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# The Public Eye



*Obamacare*

*Marriage  
Equality*

*Bob Jones*

Redefining Religious Liberty •  
Spiritual Warriors • Caught on Film:  
Christianity Transformed



## The More Things Change

**W**hen Political Research Associates began publishing *The Public Eye* in December 1992, reviving a social justice magazine that had ceased publication in 1988, the editors warned about complacency in light of the previous month's election results. They noted that George H.W. Bush's defeat would not lead to "the passing" of the Right, predicting that it would instead "gather strength in local and state areas."

In 2013, there is perhaps less need to warn about complacency after recent GOP electoral defeats. We have two decades of history to consider—years that include the "Republican Revolution" in the mid-1990s and the emergence of the Tea Party in the wake of the 2008 election. We have also seen, as the editors predicted, a push by hard-right conservatives in state legislatures. As former Sen. Jim DeMint, the newly installed president of the right-wing Heritage Foundation, wrote recently: "Washington may be gridlocked but there is a conservative reform revolution rising from the states!"

PRA has remained true across the years to its mission of monitoring the Right's activism and alerting social justice changemakers to right-wing strategies and ideologies. Though we can't predict what new forms these will take, we always aim to make readers aware of how the field of battle is shifting and what the challenges ahead may be.

In this issue, we offer three pieces that describe recent, transformational developments within conservative Christianity. Each has important broader consequences. Jay Michaelson describes a campaign by conservative Catholics and evangelical Christians, who are using claims about assaults on their religious liberty to attack LGBTQ rights and reproductive rights. Rachel Tabachnick tracks the influence within evangelical Christianity of a growing but relatively little-known movement called the New Apostolic Reformation. Finally, filmmaker James Ault describes his engagement with the New Right in its formative years, as well as his recently completed film series about the expansion and evolution of Christianity in Africa.

Though our mission remains the same, *The Public Eye* has of course changed in many ways. This issue marks something of a milestone in our evolution. We're introducing a makeover of *PE* as part of our ongoing effort to make our work more accessible and useful. We've also introduced a feature spotlighting some of the items in our archive. Look for more new features in the issues ahead.

This is also my first issue as *PE*'s Editor-in-Chief. I have a personal as well as a scholarly and professional interest in the work. I grew up in the context of the New Right's emergence as a political force, in a culture that embraced its worldview. I subsequently did graduate work in the history of the Christian Right and have spent much of my adult life seeking to understand it. Like many of you, I have benefited from PRA's efforts and am wholly devoted to its mission.

The editors of that first, revived *Public Eye* invited readers to stay in touch ("letters should be typed, double spaced," as they said in 1992). I invite you to do the same, though you can save the stamp and reach me at [publiceye@politicalresearch.org](mailto:publiceye@politicalresearch.org). *PE*'s future has always depended on your interest and support, and I look forward to our collaboration as we move the magazine forward.

Theo Anderson  
Editor-in-Chief

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BY BEENA AHMAD

## What the Denial of *Miranda* in the Boston Bombings Means for Us All

**M**uslim communities across the United States have watched with trepidation to see what the fallout from the Boston Marathon bombings will be. Likewise, civil libertarians have anticipated that the Justice Department and the FBI would seek ways to suspend normal criminal procedures, on the basis that they need to gather intelligence about terrorist organizations. Similar discussions took place in 2010, following Faisal Shahzad's attempt to set off a bomb in Times Square.

The *Miranda* warnings, which the Supreme Court deemed a necessary shield against the abuses of law enforcement in its 1966 *Miranda v. Arizona* ruling, inform individuals of their right to remain silent and their right to an attorney when subjected to custodial interrogation. Otherwise, their statements may not be used at trial. This was designed to deter law enforcement from subjecting individuals to coercive questioning. The Supreme Court has created a public safety exception that allows law enforcement to forego the reading of *Miranda* rights in emergencies. The Obama administration expanded this exception to terrorism-related cases in a secret 2011 memorandum.

Though Dzhokhar Tsarnaev had no known links to terrorist organizations, the Department of Justice indicated that it intended to question him "extensively" on matters likely to exceed the scope of questioning around undetonated explosives, as the goal was "to gain critical intelligence." Tsarnaev was then interrogated for 16 hours, while he was strapped to a hospital bed with life-threatening injuries, before being informed of his *Miranda* rights.

What was the basis for the denial of the *Miranda* warnings? Boston officials had indicated that the emergency was over. And law enforcement acknowledged the absence of information linking Tsarnaev and his brother to any designated terrorist organizations. Given these facts, it is hard to imagine what kind of case, once designated as an act of terrorism, would *not* qualify for dispensing with *Miranda*. And one is left to conclude that the motivation for the denial has to do with Tsarnaev's connection to Islam. The implication is that Islam, in and of itself, can be associated with terrorist organizations. Time will tell if this departure from normal criminal procedures will apply in cases involving non-Muslims. But the expansion of prosecutorial authority seems to go in only one direction.

It might seem as though little is at stake here for Tsarnaev. While he is entitled to a presumption of innocence, the televised, play-by-play nature of the pursuit for him, once he was identified, might make a guilty verdict a foregone conclusion. With the death penalty now on the table, the statements that Tsarnaev made in the course of his interrogation may mean the difference between life and death. The Supreme Court has not explicitly ruled on this issue, but at least two appellate courts have said that statements obtained in violation of *Miranda* may still be considered at the sentencing phase—even if they were excluded from trial, and even if they are in the context of a capital case.

Without knowing the potential consequences of his statements, of which the government was likely aware, Tsarnaev was apparently misled into believing that he had nothing to lose by cooperating. In the hands of government agents, he relied on the expectation that law enforcement would behave lawfully.

After the unprecedented lockdown of the entire Boston area, which heightened the public's sense of terror, law enforcement agencies were well-positioned to push for an exception to *Miranda*. But they have not shown how the exception was warranted as a means of protecting public safety, or even as a means of gathering intelligence about so-called terrorist organizations. In forfeiting Tsarnaev's rights in this instance, we lose a lot more. We further legitimize the discriminatory treatment of Muslims in criminal proceedings, and we eviscerate *Miranda*, which safeguards every citizen's rights. Let's fervently hope that the court Tsarnaev appears before will recognize what the Obama administration has failed to see: If Tsarnaev does not have these rights, perhaps eventually no one will.

*Beena Ahmad is a member of the Muslim Defense Project (MDP) of the New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG-NYC). MDP was formed to combat the anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies that have created a comprehensive system of illegal surveillance, predatory prosecutions, and the targeting of entire Muslim communities. To learn more about the Muslim Defense Project, visit [www.nlgnyc.org/mdp](http://www.nlgnyc.org/mdp). Special thanks to MDP members Bina Ahmad and Deborah Diamant for their contributions to this essay.*

# Redefining Religious Liberty

A well-funded network of conservative Roman Catholics and evangelicals is using a “religious liberty” framework to attack same-sex marriage, antidiscrimination laws, access to contraception, and abortion rights—not on moral grounds, but because they supposedly violate the religious liberty of others. Where did this narrative come from? And how has the Right used it to limit the rights of women and sexual minorities, where other strategies have failed?

*This essay is adapted from the PRA report “Redefining Religious Liberty.” The full version is available at [www.politicalresearch.org](http://www.politicalresearch.org).*

**I**n January 2013, Stanford University Law School launched the Religious Liberty Clinic with the mission of offering students “the opportunity to represent clients in disputes arising from a wide range of beliefs, practices, and customs.” According to an article in the *New York Times*, “leading conservative scholars across the country welcomed the opening of the clinic as a breakthrough in elite legal education.” One called it a “milestone,” another called it a “blessing,” and yet another described it as “corner-turning.”<sup>1</sup>

The Clinic, made possible in large part by a \$1.6 million grant from the right-wing Becket Fund for Religious Liberty,

is part of an ongoing campaign led by conservative Roman Catholic intellectuals and bishops and supported by a broad base of evangelical Christian Right organizations. It is but the latest victory for a coalition that has succeeded in mainstreaming discrimination by rebranding it as religious liberty. Not coincidentally, the overwhelming majority of this campaign’s work has been directed against LGBTQ people and reproductive rights. It has had considerable success, winning significant exemptions from anti-discrimination laws, same-sex marriage laws, and policies regarding contraception, abortion, and education.

It became a significant topic in the

2012 vice-presidential debate, for example, and it was the Christian Right’s primary argument opposing same-sex marriage in the North Carolina, Minnesota, and Maine ballot initiatives in the fall of 2012. Meanwhile, The Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington D.C. is developing “religious liberty” caucuses in state legislatures to promote the Christian Right agenda opposing LGBTQ and reproductive rights. (At least nine states currently have such caucuses.)

Perhaps most importantly, it has succeeded in reframing the debate around civil rights, inverting victim and oppressor. Polls show that the conservative religious liberty argument is effective

*A “religious liberty” activist in Washington, D.C., in 2012. Image courtesy of American Life League.*



when the Right sows confusion among the public—by suggesting, for example, that ministers will be forced to marry LG-BTQ couples when states legalize same-sex marriage. As a result, the religious liberty argument has helped the Right win exemptions from same-sex marriage laws and limit women's access to contraception coverage.

While this debate is the newest front in the “culture wars,” it is actually old argument in a new context. In previous decades, the Christian Right defended racial segregation, school prayer, public religious displays, and other religious practices that infringed on the liberties of others by claiming that restrictions on such public acts infringed upon their religious liberty. Then as now, the Religious Right turned anti-discrimination arguments on their heads: instead of blacks being discriminated against by being banned from Christian universities, the universities were being discriminated against by not being allowed to ban them; instead of public prayers oppressing religious minorities, Christians were being oppressed by not being able to offer them.

Using the “religious liberty” framework, the Christian Right now attacks access to contraception and abortion, same-sex marriage, and anti-discrimination laws—not on moral grounds (e.g., that contraception is morally wrong or that LGBTQ rights violate “family values”), but because they supposedly impinge on the religious freedoms of others (e.g., by forcing employers to violate their religion by providing contraception coverage). All major Christian Right organizations now deploy threats to religious liberty as a primary (if not the primary) argument in a range of struggles. Their strategy aims to make themselves seem less bigoted and more sympathetic, as they fight to skirt and defy the law's advances toward equality.

## DEEP ROOTS, MODERN BRANCHES

Since the founding of the United States, a tension has existed between two principles: on the one hand, government cannot favor or establish a particular religion; but on the other, it is committed to guaranteeing the free exercise of all religions. This tension leads to recurring dilemmas. When a student offers a gradua-

tion prayer, for example, is she exercising her individual right to religious practice, or impermissibly establishing it collectively? And when a government funds parochial schools, is it properly nondiscriminatory—or improperly subsidizing religion? Such conflicts have never been definitively resolved, because they are intrinsic to the American conception of civil rights, which always requires a balancing of competing interests.

Despite these deep roots, the notion that the U.S. Constitution protects religious liberty is really a creation of the last 80 years, and the result of the work of marginal religious groups, not mainstream ones. Chief among these were the Jehovah's Witnesses, who refused to salute the flag or recite the Pledge of Allegiance, a controversy that reached fever pitch in the 1930s and 1940s. After an initial loss, the sect prevailed in the landmark 1943 case of *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*,<sup>2</sup> in which the Supreme Court held that absent a compelling state interest, the state could not compel an individual to violate his or her religion.

The most important case for contemporary religious liberty claims, though, is *Bob Jones University v. United States*, decided in 1983.<sup>3</sup> According to historian Randall Balmer, it was the formative event in the creation of the Christian Right and the politicization of American evangelicals.<sup>4</sup> The case concerned the evangelical Bob Jones University, which had racist admission and dating policies. The IRS revoked the school's tax-exempt status, stating that a nondiscrimination policy was required for tax exemption. The Supreme Court agreed on the grounds that since the exemption was a privilege, it could only be obtained if the organization comported with law and public policy.<sup>5</sup> Though the decision neither shut down Bob Jones University nor compelled it to change its policies, this perceived infringement on religious liberty fueled the contemporary Christian Right, and it was hotly debated in the press.

Notably, Bob Jones University was part of a last-ditch effort to maintain racially discriminatory institutions. The “religious liberty” in question, then as now, was the liberty to discriminate against others.

Bob Jones prefigures the inversion of the victim-oppressor dynamic that marks contemporary religious liberty rhetoric. The real victims were black students at Bob Jones—not the university. Yet in the evangelical telling of this history, the university was the victim of anti-religious persecution. Likewise, today, the conservative religious liberty frame claims that the real victims are not gay students being bullied, women denied accessible healthcare, and nonreligious students coerced into participating in a religious ceremony. The true victims are the university, the bully, the woman's employer, and the graduation speaker who is not able to recite a prayer. Yet religious-liberty activists claim that bullies are the real victims because they cannot “express their views about homosexuality.” They claim that businesses who say “No Gays Allowed” are being oppressed because they are forced to facilitate gay marriages. And they claim that the real targets of discrimination are not gay people—who can be fired from their jobs simply for being gay in 24 states—but employers who can't fire them.

Progressives will immediately recognize this as a shocking inversion of how religious liberty is generally understood. Religious liberty is meant to be a shield against state action, not a sword against minorities. It was traditionally used to protect minority religions, not majority ones, which is why most liberals supported the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993, passed to protect Native American peyote use from federal prosecution. Yet today, it is used to defend discrimination by Christians against women and LGBTQ people.

By now, conservative religious liberty arguments are standard fodder on Fox News and among the right-wing punditry. Phyllis Schlafly, for example, writes that “the policies of the Obama administration represent the greatest government-directed assault on religious freedom in American history.”<sup>6</sup> Rush Limbaugh, too, has alleged that the president is assaulting religious liberty.<sup>7</sup> But unlike other hard-right claims, “religious liberty” has also found its way into the mainstream. For example, it became an issue in the 2012 U.S. elections when, during the vice-presidential debate on October 11, Rep. Paul Ryan (R-WI) said:



What troubles me more is how this administration has handled all of these issues. Look at what they're doing through "Obamacare" with respect to assaulting the religious liberties of...Catholic charities, Catholic churches, Catholic hospitals. Our church should not have to sue our federal government to maintain their religious... liberties.

Vice President Biden's response was emphatic and accurate, but seemed less persuasive than Ryan's victim narrative:

With regard to the assault on the Catholic Church, let me make it absolutely clear, no religious institution, Catholic or otherwise, including Catholic Social Services, Georgetown Hospital, Mercy....None has to be a vehicle to get contraception in any insurance policy they provide. That is a fact.<sup>8</sup>

This response was true on the surface, due to Biden's precise language, since no institution has to refer contraception or directly pay for it, or "be a vehicle to get contraception" in any insurance policy they provide. At issue is whether church-affiliated businesses (not churches) must provide the same health coverage (not violate their conscience) as required of all businesses. Nonetheless, the vice presidential debate represented a high-water mark for the visibility of the right-wing religious liberty argument.

