jasa Slovianski’s suggestion: “Take your local unit and turn it into a local activism squad and don’t take orders from the no [National Office].”

Or, as Pringle put it, “In [Gliebe’s] Tony Soprano version of life, what could be better than a fancy SUV, no boss, great scam and a Playboy girl?”

At the end of 2004, an Alliance executive committee of five — Kevin Strom, Rich Lindstrom, Charles Ellis, Robert Pate and Roger Williams



— was created in an apparent attempt to stop the exodus that is bleeding the group of men and funds.

The Creativity Movement has been in sorry straits since January 2003, when its “Pontifex Maximus,” Matt Hale, was arrested and charged with soliciting the murder of U.S. District Court Judge Joan Humphrey Lefkowitz. Lefkowitz had presided over a copyright trial in which the World Church of the Creator lost the right to use its long-time name. From 88 chapters in 2002, the group fell to just five chapters the following year. But then, despite Hale’s conviction last year, the organization claimed to have come back with a surprising 16 chapters active in 2004.

Most of these chapters appear to be very small, and some do not recognize other chapters as part of the Creativity Movement. Very little activity has come from any of them, and, despite

the apparent ascension of Florida leader Adam Jacobs to acting national boss, they are clearly acting without real central direction. In any event, Jacobs’ arrest in March 2005 reinforced the group’s reputation for thuggery. Jacobs was charged with savagely beating fellow “Creator” Anthony L. Williams over a period of 11 hours because he suspected Williams was a snitch.

Aryan Nations had been in trouble since 2000, when it was forced to sell off its Idaho compound after losing a civil suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Still, there were signs that it might rebound in 2003, when it doubled its active chapters to 22. But in the months after Butler, 85, died last Sept. 8, Aryan Nations officials said that the total number of chapters had dropped to 15.

After Butler’s death, Aryan Nations formed a committee to lead it and

moved its “world headquarters” to Lincoln, Ala., where a member of the committee lived. Many of its members now appear to be Southerners, meaning many of its Pacific Northwest members have likely drifted away. At the same time, a splinter group, headed by August Kreis, who took over from Charles Juba in early 2005, is claiming to be the “real” Aryan Nations. It is based in Sebring, Fla.

Kreis has distinguished himself by reaching out to radical Muslims, although there is no evidence of real cooperation between them. “I offer my most sincere best-wishes to those who wage holy Jihad against ... the West. I send a message of thanks and well-wishes to methods and works of groups on the Islamic front against the jew [sic] such as Al-Qaeda and Sheik Usama Bin Laden,” he wrote.

Another large neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist Movement, grabbed media attention with rallies in Raleigh, N.C., Lincoln, Neb., and, especially, last September in Valley Forge, Pa., where 100 racists rallied on the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur. But the publicity wasn't all well received — on the day of the Valley Forge protest, the *Star-Tribune* of Minneapolis-St. Paul, where NSM leader Jeff Schoep is based, ran a lengthy story on Schoep's criminal past. The story detailed petty crimes including aiding and abetting a burglary that was committed while the children of Schoep's then-girlfriend waited for the couple in a getaway car.

David Duke, the most prominent surviving neo-Nazi on the scene, emerged from prison last spring after serving more than a year for ripping off fellow white supremacists with bogus mail appeals. Duke is the nominal head of the European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO), but



CARLOS SANCHEZ / CORBIS PHOTO

EURO appears to be a paper tiger that engages in little real activism. Duke and several of those close to him have become increasingly friendly with key neo-Nazis in the National Alliance.

KU KLUX KLAN Last year was a period of flux and realignment for America's Klan groups, which together probably comprise fewer than 7,000 people, making the Klan a relatively small part of the white

supremacist world. More than 50 Klan chapters disappeared, but others arose to take their place, resulting in an overall gain of five Klan chapters for a total of 163. The Imperial Klans of America, based in Dawson Springs, Ky., and boasting 34 chapters, remained the largest of some 34 competing Klan groups. The Southern White Knights rose and fell, ending 2004 with 16 active chapters. The Brotherhood of Klans, based in Prospect Heights, Ill.,

sputtered from four chapters to 17 and bought property in Henderson, Tenn.

Several Klan groups, including the Orion Knights, based in Alabama, the Texas Knights, and the once-powerful American Knights seemed to disappear. The latter group's leader, Jeff Berry, was released from prison in late 2004 after serving time in connection with detaining a news crew at gunpoint, but he has apparently failed to bring his

Indiana-based group back to life. In addition, the once-numerous dedicated Klan message boards and Internet forums have dwindled to just four.

RACIST SKINHEADS The neo-Nazi Skinhead scene continued to grow, with at least 48 chapters of 28 named groups, up 23% from the 39 chapters of 22 groups counted in 2003. Skinhead Web sites also rose, from 23 in 2003 to 26 last year.

Like several other areas of the white supremacist world, Skinheads seemed to be operating increasingly independently, often running in relatively small crews apparently not affiliated with larger organizations. Even many chapters of very well established groups like the Hammerskins seemed to be acting on their own.

A new faction of the Hammerskins, the Northwest Hammerskins, appeared on the scene, holding a “Martyr's Day” event in Whidbey Island, Wash., last December to honor Bob Mathews, a terrorist killed in a 1984 shootout with the FBI. Another relatively new group, the Tualatin Valley Skins, based in Portland, Ore., got much public attention, partly due to its leafleting and cable television shows. At the same time, however, its leader, who goes by the name of Jim Ramm, was outed by a local newspaper early this year as actually being named Matthew Ernest Ramsey.

New Jersey remained something of a hotbed of Skinhead activity, with active crews of Eastern Hammerskins, AC Skins, Bergen County Hooligans and Trenton State Skinheads. Another group, the Florida-based Hated, added chapters in New Jersey. And, this March, eight members of the East Coast Hate Crew, headquartered in Ocean County, N.J., were arrested in connection with several hate crimes.

In Texas, a new group called TCB (Taking Care of Business) Hate Crew formed in the Dallas area in early 2004, adding chapters in Chicago and St. Louis later in the year. Its national leader is Del O'Connor, a British citizen formerly associated with the ultra-violent Combat 18 organization in that country. In a profile on the Internet, O'Connor says his hobbies are “guns, guns and more guns.”

NEO-CONFEDERATES The leading neo-Confederate group, the League of the South (LOS), continued to show signs of increasing radicalization. Last year, after the *Intelligence Report* revealed that Florida LOS official Michael Tubbs had served time for his role in a terrorist plot, some LOS officials suggested that Tubbs was a liability. LOS boss Michael Hill, however, deemed Tubbs “a reformed man.”

More importantly, Hill, who has repeatedly told anyone who would listen that his group is not racist, explicitly endorsed white racialism by publicly backing something called “kinism” at the September convention of the Virginia LOS. This ideology, derived from the word “kin” and elaborated at a Web site for The Kinist Institute (www.kinism.net), calls for laws against racial intermarriage, ending all non-white immigration, expelling all “aliens” (“to include all Jews and Arabs”), and restricting the right to vote to white, landholding men aged 21 or older.

Many of the LOS' harder-line views on race are detailed at a Web site (www.littlegeneva.com) run by Virginia leader Harry Seabrook. “The non-white immigration invasion is the ‘Final Solution’ for the ‘white’ problem of the South,” the site argues. “Whites face genocide. We believe the Kinism statement proposes a biblical

solution for all races. If whites die out, the South will no longer exist.”

The other major drama in the neo-Confederate world came in a Southern heritage group, the 30,000-plus-member Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv). For more than two years, an internal civil war has been raging in that group as extremists, led since last August by scv Commander in Chief Denne Sweeney, sought to take it over. That battle between moderates

As the case progressed, it became apparent that the scv was in danger of falling apart. Many moderate members have left and formed alternative groups they call Robert E. Lee Societies. At the same time, several new radical scv camps (or local units) have been chartered in a bid to boost radical voting strength.

Although it’s unclear which faction will win, the power of the racist radicals was reflected in the recent posting by scv official Jim McManus

found he was hardly alone after suggesting in an e-mail that Klansmen should not be barred from the scv. In fact, not long after his remarks were publicized by the *Report*, Lyons’ opinion was backed by Charles Lunsford, leader of the supposedly non-racist Heritage Preservation Association.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL The leading Holocaust denial outfit, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), seemed to be in trouble. It recently suspended its *Journal for Historical Review* due to lack of “money and staff,” according to the group’s Web site. At the same time, IHR has not put on a major conference since 2002.

IHR also has apparently abandoned attempts to keep its ties to neo-Nazism private. Its Web site now openly references the neo-Nazi National Alliance, and the Alliance’s Kevin Strom recently interviewed an IHR principal on his radio show. In addition, in February 2004, the Alliance and IHR teamed up to salvage a Holocaust denial conference that almost failed after a Sacramento hotel refused to host it.

America’s other major Holocaust denial organization, Willis Carto’s *Barnes Review*, also failed to hold its annual conference last year. Carto has been in a legal battle with IHR principals for years, and it has

apparently caused his publication real trouble. Still, *The Barnes Review* did manage to come up with a headline that surely took the prize for audaciousness: “Hitler as Nobel Peace Prize Winner.” ▲

Heidi Beirich, Michelle Bramblett, Nia Hightower and Laurie Wood contributed to this report.

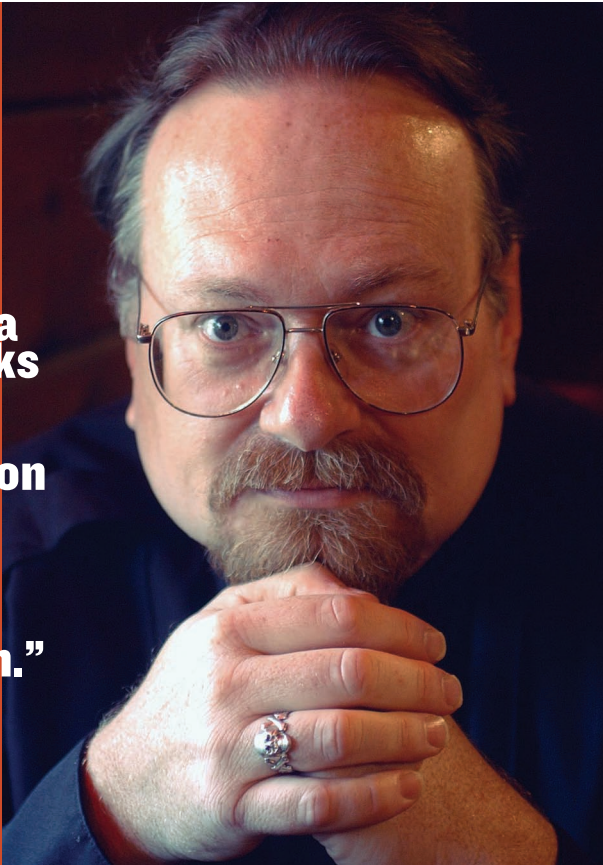
of an “Apology to the Black Race” on the scv Dispatch, a Web e-group to which most scv members belong. The “apology,” versions of which have also appeared on Klan and other hate sites, was a stridently racist attack on blacks and an affirmation of white superiority.

Meanwhile, Kirk Lyons, a white supremacist attorney who has fought many of the radicals’ legal battles,

(“grannies”) and radicals (“lunatics”) came to a head this January, when Sweeney suspended three moderate members of the scv’s general executive council. After the three sued, a court barred Sweeney from the council and reinstated the three. A later ruling reinstated Sweeney, but forbade him to suspend any council members until the case is resolved.

“I offer my most sincere best-wishes to those who wage holy Jihad against ... the West. I send a message of thanks and well-wishes to methods and works of groups on the Islamic front against the jew [sic] such as Al-Qaeda and Sheik Usama Bin Laden.”

AUGUST KREIS



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Active Hate Group Totals in the United States in 2004

KU KLUX KLAN	162
NEO-NAZI	158
BLACK SEPARATIST	108
NEO-CONFEDERATE	97
RACIST SKINHEAD	48
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	28
OTHER	161

East Camden, AR
Smackover, AR
Denham Springs, LA
Homer, LA
Mansfield, LA
St. Amant, LA
Fulton, MS
Richton, MS

**Brotherhood of Klans
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**
Prospect Heights, IL *
Wetumpka, AL
Crescent City, CA
Soledad, CA
Beardstown, IL
Troy, IL
Ironwood, MI
Salem, MO
Omaha, NE
Marion, OH
Cement, OK
Coalgate, OK
Hinton, OK
Dunlap, TN
Ramer, TN
Hurley, WI
Westfield, WI

**Carolina White Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Charleston, SC

**Cleveland Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Mount Holly, NC *
Lawndale, NC
Jonesborough, TN

**Confederate Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Henderson, NC

**Free Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**
Buchanan, GA *
Hiram, GA
Madison, NC
New York

**Imperial Klans of America
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**
Dawson Springs, KY *

Alabama
Arkansas
Mesa, AZ
Citrus Heights, CA
Newport Beach, CA
San Clemente, CA
Washington, DC
Gainesville, FL
Georgia
Litchfield, IL
Center Point, IN

Iowa
Kansas
Louisville, KY
Powderly, KY
Shepardsville, KY
Louisiana
Maryland
Michigan
Missouri
New York
North Carolina
Amelia, OH
Cincinnati, OH
St. Marys, OH
Lawton, OK
Boothwyn, PA
Mountain City, TN
Austin, TX
Danville, VA
Harrisonburg, VA
Virginia Beach, VA

West Virginia

**Keystone Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Johnstown, PA *
Louisville, KY

**International White Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Elizabethtown, NC

**Invisible Empire of the
International Knights**
Enoree, SC

**Knight Riders of the
Ku Klux Klan**
Daniels, WV

**Knights of Bedford Forest
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Greenville, TN

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Harrison, AR *
Concord, AR
Florida
Raleigh, NC
Newport, TN

