

# Unit 4

## Saving Choices: Know the Opposition

One of the greatest challenges to the feminist movement today is to acknowledge the existence of an well-organized, well-funded right-wing opposition to women's rights, especially the right to choose abortion. To achieve our goal of full equality and reproductive choice, our generation must study the structure and basis through which this opposition operates. Just as we broadened the context of "choice" for the *Choices* campaign to illustrate the breadth and complexity of the choice issue, in this unit, we broadened the scope in which we examine the conservative forces that oppose a woman's right to an abortion. So, this unit, rather than providing an in-depth analysis of each conservative foundation and/or group, strives to illustrate the much larger picture of right-wing interconnections, the national and international scope of opposition to women's rights, and the shared multi-issue agenda and anti-feminist ideology. While the information provided here is not intended to be comprehensive, untangling the web of the Right Wing is fascinating as well as informative.

There are **many excellent publications and in-depth studies that are available to you for further research**. A few of them are named below:

- Blanchard, Dallas. *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: From Polite to Fiery Protest*. Twayne Publishers, 1994.
- The Center for Campus Organizing. *Uncovering the Right on Campus*. Public Search, Inc., 1997.
- Clarkson, Frederick. *Eternal Hostility*. Common Courage Press, 1997.
- Clarkson, Fredrick and Skip Porteous. *Challenging the Christian Right: The Activist Handbook*. Institute for First American Studies Inc., 1993.
- People for the American Way. "Buying a Movement: Right Wing Foundations and American Politics." <http://www.pfaw.org>

In this unit, you will learn about some of the opponents to women's rights on your campus, in your community, nationally, and globally who seek to limit or prevent access to abortion, dismantle affirmative action, and protest gay and lesbian rights. Many of the right-wing movement's campus groups, media outlets, think tanks, and legal centers are funded by a few individuals and foundations with massive amounts of money. Often, a strong public relations effort masks the Right Wing's activities and multi-issue political agenda in religious rhetoric.

This unit will identify not only some of the key opponents to women's rights and choice, but also their range of tactics. Tactics range from deceptive communication techniques and advertising of so-called "moderate" groups, to a clandestine outright campaign of terror waged by extremists against doctors, clinic administrators, and abortion rights supporters.

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The right-wing foundations fund think tanks to design strategy. That strategy is then implemented by right-wing campus groups and “apolitical” political groups, while the right-wing media carries the carefully structured messages and issues to selected target audiences. At the same time, a handful of wealthy private individuals, many of whom are associated with the foundations, contribute to ultra-conservative political candidates, political action committees (PACs), or lobby groups, which work to enact conservative anti-choice legislation. The right-wing legal centers are constantly challenging women’s, civil, and gay/lesbian rights in the courts, and even defending those harassing abortion clinics. While many of the mainstream political organizations in the right-wing movement often condemn and criticize violent extremists like those who bomb abortion clinics, some right-wing organizations offer their tacit approval by refusing to comment on or condemn the incidents. Moreover the rhetoric of even the so-called moderate groups advances the extremist position. For example calling abortion “murder,” or abortion providers “baby killers,” or feminists “feminazis” does not promote reason but encourages violent extremism.

### Brought to You By...

In order to organize effectively for *Choices* on campus you must understand the breadth and character of the right-wing opposition that works to prevent your success. Knowing where a given organization or program derives financial support often sheds light on the position of that organization within the broader political framework of the national right-wing agenda. This section identifies some of the influential conservative foundations as well as some of the key organizations that they fund. These foundations are private, family foundations that contribute money to non-profit organizations whose work they support and often define. Foundations of note include:

- **Arthur DeMoss Foundation**, which in 1993 awarded grants of almost \$42 million and reported net assets of \$443 million. Recent projects include funding for the high visibility, anti-choice “Life. What a Beautiful Choice.” television ad campaign (Wilcox 49).
- **Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation**, whose net assets, in 1992, exceeded \$400 million dollars. This foundation invests heavily in college and university pro-

gramming, making funds available for individuals (“Bradley Fellows”), usually graduate students, who have an emphasis on public policy and/or economics. The Bradley Foundation is also a major funder of the Heritage Foundation, loaning the conservative think tank \$500,000 in 1992 (Wilcox 176).

- **The Charles G. and David H. Koch Charitable Foundations**, who are heirs to the Rock Island Oil and Refining fortune. David Koch, the 1980 Libertarian Vice Presidential Candidate, awarded over \$6.2 million in grants in 1992, funds the Cato Institute, and in 1992, had assets exceeding \$8 million. Charles Koch awarded \$1.5 million in grants in 1992 and had assets exceeding \$12 million (Wilcox 74, 99).
- **John M. Olin Foundation**, which in 1994 awarded \$13.6 million in grants. The net assets of this major grant-maker exceeded \$115 million in 1994. The majority of the awards went to colleges and universities to support conservative programs and research. In 1992, the Heritage Foundation received \$537,500 and American Enterprise Institute received \$653,745 (Olin Foundation).

