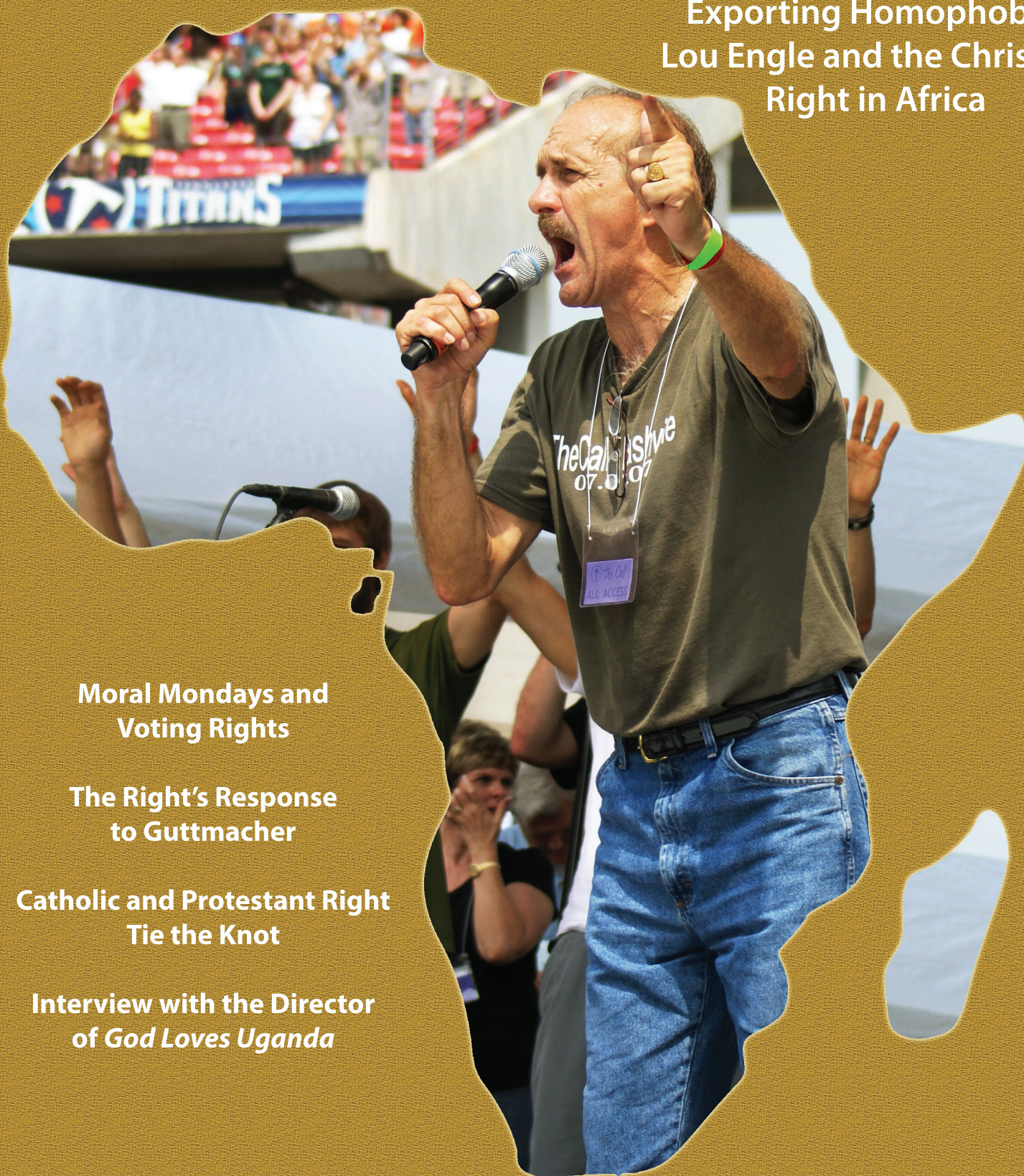


**POLITICAL
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From the Archive to Activism

Political Research Associates established its library and archive in 1982. It has since expanded into a fascinating collection of books and miscellaneous materials, and browsing through it is one of the great pleasures of working at PRA. Many of the works are classic scholarly accounts of the Right, such as Richard Hofstadter's *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*. But in addition to works about the Right, there are scores of important works by right-wing authors, including Phyllis Schlafly's *A Choice Not an Echo*, Barry Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative*, and Patrick Buchanan's *The Great Betrayal*.

One of the more exotic items is an edition of Anthony Gavin's *The Great Red Dragon*, first published in 1854. The book was written by a former Roman Catholic priest whose conscience, he claimed, obligated him to expose corruption within the Church. The book contributed to the wave of anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic prejudice that swept the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Another right-wing "treasure" in the collection is a series of books by Thomas Dixon—spotlighted in our "From the Archive" feature on the back cover—that contributed to the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the early twentieth century. One of these books became the basis for the deeply racist film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915).

We maintain the library and archive because part of PRA's mission is to understand the Right's historical roots. But we aim, as well, to counter the Right's influence in contemporary society and politics, both in the United States and around the globe. The "Perspectives" feature in this issue focuses on one example of how PRA's work is a vital tool in advancing the cause of social justice. It features Roger Ross Williams, an Academy Award-winning director whose most recent project, *God Loves Uganda*, chronicles the global exportation of homophobia by American evangelicals. Williams's research for the film began with *Globalizing the Culture Wars*, a 2009 report written by PRA's religion and sexuality researcher, Rev. Dr. Kapyra Kaoma. There is irony, and reason for hope, in the fact that the stories of two such different films appear within a few pages of each other. Dixon's books and *Birth of a Nation* fomented hate and helped to perpetuate injustice. Kaoma's work and *God Loves Uganda* are helping fight homophobia and promote social justice.

Also in this issue, you'll find a piece by journalist Sofia Resnick about how the Charlotte Lozier Institute, which aims to be the Right's answer to the Guttmacher Institute, is creating new strategies within the antichoice movement. And PRA research fellow Frederick Clarkson tells a different story of reinvention. The Protestant wing of the Christian Right, he argues, is overcoming its old hostility toward Catholics—the kind of hostility that once led to works like *The Great Red Dragon*—and joining them to defend a few core principles. There may be nothing new under the sun, but there are moments when established leaders and strategies give way to new ones. We are in the midst of such a moment across multiple sectors of the Right. Our aim at PRA is to keep a close eye on such shifts and—as we have done for more than three decades—expose and challenge the new strategies that emerge from them.

Theo Anderson
Editor-in-Chief

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QUARTERLY

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Owl in a Tree Design

COVER ART
Photo courtesy of Eden Frangipane

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Red Sun Press

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publiceye@politicalresearch.org
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ISSUE 76

www.politicalresearch.org

BY KRISTIN RAWLS

Taking the Voting-Rights Battle to the States and the Streets

On June 25, in a 5-4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) of 1965, which established a formula for determining whether states and jurisdictions need permission from the federal government to change their voting procedures. As a result, there is no mechanism to enforce Section 5 of the VRA, which allows the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) to freeze and review changes in voting procedures in locales with a history of voter suppression.

The majority of the justices in the case, *Shelby County v. Holder*, reasoned that the pre-clearance formula was outdated, since Jim Crow-era voting restrictions like the poll tax and literacy test have been abolished. But voting restrictions are far from a relic of the past. Between January 2011 and October 2012, 25 restrictive voter ID laws and two executive actions passed in 19 states, according to a 2012 “Voting Laws Roundup” by the Brennan Center for Justice. Many were struck down by federal courts, including some by the DOJ under the provisions of Section 4(b). Within two days of Section 4(b) being overturned, six states that were at least partly covered under Section 5 moved forward with voter restrictions.

In light of what is at stake, it would be foolish to rely on the dysfunctional U.S. Congress to address this injustice. Nor is it sufficient to rely on legal challenges brought by organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Poverty Law Center. Though absolutely crucial, they cannot serve all jurisdictions, and the seriousness of this challenge requires a broad-based, popular response.

It's time to demonstrate our commitment to free and fair elections by building large-scale, broad-based coalitions at the state level—and taking them to the streets. This is precisely what the North Carolina Moral Monday movement, guided by the NC-NAACP, has been doing since April. All told, tens of thousands have flocked to the General Assembly building in Raleigh on Monday afternoons, protesting the extreme policies of the Republican-dominated General Assembly. Because of gerrymandering, nine of North Carolina's 13 U.S. Representatives are Republicans, though the state's voters are split almost evenly between the two parties.

The weekly protests top 3,000 participants. About 1,000 peaceful demonstrators have been arrested (as of late July). To make this possible, the NC-NAACP spearheaded a coalition of 150 progressive and/or non-partisan organizations that have come together to defend equal protection for all. In addition to traditional civil-rights organizations, the coalition includes groups with concerns as varied as reproductive justice, economic inequality, education, labor rights, immigration reform, criminal-justice reform, and faith-based social justice.

Protesters have made strong gains in reaching out to residents. The Republican-led legislative body no longer enjoys majority support, even within its own party, and the General Assembly's approval rate has fallen to just 20 percent, according to a mid-July poll by Public Policy Polling.

The next goal is to provide avenues for citizens throughout the state to take part in the ongoing uprising. It will be nearly a decade before the next federally-mandated congressional redistricting (the process of redrawing legislative boundaries, which happens after every U.S. Census). In the meantime, the decline in popular support for Republican leadership means that the GOP has more incentive than ever to rig elections to favor Republican candidates. In late July, the North Carolina General Assembly began pursuing that goal by passing legislation that requires voters to show government-issued photo IDs at the polls and ends same-day voter registration. The legislation also weakens campaign donation disclosure laws.

North Carolinians face a long-term battle. The Supreme Court's ruling means the DOJ will not come to the aid of jurisdictions previously covered under Section 4(b). With so much authority ceded to states, people who value free and fair elections must localize efforts, cast voting rights as foundational, and embrace broad inclusivity.

In North Carolina, this is creating intersectional solidarity rather than diluting the message. Weekly protesters include everyone from disaffected Republicans to members of the Occupy movement. We shouldn't underestimate the power of the people. As the president of the NC-NAACP, Rev. Dr. William Barber, noted at the July 22 protests, “Our parents already won this fight with less than we have now.” And from here, the path is clear: “Forward together! Not one step back!”

Kristin Rawls is a freelance journalist based near Raleigh, NC. Her work has appeared in The Guardian, The Christian Science Monitor, AlterNet, Salon, Religion Dispatches, In These Times, GOOD, and other publications. Follow her on Twitter @kristinrawls.