Knights of Yahweh
Dandridge, TN *
Morristown, TN

Ku Klux Klan
Compton, AR *
Beaverton, AL

**Louisiana White Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan**
Walker, LA

**Mississippi White Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan**
Petal, MS *
Winslow, AR
Pensacola, FL
Dallas, TX
Red Oak, TX
Bomoseen, VT

**Mystic Knights of the Ku
Klux Klan**
Dayton, OH *
Ellijay, GA
Portage, IN
Fraser, MI
Dayton, OH
Waynesboro, TN
Delaplane, VA

**National Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
South Bend, IN *

Red Bay, AL
Olathe, CO
Silver Springs, FL
North Riverside, IL
Mishiwaka, IN
Lexington, KY
Kalamazoo, MI
New Jersey
New York
Cincinnati, OH
Coweta, OK
Nashville, TN
Blue Ridge, TX
Thorndale, TX
Mercer, WI

**North Georgia White Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Ft. Oglethorpe, GA

**Orion Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**
Grand Bay, AL *
Malvern, AR
Star, MS

**Rebel Brigade Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**
Martinsville, VA

**Southern Patriot Organized
Order of Knights Ku Klux Klan**
Wynnewood, OK

**Southern Realm Invisible
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc.**
Lincolnton, NC

**Southern White Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

Watson, LA *
Alabama
Ward, AR
Gainesville, FL
Homosassa, FL
Naples, FL
Register, GA
Savannah, GA
Maryland
Michigan
Lucedale, MS
Robinsonville, MS
Beulaville, NC
Gibbsboro, NJ
Ohio
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Tennessee
San Leon, TX
Virginia

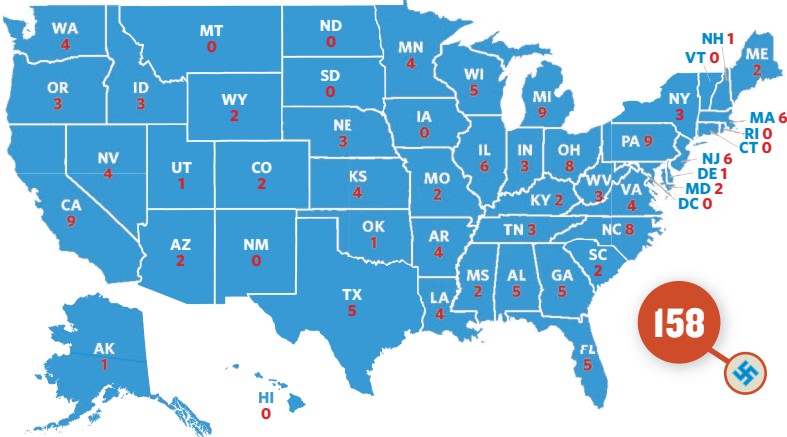
**Texas Knights of the
Invisible Empire Inc.**
San Antonio, TX

**U.S. Klans Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Leitchfield, KY *
Sparta, MO
Germantown, OH
Springfield, TN

**White Camelia Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Cleveland, TX

**White Shield Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Mineral Wells, WV

**World Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**
Sharpsburg, MD *
Summerdale, AL
Beulaville, NC
New Castle, PA
Bolivar, TN



Neo-Nazi

This listing of neo-Nazi groups does not include racist Skinheads, although most Skinheads hold neo-Nazi beliefs..

American Nazi Party

Westland, MI

Aryan Nations

Lincoln, AL *

Talladega, AL

Little Rock, AR

Arizona City, AZ

Citrus Heights, CA

Conyers, GA

Coeur D'Alene, ID

Mount Washington, KY

North Bergen, NJ

Reno, NV

North Bend, OR

Lemoyne, PA

Drayton, SC

Tacoma, WA

Madison, WI

Aryan Nations (offshoot)

Leola, PA *

Sebring, FL

Rhodes, MI

Aryan Nations Youth Action Corps

Arrowhead, CA

Illinois

Minnesota

Aryan Raiders

Alexander City, AL

Christian Defense League

Arabi, LA

Creativity Movement

Springfield, MO *

Clearwater, FL

Coeur D'Alene, ID

Bloomington, IL

Joliet, IL

Peabody, MA

Sterling, MA

Matinicus Island, ME

Petoskey, MI

Raymond, MS

Lakewood, OH

Pittsburgh, PA

Austin, TX

Burke, VA

Vancouver, WA

Milwaukee, WI

German American National-ist PAC

Pensacola, FL

International National Socialist Party

Cheyenne, WY

National Alliance

Hillsboro, WV *

Anchorage, AK

Mobile, AL

National Socialist German Workers Party

Montgomery, AL

Lincoln, AR

Phoenix, AZ

Bakersfield, CA

Riverside, CA

Sacramento, CA

Van Nuys, CA

Colorado Springs, CO

Denver, CO

Tampa, FL

Savannah, GA

Chicago, IL

Baton Rouge, LA

New Orleans, LA

Boston, MA

Hathorne, MA

Baltimore, MD

Petoskey, MI

Plymouth, MI

Portage, MI

Saginaw, MI

Traverse City, MI

Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN

St. Louis, MO

Southaven, MS

Benson, NC

Charlotte, NC

Laurinburg, NC

Raleigh, NC

Siler City, NC

Wilmington, NC

Lincoln, NE

Omaha, NE

National Socialist Movement/Skinhead Division

Hewitt, NJ

New Brunswick, NJ

Las Vegas, NV

Rochester, NY

Schenectady, NY

West Hurley, NY

Cincinnati, OH

Cleveland, OH

Columbus, OH

Erie, PA

York, PA

Chattanooga, TN

Memphis, TN

Austin, TX

Dallas/Fort Worth, TX

Houston, TX

Odessa/Midland, TX

Salt Lake City, UT

Achilles, VA

Herndon, VA

Seattle/Tacoma, WA

Silverdale, WA

Douglas, WY

National Socialist German Workers Party

Lincoln, NE

National Socialist Movement

Minneapolis, MN *

Arkansas

San Francisco, CA

Augusta, GA

Marietta, GA

Athol, ID

North Riverside, IL

Schiller Park, IL

Indianapolis, IN

Wakarusa, IN

Hutchinson, KS

Scandia, KS

Topeka, KS

Wichita, KS

Walton, KY

Boston, MA

Maine

Cadillac, MI

Hutchinson, MN

Greensboro, NC

Manchester, NH

Livingston, NJ

Oaklyn, NJ

National Socialist Vanguard

Elko, NV

Las Vegas, NV

Cincinnati, OH

Covington, OH

Lakewood, OH

Lancaster, OH

Tulsa, OK

Eugene, OR

Bethlehem, PA

Myerstown, PA

Philadelphia, PA

York, PA

Enoree, SC

Ramer, TN

Harrisonburg, VA

Milwaukee, WI

Sheboygan, WI

Romney, WV

National Socialist Vanguard

The Dalles, OR

New Order

Milwaukee, WI

SS Enterprises

Fresno, CA

SS Regalia

Edgewater, MD

Sons of Liberty

Arabi, LA

White Aryan Resistance

Fallbrook, CA

White Revolution

Russellville, AR *

Jacksonville, FL

Brooks, GA

Franklin, IN

Haverhill, MA

Charlotte, NC

Cinnaminson, NJ

Charleston, WV

Racist Skinhead

Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups. This listing understates their numbers.

AC Skins

Atlantic County, NJ

Bergen County Hooligans

Garfield, NJ

Wallington, NJ

Confederate Hammerskins

Jacksonville, FL

Marietta, GA

Knoxville, TN

Connecticut White Wolves

Stratford, CT

East Coast Hate Crew

Toms River, NJ

Tuckerton, NJ

Eastern Hammerskins

Brick, NJ

Toms River, NJ

Golden State Skinheads

San Luis Obispo, CA

Hoosier State Skinheads

Indiana

Keystone State Skinheads

Harrisburg, PA *

Altoona, PA

Bethlehem/Easton, PA

Chester County, PA

Greensburg, PA

Philadelphia, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

State College, PA

Wilkes Barre/Scranton, PA

Maryland Skinheads

Baltimore, MD

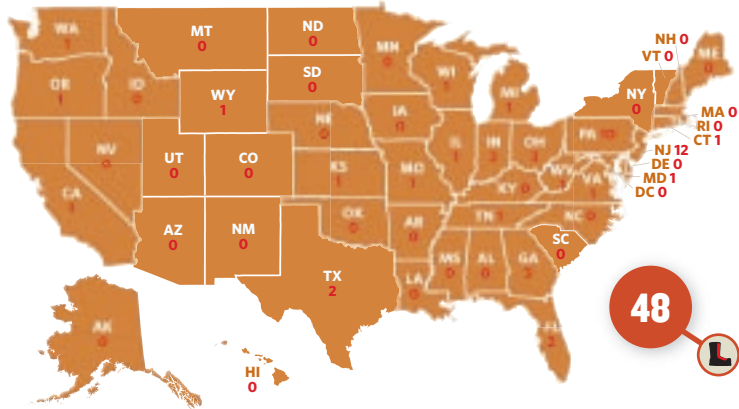
Midland Hammerskins

Wichita, KS

Milwaukee East Side Bullies

Milwaukee, WI

National Socialist Skinhead Front



New Jersey White Alliance

Old Bridge, NJ

Northern Hammerskins

Detroit, MI

Northwest Hammerskins

Washington

Ohio State Skinheads

Lancaster, OH *

Columbus, OH

Peach State Skins

Georgia

Scioto Valley Skinheads

Portsmouth, OH *

Southern European Aryans League Army

Muncie, IN

TCB Hate Crew

Dallas, TX *

Chicago, IL

St. Louis, MO

The Hated

Duval County, FL

Newark, NJ

Toms River, NJ

Trenton State Skinheads

Trenton, NJ

Tualatin Valley Skins

Portland, OR

United Skinheads of Atlanta

Atlanta, GA

West Virginia Skinheads

Charleston, WV

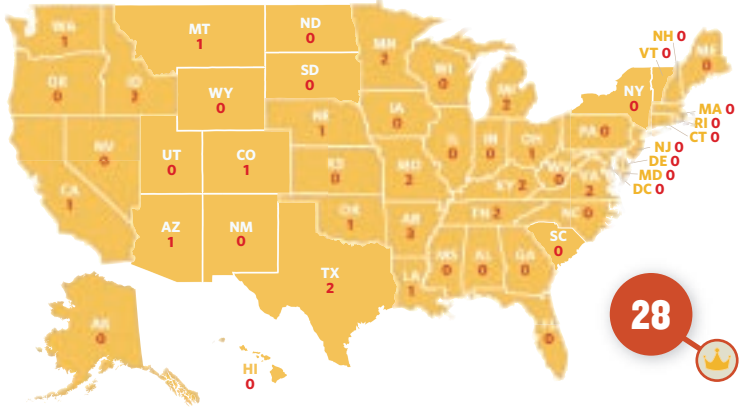
White Pittsburgh Front

Pittsburgh, PA

White Power Liberation Front

Livingston, NJ

Fort Worth, TX



Christian Identity

Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Some groups listed in other categories, such as the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, also hold Christian Identity beliefs.

America's Promise Ministries

Sandpoint, ID

Artisan Publishers

Muskogee, OK

Aryan Covenant Church/ACC Services

Anderson, TX

By Yahweh's Design

Stevensville, MI

Christian Research

Eureka Springs, AR

Christian Separatist Church Society

Kodak, TN

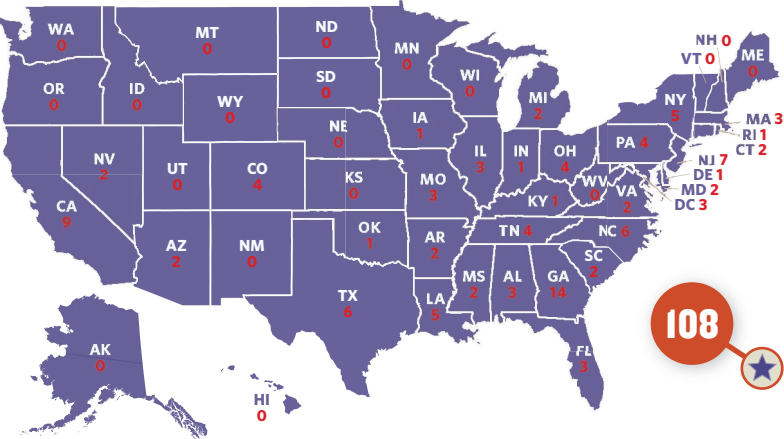
Church of Jesus Christ Bergman, AR	Faith Baptist Church and Ministry Houston, MO	House of Yahweh New Tazewell, TN	Scottsbluff, NE	Round Hill, VA
Church of True Israel Noxon, MT	Fellowship of God's Covenant People Burlington, KY	Kingdom Identity Ministries Harrison, AR	Orange County Assembly of Christ Brea, CA	Virginia Publishing Company Lynchburg, VA
Church of the Sons of Yhvh Calhoun, LA	Gospel Broadcasting Association Houston, TX	Kinsman Redeemer Ministries Tacoma, WA	Remnant Outreach Ministries Cottonwood, AZ	Watchman Outreach Ministries Schell City, MO
Covenant Church of Yahweh Pipestone, MN	Gospel Ministries Boise, ID	Lord's Work Austin, KY	Scriptures for America Laporte, CO	Weisman Publications Burnsville, MN
Excalibur Productions Johnstown, OH		Mission to Israel	Virginia Christian Israelites	Yahweh's Truth Essexville, MI

Black Separatist

Black separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred.