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- **Sarah Scaife Foundation**, whose net assets exceeded \$212 million in 1992. This foundation is a major funder of the Heritage Foundation, the recipient of the largest Scaife grant in 1992 — \$1 million (Wilcox 231). In 1994, Scaife funded the American Enterprise Institute (\$465,000), the Cato Institute (\$100,000), The American Spectator Educational Foundation (\$125,000), the National Association of Scholars (\$300,000), the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (\$300,000), and again, the Heritage Foundation (\$800,000) (Scaife Foundation 5-19).
- **Adolph Coors Foundation**, which awarded \$5.2 million in grants in 1993. The Coors family fortune was amassed through the Coors brewery company. Net assets exceed \$145 million (Wilcox 30). A 1973 grant of \$250,000 launched the Heritage Foundation.
- **Pearson Foundation**, a national clearinghouse for information about “Crisis Pregnancy Centers,” has been operating since 1979. Crisis Pregnancy centers are essentially fake abortion clinics, often opened in close proximity to legitimate abortion clinics, which prey on predominately young and/or low income women who come to the center for the advertised free pregnancy test. Subjecting young women to anti-abortion propaganda including videos, distorted pictures, and prayer, “Counselors” withhold pregnancy test results while trying to convince the client not to have an abortion. The founder of the Pearson Foundation, Bob Pearson, organized the first “Crisis Pregnancy Center” in Hawaii in 1967. Since that time, the Pearson Foundation, as well as the Christian Action Council, have opened more than 2,000 crisis pregnancy centers in the United States

(Clowes Ch. 47). The stated mission of the Pearson Foundation is also against contraception, and supports only natural family planning (Pearson Foundation).

The large conservative foundations share many projects, board members, and leadership. For instance, the Heritage Foundation, founded with the assistance of Coors, has boasted virtually the who’s who of the right-wing on its board of directors including:

- Richard Scaife, Chair of the Scaife Foundation; major contributor to conservative political candidates;
- Grover Coors, of the Coors Foundation;
- Hon. William Simon, President of the John M. Olin Foundation; former Secretary of Treasury under Richard Nixon;
- Thomas Rhodes, President of the *National Review*;
- Hon. Frank Shakespeare, former Ambassador to the Vatican (Heritage Foundation).

Additionally, these large foundations often share anti-choice, anti-gay and lesbian, and anti-multicultural views. As a result, they often fund the same programs, organizations, and initiatives. For example, the collaborative effort to propel the Promise Keepers (PK) into the national spotlight included resources from the following right-wing organizations and individuals:

- **Bill Bright’s *Campus Crusade for Christ***, which contributed at least 85 full-time staff to PK;
- **James Dobson’s *Focus on the Family***, which kept PK financially afloat in the early days and now publishes PK’s books;

- **Gary Bauer** who directs the ultra-conservative think tank the *Family Research Council*;
- **Pat Robertson** of the *Christian Coalition* and Televangelist who contributes extraordinary media coverage of PK through the Christian Broadcast Network's *700 Club*; and
- **Mark DeMoss** of the DeMoss family, who at one time served as PK's National Spokesperson and in the past acted as Jerry Falwell's spokesperson and served on the advisory board of Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential campaign (Ross 8).

The right-wing movement in the United States is comprised of many different types of organizations, working with a variety of methods to achieve the same goals. While upon initial examination, these groups appear to operate completely independently without a common agenda, upon closer inspection, the groups can be seen as different pieces of the same conservative pie.

### A Vast Array of Organizations

In the past 30 years since the *Roe v. Wade* decision, the anti-choice movement and the Right Wing have built a vast array of organizations through which they work to advance their agenda.

- Campus Groups and Programs
- Think Tanks/Public Education Organizations
- Legal Foundations/Centers
- Media Outlets
- "Apolitical" Political Groups
- Lobbying Groups/Educational Organizations
- Extremist Groups

Private right-wing family foundations like the ones mentioned earlier fund the first four of these types of organizations, Campus Groups and Programs, Think Tanks/Public Education Organizations, Legal Centers and Media Outlets.

### Campus Groups and Programs

During and since the Reagan years, the Right Wing has poured resources into college campuses to increase support for their positions among young people. According to the Center for Campus Organizing, the Right Wing contributes approximately \$20 million annually to college campus programs. Other sources estimate the amount of money going to conservative campus organizations to be much higher. For example, there are 70 conservative student newspapers, "The Collegiate Network," now operating on campuses across the United States. Each of these newspapers has paid staff not funded by their respective institutions but from outside conservative sources.

Moreover, the staff size of some conservative campus organizations is staggering. *The Campus Crusade for Christ*, funded in part by the DeMoss Foundation, has a staff of some 14,200 internationally and built a world headquarters in Orlando, Florida, expected to employ some 1,000 additional staff. Currently the *Campus Crusade for Christ* has organized 650 units on college campuses in the United States and 470 groups abroad. Additionally, Phyllis Schlafly, a long time opponent of women's equality and abortion rights, directs the *Eagle Forum Collegians*, which has received funding from the Coors and Olin Foundations and exists on over 100 campuses nationwide.