The Charlotte Lozier Institute Plots New Strategies in War on Women

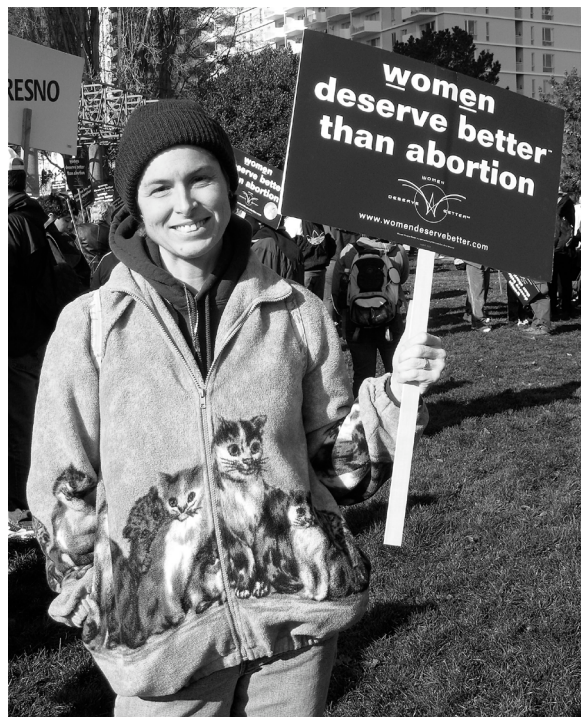
The Charlotte Lozier Institute aims to abolish abortion rights in the United States by recasting antichoice as authentic feminism, promoting incremental antichoice laws, and undermining the work of the prochoice Guttmacher Institute. Though it bills itself as a research organization, its strengths are in the realms of marketing and public relations, and it is creating new synergies and strategies within the antichoice movement.

The Guttmacher Institute has been a thorn in the antichoice movement's side since 1968, when it was founded by Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Guttmacher, which is now an independent think tank, supports abortion rights and broad access to contraception, and it produces scholarly articles and collects abortion-related statistics that are used by a wide range of scholars, journalists, and activists. The Right's dilemma has been that Guttmacher's data are generally more comprehensive than the statistics collected by government agencies, which means that even antichoice advocates frequently rely on Guttmacher—and lend legitimacy to an institution whose mission they deplore.

Now, the antichoice movement is trying to create a competitor to its old nemesis. The Charlotte Lozier Institute (CLI), founded in 2011, is branding itself as the anti-Guttmacher: a source of abortion-related data and research that can be used by antichoice lawmakers and advocates.

CLI is the creation of the Susan B. Anthony List (SBAL), an organization that “emphasizes the education, promotion, mobilization, and election of pro-life women at all levels of government” and claims to represent more than 365,000 antichoice people in the United

States.¹ In June 2013, it announced an initiative to “recruit and organize pro-life women in state legislatures” and “foster community between pro-life women lawmakers across the country, and connect them with the resources they need to pass



CLI and its allies hope to cast antichoice as the genuinely feminist, pro-women's health position. Photo courtesy of NewBirth35.

pro-life laws.”²

According to the SBAL's 2013 business plan, CLI was founded “to muster the research to make our case for Life compelling.”³ Its budget this year is \$700,000.⁴ It has received sizeable donations from

several institutions, including the Chiaroscuro Foundation,⁵ Goldman Sachs' Philanthropy Fund,⁶ and the Saeman Family Foundation.⁷ Its homepage also notes that CLI is “grateful to our friends at A-1 Storage,” a California-based self-storage company.

Though it bills itself as the SBAL's “education and research arm,” CLI mainly repackages and comments on existing antichoice studies, and its leadership and affiliated scholars often contribute to public debates on reproductive issues. Its president, Charles A. Donovan, for example, has appeared on Fox News⁸ and CNN⁹ speaking against the Obama administration's mandate that employers of a certain size provide employees with insurance coverage for women's preventive health services, including birth control and emergency birth control, as part of the Affordable Care Act.

In its mission statement, CLI pledges to remain “faithful to the best methodologies and standards, inviting and accepting debate in the pursuit of our goals so that our work earns the highest degree of public trust and respect.”¹⁰

But in their role as authorities on reproductive health, CLI's staff and associates sometimes make bold assertions based on little or no actual evidence.

For example, a recent piece by Teresa A. Donovan, one of Charlotte Lozier's “associate scholars,” attacks the Food and

Drug Administration's decision in April to make emergency birth control Plan B available over the counter to females 15 and older.¹¹ Donovan argues against Plan B on the basis that it is a "potential abortifacient," citing the Plan B One-Step label's indication that it may inhibit implantation of a fertilized egg.¹²

But an investigation by the *New York Times*, published in June 2012, reported that "[s]tudies have not established that emergency contraceptive pills prevent fertilized eggs from implanting in the womb . . . Rather, the pills delay ovulation, the release of eggs from ovaries that occurs before eggs are fertilized, and some pills also thicken cervical mucus so sperm have trouble swimming."¹³

In April 2013, *Christianity Today* published an essay that discussed the actual effects of Plan B and noted that its maker, Teva Pharmaceuticals, "has repeatedly asked the FDA to remove its warning label that the drug 'may inhibit implantation by altering the endometrium [the inside lining of the uterus].'" The piece also quoted Dennis Sullivan, the director of Cedarville University's Center for Bioethics, who reviewed the relevant research for a scholarly journal. "He found 'no evidence' that Plan B causes abortions," according to *Christianity Today*. Sullivan observed, "Our claims of conscience should be based on scientific fact, and we should be willing to change our claims if facts change."¹⁴

Lacking much in the way of actual evidence or original research, CLI is pursuing a strategy that focuses on improving the antichoice movement's public-relations operations and political effectiveness—high priorities for the SBAL, which suffered embarrassing defeats in the 2012 election cycle after backing extremist antichoice candidates. Most notably, it supported former U.S. Rep. Todd Akin (R-MO), who lost his Senate race after publicly defending his support for full abortion bans, with no exception for rape, by implying that rape victims rarely become pregnant. One of the SBAL's near-term initiatives is to improve the "knowledge and communication skills" of state and federal candidates when it comes to abortion and other "Life issues."¹⁵

CLI's overarching goal is clearly expressed on its website: abortion is a "scourge" that should be "diminished and

ultimately overcome."¹⁶ The evidence suggests that, so far, it is pursuing this mission by developing three angles of attack: portraying antichoice as authentic feminism; promoting incremental restrictions on abortion rights; and attempting to cast doubt on Guttmacher's work. Representatives of the Charlotte Lozier Institute and the SBAL declined multiple requests to be interviewed for this article.

CHARLOTTE LOZIER'S LEADERSHIP

CLI's president, Charles A. Donovan, is a longtime Beltway insider with decades of experience working for conservative think tanks, including the National Right to Life Committee; the Family Research Council, where he served in high leadership roles; and The Heritage Foundation, where he was a senior research fellow in the Richard and Helen DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society.¹⁷ He was also a writer in the Reagan administration.¹⁸

As the face of CLI, Donovan makes frequent appearances on television news programs, and he testifies on behalf of abortion-related legislation at the state and federal levels. Last year, for example, he testified in support of an Arizona state bill that precluded reproductive health organizations from receiving Medicaid funding for non-abortion health services if they also offer abortion.¹⁹ Donovan claimed the focus of the bill was on "integrated, or whole-woman, care."²⁰ But the legislation was part of a national effort, led by the SBAL, to defund Planned Parenthood. The bill was signed into law but ultimately blocked in a federal court.

In early 2008, Donovan joined nearly 100 prominent social conservatives in signing a pledge titled "A Catholic Response to the 'Call for Civility.'"²¹ The statement was a rejoinder to one released by the Catholic Civility Project the previous year, asking Catholic laymen to withhold from "making specifically Catholic judgments on those politicians who espouse positions contrary to Church teaching."²²

"A Catholic Response" included a list of issues that deserve condemnation by

Roman Catholic politicians if they stray from the Church's teachings. Prominent among the issues is abortion, as well as "embryo-destructive research" and "homosexual marriage."

CLI's adjunct scholar, Michael J. New, is a rising star in the antichoice move-

The Charlotte Lozier Institute is at the forefront of advancing the Right's theory that framing abortion as a women's-health issue is more effective, politically, than focusing on its morality.

ment and an assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. He is also associated with several conservative think tanks, including the Cato Institute, Witherspoon Institute, and The Heritage Foundation.²³

New writes regularly about abortion and "traditional" family values and gives talks at conservative events, arguing that the only strategies that work at reducing abortion are "sexual restraint" and "pro-life laws." What doesn't work, he claims, are "more welfare spending," "universal health care," and "more spending on contraceptives."²⁴

In a speech at the 2012 Values Voter Summit, New described the Susan B. Anthony and Fredrick Douglass Prenatal Discrimination Act, or PRENDA, as one of CLI's policy interests. PRENDA, which was introduced in Congress in 2008 by Rep. Trent Franks (R-AZ), would prohibit sex- and race-selective abortions. The bill has not yet made inroads at the federal level, but four states—Arizona, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania—have passed PRENDA-like provisions. CLI's website features a picture of an Asian infant and a downloadable fact sheet, informing readers that sex-selective abortion—once practiced primarily in Asian nations—has now come to the United States and is concentrated within Asian-American communities.

PRENDA's advocates are using a genuine global problem as a wedge for advancing further restrictions on abortion rights. In written testimony supplied to a December 2011 House committee hearing on PRENDA, representatives of the reproductive justice community explained



Lila Rose, an antichoice activist and rising star in the movement, at the 2009 Life Awards. Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

CLI Allies in the War: LILA ROSE

Though only in her mid-twenties, Lila Rose is already a seasoned antichoice activist. In 2006, while still a freshman at the University of California, Los Angeles, she started an antichoice publication, *The Advocate*, which she claims is distributed to more than 300 high schools and colleges and has a circulation of 200,000. It offers a bit of pop-culture commentary but mostly provides a vehicle for Rose's antichoice message, along with vulgar images of aborted fetuses.

Rose is also the president of Live Action, which "works to expose abuses in the abortion industry and advocate for human rights for the pre-born." According to the Live Action website, it does so by "using new media to educate and mobilize both local and national audiences."¹

Live Action's work often focuses on Planned Parenthood and borrows a tactic made famous by the "journalist" James O'Keefe, who is best known for the video that undermined ACORN, formerly an antipoverty advocacy organization. He and another activist entered an ACORN office disguised as a pimp and a sex worker, claiming that he maintained a prostitution ring and needed housing.

One of Rose's own "investigations" in 2011 involved actors who enter Planned Parenthood clinics, claiming to be part of an underage prostitution ring. The Live Action

website notes that "an encounter with any worker providing confidential health care services should be an opportunity for trafficking victims to get help to escape from [sic] slavery, but in abortion clinics, 'confidentiality' becomes the secrecy needed for abuse to continue." Live Action reported that "seven Planned Parenthood clinics in four different states were willing to aid and abet the sex-trafficking of minor girls by supplying confidential birth control, STD testing, and secret abortions."² Planned Parenthood disputed the authenticity of the videos. As the *Atlantic* noted, they were in any case dubious from both a moral and a legal perspective.³

Nonetheless, Rose remains an important force within the antichoice movement, and she controls her image carefully. Fox News host Bill O'Reilly has helped spread her message nationally, and she appears regularly in the mainstream media. She also does the rounds at important right-wing events, including the annual Values Voter Summit.