Nation of Islam

- Chicago, IL *
Birmingham, AL
Huntsville, AL
Little Rock, AR
Phoenix, AZ
Los Angeles, CA
Montclair, CA
Oakland, CA
Richmond, CA
Sacramento, CA
San Diego, CA
San Francisco, CA
Denver, CO
Hartford, CT
Washington, DC
Wilmington, DE
Miami, FL
Pensacola, FL
West Palm Beach, FL
Atlanta, GA
Columbus, GA
Macon, GA
Savannah, GA
Waterloo, IA
Indianapolis, IN
Louisville, KY
Baton Rouge, LA
Monroe, LA
- New Orleans, LA
Dorchester, MA
Springfield, MA
Baltimore, MD
Detroit, MI
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Jackson, MS
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Greensboro, NC
Raleigh, NC
Wilmington, NC
New Brunswick, NJ
Newark, NJ
Plainfield, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Las Vegas, NV
Buffalo, NY
New York, NY
Syracuse, NY
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Tulsa, OK
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
Columbia, SC
Chattanooga, TN



- Memphis, TN
Nashville, TN
Dallas, TX
Forth Worth, TX
Houston, TX
Norfolk, VA
Richmond, VA
Milwaukee, WI
- New Black Panther Party**
Washington, DC *
Birmingham, AL
Phoenix, AZ
Bakersfield, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Atlanta, GA
Augusta, GA
Savannah, GA
Chicago, IL
- Rockford, IL
Baton Rouge, LA
New Orleans, LA
Boston, MA
Baltimore, MD
Detroit, MI
St. Louis, MO
McComb, MS
Raleigh, NC
Newark, NJ
Paterson, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Las Vegas, NV
New York, NY
Cleveland, OH
Philadelphia, PA
Providence, RI
Columbia, SC
Memphis, TN

- Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
Jasper, TX

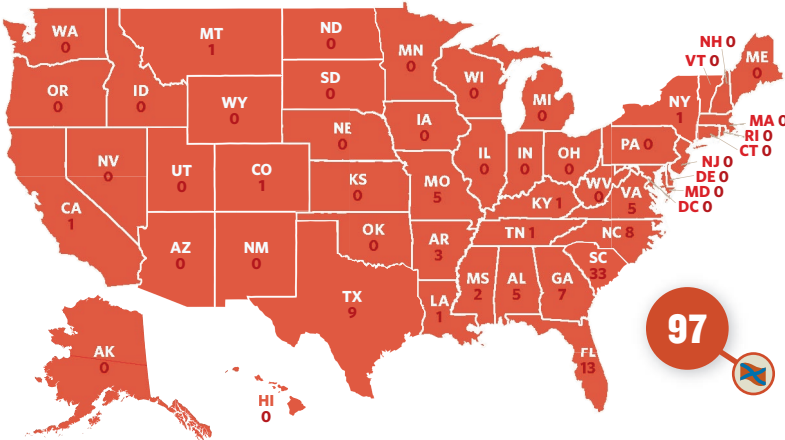
United Nuaubian

Nation of Moors

- Eatonton, GA *
Little Rock, AR
Hartford, CT
Washington, DC
Athens, GA
Atlanta, GA
Augusta, GA
Decatur, GA
Macon, GA
Savannah, GA
Brooklyn, NY
Philadelphia, PA

Neo-Confederate

Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South.



League of the South

- Killen, AL *
Coosa County, AL
Montgomery, AL
Selma, AL
Wetumpka, AL
Bismarck, AR
Hamburg, AR
Hot Springs, AR
San Jose, CA
Louisville, CO
Archer, FL
Bellevue, FL
Bradenton, FL

- Ft. Myers, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Key West, FL
Longwood, FL
Milton, FL
Panama City, FL
Pensacola, FL
Tampa, FL
Wellborn, FL
Wellington, FL
Athens, GA
Brunswick, GA
Cedartown, GA
Forsyth, GA

- Mcdonough, GA
Silver Creek, GA
Thomaston, GA
Lebanon, KY
Monroe, LA
Cape Girardeau, MO
Holt, MO
Lebanon, MO
Nevada, MO
St. Louis, MO
Lee County, MS
Mendenhall, MS
Big Fork, MT
Burlington, NC

- Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Edneyville, NC
Hamlet, NC
Salisbury, NC
Wilmington, NC
Winston-Salem, NC
Buffalo, NY
Abbeville, SC
Aiken, SC
Aiken County, SC
Anderson, SC
Bamberg, SC
Barnwell County, SC
Beaufort County, SC
Cayce, SC
Charleston County, SC
Clemson, SC
Colleton County, SC
Columbia, SC (2)
Easley, SC
Edgefield County, SC
Florence County, SC
Greenville County, SC
Greenwood County, SC
Kershaw County, SC
Lexington County, SC
Marlboro County, SC

- Newberry, SC
Newberry County, SC
Oconee County, SC
Orangeburg, SC
Richland County, SC
Salley, SC
Saluda County, SC
Spartanburg, SC
Sumter, SC
Surfside Beach, SC
Westminster, SC
York County, SC
Westpoint, TN
Austin, TX
Iredell, TX
North West Texas
Rio Grande Valley Region Texas
North East Region Texas
Palestine, TX
San Angelo, TX
South Central Texas
South East Texas
Bluefield, VA
Dublin, VA
Fredricksburg, VA
Hanover, VA
Williamsburg, VA

Other

This category includes groups, vendors and publishing houses endorsing a hodgepodge of race-based hate doctrines.

14 Word Press

- Wilmington, NC

American Immigration Control Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control

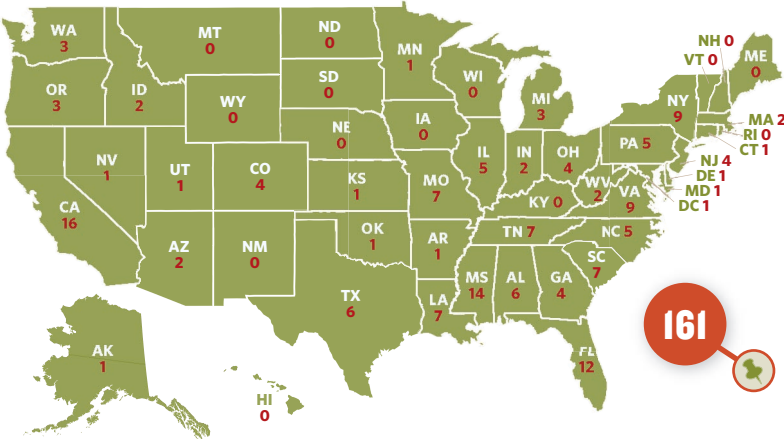
- Monterey, VA

American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together

- Sherman Oaks, CA

American Renaissance/New Century Foundation

- Oakton, VA *
Chicago, IL



American Third Position Clifton, NJ	Montgomery, AL Little Rock, AR Bakersfield, CA Jacksonville, FL Tampa Bay, FL Atlanta, GA Norcross, GA Chicago, IL Granite City, IL Southern Region, IL Bedford, IN Paragon, IN Baton Rouge, LA New Orleans, LA Iron County, MO Mid-County, MO St. Louis, MO Byram, MS Calhoun City, MS Greenwood, MS Grenada County, MS Holly Springs, MS Jackson, MS Leflore County, MS Rankin County, MS Vaiden, MS Webster County, MS Clemmons, NC Raleigh, NC Fort Lee, NJ New York, NY Parishville, NY Grove City, OH Allison Park, PA Dayton, PA Revere, PA Charleston, SC Saluda, SC West Columbia, SC Chattanooga, TN Cleveland, TN Knoxville, TN Memphis, TN Nashville, TN East Central Tennessee Ashburn, VA Falls Church, VA
American Vision Powder Springs, GA	
Americans for Self Determination Falls Church, VA	
Aryan Wear Saginaw, TX	
Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc. Washington, DC	
Blood and Honour Richardson, TX * Salem, OH	
California Coalition for Immigration Reform Huntington Beach, CA	
Chalcedon Foundation Vallecito, CA	
Charles Darwin Research Institute Port Huron, MI	
Charles Martel Society/Occidental Quarterly Mount Airy, MD	
Condemned Records San Jose, CA	
Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc. Bridgeton, MO	
Council of Conservative Citizens St. Louis, MO * Birmingham, AL Cullman, AL Huntsville, AL Jasper, AL	

European American Culture Council Sacramento, CA	
European-American Unity and Rights Organization Mandeville, LA * Jacksonville, FL Columbus, GA Coeur d'Alene, ID Shreveport, LA Thibodaux, LA Ripley, MS Southaven, MS Cleveland, OH Tulsa, OK Charleston County, SC Columbia, SC Woodruff, SC Irving, TX Richmond, VA	
Family Research Institute Colorado Springs, CO	
Final Stand Records Newark, DE	
Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints Hildale, UT * Colorado City, AZ Mancos, CO Eldorado, TX	
Heritage and Destiny Ashburn, VA	
Hypatia Publishing Vancouver, WA	
Institute for Historical Review Newport Beach, CA	
The International Conspiratological Association Coeur d'Alene, ID	

Jewish Defense League Los Angeles, CA * Alaska Sacramento, CA Colorado Colebrook, CT Fort Lauderdale, FL Tampa, FL Skokie, IL Revere, MA Reno, NV Brooklyn, NY Rochester, NY	
Klan Store Ocala, FL	
Lawrence Dennis Institute Fairfax, VA	
Lebensbaum Assembly Church Birmingham, AL	
MSR Productions Wheat Ridge, CO	
Micetrap Distribution Maple Shade, NJ	
NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc. Jacksonville, FL	
NF Publications Olympia, WA	
National Association for the Advancement of White People Callahan, FL * Tampa, FL Marrero, LA	
Nationalist Free Press Dandridge, TN	
Nationalist Movement Learned, MS	

Nordwave Lake Worth, FL	
Northern California Aryan Volk Concord, CA	
Odium Books Montecito, CA	
Order of St. Andrew Southaven, MS	
Panzerfaust Records Newport, MN	
Pioneer Fund New York, NY	
Power of Prophecy Austin, TX	
Pride and Honor Wells, MI	
Racial Nationalist Party of America Lockport, NY	
The Redneck Shop Laurens, SC	
Resistance Records Hillsboro, WV	
Sigrdrifa Vancouver, WA	
Social Contract Press Petoskey, MI	
Stormfront West Palm Beach, FL	
Thule Publications Portland, OR	
Unholy Records Marlinton, WV	
United Patriots and Associates	

Shreveport, LA	
VDARE/Center for American Unity Warrenton, VA	
Vinland Winds Records New York, NY	
Volksfront Portland, OR * Phoenix, AZ Concord, CA Los Angeles, CA Newhall, CA Sunset Beach, CA Boston, MA New York, NY Eugene, OR Mohnton, PA	
Voz de Aztlan Whittier, CA	
Westboro Baptist Church Topeka, KS	
White Christian Soldiers Lee's Summit, MO	
White Power Warehouse Wilmington, NC	
Women for Aryan Unity Brooklyn, NY * Florida O'Fallon, MO Raleigh, NC New Jersey Philadelphia, PA Dallas, TX ▲	

ACTIVE HATE WEBSITES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2004

This list of 468 U.S.-based hate sites on the World Wide Web, down from 497 a year earlier, includes pages from Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist, Neo-Confederate and Other hate groups. Web sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Sites marked with an asterisk are organizations that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 54). Locations where sites are based are listed when known.

Ku Klux Klan

71

American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.awkkkk.com/
www.awkkkk.org/
Cordele, GA

www.geocities.com/itsonlyme53934/
Prospect Heights, IL

European White Knights
www.europeanwhiteknights.com/

Free Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.geocities.com/freenightsnc/
Madison, NC

www.geocities.com/free_knights_of_ny/free_knights_of_ny.html?1009398641870
New York

Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.bayouknights.org/
Homer, LA

Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.bok33.org/

www.kkkcalifornia.org/
Newport Beach, CA

www.kkkk.net/florida/
Gainesville, FL

www.k-k-k.com/illinois.htm
Litchfield, IL

www.kkkk.net/Indiana
Center Point, IN

www.kkkk.net/
www.k-k-k.com
Dawson Springs, KY

www.kkkk.net/kentucky/index.htm
Shepardsville, KY

www.kkkk.net/michigan/
Michigan

www.kkkk.net/missouri/index.htm
Missouri

www.kkkk.net/northcarolina/ikanc.htm
North Carolina

www.geocities.com/love_machine1998/warrior.html
New York

www.kkkk.net/ohio/index.html
Amelia, OH

www.kkkk.net/pennsylvania/
Boothwyn, PA

www.kkkk.net/tennessee/index.htm
Mountain City, TN

www.kkkk.net/texas/
Austin, TX

www.k-k-k.com/virginia/
Harrisonburg, VA

Invisible Empire of the International Knights*
www.theredneckshop.com/kkk/index2.html
Enoree, SC

Klans from Across America
expage.com/page/klansmen2

Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.knightriderskkk.com/
Daniels, WV

Knights of Lady Inamorata
www.geocities.com/knightsofladyinamorata/

Knights of Yahweh*
www.knightsofyahwehkukluxklan.com/
Dandridge, TN

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.arkpower-light.com/
Concord, AR

www.kkk.bz
www.kkk.com/
Harrison, AR

www.pagerealm.com/florida/KnightsFla.htm
Florida

Ku Klux Klan*
www.kukluxklan.bz/
Compton, AR

Total Active Hate Sites in the United States by Group

KU KLUX KLAN	71
NEO-NAZI	79
RACIST SKINHEAD	26
NEO-CONFEDERATE	38
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	36
BLACK SEPARATIST	15
OTHER	203