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A number of new right-wing campus groups have begun to emerge in recent years. One such group is Feminists For Life (FFL), an anti-abortion and reproductive rights organization working to eliminate the right to safe, legal, and accessible abortion. Another right-wing group is the Independent Women's Forum (IWF), an ultra-conservative organization intended to be a counterpoint to feminist groups, providing a female face for the right-wing agenda. Also organizing against reproductive rights on campus are Collegians Activated to Liberate Life, the National Right to Life Committee, and the American Collegians for Life.

Right-wing individuals and foundations make monies available for university or college departments to endow fellowships, professorships, chairs, and academic programs and exercise considerable control over the subject matter and ideological angle of study at many of the nation's top colleges and universities (People for the American Way, *Buying a Movement*). Knowing your opposition means knowing your campus and the types of grants your university or college accepts. How many fellowships are endowed by and known as "Bradley Fellows?" The next time you attend a lecture series, pay close attention to its name, because it usually indicates who funded the program. If you are offered or are competing for a fellowship, ask questions about the funder for whom it is named.

One of the major foundations which funds lecture series, fellowships, and academic departments and programming is the Bradley Foundation. In 1995, of the grants paid by the Bradley Foundation, almost \$5 million or nearly one-fifth of their annual grants paid, went to universities and colleges, predominately in the U.S., but also to a handful in Canada and England (Bradley Foundation).

### Think Tanks/Public Education Organizations

Another critical component of the right-wing effort to influence public policy is the funding of right-wing think tanks and public policy centers.

**Human Life International (HLI)** is a Catholic, international anti-abortion, anti-contraception, anti-lesbian and gay group founded by Father Paul Marx and led today by Rev. Thomas J. Euteneuer. Its mission is to propagate the Vatican's teaching on abortion and sexual ethics. Marx traveled extensively for years, opposing the liberalization of abortion laws and promoting natural family planning around the world (Human Life International). HLI opposes all forms of contraception, and all organized family planning programs and sex education because they promote the use of contraception. HLI does not recognize rapid population growth as a problem. In fact, it argues that the real problem is "underpopulation" and claims that the world's resources could support many times the amount of people living on the Earth today.

Founded by James Dobson, right-wing Christian psychologist and author, **Focus on the Family (FOF)** is an anti-choice, anti-gay rights, and pro-traditional, patriarchal family organization. Focus on the Family describes itself as "a non-profit Christian organization whose primary reason for existence is to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ. We accomplish this objective by helping to preserve traditional values and the institution of the family" (Focus on the Family, 1996 Annual Report). FOF supports different roles for women and men. "The husband is called to provide leadership and love, while the wife is called to follow the responsible leadership of the husband, nourishing, and loving the family" (FOF, *Who We Are*). Focus on the Family's radio

broadcasts reach between three and five million people in the United States, and a reported 4,000 stations internationally. FOF's annual income for 1996 was \$108 million and its staff is approximately 1,200. The organization also publishes ten monthly magazines reaching close to 3 million U.S. households (FOF, *1996 Annual Report* and *Who We Are*).

**The Heritage Foundation**, founded in 1973 with the help of brewery tycoon Joseph Coors of the Coors Family Foundation, is one of today's most influential right-wing think tanks. Between 1990 and 1992, the Heritage Foundation received commitments for funding from both the Bradley and Scaife Foundations totaling over three million dollars (PFAW, *Buying a Movement*, 6-7). The Heritage Foundation series "Mandate for Leadership" became a blueprint for the Reagan Administration and was influential in shaping Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America." In 1996, the Heritage Foundation reported an annual income of \$28.7 million.

**The American Enterprise Institute (AEI)**, houses ultra-conservative speakers and authors who are awarded fellowships by right-wing foundations. Among its ranks are Charles Murray, a Bradley Fellow and author of *The Bell Curve*, which purports that intelligence is a factor of race and that African Americans are genetically inferior; Dinesh D'Souza, an Olin Fellow and author of two controversial books, *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multi-Racial Society*, which also argues the inferiority of African American culture, and *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*, which attacks affirmative action and the "politically correct" movement on campus (PFAW, *Buying a Movement*, 28). The AEI makes public relations and media a priority, ensuring the participation of its researchers and fellows on some of the nation's most prestigious television news and public

affairs programs, as well as lecture circuits, including college campuses.

### Legal Foundations/Centers

The Right Wing also uses legal foundations and centers to advance an ultra-conservative, anti-abortion agenda through litigation.

**The American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ)**, is a right-wing law firm committed to "preserving religious liberties and promoting pro-family and pro-life causes." Led by Chief Counsel, Jay Sekulow, the ACLJ has defended the anti-choice group Operation Rescue and litigates on issues ranging from prayer in school to abortion. The organization operates with an \$8 million budget (Wilcox 34).

