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PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Your Voice Against Intolerance

THE TWO FACES OF THE CHRISTIAN COALITION

In the face of dire predictions that the Christian Coalition and other Religious Right groups would fade from the political scene as a result of their showing at the 1992 Republican National Convention, Pat Robertson has instead emerged as one of the country's most powerful political leaders. In a short time, his Coalition has grown from a small and sporadically successful collection of volunteers into a political organization that regularly influences policy from local school boards to the halls of Congress. It has become the dominant organization in a movement that is without a doubt the most effective political force in the country.

The group initially pursued its agenda through "stealth" campaigns in which the Coalition instructed candidates to conceal their views. But such tactics became difficult in the face of increased scrutiny. Almost immediately, the Coalition, managed on a daily basis by Executive Director Ralph Reed, began working to put a mainstream, even moderate, face on the movement. The Coalition, for example, has expanded its political agenda to include non-social issues, such as the economy and governmental reform. It has also set in place projects aimed at forging new political alliances with non-traditional constituencies, such as Catholics, Jews, and African-Americans. In the last year, the Coalition has softened in rhetoric so much that speaking to the public at large, leaders rarely discuss abortion, homosexuality, or any other issue generally associated with the Religious Right. Instead, they focus on commonly held concerns, such as family breakdown and moral decline.

At the same time, the Christian Coalition has apparently settled on a long-term strategy: building a base within the Republican Party. As a result, the group is now willing to throw its support behind a few candidates who, though conservative, do not share the group's entire agenda. The Christian Coalition, indeed many of the groups that make up the Religious Right, are beginning to recognize a timeless political verity: it is better to back a winning candidate who shares most of your views than a losing one who agrees with you on every issue. But its tolerance for more moderate candidates only goes so far; while the Christian Coalition trumpets its occasional support for a nominally pro-choice candidate, it has never done so against an anti-choice candidate.

The Christian Coalition's statements to its core supporters, and the actions that often accompany them, reveal the group's true motivation. Robertson's television show, *The 700 Club*, Coalition meetings, publications, and direct mail remain forums for outlandish attacks on public education, homosexuals, feminists, the separation of church and state, freedom of expression, and reproductive rights. The group's "mainstreaming" effort may have attract some new supporters and quieted some critics, but it hasn't changed the organization in any

fundamental way. Robertson's extreme agenda still defines the organization and energizes its constituents.

The Christian Coalition

Pat Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign, a failure by most measures, supplied an ideal foundation for a grassroots organization. Donors became members, campaign workers became staffers, the National Republican Senatorial Committee provided a seed grant of \$64,000, and the Christian Coalition was born. Less than five years later, the group claims more than a million members (having allegedly grown by an average of 10,000 a week since Clinton's inauguration), another 300,000 names and 60,000 churches in its data bank, 870 chapters in all 50 states, volunteers in more than 50,000 precincts, and a budget of \$20 million. It has two monthly publications, *Religious Rights Watch* and *Christian American*, which claims 700,000 subscribers. The group was scheduled to hold more than a 100 "Leadership Training" schools in 1994, with an expected attendance of more than 5,500.

Yet, the Christian Coalition is a relatively small part of Robertson's empire, a commercial-religious-educational network worth more than one billion dollars. Robertson founded the Christian Broadcasting Network in 1960 as a non-profit religious organization. Since the mid-60s, he has hosted the *700 Club*, a combination "news" and variety show. With more than seven million viewers every week, the *700 Club* has become the most watched televangelist show in history.

Other non-profits have grown out of CBN. Operation Blessing claims to have distributed more than \$80 million worth of humanitarian aid around the world. Robertson serves as the chancellor of Regent University, which has more than 1,400 students in several graduate programs, including an unaccredited law school. Three years ago, he founded the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) to help "restore America to her Godly heritage" by battling what Robertson perceives as discrimination against Christians. With an operating budget of more than \$6 million and 200 affiliated attorneys nationwide, the ACLJ, under the leadership of Chief Counsel Jay Sekulow, has become the country's leading Religious Right legal group.

Ten for-profit businesses have also sprung from the non-profit CBN, including the tremendously successful International Family Entertainment (IFE), which owns the Family Channel, founded in 1977, and MTM Entertainment, a production company that holds the rights to a host of syndicated programs. A few years ago, the Family Channel's assets surpassed CBN's, a violation of tax laws that prohibit non-profit subsidiaries from outgrowing non-profit parents, so Robertson sold the Family Channel to IFE, which he owns with his son. The Family Channel, which airs the "700 Club" twice daily, reaches 58 million homes through 10,000 cable systems. Robertson also owns an airplane charter company, a travel agency, a radio station, a luxury hotel, a news delivery service, a company that produces family films, and Kalovita, which sells toiletries.

The juxtaposition of the CBN ministry and commercial interests has drawn fire from segments of both the religious and business community. *Christian Century* points out that some of CBN's fundraising letters say in fine print that funds are used "in accordance with Ezra 7:17-18," the latter of which reads, "Whatever seems good to you and your colleagues to do with the rest of the silver and gold, you may do, according to the will of your God." Such an arrangement allows Robertson to use tax-exempt funds instead of bank loans for capital. Presumably many donors who intend to support the ministry are unknowingly financing Robertson's commercial ventures.

Robertson generally eschewed politics until the late '70s, when many religious figures, inspired by New Right leaders, began to mobilize conservative Christians for political action. He distanced himself somewhat from the Moral Majority, Christian Voice, and the other major organizations of the time, although he served a brief stint with the Religious Roundtable. In 1981, he formed the Freedom Council and in 1985, the National Legal Foundation, marginally successful forerunners to the Christian Coalition and the ACLJ, respectively.

Officially, the group has five goals:

- to represent Christians before local councils, state legislatures and the U.S. Congress;
- to train Christians for effective political action;
- to inform Christians of timely issues and legislation;
- to speak out in the public arena and media; and
- to protest anti-Christian bigotry and defend the legal rights of Christians;

Its mission derives from Robertson's belief that atheistic and humanistic forces, which include media, education, and entertainment elites, the courts, civil libertarians, and an array of liberal groups have transformed the country from a Christian nation to an "anti-Christian pagan nation." The Coalition's goal is to change it back.

Strategy

In his 1990 book, *The New Millennium*, Robertson writes "[W]ith the apathy that exists in our nation, a small, well-organized minority can influence the selection of candidates to an astonishing degree." Indeed, the Christian Coalition's success has verified Robertson's statement. Conscious of the group's position on the margins of the political spectrum, Robertson and Reed initially relied largely on covert tactics to push their agenda. In 1992, Reed told a Coalition gathering, "The first strategy and in many ways the most important strategy for evangelicals is secrecy." Such tactics alone, however, do not explain the group's success. Christian Coalition activists have simply out-organized and out-mobilized moderate

and liberal opponents. Their commitment to mastering the details of grassroots activism and Republican party politics is a striking exercise in effective political action.

Success at the State and Local Level

The Christian Coalition's initial approach to elections, popularly known as "stealth" tactics, has three essential parts: targeting low-profile elections that normally attract few voters, focusing get-out-the-vote efforts on certain conservative churches, and instructing the candidates to hide their views from the public by avoiding public appearances and refusing to fill out questionnaires. The Coalition's lay-low strategy first attracted national attention in 1990, when a coalition of right-wing groups, led by the Christian Coalition, helped candidates in San Diego win 60 of 90 races for a variety of offices, from school to hospital board.

Apparently indifferent or oblivious to the undemocratic nature of "stealth," Reed boasted of their success. "[S]tealth was a big factor in San Diego's success," he said. "But that's just good strategy. It's like guerrilla warfare. If you reveal your location, all it does is allow your opponent to improve his artillery bearings. It's better to move quietly, with stealth, under cover of night." He expanded the metaphor elsewhere, "I want to be invisible. I do guerrilla warfare. I paint my face and travel at night. You don't know it's over until you're in a body bag. You don't know until election night." Reed subsequently tried to justify the strategy by suggesting it was ordained by God. Speaking at a Coalition meeting in Montana, he compared the group's tactics to methods of war used by the Israelites. "What the Lord did was first the principle of secrecy and deception," he said. When challenged about his statements, Reed seemed to believe the controversy derived not from his embrace of deception, but from his use of war imagery. "Having learned from that error, I now make the same point by making a sports analogy: You don't pass your playbook to the opposing team's coach the night before the big game," he said.