Louisiana White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.lwkkkk.org/ Walker, LA	South Bend, IN www.freewebs.com/ nkkentucky/ Lexington, KY
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.mwkkkk.org/ Petal, MS	www.freewebs.com/mrrebelc/ New Jersey
Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.mysticknights.org/ Michigan.htm Fraser, MI	www.freewebs.com/ nknewyork/ New York
www.mysticknights.org/ www.mysticknights.org/ Ohio.htm Dayton, OH	www.freewebs.com/tkklk/ Nashville, TN
www.mysticknights.org/ Virginia.htm Delaplane, VA	National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Youth www.expage.com/nation alknights
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.freewebs.com/ nationalknights/ Red Bay, AL	Order of the Ku Klux Klan www.kkklan.com/
www.knightskkk.org/cnkkkk/ florida.htm Silver Springs, FL	Orion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.orionknights.com/ Grand Bay, AL
www.freewebs.com/nkillinois/ North Riverside, IL	World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* worldknightskkk.expage.com/ www.worldknights.org/ Sharpsburg, MD
www.freewebs.com/cnkkk/	Southern Patriot Organized Order of Knights Ku Klux Klan* spooknights.org/ Wynnewood, OK



Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* swkkkk.com/ swkkkk.org/ www.swkkkk.net/ www.swklan.com/ www.knightskkk.org/ Watson, LA	Texas Knights of the Invisible Empire Inc.* tktie.org/ San Antonio, TX
swkmississippi.org/ Lucedale, MS	U.S. Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* us-klansinc.org/ Leitchfield, KY
www.swkohio.org/ Ohio	White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.wckkkk.com/ Cleveland, TX

Neo-Nazi79

The American Aryans 81x.com/aryan/american	Aryan Raiders* aryanraiders2.bravehost.com/index.html Alexander City, AL
American Nazi Party* www.americannaziparty.com Westland, MI	Christian Defense League* www.cdreport.com www.newchristiancrusadechurch.com/ Arabi, LA
Anti-Semitism.net www.anti-semitism.net/	Cosmotheism www.cosmotheism.net/
Aryan Confederation www.geocities.com/arcon_wp/	The Couch Potato Show www.couchpower.com/
Aryan National Socialist Empire ansempire.net/	Creativity Movement* www.rahowa.us/ Petoskey, MI
Aryan Nations* www.twelvearyannations.com Lincoln, AL	creativitymovement.us/ www.creator.org/ rahowa.com/ flyservers.com/members5/ creativitymovement.us/ Springfield MO
www.twelvearyannations.com/western/ Citrus Heights, CA	www.creativityohio.com/ Lakewood, OH
ourworld.cs.com/ aryan88patriot/index.html www.aryanpatriot.tk/ Little Rock, AR	www.creativity1973.org/ www.ons88.com/ Pittsburgh, PA
www.atlantaaryannations.zoomshare.com/ Conyers, GA	Disciple of Christ doc.cjb.net/
www.ohiomatrix.com/ Marion, OH	First United Church of Adolf Hitler churchofhitler.com/
Aryan Nations (offshoot)* www.aryan-nations.org Leola, PA	International National Socialist Party* www.insp88.org Cheyenne, WY
Aryan Nations Youth Action Corps* www.anyc.tk/	Libertarian National Socialist Green Party
www.anyac.4t.com/ Arrowhead, CA	
www.freewebs.com/anyacm/ Minnesota	

www.nazi.org/	www.utahna.com/ Salt Lake City, UT
Matt Hale Legal Defense Fund matthale.org/	www.natallva.com/ Achilles, VA
National Alliance* www.natallar.com/ Lincoln, AR	www.natallwa.com/ Seattle/Tacoma, WA
www.folkthesystem.com/ Sacramento, CA	www.natall.com www.natvan.com/ Hillsboro, WV
www.natallco.com www.natallwest.com/ www.boycottcabelas.com/ Denver, CO	www.natallwy.com/ Douglas, WY
www.natallga.com/ Savannah, GA	National Socialist Black Metal www.nsbm.org/
www.natallchicago.com Chicago, IL	National Socialist Movement* nsmar.ansempire.net/index_intro.html Arkansas
www.f-zog.us/ www.natallboston.com/ Boston, MA	www.geocities.com/nsm_maine/ Maine
www.natallmd.com/ Baltimore, MD	flyservers.com/members5/ nsmmichigan.us/ Cadillac, MI
www.natallmi.com/ Plymouth, MI	www.nsm88.com/ Minneapolis, MN
www.natallstl.com/ St. Louis, MO	www.webspawner.com/users/ virginia88/index.html Harrisonburg, VA
www.natallnj.com/ Hewitt, NJ	www.milwaukee88nsm.250x.com/ Milwaukee, WI
www.natallwny.com Rochester, NY	National Vanguard www.nationalvanguard.org/
www.natallhv.com/ West Hurley, NY	New Order* www.theneworder.org/ Milwaukee, WI
www.natall-pa.com/ York, PA	Pact 88 pact88.vze.com/
www.texasna.com/ Dallas/Fort Worth, TX	

Prussian Blue www.prussianblue.net	White Alert www.whitealert.com/	www.newp.org/ Haverhill, MA
SS Enterprises* www.ssenderprises.com Fresno, CA	White Aryan Resistance* www.resist.com/ Fallbrook, CA	www.whiterevolution.com/ Russellville, AR
SS Regalia* www.ssregalia.com/ Edgewater, MD	White Free Speech www.whitefreespeech.com/	White Struggle www.whitestruggle.net/
Thunderbolt of Truth www.thunderboltoftruth.net/	White People's Project www.whitepeoplesproject.com/	White Unity www.whiteunity.net/
	White Revolution*	White Wire www.whitewire.net/

Racist Skinhead26

Bergen County Hooligans* www.furiat.net/ Wallington, NJ	www.kss88.com Philadelphia, PA	www.anycities.com/user/ stormskins/
Confederate Hammerskins www.chs38.com/	Maryland Skinheads* www.marylandskinheads.com/ Baltimore, MD	TCB Hate Crew* www.tcbhatecrew.com/ Dallas, TX
Confederation of Racialist Working Class Skinheads www.crwskinheads.com	National Socialist Skinhead Front* www.nssf88.org/ Ringgold, VA	Those Opposed www.thoseopposed.com/
Connecticut White Power Skinheads www.angelfire.com/ct3/ arisel4/	Ohio State Skinheads www.ohiostateskins.com/ Lancaster, OH	Tualatin Valley Skins* www.nukeisrael.com/ Portland, OR
Connecticut White Wolves* www.freewebs.com/ctww/ Stratford, CT	Scioto Valley Skinheads* www.sciotoskins.com Portsmouth, OH	West Virginia Skinheads* www.WVSkinheads.com/ Charleston, WV
Golden State Skinheads* www.goldenstateskins.com/ San Luis Obispo, CA	Skinheadz www.skinheadz.com/	Western Hammerskins www.hammerskins.net/whs/
Hammerskin Nation www.hammerskin-nation.com/ www.hammerskins.net	Society Skin Nation www.freewebs.com/ societyskinnation/index.htm	White Pittsburgh Front* www.whitepittsburghfront.com/ Pittsburgh, PA
Keystone State Skinheads* www.keystonestateskinheads.com/ Harrisburg, PA	Southern European Aryans League Army* www.sealarmy.cjb.net/ Muncie, IN	White Plague Skins www.whiteplaguedesigns.com/
	Storm Skins	White Power Liberation Front* www.geocities.com/wplf88/ Livingston, NJ

Neo-Confederate 38

League of the South* www.alalos.org/ www.dixienet.org Killen, AL www.freearkansas.org/ SWArkLS/contact.htm Bismarck, AR www.freearkansas.org/ SearkLS/index.html Hamburg, AR www.freearkansas.org/ index2.htm Hot Springs, AR www.rebelgray.com San Jose, CA www.coloradolos.net/ Louisville, CO	fire.prohosting.com/flalos/ Archer, FL home.earthlink.net/~ocflos/ Bellevue, FL home.earthlink.net/~swflalos/ Ft. Myers, FL www.coolchange.net/ freedomfirst/ Jacksonville, FL jove.prohosting.com/centflos/ index.html Longwood, FL www.freeflorida.org/ Panama City, FL members.cox.net/pan handlels/index.html	Pensacola, FL cloud.prohosting.com/fllos/ Wellborn, FL pages.greetsomeone.com/ savedixie/ savedixie.homestead.com Brunswick, GA bartowlos.tripod.com/ www.georgiacsa.org/ Silver Creek, GA www.geocities.com/ semoleague/index.html Cape Girardeau, MO www.missouricsa.com/ nwchapter Holt, MO
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www.missouricsa.com/ swchapter Lebanon, MO www.missouricsa.com/ Nevada, MO www.mslos.org/ Mendenhall, MS www.TarheelLS.com/ Charlotte, NC members.tripod.com/ ~nycopperhead/ Buffalo, NY www.sclos.org Abbeville, SC www.ls institute.org/index.htm Clemson, SC www.palmetto.org www.redshirts.org/ Columbia, SC
--

www.freetennessee.org/ entry.phtml Westpoint, TN www.texasls.org/index.shtml Iredell, TX www.virginals.org/ virginalS.org/ Bluefield, VA johnnyreb22553.tripod.com/ Fredricksburg, VA www.geocities.com/gregory j-geo/ Williamsburg, VA League of the South Southern Heritage Store stores.ebay.com/Central-FL- Southern-Heritage-Store Southern Events www.southernevents. org/Main.htm
--

www.scripaturesforamerica.org/ Laporte, CO Virginia Publishing Company* www.richardhoskins.com Lynchburg, VA Watchman Outreach Ministries* home.earthlink.net/ ~dangayman/index.html

watchmanoutreach.com/ Schell City, MO Weisman Publications* www.seek-info.com/ Burnsville, MN Yahweh's Truth* www.jameswickstrom.com/ Essexville, MI

Other 203

14 Word Press* www.14wordpress.com/ www.14words.com/ Wilmington, NC

311 Mountain Church of Florida expage.com/mountain churchoffl
--

A Woman's Voice www.elishastrom.com/
--

American Defense League www.adlusa.com/ www.americandefenseleague. com/

American Immigration Con- trol Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control* www.americanimmigration control.com Monterey, VA

American National Conference ancpage.com/

American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together* www.americanpatrol.com/ Sherman Oaks, CA

American Reformation Ministries www.geocities.com/arm cprcsa/index.html
--

American Renaissance/ New Century Foundation* www.chicagoamren.com/ Chicago, IL
--

www.amren.com/ Oakton, VA

American Third Position* www.politicalsoldier.net/atp/ index.shtml Clifton, NJ
--

American Vision* www.americanvision.org Powder Springs, GA

Americans Against Zionist Oppression and Occupation ourworld.cs.com/nonzion/
--

Americans for Self Determination* www.separatism.org/index.htm Falls Church, VA
--

Army of God www.armyofgod.com/
--

Black Separatist 15

12 Tribes of Israel www.12tribes.com/ Blacks and Jews Newspaper www.blacksandjews.com/ Final Call www.finalcall.com/ Nation of Islam* www.mosque63.org/ Little Rock, AR www.noi.org/ Chicago, IL noineworleans.org/	New Orleans, LA www.noiboston.com/ Dorchester, MA www.noigreensboro.org/ Greensboro, NC noistudygroup.org/ Trenton, NJ www.muhammadmosque55. com/index2.html Memphis, TN www.noidallas.org/ Dallas, TX	www.noiswregion.org Houston, TX www.noimilwaukee.org/ Milwaukee, WI New Black Panther Party* www.newblackpanther.com/ Washington DC United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors* www.unnm.com/ Eatonton, GA
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Christian Identity 36

America's Promise Ministries* www.amprom.org/ Sandpoint, ID Artisan Publishers* www.artisanpublishers.com/ Muskogee, OK Aryan Covenant Church/ ACC Services* www.thatcherthunders.org/ Anderson, TX Aryan Nations Church of Jesus Christ Christian www.aryannations.org www.aryannationscjcc.net www.aryannationscjcc.net www.aryannationscjcc.org www.cjccaryannations.com	www.cjccaryannations.net www.cjccaryannations.org Children of Yahweh www.childrenofyahweh.com/ Christian Bible Study www.christianbiblestudy.org/ Christian Research* www.christianresearch.info/ Eureka Springs, AR Christian Separatist Church Society* www.christianseparatist.org/ Kodak, TN Church of Jesus Christ* www.christianidentity.tv/	Bergman, AR Church of True Israel* www.churchoftrueisrael.com/ Noxon, MT Church of the Sons of Yhvh* www.churchofthesonsofyhvh. org/ Calhoun, LA Covenant Church of Yahweh* www.covenantchurchofyahw eh.net/ Pipestone, MN Gospel Broadcasting Asso- ciation* www.broadcaster.org/ Houston, TX
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Gospel Ministries* www.gospelministry.net/ index.html Boise, ID House of Yahweh* www.sbtc.net/~teacher/ houseof.htm New Tazewell, TN

Kingdom Identity Ministries* www.kingidentity.com/ Harrison, AR
--

Kinsman Redeemer Minis- tries* www.kinsmanredeemer.com/ Tacoma, WA

Lord's Work* www.thelordswork.ws/ Austin, KY

Mission to Israel* www.missiontoisrael.org/ Scottsbluff, NE
--

Orange County Assembly of Christ* OCAAssemblyofChrist.org/ Brea, CA
--

Posse Comitatus www.posse-comitatus.org

Remnant Outreach Ministries* www.scatteredremnant.org/ Cottonwood, AZ
--

Right of Israel Online home.arkansasusa.com/ dlackey/
--

Scriptures for America* www.scripaturesforamerica.com/
--

Aryan Wear* www.aryanwear.com/ Saginaw, TX

Bamboo Delight Company www.bamboo-delight.com/
--

Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.* www.barnesreview.org/ Washington, DC
--

Blood and Honour* www.bloodandhonour-usa.com/ www.kriegsberichter.com/ Richardson, TX

Bludgeon Records www.insp88.org/bludgeon records/index.html
--

California Coalition for Immigration Reform* www.ccir.net/ Huntington Beach, CA
--

Campaign for Radical Truth in History www.hoffman-info.com/

Celtic Courier www.celticcourier.4t.com/
--

Celtic Reign www.celticreign.com/

Chalcedon Foundation* www.chalcedon.edu Vallecito, CA
--

Charles Darwin Research Institute* www.charlesdarwinresearch.org/ Port Huron, MI

Charles Martel Society/ Occidental Quarterly* theooccidentalquarterly.com/ theooccidentalherald.com/ Mount Airy, MD