As Rev. Patrick Mahoney, an antichoice activist with the Christian Defense Coalition, told the *Los Angeles Times*, Rose brings an element of youth and innovation to the antichoice movement. "There is this stereotype of who we pro-life leaders are," Mahoney said, "and for the most part it would be white middle-aged religious men trying to impose their will on women ... So now with Lila, you bring this young, fresh college student that completely blows any stereotypes away. No one is going to accuse Lila of being mean, vindictive and harsh."⁴

—Malika Redmond

that the bill "places an unfair burden on women of color that other women do not have to face—increased scrutiny around our motives for seeking abortion care. This scrutiny promotes racial profiling by pushing doctors to assume Black, Latina, and Asian women are seeking abortions because of the race or sex of the fetus. Moreover, making abortion harder to obtain will exacerbate the health disparities women of color already face."²⁵

At key right-wing meetings and conferences, New is helping to promote such legislation and is informing audiences about how CLI can help antichoice lead-

ers generate new ideas and policy to counter the social justice movement.

The only other staff member listed on CLI's website is Nora Sullivan, a research assistant, who has been "[a]ctive in the pro-life movement since high school," when she volunteered for an antichoice "pregnancy care center." Since graduating from college in 2010, Sullivan has been involved with major Beltway antichoice think tanks, including the Family Research Council and Americans United for Life.

CLI also has a stable of "associate scholars" who frequently address antichoice

issues in public forums.²⁶ They include Dr. Byron C. Calhoun, vice chair at West Virginia University-Charleston's Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, and Margaret Hartshorn, the president of Heartbeat International, a network of antichoice crisis pregnancy centers known for manipulating women into continuing unwanted pregnancies.²⁷

ANTICHOICE AS "AUTHENTIC FEMINISM"
The GOP's losses in the 2012 election cycle—tied in part to the Republicans' "war on women"—have given new urgency to

the Right's quest to recast itself in a more female-friendly light, and CLI is attempting to become a key purveyor of this message. On its IRS form, CLI describes one of its program services as promoting "authentic feminism," which means "to disseminate information in support of (1) the historical accuracy of the claim that the first wave of women's rights activists were pro-life; and (2) the ethical and philosophical harmony of a pro-life feminist position."²⁸

The messaging begins with its name. The SBAL and other antichoice groups have characterized Susan B. Anthony and Charlotte Denman Lozier as feminists who were steadfastly opposed to abortion. Lozier was a physician and woman's suffragist in New York City. She died in 1870, when she was in her mid-20s, from complications while giving birth. Several historical obituaries describe Lozier as a noble, caring physician and a member of the "Women's Suffrage and Working-women's Associations."²⁹

In claiming Lozier as a forebear, antichoice groups have focused on an incident in which Lozier called for the arrest of a man who brought a woman in to have an abortion. As the CLI website notes: "Charlotte Lozier refused to violate her morals, professional code, and the law of the state. She insisted, 'A person who asks a physician to commit the crime of antenatal infanticide can be no more considered his patient then [sic] one who asks him to poison his wife.'"³⁰ What's missing from these accounts is the context of the era in which these women lived: Abortion was a dangerous procedure—usually a woman's last choice, and often a deadly one. It was also illegal, making the current categories of prochoice and antichoice irrelevant.

But the "pro-women" messaging goes deeper than just the historical reference in its name. CLI is at the forefront of advancing the Right's theory that framing abortion as a women's-health issue is more effective, politically, than focusing on its morality.

Yale University law professor and legal scholar Reva B. Siegel, who has written extensively about the antichoice movement's bid to develop new constitutional understandings of abortion rights, argues that the 1990s saw the beginning of an evolution in the arguments against

abortion. "Leaders of the antiabortion movement embraced gender paternalism and began to supplement or even supplant the constitutional argument 'Abortion kills a baby' with a new claim 'Abortion hurts women,'" Siegel writes.³¹

CLI is both following in this tradition and expanding on it. In one recent article, Nora Sullivan cites a study that looked at the mortality rates in Denmark "associated specifically with first pregnancy outcome alone." It concluded that, "compared to women who delivered, women who had an early or late abortion had significantly higher mortality rates within 1 through 10 years."³² The study was produced by David Reardon and Priscilla Coleman, two staple researchers in the antichoice movement, some of whose research has been challenged or discredited.³³

Their research is contradicted by a 2012 study produced by Gynuity Health Projects, a nonprofit organization whose mission is "to ensure that reproductive health technologies are widely available at reasonable cost" and whose efforts "are focused particularly on resource-poor environments" and "underserved populations."³⁴ Its study, which compared data on live births and pregnancy- and abortion-related deaths, found that "legal induced abortion is markedly safer than childbirth. The risk of death associated with childbirth is approximately 14 times higher than with abortion."³⁵

Another "pro-women's health" angle that interests CLI is the trafficking of sex workers. According to its tax-exemption form filed with the Internal Revenue Service in 2012,³⁶ the organization's preliminary plans included researching the relationship between reproductive-health clinics and sex trafficking. CLI had conducted "a feasibility study of a potential major project for 2012 designed to ascertain the extent to which reproductive and general health care facilities are—inadvertently and/or negligently—helping to perpetuate sex trafficking of women by failing to identify and rescue trafficked women and girls."

The feasibility study was conducted in 2011, a year when sex-trafficking, as it

relates to abortion clinics, was a hot topic in antichoice circles and in Congress, after the antichoice activist Lila Rose and her organization, Live Action, released a series of videos surreptitiously taped at Planned Parenthood clinics. The videos captured activists posing as pimps and underage sex workers [see related sidebar].³⁷

The videos helped fuel a campaign, spearheaded by the SBAL, encouraging federal and state governments to defund

As Reva Siegel notes, "Leaders of the antiabortion movement . . . began to supplement or even supplant the constitutional argument 'Abortion kills a baby,' with a new claim 'Abortion hurts women.'"

Planned Parenthood. In 2011, the U.S. House of Representatives voted 240 to 185 to eliminate all federal grants to Planned Parenthood and its affiliates, despite the fact that those grants go toward non-abortion family planning services for low-income women. It was largely a symbolic vote, since the legislation had no chance of passing the Senate.³⁸

The sex-trafficking project does not appear in the SBAL's 2013 business plan, but the plan does assert that "the next two years promise to bring more opportunities to produce game-changing impact on the policy process in the nation's capital."

THE ANTICHOICE MOVEMENT'S LONG GAME

Aside from promoting antichoice ideology as authentic feminism, CLI is using at least two other strategies to pursue its mission. One is promoting legislation that gradually but methodically restricts access to reproductive health care, making it as inaccessible as possible. As Michael New has openly said, antichoice laws are most effective when they raise the cost of abortion and impose other obstacles to getting one.³⁹ The other strategy is to attempt to undermine the Guttmacher Institute's authority and credibility.

CLI Allies in the War: RYAN BOMBERGER

At the Family Research Council's 2012 Values Voter Summit in Washington, D.C., where he was a featured speaker, Ryan Bomberger opened his remarks by saying "I'm as Black as Obama." He explained that his biological mother was raped, became pregnant, chose to carry him to term, and put him up for adoption. He was accepted into a large family with White parents and other multicultural, multiracial adoptee brothers and sisters.¹

Bomberger and his wife, Bethany, cofounded The Radiance Foundation in Atlanta, GA, in 2009. They both earned graduate degrees from Pat Robertson's Regent University, and Ryan was Regent's alumnus of the year in 2012. The Radiance Foundation is now based in Virginia Beach, VA, where Regent is located.

Bomberger, who earned an MA in communications, is the "chief creative officer" at Radiance. His use of social media is highly sophisticated, and Radiance's interactive website is rich with video shorts. The organization's self-described mission is to "illuminate the intrinsic value each person possesses" through "creative ad campaigns, powerful multi-media presentations, and compassionate community outreach."²

Bomberger has worked on a number of initiatives, including the notorious "Too Many Aborted" billboard campaign. Launched in Atlanta in 2010, the billboards juxtaposed images of African-American babies or toddlers with inflammatory statements. One compared abortion with the African genocide of the transatlantic slave trade. The campaign was endorsed by several national African-American antichoice leaders, including Dr. Alveda King, niece of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and director of African-American outreach at Priests for Life.³

"Too Many Aborted" was funded by Georgia Right to Life, a prominent anti-choice institution with more than 30 chapters throughout the state. Registered as a 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organization, it pursues public education and outreach activities while also conducting substantial legislative work, including lobbying the Georgia state legislature and endorsing candidates.

Since conceptualizing the billboards, Bomberger has turned to creating ads that promote transracial adoption. One of his recent media campaigns, "Turn the Unplanned into a Loving Plan," is a collaborative effort with the RealOptions Medical Pregnancy Clinics of California and Bethany Christian Services.⁴ The latter is an international adoption agency with reported revenue of more than \$82 million in 2012.

The public service announcement that they collaboratively produced shows images of White parents and a cast of multiracial children, reflecting the antichoice movement's effort to broaden its appeal by highlighting diversity. Bomberger, through his personal story and his media savvy, is becoming an increasingly vital contributor to that goal.

—Malika Redmond

Toward the goal of restricting reproductive rights, CLI advances the disputed claim that fetuses can feel pain at 20 weeks—an argument that has been used in 10 state legislatures to ban abortions after that point, most recently in Texas.⁴⁰ In June 2013, the U.S. House of Repre-

sentatives passed the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act,⁴¹ which would do the same at the federal level (though it has no chance of passing the Senate).

Maureen Condic, a CLI associate scholar and associate professor of neurobiology and anatomy at the University of Utah,

testified on behalf of the Act. "From the perspective of neuroscience, it is unclear precisely what 'psychological' aspects of a mature pain experience are in place at precisely what point in either human prenatal or *postnatal* development," Condic said. "It is impossible for me to know with certainty whether another adult, a teenager or a fetus experiences pain in precisely the same manner I do. Yet it is *entirely* uncontested that a fetus experiences pain in some capacity, from as early as 8 weeks of development."⁴²

Condic's suggestion that fetuses are "pain capable" at eight weeks is crucial: It illustrates the antichoice movement's broader strategy of gradually pushing for new abortion restrictions based on emerging—but dubious—"evidence" about fetal development. Antichoice groups have set the target for abortion bans at 20 weeks, but if they can convince lawmakers that fetuses feel pain "in some capacity" at eight weeks, as Condic claims, why shouldn't abortion be banned at that point?

CLI's third strategy is similar in that it involves a methodical, long-term plan: chipping away at the Guttmacher Institute's credibility while calling for government agencies to begin collecting data that are broader in scope than what Guttmacher now collects. The strategy has the potential to simultaneously diminish Guttmacher's importance while opening new angles of attack on abortion rights.

In a *New York Times* op-ed piece, published in January 2013, Charles Donovan gave a hint of things to come by comparing the Guttmacher Institute to an agenda-driven research arm of the tobacco industry. "We know what California's and Maryland's abortion rates are because their doctors and clinics, like those across the nation, voluntarily submit data to the Guttmacher Institute," Donovan wrote. "Guttmacher is an independent enterprise, but it was once affiliated with Planned Parenthood, the largest abortion provider in the United States. There is no reason to think that the institute, whose abortion totals are consistently about a third higher than the C.D.C.'s because of these omitted states, is not a reliable source of data for the number of legal abortions occurring nationwide. And yet we would not be comfortable with our primary information on tobacco or

manufacturing pollution coming from entities rooted in those sectors.”⁴³

The previous month, Donovan and CLI’s research assistant, Nora Sullivan, made the case for stronger abortion-related data in a report titled “Abortion Reporting Laws: Tears in the Fabric.”