#### WHY "RELIGIOUS LIBERTY" WORKS

During the last fifteen years, a surprisingly small cadre of conservative Catholic thinkers—led by The Becket Fund and individuals affiliated with the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops—has successfully brought this new iteration of "religious liberty" to the most contested fronts in the culture war: reproductive rights and LGBTQ equality. The conservative "religious liberty" movement's methods include:

- conducting a PR campaign to convince Americans that religious liberty is under attack and deploying misleading exaggerations to scare voters, for instance by falsely claiming that churches

## Becket Fund for Religious Liberty

The Becket Fund is at the center of a small, Roman Catholic-dominated group of activists and is the intellectual leader of the right-wing "religious liberty" campaign. Founded in 1994 by attorney Kevin "Seamus" Hasson—who worked for the Reagan Department of Justice under Samuel Alito, and was also a key U.S. Department of Justice figure in the Reagan administration—the Becket Fund was originally nonpartisan. But under the leadership of William Mumma, who took over from Hasson, it recently has become more conservative and is leading the charge on the Health and Human Services (HHS) benefit fight in the courts, in academia, and in the court of public opinion.

Progressives may well endorse some of Becket's activities. For example, it has represented Muslims before the European Court of Human Rights.<sup>1</sup> Despite its nonsectarian pretensions, though, the Becket Fund can be viewed as a virtual arm of the Roman Catholic Church. It is named for Thomas Becket (1118-1170), the Archbishop of Canterbury murdered by associates of King Henry II for resisting secular jurisdiction over clerical matters. He is thus an archetypal Catholic martyr for religious independence from state control.

Financially, the support of the Catholic Church is clear, as are the personal religious affiliations of key Becket leaders. The Becket Fund's entire leadership and funder base is made up of conservative Roman Catholics: current executive director William Mumma, founder Kevin Hasson, general counsel Anthony Picarello, and board members Robert P. George and Mary Ann Glendon (the Harvard Law professor who was formerly the U.S. ambassador to the Holy See and is a leading antichoice theorist).<sup>2</sup>

Becket is at the forefront of the spate of adoption cases in Massachusetts and Illinois, where Catholic Charities pulled out of adoption networks rather than place children with gay or lesbian couples.<sup>3</sup> It is also mounting a public relations campaign against the HHS contraception benefit, and it has named the Affordable Care Act as one of the top religious freedom issues facing the United States, filing seven suits against it.

will be required to sacralize gay weddings and employers forced to pay for abortions;

- reframing questions of discrimination (e.g. in the Boy Scouts) as questions of the religious liberty of those who wish to discriminate;
- filing lawsuits to limit LGBT rights on religious liberty grounds and exploiting ambiguities in the law to conduct a nationwide litigation campaign;
- exploiting the structural ambiguity in civil rights law that emerges when fundamental rights clash, as that between religious expression and civil rights;
- scaring the public by eliding the differences in legal standards between discrimination against LGBTQ people and discrimination against African Americans, and suggesting that protections for the latter will be extended to the former;
- influencing legislation to obtain exemptions from antidiscrimination laws,

and enabling Christian organizations to discriminate (e.g. student clubs in the Virginia university system);

- limiting access to reproductive healthcare (first through a series of religious exemptions for abortion and now by limiting insurance coverage for contraceptives);
- attempting to expand existing religious exemptions beyond religious organizations to include private businesses (such as Hobby Lobby, the current plaintiff in a prominent case);
- marshaling the support of influential academics such as Douglas Laycock, a distinguished professor at the University of Virginia Law School, who successfully argued a key "religious liberty" case before the U.S. Supreme Court for the Becket Fund, and longtime conservative Catholic campaigner Robert P. George of Princeton University. They and other scholars provide intellectual leadership (or cover) for the movement, both within

the Christian Right and more broadly.

Why has this campaign been so successful? There are several key reasons.

### FACT AND FANTASY

First, there is a confusing mixture of fact and fantasy in right-wing rhetoric regarding religious liberty. For example, the broadest, most common, and least accurate claim is that members of the clergy will be forced to solemnize same-sex marriage. “Once federal and state laws uphold gay marriage, gays will be entitled to sue anyone licensed by the state that refuses to perform a marriage,” writes Brad O’Leary in *The Audacity of Deceit: Barack Obama’s War on American Values*.<sup>9</sup> This is universally untrue. All same-sex marriage laws specifically exempt clergy from being forced to sanctify any marriage of any kind.

One PRRI survey, which found that 52 percent of respondents overall supported same-sex marriage, asked individuals who initially opposed it if their opinion would be different provided they were certain that “the law guaranteed that no church or congregation would be required to perform marriages for gay and lesbian couples.” With that guarantee, overall support for same-sex marriage jumped by six points—to 58 percent.<sup>10</sup>

Not surprisingly, playing on the public’s fear about government intrusion into private religious practice is a key component of the conservative religious liberty campaign. Minnesotans United, for example, found that a large plurality of marriage opponents believed that, if same-sex marriage were legal, religious organizations would be forced to solemnize same-sex marriages. As noted, this is not the case.

The data suggest that conservative religious liberty advocates will succeed if they can blur the lines regarding what same-sex marriage legislation would actually do. If progressives state clearly and loudly that no church will ever be compelled to perform a same-sex marriage, on the other hand, many opponents will become supporters.

### THE WAR ON RELIGION

Second, it is important to recognize that the Christian Right really does believe that its religious liberty is under attack.

Since the 1970s, conservative evangelical Christians have adopted the earlier Catholic narrative that there is a determined secularist campaign to destroy religion and replace it with “humanism” or “secularism.”<sup>11</sup> In extreme forms, this battle is literally between God and Satan. Evangelical author Tim LaHaye, for example, demands that Christians “resist the devil and... put on the whole armor of God.”<sup>12</sup> Beverly LaHaye, not to be outdone by her husband, wrote in 1984 that secularists are “priests of religious humanism and are evangelizing our children for Satan.”<sup>13</sup> These extreme formulations seem unlikely to appeal to more moderate Christians, and on the contrary are likely to turn them off. Yet they have a strong appeal among evangelicals.

The theme of the “war on religion” also intersects with the blend of fact and fantasy just discussed. For instance, Catholic legal theorist Thomas Berg frets that “if sexual-orientation discrimination should be treated in all respects like racial discrimination—as many gay-rights advocates argue—then the precedent of withdrawing federal tax-exempt status from all racially discriminatory charities, upheld in *Bob Jones University v. United States*, would call for withdrawal from all schools and social service organizations that disfavor same-sex relationships.”<sup>14</sup> Note the elisions here: from “many gay-rights advocates argue” to a position that no court has ever taken; from withdrawing tax-exempt status to overall “withdrawal”; from a racist policy to “disfavor.” The ‘coming storm,’ of course, is highly unlikely to come in this way, but such subtleties tend to be lost.

### MARTYR NARRATIVE

Third, and more broadly, “religious liberty” rhetoric refers to earlier moments in Christian history, such as the early Christian martyrs in the Roman period. Reading “religious liberty” books, one gets a completely inverted picture of life in the “Bible Belt.” Rather than an oppressive religiosity exerting influence over all

public life, the picture is one of a massive secular state squelching any Christian religious expression.

This points to the enormous gap in perception between progressives and conservatives on this subject. Most progressives see themselves as resisting conservative Christian dominance in public life, but most conservatives see themselves as resisting a secular, anti-Christian hege-

“Religious liberty” spokespeople have begun analogizing the “persecution” in the United States to that in Nazi Germany

mony—a perception that taps directly into narratives of Christian martyrdom, including that of Jesus himself.

Predictably, “religious liberty” spokespeople have begun analogizing the “persecution” in the United States to that in Nazi Germany. Recently, for example, the pastoral outreach director for Minnesota for Marriage said that the way Hitler persecuted Jews was that he “removed their voices in the public square and removed their control of their own businesses. So, he stopped Jewish people from speaking out in public and he silenced them.”<sup>15</sup>

It is important to recognize, of course, that this martyr narrative is a fantasy. School-prayer cases are not about individuals praying; they are about groups (including non-consenting individuals) being led in prayer by another. Gay rights cases are not about individuals or religious communities expressing opinions or engaging (or not) in private acts; they are about individuals and communities creating hostile environments for others by expressing their views, refusing services, or in other ways directly communicating a message of second-class status to LGBT people. And the current contraception battle is not about whether a church may exercise its conscience, but whether it may do so at the expense of other parties’ rights. Yet in terms of Christian myth, the martyr narrative eclipses these inconvenient truths.

FRAME, NOT FACTS

Fourth, the RL argument is really about framing, not facts. This makes it difficult to refute, since it is really a matter of interpretation. For example, on the question of whether an employer must provide contraception coverage in health insurance plans: Whose rights are at stake? In the RL frame, the employer’s religious liberty rights are threatened. In the civil rights frame, the employee’s reproductive rights are threatened. Same facts, but different frames lead to different potential “victims.” Likewise in LGBTQ cases. In one case, frequently cited by “religious liberty” activists, a New Mexico wedding photographer was fined \$6,000 for refusing to photograph a same-sex couple. Whose rights are at stake: The photographer’s religious interest in not sanctioning a same-sex union, or the couple’s right to be free from discrimination?

There are several common moves that RL advocates make in such cases.

First, they generally portray only one side of this equation. For example, after describing the New Mexico case, Thomas Berg writes, “It is likely in the future that religious dissenters, organizations, and individuals, will more frequently face a Hobson’s choice between facilitating same-sex marriages against their conscience and giving up their charitable activities or small businesses.”<sup>16</sup> There is no mention here that refusing to “facilitating

same-sex marriages” is an act of discrimination, not merely a religious practice.

Second, “religious liberty” arguments generally invent religious observances where none had existed before. There is no Christian teaching forbidding people from photographing something they may find objectionable. Suppose the photographer were a conservative Catholic who agreed with Pope Benedict XVI’s statement that other religions are “deficient.” Would she be barred by Catholic doctrine from taking pictures of a Jewish couple? Is taking a photograph, as a professional who advertises doing so as a business, a religious act at all?

Third, discriminating merely because one is offended is illegal, regardless of whether the feeling of offense comes from religion or not. The photographer, Elaine Huguenin, may have been offended in some way, but she might also have been offended by an interracial couple, or an interfaith couple. Would such discrimination be legal? Huguenin was required only to offer the services she publicly advertised to all comers. When one enters the marketplace as a business, one agrees to a whole host of rules. Perhaps one’s religion teaches that it is acceptable or even required to defraud unbelievers; nonetheless, doing so is illegal. Perhaps one’s religion teaches that women’s hair must always be covered; nonetheless, one may not require such observance among

one’s customers. In all cases, believers are “rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar’s” by obeying the secular civil law.

Fourth, is it even true that a photographer is “facilitating same-sex marriages against [her] conscience?” The term “facilitating” suggests that the photographer enabled the marriage, which is incorrect.

As Professor Chai Feldblum has discussed in several articles,<sup>17</sup> religious liberty claims are not ab-

solute. When they bump up against other civil rights, they may prevail, or may fall. Yet RL rhetoric is asymmetrical and unclear. What is abridged in the New Mexico case and similar ones is the ability to act in a non-religious, discriminatory way on the basis of a professed religious conviction. Taking a photograph is not facilitating a marriage, or blessing it, or solemnizing it. It is not a religious act at all but a commercial one—subject to a host of laws, and impacting other parties’ rights.

EXPANDING THE SPHERE

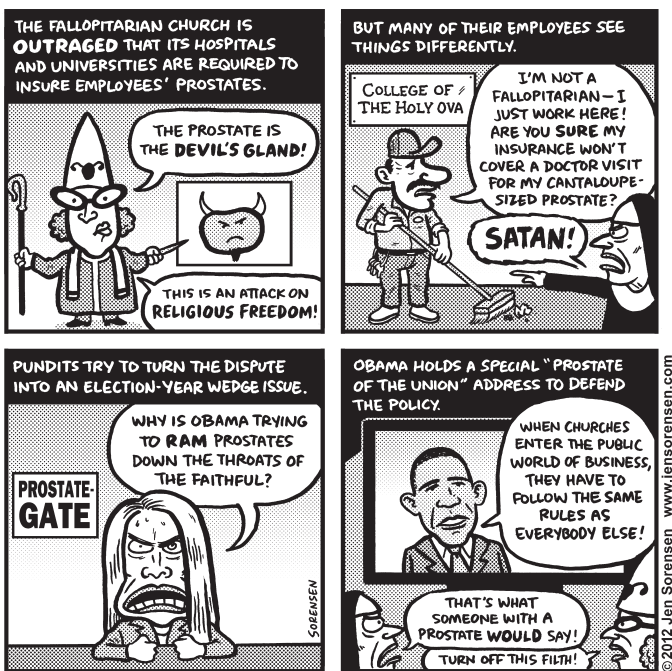
Finally, “religious liberty” activists subtly expand the sphere of religious exemptions. Typically there are five tiers of actors:

1. Churches, clergy, and religious institutions
2. Religious organizations
3. Religious-affiliated organizations
4. Religious-owned businesses
5. Religious individuals

The law treats these tiers differently: Churches are rarely required to obey anti-discrimination laws, for example, but religious organizations may be, and religious-owned businesses are. RL rhetoric deliberately misstates harms upward, and tactically expands exemptions downward. On the one side, no clergy will ever have to solemnize any marriage against her/his beliefs, yet restrictions on tier 4 or 5 individuals are cynically extended by RL messaging to tier 1. On the other side, RL advocates are clearly pursuing a staged plan to migrate extensions downward. For example, in the New York same-sex marriage debate, existing law exempted tier 1, Republican state senators won exemptions for tiers 2 and 3, but at least one senator held out for tiers 4 and 5, and ultimately voted against marriage equality.

This expansion of the sphere of exemptions is best illustrated in the example of the so-called “HHS Mandate.”