**The Rutherford Institute** is a legal and educational organization that "has fought in court for religious liberty, family rights, and the sanctity of human life." The Rutherford Institute also produces radio shows, and prints periodicals and tapes (Wilcox 228). The Rutherford Institute assisted Paula Jones in her sexual harassment lawsuit against President Clinton.

### Media Outlets/Advertising Groups

The importance of media exposure and access is not lost on the Right Wing. Since 1960, when **Pat Robertson**, founder of the **Christian Broadcast Network**, began building his media empire, the right-wing community has built a significant network of conservative outlets to spread their message. Through the acquisition of radio stations, cable television stations, newspapers, magazines, and the purchase of television, radio, and print advertising, the Right Wing has developed alternative

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conservative media which reaches millions of Americans daily.

One of the most recent attacks on choice through the media advertising is the “Life. What a Beautiful Choice.” television ad campaign. Funded by the **DeMoss Foundation**, this series of slick, professional commercials delivers the anti-abortion message to targeted audiences, especially young people.

Additionally, the anti-choice group **Feminists for Life** has launched an ad campaign targeting the young, progressive market on college campuses - the group that most strongly supports a woman’s right to choose abortion and identifies most strongly as feminist. This campaign, “Question Abortion,” illustrates the deceptive and costly marketing techniques employed by the Right Wing.

The Right Wing also uses its media outlets to further its conservative political objectives. For example, the *American Spectator*, a right-wing periodical funded in part by the Bradley, Coors, and Scaife Foundations, was instrumental in thrusting Paula Jones, the woman bringing charges of sexual harassment against President Clinton, into the national limelight. While in this case the *American Spectator* appeared to support sexual harassment laws, they ironically, during the Clarence Thomas hearings, lambasted Anita Hill and led efforts to discredit her testimony.

On campus, the right wing has developed alternative media. **The National Collegiate Network**, a program of the right-wing Intercollegiate Studies Institute (funded by the Olin, Bradley and Scaife Foundations), operates and funds over 70 campus newspapers nationwide (Foundation Grants Index 1997). These newspapers, characterized by scathing attacks on abortion, gay and lesbian issues, and multicultural curricula, boast a circulation of nearly two million at many of the na-

tions top colleges and universities. Typically, the name of the paper ends in “Review,” similar to the *National Review*, one of the nation’s leading right-wing magazines.

### “Apolitical” Political Groups

The **Christian Coalition**, founded in 1989 by Pat Robertson, has exercised considerable influence in the political arena (Clarkson and Porteus 153), and its followers now dominate the Republican Party organizations in several states. Although prohibited by their tax status from actually endorsing candidates for political office, the Christian Coalition has made its mark on American politics through the widespread distribution of voter guides. These guides are distributed through churches (33 million were distributed in 1994) and by state “chapters” which number about 2,000 nationwide (PFAW, “Christian Coalition”). Boasting 1.7 million members, the Christian Coalition is committed to what it calls a “pro-family” agenda. The group is against abortion and gay rights (Christian Coalition).

**National Conference of Catholic Bishops** (NCCB) is an organization which serves as an “ecclesiastical body, linked to the Vatican, through which U.S. bishops act together” (Catholics for Free Choice 9). The NCCB sponsors the U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC) which is a civil corporation including members of the NCCB and other church members, totaling over 300 Catholic bishops. The NCCB/USCC has a national staff of about 400 people, including their headquarters in Washington, D.C. with a staff of 300. The NCCB has a variety of committees, including the Committee for Pro-Life Activities, which received \$1.86 million in 1994 (CFC 9). This committee only represents a small fraction of the several NCCB/USCC

entities that spend money on pro-life lobbying and organizing. In 1993, the NCCB/USCC had a total of close to \$13 million for spreading the anti-choice message (CFC 10). Their total budget for that same year was \$43 million. The NCCB/USCC opposes abortion under all circumstances and opposes all contraception. At a 1989 meeting, the bishops claimed abortion to be the number one human rights issue and asked Catholics to commit to the goal of “criminalizing abortion” (CFC 10). One of the most active anti-choice bishops, Austin Vaughan was quoted in 1993 as stating that people who take up arms against abortionists “cannot be condemned, nor are they guilty of murder” (CFC 10). The NCCB/USCC opposes national health care plans that include contraception and supplying free condoms even in prevention programs for AIDS (CFC 10).

**Promise Keepers (PK)**, the male-only Christian-Right group founded in 1990, is an example of an ostensible apolitical religious group with a political agenda. The theology and the politics of the Promise Keepers are inherently interconnected. While PK rhetoric centers around the concept of “Christian values,” the underlying theme of the Promise Keepers is the recapturing of America for Jesus. A political agenda emerges in its leaders’ writings, rhetoric, and actions.