Under intense pressure, Reed has since renounced covert tactics and now denies the group ever used them. His renunciation is in fact irrelevant. The Coalition will thrive even without widespread stealth because of its prodigious organizing. Its grassroots organization has made a winning difference in a number of races. For example:

- Reed claims the Coalition made the difference in the narrow victories of Senators Jesse Helms (R-NC) in 1990 and Paul Coverdell (R-GA) in 1992.
- In 1992's November elections, seven congressional winners had direct ties to the Christian Coalition, and candidates affiliated with Religious Right groups won 40 percent of their races, amounting to 220 victories nationwide.
- In California, Religious Right-affiliated candidates won nearly half the 500 races they entered in all of 1992.

- In the 1993 New York City School Board elections, the Christian Coalition's candidates won 50 seats. Reed claims his group had a 62 percent success rate, although the Coalition elsewhere denies it even endorsed candidates.
- This year, Oliver North, Senatorial candidate from Virginia, and David Beasley, gubernatorial candidate in South Carolina, won nominations largely because of the Coalition's support.

The Christian Coalition usually distributes "non-partisan" voters guides that outline the candidates' positions on issues most important to "pro-family" voters. Their descriptions, however, are often manipulative. An advocate of the National Endowment for the Arts, for example, is labeled as someone who supports "tax-funded obscene art." Many candidates refuse to respond to the questionnaires for fear of distortion. Some are also offended by the group's inquiries about their religious beliefs. The Tennessee Christian Coalition's questionnaires, for example, asked candidates if they "believe in the Bible as the infallible, unalterable, divinely(sic)-inspired word of God" and leaves a space for "a brief description of your personal salvation story (when you accepted Jesus as your Lord and Savior)." If, however, candidates refuse to fill out the Coalition's questionnaires, the group attempts to do it for them by reviewing voting records, a process that often calls for conjecture. The South Carolina Christian Coalition circulated a pamphlet saying Democratic Congresswoman Liz Patterson supported abortion on demand and homosexual rights, both of which she has opposed. Ministers in local churches assailed her fabricated record, perhaps contributing to her defeat. The guides and the Coalition's ties to the Republican Party have led the Democratic National Committee to file a complaint with the Federal Election Commission, challenging the group's tax-exempt status.

The group denies it endorses candidates, but leaders clearly view the voters guides as instruments for shaping voter opinion. At the group's first leadership school in New York, State Director Jeff Baran indicated the guides true purpose, as described by the *New York Observer*:

"'Since we're doing the voter guides, we can manipulate," said Mr. Baran, who caught himself and chuckled. 'We can *instruct* people how to vote. As a tax-exempt group, Christian Coalition can't endorse candidates, although we can tell our people to work for the guy. These voter guides are totally non-biased,' said Mr. Baran, still laughing."

Actually, the Christian Coalition is running into some difficulty as the electorate grows more informed. In June, all five candidates backed by the Christian Coalition lost school board races in Virginia Beach despite -- or perhaps because of -- Robertson's considerable support. The candidates, who ran as the "Family First" slate, couldn't hide their affiliation with Robertson, whose empire is based in Virginia Beach, and were soundly defeated. So long as a mere fraction of voters participate, however, this "well-organized minority" is well positioned to wield influence beyond its numbers.

The Christian Coalition and the Republican Party

In 1991, Robertson said, "We want...to see a working majority of the Republican Party in the hands of pro-family Christians by 1996." According to a recent report by the Anti-Defamation League, the Religious Right already wields strong influence, in some cases outright control of, Republican Party organizations in eighteen states: California, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Washington, Oklahoma, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Hawaii, Alaska, North Carolina, Colorado and Pennsylvania, and Arizona. A recent survey by *Campaigns and Elections* found that the movement has a "substantial level" of power (25 percent to just under 50 percent) in 13 other GOP state organizations.

Since the Coalition's inception, leaders have urged activists to attend the caucuses that elect delegates to county and state GOP committees. Often, a few activists can dominate these meetings, especially if they hide their intentions and affiliations. The Pennsylvania Christian Coalition instructed members to "become directly involved in the local Republican committee" but warned "You should never mention the name Christian Coalition in Republican circles."

Some state committees, inundated with Religious Right activists, have drafted extreme party platforms. In 1992, Iowa's called for required reporting of AIDS "carriers," a cap on AIDS funding, mandatory teaching of creationism, and restriction of government spending for pre-schools. The same year, Washington state's recommended a ban on homosexuals in health care, daycare and teaching jobs, a return to the gold standard, corporal punishment in the public schools, a ban on public school "channeling, witchcraft or values clarification," and a reoccupation of the Canal Zone by the United States.

The Religious Right is also using its power to replace mainstream GOP officials with its own. These new leaders range from the extremely conservative to the radical, such as Dr. Steven Hotze, the Republican chairman of Texas's Harris County, which includes Houston, the home of George Bush. Hotze, an outspoken anti-gay activist with strong theocratic leanings, has argued that if the United States is to survive, government must adhere "to its God-ordained role of providing justice based upon God's laws," according to *Church and State* magazine. Moderate Republicans, under siege across the country, have expressed disgust at the agenda and tactics of their preemptors. In South Carolina, for example, where the Christian Coalition controls the Executive Committee and the top three party posts, ousted GOP chairman Barry Wynn said his party had become "intolerant, un-American, and un-Republican" and charged it with discriminating against non-churchgoers.

To elect delegates to the 1992 Republican National Convention, the group distributed a pamphlet outlining the rules for the selection process in each state, then activated its well-honed grassroots machine. As a result, the Coalition claimed 300 of the 2,100 total delegates and 20 on the 165-person platform committee. Their prominence contributed to the staunchly conservative platform as well as the Convention's character, roundly condemned by for its intolerance and stridency.

The Christian Coalition's influence is especially pronounced in states where conventions endorse or determine GOP candidates. At Minnesota's Republican convention in June, the party rejected the moderate incumbent governor Arne Carlson and endorsed Allen Quist, a former state legislator who says men have a "genetic predisposition" to head the household. The outcomes of conventions often don't reflect the will of the majority of voters, as evidenced by Carlson's resounding victory over Quist in the primary election. Religious Right activists have dominated the last two GOP conventions in Virginia, where delegates to the convention actually select candidates. In 1993, Michael Farris, formerly of the Moral Majority and Concerned Women for America, captured the nomination for Lieutenant Governor. This year, Oliver North won the Senatorial bid with the strong support of the Christian Coalition.

In some important races, particularly in states with strong Christian Coalition organizations, the group has even worked to elect some candidates who disagree with the Coalition on a key issue or two. The group, for example, claims to have helped elect nominally pro-choice Senators Paul Coverdell (R-GA) and Kay Bailey Hutchinson (R-TX). According to Reed, this tactical decision reflects the group's inclusiveness. The Coalition's issue positions, however, haven't changed; indeed, the Christian Coalition has never supported a pro-choice conservative when a viable anti-choice candidate was available.

The Agenda

Since the early '80s, a dichotomy has existed between the Religious Right's statements to the mainstream media and those directed at partisan audiences. The gap has grown wider in recent years as leaders, led by Ralph Reed, have sought to soften its image. Speaking to the public at large, leaders water down their extreme views or avoid controversial topics altogether. Of this incongruity, Reed said, "I think our people are beginning to understand that when you go into the public square, you're not preaching to the choir, you've got to turn around and put your back to the choir and speak to the Congregation. And you have to speak in a language that they can understand and can accept."

But the Christian Coalition's two faces differ in more than just style and semantics. Robertson, Reed and others commonly distort their most fundamental beliefs. Coalition leaders blame society's ills on the expansion of individual freedom in the last 30 years, and therefore seek to reform society by expunging liberty. Almost all their proposed solutions -- restricting abortion rights, combatting homosexuality, injecting sectarian religion into the public schools, limiting freedom of expression -- infringe on basic civil liberties. In the name of preserving traditional morality and values, the Christian Coalition attacks constitutional principles and the liberties that emanate from them.