Though it is hardly ever reported in the media, this provision did not in fact originate with “Obamacare.” In 2000, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission held that failure to provide contraceptive coverage violates the



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1978 Pregnancy Discrimination Act, an amendment to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that outlaws, among other things, discrimination based on sex.<sup>18</sup> Thus, contraception coverage has been the law for all employer-sponsored comprehensive health plans for businesses with more than 15 employees for 12 years. And 26 states already have laws requiring contraceptive coverage, laws that have been upheld in court.<sup>19</sup>

What transpired, however, was anything but settled. In January 2012, HHS Secretary Katherine Sebelius announced the new policy. Though it exempted churches and religious nonprofits (tiers 1 and 2 of the above taxonomy), Catholic churches and charities immediately objected.<sup>20</sup> On February 10, 2012, HHS announced a compromise, in which insurance providers, rather than employers, would absorb the cost of the deductible.<sup>21</sup> This would have seemed to remove the conscience-offending causality. But by then the Catholic Church (and in particular the USCCB) was empowered and took on the entire HHS provision, including the part that was already part of settled law. The Becket Fund has since filed 58 lawsuits challenging the HHS Mandate.<sup>22</sup>

On February 1, 2013, the Obama administration proposed allowing faith-based hospitals and universities—not merely churches and religious organizations—to issue plans that do not provide birth control (i.e., tier 3, in addition to tiers 1 and 2). They would not have to contract, arrange, pay or refer for any contraceptive coverage to which they object on religious grounds. The women who work for this second group would still get birth control coverage, but it would come through a separate individual plan, not from the religious organization's plan. This is a huge concession and should represent a victory for the "religious liberty" campaign. But in a statement, the Becket Fund said the new rule "does nothing to protect the religious freedom of millions of Americans"—in other words, tiers 4 and 5.<sup>23</sup> The tactic of expanding the sphere of exemptions has had such success that it is now focused on obtaining religious exemptions for any corporation that wishes to obtain them.

## United States Conference of Catholic Bishops

The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) has been at the forefront of the conservative religious liberty campaign as applied both to healthcare and LGBTQ issues. In June 2010, the USCCB created an initiative called "Marriage: Unique for a Reason," which emphasizes sexual difference between partners as crucial to marriage and conservative religious liberty concerns: The legal definition of marriage as between one man and one woman not only protects marriage as an institution, but also protects the religious freedom of those who adhere to that definition.<sup>1</sup>

As the U.S. presidential election season was getting underway, the USCCB re-issued its "Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship" treatise, which "applies Catholic moral principles to a range of important issues." In the document, the bishops cite religious liberty as a central concern for Catholic voters: "As Americans, we are . . . blessed with religious liberty which safeguards our right to bring our principles and moral convictions into the public arena. These Constitutional freedoms need to be both exercised and protected, as some seek to mute the voices or limit the freedoms of religious believers and religious institutions. . . . The Church through its institutions must be free to carry out its mission and contribute to the common good without being pressured to sacrifice fundamental teachings and moral principles."<sup>2</sup>

In 2012, the USCCB provided the organizational and PR muscle to complement the Becket Fund's intellectual leadership on the HHS provision. Their "Fortnight for Freedom" (June 21-July 4) was a national series of events about religious liberty issues, chiefly the HHS provision and same-sex marriage.

## EFFECTIVENESS

Current data on the overall effectiveness of the "religious freedom" strategy are mixed. According to the Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI), 49 percent of Americans do not believe that religious freedom is threatened in America today, while 50 percent do believe that it is being threatened.<sup>24</sup> Correlating those data with statistics on Americans' religious beliefs generally—e.g., 46 percent believe in creationism<sup>25</sup>—this suggests that it is primarily religious traditionalists who believe that religious freedom is under attack. In other words, Becket and others may be preaching to the choir. Of course, conservative religious liberty campaigns are multifaceted and may have success in the courts and legislatures, even if public opinion lags behind. Interestingly, the PRRI data showed no significant difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants on this issue: 55 percent of Catholics said religious freedom was not being threatened, while 44 percent said it is.<sup>26</sup>

On another issue, that of adoption, the conservative religious liberty argument has failed to gain much traction beyond those already convinced. Sixty-three percent of Americans do not believe that reli-

giously affiliated agencies should be able to refuse to place children with same-sex couples, if those agencies receive federal funding.<sup>27</sup> This may be in part because the question included the issue of federal funds: Much of the public may not know that Catholic Charities benefits from millions of dollars of federal funding.

It is also worth noting that there may be some truth to the Christian Right's fears that America is growing less religious—and looks to continue doing so. A Pew report from October 2012 found that the "nones"—Americans who are religiously unaffiliated—are rapidly growing, and now comprise 19.6 percent of Americans,<sup>28</sup> with higher percentages among younger age groups. It is also true, of course, that LGBTQ rights have made astonishing advances in recent years (even as women's rights to healthcare have diminished over the same period). So the overall metric of effectiveness may be these deeper trends, which portend a diminishment in the power of religion to influence public opinion. ☹

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# The Christian Right, Reborn

## The New Apostolic Reformation Goes To War



Participants at a NAR event in Nashville, TN, on July 7, 2007.  
Image courtesy of *thoughtquotient.com*.

The New Apostolic Reformation, an aggressively political movement within Christianity, blames literal demonic beings for the world's ills and stresses the power of "spiritual warfare" to deliver people and nations from their power. It is rapidly gaining influence in the United States and around the globe, and aims to advance a right-wing social and economic agenda—all while reinventing the structure of Christianity.

**I**n the late summer of 2000, Rev. Lou Engle, a political activist and Charismatic religious leader, organized an all-day prayer rally in Washington, D.C. As Engle explained later, the event originated in a pressing question that he couldn't shake: "How can I turn America back to God?" In a dream, Engle "felt overwhelmed by the impossibility" of achieving that goal, but then he saw a vision of a verse from the Bible: "And he will go on before the Lord in the spirit and power of Elijah to turn the hearts of the fathers to their children and the disobedient to the wisdom of the righteous."<sup>1</sup> From that dream, and a subsequent "supernatural series of events," a giant prayer rally was born. Engle named it TheCall.

By Engle's account, TheCall drew 400,000 people to the Mall in Washing-

ton, D.C., and changed the course of the 2000 election. The prayers of the faithful were answered when the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its *Bush v. Gore* decision, giving the election to George W. Bush. On the heels of that success, "the inward voice of the Lord . . . reverberated strongly in his spirit," and Engle decided to organize a similar event in another city in 2001. At the suggestion of Sam Brownback, now the governor of Kansas and then a Republican U.S. senator, he chose Boston. Brownback had told him that "you need to dig the wells of revival in New England and close the doors to false ideologies that have found entrance through Boston."<sup>2</sup>

Since then, Engle has staged more than 20 similar rallies, and each has attracted tens of thousands of participants to stadiums across the United States. He and his organization have also become deeply

involved in U.S. politics, especially in antichoice and antigay organizing. Engle staged TheCall San Diego, for example, the week before the 2008 election, with the explicit purpose of bolstering support for Proposition 8, the California ballot initiative and constitutional amendment that limited the definition of marriage to a union between a man and a woman. Engle's organization mounted a radio campaign and sent out email and phone blasts in support of Proposition 8, and he urged attendees to be martyrs for the cause.<sup>3</sup> James Dobson, founder of the Christian Right organization Focus on the Family, later cited TheCall San Diego as the reason for Proposition 8's success.<sup>4</sup> In 2010, an estimated 10,000 people attended TheCall Houston, whose purpose was "to contend for the ending of abortion and to spark an adoption revolution." Antichoice activism was a major



focus, as well, of *TheCall* Detroit in November 2011.<sup>5</sup>

The NAR's influence is international. Engle was featured extensively in *God Loves Uganda*, a documentary about U.S. evangelical conservatives' antigay influence in Uganda, where the infamous Anti-Homosexuality "Kill the Gays" Bill was first introduced in 2009.<sup>6</sup>

Engle is a leader in a Charismatic religious and political movement called the New Apostolic Reformation (NAR). His rallies are among the movement's most visible public manifestations, and despite Dobson's endorsement, they reflect many of the NAR's departures from the traditional Christian Right. The movement is rooted in Charismatic Christianity, a cross-denominational belief in modern-day miracles and the supernatural. Emerging from the U.S. neo-Pentecostal movement that gained particular force in the 1980s, these beliefs spread to Roman Catholics and mainline and evangelical Protestant churches in the United States and worldwide.

Pentecostalism has a history of racial diversity and women ministers, and NAR itself has broad appeal in terms of gender, race, and ethnicity. For example, women and minorities are prominent in its leadership.<sup>7</sup> It's also culturally savvy, sponsoring youth events that look more like rock concerts than traditional church services. Its stylish leaders dress in casual clothes, encourage fasting and repetitive chanting as a means of inducing altered mental states, and use sophisticated media strategies and techniques to deliver their message.

But the NAR aims to be far more than a hipper and more diverse version of the Christian Right. Its most prominent leaders and prolific authors claim to be creating the "greatest change in church since the Protestant Reformation,"<sup>8</sup> and they describe themselves as modern-day prophets and apostles. The movement aims to unify evangelical and all Protestant Christianity into a postdenominational structure, bringing about a reformation in the way that churches relate to one other, and in individual churches' internal governance.<sup>9</sup>

The NAR believes that radical political and social consequences will follow from this religious reformation. Speaking of *TheCall* D.C., Engle told the movement's

flagship magazine, *Charisma*, that it "was part of a shift in the heavens and that God has thrown a window open," so that we "have entered a season of time in a massive [spiritual] war. . . . We are in a war, and if we don't win, we lose everything" (brackets in original).<sup>10</sup>

Consequently, NAR leaders have forged a powerful "spiritual warfare" theology that puts the political and social transformation of the world at the top of Christianity's agenda.<sup>11</sup> The revolution begins, they believe, with the casting out of demons. NAR training materials claim that communities around the world are healed of their problems—experiencing a sudden and supernatural decline in poverty, crime, corruption, and even environmental degradation—once demonic influences are mapped and then purged from society through NAR's particular brand of "spiritual warfare," which is sometimes referred to as "power evangelism."

Power evangelism is based on the idea that some "people groups," including ethnic, racial, religious, or geographic groups, resist being evangelized because they are controlled by "territorial spirits," or high-level demons. Strategic prayer is believed to loosen the control of these demons, allowing for mass evangelism and the subsequent transformation of communities.<sup>12</sup> The sources of demonic activity can include homosexuality, abortion, non-Christian religions, and even sins from the past. This practice of applying power evangelism to people was evident, for example, in *TheCall* Boston in 2001. *Charisma* reported that "50,000 people filled City Hall Plaza" and "petitioned God to shift the ideologies of witchcraft and the Gothic subculture and to affect the humanism that came to Boston by way of the French Age of Enlightenment philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire."

NAR leaders teach that strategic prayer can literally alter circumstances in the temporal world: the spontaneous burning and destruction of religious icons

NAR leaders have forged a powerful "spiritual warfare" theology that puts the political and social transformation of the world at the top of Christianity's agenda

and structures, for example.<sup>13</sup> Both animate and inanimate objects are believed to be demon haunted,<sup>14</sup> and NAR training materials include examples of prayer harming or killing human beings who are considered to be demonic. The purging of supposed demonic influences is celebrated in NAR media with dancing and singing.

In all of this, the NAR's leaders believe that they are preparing Christians to battle against evil, gain dominion over the earth, and pave the way for Jesus's return. With those goals in mind, the NAR is deeply invested in infiltrating every realm of American society, and the movement believes that what is now primarily a religious revolution will culminate in total revolution. Indeed, at a conference in 2008, a prominent NAR leader pointed to a map showing apostolic centers in the U.S.—or "Freedom Centers," as he described them. Speaking of NAR apostles and prophets, as leaders of the movement are called, he said: "They're out there. Believe me, they are everywhere. There are apostles in the military. There are apostles in government. . . . They're there in entertainment. They're there in education. You have no idea what God is about to unleash on this nation."<sup>15</sup>

Even if it falls short in its world-conquering ambitions, or in Engle's hope to "turn America back to God," the NAR demands serious attention. The movement is bringing about profound changes in the character of conservative Christianity and the Christian Right, both in the United States and around the globe.<sup>16</sup> The source of the movement's great strength lies not just in building new institutions, but in creating new networks and alliances among long-established institutions. The NAR's leaders are methodically transforming the nature of the relationship between congregations and their leaders, creating a much more

## NAR Terms: A Glossary

### APOSTLES AND PROPHETS

According to C. Peter Wagner, prophets are “those most strongly anointed by God to hear his voice.” He describes prophets as needing to partner with an apostle. “Apostles take the word of God from the prophets (and, they also, of course, hear from God directly), they judge it, they interpret it, they strategize their procedures and they assume leadership in implementing it.” Elsewhere, Wagner writes that an apostle is a “leader . . . sent by God with authority to establish the foundational government of the Church within an assigned sphere of ministry by hearing what the Spirit is saying to the churches and by setting things in order accordingly for the expansion of the Kingdom.” The roles of the prophet and apostle often overlap. Many leaders hold both roles.

### BISHOP

“Bishop” is used interchangeably with apostle. The Church of God in Christ, a Pentecostal denomination, has traditionally had bishops, but the title is also used by some leaders of New Apostolic networks.<sup>1</sup>

### CHARISMATIC

Refers to Christians who have experienced what is described as “baptism in the Holy Spirit,” or a secondary conversion experience that is believed to be accompanied by endowments of supernatural spiritual gifts, such as speaking in tongues, prophecy, and healing.<sup>2</sup>

### NEOCHARISMATICS AND THE THIRD WAVE

According to *World Christian Trends*, the revolutionary Pentecostal movement that began about a century ago has been defined by three “waves.” The burgeoning of traditional Pentecostal denominations defined the First Wave. The Second Wave was a more general spread of Pentecostal theology and practice throughout Catholicism and many mainline Protestant denominations. Second Wavers are called Charismatics. The Third Wave is even broader and includes “believers baptized in the Holy Spirit but who do not affiliate with First Wavers or Second Wavers, but join independent churches.” These Third Wavers are called Neocharismatics.

In the book *Informed Intercession*, George

Otis defines several more terms that are central to the NAR movement:

### COMMUNITY TRANSFORMATION

“A condition of dramatic socio-political renewal that results from God’s people entering into corporate vision, corporate repentance and corporate prayer.”

### INTERCESSORY PRAYER

“Petitions, entreaties and thanksgivings made on behalf of another. Intercession also involves the act of standing between the object of prayer and spiritual forces.”<sup>3</sup> (“Intercessory prayer” is an old phrase that has been redefined in the context of Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare, defined below.)

### STRATEGIC LEVEL SPIRITUAL WARFARE

“A term that pertains to intercessory confrontations with demonic power concentrated over given cities, cultures, and peoples.” In SLSW, intercessors believe they can literally block demonic attack, which is the reason for the proliferation of prayer rooms that function 24/7 in locations around the world. C. Peter Wagner writes about having three sets of personal intercessors, and some businesses are now employing paid intercessors for protection.<sup>4</sup> Wagner teaches that there are three levels of spiritual warfare: 1) ground level, or casting out demons from individuals; 2) occult level, meaning the battle against demons that operate through witchcraft and esoteric philosophies; and 3) strategic level, meaning the battle against the highest level of literal territorial spirits that SLSW practitioners believe are in control of communities, ethnic groups, religions, and nations.