- Subjugation of women. The following quote is from Tony Evans, a leader in the PK movement:

*“Sit down with your wife and say something like this, ‘Honey, I’ve made a terrible mistake. I’ve given you my role. I gave up leading this family and I’ve forced you to take my place. Now, I must reclaim that role.’ ...I’m not suggesting you ask for your role back, I’m urging you to take it back...There can be no compromise here. If*

*you’re going to lead, you must lead...Treat the lady gently and lovingly. But lead.”*

**(Bright et al 79-80)**

- Anti-abortion rights. PK founder and leader **Bill McCartney**, at a anti-abortion rally for Operation Rescue declared abortion “the second civil war” (National Organization for Women).
- Anti-lesbian and gay rights. McCartney served on the board of the homophobic *Colorado for Family Values*, an organization which waged the Campaign for Amendment 2 — the Colorado anti-gay rights initiative (NOW).
- “Reconciliation” among races. The following are quotes from **Wellington Boone**, an African American leader in the PK movement and featured PK rally speaker:

*“I want to boldly affirm Uncle Tom...he is a role model.”*

*“I believe that slavery, and the understanding of it when you see it God’s way, was redemptive”*

**(Boone 77)**

The annual budget of PK, as estimated by the *Los Angeles Times*, was approximately \$115 million in 1996 (Stammer). In 1997, PK sponsored a national million-man rally that brought some 500,000 men to Washington, D.C. News accounts reported PK spent \$9 million on the event. In 1992, the National Organization for Women sponsored a pro-choice rally that brought some 750,000 supporters to Washington, D.C. NOW spent less than \$500,000 on the event. The PK event received massive pre-publicity nationwide and especially in Washington, D.C. during the two weeks prior to the event. The NOW pro-choice event received scant publicity in mainstream media prior to the event.

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### Lobbying/Public Education Groups

A whole host of education and lobbying groups promote an anti-choice message. Listed below are just some of the leading groups and estimates of their size.

**National Right To Life Committee (NRLC)** is a nonprofit organization composed of several hundred chapters throughout the United States. The NRLC is lead by Wanda Franz and is the most influential and largest group of the anti-abortion movement with an estimated budget of \$13 million. The NRLC has a national staff of some 56 (excluding staff in state affiliates) with an affiliated political action committee and an educational trust fund. While the NRLC claims it does not oppose “non-lethal” contraception, the **International Right to Life Committee** is opposed to both abortion and contraception. Its founding president John Wilke for years led both the NRLC and the IRLC. The NRLC has no official position on government support of family planning programs, but has worked on amendments that have blocked Title X (e.g. they supported the “gag” rule on abortion).

**The Family Research Council (FRC)**, founded in 1983, merged with James Dobson’s **Focus on the Family** as its Washington, D.C. public policy arm in 1988. FRC has been operating as an independent nonprofit organization since 1994. A conservative, public education lobbying group which opposes abortion and gay rights, the Family Research Council is headed by Tony Perkins, a board member of Caring to Love Ministries, one of Louisiana’s largest anti-choice crisis pregnancy centers.

**American Life League (ALL)** is an anti-abortion group, which is opposed to any exceptions in banning abortion and is opposed to contraception. Led by Judie Brown, ALL sponsors a bi-monthly magazine, “Celebrate Life!,” and Athletes for

Life. With its \$10 million budget (American Life League), and staff of some 50, ALL is headquartered in Stafford, VA and has a government relations office of five in Washington, D.C. ALL has been outspoken in its opposition to contraception of all kinds, as well as pornography and “homosexuality.” ALL also opposes federal funding of family planning services both in the U.S. and abroad. Citing promiscuity and undermining the role of parents, ALL is opposed to sex education programs.

**Concerned Women for America (CWA)** was founded in 1979 by Beverly LaHaye to visibly counter the National Organization for Women and to promote family values and a strong national defense. CWA is anti-abortion, anti-gay rights, anti-Equal Rights Amendment, and pro-traditional family values. LaHaye’s husband, Reverend Timothy LaHaye, was on the national board of Reverend Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority. CWA says it has approximately 600,000 members, but it counts as members anyone who signs any of the organization’s petitions or attended CWA events, rather than people who currently pay dues. By the CWA method of counting, NOW has millions of members and the Feminist Majority Foundation has well over a million.

### Extremist Groups

Extremist groups advocate the use of force or intimidation or illegal activities to stop abortion. A few of the most notable anti-abortion extremist groups include:

**Advocates for Life Ministries**, based in Portland, OR, produces the magazine *Life Advocate*, which publishes articles written by some of the most vocal advocates of the use of lethal force to stop abortion. *Life Advocate* halted publication after the 1999 *Planned Parenthood v. ACLA* case, and can now only be accessed on the web at

<http://www.lifeadvocate.org>. It published convicted abortion clinic bomber Michael Bray's book, *A Time to Kill*, which is a theological argument for justifiable homicide or the use of lethal force to stop abortion.

**Lambs of Christ**, led by Father Norman Weslin, is a militant anti-abortion group that has blockaded and invaded clinics across the country for years. With over 60 arrests to its collective credit, Lambs of Christ adherents included James Kopp and Shelley Shannon, both who attempted or are convicted of murder of doctors.