At its core, the Christian Coalition seeks not merely a reversal of progressive changes in recent decades, but the formation of a Christianized government, which disavows the separation of church and state and is inherently discriminatory. Whether the Christian Coalition seeks a true theocracy, where the church controls every facet of government, perhaps only Pat Robertson knows. But he and others have expressed clearly their intolerance

of other religions and their desire for a government that is, at minimum, steeped in Christianity.

A discussion of constitutional concerns, however, fails to fully convey the threat posed by the Christian Coalition and other Religious Right groups. Even when the Coalition is not formally assaulting First Amendment freedoms, the group seeks to alienate and castigate its opponents with its rhetoric. In a time of increased polarization over social issues, when cultural disputes are tearing communities apart and people are looking to be brought together, the Christian Coalition offers, above all, words of division.

As shown below, the Coalition's rhetoric tailored for public consumption contrasts sharply with its statements to supporters.

Separation of Church and State

"We reaffirm our belief in the notion that church and state should be separate institutions."

- Ralph Reed
to The New York Times

"The Constitution of the United States says nothing about the separation of church and state. That phrase does appear, however, in the Soviet Constitution, which says the state shall be separate from the church and the church from the school. People in the educational establishment, and in our judicial establishment, have attempted to impose Soviet strictures on the United States."

- Pat Robertson
to Conservative Digest

Coalition leaders condemn not merely interpretations of the First Amendment's Establishment Clause, but the very concept of church-state separation, which has protected religious liberty since the nation's inception. Robertson calls the separation of church and state "a lie of the left," "a Soviet concept" and "a Communist Marxist" idea.

In a recent newsletter, David Nelson, director of the Colorado Christian Coalition, called the separation of church and state a "mythical doctrine." His office distributed a flyer that said, "The 'Separation of Church and State' is: 1. Not a teaching of the founding fathers / 2. Not an historical teaching / 3. Not a teaching of law (except in recent years) / 4. Not a biblical teaching." Commenting on the flyer, which was taken from the work of noted anti-separationist David Barton, Nelson said, "In summary, there should be absolutely no 'Separation of Church and State' in America."

Other Coalition leaders have expressed similar sentiments. Tennessee Director John Hanna often attacks what he calls "the myth of 'separation of church and state.'" Hanna says that

because of "language tampering," the "Separation clause (which doesn't exist) takes precedence over the "freedom of religious expression" clause (which does exist)." Pat Hoffman, then-director of the Massachusetts branch, argued that the "'separation of church and state' is a bogus phrase. Our country was founded on Biblical principals and we need to turn back to God and His precepts."

Religious Intolerance

"There are two things that have made America great. One is her essential moral goodness...but you also have to acknowledge diversity and pluralism."

- Ralph Reed
on *Meet the Press*

"The Constitution of the United States, for instance, is a marvelous document for self-government by Christian people. But the minute you turn the document into the hands of non-Christians and atheistic people they can use it to destroy the very foundation of our society."

- Pat Robertson
on *The 700 Club*

The belief that the United States is a Christian Nation pervades the group's rhetoric and reflects its general disregard for religious pluralism. Robertson has likened non-Christians to termites, who he said, "are in charge now, and that is not the way it ought to be, and the time has arrived for a godly fumigation."

His vitriol, however, is not reserved for non-Christians. In 1991 on the *700 Club*, he said, "You say, 'You're supposed to be nice to the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians and the Methodists and this, that and the other thing' -- nonsense. I don't have to be nice to the spirit of anti-Christ. I can love the people who hold false opinions, but I don't have to be nice to them."

Though Reed now stresses the importance of inclusion, he said in 1990, "What Christians have got to do is to take back this country, one precinct at a time, one neighborhood at a time and one state at a time...I honestly believe that in my lifetime we will see a country once again governed by Christians...and Christian values."

Robertson has said several times that if elected President, he would appoint only Christians and Jews to his cabinet. "[W]hat is Hinduism but Devil worship, ultimately?" he asked. Coalition leaders are usually careful to include politically conservative Jews in their vision for the country, but portray liberal Jews as enemies of Christianity. Robertson claimed "liberal Jews" are engaged in an "ongoing attempt to undermine the public strength of Christianity."

Even some intended expressions of tolerance contain a clear message of exclusion. Northeast Regional Director Clay Mankamyer said recently, "We're not attempting to build a church. There is no doctrinal statement. Just the principle that we will go by the infallible word of God. Anybody who agrees with that is welcome."

Monopolizing Faith

"We shouldn't be denigrating other people's faith. We shouldn't have our public discourse polluted by casting aspersions on people's religious beliefs."

- Ralph Reed
on Good Morning America

"[I]t is painfully obvious that you are a deeply troubled individual who has somewhere along the way lost your Judaic roots only to seek in radical secularism what only God can give you."

- Pat Robertson
to ADL President
Abe Foxman

The Christian Coalition claims ordainment from God for its political positions, and questions the faith of those who disagree with them. It has, for example, called Bill Clinton's inauguration "a repudiation of the our founding father's covenant with God." Dick Weinhold, Chairman of the Texas Christian Coalition, recently asserted that "a small minority of godless liberals are working hard to take away our rights." In a particularly ugly incident, a group of Religious Right leaders, including the Christian Coalition's regional director Don Hallman, wrote a threatening letter to U.S. Civil Rights Commissioner William Allen, who was seeking the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate in California in 1991. The group claimed Allen's campaign aided "the forces of darkness," and that he would be disciplined by God "however he(sic) sees fit" if he pursued his candidacy.

Robertson has a long history of portraying opponents as atheistic or hostile to religion. He has, for example, depicted President Clinton as an anti-Christian authoritarian. "God and morality, the Clinton administration wants out of our country," he says. Elsewhere, he claimed, "These socialists and they're in there now, starting with the President and his associates...They want to squeeze out religion because if people read the Bible, they can't be enslaved. You'll never have a socialist Government where everybody's Christian."

Education

"I think our motivation is primarily a parents-rights agenda. We're not interested in creationism or prayer in school."

- **Ralph Reed**
to the *Boston Phoenix*

"[T]he public education movement has also been an anti-Christian movement....We can change education in America if you put Christian principles in and Christian pedagogy in. In three years, you would totally revolutionize education in America."

- **Pat Robertson**
on *The 700 Club*

The Christian Coalition has launched a multi-faceted campaign to "reform" public schools, which, leaders say, have been taken over by the forces of atheism, humanism and even Satanism. In the name of parental involvement, the group, and the school board members it helped elect, are injecting sectarian religion into public schools. Even where matters of church-state separation are not concerned, Coalition members and their allies have pursued an extreme agenda that threatens the educational opportunities of public school children.

The Coalition pushes two abstinence-only sex-ed curricula, *Sex Respect*, approved by the Religious Right-controlled school board in Vista, California and *Teen Aid*, adopted by the Religious Right majority on the school board in Duval County, Florida. A judge in Louisiana originally barred *Sex Respect* from the classroom because of inaccuracies and sectarian content. Similarly, *Teen Aid* contains falsehoods and lacks vital information about contraception and disease control. Says Reed, "We are opposed to students being taught about human sexuality apart from parental input."

The Christian Coalition has worked vigorously for many of the so-called "voluntary" school prayer bills across the country. These measures would allow a majority of students to force other students to listen to a prayer that offends their beliefs. Coalition leaders fail to acknowledge how these bills threaten the rights of many students. John Hanna, Director of the Tennessee Christian Coalition says, "We've got a Supreme Court that bans public prayer on behalf of a Jewish family in New York that doesn't want anybody to pray. How on earth do Jews get the idea that if we have prayer that somehow they're going to be discriminated against?"

Despite Reed's statements, Robertson has many times argued for the teaching of creationism in science classes. "[A]ll the evidence on the other side is repressed," he has said. "This is not

education. This is brainwashing."