### TERRITORIAL SPIRITS

“Demonic powers that have been given controlling influence over specific sites, peoples, and areas.”<sup>5</sup>

### WARFARE PRAYER

“The application of strategic-level spiritual warfare to evangelistic efforts. An uprooting of prevailing spiritual strongholds that hinder the gospel.”<sup>6</sup>

authoritarian leadership style than has traditionally been true of evangelical Christianity. That shift is central to the movement’s political potential. The NAR’s charismatic, authoritarian leaders are well-positioned to reinvent the Christian Right, infusing it with a new wave of energy, expanding its base of support, conducting sophisticated political campaigns, and doubling down on right-wing social and economic agendas—all while giving the Christian Right a new gloss of openness and diversity.

## CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHARISMATIC REVOLUTION

The NAR has emerged primarily from the Pentecostal/Charismatic sector of Christianity. Charismatics are evangelicals, in that they believe in the necessity of being “born again.” But they also believe that a second conversion experience, sometimes called baptism in the Holy Spirit, endows believers with supernatural gifts, which may include the powers of healing, speaking in tongues, and prophesying. “Pentecostal” refers to the denominations formed by Charismatics beginning in the early 1900s. As a whole, Pentecostals and Charismatics constitute about one-fourth of the Christian population globally, and their numbers are rapidly growing, along with their influence. A recent Pew survey found 36 percent of Americans were Pentecostal or Charismatic.<sup>17</sup>

In one sense, the NAR is the latest iteration of a long tradition: For decades, rogue movements have emerged on the fringes of the Pentecostal/Charismatic sector of Christianity, teaching that a coming generation will receive a supernatural outpouring that empowers it to subdue or take dominion over nations.<sup>18</sup> With the NAR’s rise, this belief has moved from the fringes into broader streams of evangelical life.

The man credited with coining the name New Apostolic Reformation is C. Peter Wagner, who was a professor of “church growth” for three



decades at Fuller Theological Seminary, a nondenominational evangelical seminary in Pasadena, CA. Wagner became internationally known for his teaching on church expansion and was a leading strategist for the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism. A spinoff of that organization, following an international conference in Singapore in 1989, launched a massive effort to evangelize as much of the world as possible by the year 2000.<sup>19</sup> Known as “AD 2000 and Beyond,” this effort enabled Wagner and other pioneers to promote the distinctive ideology that is central to the NAR.

Though not from a Pentecostal or Charismatic background, Wagner has embraced Charismatic beliefs about faith-healing, speaking in tongues, and prophecy.<sup>20</sup> In this, he reflects the dramatic growth of Charismatic-style belief among evangelicals who don’t consider themselves Charismatics or Pentecostals. Wagner has dubbed the movement the “Third Wave.” It’s now the largest sector of the Pentecostal/Charismatic stream within Christianity, far outnumbering First and Second Wave Charismatics. (The former refers to traditional Pentecostal denominations. The latter refers to the spread of Charismatic beliefs within the mainline Protestant denominations, and among Roman Catholics, beginning in the 1960s.)

The Third Wave involves the spread of distinctly Charismatic manifestations and beliefs throughout other sectors of evangelical Christianity, including an obsession with the spirit world and with demonology. Paradoxically, these obsessions have often been rejected by traditional Pentecostals and Charismatics.<sup>21</sup> The Third Wave is primarily made up of post-denominational, or unaffiliated, churches and ministries. The NAR apostles and prophets are forming relational networks between these unaffiliated churches as well as current denominations.

As the author of dozens of the movement’s foundational books, Wagner is both its leading theorist and its most important organizing force. In the late 1990s, he became the leader—or “Convening Apostle”—of the International Coalition of Apostles (ICA).<sup>22</sup> It became an international model for forming the NAR’s relational networks, which have both horizontal and vertical dimen-

sions. Within the ICA, Wagner presided over an association of apostles—many of which, in turn, claimed hundreds or thousands of ministries under their leadership.<sup>23</sup> Wagner also formed networks of faith-healing ministries, “deliverance ministries” that claim to free people from demon possession, and an inner-circle of leading prophets, in addition to the Wagner Leadership Institute (WLI), a network of training programs in locations across the United States, Canada, and several Asian nations.<sup>24</sup>

Disdain for traditional institutions and seminary training is common across the movement, and leaders are provided certificates, including doctorates, for completing courses on apostolic government, submission to authority, combating demons, and the “Seven Mountains Mandate.”<sup>25</sup> The latter is a campaign that teaches how to take “dominion” over the seven power centers of society: arts and entertainment, businesses, education, family, government, media, and religion.<sup>26</sup>

#### THE AUTHORITARIAN IMPULSE AND EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

Evangelical churches in the United States are, traditionally, democratically governed. Pastors are typically hired or fired directly by congregational vote or by elected deacons or elders, who also manage the budget and make other decisions for the congregation.<sup>27</sup> But one of the major themes taught by New Apostolic leaders is the need for congregational and organizational members to submit to pastoral, or apostolic, authority.<sup>28</sup> The effect is that, across the nation, churches that were once democratically governed are transferring power to NAR apostles, who then provide “apostolic covering” to other pastors, churches, and ministries below them.<sup>29</sup> The apostolic “cover” is the person to whom one is accountable—a spiritual mentor. Failing to submit to this authority means inviting demonic attack. Submitting becomes a measure of one’s faith.<sup>30</sup>

Apostles and prophets, who the movement asserts are chosen by God rather than church elders, are the leaders of this new authority structure. One way they demonstrate their chosen status is through prophecy. They differ from tra-

ditional evangelicals in that they claim to receive extra-biblical revelation directly from God—early warnings of natural disaster, for example, or messages about various political candidates.<sup>31</sup> They frequently broadcast their prophecies on the movement’s popular websites.

NAR leaders refer to this shift as the “restoration of the five-fold gospel,” based on a verse in the New Testament book of Ephesians, which describes the roles of church leadership as apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers.<sup>32</sup> The responsibilities of apostles and prophets overlap. In broad terms, prophets claim they have the power to hear God’s voice, while apostles claim to have received a special anointing from God, which allows them to assume leadership in implementing God’s will. In many cases, a senior pastor declares him- or herself to be both an apostle and a prophet, and it’s common for pastors/apostles to have spouses who are also prophets.

Apostles often require a percentage of the tithe from the churches, for which they provide apostolic covering, creating a pyramid system in which money flows to the top. And though there is no rigid hierarchy, the system leads to an increasingly authoritarian system of church governance. Apostles at the helm of churches often have control over much of the church’s finances, and they can be sanctioned or removed only by their own apostolic overseers. This transition has become so common that there are now organizations that provide New Apostolic-style church constitutions online.<sup>33</sup>

In the United States, an influential advocate of shifting away from democratic governance is Rick Warren, the best-selling author and pastor of a megachurch in California. Though his church is part of the Southern Baptist Convention, a denomination in which churches have traditionally been governed by democratically elected deacons, Warren echoes the NAR teaching that church government should be led by those who have been endowed with “spiritual gifts.” As Warren wrote in his dissertation at Fuller Theological, “The church functions on the basis of spiritual gifts, not elected offices. You don’t find anybody getting elected in the New Testament.”<sup>34</sup> Peter Wagner was the mentor for that dissertation, which became the basis for Warren’s first book,

*The Purpose Driven Church*. Unlike Wagner, though, Warren does not specify that churches be under the authority of modern-day apostles and prophets, a distinct marker of NAR adherents.<sup>35</sup>

Another influential advocate of these new authority structures was Ted Haggard, the now-disgraced former president of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). In the late 1990s, Haggard partnered with Wagner to build the World Prayer Center as the electronic “nerve center” and headquarters of Wagner’s newly formed NAR entities in Colorado Springs.<sup>36</sup>

Haggard’s book *The Life-Giving Church*,

Before his downfall, a rising star of the movement punched and kicked patients in order to “heal” them and expel their demons

included a foreword by Wagner and described the “evolving way we administer the discipling of believers” in New Apostolic churches. This included church bylaws that allowed for Haggard to have control over 65 percent of the church budget.<sup>37</sup>

Wagner and Haggard parted ways a few years later, but before Haggard’s dramatic public sex and drugs scandal.<sup>38</sup> In his autobiography, Wagner cited Haggard’s move toward traditional evangelicalism, in anticipation of his presidency of the NAE, as the reason for the split. That shift “did not fit at all with our apostolic/prophetic stream of Christianity,”<sup>39</sup> according to Wagner, though today, NAR apostles and prophets such as Samuel Rodriguez and Harry Jackson hold board positions in the NAE, including on the executive board.<sup>40</sup>

## THE NAR’S BROADENING INFLUENCE

The inroads made by the NAR in the larger evangelical world are evident in the work of Samuel Rodriguez, an Assemblies of God pastor and one of the nation’s most prominent Hispanic evangelicals. He described the apostles of his own Third Day Believers Network (3DBN)

as “gatekeepers and agents of change and leadership within their regions.”<sup>41</sup> Though Rodriguez has been marketed as a moderate evangelical, he is deeply engaged in social-conservative activism and in promoting Islamophobia, denying global warming, and promulgating neoconservative economic policy, as a recent *Public Eye* article shows.<sup>42</sup> Churches from numerous denominations were to be included in Rodriguez’s grandiose goal of “bring[ing] together the top 12 most anointed apostles of every nation of the Western Hemisphere by the year 2010 and every nation of the world by 2020.”<sup>43</sup>

The 3DBN network led by Rodriguez included the participation of an AOG presbyter who provided references for the network.<sup>44</sup> The network provided apostolic covering for a group of primarily Latino churches in the U.S. and a few international churches. In 2004, Rodriguez and two other 3DBN leaders founded the National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference (NHCLC) as an evangelistic association. In 2010 and 2012, the NHCLC partnered with the multimillion dollar get-out-the-vote effort of United in Purpose, and its media promoted the work of Rodriguez, Newt Gingrich, David Barton, and Christian Right luminaries.<sup>45</sup>

The NAR’s broadening influence is evident, as well, in the recent coverage it has received from *Christianity Today*.<sup>46</sup> In 2012, the magazine featured a popular figure in the movement, Heidi Baker, on its cover. The author of the piece begins by stating that there are credible reports that Baker heals the deaf and raises the dead in her ministry work in Mozambique. Baker goes on to assert that she and her husband do not promote the NAR or consider themselves modern-day apostles.<sup>47</sup>

*Christianity Today* failed to challenge her assertion despite Baker’s role as a leader of the internationally known Revival Alliance network. In this role, Baker provides apostolic covering to numerous other ministries around the world, including her own Iris Ministry’s Nashville branch.<sup>48</sup> In her role as one of the Revival Alliance Apostles, Baker spends much of

the year outside Mozambique, speaking at apostolic and prophetic conferences globally, including the annual “Voice of the Apostles” conference.<sup>49</sup>

The nation’s flagship evangelical publication also failed to delve into Baker’s practice of “expelling” demons from children or the role that Baker and the Revival Alliance played in the work of Todd Bentley, one of the most controversial figures in the NAR. Bentley had held revival events with Baker in Africa at which he claimed to heal AIDS victims.<sup>50</sup> And in 2008, the heavily tattooed Bentley temporarily became the superstar of the movement with a faith-healing revival in which he punched and kicked patients in order to “heal” them and expel the demons that caused their affliction.<sup>51</sup>

Apostles representing Revival Alliance, Wagner’s ICA, and Rick Joyner (a prophet and leader of another apostolic network) came together in an unprecedented ceremony in June 2008 to place Bentley under the apostolic covering of the Revival Alliance apostles, claiming that this was the beginning of a great Holy Spirit outpouring of supernatural signs and wonders on the nation.<sup>52</sup> A press investigation found no evidence of Bentley’s power to heal people or bring the dead to life.<sup>53</sup> This failed to deter thousands of pilgrims from around the world from flocking to Lakeland, Florida. Bentley’s role in the healing revival abruptly ended a few weeks after the ceremony, when he was exposed for cheating on his wife.

## DOMINIONISM RISING

The New Apostolic Reformation has inherited and accelerated two transformative currents within conservative Christianity over the past several decades. One is a revised theology of the End Times. The other is the energized, empowered, and highly politicized variety of evangelicalism that has emerged from this theology.

Prior to the emergence of the contemporary Christian Right in the 1970s, many conservative Christians were strong defenders of the separation of church and state, and there was little in fundamentalists’ theology—particularly their beliefs about the End Times—that could be interpreted as encouraging political activism.<sup>54</sup> Those beliefs centered on a narrative that involved Christians being



“raptured” to heaven just prior to the seven-year rule of the Antichrist on earth. This belief is called Pre-Tribulational Dispensationalism, or simply Pre-Trib, and it was popularized in fiction in the mid-twentieth century, when the threat posed by nuclear weapons made end-of-the-world scenarios seem especially plausible.<sup>55</sup> The belief system’s most influential articulator is Hal Lindsey, whose book *The Late Great Planet Earth*, published in 1970, became a publishing phenomenon—one of the best-selling books of the decade—and brought Pre-Trib ideas into the U.S. cultural mainstream.

The disconnect between this theology and political activism is the lack of incentive for working through political mechanisms to change the world. A theology more compatible with their politicization began percolating through conservative Christian circles in the decades prior to 2000. In direct contrast to Pre-Trib teachings, Dominionism posits that Christians must take dominion over the earth before Jesus can return.<sup>56</sup> The leading thinkers behind modern-day Dominion theology belong to a movement called Reconstructionism.

In 1982, Reconstructionists dedicated an entire issue of the journal *Christianity and Civilization* to a critique of the way that fundamentalists, including Jerry Falwell, were operating the New Christian Right.<sup>57</sup> The critique centered on the “intellectual schizophrenia” of the movement, meaning the conflict between its theology and its behavior. The Reconstructionists believed that the defeatist and escapist Pre-Trib teachings failed to provide the foundation for the reformation of American society.