**Missionaries to the Pre-Born** started as a branch of Operation Rescue and was renamed in 1990. It was founded by Matt Trehwella, who has been convicted of arson, disorderly conduct, and trespassing. Missionaries to the Pre-Born holds nationwide "Freedom Tours," anti-choice demonstrations in high-traffic areas using graphic visuals of fetuses. Missionaries to the Pre-Born also has ties to the militia movement.

**American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA)** is a loose knit association of anti-abortion leadership that grew out of a political battle between those in the anti-abortion movement who supported the use of force and those who did not. Although the ACLA advocates nonviolence, many of its leadership have signed justifiable homicide petitions, supporting the use of lethal force to stop abortion. Additionally, the ACLA released a list of doctors called the "Deadly Dozen." Doctors who have appeared on this list have been stalked and threatened. In 2002, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals found that the Deadly Dozen Poster and other Wild West style "UN-Wanted" posters produced by the ACLA amounted to "true threats" and violations of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE).

**Army of God** is a clandestine violent organization. Their underground manual

is essentially a "how-to" book on abortion clinic violence. It details methods for blockading entrances, butyric acid attacks, arson, bomb making, and various other illegal activities. The following quote is an excerpt from the *Army of God Manual*:

### THE DECLARATION (ARMY OF GOD MANUAL)

*"We, the remnant of God fearing men and women of the United States of Amerika, do officially declare war on the entire childkilling industry. After praying, fasting and making continual supplication to God, for your pagan, heathen, infidel souls, we then peacefully, passively, presented our bodies in front of your death camps, begging you to stop the mass murdering of infants. Yet, you hardened your already blackened, jaded hearts. We quietly accepted the resulting imprisonment and suffering of our passive resistance. Yet you mocked God and continued the Holocaust.*

*No longer! All of the options have expired. Our Most Dread Sovereign Lord God requires that whosoever sheds man blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Not out of hatred of you, but out of love for the persons you exterminate, we are forced to take arms against you. Our life for yours- a simple equation. Dreadful. Sad. Reality, nonetheless. You shall not be tortured at our hands. Vengeance belongs to God only. However, execution is rarely gentle."*

The Army of God entered the extremist scene in 1982 when three people claiming to be Army of God members kidnapped a doctor and his wife in Granite City, IL. (The couple was released after eight days.) Since that time they have claimed responsibility for numerous attacks on reproductive health care clinics and personnel. In 1997, they claimed credit for the January 16 bombings of the Northside Family Planning Services in Atlanta, and for the February 21, bombing of an Atlanta lesbian nightclub (Feminist

Majority Foundation et al). Most recently, the Army of God claimed credit for the first-ever fatal bombing of an abortion clinic. The blast at the Birmingham, Alabama clinic killed an off-duty police officer who provided security for the clinic and severely injured a clinic nurse. In 2003, a member of the Army of God, James Kopp, was convicted of the fatal shooting of Dr. Barnett Slepian, a New York OB-GYN and abortion provider. Kopp is the leading suspect in three other shooting attacks on abortion providers.

The **Genocide Awareness Project (GAP)** and **Justice for All (JFA)** are sponsored by the **Center for Bio-ethical Reform**. These groups visit college campuses and public areas to set up graphic, misogynistic, and hateful anti-abortion displays. Using pictures of victims of the Holocaust, lynching, and genocide in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, GAP and JFA exploit the visceral reactions of passersby, inciting hateful rhetoric and violence against women who have had abortions and against abortion providers.

**Operation Rescue (OR)**, **Operation Rescue National**, and **Rescue America** are all a part of the so-called “Rescue” movement to stop abortion. Operation Rescue, founded by Randall Terry, publicly opposes the use of force to stop abortion. However, this “direct-action” organization has been

the lead organizer of clinic blockades nationwide. With the passage of FACE and massive pro-choice mobilization to counter Operation Rescue’s tactics, the days of large-scale blockades have ended. However, many extremists got their start in Operation Rescue – including James Kopp and Shelley Shannon, who shot and attempted to kill Dr. George Tiller. Since its founding in 1986, Operation Rescue has changed its name, the site of its headquarters, and leadership several times. Today its name is Operation Save America and its leader is Flip Benham. Rescue America, which also uses the direct action rescue approach, is located in several states, principally Texas, Florida, and Maryland. This “rescue” strategy has been effectively blocked by pro-choice escorts, volunteers, and new legislation to protect clinics.

**Pro-Life Action League** has been a leader in anti-abortion tactics, advocating a “direct action” response to the availability of abortion in the United States. The founder and executive director of the League is **Joseph Scheidler**, who outlined the strategies for direct action against abortion clinics in his book *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion*. Heavily influenced by the ideals of its leader, who has been quoted calling contraceptives “disgusting,” the league opposes all forms of birth control (CFFC).