Christian Legal Reformation Club www.clrc.net/
--

Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust www.codoh.com/

Condemned Records* www.condemnedrecords.com/ San Jose, CA
--

Conspiracy Penpal conspiracypenpal.com
--

Council of Conservative Citizens* arcofcc.freesevers.com/index. html Little Rock, AR
--

hometown.aol.com/cofccsaxon/ myhomepage/index.html Bakersfield, CA
--

groups.firstcoastcommunity. com/frame.wsi?groupsite= cofcc.org Jacksonville, FL
--

indianacofcc.org/ Paragon, IN

slccc.tripod.com/index2.htm New Orleans, LA
--

cofcc.org/missccc.htm/

www.cofcc.org/
www.galilei.com/stl/cofcc/
St. Louis, MO

www.cofcc.org/chapters/
mississippi/index.htm
Greenwood, MS

www.nccofcc.org/
Raleigh, NC

nycofcc.blogspot.com/
New York, NY

www.heritagelost.org/
Charleston, SC

www.heritagelost.org/columbia/
West Columbia, SC

www.cofcc.org/setn.htm
Chattanooga, TN

Counter Culture Music
www.counterculturemusic.net

David Duke Online
www.davidduke.com/
www.davidduke.org/
www.duke.org/

Death to Zog
www.deathtozog.com/

Defensive Racism
defensiveracism.com/

Diehard Records*
www.diehardrecords.net/
www.whitepowermusic.com
Chesapeake, OH

Ethnic Rights Amendment
www.ethnicrightsamendment.
org/

**European-American Unity
and Rights Organization***
www.whitecivilrights.com/
Mandeville, LA

Family Research Institute*

www.familyresearchinst.org
Colorado Springs, CO

Final Stand Records*
www.finalstandrecords.com
Newark, DE

**First Amendment Exercise
Machine**
www.faem.com/

The First Freedom
www.gulftel.com/homefree/

Folk and Faith
www.folkandfaith.com/

**Free American Magazine
Online**
www.freeamerican.com/

Hail Victory
hailvictory.net/

Hal Turner Show
www.halturnershow.com

Hate and Flame
www.hateandflame.com

Heartland
www.heartlandusa.org

**Heathen Folk Revival
Network**
www.heathenfolk.com/

Heritage and Destiny*
www.heritageanddestiny.com/
Ashburn, VA

**Holocaust Historiography
Project**
www.corax.org/revisionism/
index.html

Holy Western Empire
www.holywesternempire.org/

**Home Web Page of Arthur
R. Butz**
pubweb.acns.nwu.edu/~abutuz/

Hypatia Publishing*
rahowa.com/hypatia/
Vancouver, WA

The Idyllic
www.theidyllic.com

**Independent Christian
Action Network**
www.christian dominion.org/

Instauration
www.acadiacom.net/wa5dxp/
buzz-2.html

**Institute for Historical
Review***
www.ihr.org/
Newport Beach, CA

**The International Conspira-
tological Association***
www.conspiratology.com/
Coeur d'Alene, ID

Iron Guard
www.ironguard.org/
www.geocities.com/iron
guard88/

Jew Watch
www.jewwatch.com/

Jewish Defense League*
www.jdl.org
Los Angeles, CA

www.angelfire.com/ma3/jdl-
boston/index.html
Revere, MA

jdl.org.il/
Reno, NV

Jewish Tribal Review
jewishtribalreview.org/

KPS Report
www.teutonicism.com/

Kevin Strom
Kevin-Strom.com/

Klan Store*
klanstore.com/store/
Ocala, FL

Lawrence Dennis Institute*
www.lawrencedennis.org/
Fairfax, VA

Long Country Rebel
www.longcountyrebel.org/

Louis Beam
www.louisbeam.com/

MSR Productions*
www.msrproductions.com/
Wheat Ridge, CO

**Martin Lindstedt's Oafishul
WWW Page**
www.martinlindstedt.org/

**Martin Luther King Jr. —
A Historical Examination**
www.martinlutherking.org/
www.mlking.org

Micetrap Distribution*
combatl8.com
www.micetrap.net
www.whitepride.com/
www.whitepride.com/rahowa/
www.whitepride.net/
Maple Shade, NJ

Michael J. Polignano
www.michaeljpolignano.com/

Minnesota Redneck
www.minnesotaredneck.com/

NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc.*
www.naawpflch.org/
Jacksonville, FL

NF Publications*
www.northwestnet.tk/
Olympia, WA

**National Association for the
Advancement of White People***
www.naawp.net/

Callahan, FL

Nationalist Free Press*
www.nationalistfreepress.com/
www.liesexposed.net/nfp/
nfp.htm
Dandridge, TN

Nationalist Movement*
www.nationalist.org/
Learned, MS

NeoEugenics
home.attbi.com/~neoeugenics/
www.neoeugenics.com

New Nation News
www.newnation.org/

NewsNet14
www.newsnet14.com/
www.1488.net/

Niggermania
niggermania.com/

No New World Order
www.nonwo.com/

No War for Israel
www.nowarforisrael.com/

Noahide News
www.samliquidation.com/
noahidenews30.htm

Northeast White Pride
www.newp.org

**Northern California
Aryan Volk***
www.norcalaryanvolk.org/
Concord, CA

Northwest Homeland
www.northwesthomeland.
com/

**Northwest Homeland
Blogspot**
nwhomeland.blogspot.com/

Occidental Origin
www.occidentalorigin.com/

Odium Books*
www.stormbirdpress.com
Montecito, CA

Order of St. Andrew*
www.osa.faithweb.com/
Southaven, MS

Order of White Knights
www.orderofwhiteknights.org/

Original Dissent
www.originaldissent.com/

Outlaw History
www.outlawhistory.com/

Outpost Guard
www.outpostguard.org/

Overthrow.Com
www.outherrow.com/

Panzerfaust Records*
www.panzerfaust.net/
www.panzerfaust.com/
www.freetheorder.com
Newport, MN

Phoenix Services
www.geocities.com/
phoenixsvs/1.html

Pioneer Fund*
www.pioneerfund.org/
New York, NY

Power of Prophecy*
www.powerofprophecy.com/
www.texemarrs.com/
Austin, TX

Pride and Honor*
www.prideandhonor.com/
Wells, MI

Putting Up a Fight
www.geocities.com/putting
upafight/

The Pyramid Prophecy
www.pyramidprophecy.net/

Rac USA
www.rac-usa.org/

Race Realist
www.racerealist.com/

Racial Compact
www.racialcompact.com/

Racist Jokes
racist-jokes.com/

The Redneck Shop*
members.aol.com/
padragon36/redneck.htm
Laurens, SC

Regmeister
www.regmeister.net/

The Resist List
libreopinion.com/members/
resistlist/

Resistance Records*
www.resistance.com/
Hillsboro, WV

Revilo Oliver
www.revilo-oliver.com/

Revisionists.com
www.revisionists.com/

Sam Francis Online
www.samfrancis.net

Serbian Defense League
sdlusa.com/sdl/
serbiandefenseleague.com/

Sigrdrifa*
www.sigrdrifa.net/
Vancouver, WA

Social Contract Press*
www.thesocialcontract.com/
Petoskey, MI

**SolarGeneral.com White
Nationalist News Portal**
www.solargeneral.com/

Stormfront*
www.stormfront.org/
West Palm Beach, FL

Thule Publications*
www.thulepublications.com/
Portland, OR

Tightrope
www.tightrope.cc/

True Christian Church of Christ
www.truechristian.com/

**The Truth About Panzerfaust
Records**
www.anthonypierpont.com

The Truth Newspaper
www.thetruthnewspaperinc.com

Unholy Records*
www.unholyrecords.com
Marlinton, WV

**United Patriots and
Associates***
www.geocities.com/rebely
2070/RebelYell1776.html
Shreveport, LA

**VDARE/Center for
American Unity***
www.vdare.com
www.cfau.org
Warrenton, VA

Vanguard News Network
www.govnn.com
www.vanguardnewsnetwork.
com/

Vinland Winds Records*
www.vinlandwinds.com/
New York, NY

**Vinnish American Nationalists
for Individual Rights**
www.vanir.us/

Volkermord
www.volkermord.com/

Volksfront*
arizona.volksfrontinternational.
com/
Phoenix, AZ

www.volksfront-usa.org/socal/
Sunset Beach, CA

www.volksfront-usa.
org/eastern
Boston, MA

www.volksfront-usaorg/
oregon/
www.volksfront-usa.org/
volksfrontinternational.com/
Portland, OR

www.faghballagh.com/
Mohnton, PA

**VoteForUSA — Informing
the American Voter**
www.voteforusa.com/

Voz de Aztlan*
www.aztlan.net/
Whittier, CA

Wake Up or Die
www.wakeupordie.com/

Westboro Baptist Church*
www.godhatesfags.com/
www.godhatesamerica.com/
Topeka, KS

Whitaker Online
www.whitakeronline.org/

White Children
www.whitechildren.com/

White Christian Soldiers*
www.angelfire.com/ny5/
lansky2000/wcs1.html
Lee's Summit, MO

White Extinction
whiteextinction.com/

White Future
www.whitefuture.com

White Heat Productions
www.whiteheatproductions.
com/

White History
www.white-history.com/

White Nationalist Family
whitenationalistfamily.com/
index.html

White Patriot Party
www.whitepatriotparty.com/

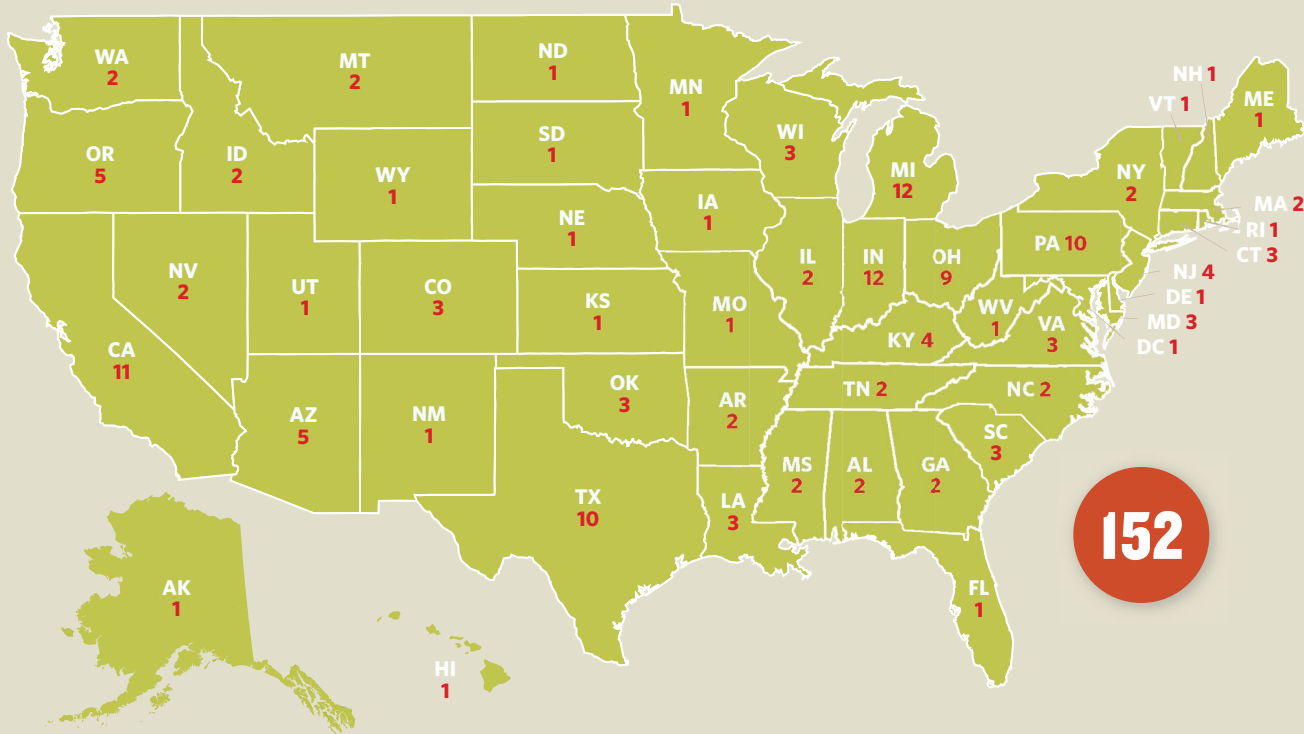
White Power Warehouse*
whitepowerwarehouse.com/
www.whitepowerflags.com/
www.whitepowershirts.com/
www.whitepowerrecords.com/
Wilmington, NC

White Power World Wide
www.wpww.com/

Whiteheat Productions
www.whiteheatproductions.com/

Wolfhook.com
www.wolfhook.com/

Women for Aryan Unity*
w-a-u.net/
www.rac-usa.org/wau/
www.wauhqs.cjb.net/
Brooklyn, NY ▲



ACTIVE
**‘PATRIOT’
GROUPS**
IN THE UNITED STATES
2004

The Intelligence Project identified 152 “Patriot” groups that were active in 2004. Of these groups, 52 were militias and the remainder, grouped here in the Other Patriot category, include “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment or conspiratorial doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. This list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement officials and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county of region where they are located. Within states, groups are listed alphabetically by place of origin.