In the same publication, a leading Reconstructionist, Gary North, recalled a political rally in Dallas in 1980, at which Ronald Reagan addressed a crowd of about 15,000 people, including 200 pastors.<sup>58</sup> Several evangelical luminaries were in attendance, and the former governor of Arkansas, Mike Huckabee, was in charge of logistics. North wrote of the rally that it “was a political rally: more precisely, it was a rally for politics as such, and for Christian involvement in politics. It was a break from almost six decades of political inaction on the part of American fundamentalist religious leaders.”<sup>59</sup>

## On Screen: NAR In Africa

*God Loves Uganda*, a 2013 documentary film, focuses on the evangelistic work of some key New Apostolic Reformation figures, specifically their role in fomenting antigay attitudes and activism. Their efforts were part of an antigay campaign that led Uganda’s legislature, in 2009, to come close to passing the Anti-Homosexuality Bill, which sought to impose the death penalty for some homosexual behavior (thus its more colloquial name, the “Kill the Gays Bill”). It’s currently in limbo in the legislature.

Though the film and its promotional materials identify them only as evangelical Christians, the people and organizations at the forefront of this campaign have deep roots in the NAR movement. They include Lou Engle, whose “solemn assemblies” emphasize antichoice and antigay themes and have attracted tens of thousands of people to stadiums across the U.S. Also featured is the Kansas City-based International House of Prayer, which sponsors round-the-clock prayers sessions that plead for the U.S. to be “healed” of cultural and sexual depravity.

*God Loves Uganda* is an official selection at numerous film festivals in 2013, including Sundance. Its director, Roger Ross Williams, explained what motivated him to make the film:

“I began meeting in Uganda—and in America—some of the missionaries who have helped to create Uganda’s evangelical movement. They were often large hearted. They were passionate and committed. Many of them were kids from America’s heartland. And they were, I began to discover, part of a larger Christian evangelical movement that believed that Biblical law should reign supreme—not just in people’s hearts—but in the halls of government.”

Rev. Kapya Kaoma, a religion and sexuality researcher with Political Research Associates, appears as a voice of tolerance in *God Loves Uganda*. He is also featured in a related short video by Roger Ross Williams, titled “Gospel of Intolerance.” *The New York Times* published the eight-minute “Op-Doc” on its website. Referring to his research in Uganda, Kaoma says, “I discovered that some American evangelicals, feeling that they have lost the culture war here at home, are now turning to Africa. Their goal: to wipe out what they call ‘sexual immorality.’” Lou Engle also appears in the video: “The West has been in decline,” he says. “I think Africa is the firepot of spiritual renewal and revival. It’s very exciting to me.”

The man who made the rally possible, according to North’s account, was his father-in-law, Rousas J. Rushdoony, the preeminent Reconstructionist intellectual. Rushdoony has become best known for his belief that biblical law should be enforced—even execution by stoning for some offenses, such as gay sex and abortion. The shock value of these stances has mostly obscured Rushdoony’s mainstream influence and achievements, which are considerable.<sup>60</sup> Rushdoony laid the foundation for the modern homeschooling movement; for Christian

nationalist histories that claim separation of church and state is a myth; for the revival of creationist teachings;<sup>61</sup> and for “biblical economics,” that is, using biblical sources to justify free-market economics.<sup>62</sup> On the last subject, Rushdoony has written extensively about the biblical prohibition of certain taxes and government-sponsored welfare and social-safety nets. Most importantly, Rushdoony paved the way for American fundamentalists to move toward the aggressive political engagement that has marked the Christian Right since the 1980s.<sup>63</sup>

By the 1990s, Reconstructionist ideology had been widely disseminated within the Christian Right, largely through the efforts of a group called the Coalition on Revival, founded in 1984. Its goal was to bring conservative evangelical, fundamentalist, and Charismatic leaders together to overcome theological differences and to “implement the Biblical and Christian worldview.”<sup>64</sup> The agenda is described in the *Encyclopedia of Evangelism*: “The Coalition on Revival has sought to build bridges between Reconstructionist thought and political conservatives, and all members of the coalition’s steering committee must sign the Coalition on Revival Manifesto which includes a pledge to ‘work to Christianize America and the world.’”<sup>65</sup>

A key player in the transition from apolitical to political theology was Christian Broadcasting Network’s Pat Robertson, who founded the Christian Coalition following his unsuccessful run for president in 1988. Robertson was ordained as a Southern Baptist minister but became a Charismatic who flirted with Reconstructionism. One leader within the Christian Right, Gary DeMar, described Robertson as an “operational Reconstructionist,”<sup>66</sup> and Gary North included Robertson’s “Christian Action Plan for the 1980s” in his own “Biblical Economics Today” newsletter.<sup>67</sup>

The alliance between the Pentecostal/Charismatic sector of Christianity and the Reconstructionists seems an unlikely one. Reconstructionist leadership consists largely of white men, and Rushdoony was an intellectual and an Orthodox Presbyterian who wrote tomes on biblical law for a reconstructed America.<sup>68</sup> Pentecostals and Charismatics, meanwhile, are known for their racial and gender diversity, and for their experiential faith and manifestations of

the Spirit. The Neocharismatic stream, in fact, is a world in which it’s not unusual to find reports of glory clouds, gold dust, and gem stones appearing, or of worshippers being “slain in the Spirit” and falling to the floor with ecstatic laughter.

But the two groups served each other’s needs and purposes well. Reconstructionists needed followers, while the Pentecostal/Charismatic sector needed a more muscular intellectual dimension. Frederick Clarkson has described the efforts of Christian Reconstructionists to convince Pentecostals and Charismatics to join their ideological camp: “Reconstructionists have sought to graft their theology onto the experientially oriented, and often theologically amorphous, Pentecostal and Charismatic religious traditions.”<sup>69</sup>

Though Reconstructionism was crucial to the spread of Dominionism among Neocharismatics, the concept wasn’t entirely alien to them. Fringe movements had emerged repeatedly within Pentecostalism, teaching that there would be an outpouring of supernatural powers in a coming generation, allowing them to subdue or take dominion over nations. A rogue movement called Latter Rain, for example, emerged in 1947 from a series of faith-healing revivals and a popular booklet on gaining supernatural powers through long-term fasting.<sup>70</sup> The movement taught restoration of “the neglected offices in the contemporary church of apostles and prophets,”<sup>71</sup> along with the laying on of hands to directly “impart” supernatural gifts, including prophecy.

The Pentecostal denomination Assemblies of God officially denounced the “New Order of Latter Rain” in 1949 (and repeated that denunciation in 2001).<sup>72</sup> But Latter Rain’s ideology lived on in the following decades through other groups,

including the Ft. Lauderdale Shepherds and the Kansas City Prophets, and in revivals like the Toronto Blessing and the Lakeland Outpouring.

## PROPHETS AND APOSTLES IN A MODERN WORLD

These theological and political currents led Peter Wagner to declare, in 2001, that the New Apostolic Reformation had begun. In his book *Dominion!*, Wagner describes the theology of the movement as Dominionism and traces its intellectual heritage “through R.J. Rushdoony and Abraham Kuyper to John Calvin.”<sup>73</sup>

Wagner and his closest colleagues proceeded to energize the NAR in the United States and across the world through their evangelizing strategy, dubbed “Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare,” whose purpose is to increase the speed of evangelization across the globe.<sup>74</sup>

Creative media campaigns were developed to introduce this new concept of evangelizing worldwide, including a series of films under the *Transformations* title.<sup>75</sup> These movies resulted in a series of Transformations organizations forming in communities across the globe.<sup>76</sup>

In the United States, among the most significant and far-reaching parts of the NAR infrastructure is its “prayer warrior” networks. Today, all 50 states have a network under the authority of a statewide apostolic leader.<sup>77</sup> The prayer warrior networks regularly distribute guides in preparation for elections, “educating” participants on political issues. They also sponsor training events and conferences and serve as a link between individuals and various NAR ministries.

Calls for prayer, especially public displays of prayer and repentance, are the movement’s most vital organizing and energizing tool. One of the NAR’s most influential institutions, the International House of Prayer (IHOP or IHOPKC), is headquartered in Kansas City and organizes 2,000 people (staff, students, and interns) to maintain prayer sessions that are open to the public 24 hours a day, seven days a week. According to its mission statement, IHOP “is committed to praying for the release of the fullness of God’s power and purpose, as we actively win the lost, heal the sick, feed the poor, make disciples, and impact every sphere



For the 40th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, PRA released an updated edition of the **Defending Reproductive Justice** activist resource kit, in recognition of the fact that many women and transgender individuals still lack access to reproductive rights.

Download it today at [politicalresearch.org/RJARK](http://politicalresearch.org/RJARK).



of society—family, education, government, economy, arts, media, religion.”<sup>78</sup>

IHOP claims that its volunteers work 50 hours a week “as they go from the prayer room to the classroom and then to ministry outreaches and works of service.” Lou Engle is part of IHOP’s leadership team and IHOP’s founder, Mike Bickle, was part of Peter Wagner’s original Apostolic Council of Prophetic Elders. Bickle’s work in Kansas City has been the model for more than 400 more “houses of prayer” in the U.S.<sup>79</sup>

To date, the most highly publicized of NAR’s calls to prayer, or “solemn assemblies,” took place in Houston in the summer of 2011. Texas Gov. Rick Perry aggressively promoted it at a time when he was a leading contender for the Republican Party’s presidential nomination. The rally attracted 30,000 people and was broadcast to churches around the world.<sup>80</sup> Several familiar figures from the Christian Right appeared on stage with Perry and leaders of the NAR.<sup>81</sup> The result was that apostles and prophets who had for years remained under the radar were suddenly subjected to scrutiny from the media, including an interview with me conducted by Terry Gross on the NPR program *Fresh Air*.<sup>82</sup>

Exposed to this scrutiny, NAR’s leaders publicly distanced themselves from some of their more radical ideology. Webpages were removed and websites were amended to explain that the NAR’s apostles are either not Dominionists, or that the term simply means to gain influence in society.<sup>83</sup> Peter Wagner himself granted two unprecedented interviews with mainstream media outlets in October 2011. He explained to Terry Gross, for example, that the NAR respected religious pluralism and that Dominionism was not about ruling: “In terms of taking dominion, we don’t—we wouldn’t want to—we use the word dominion, but we wouldn’t want to say that we have dominion as if we’re the owners or we’re the rulers of, let’s say, the arts and entertainment mountain.”<sup>84</sup>

Compare that explanation with what Wagner said about Dominionism at an NAR conference in 2008: “Dominion has to do with control. Dominion has to do with rulership. Dominion has to do with authority and subduing and it relates to society. In other words . . . what the values are in Heaven need to be made

manifest here on earth. Dominion means being the head and not the tail. Dominion means ruling as kings. It says in Revelation Chapter 1:6 that He has made us kings and priests—and check the rest of that verse; it says for dominion. So we are kings for dominion.”<sup>85</sup>

The magazine *Charisma*, owned and published by a former member of Wagner’s International Coalition of Apostles, published an issue of articles about the growing influence of Pentecostals within American politics.<sup>86</sup> *Charisma* attributed the negative press to “anti-Pentecostal bias” and the Left’s demonization of “any high-profile leader who takes a stand for Christian values.”<sup>87</sup>

Writing in *The Washington Post*, Lisa Miller quoted the head of the largest evangelical public-relations firm in the nation: “You would be hard-pressed to find one in 1,000 Christians in America who could even wager a guess at what dominionism is”—though knowing the definition of Dominionism is hardly relevant to following the lead of apostles in religious and political activism.<sup>88</sup>

After Rick Perry’s campaign for president began to visibly collapse, interest in the NAR waned, and it was back to business as usual. On November 1, 2011, Lou Engle and Mike Bickle led TheCall Detroit, which had been preceded by a year of events and conference calls discussing “spiritual warfare” against the Muslim community, though it was publicly billed as reconciliation between whites and blacks.<sup>89</sup>

On November 20, 2012, Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback signed a proclamation declaring December 8 a “Day of Restoration” in Kansas. It was accompanied by a video in which he invited citizens to attend a prayer event in Topeka, called ReignDown USA, to be held near the capitol building.<sup>90</sup> “For about three hours Saturday,” a local paper reported on December 8, “Topeka held the eyes, ears, hearts and souls of followers of Jesus Christ throughout the nation and world as host of a religious

movement within a stone’s throw of the governor’s mansion.” The event, which was broadcast globally via satellite television and the internet, had an estimated audience of up to 30 million people.<sup>91</sup>

Three days earlier, Peter Wagner had published an essay titled “Why You Must Take Dominion Over Everything.” He explained how, as a younger man, he had been seduced into the error of Pre-Trib thinking, in part by *The Late Great Planet Earth*: “Now I look back on those days

“Dominion has to do with control. Dominion has to do with rulership. Dominion has to do with authority and subduing and it relates to society. . . . Dominion means ruling as kings.”

- C. Peter Wagner

with a strange combination of regret and amusement,” he wrote. “How is it that I was so wrong for so long? As I analyze my change, I can sum it up by admitting that I simply did not understand the kingdom of God.”<sup>92</sup>

And what is the key to understanding the kingdom, according to Wagner? Dominion theology.

“Now I take the Great Commission more literally,” Wagner wrote, “when it tells us not to make as many individual disciples as we can but to disciple whole social groups—such as entire nations. This is kingdom theology. . . . The battle will be ferocious, and we will suffer some casualties along the way. However, we will continue to push Satan back and disciple whole nations. We are aggressively retaking dominion, and the rate at which this is happening will soon become exponential. The day will come when ‘The kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign forever and ever.’”<sup>93</sup>

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BY THEO ANDERSON

## Tracking Christianity's Transformation: An Interview with James Ault



James Ault is a writer and documentary filmmaker based in Northampton, MA. His first film, *Born Again* (1987), focused on the life of a fundamentalist Baptist church in Worcester, MA. He later wrote a book about the same church, *Spirit and Flesh* (2004), which *The Washington Post* called “the best single-volume explanation of why American fundamentalist Christianity thrives among certain people.”

Ault wanted to explore the social bases of “family-values” politics among grassroots supporters of the New Right, which was becoming a powerful political force when he began his research in the early 1980s. He settled on the small, blue-collar “Shawmut River Baptist Church” (a fictitious name Ault uses to protect the privacy of the subjects), whose pastor was vice president of the Massachusetts chapter of Jerry Falwell’s political organization, the Moral Majority. “As soon as I walked through its doors,” Ault said about his first visit to Shawmut

River, “I felt you could see the social world in which New Right enthusiasms made sense to its supporters. Families are gathered. You get to know things about their personal life. There’s no separation between private and public. It’s all there.”

Ault’s latest project is a two-part film series, *African Christianity Rising*, which focuses on Ghana and Zimbabwe. It documents Christianity’s “explosive growth” on the continent, showing the ways that it’s expanding and being adapted within African cultures. Information on Ault’s projects is available at [www.jamesault.com](http://www.jamesault.com).