Its attack on public education has included many attempts to censor educational materials. Many of the attacks, targeted at everything from classic literature to sex education materials to school plays, are coordinated from the national level via *Religious Rights Watch*. As a result, school officials and educators are often bombarded with letters and protests from people outside the school district. Last year, Coalition members tried to remove Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. In another incident, members in Greenville, South Carolina tried to censor three books about censorship, which they claimed were anti-Christian, by checking them out of the library and not returning them.

The Christian Coalition has joined other Religious Right groups in opposing various "anti-family" programs for underprivileged children. Of Head Start, the widely acclaimed program for three to five-year olds, Robertson said, "If you're smart, you'll catch up anyway." Don Smith, director of the San Diego Christian Coalition and Trustee on the La Mesa-Spring Valley school board in California, helped to defund the morning and after school pre-school program. Said Smith, "We want to have it like it was a hundred years ago, when God, the Ten Commandments and prayer were the focus of our schools and where morality was taught."

The group has made passage of a voucher initiative a top priority. Religious Right leaders, including Robertson, used to argue openly that government should pay for sectarian education. In supporting Proposition 174, California's voucher bill, Robertson disingenuously spoke of improving public education for all. But in the past, Robertson, has called public educational authorities "radical lunatics," and has said that "[W]e have to work to get the state out of the business of educating kids at the primary and secondary levels, and get that education back in the hands of parents where it belongs."

Reproductive Freedom

"What we believe as an organization is that abortion should not be used as a form of birth control."

- Ralph Reed
on *Meet the Press*

"What Planned Parenthood is doing is absolutely contrary to everything Christian. It is teaching kids to fornicate, teaching people to have adultery, teaching people to get involved in every kind of bestiality, homosexuality, lesbianism -- everything that the Bible condemns. And teaching to be without absolutely any moral constraint."

- Pat Robertson
on *The 700 Club*

Christian Coalition leaders have recently soft-peddled their views on abortion. Pragmatically, the Coalition has focused on the federal funding of abortion, through both Medicare and national health care, rather than attacking choice outright. The group even supported nominally pro-choice Sens. Kay Bailey Hutchinson (R-TX) and Paul Coverdell (R-GA) and is backing Joy Corning, a pro-choice candidate for lieutenant governor in Iowa.

But vehement and often virulent opposition to reproductive rights remains an essential part of the group's agenda. The radical harassment and intimidation tactics of Operation Rescue's Randall Terry, who tells his followers to pray for the death of doctors who perform abortions, won Robertson's praise. "[T]hey are doing an enormously beneficial service to every Christian in America," he said.

Robertson claims abortion, which he says is worse "than anything Adolph Hitler did," has produced a culture of death that devalues life in all forms. "We have become so insensitive to death because we kill so many babies in America that now it's an easy thing to terminate the lives of the sick or the elderly." Supporters of abortion rights, according to Robertson, want to kill. "[I]t's incredible that those who claim to be liberal have blood on their hands. They've got this desire to murder."

Women

"I think Pat Robertson is very pro-woman."

- **Ralph Reed**
on *Meet the Press*

"The feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians."

- **Pat Robertson**
in fundraising letter

Robertson often expresses his regressive view of women. "As long as the husband is following the mandate of the Lord, the wife should submit to his authority," he said. Reed tries to dismiss such views by claiming they don't impact Robertson's opinion of equal opportunity for women in employment. But Robertson doesn't think women should work at all. "It's not just any longer the woman who wants to work, but the husbands are forcing wives out of the home. And it's a big mistake, especially if they're with children," he said.

The Christian Coalition opposes the Equal Rights Amendment and led the battle to defeat a state ERA initiative in Iowa in 1992. Of the national ERA, Robertson said, "What people are not sure of, and this is -- I'm not being facetious -- they're not sure of whether it would be interpreted [by] your gender or how you perform sex."

Robertson has also suggested he opposes feminism because of women's mental inferiority. "But the key in terms of mental [ability] -- it has nothing to do with physical -- is chess. There's never been a woman Grand Master chess player...[O]nce you get one, then I'll buy some of the feminism...."

Homosexuality

"We don't oppose homosexuals having jobs, running for office, being involved in the civic process, owning and renting property...It's not a matter of being against or hating homosexuals."

- Ralph Reed
on Meet the Press

"When lawlessness is abroad in the land, the same thing will happen here that happened in Nazi Germany. Many of those people involved in Adolph Hitler were Satanists, many of them were homosexuals -- the two things seem to go together.

- Pat Robertson
on The 700 Club

The Christian Coalition owes much of its strength to its battle against homosexuality, which has become an invaluable organizing and fundraising tool. Whether attacking homosexual rights bills, the Clintons, the National Endowment for the Arts, education curricula, health care reform, the media, or even abortion rights, Coalition leaders trump up the "gay menace" to raise fear, which, in turn, produces money and activism.

Leaders claim they oppose homosexuality or the "homosexual agenda" rather than homosexuals themselves. But to partisan audiences, they depict homosexuals as evil and aggressive. Robertson says homosexuals want "to destroy all Christians" and "to come into churches and disrupt church services and throw blood all around and try to give people AIDS and spit in the face of ministers..." He suggests homosexuals are using AIDS as a political device. "Many observers say that AIDS is the hammer and gun of the homosexual movement, an effective vehicle to propel the homosexual agenda throughout every phase of our society," he says.

The group seeks to make homosexuals the scapegoats for the nation's ills. "We have a bankruptcy of morality and AIDS is the consequence," says Robertson. He says natural disasters are God's judgement of homosexuality. Discussing a proposed gay rights bill in California, he said, "[I]f the state of California passes such a measure, I, for one, wouldn't want to be hanging out on the San Andreas Fault right after that...."

The Coalition has fought civil rights protection for gays and lesbians or actively supported anti-gay measures in Florida, Maine, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon, Indiana, Georgia, Connecticut, Ohio, Montana, and Wyoming. Recently, it has been very prominent in the battle to preserve Montana's draconian "deviant sexual conduct code," which equates homosexuality with bestiality and is punishable by 10 years in prison and a \$50,000 fine.

The Coalition is expected to be active in Idaho and Oregon, where voters will decide on an anti-gay rights measure. Several members of the Oregon Christian Coalition's Board of Directors are leaders of the Oregon Citizens Alliance, which spearheaded the petition drive to place the measure on the ballot. OCA's Lon Mabon, former state director of the Coalition who has called for the abolition of gay rights supporters from the GOP, led the unsuccessful fight for Ballot Measure 9 in 1992. The bill, which the Christian Coalition supported with \$20,000, likened pedophilia, bestiality, sado-masochism, and necrophilia to homosexuality, which it called "abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse."

The Christian Coalition also backed the assault on homosexuality and free expression in Cobb County, Georgia. Last year, the County Commission abolished all art funding after complaints about homosexual content in the play, *Lips Together, Teeth Apart*, and passed a resolution saying that homosexuality is "incompatible with the standards to which this community subscribes." Through *Religious Rights Watch*, the Coalition urged activists to support both measures. Kay Gartland of the Georgia Christian Coalition praised the Commission "for representing the values of Cobb County residents and for not promoting unlawful sexual behavior with taxpayers' money."

Becoming "Mainstream"

The Christian Coalition's emergence as a genuine political force is due largely to the efforts of its leadership, Ralph Reed in particular, to "mainstream" the organization. That effort has involved four principal components: a repackaged agenda, the development of new alliances with other religious organizations, outreach to minority communities, and persistent attempts to portray its conservative Christian followers as victims of pervasive anti-Christian bigotry.

The New Agenda

Last year, Reed announced his group was going to work on a number of issues not generally associated with the Coalition's agenda, including the economy, crime and governmental reform. To become mainstream, he decided, the Christian Coalition would have to focus less on divisive social issues. "We have allowed ourselves to be ghettoized by a narrow band of issues like abortion, homosexual rights and prayer in school," he said. Reed cited a poll from the 1992 presidential election that found that the top concerns of evangelicals are the same as those of most Americans -- the economy, welfare, the deficit and crime. "Our message has been directed too much to our activists and donors, not to our voters."