ALABAMA

Alabama Committee

Birmingham

Constitution Party

Cullman

ALASKA

Constitution Party

Kenai

ARIZONA

Arizona Gaurd

Douglas

American Patriot Friends

Network

Glendale

Constitution Party

Peoria

Ranch Rescue

Sierra Vista

Civil Homeland Defense

Tombstone

ARKANSAS

Militia of Washington County

Fayetteville

Constitution Party

Little Rock

CALIFORNIA

California Militia

Brea

State Citizens Service Center

Research Headquarters

Canoga Park

Truth Radio

Delano

Free Enterprise Society

Fresno

Second Amendment

Committee

Hanford

John Birch Society

Irvine

American Independent Party

Lemon Grove

John Birch Society

Newport Beach

Southern California High

Desert Militia

Oceanside

Freedom Law School

Phelan

John Birch Society

Santa Rosa

COLORADO

Constitution Party

Arvada

Ranch Rescue

Boulder

American Freedom Network

Johnstown

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut 71st Militia

East Hampton

Connecticut Survivalist

Alliance

Middlefield

Constitution Party

Wolcott

DELAWARE

Constitution Party

Newark

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

American Free Press

Washington

FLORIDA

Constitution Party

Jupiter

GEORGIA

Militia of Georgia

Lawrenceville

Constitution Party

Woodstock

HAWAII

Constitution Party

Honolulu

IDAHO

Police & Military Against

the New World Order

Kamiah

Constitution Party

Sagle

ILLINOIS

Constitution Party

Belleville

Southern Illinois Patriots

League

Benton

INDIANA

Indiana Citizens

Volunteer Militia

Allen County

Old Paths Baptist Church

Campbellsburg

NORFED

Evansville

Indianapolis Baptist Temple

Indianapolis

Indiana Militia Corps

Northeast

Indiana Militia Corps

Northwest

Indiana State Militia 14th

Regiment

Owen County

Indiana Militia Corps

Pendleton

Constitution Party

Princeton

Indiana Militia Corps

Southeast

Indiana Militia Corps

Southwest

Indiana Citizens

Volunteer Militia

Tippecanoe County

IOWA

Constitution Party

Randall

KANSAS

Constitution Party

Wichita

KENTUCKY

Take Back Kentucky

Clarkson

Free Kentucky

Lebanon

Constitution Party

Louisville

Kentucky State Militia

Stanford

LOUISIANA

Constitution Party

Gray

Louisiana Unorganized

Militia

Lafayette

John Birch Society

New Orleans

MAINE

Constitution Party

South Paris

MARYLAND

Southern Sons of Liberty

Constitution Party

Pasadena

Save A Patriot Fellowship

Westminster

MASSACHUSETTS

Ranch Rescue

Franklin

Constitution Party

Townsend

MICHIGAN

Lenawee County Free and

Independent Militia

Adrian

Bay County Michigan Free

And Independent Militia

Bay City

Southeast Michigan

Volunteer Militia

Detroit

Patriot Broadcasting

Network

Dexter

Michigan Militia Corps

Wolverines

Livingston County

Michigan Militia Corps

Wolverines

Macomb County

Michigan Militia Corps

Wolverines

Oakland County

Michigan Militia, Inc.

Redford

Southern Michigan

Regional Militia

St. Clair

Lawful Path

Tustin

Michigan Militia Corps

Wolverines

Washtenaw County

U.S. Taxpayers Party

Westland

MINNESOTA

Constitution Party

St. Paul

MISSISSIPPI

East Central Mississippi

Militia

Meridian

Constitution Party

Okolona

MISSOURI

Constitution Party

Fenton

MONTANA

Constitution Party
Great Falls

Militia of Montana
Noxon

NEBRASKA

The Nebraska Party
Wausa

NEVADA

Center for Action
Sandy Valley

Independent
American Party
Sparks

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Constitution Party
Warner

NEW JERSEY

Constitution Party
Palmyra

New Jersey Committee
of Safety
Shamong

John Birch Society
Toms River

New Jersey Militia
Trenton

NEW MEXICO

Constitution Party
Albuquerque

NEW YORK

Constitution Party
Albany

We The People
Queensbury

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina
Citizens Militia
Canton

Constitution Party
Fuquay-Varina

NORTH DAKOTA

Constitution Party
New Salem

OHIO

Constitutional Militia of
Clark County
Clark County

Central Ohio Unorganized
Militia, Columbus County
Columbus

Constitution Party
Columbus

Ohio Unorganized Militia
3rd Battalion
Highland County

Ohio Defense Force
Lebanon

Ohio Defense Force
Lisbon

Ohio Defense Force
Mount Vernon

Unorganized Militia of
Champaign County
Saint Paris

Ohio Defense Force
Zanesville

OKLAHOMA

Constitution Party
Chandler

Ranch Rescue
Marietta

Present Truth Ministry
Panama

OREGON

Emissary Publications
Clackamas

Southern Oregon Militia
Eagle Point

Freedom Bound
International
Klamath Falls

Constitution Party
Scappoose

Embassy of Heaven
Stayton

PENNSYLVANIA

American Nationalist Union
Allison Park

Christian American Patriot
Survivalists
Atlantic

John Birch Society
Connellsville

John Birch Society
Greensburg

John Birch Society
Independence

Constitution Party
Lancaster

Braveheart Militia
Meadville

John Birch Society
Pittsburgh

John Birch Society
Washington

Northern Voice Bookstore
Wildwood

RHODE ISLAND

Constitution Party
North Kingstown

SOUTH CAROLINA
The Patriot Network
Anderson

AWARE Group
Greenville

Constitution Party
Greenville

SOUTH DAKOTA
Constitution Party
Sioux Falls

TENNESSEE

Constitution Party
Germantown

Take Back Tennessee
Maynardville

TEXAS

Ranch Rescue
Abilene

Constitution Society
Austin

Ranch Rescue
Austin

Buffalo Creek Press
Cleburne

Republic of Texas
Dallas

Constitution Party
Iredell

God Said Ministries
Mount Enterprise

Republic of Texas
Overton

Ranch Rescue
Tomball

Church of God
Evangelistic Association
Waxahachie

UTAH

Constitution Party
Bountiful

VERMONT

Constitution Party
Quechee

VIRGINIA

Kenton's Rangers Virginia
Line Militia
Front Royal

Virginia Citizens Militia
Roanoke

Constitution Party
Vienna

WASHINGTON

Washington State Jural
Society
Ellensburg

Constitution Party
Spokane

WEST VIRGINIA

Constitution Party
Reader

WISCONSIN

American Opinion Book
Services
Appleton

Constitution Party
Appleton

John Birch Society
Appleton

WYOMING

Constitution Party
Riverton ▲

ACTIVE

‘PATRIOT’2004 WEBSITES IN THE UNITED STATES

This list of 181 sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to the so-called “Patriot” movement, which generally defines itself as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocates or adheres to extreme antigovernment or conspiratorial doctrines. Pages were current in 2004, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 46 were connected to militias or militia ideology; the rest, grouped in the Other Patriot category, included sites associated with “common-law courts,” publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups with Web sites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity or are racist. The 65 sites indicated with an asterisk are linked to actual groups that promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of their Internet material.

Militia

46

A Well Regulated Militia
www.awrm.org/

Arizona Gaurd*
www.arizonagaurd.com/
Douglas, AZ

Arizona Militia
www.arizonamilitia.com/

California Militia*
geocities.com/CapitolHill/
Congress/2608/welcome.html
Brea, CA

Central Mississippi Militia
centralmississippimilitia.brave
host.com/

Central Ohio Unorganized
Militia, Columbus County*
www.pandar.com/coum/
Columbus, OH

Civil Homeland Defense*
www.civilhomelanddefense.us/
www.minutemanproject.com/
Tombstone, AZ

Connecticut 71st Militia*
www.ct71st.com/
East Hampton, CT

Constitutional Militia
of Clark County*
ccsg0.tripod.com/
Clark County, OH

Empire State Militia 11th
Field Forces
www.geocities.com/
esm2nddiv/

Indiana Citizens
Volunteer Militia*
free.hostdepartment.com/l/
Indianamilitia/index.html
Allen County, IN

www.tippecanoeicvm.home
stead.com/
Tippecanoe County, IN

Indiana Militia Corps*
www.IndianaMilitia.home
stead.com/
Pendleton, IN

Indiana State Militia 14th
Regiment*
14thregofism.tripod.com/
Owen County, IN

Kentucky State Militia*
www.kysm.org/
Stanford, KY

Marietta Pennsylvania Militia
www.mariettapa.com/mari
etta_militia.html

Michigan Militia Corps
Wolverines*
www.michiganmilitia.com/
lcm/ecef.htm
Livingston County, MI

www.michiganmilitia.com/
MACOMB/mmcwmacomb.htm
Macomb County, MI

www.michiganmilitia.com/
oakland/oakland.htm
Oakland County, MI

www.michiganmilitia.com/
WASHTENAW/washtenaw.htm

Washtenaw, MI

Michigan Militia, Inc.*
www.michiganmilitia.com/
Redford, MI

Militia of Florida*
www.militia-of-florida.com/

Militia of Georgia*
www.georgiamilitia.com/
www.militiaofgeorgia.com/
Lawrenceville, GA

Militia of Montana*
www.militiaofmontana.com/
Noxon, MT

Militia of Washington
County*
www.angelfire.com/ar2/militia/
Fayetteville, AR

Minnesota Militia
minnesotamilitia.8k.com/
index.html

New Jersey Militia*
www.njmilitia.org/
Trenton, NJ

North Carolina Citizens Militia*
www.netpath.net/~jeffr/
nccm.htm
Canton, NC

Ohio Defense Force*
www.sodf.org/
Zanesville, OH

Ohio Unorganized Militia 3rd Battalion*
www.mpna.com/swoum/
Highland County, OH

Ohio Unorganized Militia- Columbiana County
members.aol.com/locowr
pony/politics/

Oregon Militia Corps
OregonMilitia.homestead.com/

The Patriot Underground
www.geocities.com/save
america/
www.geocities.com/Capitol
Hill/Parliament/1691/index.
html

Ranch Rescue*
www.ranchrescue.com/
Sierra Vista, AZ

Rogers' Rangers Twin State Militia
rogersrangers.8m.com/

Southern California High Desert Militia*
www.hdmsc.org/
Oceanside, CA

Southern Illinois Patriots League*
sipl.addr.com/
Benton, IL

Southern Michigan Regional Militia*
www.michiganmilitia.org/
St. Clair, MI

Southern Sons of Liberty*
ssol.cjb.net/
Maryland

Unorganized Militia of Champaign County*
champaigncounty.tripod.com/
Saint Paris, OH

Virginia Citizens Militia*
vcm.freesevers.com/
www.virginiamilitia.org/
Roanoke, VA

Washington Mountain Operations Unit
www.angelfire.com/wa3/
1mtn/index.html

Patriot 135

3CC Continental Militia Network
militianetwork.homestead.com/

3rd Continental Congress
3rdcontinentalcongress.org/

Alabama Committee*
themustardseed.home.mindspring.com/
Birmingham, AL

American Free Press*
www.americanfreepress.net/
Washington, DC

American Freedom Network*
www.americanewsnet.com/
Johnstown, CO

American Independent Party*
www.aipca.org/
Lemon Grove, CA

American Nationalist Union*
www.anu.org/
Allison Park, PA

American Opinion Book Services*
www.aobs-store.com/
Appleton, WI

American Patriot Friends Network*
www.apfn.org/
Glendale, AZ

American Patriot Network
www.civil-liberties.com/

American Sovereign
www.americansovereign.com/

AssaultWeb.Net
www.Assaultweb.net/

AWARE Group*
www.theawaregroup.com/
Greenville, SC

Barefoot's World
www.barefootsworld.net/

Be Wise As Serpents
www.posse-comitatus.org/BeWise/
index.html
www.iahushua.com/BeWise/bewise.
html

Buffalo Creek Press*
www.buffalo-creek-press.com/
Cleburne, TX

Center for Action*
www.bogritz.com/
Sandy Valley, NV

Christian Exodus
www.christianexodus.com/

Christian National Common-Law Court
www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org/

Church of God Evangelistic Association*
www.newswatchmagazine.org/
Waxahachie, TX

Committees of Protection, Correspondence and Safety
www.committee.org/cos
1400.htm

Common Law Defense Fund
www.civil-liberties.com/
commonlaw/common.html

Common Man
www.thecommonman.com/

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance*
www.iirg.org/csa.html
Middlefield, CT

The Conservative Caucus/ Constitution Party
www.conservativeusa.org/

Constitution Party*
www.alconstitutionparty.org/
Cullman, AL

www.cparkansas.org/
Little Rock, AR

www.freewebs.com/cp
arizona/
Peoria, AZ

www.cpfloida.com/
Jupiter, FL

www.gaconstitutionparty.org/
Woodstock, GA

www.freewebs.com/cphawaii/
Honolulu, HI

www.constitutionpartyidaho.com/
Sagle, ID

www.constitutionpartyillinois.com/
Belleville, IL

www.freewebs.com/cp
indiana/
Princeton, IN

ks.constitutionparty.com/
Wichita, KS

www.cpsy.com/
Louisville, KY

www.cpmaryland.com/
Pasadena, MD

www.cpmn.org/
St. Paul, MN

www.constitutionpartymo.org/
Fenton, MO

www.constitutionpartyms.com/
Okolona, MS

home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT/
Great Falls, MT

www.cpnc.info/
Fuquay-Varina, NC

www.nhconstitutionparty.org/
Warner, NH

www.constitutionparty-nj.org/
Palmyra, NJ

members.ispwest.com/dave
batch/
Albuquerque, NM

www.nyconstitutionparty.com/
Albany, NY

www.ohiocp.org/
Columbus, OH

www.freewebs.com/cp
oklahoma/
Chandler, OK

www.constitutionparty
oregon.com/
Scappoose, OR

www.constitutional.net/
www.constitutionparty.com/
www.constitutionpartypa.com/
Lancaster, PA

www.dsindex.com/cp/
Greenville, SC

www.cpot.org/
Germantown, TN

www.cptexas.org/index.shtml
Iredell, TX

www.cputah.org
Bountiful, UT

www.constitutionpartyva.com/
Vienna, VA

www.constitutionpartyvt.com/
Quechee, VT

www.constitutionpartyofwa.com/
Spokane, WA

www.cpow.org/
Appleton, WI

David Wynn Miller
www.dwmlc.com/

Dixieland Law Journal
fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft/

Embassy of Heaven*
www.EmbassyOfHeaven.com
Stayton, OR

Emissary Publications*
www.midnight-emissary.com/
Clackamas, OR

Eric's Patriot Page
www.freedombyfaith.com/PATRIOT/
PATRIOT.HTML

The Federal Observer
www.federalobserver.com/index.php

Flyover Press
www.flyoverpress.com/

Free Enterprise Society*
www.freeenterprisesociety.com/
Fresno, CA

Free Kentucky*
www.willowtown.com/freekentucky/
Lebanon, KY

Free Republic
www.freerepublic.com

Freedom Bound International*
www.americansovereign.com/
freedombound.htm
Klamath Falls, OR