“Across the spectrum of views about the legal status of abortion throughout the duration of pregnancy, a wide range of commentators have urged public policies that would render the practice rare,” Donovan and Sullivan wrote. “An examination of state and federal reporting policies makes clear, nonetheless, that the system now in place is poorly suited to determine whether or not, in fact, abortion is becoming significantly less frequent and to what degree, especially in year-over-year comparisons where published data is delayed, non-existent, or available only from a single source with a history of close ties to the industry itself.”⁴⁴

Currently, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention relies mainly on voluntary reporting of abortion statistics. Many states record the information differently, if at all. The Guttmacher Institute, which collects a lot of data itself, has become the more utilized source for state and national abortion statistics.

The areas that CLI wants to see better reported by states include information on abortion complications, viability of the aborted fetus, maternal mortality, follow-up care, and how often and under what circumstances minors were able to obtain abortions without parental notice.

Asked whether the Guttmacher Institute supports laws calling for standardized abortion reporting at the state and federal level, Guttmacher senior communications associate Joerg Dreweke said he supports comprehensive public reporting around the incidence of abortion—to a point.

But, Dreweke wrote in an email, “Government abortion reporting systems must be used only for legitimate public health purposes; they must not be hijacked or in any way utilized to stigmatize women obtaining abortions, harass abortion providers or otherwise promote an antiabortion policy agenda. Some abortion-related reporting indicators that antiabortion activists are seeking to mandate have no place in a public health reporting system. For instance, while there

may be a political motive, there is no public health purpose to knowing whether a minor obtained her abortion with parental consent.”

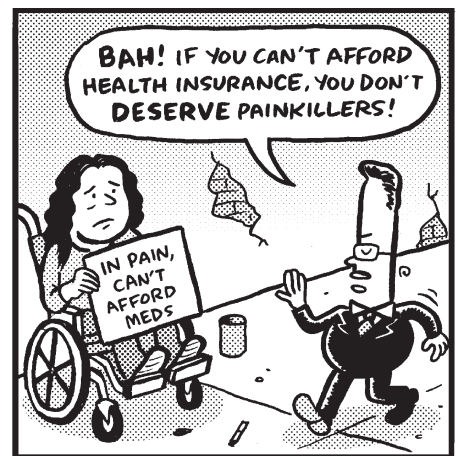
CLI’s attempts to cast doubt on Guttmacher’s legitimacy and make it less relevant are part of a broader, sustained attack on the institution. For example, a rising star in the antichoice movement, Ryan Bomberger, has also taken aim at Guttmacher with a video, titled “We’ve Been Guttmacher’d,” that aims to expose it as a shell for Planned Parenthood with deep-rooted eugenicist motivations.

Paraphrasing Malcolm X, Bomberger explained in an email: “We’ve Been Guttmacher’d’ simply means *we’ve been lied to, hoodwinked, propagandized.*”⁴⁵ Guttmacher hasn’t been honest about the fact that it has received money from Planned Parenthood in recent years, Bomberger believes. He also claims that the organization is part of a broad conspiracy to encourage the abortion of black children.

Bomberger, who is “chief creative officer” of The Radiance Foundation, has

no formal affiliation with CLI, but his anti-Guttmacher campaign illustrates how CLI is creating synergies within the broader antichoice movement and helping develop and refine new angles of attack. [See related sidebar.] It may never achieve its intention of becoming Guttmacher’s rival as a research institution. But if it is successful in its three-pronged strategy—casting the antichoice position as authentic feminism, helping push incremental restrictions on abortion rights, and delegitimizing Guttmacher’s work—that might not matter. CLI has so far been more focused on communications and advocacy than science and research. In policy contests over women’s reproductive freedoms, there are many cases in which the former has trumped the latter. ⁴⁶

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Tying the Knot

Christian Right Seeks Renewal in Deepening Catholic-Protestant Alliance

Despite recent losses in the culture war, the Christian Right is forging a path forward by rallying around a few key issues: antichoice, opposition to marriage equality, and the defense of “religious liberty.” These themes—set forth in the influential *Manhattan Declaration* in 2009—have been powerful enough to unify conservative Catholics and Protestants against their common enemies.



Timothy M. Dolan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, takes part in the 2013 New York City Easter Parade. Photo courtesy of Dave Bledsoe/FreeVerse Photography.

The Christian Right is prepared for nothing but struggle for the foreseeable future. The fate of the nation, its leaders told us, would turn on the 2012 election: Either America would reconnect to its roots as a Christian nation or perhaps earn God’s wrath. But the election produced little good news for them at the national level. President Obama won reelection. Mar-

riage equality won in every state that it was on the ballot.

Since then, broad shifts in public opinion about same-sex marriage have continued to buffet religious conservatives. Nonetheless, a mere week before the Supreme Court’s late-June decisions regarding marriage equality, a diverse group of 250 defiant Christian Right leaders swore resistance to the “redefinition” of marriage. “[M]ake no mistake about our resolve,” they declared in a statement. “While there are many

things we can endure, redefining marriage is so fundamental to the natural order and the true common good that this is the line we must draw and one we cannot and will not cross.”¹

The statement was titled “We Stand in Solidarity to Defend Marriage and the Family and Society Founded Upon Them.” Signers included Dr. James Dobson, founder of Focus on the Family; Fr. Frank Pavone of Priests for Life; Fox News personality Mike Huckabee; Ralph Reed of the Faith and Freedom Coalition;

and such influential evangelical leaders as Revs. Franklin Graham, Harry Jackson Jr., and Samuel Rodriguez.

Given the Christian Right's recent defeats in the realm of marriage equality, it might seem that its power is diminishing and that the so-called culture wars are receding. But "We Stand in Solidarity" is one of many indications that its resolve has deepened rather than dissipated in the face of recent political setbacks. This dynamic, multifaceted movement—one of the most powerful in U.S. history—aims to become a renewed, vigorous force in American public life, and it continues to evolve even while maintaining its views on core issues.

Notably, the movement is being shaped and sustained by a political alliance between evangelicals and the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church. Though it was unthinkable as recently as a decade ago, this developing evangelical-Catholic alliance is key to understanding the Christian Right's plan for regrouping in the near term—and ultimately reclaiming the future.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

The "New" Christian Right that emerged in the late 1970s was defined by a wave of institution building that targeted multiple realms of American society, especially education, broadcasting, and politics. Dobson, for example, founded Focus on the Family in 1977 for the purpose of promoting conservative, "family-friendly" ideologies and public policies. The same year, Pat Robertson founded Christian Broadcasting Network University (now Regent University). In 1979, Jerry Falwell founded the Moral Majority with the goal of mobilizing conservative Christians into a voting bloc to advance a rightward shift in American politics, most immediately by supporting Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign. Falwell went on to found Liberty University, now the largest Christian university in the world.

By the mid-1990s, with the Moral Majority long gone, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition became the established power broker that Falwell's organization had aspired to be, and Christian conservatives dominated the Republican National Convention in 1996. Their influ-

ence was so strong that two prochoice Republican governors—William Weld of Massachusetts and Pete Wilson of California—declined to speak because of content restrictions.

Though the Christian Coalition itself has faded, its successes at political mobilization—pushing apolitical religious conservatives to become voters, voters to become activists, and activists to become candidates—have become woven into the fabric of our national political life, particularly within the GOP.

The election of George W. Bush in 2000 has been regarded as the high-water mark for the political power of the Christian Right. But it would be a mistake to see the movement's power and legacy in terms of the success of any particular politician. Its greatest success, in fact, has been somewhat under the radar: creating an institutional network that fosters young conservatives and encourages them to translate conservative ideas into public policy. Regent University and Liberty University, for example, have now graduated a generation of lawyers. Perhaps most prominently, Virginia governor Bob McDonnell is a graduate of Regent University Law School.

The Christian Coalition has been supplanted by a number of other politically focused organizations, and for a decade the leaders of New Christian Right's founding generation have passed the torch, one by one, to younger leaders.² Jim Daly succeeded Dobson as head of Focus on the Family, and Falwell, who died in 2007, has been succeeded by his sons: Jerry Falwell Jr. is chancellor of Liberty University, and Jonathan Falwell is senior pastor at Thomas Road Baptist Church. Pat Robertson's son, Gordon, is now CEO of The Christian Broadcasting Network. Similar scenarios have played out across a range of institutions that were founded in the early years of the then-new Christian Right.

But this generational transition is neither as challenging nor as important as the Christian Right's efforts to overcome

a long history of internal sectarian distrust, conflicting religious doctrines, and differing views about whose ideas should prevail in government. Those efforts are succeeding. The movement is guided by a clear strategic vision, and it is displaying a remarkable level of cooperation and capacity to keep pace with rapid social change.

HISTORIC DIVISIONS

It is easy to forget that much of Christianity is still emerging from the fog of

Unthinkable as recently as a decade ago, today's evangelical-Catholic alliance is key to understanding the Christian Right's plan for regrouping and ultimately reclaiming the future.

religious war and the smoldering tensions of the Protestant Reformation. As various Christian sects broke away from the Roman Catholic Church, beginning in the sixteenth century, religious wars and persecutions marked the history of Europe. From the days of the Holy Roman Empire, the Church had armies and navies, and it didn't relinquish its military power until the democratic revolution in Italy in the nineteenth century.

In the United States, Roman Catholics have been subject to nativist bigotry across the centuries—especially from Protestant fundamentalists. John F. Kennedy's famous 1960 campaign speech, in which he declared before a meeting of Protestant ministers that he believed in separation of church and state and would not be beholden to the Pope, was a watershed moment in the history of Roman Catholicism in American public life. It set the standard by which politicians navigated religion and politics for a generation.³ Kennedy modeled how to be true to one's faith while respecting the culture of religious pluralism and the constitutional doctrine of church-state separation.

While conservative Roman Catholics have long been a vital part of the broad religious/political coalition known as the

The Manhattan Declaration's Theocratic Roots

The *Manhattan Declaration* builds on many years of effort to unite Christian conservatives as a hegemonic force at the center of American cultural and political life. Perhaps the most significant antecedent was led by neoconservative Catholic priest John Neuhaus and the late Charles Colson, who spearheaded a predecessor manifesto, *Evangelicals and Catholics Together*, which was published in 1994.

"Where Evangelicals and Catholics are in severe and sometimes violent conflict, such as parts of Latin America," they wrote, "we urge Christians to embrace and act upon the imperative of religious freedom. Religious freedom will not be respected by the state if it is not respected by Christians or, even worse, if Christians attempt to recruit the state in repressing religious freedom."²⁸ This led to further dialogue and a "clarification" in 1998. The signers included two of the three authors of the 2009 *Manhattan Declaration*: Colson and Timothy George of Beeson Divinity School.²⁹

Another influential antecedent was created in 1996 by a group of mostly Roman Catholic neocons affiliated with the neoconservative journal *First Things*. Alarmed by recent Supreme Court decisions involving separation of church and state, and by a decision that reaffirmed *Roe v. Wade*, they published a special issue of the journal. In it, Roman Catholic neoconservatives joined with conservative evangelicals in denouncing the federal judiciary as "tyrants" and declaring that religious freedom was under attack. They also proclaimed that the end of democracy as they knew it (or wished it to be) was at hand—and that civil resistance, perhaps revolution, might be in order.³⁰

The special issue was deeply controversial, even within neoconservative circles. For some, this was not conservatism so much as theocratic bluster. Damon Linker, a former editor of *First Things*, wrote a book about his break with this group, whom he called "theocons." Linker predicted that if public opinion went against them, they would resort to the use of political authority to get their way.³¹ The observation appears increasingly prophetic.