Still, it is "activists and donors," not potential supporters, who shape the group's character, as evidenced by its 1993 national conference. Presidential hopefuls Bob Dole, Phil Gramm, and Jack Kemp focused their speeches on the economy and health care, and were coolly received, according to both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. But Pat Buchanan didn't disappoint. "Our culture is superior because our religion is Christianity and that is the truth that makes men free," he told 2,000 cheering activists. Perhaps responding to the group's supposed softening, he continued, "We cannot raise a white flag in the cultural war because that war is who we are." By all accounts, Buchanan's speech was the conference's most popular.

Soon after, Reed announced the Coalition would oppose President Clinton's health care plan with its largest and most costly grassroots campaign ever. Though often portrayed as evidence of the group's broadening platform, the \$1.4 million effort, which included radio and print advertising and a postcard-writing blizzard, was no marked departure from the group's traditional agenda. The group has mobilized opposition to the plan by discussing, often dishonestly, its ramifications on controversial social matters, such as abortion, homosexual rights, and sex education. It has also distorted the plan to raise fears about President Clinton. Robertson, for example, claims the health plan is part of Clinton's attempt to "squeeze out religion," while Reed says it is "a Trojan Horse for a not-so-hidden agenda to...promote a radical social agenda."

The new issues are the group's favorite topics of discussion. Leaders talk about term limits, health care and the balanced budget amendment, and instruct activists to do the same. Former National Field Director Guy Rodgers told members to "drop redemptive language." He says, "We must become strategic in our thinking. For example, which is preferable: a winning campaign in which a pro-life candidate primarily stresses tax and economic issues, or a losing campaign in which the candidate talks of nothing but his opposition to abortion?" "Most Americans don't speak 'Christianese,'" Rodgers said, so "we need to couch language in ways they can understand."

The Coalition's literature, however, shows that the changes are more cosmetic than substantive. The April, May/June, July/August, and September, '94 issues of *Christian American*, for example, included 51 stories, editorials and advertisements about abortion (27), education (15), and homosexuality (9), but only ten about the economy and health care, several of which focused partially on the other three issues. Despite repeated claims to the contrary, social matters still energize the organization. When all five of the candidates backed by the Christian Coalition lost school board races in Virginia Beach, Communications Director Mike Russell admitted it was because the election lacked "emotionally driving issues" like sex education and condom distribution. The group's face may have changed, but its heart remains the same.

New Alliances

In 1992, Robertson said, "The task of evangelicals in politics will be to recognize that a

political party is not a church, and therefore it is most counterproductive to exclude...valuable potential allies on the basis of narrowly defined doctrinal purity." Following this lead, Reed has sought to change the Christian Coalition's exclusionist image by reaching out to non-Protestants.

The 1993 New York City School Board elections may have ushered in a period of unprecedented cooperation between the Christian Coalition and the Catholic hierarchy. Cardinal John O'Connor, Archbishop of New York agreed to help the Christian Coalition distribute more than 500,000 voters guides in 300 Catholic churches. Last spring, the Archdiocese of Philadelphia agreed to a similar alliance. Robertson has appointed former campaign aide Marlene Elwell, as the group's liaison to Catholics. Elwell is co-founder of Catholic Campaign, a little known but influential right-wing organization, whose national committee includes William Bennett, Phyllis Schlafly, Congressman Bob Dornan, and Pat Buchanan.

Perhaps most significantly, a group of 40 Catholic and Religious Right leaders, including Robertson, signed a statement urging followers to put aside their differences and work together. Robertson said, "The time has come where we must lay aside minor points of doctrinal differences and focus on the Lord Jesus Christ." The document listed the group's "common causes," which included support for vouchers and moral education, renewed respect for Western culture and concern over multiculturalism.

The agreement could produce an imposing anti-separationist, anti-choice force. The Religious Right gives the Catholic hierarchy technological and organizational sophistication, and in return receives thousands of potential activists as well as credibility, especially in urban areas. Reed responded to the joint statement with effusion. "This is the wave of the future," he said. "It is as significant a coalition to the future of American politics as the unification of Blacks and Jews during the Civil Rights struggle."

The Christian Coalition has also made overtures to the conservative Jewish community. The group joined forces with Orthodox Rabbi Yehuda Levin during New York City's school board races. The group frequently points out that Robertson appointed Marshall Wittman, a Jew, to head its legislative office in Washington D.C. and invited several prominent Jewish conservatives to speak at its national conference.

As suggested, however, by its penchant for "Christian Nation" rhetoric, the Coalition's openness to Jews remains in question. A 1993 Tennessee Christian Coalition flyer says "[A]ny person who willingly professes the principal beliefs of the Coalition may become a member of the Tennessee Christian Coalition." The list of "principal beliefs" includes faith in "the sovereignty of God and the redemptive salvation of Jesus Christ."

Minority Outreach

Last summer, Reed held a press conference to release the results of a survey that he said

"reveals a genuinely surprising level of support for the conservative, pro-family agenda among Hispanics and African-Americans." He claimed that on virtually every issue, minorities are as conservative as whites. He said the survey "will lead us to do more to 'cast a wider net' and reach out to our brothers and sisters in the African-American and Hispanic communities."

That effort actually began the previous spring during New York City's school board elections. Minority leaders, such as Roy Innis of the Congress on Racial Equality and Olga Goetz of the Family Defense Council, welcomed Robertson's help in trying to elect right-wing candidates. In the Los Angeles Mayor's race a few weeks later, the Christian Coalition handed out voters guides in 700 African-American, Latino, and Asian churches.

Although some segments of minority communities have gladly accepted the organization's help in pursuing specific political goals, the Christian Coalition hasn't garnered significant support from these groups. Indeed, outreach to African-American and Hispanic communities presents the Christian Coalition with a daunting task, given minorities' longtime affiliation with the Democratic Party and the Religious Right's poor record on matters of racial justice.

Robertson opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1988 and 1991, and even called the Civil Rights Act of 1985 "one of the most frightening pieces of legislation that has been brought up." Robertson questioned the evil of Apartheid, as well as the wisdom of ending it. "I've been to South Africa," he said. "I know we don't like Apartheid, but the blacks in South Africa, in Soweto, don't have it all that bad." Elsewhere he said, "Again, I think 'one man one vote,' just unrestricted democracy, would not be wise. There needs to be some kind of protection for the minority which the white people represent now, a minority, and they need and have a right to demand a protection of their rights..."

The Christian Coalition's leaders nonetheless portray themselves as civil rights crusaders, and liberals as the oppressors of African-Americans. The Religious Right used to argue for vouchers on the grounds that parents shouldn't pay twice for their children's education. Reed, however, has discovered a more politically correct line of argument. "It is ironic that the very liberals who once stood in the schoolhouse door to defend the rights of blacks to come into our public school system are now standing at the schoolhouse door, locking the doors and not allowing them to get out," he said. Accordingly, the Christian Coalition ran a radio advertising campaign directed at minority audiences in its unsuccessful effort to pass Proposition 174, California's school voucher bill.

Robertson frequently claims the purpose of various policies is to oppress African-Americans. "Planned Parenthood and others who want to engage in this eugenics...they don't want black people in the inner cities having babies," he says. When a Black high school principal was suspended for allowing a student to read a prayer over the intercom, Robertson suggested it was an act of racism. "This is a Black principal. And in that school, there are many people who are racial minorities and to think that the government would come in and tell that man that he can't let those students pray. It's outrageous."

The group has tried to mobilize opposition to gay rights bills by fostering anti-gay sentiment in minority communities. "To compare black people, Asians, Hispanics, women, handicapped people with sexual deviants is something wrong," Robertson says. Reed, along with Don Wildmon, Lou Sheldon, William Bennett, and Ed Meese, appear in *Gay Rights/Special Rights*, a 40-minute film which claims a gay rights bill would undermine the rights of "real" minorities.

While blasting homosexuals for drawing parallels between their struggle and the Civil Rights movement, Robertson frequently compares the plight of Christians today to that of African-Americans in the '50s and '60s. "Do you remember the Civil Rights movement? he asks. "They let black people on board the bus, but they had to go and sit at the back of the bus. When a black person tried to move to the front of the bus, then they put him in jail. Well, that's what is happening now; Christians can go in a little tiny corner."