Freedom Domain
www.freedomdomain.com/

Freedom Law School*
www.livefreenow.org/
Phelan, CA

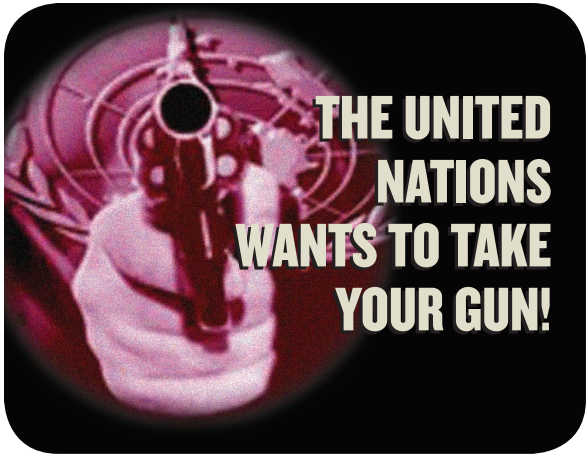
Freedom Point
www.iahushua.com/Freedom-Point/
freepoint.html

Freedom Underground
www.freedomunderground.org/

Frugal Squirrel's Homepage for Patriots, Survivalists, and Gun Owners
www.frugalsquirrels.com/

Genesis Communication Network
www.gcnlive.com/

Get Us Out of the United Nations
www.getusout.org/index.htm



God Said Ministries* www.godsaidministries.com Mount Enterprise, TX	Land of Liberty user.aol.com/rmckin6412/ liberty/index.htm
Hour of the Time www.hourofthetime.com/	Lawful Path* lawfulpath.com Tustin, MI
Iahushua www.iahushua.com/	Liberty Tree Radio www.libertytreeradio.4mg.com/index. html
Idaho Observer www.proliberty.com/observer/	LizMichael.com www.lizmichael.com/
Independent American Party* www.iapn.org Sparks, NV	Maine Patriot www.maine patriot.741.com/
Indianapolis Baptist Temple* www.indianapolisbaptist temple.com/ Indianapolis, IN	Media Bypass www.mediabypass.com/
Infowars.com www.infowars.com/	Minuteman Patriot MinutemanPatriot.homestead.com/
JackBlood www.jackblood.com/	Modern Minuteman www.modern-minuteman.org/
Jeff Davis Show www.jdshow.com/	National Economic Security and Reformation Act www.nesara.us
John Birch Society* www.jbsirvine.com/ Irvine, CA	The Nebraska Party* www.nebraskaparty.org Wausa, NE
home.earthlink.net/~bircher/ Newport Beach, CA	The New American www.thenewamerican.com/
www.nolajbs.net/ New Orleans, LA	New Jersey Committee of Safety* www.committee.org/NJcos/Default.htm Shamong, NJ
www.nowitsyourmove.org /default.htm Pittsburgh, PA	NORFED — National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act* www.LibertyDollar.org/ www.norfed.org/ Evansville, WI
www.jbs.org/ www.stoptheftaa.org/ www.trimonline.org/ Appleton, WI	

Outpost of Freedom www.outpost-of-freedom.com/	The Patriot Broadcasting Network* www.pbn.4mg.com/ Dexter, MI
	The Patriot Network* www.patriotnetwork.info/ Anderson, SC
	Patriot Truth www.angelfire.com/ab/ PatriotTruth/index.html
	Police & Military Against the New World Order* www.police-and-military-against-the-new- world-order.org/ Kamiah, ID
	The Power Hour www.thepowerhour.com/
	Radio Liberty www.radioliberty.com/
	Ralph Epperson’s Conspiracy History syninfo.com/Epperson/
	Republic of Texas* www.the-republic-of-texas.org/ Dallas, TX
	Republic of Texas* www.republic-of-texas.net/ Overton, TX
	Save A Patriot Fellowship* www.save-a-patriot.org/ Westminster, MD
	Second Amendment Committee* www.libertygunrights.com/ Hanford, CA
	The Sierra Times www.sierratimes.com/

The Spike www.geocities.com/jtrooper_2000/ thespike.html	Stanley 2002 www.stanley2002.org/
State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters* www.state-citizen.org Canoga Park, CA	Take Back Kentucky* www.takebackkentucky.com Clarkson, KY
Take Back Tennessee* www.geocities.com/Capitol Hill/Lobby/4218/index.htm Maynardville, TN	Taking Back America www.wealth4freedom.com/
Team Law www.teamlaw.org/	The Ten Foundation www.tenfoundation.com
Truth Radio* www.truthradio.com/ Delano, CA	United Patriot Radio www.posse-comitatus.org/unitedpa- triotradio/index.htm
U.S. Taxpayers Party ustaxpayerspartyofmichigan.com/ Westland, MI	U.S.A. The Republic: How you Lost It www.usa-the-republic.com/
We The People* www.givemeliberty.org Queensbury, NY ▲	

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

Solving Atlanta

As the trial of Eric Rudolph nears, a journalist and a retired cop detail the case in a book that also takes law enforcement to task

Hunting Eric Rudolph: An Insider’s Account of the Five-Year Search for the Olympic Bombing Suspect

By Henry Schuster with Charles Stone
NEW YORK: BERKLEY BOOKS, MARCH
2005, \$23.95 (HARDBACK)

At 7:33 a.m. on Jan. 29, 1998, police officer Robert “Sande” Sanderson was leaning over a metal toolbox that he’d just found half-buried in the flowerbed right out front of the New Woman, All Women Health Care Clinic in Birmingham, Ala. As he poked with his retractable truncheon around the toolbox, which was tilted up from the earth toward the clinic entrance, nurse Emily Lyons, dressed in pink work scrubs, stood five or six paces away, watching. That’s when the bomb went off.

The blast killed Sanderson almost instantly, tearing off an arm and sending shrapnel deep into his head. Lyons, partially shielded by Sanderson, lost her eyelids and part of her lips. Hundreds of nails ripped viciously into her face, torso and legs. Miraculously, she survived, though it would take a score of excruciating operations that would still leave her half-blind and scarred almost beyond imagination.

This was no ordinary attack on an abortion clinic. Although Sanderson was the sixth person to be murdered by anti-abortion extremists in the United States, he was the first police officer to die. It also quickly became evident that the bomb had been set off by remote control by a man wearing a wig who

stood just 100 feet distant, hiding behind an oak tree and waiting for his victims to come in range. Made of dynamite and nails, the device was meant to kill as many people as possible.

Thus began the remarkable case of Eric Robert Rudolph, who also would ultimately be accused of earlier bomb attacks on the Atlanta Olympics, a gay club in Atlanta and another abortion clinic in an Atlanta suburb. Although Rudolph was identified with the help of two eyewitnesses just a day after the Birmingham attack, he would still manage to slip off into the wilds of western North Carolina, where he apparently spent five years living in the woods before being captured in 2003.

Now, as Rudolph’s first trial approaches (at press time, opening arguments in the Birmingham case were scheduled for May), a fact-packed book has just been published that lays out virtually all the details of this intriguing case, including many that had been kept under wraps for years. It is written by Henry Schuster, the senior producer of CNN’s investigative unit, and Charles Stone, who headed the Anti-Terrorist Task Force of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) and was the lead investigator on the

sprawling Rudolph case until his retirement in 1999.

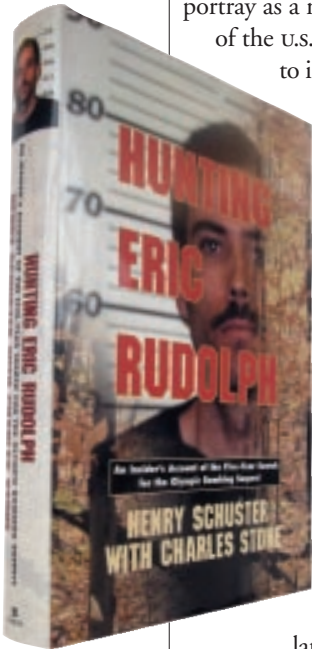
The book is replete with accounts of law enforcement mistakes. The first came in 1996, when, in the first attack attributed to Rudolph, a bomb at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics left one woman dead and close to 100 people injured. Atlanta 911 operators, the authors say, failed to reach officers at Centennial Park, where the bomb was placed, for precious minutes after receiving an anonymous call that warned that a bomb was set to go off. In another fiasco, law enforcement officials leaked the name of security guard Richard Jewel as the top suspect — a suspicion that turned out to be entirely wrong. Later, the authors recount a number of ham-handed FBI encounters with local law enforcement officials and residents during the long hunt for Rudolph amid the dense forests and deep caves of North Carolina.

But the most remarkable mistake — or, in any event, what the authors portray as a mistake — is the decision of the U.S. attorney in Birmingham to identify Eric Rudolph in a

press conference held at 5 p.m. the day after the bombing in that city. Just a half an hour later, and possibly even earlier, a North Carolina sheriff called federal agents to inform them that he’d located Rudolph’s trailer and could go pick the suspect up immediately. Sheriff Jack Thompson was told not to make the arrest or surveil the trailer; instead, he was to meet federal agents

later that night.

By the time authorities reached Rudolph’s trailer, he had fled. Schuster and Stone suggest that if U.S. Attorney Doug Jones had waited even a few



CONTINUED ON PAGE 76

LEGAL BRIEF

What First Amendment?

Alabama State Rep. Gerald Allen is no lawyer. But he must know that his proposed ban on pro-gay books is unconstitutional

BY CATHERINE E. SMITH

Alabamians had best stock up on copies of classic literature, including *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *Leaves of Grass* and *The Color Purple*. If State Rep. Gerald Allen has his way, the books will no longer be available in Alabama libraries.

The Republican legislator from Cottondale has proposed a prohibition on the use of state resources for the “purchase of textbooks or library materials that recognize or promote homosexuality as an acceptable lifestyle.” And Allen isn’t alone in his desire to ban literature. The American Library Association tracked more than 6,000 book bannings from 1999-2000, many of them based on sexual orientation content.

Allen claims that he wants to “protect” Alabama children from the “homosexual agenda” and believes that “our culture, how we know it today, is under attack from every angle.” Clearly, his bill intends to suppress ideas contained in materials that are perceived to promote homosexuality.

But like so many attempts to ban literature, Allen’s anti-gay bill comes with both practical and legal problems. How exactly would the State of Alabama define what constitutes promotion of homosexuality? Who would be empowered to make those determinations? As Juanita Owens, the director of the Montgomery City-County Library, told the *Birmingham News*, “Half the books in the library could end up being banned. It’s all based on how one interprets the material.”

A broad interpretation of Allen’s proposed law might ban *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* for the Bard’s slapstick treatment of cross-dressing.

Practical matters aside, Allen is certainly aware that his proposed statute violates a core tenet of the First Amendment — it’s commonplace knowledge that the government is prohibited from stifling speech because of its message, idea or subject matter. [See *R.A. V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 386 (1992)] And Allen’s bill represents the

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most egregious form of content-based regulation because it is viewpoint-discriminatory. [See *Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of Univ. of Va.*, 515 U.S. 819, 829 (1995) (explaining that “[v]iewpoint discrimination is ... an egregious form of content discrimination”).] The bill would prohibit only those materials that promote homosexuality, leaving books that cast homosexuality in a negative light unscathed and on Alabama bookshelves.

The legislator would be wise to take a First Amendment lesson from his fellow politicians at the city council in Wichita Falls, Tex. After a long campaign by special-interest groups, the council passed a resolution giving 300 library-card holders who had signed an anti-gay petition the authority to censor two books, *Heather Has Two Mommies* and *Daddy’s Roommate*. Within days of the resolution’s passage, the two picture books, which profile families with gay parents, were moved from the youth section of the public library and placed in the adult section.

Library patrons, individually and on behalf of their children, filed suit to enjoin the resolution as a violation of their First Amendment rights. The district court agreed, finding that “[t]he resolution and the book removals burdened fully-protected speech on the basis of content and viewpoint” in violation of the First Amendment. [*Sund v. City of Wichita Falls, Texas*, 121 F. Supp.2d 530, 547 (N.D. Tex. 2000).]

The law requires that debates on public issues, like homosexuality, must be “uninhibited, robust and wide-open.” [*New York Times v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254, 270 (1964).] And this means folks like Rep. Allen can’t fight sexual agenda” sanctioned censor “positive” gay viewpoints from ketplace of idea

Allen’s bla unconstitutional posal may earn hi political capita from his anti-gay allies, but it is Alabama citizens who ultimately will pay the hefty legal bills their state will certainly incur if Allen’s grandstanding becomes law. ▲



for the Record

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed in For The Record are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 10,000 hate crimes reported to the FBI each year and an even smaller proportion of the 50,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that are estimated to actually occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the fourth quarter of 2004 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Web site, www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Lincoln • Oct. 3, 2004

The neo-Nazi Aryan Nations moved its longtime headquarters from Hayden, Idaho, to Lincoln.

ARIZONA

Payson • Oct. 23, 2004

Leaflets from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed.