Christian Right, finding ways to broaden and deepen the coalition of right-wing evangelical Protestants and Catholics has been a difficult and controversial undertaking. A case in point is the famous appearance by Albert Mohler, president of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, on CNN's *Larry King Live* in 2000. "As an evangelical," Mohler said, "I believe the Roman Church is a false church and it teaches a false gospel. I believe the pope himself holds a false and unbiblical office."⁴ Mohler's views are unexceptional in much of evangelical and fundamentalist Protestantism. (More recently, Mohler insisted that the mainline Evangelical Lutheran Church in America is "not a church," because, in 2013, it elected as a bishop a respected, gay professor of theology.⁵)

The abhorrence has been mutual. In 2000, the Vatican issued a proclamation titled *Dominus Iesus*, which declared

that other Christian churches "are not 'churches' in the proper sense." The Vatican declared this a "definitive and irrevocable" doctrine of the Church.⁶

Reconciling such differences by finding common approaches to address them has been an elusive long-term project. Yet the key factions of conservative Christianity may have found a lasting way forward.

BRIDGING THE GREAT DIVIDE: THE MANHATTAN DECLARATION

The turning point was the November 2009 publication of a manifesto titled *Manhattan Declaration: A Call of Christian Conscience*. Originally signed by 150 Christian Right religious and political leaders, its distinct achievement has been to broaden and deepen the emerging alliance between conservative Roman Catholics and right-wing evan-

gelical Protestants. Indeed, the historic convergence of evangelical institutions and activists with the American Roman Catholic Church is underscored by the fact that fully 50 sitting bishops, archbishops and cardinals—not merely a token Catholic prelate or two—signed the *Declaration*.

The document is a statement of shared principles and a common approach to politics and public policy for the foreseeable future. It focuses on three interrelated values: "sanctity of life," "traditional marriage," and "religious freedom." Invoking Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," it calls for "resistance to the point of civil disobedience against any legislation that might implicate their churches or charities in abortion, embryo-destructive research or same-sex marriage."

Robert P. George, a professor of jurisprudence at Princeton University and prominent Roman Catholic neoconservative, originated the *Declaration*.⁷ George is also the founder and guiding light of a number of related institutions, including the National Organization for Marriage (NOM), the Witherspoon Institute, the American Principles Project, and American Principles in Action. He recruited the late evangelical leader Charles Colson and Beeson Divinity School Dean Timothy George as co-authors, and he later helped recruit the document's original 150 signatories (most of whom were men), subtly in the style of the U.S. Declaration of Independence.

Some are among the best-known Christian Right leaders in the United States. These include top Catholic prelates and evangelical leaders, notably Archbishop (now Cardinal) Timothy Dolan of New York and Leith Anderson, president of the National Association of Evangelicals. Signatories also include more politically oriented figures such as Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council; James Dobson, founder of Focus on the Family; Brian Brown, president of the National Organization for Marriage; and Alan Sears, president of the Alliance Defending Freedom. There are also half a dozen leaders of the low-profile New Apostolic Reformation, including Revs. Harry Jackson, Joseph Mattera, and Samuel Rodriguez, each of

whom is an “apostle” overseeing a large network of Neocharismatic churches.⁸ Primarily via the website devoted to the *Declaration*, more than 540,000 people have joined the original signers, generating a massive email list that may prove useful to the Christian Right.

For all the Declarationists’ ecumenical diversity, the document’s significance is perhaps best epitomized by Albert Mohler, who, a decade earlier, had declared his abhorrence of Roman Catholicism on *Larry King Live*. In 2009, Mohler explained his rationale for signing the *Declaration*, though he does not usually sign manifestos, and he noted that this exception should not be taken as a sign that his views on Roman Catholic doctrine had changed. But, he wrote, “we are facing an inevitable and culture-determining decision on the three issues centrally identified in this statement. I also believe that we will experience a significant loss of Christian churches, denominations, and institutions in this process. There is every good reason to believe that the freedom to conduct Christian ministry according to Christian conviction is being subverted and denied before our eyes.”⁹

The concluding paragraph of the *Declaration*’s first section is explicit in saying that its purpose is to unify and mobilize the Christian Right: “We are Christians who have joined together across historic lines of ecclesial differences to affirm our right—and, more importantly, to embrace our obligation—to speak and act in defense of these truths. We pledge to each other, and to our fellow believers, that no power on earth, be it cultural or political, will intimidate us into silence or acquiescence.”

The Christian Right sees the times as dire indeed. The *Manhattan Declaration*’s integrated approach to abortion, marriage, and religious liberty is designed to unite key leaders of major factions around common arguments and to function as a catalyst for political renewal.¹⁰

THE TIES THAT BIND

Indeed, the *Declaration*’s three-part formula emerged as a central feature of the movement in the 2012 election season. It was taken up by the Roman Catholic bishops, as well as the major political

organizations of the traditional, evangelically oriented Christian Right. The Republican presidential candidate, Mitt Romney, used it in his convention acceptance speech. And it promises to be the way that the Christian Right frames its common platform for the foreseeable future.

Shortly before the 2012 election, in a homily titled “Godless Secularism Assaults Life and Liberty,” Archbishop William Lori of Baltimore, who chairs the Ad Hoc Committee on Religious Liberty of the United States Council of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), described the profound relationship among the three issues of the *Declaration*. Lori claimed that godless secularism led to the legalization of abortion—and that this, in turn, is a source of wider threats to religious liberty.¹¹

Lori’s claim rests on the idea that those who favor reproductive choice and marriage equality are non-religious or anti-religious, and thus are prepared to trample the religious liberty of everyone. Yet many major religious bodies were prochoice even prior to *Roe v. Wade*. The mainline Presbyterian Church (USA), for example, became officially prochoice three years before *Roe*. And major branches of Judaism, along with several mainline Protestant denominations, are affiliated with the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice.¹²

Similarly, the Declarationists argue that marriage is given by God, not by government. They consider it a violation of the religious freedom of both individuals and institutions to be required to recognize the equality of LGBTQ persons in legal marriages, and to treat these marriages as the equivalent of heterosexual marriages. They deny the intention of imposing their views on anyone—even as the *Declaration* itself tries to impose a religious view of marriage by force of law, and even as many mainline Protestant churches have recognized same-sex marriages for years.¹³ (In 2005, the United Church of Christ became the first

Protestant denomination to affirm marriage equality; it began ordaining openly gay ministers in the early 1970s.) The

“We pledge to each other, and to our fellow believers, that no power on earth, be it cultural or political, will intimidate us into silence or acquiescence.”

–Manhattan Declaration, 2009

Declaration, in other words, proposes a form of theocratic Dominionism—the antithesis of religious freedom.¹⁴

MARRIAGE EQUALITY: A BRIDGE TOO FAR

Cardinal Dolan led some of the original Declarationists in setting the tone for the election-year politics of 2012. In an “Open Letter,” Dolan and his cohorts wrote that marriage and religious liberty “stand or fall together.” They urged support for “laws that uphold the time-honored definition of marriage, and so avoid threatening the religious freedom of countless institutions and citizens in this country.”

“By a single stroke,” they wrote, “every law where rights depend on marital status—such as employment discrimination, employment benefits, adoption, education, healthcare, elder care, housing, property, and taxation—will change so that same-sex sexual relationships must be treated as if they were marriage.”¹⁵

This argument was fleshed out further in a March 2013 Heritage Foundation paper, which argued that the main concern is not that same-sex couples will marry in religious ceremonies, but that others will be required to recognize the civil rights of LGBTQ couples as a matter of law. According to the author, this constitutes a systemic violation of the religious liberty of those who hold traditional views of marriage.¹⁶

Christian Right leaders knew that it might come to this, and they have nec-

essarily taken the long view, even as some others have viewed the battle as lost—and therefore an ever-lowering priority. Eric Teetsel, the 29-year-old executive director of the *Manhattan Declaration*, epitomizes the ambivalence of many Christian conservatives who have recently had to consider the possible inevitability of marriage equality as a matter of national policy and law—and the changes it would mean for the viability of their overall “biblical worldview.” Teetsel told the *New York Times* that, far from feeling defeated, he thinks that the Christian Right is going to win many current same-sex marriage supporters back. Yet he also had to consider what it might mean to lose the national legal and political battle.

“Even if we are doomed,” he said, “and I’m totally naïve, I think it’s important that I do this work anyway . . . If what I believe is true is true, then I’ve got a responsibility to be on its side for as long as I can be.” Similarly, a young analyst at The Heritage Foundation concedes that the short-term outlook is grim, but he believes there is still cause for hope: “If you take the longer view of history—I’m not talking just 15 years, I’m talking 40 years or even 100 years—I can’t help but think that the uniqueness of man-

part of the fight involved the degree of entanglement between church and state in the use of public funds for private religious schools.

The Vatican’s current view of the U.S. situation came in the form of a public letter to the Knights of Columbus in 2012. Cardinal Bertone, the Vatican Secretary of State, said that “there is an effort to redefine and restrict the religious liberty of the Church,” and he darkly characterized “these new threats to the Church’s liberty and public moral witness” as matters of “unprecedented gravity.”¹⁸

The question of the rights of individuals to discriminate, based on rights of conscience, came up the day after the 2012 elections. The leading legal network of the Christian Right’s evangelical wing, Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF, formerly known as the Alliance Defense Fund) issued legal memos for the three states—Maine, Maryland, and Washington—in which voters had passed referenda that made marriage equality the law. ADF claimed that the relevant public employees—for example, municipal and county clerks responsible for issuing marriage licenses—are not required to do so if it violates their religious beliefs, and may delegate the responsibility to a subordinate.¹⁹

Whatever the merits of these claims, the episode illustrates one way the Christian Right has contingency plans for carrying on the fight in a world in which marriage equality and broad LGBTQ civil rights are the

law. (The ADF says it will provide legal assistance to help protect the First Amendment rights of public employees who refuse to issue same-sex marriage licenses.)

In a 2012 video about the meaning of citizenship for Catholics, Cardinal Dolan said that “the Catholic Church has a very important role to play in the political life of the nation.” He then quoted directly from the USCCB’s *Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship*: “The United States guarantees the right of individual believers and religious bodies to participate and to speak out without government interference, favoritism, or discrimina-

tion.”²⁰

While the history of “religious bodies” and their relationship to government and individuals is complicated, Dolan and the bishops are engaging in a sly false equivalence—one that has immediate relevance to the rights of religious bodies to discriminate against same-sex marriages. Contrary to their assertion, the individual’s rights of conscience and those of institutions have never been considered equal.²¹

That distinction is increasingly relevant beyond the marriage-equality front. It is important, for example, in the Right’s attempts to thwart implementation of the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Businesses owned by religious people have objected to the ACA’s mandates regarding contraception coverage. Notably, Hobby Lobby—a retail chain owned by evangelical Christians—has requested a court injunction against the ACA’s requirement that it cover emergency contraceptives for its employees.