The Myth of Victimization

As part of its new media strategy, the Christian Coalition has intensified one of the Religious Right's favorite rhetorical devices -- perpetuating the notion that people of faith face oppression and even danger. The tactic has enabled the Christian Coalition to feign a defensive posture, while actually attacking opponents' tolerance and religious conviction.

Robertson has long raised fears and money by portraying Christians as a persecuted people. "And unless you and I take action right now, Christians could be the next endangered species right here in America," he wrote in a recent fundraising letter. Such rhetoric requires more than a little hypocrisy, since Robertson has been among the most vociferous critics of legitimate claims of oppression by other groups. But Robertson is unabashed. "Just like what Nazi Germany did to the Jews, so liberal America is now doing to the evangelical Christians. It's no different. It's the same thing. It's happening all over again. It's the Democratic Congress, the liberal biased media and the homosexuals who want to destroy all Christians."

Recently, the Christian Coalition has used subtle variations of the same theme to shield itself and its allies from criticism. Although responsible opponents of Religious Right groups have uniformly challenged their policies rather than their right to advocate them, Reed claims they want to exclude Christians from the political process. In the *Christian American*, under the headline, "Liberals fear Christians," Reed says "The liberals don't want Christians involved in the political process. But Christians are Americans, too, and we intend to make our voices heard." The implication is clear: liberals are not Christians, and a good Christian cannot be liberal.

When Michael Farris, the 1993 candidate for Virginia's Lieutenant Governor, came under attack for his radical political views on women and education, Reed and Robertson sought to stifle debate by claiming the criticism amounted to anti-Christian bigotry. The strategy has been extremely valuable in countering the recent wave of attacks by Democratic leaders, because it shifts attention from the Religious Right's agenda to the motives of its critics.

Shrewdly, Religious Right leaders make their faith the focus, then blame others for doing the same.

The Future

The Christian Coalition will have an ideal opportunity to exercise its new clout in the upcoming mid-term elections, which usually attract moderate to low voter turn-out. With Republicans hoping to capture both houses of Congress, the Christian Coalition could play an important role in reshaping national politics. Reed says the group is planning to spend between \$3 and \$5 million, much of which will be used to produce and circulate Congressional scorecards. A recent issue of *The Christian American* urged supporters to "make the 1994 elections 'The Year of the Christian.'"

The critical test, however, will be the 1996 Presidential election, when the Religious Right will need to prove that it is not, as many believe, an insurmountable barrier between the Republican Party and the White House. Republicans have made it clear that they will win or lose with the Religious Right's support. Toward that end, all the major presidential contenders have courted the Religious Right and the Christian Coalition in particular. Phil Gramm, Bob Dole, Lamar Alexander Dick Cheney and Dan Quayle are all scheduled to speak at the Coalition's "Road to Victory" conference in September, 1994.

Regardless of its influence on national politics, the Christian Coalition will continue to wield its heavy hand at the local level, where leaders believe they can have the greatest impact on the culture. "I would love to have a Christian in the White House. That would be great," said Tom Scott, director of the Florida Christian Coalition. "But I would rather have a Christian in every school board seat in America."

The group's future, however, may ride on Reed's campaign to sell the group as a mainstream organization. Reed will continue to talk about tolerance and term limits, while Robertson will continue to use the Christian Coalition to try to take back the country for "God's People":

"If the Christians in America would vote and be active in politics, the problems we are having in our nation would not be as severe. But as it is we're always fighting to overcome what they are doing to us because they hold the seats of power and we are in subjection. The time has come for God's people to be where he intended them -- on the top, not on the bottom."



PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Your Voice Against Intolerance

April 6, 1995
For Immediate Release

CONTACT: Carol Blum, Mary Conway,
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RELIGIOUS RIGHT AGENDA FOR NEXT 100 DAYS ALREADY IN MOTION

GINGRICH AND OTHER RELIGIOUS RIGHT ALLIES IN CONGRESS SET TO ADVANCE ON EXTREME SOCIAL AGENDA

POLITICAL GROUPS DEMAND PAYBACK FOR GOP ELECTORAL SUPPORT

People For report documents legislative agenda

As House Speaker Newt Gingrich prepares to address the nation on the fate of his "Contract with America" in the first hundred days of the 104th Congress, the extreme social agenda supported by Religious Right political groups is already moving forward. A report released today by People For the American Way documents Religious Right leaders' demands that Congress now focus directly on divisive "culture war" issues that were left out of the Contract to attract mainstream support. Many of those demands have not been widely publicized, but are repeated in Religious Right direct mail campaigns and television and radio broadcasts to their supporters.

"Before Newt Gingrich even begins his speech on Friday, much of the agenda for the next one hundred days has already been set," said Elliot Mincberg, Executive Vice President of People For the American Way. "Religious Right political groups whose organizing and financial muscle helped elect the new conservative majority are now threatening to turn on the new leadership if the extreme social agenda is not pushed through Congress. They're impatient and are champing at the bit."

Leslie Harris, People For the American Way Director of Public Policy, noted that while congressional leaders kept a public focus on the Contract during the first hundred days, the Religious Right's agenda was moving forward. "If you want to see what the Religious Right's agenda will be in the next hundred days, look at what their congressional allies have been up to already," Harris said. "In and around the Contract, right-wing members of Congress have taken every opportunity to begin their assault. The whole culture war agenda -- attacks on reproductive choice, public education, arts and culture funding, civil rights for gay and lesbian Americans, freedom of expression, separation of church and state -- has begun moving through the House. Now it will be out in the open."

The report released today documents planned, successful, and attempted legislative activity related to demands made by Religious Right political groups. Samples of Religious Right groups' direct mail, with their own "contracts" for Congress, are attached.

People For the American Way is a 300,000-member nonpartisan constitutional liberties organization.

2000 M Street NW
Suite 400
Washington DC 20036

202 467 4999
202 293 2672 / Fax



100 DAY NOTICE

The first "100 Days" of Congress are coming to an end! Now it's time to hold Congressman Newt Gingrich to his pledge.

Please complete the enclosed "National Opinion Poll on Pro-Family Issues" and return it to me at once.

Congress is wrapping up business with its Republican "Contract With America" -- and now it's time to hold Congressman Newt Gingrich to his pledge to support our issues.

Don't think Congress is going to pass our pro-family agenda simply because there is a Republican majority.

The recent defeat of the "Balanced Budget Amendment" should be a lesson to all of us that we need to keep on fighting. !

Do you want Congress to abolish the blasphemous National Endowment for the Arts?

Do you want Congress to cut off funding for radical homosexual groups?

Do you want Congress to pass a constitutional amendment allowing Voluntary School Prayer?

Please mark your answers on the enclosed "National Opinion Poll" and hold Congressman Gingrich to his promise to push for our pro-family issues.

Do you want Congress to STOP using your tax dollars to fund liberal sex education programs?

Do you want Congress to pass a constitutional amendment protecting the life of the unborn?

Do you want Congress to reinstate the ban on homosexuals in the military?

These will be hard-fought issues, with no guarantees-- and you can expect President Clinton, the media, and the radical groups to fight us every step of the way.

So please help me show Congressman Gingrich that thousands-- if not millions-- of decent Americans are standing behind him as he battles for our families. **And please remember him in your prayers!**

Friend, so many people are writing me and saying that they

(over please)

— 2 —
trust Congress, that they think the Republicans are going to take care of their needs, and that they don't need to become active.

I'm shocked, because I know that without a massive grassroots outcry, the Republicans will also push our issues aside. In fact, here's a recent example:

Sen. Nancy Kassenbaum-- a Republican-- just held hearings on the National Endowment for the Arts and...

...SHE WOULDN'T ALLOW ANY PRO-FAMILY GROUPS TO TESTIFY AGAINST THE NEA!!! The only person she allowed to testify before her committee was the head of the NEA, Jane Alexander!

And in the House of Representatives, the Republicans are proposing that the NEA be cut by just 10 percent. Just 10%!