**To summarize part of your argument in *Spirit and Flesh*, for the professional middle class, adolescence is primarily about learning to establish a personal identity and becoming a self-governing individual. Whereas, for the people you found at Shawmut River, it’s more about fulfilling your role within a family network.**

There’s a world of difference between becoming an autonomous individual...and meeting the duties of a connected kin-based network of people who know one another and who help define reality for you and define your moral universe, because you’re interacting with them, they’re gossiping about you, and you share common knowledge of one another. Whereas for people not anchored in a kin-based network, the world is more fragmented. So where is our moral universe going to come from? One of the ways it’s created in this more atomized, isolated middle class is through political enthusiasms. I noticed among my fellow New Left activists that there was not infrequently a kind of moral need to be hammering at these things, be expressing them, quite apart from the actual effectiveness of these actions. There was an identity need: How are we going to create what we believe in? How are we going to know what matters to us?

**So this is a very communal world with tight networks of relationships. I imagine readers are wondering how that leads to fundamentalists’ general embrace of very hyper-individualistic economic philosophy and their endorsement of “free markets.”**

A good question. That’s why there are strains between the libertarian and social conservative wings of the Republican Party. But they both come together around their stand against “Big Government.” For the social conservatives at Shawmut River, whose communal world was sustained by social pressures among people who knew each other’s business, the impersonal bureaucracy of “Big Government” not only doesn’t make sense, but also can be felt to interfere with community life. For exam-

ple, if people have government programs to rely on, let’s say in old age, why do they have to count on their children, and expect their children to help them out later on? The effective reliance on a safety net that government provides is felt to break down the reciprocities that people rely on to knit their relationships together. It breaks the logic of that reciprocity that helping relations depend on.

**One intriguing aspect of your book was the discussion of absolutes, and the fact that they’re applied in a very practical way.**

I would come to Shawmut River Baptist Church and hear the pastor preaching that “God hates divorce.” And then I would watch the members of the congregation help this woman divorce her husband and help get her an apartment and support her while she was doing it. And I would say, “Hey, what’s going on here?” They would say, “Everyone knows her husband’s pissing away the family income with his drugs and his snowmobile.”

I realized that “everyone knows . . .” was key here. The thing is that every moral judgment the collective makes, in an oral culture, is based on what we know in common and assume others know in common. So we don’t have to make it explicit. . . . We apply things in a more concrete, contextual way, knowing the details of every case. So abstract principles don’t matter that much. Individualistic people, who don’t live in family-based networks and have to find our own moral compass, have to have clearer ideas about what that moral principle is, and make it explicit. Whereas people in a village society, or this kind of church, are handling it with shared knowledge about the circumstances around this case and that one. Therefore, when they trumpet these absolutes, that doesn’t mean that on the ground they aren’t reasonable and loving. Of course, in some cases, they can be unloving and unjust. Some person’s animosity, or jealousy toward a particular person, may succeed in tilting things in an unjust direction. I saw that at Shawmut River. But, on the whole, I found



people there loving, caring, and sensible to a remarkable degree.

***There's a reason they can't acknowledge that there's a pragmatic application of the absolutes, because to acknowledge that would be to embrace a sort of relativism and individualism that they can't abide, right?***

I think that you have to put it in the context of where fundamentalism arose. It didn't just arise out of the blue. It rose in response to modernist theology that was denying the supernatural, denying basic tenets of faith and values. So fundamentalism arose out of a felt need to defend.

And how do you best defend your traditional beliefs in the modern world? You use a modern form—from literate, scientific culture—of citing a text. You say, “The Bible says it in chapter 4, verse 10.” That's a modern form of justifying a belief or tenet, even though in your actual practice, you might be much more flexible. . . . Abstract [principles] come into play in defending something that they feel is under attack. By the same token, the New Right never would have gotten off the ground without the New Left movements of liberation challenging traditional values in the 1960s and '70s. Holding onto those things comes out of defense. And I think that ought to be taken into account by any organization or group that's trying to move forward and defuse the opposition that's arisen out of those moral conflicts. The accusation that you're immoral, you're unjust, you're backward—these are the kinds of judgments that make people hold fast to their principles, I think.

***A common thread between Born Again and African Christianity Rising is that, in both cases, you're covering a subject you think is important but that hasn't been on the radar for most people. When you started your research in Shawmut River Baptist Church more than 30 years ago, people thought the New Right would be a fleeting phenomenon. And the same is true of African Christianity. So why did you want to tell this story?***

I started on the project [*African Christianity Rising*] in 1996, and the first article that really brought the importance of African Christianity to American intellectuals was in *The Atlantic Monthly*—Philip Jenkins' article, [“The Next Christianity,”] in 2002.

However, already in 1974, when my parents visited me when I was living in Zambia, they had come to Africa because my father had just become a bishop and head of the General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, and his close colleagues said that something important is happening in Africa now. So church leaders were already aware that something major was happening in Africa, a generation before it was noticed by American intellectuals. And it has proved to be the case that that movement, which was so robust, which sees the number of churches in Ghana, for example, doubling, every 12 years, is assuming a more important part of the Christian church worldwide. . . .

So it's becoming more important politically on a world scale, throwing up leaders that then come into positions of authority and influence. They are taking leadership roles in the church because of the power of the grassroots growth of Christianity, where people think: This is important for us. Church growth has been fueled, to a considerable degree, by more and more Africans moving into cities, just as urbanization fueled such

growth in late-nineteenth century America, and as it did with New South cities after World War II, which is when fundamentalism spread to the South. It was an urban phenomenon. People coming from rural villages where they have other forms of cohesion and community—they need something to hold their lives together in the anonymous world of city life, and churches become a major building block of that new kind of community.

***It's clear that Africa is very religious. But why does it matter that the expression of that religiosity is so heavily Christian?***

One reason is that it connects with other branches of Christianity, which has been the dominant religious tradition in the West and remains the major religious tradition in the United States. As it connects with other branches of the church on a world scale, it influences those branches. For example, here in the United States, while the Congregational churches have a more decentralized, local polity, Episcopalians through the Anglican Communion and United Methodists are more international bodies with large branches in the “two-thirds [i.e., non-Western] world.” So when the issue of gay marriage, or ordaining gay clergy, comes up, as it did in the last General Conference of the United Methodist Church, they face more challenges from their representatives from the two-thirds world, who are growing in numbers and growing in representation in leadership.

***Why do you think have Africans been so opposed to gay rights?***

This requires more time than we have, but I think that Africans generally have a hard time with homosexual rights for the same reasons members of Shawmut River Baptist Church did, and many African- and Latino-Americans do. Wherever people live within extended families creating separate spheres for men and women—where blue-collar men, for example, spend weeks out hunting together while their wives and mothers-in-law run the household, or African men and women sit separately at public meetings (not together as husbands and wives)—men and women see one another as “other.”

In fact, their marriages don't involve the same interdependent partnership, or intimacy, that autonomous, individualistic, urban professionals assume in the United States. We should remember that new models of marriage involving romantic love, and sex as a vehicle for emotional intimacy—not just pleasure—arose only in nineteenth-century America, and mainly among urban professionals (as Helen Horowitz shows in her book, *Rereading Sex*). The very word “homosexual,” where sexual practice is seen as part of one's very identity, comes into English usage only at the end of that century. To propose the legitimacy of same-sex marriage to blue-collar men out hunting together, or to Ghanaian men friends walking down the street together hand-in-hand, as they routinely do, naturally raises tensions, and is felt, perhaps, even to threaten their assumed goal of marrying “the other.”

These differences have been very painful for progressives in the [United Methodist] Church. But I remember one saying, “If we're going to be a world church, we have to accept these compromises and face these challenges.” So Christian growth in Africa connects with Christians in other parts of the world and brings it to church life here in the United States. ☪

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3. Engle calls for participants to be "marked for martyrdom" near the end of this video of *TheCall San Diego*: "The Call: Spiritual Warfare in the Field of Martyrs," YouTube, November 4, 2008.

4. "TheCallSan Diego," *TheCall*, <http://www.thecall.com/Articles/1000104263>.

5. "TheCall Houston," *TheCall*, [www.thecall.com/Articles/1000104264](http://www.thecall.com/Articles/1000104264); "TheCall Detroit," *TheCall*, [www.thecall.com/Articles/1000116729](http://www.thecall.com/Articles/1000116729).

6. See *God Loves Uganda*, [www.godlovesuganda.com/film/main-subjects](http://www.godlovesuganda.com/film/main-subjects). Lou Engle is also featured in the documentary *Jesus Camp* (Magnolia, 2006).

7. For instance, the Reformation Prayer Network of Apostle/Prophet Cindy Jacobs includes "National Apostolic Special Focus" leaders in the categories of African-American, Asian-American, Ethiopian, Hispanic-American, Native-American, and Filipino American. See "United States Reformation Prayer Network Structure," [www.generals.org/fileadmin/documents/prayer\\_reformation\\_network/rpn\\_structure\\_description.pdf](http://www.generals.org/fileadmin/documents/prayer_reformation_network/rpn_structure_description.pdf).

8. C. Peter Wagner, *Churchquake! The Explosive Power of the New Apostolic Reformation* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1999), back cover.

9. C. Peter Wagner, *Dominion! How Kingdom Action Can Change the World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen, 2006); David Cannistraci, *Apostles and the Emerging Apostolic Movement: A Biblical Look at Apostleship and How God is Using it to Bless His Church Today* (Ventura, CA: Gospel Light, 1998); Cindy Jacobs, *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy: A Training Manual for Militant Intercession* (Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 2009).

10. Ed Donnally, "God's Fire Starter," *Spiritual Renewal* (blog), Charisma, [www.charismamag.com/blogs/162-j15](http://www.charismamag.com/blogs/162-j15).

[www.charismamag.com/blogs/162-j15](http://www.charismamag.com/blogs/162-j15).

11. There are dozens of books about the NAR's brand of spiritual warfare, including C. Peter Wagner, *Engaging the Enemy: How to Fight and Defeat Territorial Spirits* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1991); C. Peter Wagner (ed.), *Territorial Spirits: Insights into Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare and Intercession* (Ventura, CA: Gospel Light, 1991); and Cindy Jacobs, *Deliver Us from Evil* (Ventura, CA: Gospel Light, 2001).

12. The process of "transformation" through spiritual warfare has been widely taught in books, training videos, and the *Transformations* series of movies produced by George Otis, Jr. There are now Transformations-related entities throughout the U.S. and the world. See George Otis, Jr., "History of the IFTP," [www.iftpartners.com/index.php/about-us/history](http://www.iftpartners.com/index.php/about-us/history), and Ed Silvoso, "Transform Our World," [www.transformourworld.org/en/welcome](http://www.transformourworld.org/en/welcome). Also see Kopya John Kaoma, *Colonizing African Values: How the U.S. Christian Right is Transforming Sexual Politics in Africa* (Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates, 2012), 51, [www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/Colonizing-African-Values.pdf](http://www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/Colonizing-African-Values.pdf).

13. See "The 'Transformation' Movement" section in PRA's *Colonizing Africa's Values* report, p.51, [www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/Colonizing-African-Values.pdf](http://www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/Colonizing-African-Values.pdf).

14. The classic training texts on spiritual mapping by NAR leaders include Wagner's *Breaking Strongholds in Your City* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1997) and George Otis, Jr., *Informed Intercession: Transforming Your Community through Spiritual Mapping and Strategic Prayer* (Ventura, CA: Gospel Light, 1999). For an academic analysis, see Rene Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping in the United States and Argentina, 1989-2005: A Geography of Fear* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2008).

15. Dutch Sheets, speaking at the "Starting the Year Off Right Conference," *Glory of Zion Ministries*, Denton, TX, January 3, 2008, <http://freshpublishing.com/glory-of-zion-ministries-fresh-c-192-p-1-pr-33363.html>.

16. The impact of the NAR's apostolic ideology and networks has been reported in dissertations and research conducted primarily by scholars outside the U.S. These include Rene Holvast, "Spiritual Mapping: The Turbulent Career of a Contested American Missionary Paradigm" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1989-2005); Erwin Van Der Meer, "Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare Theology of Peter Wagner and its Implications for Christian Mission in Malawi," (Ph.D. diss., University of South Africa, 2008); Israel Ortiz, "Neopentecostal Churches in Guatemala With Special Reference to Their Presence and Social Role, 1976-2006," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wales, 2007). Also see John Stemberger, "The Rising Tide of Influence: How Pentecostalism is gradually changing the dynamics of American politics," *Charisma Magazine*, November 1, 2011, [www.charismamag.com/site-archives/1475-1111-magazine-articles/features/14579-the-rising-tide](http://www.charismamag.com/site-archives/1475-1111-magazine-articles/features/14579-the-rising-tide).



of-influence. The article describes the involvement of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christians in American politics as "off the radar of most political observers" yet "steadily forming like a tsunami," and it features politically involved leaders. Although not labeled as such in the article, the overwhelming majority are apostles and /or prophets in apostolic networks, including Harry Jackson, Jr., Lou Engle, Samuel Rodriguez, Rick Joyner, Cindy Jacobs, Alice Patterson, Dutch Sheets, and Mark Gonzales.

17. "Global Christianity: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population," Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. (December 2011). [www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/ReligiousAffiliation/Christian/Christianity-fullreport-web.pdf](http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/ReligiousAffiliation/Christian/Christianity-fullreport-web.pdf).

18. These included the Latter Rain movement of the late 1940s and 50s, the Shepherding Movement of the 1960s and 70s, and the Kansas City Prophets of the 1980s. NAR leaders who have backgrounds in these movements include Bill Hamon, Paul Cain, Mike Bickle, Rick Joyner, Jim Goll, and others. See Rachel Tabachnick, "Dominionism Taught by Forerunners of the New Apostolic Reformation since the Late 1940s," Talk to Action, November 3, 2011, [www.talk2action.org/story/2011/11/3/211943/087](http://www.talk2action.org/story/2011/11/3/211943/087).

19. Jay and Olga Gary, *The Countdown Has Begun: The Story of the Global Consultation on A.D. 2000* (Rockville, VA: A.D. 2000 Global Service Office, 1989), 10.

20. C. Peter Wagner describes his journey in many of his books, including the autobiography *Wrestling with Alligators, Prophets and Theologians: Lessons from a Lifetime in the Church* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 2010).

21. Some of the harshest critics of the movement are conservative Christians: See Rachel Tabachnick, "NAR and Dominionism Have Been a Concern of Conservative Christian Groups for Many Years," *Talk to Action*, October 18, 2011, <http://www.talk2action.org/story/2011/10/18/133757/45>.

22. International Coalition of Apostles, "About ICA," [www.coalitionofapostles.com/about-ica/](http://www.coalitionofapostles.com/about-ica/). The membership list is no longer available to the public. However, see the 2009 membership list at "International Coalition of Apostles: Membership Directory," International Coalition of Apostles, November 10, 2009, [www.psa91.com/resource/ica.pdf](http://www.psa91.com/resource/ica.pdf).