CALIFORNIA

Fair Oaks • Oct. 27, 2004

Swastikas, a bullet hole, and graffiti attacking presidential candidate Sen. John Kerry were spray-painted at the northeast Sacramento Democratic headquarters.

Lancaster • Dec. 29, 2004

Michael Kelly, 20, of Lancaster was sentenced to 8 years for the racially motivated drive-by shooting of an African-American man in July 2003.

Sacramento • Oct. 1, 2004

Christopher Easely, 22, was sentenced to 41 months in federal prison for burning a cross in a black family’s yard in January.

San Diego • Oct. 3, 2004

A black man allegedly stabbed a Latino man while using racial epithets.

San Diego • Dec. 9, 2004

A 34-year-old man allegedly used a racial slur against a San Diego County sheriff’s deputy, then punched him outside a fast-food restaurant.

Sonora • Oct. 16, 2004

Bruce Thomas Synder, 18, and Travis Leif Eriksen, 23, were accused of using racial slurs against three black people

in a restaurant and spitting on and throwing food at them.

South Lake Tahoe • Dec. 8, 2004

A Nazi lightning bolt symbol, two swastikas and the words “Die Jew” were spray-painted on the door of a synagogue.

CONNECTICUT

Stamford • Oct. 30, 2004

Racial slurs and a message threatening the life of a high school student were spray-painted on a house.

Stamford • Nov. 1, 2004

Racial slurs were spray-painted on a vacant house in a racially diverse neighborhood.

GEORGIA

Statesboro • Nov. 6, 2004

Anti-gay epithets were spray-painted on a gay student’s car at Georgia Southern University.

INDIANA

Fort Wayne • Oct. 15, 2004

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left on lawns throughout a neighborhood.

KANSAS

Dodge City • Dec. 26, 2004

Anti-immigrant fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left on driveways and front yards throughout a neighborhood.

KENTUCKY

Taylor Mill • Nov. 9, 2004

Racist literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge • Oct. 30, 2004

Justin Michael Landry, 23, and Robert Moore, 41, were ticketed for littering for allegedly throwing fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance.

MAINE

Pittsfield • Oct. 6, 2004

A swastika and two renditions of the numerals “666” were scrawled on a wall and front lawn of a church.

MARYLAND

Pasadena • Nov. 23, 2004

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • Nov. 28, 2004

About 15 white men allegedly attacked three black teenage boys.

Burlington • Oct. 14, 2004

Swastikas were scrawled on a Jewish teacher’s classroom door.

Newton • Oct. 4, 2004

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed in several neighborhoods.

Waltham • Oct. 30, 2004

Literature from the neo-Nazi group White Revolution was distributed throughout neighborhoods.

Westford • Oct. 10, 2004

Anti-Semitic fliers from the neo-Nazi Creativity Movement were left on front yards of homes throughout a neighborhood.

MICHIGAN

Grand Traverse • Oct. 10, 2004

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

MINNESOTA

Duluth • Dec. 11, 2004

Leaflets from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left on driveways in a neighborhood and a news release about the event and a sample leaflet were faxed to the local media.

Eden Prairie • Nov. 13, 2004

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement were left on several parked vehicles.

Sauk Rapids • Oct. 9, 2004

A racial slur was painted on a residence where a black high school basketball coach was staying with his white girlfriend.

MISSOURI

Hannibal • Oct. 9, 2004

The letters “KKK” and an obscenity were spray-painted on a black couple’s car.

St. Louis • Oct. 12, 2004

Kevin A. Johnson, 36, was sentenced to life in prison for stomping another man to death after shouting racist remarks calling the victim a Jew.

West Alton • Oct. 3, 2004

John W. Barbhart, 20, was charged with a hate crime after he allegedly spray-painted racial slurs on a black family’s residence.

MONTANA

Anaconda Nov. 2, 2004

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left in yards in a local neighborhood.

NEVADA

Carson • Nov. 29, 2004

Harold Wesly Willard, 16, was sentenced to 10 years to life in prison after he allegedly sexually assaulted a fellow student for an initiation into the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood in March.

Reno • Dec. 23, 2004

Steven J. Holten, 40, Nevada state leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, pleaded guilty to transmitting a threat via interstate commerce.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Derry • Oct. 23, 2004

Fliers and recruitment material from the neo-Nazi White Revolution were left in several neighborhoods.

NEW JERSEY

Clinton Township • Oct. 1, 2004

James Brynes, 18, and two 17-year-olds were charged with spray-painting swastikas on a Jewish resident’s car.

Wantage • Oct. 2, 2004

Fliers from the neo-nazi National Alliance were distributed to homes in two neighborhoods.

Clifton • Oct. 6, 2004

Eggs and rocks were thrown at Jewish temporary religious structures.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • Oct. 15, 2004

Swastikas were spray-painted on a Jewish community center.

Brooklyn • Oct. 21, 2004

Popuri Prasad Satya, 28, was arrested for allegedly slipping an anti-Semitic note under the door of a Jewish school.

Brooklyn • Oct. 21, 2004

Olga Abramovich, 49, was arrested in connection with the spray-painting of six swastikas on a Jewish center.

Manhattan • Oct. 22, 2004

Nine swastikas were scrawled inside an apartment building.

Brooklyn • Oct. 24, 2004

A swastika was painted on a gate at an Israeli music and video store.

Glen Oaks • Oct. 14, 2004

Anti-Indian epithets were spray-painted on a house.

Howard Beach • Oct. 17, 2004

Six white swastikas were spray-painted on a brick pillar at a Jewish center.

Long Island • Nov. 21, 2004

A cross was burned on the front lawn of an interracial couple’s home.

Queens • Oct. 17, 2004

A man received a letter containing anti-Semitic slurs.

Staten Island • Dec. 15, 2004

A group of men allegedly kicked and broke a Hanukah sign at a residence.

NORTH DAKOTA

Fargo • Oct. 3, 2004

Feces were smeared on the door of a mosque.

OHIO

Middletown • Dec. 29, 2004

Michael Ray Miracle, 40, and Eric Fugate, 22, were charged with arson and aggravated menacing by ethnic intimidation in connection with a cross burning at a black family’s residence. Misty Miracle, 19, was facing assault charges in connection with an alleged attack that preceded the cross-burning incident and two juveniles were being held on the same charges.

OREGON

Eugene • Oct. 30, 2004

An estimated 100 fliers containing racist jokes and caricatures were left at homes in a neighborhood.

Eugene • Dec. 3, 2004

Fliers from the white supremacist Tualatin Valley Skins were distributed in three neighborhoods.

Hillsboro • Oct. 18, 2004

Fliers from the Tualatin Valley Skins were left in yards throughout a neighborhood.

Salem • Nov. 6, 2004

Swastikas and derogatory comments about Jews were written on the side of a synagogue.

PENNSYLVANIA

Erie • Oct. 15, 2004

A swastika and other anti-Semitic graffiti were spray-painted on a synagogue.

Swarthmore • Dec. 18, 2004

Ku Klux Klan symbols and swastikas were scrawled on residences, cars, highway signs and a school garage.

TEXAS

Cleburne • Oct. 3, 2004

Christopher Lathers, 18, Cory Gibson, 17, and Billy Calahan, 19, were charged with aggravated assault with bodily injury in connection with the alleged attack of a 17-year-old they believed to be homosexual.

VIRGINIA

Roanoke • Oct. 20, 2004

Zachary Lee Bryant was sentenced to 27 months and Christopher Martin received a 21-month prison term for the bias-motivated vandalism of a historic black church in January. Bryant and Martin were also ordered to pay \$830 in restitution to the church and Martin was fined \$3,000.

WASHINGTON

Lynnwood • Oct. 8, 2004

A racial epithet and the word “Stupid” were scrawled on a black family’s car.

Olympia • Oct. 24, 2004

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance, warning white women to stay away from black men, were distributed.

WISCONSIN

Waunakee • Oct. 11, 2004

A flier from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was left in a black woman’s mailbox. ▲

THE LAST WORD

The Gaede Bunch

Neo-Nazi stage mom April Gaede and her singing twins are poised for stardom, of a sort

BY SUSY BUCHANAN

April Gaede wears a tweed suit the color of wheat, her light brown mullet neatly curled. Her twin daughters, Lynx and Lamb, are clad in matching powder-blue dresses with fuzzy collars, their blond hair in braids, impossibly cute and well aware of it. They stand and sing to a rapt crowd in shrill voices.

If it weren’t for the electric guitars on the stage behind them, the flag with the “life rune” symbol on it, and the white-power lyrics, they could be singing hymns in church. Instead, they are entertaining a room full of neo-Nazis.

“Strike force! White survival. Strike force! Yeah,” they sing, punctuating each “Strike force!” with miniature sieg heils. Some of the men in the audience return the salute, and when the girls finish, thunderous applause fills the room.

Since joining the neo-Nazi National Alliance in 2001, Gaede and her girls have become prominent ambassadors of hate, thanks in no small part to Gaede’s dogged determination to turn her 12-year-olds into racist pop stars.

Gaede herself grew up on goat’s milk and Third Reich footage in the foothills of Fresno (the family now lives in Bakersfield), the daughter of a rancher who branded horses with swastikas. A college dropout, she married a man she describes as a pot-smoking Icelandic pole-vaulter when she was 20, giving birth to Lynx and Lamb in 1993.

The next year, Gaede rode a horse through the streets of her hometown wearing nothing but a cowboy hat, boots, G-string, bunny tail, and a pair of bumper stickers slapped across her breasts as part of a contest at a local radio station. She was arrested for indecent exposure before a winner could be determined.

Although Gaede’s husband made for good “Aryan” breeding stock, she claims that their relationship turned violent, and they were divorced in 1996. Her one regret, she says now, is “the many years that I lost in which I could have produced four to six more children with that ideal eugenic quality that [Lynx and Lamb] possess.”

Since joining the Alliance, Gaede has occupied herself posting advice on Internet forums under the screen name



Cute, blonde and very Nordic: Could the Gaede bunch become the neo-Nazi movement’s Olson twins?

Odin’s Shieldmaiden and writing about parenting, Yule, and mad cow disease for the group’s *National Vanguard* magazine. She looks a little like Martha Stewart when she smiles, and fancies herself a white-power version of the domestic goddess, the kind of woman who rides “into battle in armor cutting the heads off my enemies but home in time to make a tasty dinner for my man.” But April Gaede is not content to sit at home forging bronze swastika cookie cutters or trying to make sure her laundry deter-

gent isn’t kosher like that of the other homemakers she corresponds with.

Instead, the neo-Nazi stage mom focuses on forging her daughters into über-Olson twins and preparing for celebrity as the girls develop. “I mean what young red blooded American boy isn’t going to find two blonde twins, sixteen years old, singing about white pride and pride in your race ... very appealing?” she asks.

And don’t worry, fellows — these girls are no feminists. Home-schooled, they’re taught to “realize that their main duty is to raise lots of White children” and other lessons their mom culls from 1950s textbooks she picks up at second-hand stores.

Things are going well for the Gaede bunch. In the last year, the girls, known to their music fans as “Prussian Blue,” made their first movie (a campy horror film called “Darkwalker” in which they play “creepy twins”), granted interviews to national and international publications, and launched their own Web site. They have performed at Alliance and Holocaust-denial events, county fairs, open mike nights and folk festivals.

Although Gaede’s parenting style and her twins’ dubious musical talents have brought criticism in white supremacist forums and even spawned an unkind blog (www.prussianbluesucks.info), Gaede’s supporters refuse to let a few out-of-tune instruments and off-key harmonies deter their dreams of glory.

Alliance member Rich Lindstrom is a believer. He predicts the Gaede twins will “capture the imagination of young boys and girls all across the world. The impact could be huge and their influence will encourage ‘copycats’ ... creating an entire genre of pro-White music. ... I’m hanging on the edge of my seat with anticipation.” ▲

Solving Atlanta

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 71

hours to make his announcement, or if Sheriff Thompson had been allowed to approach the Caney Creek trailer as soon as he had managed to track its location down, authorities would very likely have avoided what became one of the costliest manhunts in history.

This is a comprehensive book about a fascinating case. It goes into extraordinary detail about the case’s more unusual aspects — Rudolph’s history as a grower and seller of high-grade marijuana, the decision of one of Rudolph’s brothers to saw off his own hand to protest the FBI and media, the way that Rudolph’s mother helped to bring him into the world of religious extremism, and much more. The book’s authors have managed to dig up so many details of the case and its investigation that it is difficult to imagine that Eric Rudolph’s trial will produce any surprises at all. ▲

— Mark Potok

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

Promoting Tolerance, Monitoring Hate, Seeking Justice



Promoting Tolerance

Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students. Its award-winning *Teaching Tolerance* magazine provides practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy and is distributed free twice a year to more than 500,000 educators. More than 300,000 of the program's video-and-text kits and anti-bias handbooks have been distributed free of charge to schools and community groups across the country.

Tolerance.org is a Web project that awakens people to the problems of hate and intolerance, prompts them to action and encourages them to dig deeper.



Monitoring Hate

The Intelligence Project monitors more than 700 hate groups and tracks extremist activity throughout the United States. It provides comprehensive updates to law enforcement, the media and the general public through its quarterly magazine, *Intelligence Report*. Staff members regularly conduct training for police, schools, and civil rights and community groups.

The Center, in partnership with a major university and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, offers an Internet hate crime training course for law enforcement officers throughout the nation.



Seeking Justice

Center attorneys handle innovative cases that few lawyers are willing to take. They fight all forms of discrimination and work to protect society's most vulnerable members. Several of the Center's cases have reached the U.S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings.

The Center uses novel legal strategies to combat hate groups by suing them for the violent actions of their members. Its victories against several notorious Klan and neo-Nazi groups effectively shut down their operations.

The Center never accepts money from those it helps, and it receives no government funding. Its work is supported by thousands of committed individuals.

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