A lower court declined to let the case go forward, on the basis that the suit had little chance of success. Hobby Lobby appealed the decision, and in June 2013, the 10th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in Denver, overturned the original dismissal of the case, sending it back to the lower court for a ruling. In doing so, the 10th Circuit Court agreed that it is reasonable for Hobby Lobby to argue that corporations have the same rights of conscience as an individual under federal law.²² The case still has a long way to go, and it may very well end up in the Supreme Court.

Christian Right pastor Rick Warren predicts an epic cultural and political battle on this front, claiming that in the Hobby Lobby case, the government is trying to reinterpret the First Amendment “from freedom to PRACTICE [sic] your religion, to a more narrow freedom to worship, which would limit your freedom to the hour a week you are at a house of worship.” This, he added, is not only a subversion of the Constitution, “it is nonsense,” because “any religion that cannot be lived out . . . at home and work, is nothing but a meaningless ritual.” He predicts that “the battle to preserve religious liberty for all, in all areas of life, will likely become the civil rights movement of this decade.”²³

The Declaration’s approach to abortion, marriage, and religious liberty is designed to unite major factions and function as a catalyst for political renewal.

woman marriage will be adjudicated over time.”¹⁷

THE GATHERING STORM OVER “RELIGIOUS LIBERTY”

While defending “religious liberty” has been most publicly associated with conservative evangelical Protestants, it has been a major concern of conservative Catholics, as well. Catholics were forced to struggle in the nineteenth century against many features of the dominant cultural Protestantism in public schools, and they fought to set up private Catholic schools. In the twentieth century,

TAKING THEIR STAND AGAINST EQUALITY AND CHOICE



Charles Colson, who died in 2012, served as special counsel to President Richard Nixon and was sentenced to prison for his role in the Watergate scandal. In 1976, Colson founded the evangelical organization Prison Fellowship. He co-authored the Manhattan Declaration and described it as "one of the most important documents produced by the American church, at least in my lifetime."

The original signers of the *Manhattan Declaration* were 150 of the most influential Roman Catholic and evangelical leaders in the U.S. Below is a partial list:

CHE AHN: Pastor of Harvest Rock Church in Pasadena, CA, and a leading apostle in the Neocharismatic New Apostolic Reformation

PETER J. AKINOLA: Primate, Anglican Church of Nigeria. Many breakaway American Episcopal churches, opposed to equality for LGBTQ people, have affiliated with Akinola's diocese

DAVID ANDERSON: President and CEO of American Anglican Council, an organization of conservative breakaway American Episcopal churches and other Anglican churches

CARLOS CAMPO: President of Regent University, founded by Pat Robertson

SALVATORE JOSEPH CORDILEONE: Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco, CA. Also chairs the Subcommittee for the Promotion and Defense of Marriage of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops; and instrumental in the creation of California's Prop. 8

JIM DALY: President and CEO, Focus on the Family

MARJORIE DANNENFELSER: President of the Susan B. Anthony List, an anti-choice political action committee formed to counter the prochoice EMILY's List

TIMOTHY DOLAN: Archbishop, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, NY, and president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops

WILLIAM EDGAR: Professor, Westminster Theological Seminary. He has been a leader in the theocratic National Reform Association

JONATHAN FALWELL: Senior Pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church, Lynchburg, VA, founded by the late Jerry Falwell

JIM GARLOW: Senior Pastor of Skyline Church, La Mesa, CA. Also a major organizer of Prop. 8 and an evangelical power broker

ROBERT P. GEORGE: Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University and a leading Catholic neoconservative strategist

TIMOTHY GEORGE: Dean and Professor of Divinity, Beeson Divinity School at Samford University

DENNIS HOLLINGER: President, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, MA

HARRY R. JACKSON JR.: Senior Pastor of Hope Christian Church in Beltsville, MD, and a leader in the New Apostolic Reformation

JERRY JENKINS: Co-author, with Tim LaHaye, of the *Left Behind* series of novels

ALVEDA KING: Director of African American Outreach, Priests for Life, and niece of Martin Luther King Jr.

JOSEPH MATTERA: Bishop and Senior Pastor of Resurrection Church in Brooklyn, NY. Also a leading apostle in the New Apostolic Reformation movement

DAVID NEFF: Editor in Chief, *Christianity Today*, the flagship magazine of evangelical Christianity. Neff is also a member of the Executive Committee of the board of the National Association of Evangelicals

SAMUEL RODRIGUEZ: President of the National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference and a leading figure in the New Apostolic Reformation; also a member of the Executive Committee of the board of directors of *Christianity Today* and the National Association of Evangelicals

WHAT WOULD BONHOEFFER DO?

In addition to the antichoice and anti-gay principles set forth in the *Manhattan Declaration*, an important binding element in the evangelical-Catholic alliance is a shared, growing sense that the Christian Right may be forced to defend

“The battle to preserve religious liberty for all, in all areas of life, will likely become the civil rights movement of this decade.”

–Rick Warren

itself with more than just words.

The signers of the *Declaration* cast themselves as patriots challenging “tyranny” in the tradition of the American Revolution and as warriors for social justice. While laying claim to the mantle of the Revolution is not new or unique to this group, the *Declaration* has ratcheted up the seriousness with which Christian Right leaders are treating the nature of the confrontation. “We will fully and ungrudgingly render to Caesar what is Caesar’s,” they conclude. “But under no circumstances will we render to Caesar what is God’s.”²⁴

Revolutionary rhetoric that goes beyond civil disobedience to suggest violence is now routine among prominent conservative religious and political leaders. In 2012, a rising star of the Christian Right, evangelical author Eric Metaxas, spoke at a Washington, D.C., bookstore operated by the arch-conservative Roman Catholic order *Opus Dei*. (A few weeks earlier, Metaxas had been

the keynote speaker at the annual National Prayer Breakfast, hosted by the secretive evangelical network, The Family.²⁵) President Obama, as has been the tradition for U.S. presidents, also spoke. In his bookstore presentation, Metaxas compared proposed federal regulations

regarding contraception coverage in employer-insurance packages to Nazi-era legislation in Germany.

Metaxas is a best-selling biographer of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a German anti-

Nazi theologian, and he warned that the plight of conservative Christians “is so oddly similar to where Bonhoeffer found himself” early in the Nazi era. “If we don’t fight now,” Metaxas warned, “if we don’t really use all our bullets now, we will have no fight five years from now. It’ll be over . . . We’ve got to die on this hill. Most people say, oh no, this isn’t serious enough. It’s just this little issue. But it’s the millimeter . . . it’s that line that we cross. I’m sorry to say that I see these parallels. I really wish I didn’t.”²⁶

Leaders of the Christian Right are increasingly drawing such parallels and encouraging followers to consider how they should respond. *Manhattan Declaration* co-author Timothy George explained in 2012, for example, that the authors of the *Declaration* drew inspiration from a group of Protestants in Germany in 1934, who swore their allegiance to Jesus Christ, “whom we are to trust and whom we are to obey in life and in death. It was a way of saying we will

not go along with the usurpation of human rights and Christian commitment that Hitler was calling for at that time.”²⁷

These examples, two of many that could be cited, suggest that key leaders of the Christian Right see the federal government as increasingly tyrannical and oppressive, and are at least experimenting with a more militant style of resistance. This is not merely about rhetoric, which can be dismissed as transitory political posturing. Rather, it is about underlying beliefs, which are the root of long-term political divisions and conflict. You can’t meaningfully dialogue or collaborate with a “persecutor” or “tyrant.” But you can figure out how to fight back, while conserving as much as possible of what you hold dear.

The Christian Right, stung by recent losses in the culture war, is publicly doubling down on its antichoice and antigay positions. Evangelicals and Roman Catholics have found common ground—and the motivation to set aside centuries of sectarian conflict—by focusing on these issues while claiming that their “religious liberty” is about to be crushed. The movement is mobilizing its resources, forging new alliances, and girding itself to engage its enemies. It is also giving fair warning about its intentions. It may lose the long-term war, but whatever happens, one thing is certain: It won’t go down without a fight. ^{PE}

Frederick Clarkson, a senior fellow at Political Research Associates, is co-founder of the group blog *Talk To Action* (www.talk2action.org) and the author of *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy* (Common Courage Press, 1997).

Despite the closure of prominent “ex-gay” organization Exodus International, the “ex-gay” movement remains a threat both domestically and abroad. Exodus International may be gone, but the Exodus Global Alliance lives on worldwide, as documented in PRA’s recent report:

The “Ex-Gay” Movement in Latin America: Therapy and Ministry in the Ex-Gay Network

Download it today at www.politicalresearch.org/ex-gay



BY THEO ANDERSON

The Making of *God Loves Uganda*: An Interview with Roger Ross Williams

Roger Ross Williams is a television and film writer, director, and producer whose most recent project, the documentary *God Loves Uganda*, focuses on the work of American evangelical Christian missionaries in Africa. Williams decided to focus on Uganda after a bill that would make homosexuality punishable by death was debated in the country's Parliament in 2009. His research for the project began with *Globalizing the Culture Wars* (2009), a report published by Political Research Associates (PRA) and written by PRA's religion and sexuality researcher, Rev. Dr. Kapya Kaoma.

Inspired by the report, Williams began exploring the role of conservative evangelicals in fomenting the antigay attitudes that led to Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Bill. The missionaries featured in the film are part of the New Apostolic Reformation (NAR), a growing Neocharismatic movement within evangelical Christianity. One of its most prominent leaders, Lou Engle, appears in the film and has been a visible and vocal critic of LGBTQ rights and marriage equality in the United States. An article in the Spring 2013 issue of *The Public Eye*—"The Christian Right, Reborn"—analyzes the rapid growth and rising importance of the NAR.

Williams won an Oscar in 2010 in the category of Best Documentary (Short Subject) for his film *Music by Prudence*, which tells the story of a young Zimbabwean musician who defies expectations and overcomes the prejudice that she is subjected to because of her physical disability. *God Loves Uganda*, which is now being screened at film festivals across the United States (and internationally), is scheduled for limited theatrical release this fall.



How did you find this story?

When I was making my last film, *Music by Prudence*, not only did I notice a church on every corner in Zimbabwe, and everyone was praying, but it was an *intense* spirituality. I had heard about the homophobia in Africa and was reading PRA's reports about what is going on and the bill in Uganda, and I knew that I had to get involved. I grew up in the Baptist Church, singing in the choir. But I was never accepted because of my sexuality, so I was obviously drawn to LGBTQ rights because of that.

Most Americans couldn't locate Uganda on a map. So what's the case you make for why they should care about what's going on there?