23. Wagner served as the "Convening" or "Presiding Apostle." After turning 80 years old, Wagner turned this position over to John P. Kelly.

24. Wagner Leadership Institutes are now under the leadership of Che Ahn and are located in several U.S. cities. See Wagner Leadership Institute, "WLI Regionals," [www.wagnerleadership.org/regionals.htm](http://www.wagnerleadership.org/regionals.htm). There are international locations as well: see Wagner Leadership Institute, "WLI Internationals," [www.wagnerleadership.org/internationals.htm](http://www.wagnerleadership.org/internationals.htm).

25. Significant books on the mandate include Johnny Enlow, *The Seven Mountain Prophecy: Unveiling the Coming Elijah Revolution* (Lake Mary, FL:

Creation House, 2008. Also see Marketplace Leadership Ministries, "Reclaiming the 7 Mountains of Culture," [www.reclaim7mountains.com/](http://www.reclaim7mountains.com/).

26. The Seven Mountains Mandate was the focus of the 2012 National Day of Prayer activities, including state legislative proclamations: for example, "Legislators Observe National Day of Prayer Scheduled for May 3, 2012," May 1, 2012, Louisiana Senate, <http://senate.la.gov/broome/releases/2012/05012012.pdf>.

27. Ecclesiology, or church government, is usually divided into: a) hierarchical or episcopal; b) representative or presbyterian; or 3) congregational.

28. A frequently referenced text on apostolic covering is *John Bevere, Under Cover: The Promise of Protection Under His Authority* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001). A website dedicated to critiquing apostolic covering describes the practice in detail; see *Covering and Authority*, <http://coveringandauthority.com/>

29. Nondenominational churches and churches from numerous denominations have shifted to the New Apostolic model of church government. Eddie Long, one of the original members of the International Coalition of Apostles, wrote about the shift in power in his Missionary Baptist church from the board to him in his book *Taking Over: Seizing Your City for God in the New Millennium* (Lake Mary, FL: Charisma House, 1999).

30. Jonathan L. Walton also described Eddie Long's shift to an authoritarian church structure in his book *Watch This! The Ethics and Aesthetics of Black Televangelism* (New York: NYU Press, 2009), 133: "According to the bishop, the democratic systems in place at Baptist churches, featuring management by the traditional deacon or trustee boards, are ungodly governmental structures that are outside God's order... In Long's theological framework, the church in God's order, like the family in God's order, is run, not democratically, but according to divine authority and the concepts of respect, submission, and obedience."

31. Examples include numerous prophecies about Sarah Palin that were disseminated during the 2008 election. These are communicated through the apostolic prayer networks in each of the fifty states, and through popular New Apostolic websites like *Elijah List*; for example, see Chuck Pierce, et al., "URGENT PRAYER WARNING AGAINST ATTACK ON THIS NATION," *The Elijah List*, September 26, 2008, [www.elijahlist.com/words/display\\_word/6897](http://www.elijahlist.com/words/display_word/6897).

32. Ephesians 4:11 is cited as evidence that modern-day apostles and prophets are required to return to a biblical church model throughout NAR media. See Ron Cottle, "Definition of 'Apostle,'" International Coalition of Apostles, [www.coalitionofapostles.com/about-ica/definition-of-apostle/](http://www.coalitionofapostles.com/about-ica/definition-of-apostle/).

33. One example is *Apostolic By-Laws*, <http://apostolicbylaws.com/>.

34. Richard Duane Warren, "New Churches for a New Generation," (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1993), 48.

35. Wagner is described in the disserta-

tion as Warren's mentor. Both Warren and Wagner use biblical and "church growth" reasoning to argue against a voting membership. Fuller's church-growth department drew heavily from Peter Drucker's model for making the church work more like a corporation, with the pastor as CEO and performance rated by measurable outcomes, primarily rapid expansion. Bob Buford, founder of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Nonprofit Management, also leads a "church-growth think tank" called Leadership Network. Its NEXT magazine featured Wagner and the New Apostolic Reformation as the January/March 1999 cover article. The NEXT archive can be accessed at [http://leadnet.org/resources/page/resources\\_archive](http://leadnet.org/resources/page/resources_archive).

36. *Charisma Magazine* reported on both the beginnings and endings of the Wagner/Haggard partnership in the World Prayer Center. See J. Lee Grady's "God's Air Command," *Charisma Magazine*, May 1999, <http://web.archive.org/web/20020420014839/http://www.charismamag.com/issues/cm599/cm59922.htm>.

37. Ted Haggard, *The Life-Giving Church* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1998).

38. Ted Haggard made headlines with his sex and drug scandal in 2006. See Dan Harris, "Haggard Admits Buying Meth," ABC News, Nov. 3, 2006, <http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=2626067&page=1>.

39. C. Peter Wagner, *Wrestling with Alligators, Prophets, and Theologians: Lessons from a Lifetime in the Church, A Memoir* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 2010), 228.

40. These include Samuel Rodriguez and Harry Jackson, Jr., a prophet in the Wagner-formed Apostolic Council of Prophetic Elders. Rodriguez joined the invitation-only ICA in 2009 and was also listed in the membership in 2010. The membership list is no longer available; Rodriguez denies that he is now a member of the ICA.

41. See <http://web.archive.org/web/20031107071052/http://www.3dbn.org/ministries/3DA.asp>. The Third Day Believers Network, or 3DBN, was established by 2003. Most of the webpages have since been removed, but archived pages are at <http://web.archive.org/web/20080108025254/http://www.3dbn.org/fivefunctions.asp>.

42. Frederick Clarkson, "Rev. Samuel Rodriguez: Not So Moderate," *Public Eye*, October 2, 2012, [www.politicalresearch.org/rev-samuel-rodriguez-not-so-moderate/](http://www.politicalresearch.org/rev-samuel-rodriguez-not-so-moderate/).

43. See "Vision of Third Day Believer's Network," Third Day Believers Network, <http://web.archive.org/web/20040222173953/http://www.3dbn.org/vision.asp>

44. By 2003 the webpage stated, "3DBN is in partnership with NPLAD [North Pacific Latin American District Council] of the Assemblies of God under the leadership of Rev. Felix Posos who can be contacted for references." See <http://web.archive.org/web/20040206060827/http://www.3dbn.org/leadership/pastorsambio.asp>

45. United in Purpose provides funding to NHCLC and sponsored the Cham-

pion the Vote campaign, advertised on the NHCLC website at [www.nhclc.org/event/one-nation-under-god](http://www.nhclc.org/event/one-nation-under-god). See their two-hour One Nation Under God video, featuring Rodriguez, at [www.morningstartv.com/oak-initiative/one-nation-under-god](http://www.morningstartv.com/oak-initiative/one-nation-under-god).

46. In 2009, a *Christianity Today* article quoted church historian Arturo Piedra, who said that the "religious space of 'prophets and apostles' is dominated by an anachronistic Protestant shamanism, made up of individuals (actores) who pretend to save the world through an animist manipulation of evil spirits." See Milton Acosta, "Power Pentecostalism," *Christianity Today*, July 29, 2009, [www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2009/august/11.40.html?paging=off](http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2009/august/11.40.html?paging=off).

47. Tim Stafford, "Miracles in Mozambique: How Mama Heidi Reaches the Abandoned," *Christianity Today*, May 18, 2012, [www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2012/may/miracles-in-mozambique.html?paging=off](http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2012/may/miracles-in-mozambique.html?paging=off).

48. "FAQ," Iris Nashville, [www.iris-nashville.com/faq/](http://www.iris-nashville.com/faq/).

49. Heidi Baker spends much of each year speaking at apostolic conferences, including more than a dozen conferences in six different countries in the first five months of 2013. See [www.iris-global.org/itinerary](http://www.iris-global.org/itinerary).

50. See Todd Bentley's ministry report on Mozambique: Fresh Fire Ministries, "Malawi Report - Greater Battles, Greater Victories," June 19, 2003, <http://healing2thenations.net/news/03-06-19.htm>. It notes that "Todd Bentley has been encouraging the local people to bring the dead to the crusade meetings where opportunity will be given to see them raised up with resurrection power."

51. Casey Sanchez, "Todd Bentley's Militant Joel's Army Gains Followers in Florida," Southern Poverty Law Center, Intelligence Report, Fall 2008, [www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2008/fall/arming-for-armed-don](http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2008/fall/arming-for-armed-don).

52. See "Peter Wagner Endorses Todd Bentley," YouTube, July 4, 2008, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEwsG4IsXq4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEwsG4IsXq4).

53. Jeffrey Kofman, Karson Yiu, Nicholas Brennan, "Thousands Flock to Revival in Search of Miracles," ABC Nightline, Jul. 9, 2008, <http://abcnews.go.com/Nightline/FaithMatters/story?id=5338963&page=1>.

54. In Dispensational theology, believers are snatched to heaven, or "raptured," before the rule of the Antichrist and the horrors of the End Times. The millennial kingdom on earth, or 1000 years of rule by Jesus, will not take place until after the seven years of Tribulation. The world is supposed to become increasingly evil as the End Times approach. Tim LaHaye and Thomas Ice formed the Pre-Trib Research Center in 1993, now at Liberty University, in response to the decline of Dispensationalism among evangelicals. See Thomas Ice, "20th Anniversary of The Pre-Trib Study Group: Tom's Perspectives," Pre-Trib Research Center, [www.pre-trib.org/articles/view/20th-anniversary-of-the-pre-trib-study-group](http://www.pre-trib.org/articles/view/20th-anniversary-of-the-pre-trib-study-group).

55. Dispensationalism was introduced in the United States in the mid-1800s

and was widely disseminated through the Scofield Reference Bible, first published in 1909 and still in use today.

56. See Chip Berlet, "How We Coined the Term 'Dominionism,'" *Talk to Action*, Aug. 31, 2011, [www.talk2action.org/story/2011/8/31/17047/5683](http://www.talk2action.org/story/2011/8/31/17047/5683).

57. This was the first journal in the series published by Reconstructionists through Geneva Divinity School: "Symposium on the Failure of the American Baptist Culture," *Christianity and Civilization*, Spring 1982, [http://freebooks.entrewave.com/freebooks/docs/a\\_pdfs/cc\\_1.pdf](http://freebooks.entrewave.com/freebooks/docs/a_pdfs/cc_1.pdf).

58. On the importance of this rally to the politicization of the Southern Baptist Convention, see Bryan Kaylor, "A 'Transformative Moment' in SBC Political Activity," *Ethics Daily*, Aug. 20, 2010, <http://ethicsdaily.com/news.php?viewStory=16555>.

59. See Gary North, "The Intellectual Schizophrenia of the New Christian Right," *Christianity and Civilization*, Spring 1982, 2, [http://freebooks.entrewave.com/freebooks/docs/a\\_pdfs/cc\\_1.pdf](http://freebooks.entrewave.com/freebooks/docs/a_pdfs/cc_1.pdf).

60. See Frederick Clarkson, "Christian Reconstructionism: Theocratic Dominionism Gains Influence," *The Public Eye*, March/June 1994, [www.politicalresearch.org/christian-reconstructionism](http://www.politicalresearch.org/christian-reconstructionism).

61. According to North, Rushdoony convinced the Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company to publish *The Genesis Flood*, by Henry Morris and John Whitcomb, after other publishers had rejected it. Its publication in 1961 sparked the modern revival of creationism.

62. Michael J. McVicar, "The Libertarian Theocrats: The Long, Strange History of R. J. Rushdoony and Christian Reconstructionism," *Public Eye*, Fall 2007, [www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/01/PE-Fall-2007.pdf](http://www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/01/PE-Fall-2007.pdf)

63. Prior to the emergence of the "New Christian Right," fundamentalists were generally apolitical.

64. The Coalition on Revival continues to maintain a website that houses the Manifesto for the Christian Church and Worldview Documents. See "Welcome to Coalition on Revival," *Coalition on Revival*, [www.churchcouncil.org/Reformation\\_net/default.htm](http://www.churchcouncil.org/Reformation_net/default.htm).

65. Randall Herbert Balmer, *The Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 2002), 147.

66. Balmer used the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation Leagues' 1994 report "Religious Right: Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America" as a source on COR. The ADL would later soften their stance on the Religious Right because of a growing partnership with Christian Zionists. See Frederick Clarkson, "Christian Reconstructionism: A Covert Kingdom," *The Public Eye*, March/June 1994, [www.politicalresearch.org/christian-reconstructionism](http://www.politicalresearch.org/christian-reconstructionism).

67. Pat Robertson, "A Christian Action Plan For The 1980's by Pat Robertson," *Biblical Economics Today*, Volume II, No. 6, ed. Gary North, [www.garynorth.com/freebooks/docs/28ba\\_43e.htm](http://www.garynorth.com/freebooks/docs/28ba_43e.htm).

68. Rushdoony was ordained in the Presbyterian Church in 1944, but later joined the more theologically conservative Orthodox Presbyterian Church.

69. Clarkson, "Christian Reconstructionism: A Covert Kingdom."

70. Franklin Hall's booklet *Atomic Power with God through Fasting and Prayer* was self-published by Hall in 1946 and repeatedly since then. See <http://holychostfire.org/ourministries.html>. Some apostles and prophets, including Lou Engle, reference Hall as the inspiration for their teachings. Hall was the author of the 1966 book *Subdue the Earth, Rule the Nations*, also self-published.

71. Jack W. Hayford, *The Charismatic Century: The Enduring Impact of the Azusa Street Revival*, (New York: Warner Faith, 2006), 182-83.

72. See [www.ag.org/top/beliefs/position\\_papers/pp\\_downloads/pp\\_endtime\\_revival.pdf](http://www.ag.org/top/beliefs/position_papers/pp_downloads/pp_endtime_revival.pdf). The 2001 position paper references the 1949 decision, stating, "The 1949 General Council of the Assemblies of God, in Seattle, Washington, adopted a resolution disapproving the doctrines of the New Order of the Latter Rain. The minutes of that Council record that after brief debate the resolution was adopted with an overwhelming majority."

73. C. Peter Wagner, *Dominion!: How Kingdom Action Can Change the World* (Grand Rapids: Chosen Books, 2008), 59.

74. SLSW was controversial even among other conservative Christian missionaries. It resulted in a Lausanne Movement consultation in Nairobi in 2000, titled "Deliver Us From Evil." See A. Scott Moreau, "Gaining Perspective on Territorial Spirits," Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, Dec. 31, 2009, [www.strategicnetwork.org/index.php?loc=kb&view=v&page=v&id=3027%20&pagenum=1&lang=EN](http://www.strategicnetwork.org/index.php?loc=kb&view=v&page=v&id=3027%20&pagenum=1&lang=EN).