If you and I give up and trust the Republicans, this will be exactly what the liberals are hoping for.

Then the liberals can go back to dominating our Congress, and having their way with our nation, our tax dollars, our laws, and our families.

If you're like me, you're tired of seeing this nation going to hell...tired of seeing criminals go free...tired of seeing your tax dollars used to produce blasphemous and homo-erotic art.

I'm fed up with sex education programs that promote abortion and teach children that homosexuality is a healthy lifestyle, and sickened by a Congress that spends more money on AIDS than heart disease and cancer put together.

But I'm also disheartened by so many Christians who are willing to throw in the towel-- and simply trust Congress.

I assure you, if the votes were taken today...

...the National Endowment for the Arts would not be abolished, a voluntary school prayer amendment would not be passed, and homosexuals would not be excluded from the military.

Hopefully, and prayerfully, through the continued support of friends like you and others, we will gain the necessary votes.

But without such support, then our issues will go down to defeat just like the "Balanced Budget Amendment," and we will lose other important battles, just like when Sen. Kassenbaum refused to allow pro-family groups to testify against the NEA.

Enclosed is a "National Opinion Poll on Pro-Family Issues." I want you to help me hold Congressman Newt Gingrich to his pledge and to let him know that he will be in our prayers.

There's no time to waste. Congress is now wrapping up its business with the Republican "Contract With America." **And we must not let Congress make the mistake of thinking we will go away.**

So please complete and return your opinion poll to me today,
(next page)

and help me and CAN with a gift of whatever you can afford.

Perhaps you can give \$25, \$50 or even \$100 or more. Perhaps you can only give \$5 or \$10. But whatever you can give, search your heart in prayer and please be as generous as you can.

Many Members of Congress are already depending on your Christian Action Network to help on these issues. And I've given them my word that we will be there when they need us.

I hope I didn't make a mistake in giving them my promise, because our staff must prepare position papers, testimonies, and press releases. We must organize congressional staff meetings and briefings. And we must mobilize grass-root Americans. **I must begin right away, before Congress starts working on these issues.**

Please remember that CAN receives no federal money and we receive no foundation grants. We are solely dependant on the good and faithful givings of friends like you.

In a few short weeks, Congress will begin more work on the National Endowment for the Arts and start working on a constitutional amendment to allow Voluntary School Prayer.

In addition, Congressman Gingrich has promised to hold hearings on whether the federal government should be subsidizing homosexual sex-education programs.

And Congressman Bob Dornan has already introduced legislation to stop funding radical homosexual groups.

But every step of the way...

...President Clinton and his White House staff will try to stop us....Clinton's friends in Congress will try to stop us...the media will try to stop us...

...and you know that liberal groups like People for the American Way, the National Organization for Women, and all the homosexual groups will try to stop us.

It is very important that you complete the enclosed "National Opinion Poll on Pro-Family Issues" and return it to me as soon as you can.

I am depending on you. And please remember that your donation of \$25, \$50 or even \$100 is desperately needed to press these issues in Congress.

God bless you,

Martin Mawyer

Martin Mawyer, president
Christian Action Network

P.S.-- I just heard from a congressional staffer that certain Members of Congress may introduce CAN's "Pro-Family Contract With America." I'll get back to you with more details as soon as I learn them. But as you can see, we are making a difference in this nation-- thanks to the help and support of friends like you.

This news just in!

The U.S. House of Representatives just took a vote to eliminate the NEA. But we lost by more than 100 votes. Fortunately, there are more votes scheduled on the NEA. But this defeat should be a warning to us all: THERE IS STILL MUCH WORK TO BE DONE. Inside is more evidence that we must hold the Republican's feet to the fire!

Mark

100 DAY NOTICE

National Opinion Poll on Pro-Family Issues

Dear Congressman Newt Gingrich:

Now that Congress is wrapping up its "Contract With America," I sincerely and prayerfully request that you begin working on the pro-family issues I have checked below. Shortly after the November elections you pledged to support and promote pro-family issues after the first 100 days of Congress. In response to that pledge I have checked those pro-family issues which are most important to me and my family.

Please honor your pledge and know that my prayers and support are behind you as you work to defend our families, traditions, religious beliefs and values.

Signature

Date

Check if issues are Very Important, Important, or No Opinion

1) Congress should abolish the National Endowment for the Arts.

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ No Opinion

2) Congress should pass a constitutional amendment allowing Voluntary School Prayer.

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ No Opinion

3) Congress should cut off ALL funding for homosexual groups.

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ No Opinion

4) Congress should reinstate the ban on homosexuals and lesbians in the military.

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ No Opinion

5) Congress should cut off funding for sex education programs in our public schools.

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ No Opinion

6) Congress should pass a constitutional amendment protecting the life of the unborn.

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ No Opinion



Pat Robertson
President

Ralph Reed
Executive Director

Dear Christian Friend,

I'm sure you were as encouraged as I was by the tremendous pro-family victories we saw in last year's mid-term elections ...

... victories that were made possible by record-breaking Christian voter turnout.

But now I am concerned that Congress is ignoring the concerns of Christian and pro-family voters.

Even though you and I have never met personally, I am guessing that you share my concern ... which is why I'm writing you today and why I hope you will answer my letter.

You probably know about the Republican CONTRACT WITH AMERICA. I believe this CONTRACT -- which deals mostly with economic issues -- is an excellent first step toward putting America back on the right track.

But now we need a SECOND CONTRACT WITH AMERICA ...

... one that focuses on reversing the ruinous moral decay and social breakdown caused by a 30-year war the radical Left has waged against the traditional family and America's religious heritage.

That's why Christian Coalition will soon be sending Congress our CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY.

But before I submit the final version of our CONTRACT to Congress, I very much want to hear from you on what issues you think are most important for us to include.

I want to make sure our CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY reflects the views and priorities of America's 40,000,000 Christian voters. That's why I'm asking you to take a moment to please,

- 1) Complete and return the enclosed CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY NATIONAL SURVEY;
- 2) Sign and mail the enclosed pre-addressed postcards to your Senators and Congressman reminding them not to ignore the moral issues which are so important to Christian and pro-family voters; and
- 3) Please accept my invitation to join Christian Coalition by sending a membership gift of \$15 or more.

Not only will your urgently-needed gift help us complete our survey of 2,000,000 Christians and bury Capitol Hill with an avalanche of these postcards which will serve as a powerful

Christian Coalition • P.O. Box 1990 • Chesapeake, Virginia 23327-1990

reminder to Congress of the strength of the Christian vote ...

... but your decision to join hands with Christian Coalition's 1,400,000 members will help us put real pressure on Congress to pass our CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY.

I will be submitting our CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY to all 535 members of the House and Senate in the next few weeks.

So it's vitally important that I hear from you within the next few days if I am going to be able to take your views into account in our survey. Will you help us? I hope you will ...

... because if America's Christians become complacent and sit on the sidelines, all our hard-won victories in the recent mid-term Congressional elections will count for nothing.

You see, even our friends in Congress who share our values are under enormous pressure from the liberal news media and the Washington Political Establishment to stop talking about the important moral issues that most Americans care about.

Americans know that the traditional family is disintegrating ... that violent crime is rising ... and that America's children are confused about right and wrong.

Most Americans know why these things are happening: it's because our nation's intellectual and political leaders have abandoned the moral and spiritual values that made America great.

Christians and religious people are held out to ridicule by the news media, the television and film industry, and even our schools and universities.

The moral and religious values our forefathers believed in are mocked or dismissed as "outdated" by America's intellectuals and in the popular culture.

Even worse, the U.S. Government, under the direction of President Clinton, now spends billions of dollars of our tax-money to promote a left-wing 1960's-style "world view" that stands against just about every moral value you and I cherish.

For example, despite Republican control of Congress ...

>> The U.S. Government still gives tens of millions of dollars (of our tax money) to organizations like Planned Parenthood ... which is the largest provider of abortion services in the nation.

>> The U.S. Government still gives millions of dollars to the homosexual lobby and an entire array of far-left groups.