I think it depends on what audience you're talking to. It's important because there's a possible genocide in the making, and American dollars being put into collection plates are feeding that potential genocide. If that happened, then people of faith in America would have blood on their hands. For the LGBTQ community in America, they should realize that the struggle for equality is a global struggle. This isn't an isolated world anymore. It's great that battles are being won in America, with state after state passing marriage equality, but we as Americans don't want to wake up one day and realize that people in Uganda suffered or died. We have to view this as a global struggle, not just a struggle in our state or town.

Can you talk a bit about the nuts and bolts of making the film?

It takes about three years to make a documentary film—not always full-time, but pretty much. Documentaries are difficult because you have this story in your head, and that's not always the story that ends up on the screen. But you try to get close to that. And you're constantly raising money. So you shoot a little bit and then come back and raise money and you go back. So it's a constant struggle and you have to be passionate. You have to be willing to pitch the film thousands of times to tons of people who listen to pitches all the time.

It would have been easier to make a film showing people who are advocating for LGBTQ equality. But you went straight at the opposition. I wonder if there are other reasons why you chose to focus on the other side?

What's challenging for me as a filmmaker is for me to be in a place where I'm not comfortable. I wanted to look at the other side because I'm going on the journey, too. I wanted to understand the motivation, and where it comes from, and then the audience gets that experience. I've seen so many films that preach to the converted. So I was not interested in making another film about activism. [Human-rights activist] David Kato was the first person I met in Uganda. I took a bus from Rwanda and arrived in Uganda late at night. David Kato met me in my hotel the next morning, and he came with four activists. We

sat down over breakfast, and he told me about what was going on in his country. He drew diagrams; he was amazing. I told him that I was interested in following the evangelicals, and he told me, "That's the film you should make." He told me that so many films had been made about him and his work. Ultimately, I decided that I wanted to focus on what challenged me, which is trying to understand the intolerance and where it comes from.

What did you learn about why Uganda in particular is so special to evangelical Christians?

There are biblical reasons, but there's also the practicality of Uganda. The former president, Idi Amin, who was a Muslim, outlawed this kind of Charismatic Christianity, and the move-

No one is imposing a law to imprison and hang Christians in Uganda, and I wish that evangelicals and fundamentalists could look at the film objectively and have a discussion around it. And that's happened in a lot of churches. When I went to Fuller Seminary [in Pasadena, CA], the largest evangelical seminary in the world, it was scary for me. But they were willing to have a discussion, because they were students. If anything is going to change, it has to come from the church, not the government. The church influences everything in Uganda.

ment went underground. But when Idi Amin fell, it came above ground and became part of the pan-African movement. People embraced America for what it represented. It wasn't colonialism; instead, Americans came in with money, and they helped rebuild schools, and people loved evangelicals for that reason. Uganda had the highest rate of HIV/AIDS, so the country was basically destroyed. America represents so much and helps Uganda so much. And a lot of that is faith-based. The aid money coming into Uganda is administered by faith organizations, which is part of the problem. Health care money for HIV/AIDS is not reaching the LGBTQ community, which is one of the issues we're trying to tackle in our outreach.

There are many reasons why you oppose Lou Engle's philosophy, but in *God Loves Uganda*, it feels like a sort of grudging admiration comes through. Is that fair?

That's fair. Engle and his followers are amazingly well-organized. I love politics; this is like a political campaign. It's run so well; it's like watching the Obama campaign win an election. And that is fascinating to me. But from growing up in the church, I also understand spirituality and passion, and I respect that. I ended up respecting everybody in the film.

You realize that these people are actually quite charming and nice to hang out with. They're passionate about their faith, and it's intoxicating. At IHOP [International House of

Prayer, an NAR center based in Kansas City], I would be in the prayer room or at a service and would think, "I could get into this. I love passion and emotion." People were praying for me, and praying that this was God's work. I came to a revelation, after finishing the film, that maybe this is God's work. I went into some of the prophet rooms at IHOP, and one prophet told me, "You are someone who has a huge influence over masses of people. You are a messenger." I wondered how he knew all of this. But he's right. I am delivering a message, and it's one that they should listen to. They should put themselves in my shoes and consider what it's like for a gay person to be in a culture when people are incited to violence.

I think that this is very hard for Christian fundamentalists to do, because they feel like they are the persecuted ones.

No one is imposing a law to imprison and hang Christians in Uganda, and I wish that evangelicals and fundamentalists could look at the film objectively and have a discussion around it. And that's happened in a lot of churches. When I went to Fuller Seminary [in Pasadena, CA], the largest evangelical seminary in the world, it was scary for me. But they were willing to have a discussion, because they were students. If anything is going to change, it has to come from the church, not the government. The church influences everything in Uganda.

How do you feel about your realization that you grew to respect these people, and even formed friendships with them, though they hate gay people?

For me, I realized that if there could be a dialogue, then things could be a lot different. Our worlds are so separate. I was a grand marshal at the gay-pride parade in San Francisco. I remember riding in the car along the parade route and seeing a man holding a sign that read, "I am an evangelical conservative with a gay son." I pointed to him, and I remember that sign touching me. I thought, "Wow, there's hope."

As I hung out with these evangelicals in Uganda, we were having a great time. When we are together, we respect and understand each other. But when I was getting ready to leave, JoAnna [Watson, an NAR missionary] told me, "You're going to be under a lot of pressure from the liberal elite, Roger, to make this film do what they want it to do. I want you to pray and not give in to these pressures. When you go back to New York City, and your life, you will be under a lot of pressure. Just remember the word of God." My message to JoAnna since then (we've communicated) is that: "You're going to be under a lot of pressure, JoAnna, to denounce the film. But just remember me."

Early on, when I started filming with JoAnna, she told me that homosexuality is a sin. But she told me that she loved me. I told her that I love her, too. I asked her if she still wanted

me to go to jail. She said, “No, I love you.” People like JoAnna think that they’re doing the right thing, and are so swept up with their passion for their particular version of the Bible and the End Times. I wanted JoAnna to go into the prisons and meet some of the gay people that she was preaching against. She claimed that she never read the Anti-Homosexuality Bill. That’s a cop-out.

A common argument among conservative evangelicals is that the film represents a small part of evangelical Christianity, radical Charismatic evangelicals. How do you respond to that?

If that’s how you feel, speak out against that fringe element, not the filmmaker. This element has a huge influence in Uganda. They may be a fringe element in America, but in Uganda, they have the ear of the Parliament. My challenge to the evangelicals who claim they’re not represented in *God Loves Uganda* is this: Why are you not speaking out against it? Why aren’t you doing anything about it? I actually toned down a lot of the film. Anyone who thinks that this is edited to make evangelicals look crazy—I wish that they could see what was left on the cutting-room floor.

You’ve said elsewhere that you’re drawn to stories of alienation in part because of your own background. Conservative evangelicals feel very much the same way—alienated from the mainstream culture. Do you think that led you to approach this film in a way that another filmmaker wouldn’t have?

That’s true. I’ve never really thought of it that way. But there is a certain feeling of being marginalized among evangelicals. It’s interesting, because in spending time at IHOP, I realized that it was a collection of people who all feel alienated, and who have come together passionately for something. So it was the oddball kids. The kids with pierced noses and tattoos. And I do think they feel demonized. So they don’t want to talk to the mainstream media; they feel that they’ve been persecuted.

It’s funny, because I identify with both sides for the same reason. I’ve always fallen into the middle of two worlds. Because I don’t feel totally connected to any one community or part of any one group, I can sort of see both sides. I think that’s what makes me a good filmmaker. The danger in that is it’s never enough for either side. So it’s not Christian enough for the evangelicals. They want it to be propaganda. And even on the LGBTQ side—they want a tool that they can use.

Is it true that you had a lot more material about two of the “superstar” preachers who appear prominently in the film, Martin Ssempe and Robert Kayanja, but left it out because you thought it would make the story too complicated?

The thing about hate—and I thought this would be a great theme for the film—is that when you unleash hate and intolerance, it devours everyone. So Martin Ssempe unleashed this tirade of hate into the world, and it came back at him. He accused Kayanja of being a homosexual, and then he got arrested for defamation of character, and it became a sordid, crazy trial. I became absorbed in that trial, and filmed pretty much the whole thing. And it was hard for me, as a filmmaker, to let go of that, because it was so fascinating, and there were so many twists and turns. But the audience could never follow that sto-

ry—it involves pastors kidnapping each other’s assistants and all kinds of crazy stuff.

It’s crazy inside that world because the biggest business in Africa is religion. It’s the granddaddy of business. Every kid grows up wanting to be a pastor, because pastors are rich and they drive fancy cars and live in big houses, and they grow up watching pastors on TV. All the strongest television signals in Uganda are from Christian networks, Trinity and PTL. So the kids grow up watching the prosperity gospel; it’s so alive and well in Africa, and it appeals to Africans for so many reasons. They’re worried about their health and where their next meal is coming from, and all they have to do is follow Kayanja and give him their pence, and pray with him, and their problems will be solved—if not in this life, then in the afterlife. So there is competition, and the pastors compete with each other for their little slice of the pie. And it gets ugly.

Does the next project get easier, or does it all just start over?

It basically starts over, unfortunately. It gets a little easier, in that people will take your calls. That happens after you’ve won an Oscar. People will pay attention. There’s a lot coming at the people who make decisions. So you get past the gatekeepers to the people who make the decisions. But it still has to be a good project.

One of the things people would say to me, every time I would pitch *God Loves Uganda*, was, “We can see you’re passionate about this.” At one point, early in the process, I didn’t even have the personal stuff in my pitch. And it came out during one pitch as an afterthought: “You know, I did grow up in the church.” And he was like, “What? That’s your lead! You lead with that!” I hadn’t even processed how personal the project was. So that was the beginning. Now I’ve really processed it.

The documentary form is limiting in some ways: You’re seeing only what’s on screen, and not getting the background. But it can also be a powerful medium. What do you think its strengths are?

When you begin the editorial process, you have such a wealth of material and you’re taking nuggets of the best material and putting it together. A lot of the important stuff ends up on the cutting room floor. And you’re also telling a story. You have to tell a story so that the audience can have an experience; otherwise, people get too bogged down. In this film there’s a lot to process. What I tried to do is tell a very simple story. They [NAR missionaries] go to Africa, preach the Gospel, and there’s a fallout. The good thing about the documentary form is that it reaches a big audience. Everyone has access to it. If they want to go deeper, the sky’s the limit. So many people come up to me at screenings and tell me that they had no idea about what’s going on in Uganda. The documentary also has the power to transform people’s lives, which is what happens if you win an Academy Award. It’s unbelievable. If you have a good outreach campaign, you can actually create real change from a film. ☺

Read the extended, uncut version of this interview with Roger Ross Williams on PRA’s website, www.politicalresearch.org.

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Be Not Afraid?

Guilt by Association, Catholic McCarthyism, and Growing Threats to the U.S. Bishops' Anti-Poverty Mission

john gehring • faith in public life, june 2013



An antichoice Catholic organization with a \$6 million budget is pressuring the official antipoverty agency of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) to stop funding organizations that it has determined are theologically and ideologically impure.