75. *The Transformations* series of films has continued since 1999 and includes *Transformations*, *Transformations II: The Glory Spreads*, *Let the Sea Resound*, *An Unconventional War*, and more. See a description of *An Unconventional War* at Rachel Tabachnick, "A Joseph Kony and his Victims Movie That Demonstrates the Ulterior Motive Behind a 'Good Cause,'" *AlterNet*, March 19, 2012, <http://www.alternet.org/speak-easy/2012/03/19>.

76. Political Research Associates has published a detailed account of the *Transformation* films and organizations in a 2012 report. See Kopya John Kaoma, "Colonizing African Values," *Political Research Associates*, 2012, [www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/Colonizing-African-Values.pdf](http://www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/Colonizing-African-Values.pdf).

77. The 50-state networks are under the authority of Cindy Jacobs, Reformation Prayer Network; Chuck Pierce, Global Apostolic Prayer Network; and John Benefiel, Heartland Apostolic Network. See "About," Reformation Prayer Network, [www.usrpn.org/about](http://www.usrpn.org/about); and HAPN map at Heartland Apostolic Prayer Network, [www.hapn.us/](http://www.hapn.us/).

78. See "About the International House of Prayer," International House of Prayer, [www.ihopkc.org/about/](http://www.ihopkc.org/about/).

79. See, for example, this list of "houses of prayer" in the U.S.: "24/7 Prayer Ministry Directory," [www.24-7prayerlist.com/index.html](http://www.24-7prayerlist.com/index.html).

80. Most of the pages have been removed from the event's original website: "The Response: a call to prayer for a na-

tion in crisis," <http://theresponseusa.com/about-the-response.php>.

These events were planned to continue through the election season. Coverage includes a Texas Observer article: Forrest Wilder, "Rick Perry's Army of God," *Texas Observer*, August 3, 2011, [www.texasobserver.org/rick-perrys-army-of-god](http://www.texasobserver.org/rick-perrys-army-of-god); and my interview on NPR's *Fresh Air* with Terry Gross, "The Evangelicals Engaged in Spiritual Warfare," *National Public Radio*, August 19, 2011, [www.npr.org/2011/08/24/139781021/the-evangelicals-engaged-in-spiritual-warfare](http://www.npr.org/2011/08/24/139781021/the-evangelicals-engaged-in-spiritual-warfare).

81. The New Apostolic Reformation should not be confused with the New Apostolic Church, a denomination dating to the mid-1800s. It had approximately 9.6 million adherents worldwide and also believed in the restoration of modern-day apostles in preparation for the End Times: see "History of Our Church," New Apostolic Church International, [www.nak.org/about-the-nac/history-of-our-church](http://www.nak.org/about-the-nac/history-of-our-church).

82. "The Evangelicals Engaged In Spiritual Warfare," *Fresh Air*, Aug. 19, 2011, [www.npr.org/2011/08/24/139781021](http://www.npr.org/2011/08/24/139781021).

83. See Kyle Mantyla, "Why are Dominionists Suddenly Downplaying Dominionism," *Right Wing Watch*, August 22, 2011, [www.rightwingwatch.org/content/why-are-dominionists-suddenly-downplaying-dominionism](http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/why-are-dominionists-suddenly-downplaying-dominionism) and Kyle Mantyla, "Wallnau: Don't Say 'Dominionism,'" At Least Not in Front of The Media," *Right Wing Watch*, October 17, 2011, [www.rightwingwatch.org/content/wallnau-dont-say-dominionism-least-not-front-media](http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/wallnau-dont-say-dominionism-least-not-front-media).

84. "A Leading Figure In The New Apostolic Reformation," *Fresh Air*, Oct. 3, 2011, [www.npr.org/2011/10/03/140946482](http://www.npr.org/2011/10/03/140946482).

85. 2008 "Starting the Year Off Right" conference hosted by Glory of Zion Ministries. A short video is at "C. Peter Wagner: Dominionism Means Ruling As Kings," YouTube, August 30, 2011, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2woK8-y0\\_w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2woK8-y0_w). The longer video is at "Apostle C. Peter Wagner of the NAR Teaches 'The Dominion Mandate,'" YouTube, August 28, 2011, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=ecszOPc95s8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ecszOPc95s8).

86. *Charisma Magazine*, Nov. 2011.

87. See Rachel Tabachnick, "Quotes on Dominionism From the Apostles and Prophets of the New Apostolic Reformation," *Talk to Action*, Aug. 26, 2011, [www.talk2action.org/story/2011/8/26/193314/769](http://www.talk2action.org/story/2011/8/26/193314/769).

88. Lisa Miller, "Be not afraid of evangelicals," *Washington Post*, Aug. 18, 2011, <http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2011-08-18/national/35269575>. The quote is from Mark DeMoss, who heads the DeMoss Group. His family's foundation funded an evangelizing booklet that was distributed around the world and was first published by leading Reconstructionist authors and Gary DeMar's American Vision. See Rachel Tabachnick, "Washington Post On Faith Columnist's Flawed Article Dismisses Dominionism," *Talk to Action*, Aug. 29, 2011, [www.talk2action.org/story/2011/8/29/03752/8133](http://www.talk2action.org/story/2011/8/29/03752/8133).

89. Rachel Tabachnick, "Spiritual Warfare," *Dome Magazine*, October 17, 2011, <http://domemagazine.com/fea->

[tures/cov101711](http://domemagazine.com/fea-).

90. Cathy Cosby, "An Invitation from Kansas Governor Sam Brownback," *American Family Association*, Nov. 29, 2012, <http://afa-ksmo.net/an-invitation-from-kansas-governor-sam-brownback/>. U.S. Rep. Trent Franks (R-AZ) also spoke at the rally.

91. Corey Jones, "ReignDown USA, Brownback draw crowd to prayer movement," *Topeka Capital-Journal*, Dec. 8, 2012, <http://cjonline.com/news/2012-12-08/reigndown-usa-brownback-draw-crowd-prayer-movement>.

92. C. Peter Wagner, "Why You Must Take Dominion Over Everything," *Charisma Magazine*, Dec. 5, 2012, [www.charismamag.com/spirit/prophecy/15402-the-case-for-dominionism](http://www.charismamag.com/spirit/prophecy/15402-the-case-for-dominionism).

## NAR: A Glossary, p. 10

1. Black Entertainment Television's *Lexi Show* featured an interview titled "Illegitimate Bishops" questioning how someone gets to be a bishop. Video embedded at *The Gospel Coalition*, [thegospelcoalition.org/blogs/thabitian-yabwile/2012/12/20/bishop-mania-and-confusion-about-biblical-church-leadership](http://thegospelcoalition.org/blogs/thabitian-yabwile/2012/12/20/bishop-mania-and-confusion-about-biblical-church-leadership).

2. C. Peter Wagner and John Wimber's famous class at Fuller Theological Seminary from 1982 - 1985 was titled "Signs, Wonders, and Church Growth" and popularized the idea that these supernatural gifts would be used to evangelize the world. Also see "Assessing the Wimber Phenomenon," a critique by Dr. Don Lewis, professor of Church History at Regent College of University of British Columbia at [www.equip.org/articles/assessing-the-wimber-phenomenon](http://www.equip.org/articles/assessing-the-wimber-phenomenon).

3. George Otis, Jr., *Informed Intercession: Transforming Communities Through Spiritual Mapping and Strategic Prayer* (Berrien Springs, MI: Renew, 1999).

4. See [www.intheworkplace.com/apps/articles/default.asp?articleid=25420&columnid=1935](http://www.intheworkplace.com/apps/articles/default.asp?articleid=25420&columnid=1935).

5. The SLSW teachings about territorial spirits by Wagner and other pioneers resulted in controversy in the evangelical missions world, including a 1993 working report and "Statement on Spiritual Warfare" and a 2000 consultation in Nairobi by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization. [www.lausanne.org/en/documents/all/nairobi-2000.html](http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/all/nairobi-2000.html) It was noted that Wagner was not alone in teaching SLSW, but was the "most commonly cited authority on the topic." [www.lausanne.org/en/documents/all/nairobi-2000/202-territorial-spirits.html](http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/all/nairobi-2000/202-territorial-spirits.html).

6. Wagner and other practitioners use warfare prayer or prayer warfare and power evangelism synonymously with SLSW.

## On Screen, NAR in Africa, p. 13

1. Director's Statement, *God Loves Uganda*, <http://www.godlovesuganda.com/film/directors-statement/>.

2. Roger Ross Williams, "Gospel of Intolerance," *Op-Docs* (video series), *New York Times*, January 22, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/23/opinion/gospel-of-intolerance.html?smid=fb-share&r=0>.



## Hate, by the Numbers The Year in Hate and Extremism

MARK POTOK, SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER • INTELLIGENCE REPORT, SPRING 2013



The Southern Poverty Law Center’s annual review of the evolution of the “radical right” finds that conspiracist, anti-government “Patriot” groups reached “an all-time high of 1,360” in 2012, and the number of “hard-core hate groups” continues to hold steady at more than 1,000.

What accounts for the growth in the anti-government movement and continuing high numbers of hate groups? The report attributes it to the country’s changing demographics, embodied in the country’s first Black president (however, “the backlash to that trend predates Obama’s presidency by many years”), and debates over immigration and gun control. In society at large, according to an Associated Press poll cited in the report, anti-Black racism rose slightly during Obama’s first term. Another poll shows similar rates in anti-Latino attitudes.

The Patriot movement, notorious for its connection to the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, “generally believes that the federal government is conspiring to take Americans’ guns and destroy their liberties” to create a “one-world government.” The report further examines the mainstreaming of such conspiracist and polarized thinking, highlighting the GOP’s opposition to Agenda 21, a purely voluntary plan for sustainable development created by the United Nations and signed by Republican President George H. W. Bush. Just last year, the Republican National Committee denounced it as a “destructive and insidious scheme” and a “socialist/communist redistribution of wealth.”

The report predicts that “the radical right’s growth will continue,” fueled by potential immigration reform, anger over a Black president, and recent debate over gun-control laws in the wake of the Newtown, CT, school shooting.

## The New Inquisition The Cardinal Newman Society

CATHOLICS FOR CHOICE • OPPOSITION NOTES, DEC. 2012



Since its founding in 1993, the Cardinal Newman Society has doggedly pursued its mission of monitoring and shaming Roman Catholic colleges and universities for “perceived heterodoxy on issues including the following: abortion, contraception, LGBT issues, assisted reproductive technologies, euthanasia and women’s ordination.”

The Society portrays its position as that of all “true” Catholics, though a recent Catholics for Choice report finds that “its views are substantially to the right of all but the most conservative members of the hierarchy.” With a total revenue of only about \$1.5 million in 2010, its initiatives are nonetheless influential and wide-ranging. The organization publishes an annual guide to orthodox Roman Catholic universities—places free from the “moral decadence that pervades our culture”—and organizes campaigns targeting institutions that deviate from its right-wing stance.

When the University of Notre Dame invited President Obama to give the commencement address in 2009, the Society organized a petition with 360,000 signatures opposing a prochoice speaker. The Catholic university refused to revoke the invitation, and a Quinnipiac University poll showed that six in 10 Catholics approved of Obama speaking. The Society also fought a genital herpes vaccine trial at a Jesuit institution, St. Louis University, because it required participants to use contraception.

The report concludes with the question, “Who gets the final word about the present and future of Catholic higher education?” Many groups rightly have a say: students, their parents, faculty and administrators, theologians, bishops, and more. The report answers: “The right path will be determined by strenuous debate, rather than the silencing of debate. This can only happen within a culture of civility, a virtue not modeled by the Cardinal Newman Society.”

## Double Bind Living in Dual Shadows: LGBT Undocumented Immigrants

CROSBY BURNS, ANN GARCIA, AND PHILIP E. WOLGIN • CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS, MARCH 2013



What happens when individuals encounter inequality and discrimination on two fronts?

A new report from the Center for American Progress

explores the unique challenges faced by LGBTQ people who are also undocumented immigrants—an estimated 267,000 people (or many more) in the United States.

For example, while LGBTQ workers already face a higher risk of at-work discrimination, their undocumented status makes them unable or unwilling to report abuse. Same-sex families also face a higher risk of family separation due to deportation, as the federal government does not recognize same-sex marriage and, thus, immigration sponsorship.

The report tells the stories of several individuals who live in the “dual shadow,” including Yenny, a native of Peru who was physically abused by her father for identifying as queer. She is now active in the struggle for immigration reform that will create a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants.

Wide-ranging recommendations for combatting the pernicious effects of the “dual shadow” include support for comprehensive immigration reform that creates a path to citizenship, ends discrimination against binational same-sex couples, fixes and protects family-based migration, and gives young people access to education and citizenship. The message is clear: Both our immigration system and policies regarding LGBTQ individuals must change for these people to be given true opportunities for success.

# The Public Eye

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## From the Archive

Since 1981, 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.

Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970) is widely cited as the best-selling non-fiction book of the 1970s. The film adaptation, released in 1979, was narrated by Orson Welles. *Late Great* drew power from several widespread fears in American society in the 1970s, especially fears driven by the possibility of global nuclear war. Lindsey claimed that a world edging toward chaos and collapse meant that Jesus's return to earth for Christians—the "rapture"—must be imminent. (See Rachel Tabachnick's "The Christian Right, Reborn" in this issue for more about the Lindsey's theology.)

But it wasn't the content alone that made *Late Great* a success. According to Paul Boyer, a historian of End Times thinking in the United States, Lindsey was an energetic self-marketer, savvy in the technological tools of the time: "The *Late Great Planet Earth*, published initially by an obscure religious publisher in Michigan, is taken up by a mass



Poster advertising the 1979 film adaptation of *The Late Great Planet Earth* (center), surrounded by various products in the more recent *Left Behind* series.

market publisher and produced in a mass market format that is sold in supermarkets and airports and so on. A film is made." Boyer explains that this "set the pattern of a multimedia phenomenon that we now see with a number of prophecy popularizers."

The most important subsequent development in the End Times genre was the blockbuster *Left Behind* series by Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins, which features the head of the United Nations as the Antichrist. It encompasses 16 books (1995 to 2007) and three movies, with a re-boot starring Nicolas Cage currently in production, as well as graphic novels, video games, and a series of young adult novels. Writing in 2006, former PRA senior analyst Chip Berlet observed that "the best-selling *Left Behind* series is a primer valorizing bigotry, paranoia, and guerilla warfare against those who promote tolerance, pluralism, and global cooperation."

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