## Make Your Move!

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### Expose Fake Clinics

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In an effort to stop women from choosing abortion, anti-choice zealots have established fake “clinics” all over the country. Through deceptive advertising offering “free pregnancy tests,” or reading, “Pregnant? Need Help?” these centers prey on young and low-income women. These anti-choice fake clinics seek out women who are afraid to talk to their parents, or cannot afford pregnancy tests. Although they claim otherwise, these centers are *not* pro-choice reproductive health clinics, and do *not* offer a full range of gynecological services for women. Instead, workers at the “clinics” intimidate and scare women who are considering abortion.

Some women who have gone to fake clinics report being asked to pray with a “counselor,” and forced to view disgusting images of mutilated fetuses. Furthermore, some women who have visited these anti-choice centers have been coerced by anti-choice workers into bringing their pregnancies to term. Workers sometimes falsely promise financial assistance and help finding adoptive parents to women who relinquish their right to have an abortion.

Your Leadership Alliance can help protect yourselves and others in your community by uncovering this anti-choice deception. The “Exposing Fake Clinics” action involves researching all of the clinics in your area, and determining which ones are fake. After identifying these fake clinics, your Leadership Alliance will help protect women in the area by conducting visibility campaigns against the anti-choice fake clinics.

#### PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

A small group of Leadership Alliance leaders (2-4) can chair this project. While this small group can carry out the investigative phone calls and visits, additional volunteers will be needed for the visibility and educational campaigns.

#### MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- Access to a phone to make calls into suspected centers.
- Flyers and posters to pass out when conducting actions outside fake clinics.

#### TIMELINE

Allow at least two weeks to make investigative phone calls and visits to suspected fake clinics in your area. Visibility actions exposing the fake clinics, such as postering campaigns and pickets, can be planned one to two weeks in advance of the event.

#### BUDGET

Although this action requires an investment of time, the action itself is low cost. The only costs will come from making flyers and posters to pass out at demonstrations, advertising for visibility events, and reimbursements for phone calls and transportation.

#### PUBLICITY

Publicity is key when exposing fake clinics. The more people you are able to inform, the fewer will fall victim to radical right-wing anti-choice intimidation. Call the local press to do a story on your experiences exposing the fake clinics, and encourage them to cover your demonstrations. Get your school paper on the story also. Finally, inform other pro-

choice groups on campus and in the community, and make sure to alert your health and women's centers about your findings. See the appendices for further details on obtaining press and publicity.

## HELPFUL HINTS

### *Help Identifying Fake Clinics*

- Identifying which clinics in your area are disseminating anti-choice propaganda rather than providing safe abortions can be difficult if you don't know what to look for or how to go about it. Here are some suggestions:
  1. Call all of the clinics listed in your yellow pages, information, and in local and campus newspapers. Ask them questions about what services they provide. Also, call the National Abortion Federation (NAF) at 1-800-772-9100, or Planned Parenthood at 1-800-230-PLAN, for the listings of all suspect clinics. When on the phone with clinics, some indications that a clinic may be a "fake," include:
    - they promise a full range of reproductive health services, but won't tell you exactly what those services include.
    - they are listed in the yellow pages under "Abortion Alternatives," or "Emergency Pregnancy Centers."
    - they advertise free pregnancy tests and walk-in appointments.
    - workers are overly ambiguous on the phone and avoid answering straightforward questions.
  2. Send Leadership Alliance volunteers to make appointments at questionable clinics and collect "information" including the following
    - Who funds the clinic?
    - Where do the counselors come from?
    - Who provides the pregnancy tests?
    - Where does the clinic find its adoptive families?
  3. Help Getting the Word Out
    - After finding the fake clinics, conduct informational and visibility campaigns on campus to expose the clinics.
    - Flyer your campus and community with the names and addresses of these deceptive centers. Include the phone numbers of pro-choice organizations and clinics for people in need of abortion services.
    - Try to secure campus and local press to do a story on these centers, their deceptive advertising, and their coercive strategies.
    - Report your findings to your Campus Organizers, Planned Parenthood and the



## Make Your Move!

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National Abortion Federation (NAF), who track and record the locations of these centers.

- Conduct actions outside of a fake clinic. Some suggestions include demonstrating outside of a fake clinic, handing out flyers near the clinic, or organizing a pro-choice picket outside of the anti-choice center. Remember FMF's code of nonviolence and non-confrontation.

### **Fight Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan**

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When the extremist Taliban militia seized control in Afghanistan, they violently took away the most basic human rights of women and girls to education, work, healthcare, and freedom of movement. Afghan women lived under a brutal system of gender apartheid until November 2001.

With the Taliban's collapse and the establishment of the Afghan Interim Administration, women are slowly regaining their rights. Women have gone back to work. Schools reopened for girls. Women can go outside their homes alone. The first Ministry of Women's Affairs and Independent Human Rights Commission have been established.

But the gains are fragile, and opponents of women's rights still have substantial power in the country. Between September 2002 and September 2003, more than 20 girls' schools suffered violent attacks, including rocket fire, bombs, arson, and invasion by armed men. In the first 9 months of the new Afghan government, two government ministers were assassinated and attempts were made on the lives of other government officials. Women leaders who spoke out for women's rights have received death threats. Moreover, the amount of aid that has reached Afghanistan does not come close to the \$20-40 billion need to rebuild the war-torn country.