The American Life League (ALL), which “describes itself as the largest grassroots Catholic pro-life organization in the country,” wants to limit the scope of aid that the Catholic Campaign for Human Development (CCHD) can provide, claiming that the agency makes grants to 72 organizations that violate Catholic moral teaching. In particular, ALL wants CCHD to stop funding organizations that have been associated with politically charged issues like same-sex marriage. A new report by Faith in Public Life offers case studies of six different organizations that have lost CCHD funding because of ALL’s influence.

One example is the Minneapolis-based Land Stewardship Project (LSP), which lost \$48,000 because of its membership in two social justice organizations that support marriage equality for same-sex couples. The LSP’s mission is to train new farmers and to promote sustainable agriculture. It hasn’t taken a position on same-sex marriage. Yet CCHD rescinded its grant to the nonprofit—weeks after awarding it—after ALL “compiled a dossier about LSP” highlighting its membership in the two social justice organizations. Mark Shultz, LSP’s policy and organizing director, “believes the American Life League’s ‘witch hunt’ tactics created an atmosphere of fear and paranoia that cast doubt about the LSP’s fidelity to Catholic teaching despite its long history of working with CCHD and focus on land stewardship.”

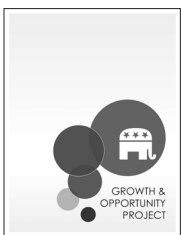
In general, the report paints a portrait of political self-preservation by Catholic leaders, tracing the political pressure that the USCCB brings to bear on organizations that deviate from conservative Catholic ideals. The author of the report, John Gehring, writes in his summary: “The most zealous, self-appointed guardians of Catholic identity today can be so busy playing purity police that they miss the essence of the Gospels.”

The report recommends that the USCCB and CCHD work together for the common good of helping the poor. It also encourages Catholic leaders to resist pressures to segregate Catholic-funded organizations from other, sometimes secular, groups that work on behalf of social justice. “Empowering low-income citizens to advocate for living wages, quality health care, immigrant rights and responsible land stewardship is central to fulfilling a Catholic vision for the common good,” the report concludes. “This mission is threatened when groups like the American Life League . . . use McCarthy-era tactics to create a culture of fear around community organizing.”

-Dan Peltier

Growth & Opportunity Project

republican national committee, 2013



In the aftermath of Mitt Romney’s failed 2012 campaign, the Republican National Committee (RNC) has released a new report, *Growth and Opportunity Project*, which outlines its plan for electoral success in 2016. The report’s silences are among its most interesting aspects, since the words “Christian” and “church” don’t appear in its 98 pages.

The silences may be part of a developing strategy to broaden the GOP’s appeal. But, as the online publication *Buzzfeed* has noted, angering the party’s Christian Right could create a new set of problems. “The report didn’t mention religion much, if at all,” says Tim Wildmon, president of the American Family Association. “You cannot grow your party by distancing yourself from your base, and this report doesn’t reinforce the values that attracted me and many other people into the Republican Party in the first place. It just talks about reaching out to other groups.”

In their preface, the co-chairs who created the report write, “We were charged with making recommendations and assisting in putting together a plan to grow the Party and improve Republican campaigns. We were asked to dig deep to provide an honest review of the 2012 election cycle and a path forward for the Republican Party to ensure success in winning more elections.” In doing so, they met with or spoke to more than 2,600 people, polled 2,000 Hispanic voters, and gathered feedback from 36,000 people through an online survey.

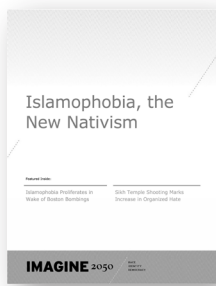
“The Republican Party needs to stop talking to itself,” they write. “We have become expert in how to provide ideological reinforcement to like-minded people, but devastatingly we have lost the ability to be persuasive with, or welcoming to, those who do not agree with us on every issue.”

The report suggests that the GOP should become synonymous with “growth and opportunity” and notes that the Party needs to become more inclusive by convincing women, Hispanics, LGBTQ people, and African-Americans that the GOP cares about them. It also suggests that the Republican Party pursue a populist strategy of “champion[ing] those who seek to climb the economic ladder of life” while “blow[ing] the whistle at corporate malfeasance . . . We should speak out when a company liquidates itself and its executives receive bonuses but rank-and-file workers are left unemployed. We should speak out when CEOs receive tens of millions of dollars in retirement packages but middle-class workers have not had a meaningful raise in years.”

-Dan Peltier

Islamophobia, the New Nativism

center for new community, 2013



A recent report by the Center for New Community calls attention to the intersections between anti-immigrant and Islamophobic movements, illustrating the ways that both movements' leaders work to legitimize nativism and bigotry. The report describes how they claim to "protect the United States from perceived threats of 'outsiders'" based on an extremely narrow, nativist conception of who is entitled to be an American—and what that identity means.

The result is that anti-immigrant and Islamophobic groups are fueling each other and mainstreaming nativism. Both anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant leaders, for example, use the

common scare tactic of alleging the growing influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the media and in government.

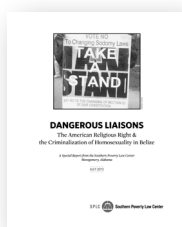
The specific targeting of Muslims, Sikhs, and South Asians isn't a recent phenomenon, nor is it limited to a few communities. According to U.S. Department of Justice statistics, there have been more than 800 threatening or violent incidents against Middle Eastern and South Asian individuals and communities since September 11, 2001. Meanwhile, several members of the U.S. House of Representatives continue to receive support from extended networks of anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant individuals.

These trends have been exacerbated by responses to the Boston bombings. In the aftermath of the bombings, nativists have exploited the tragedy to attack immigration reform and denounce immigrant communities, and members of Congress, such as Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-TX), have joined right-wing extremist groups in propagating fear of "creeping Sharia law." The report concludes with a word of warning: "If the anti-immigrant movement succeeds in using the Boston marathon bombing to erode immigration reform, it will harm much more than immigrant rights. It will harm rights for all."

-Yash Bhutada

Dangerous Liaisons

The American Religious Right & the Criminalization of Homosexuality in Belize



heidi beirich, evelyn schlatter, leah nelson • southern poverty law center, july 2013

The influence of U.S.-based Christian Right groups on the criminalization of homophobia has recently expanded to Belize, which has become a hotbed for anti-LGBTQ activity, according to a new report by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

The Belize Parliament is now in the throes of a legal battle over the constitutionality of a statute called Section 53, which "punishes same-sex 'carnal intercourse against the order of nature' with 10 years in prison." It was initially challenged by the United Belize Advocacy Movement, founded by Caleb Orozco and other LGBTQ-rights activists. Orozco's role in the controversy has put his life at risk, and he currently lives and works out of a fortified office.

The Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF), a right-wing Christian legal organization based in the United States, is among the major players advocating for upholding the statute, though it has sought to maintain a low profile. The ADF has worked to criminalize homosexuality across the globe, fueling antigay bigotry in more than 30 other countries. But until recently, its work in Belize has gone largely unmentioned.

In an interview, Orozco describes the impact of ADF's activity in Belize: "[The ADF] came down to do some training, and they infused [these anti-gay] ideas. They're using [anti-LGBTQ sentiment] as a tool to coordinate or organize and mobilize membership."

-Yash Bhutada

Making Love a Crime Criminalization of Same-Sex Conduct in Sub-Saharan Africa

amnesty international, june 2013



All eyes were on Uganda in 2009, when its Parliament tried to pass a bill making homosexuality punishable by death in certain

cases. But discrimination against LGBTQ people in Africa is far more widespread than an isolated legislative battle, as Amnesty International makes clear in a new report, *Making Love a Crime*.

Though many opponents of LGBTQ rights argue that homosexuality is "un-African," same-sex conduct and relationships are not a Western import. The Amnesty report describes how colonial administrations were often responsible for enacting laws barring same-sex conduct—laws that remained in place even after their departure. While some countries have made positive developments in reforming their legal systems to be more inclusive and accepting of LGBTQ people, many others have sought to criminalize same-sex conduct further or increase already harsh punishments.

Making Love a Crime draws heavily upon *Globalizing the Culture Wars: U.S. Conservatives, African Churches, and Homophobia*, a 2009 report written by PRA's religion and sexuality researcher Rev. Kapya Kaoma. Amnesty's report, for example, describes how Western actors have exploited African churches to advance their own anti-LGBTQ agendas. Such activities include advocating directly against homosexuality, propagating harmful myths, and financially supporting and cultivating anti-LGBTQ leaders in Africa. The U.S. government, too, has a history of interference, such as when the Bush administration gave funds to a homophobic pastor, Martin Ssempe, as part of a program designed to combat HIV/AIDS.

-Kelsey Peterson

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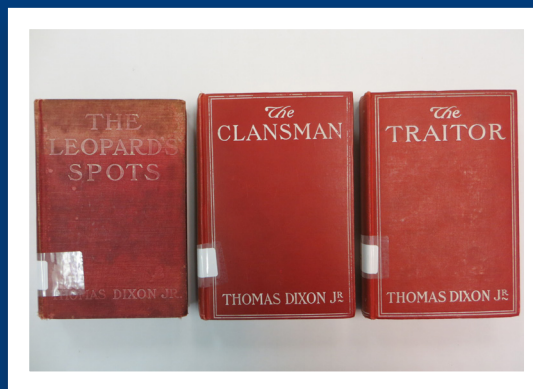
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From the Archive

Since 1982, Political Research Associates has been collecting material by and about the Right—books and magazines, marketing appeals, posters, pamphlets, videos, and more. This series illuminates some of the more intriguing pieces in the collection. The library is available for use by qualified researchers; contact PRA for details.

Thomas Dixon Jr.'s trilogy, *The Leopard's Spots*, *The Clansman*, and *The Traitor* (published by Doubleday, Page, and Company, starting in 1902) has sparked continuous controversy for its proud and explicit support of the Ku Klux Klan and its reinterpretation of the Reconstruction era. *The Clansman*, in particular, solidified Dixon's legacy. Published in 1905, it subsequently became a play, provoking widespread protests in the North and scattered protests in the South, and it was the basis of D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915), a groundbreaking silent film that achieved immense popularity.

Dixon's books, especially the film adaptation, contributed to the revival of the KKK and other White supremacist groups in the early twentieth century. The series follows the life of a young man living in the post-Civil War South, as he learns of the supposed dangers posed by the newly



Thomas Dixon's trilogy promoted a violently racist agenda and cast Southern whites as the victims of oppression at the hands of recently freed slaves.

emancipated slaves. Viewing the North's efforts to integrate former slaves into Southern communities as a grave injustice, Dixon was drawn to the KKK's potential as the South's "protector." *The Traitor* is explicitly dedicated to the "men of the South who suffered exile, imprisonment, and death for the daring service they rendered our country as citizens of the invisible empire (the KKK)."

Scholar Andrew Leiter has written that Dixon's "version of Reconstruction and 'redemption' . . . was overt propaganda that sought both to remind the White South of its racial duties and to justify segregation and racial violence to critics outside the South." Dixon's racially charged views shed a disturbing spotlight on the mindset of the South in the decades following Reconstruction, as the region's crisis of identity played out in the form of white hoods, vigilante "justice," and extreme racism.

-Ben Schmidt

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