The United States and the international community pledged to rebuild Afghanistan and restore the rights of Afghan women. However, without resources and security, women's rights, peace, and democracy will remain unfinished work. The Feminist Majority Foundation's six-year Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan brought the Taliban's atrocities against women and girls to the attention of the world. We are now leading a nationwide campaign to expand international peacekeeping forces, to increase the representation of women in leadership positions in Afghanistan, and to increase reconstruction funding, particularly for the Ministry of Women's Affairs, the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, and programs run by Afghan women-led non-governmental organizations to safeguard women's rights and to expand health, education, and other services for women and girls.

Your Leadership Alliance can act immediately by beginning an intensive petition campaign to support Afghan women and girls. Call your Campus Organizer or visit [www.feminist.org](http://www.feminist.org) to get a copy of the petition and learn more about how you can spread the word on your campus. By circulating the petition on your campus, you can be a part of our nationwide effort to restore the rights of Afghan women and girls.

## PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

An effective petitioning campaign can be coordinated by two to four Leadership Alliance members, but many will need to volunteer to help with signature collection, visibility, and campus education.

## MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- The letter of petition, which you can get by calling your Campus Organizer
- Pens, clipboards, and numerous copies of the petition.
- Access to a fax machine on campus (or stamps) to send completed petitions to the addresses listed on it.
- Tables, chairs, and posters for high traffic areas on campus

## TIMELINE

Be sure to call your Campus Organizers for the petition at least two weeks in advance. Planning and advertising for the event can also begin two weeks prior to the action.

## BUDGET

The Leadership Alliance can carry out this action with little expense. Ask the women's center or global education/study abroad center to allow you to use their fax machine or postage for free.

## PUBLICITY

By securing publicity for your action, you can greatly increase awareness on your campus, and the success of the petition. Refer to [www.FeministCampus.org](http://www.FeministCampus.org) for help with publicity.

## HELPFUL HINTS

- Set a goal and challenge your group to get a certain number of petitions signed. Alternatively, establish a time limit for the petition, and have people guess how many signatures the Leadership Alliance can get. Try to set a record for your school!
- Table high traffic areas to get signatures from students, and make sure the Leadership Alliance sign is very visible.
- Have fact sheets available at the table to help students to learn more about the issue before signing the petition.
- Announce your petition campaign in classrooms and distribute them for students and faculty to sign.
- Hold informational sessions for people interested in learning more about the Taliban and the Feminist Majority's response to this human rights abuse.
- Consider asking a knowledgeable professor to speak on the issue.
- Secure publicity for your campaign to help spread the word and garner more support.

- Coordinate with other campus groups who are already taking action on this issue and/or invite them to work in coalition with the Leadership Alliance on the petition drive.

### Additional Actions

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#### **IDENTIFY ANTI-CHOICE GROUPS ON CAMPUS.**

As this unit has demonstrated, it is important to know the opposition. Identify the anti-choice right wing on your campus. Which student and faculty groups align with the right wing? Learn as much as you can about their upcoming actions and anti-choice activities. Find out who funds their group. Attend general meetings, collect their information, and keep abreast of any anti-choice activities they plan for campus so that you can rally in opposition!

#### **ORGANIZE A CAMPUS DEBATE ON REPRODUCTIVE CHOICE.**

Challenge anti-choice groups on campus to a debate on the abortion issue. Choose a faculty facilitator who knows how to moderate debates fairly and effectively. Mobilize the pro-choice community to attend the debate and cheer you on.

#### **INVESTIGATE ANTI-CHOICE WEB SITES.**

The internet has become a major organizing tool for the radical right, and violent anti-choice movement. The URLs for these sites change frequently, so you may need to use a search engine to find them. Here are just a few to examine:

The Christian Gallery  
[www.christiangallery.com](http://www.christiangallery.com)

Abortion Cams/Christian Gallery  
[www.abortioncams.com](http://www.abortioncams.com)

Army of God/Pro-Life Virginia  
[www.armyofgod.com](http://www.armyofgod.com)

Missionaries to the Pre-Born  
[www.missionariestopreborn.com](http://www.missionariestopreborn.com)

Operation Save America  
[www.operationsaveamerica.org](http://www.operationsaveamerica.org)

Nuremberg Files  
[www.xs4all.nl/~oracle/nuremberg/gate.html](http://www.xs4all.nl/~oracle/nuremberg/gate.html)

American Life League  
[www.all.org](http://www.all.org)

#### **IDENTIFY ANTI-CHOICE GROUPS IN YOUR COMMUNITY**

Are community based anti-choice groups funding campus right-wing, anti-choice activity? If so, who are the funders? Which groups do they fund? Do they organize clinic protests? If so, try to learn about upcoming blockades or protests, and please contact your Campus Organizer immediately.

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