>> The U.S. Government still spends tens of millions of dollars on the National Endowment for the Arts which makes a point of funding anti-Christian and pornographic "art"

projects ... projects designed specifically to offend and outrage Christians and religious people.

>> It is still the Clinton Administration's plan to make condoms and birth control devices available to every child through the schools, to have sex education classes for children as young as kindergarten, and to teach children that there is nothing wrong with the homosexual lifestyle.

And even though Republicans now hold a majority in Congress, none of this will change ... so long as Christian voices remain silent on these issues.

That's because even the best members of Congress prefer not to discuss the moral issues. They would much prefer to talk about economic issues ... which are not as controversial.

I'm sure you've noticed that liberals are already recovering from the defeat they suffered in 1994 the mid-term elections.

You've probably seen the incredible attacks liberals in the news media and Congress are launching against House Speaker Newt Gingrich for his pro-family stands.

CBS's Connie Chung went so far as to ambush Newt Gingrich's mom -- yet another outrageous example of how low the media is willing to sink when assaulting pro-family leaders.

And I'm sure you've seen how the media is trying to smear Christian Coalition with all sorts of unfair charges because of our effectiveness at turning out the Christian vote and giving a strong voice to the concerns of Christian Americans.

Even the most pro-family members of Congress have been frightened by the viciousness of these attacks. They don't want to be targeted for defeat by the homosexual and feminist lobbies.

They don't want to be called "homophobic" for saying the government should stop funding pro-homosexual "art" projects or for opposing homosexual marriages and homosexual adoptions.

They don't want to be called "anti-women" for taking a strong pro-life stand.

And they don't want to be called "tools of the Christian Right" for wanting to protect every child's right to pray and worship God without fear of persecution from school officials.

So if you can see why it's so important that members of Congress continue to hear from Christian voters, please ...

1) Complete and return the enclosed CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY NATIONAL SURVEY.

2) Sign and mail the enclosed pre-addressed postcards to your Senators and Congressman reminding them not to ignore

the moral issues which are so important to Christian voters.

3) And please accept my invitation to join Christian Coalition by sending a membership gift of \$15 or more.

Your membership gift will help us swamp Capitol Hill with millions of postcards and messages urging Congress not to be afraid of taking clear moral stands, saying ...

- ... NO to condom distribution in the schools,
- ... NO to taxpayer-funding of abortion,
- ... NO to sex education classes in the public schools that promote promiscuity,
- ... NO to homosexual adoptions and government-sanctioned gay marriages, and
- ... NO to taxpayer-funding of pornography and anti-Christian "art" projects.

And your membership gift will help us cover our cost to complete our survey of 2,000,000 Christian voters.

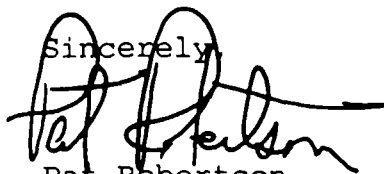
Not only will this survey help us make certain our CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY reflects the views and priorities of America's 40,000,000 Christian voters ...

... but we will also share the results with all 535 members of Congress when we submit the final draft of our CONTRACT a few weeks from now. So I hope you can see why your decision to participate in this survey is so important to me.

Even if you decide not to join Christian Coalition, you can still make your voice count and your views known by completing and returning your survey in the pre-addressed envelope provided and by signing and mailing your postcards to Congress.

Of course, I very much hope and pray you will join with us as a full-fledged member. I will anxiously wait for your reply.

Sincerely,



Pat Robertson

Founder and President, CHRISTIAN COALITION

P.S. By mailing your membership gift of \$15 or more, you will be joining forces with 1,400,000 of your fellow Christian brothers and sisters to fight the political and legislative battles that you cannot fight by yourself. I will also send you a copy of the final draft of our CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY when we submit it to Congress.

If you decide not to join with us, you can still make your voice count by returning your survey and mailing your postcards urging Congress to pass our CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY. But please remember, we can't be a strong and effective voice for your values without a large membership. That's why it's so crucial that you join with Christian Coalition today. Thank you so much.

Family Values Contract



We the American People,
trusting in God as our Savior and Lord, hereby
call upon the Congress of the United States to
return to a standard of biblical morality in
establishing the laws of our land.



For the sake of our country's spiritual health and the preservation of the traditional family, which is the building block of our nation, we strongly urge you to:

1. Free citizens from having to fund abortion or abortion referrals. Do not force taxpayers to subsidize in any way the slaughter of innocent unborn children.
2. Allow children to pray in school. Let a forthright endorsement of traditional morality return to the troubled classrooms of America.
3. Treat persons equally without special rights, privileges, and consideration because of sexual behavior. Let homosexuals enjoy the same rights as all other citizens, but not special legal sanctions which may be rightfully afforded to racial and gender groups who meet the legal criteria for minority status.
4. Free citizens from having to fund art which is obscene, profane, or makes a mockery of God and the Christian faith.
5. Protect our children from curricula which present homosexuality as normal or acceptable. Let parents guide their own children according to their own conscience in matters of sexuality.
6. Teach young people sexual abstinence as the preferred lifestyle, and stop confusing them with condom distribution in our schools. Restore funding for programs which teach sexual abstinence as the preferred lifestyle, and put a stop to the diabolical sex education machine which is causing millions of teens to experiment and self-destruct sexually.
7. Uphold the American flag, a treasured symbol of our liberty and religious heritage; defend it against defacing or destruction. Let our children and grandchildren grow up to cherish and respect Old Glory.
8. Acknowledge our Christian heritage -- emphasize the genuine Christian legacy of our Founding Fathers, which has been increasingly hidden from view by the educational establishment. Let us acknowledge that this nation was founded under God and that her guiding principles are biblical in nature.
9. Free citizens from the shackles of "separation of church and state," an historically fraudulent doctrine that wrongly quarantines Christians from public life because of their belief in God and morality. Let America's religious life influence her public life, as the Founding Fathers intended!

I hereby affirm the 9 declarations of this Family Values Contract:

Signature: _____

Name (printed): _____

Representing (State or District): _____





PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Your Voice Against Intolerance

Day 101 and Beyond: The Conservative Congressional Majority and the Religious Right

As the conservative Republican majority in the U.S. House of Representatives wraps up work on its 100-day "Contract With America," Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and others are preparing to present the general outlines of their legislative agenda for the rest of the 104th Congress. That presentation poses a difficult challenge for the new Speaker: elected on a Contract that sought to avoid many of the divisive social issues nearest the heart of the Religious Right leadership that helped carry the election, his biggest supporters are now expecting what they themselves have termed "payback" for their efforts in the 1994 campaign.

Throughout the course of the first 100 days, the Republican majority has walked something of a legislative tightrope, addressing a number (though certainly not all) of the Religious Right's social issues, but still managing to keep the principal focus of their work on budget and tax issues not generally associated with the Religious Right. At the same time, movement leaders have operated from the premise that their electoral efforts last fall, and their lobbying support for the Contract this winter, would be rewarded with a rich legislative harvest come spring and summer. Already, troubling signals are in view that the new conservative majority is ready to pay back its Religious Right supporters with a full-scale assault on reproductive freedom, public education and other movement targets. While the new leadership continues to shy away from public discussion of the Religious Right's divisive social and cultural agenda and to downplay differences in the party over such issues as reproductive rights, congressional activity has already begun to put those rights at risk.

The Religious Right and the Contract

The Religious Right concluded early on that their best chance for winning congressional approval for their sweeping legislative agenda was to demonstrate their loyalty to the Republican party Contract. To the mainstream press, movement leaders have generally portrayed their support as grounded in the merits -- arguing for the balanced budget amendment, term limits, tax cuts and more on economic grounds. But in more private communications with their members and followers, they have taken a different tack. The contrast was best demonstrated by Ralph Reed, executive director of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, and the most visible political leader of the Religious Right. The Christian Coalition produces a 30-minute program for National Empowerment Television, the Paul Weyrich-founded cable channel on which Speaker Newt Gingrich has appeared regularly. The NET Christian Coalition program provides -- quite literally -- only half the story. In fact, the Coalition produces a full-hour program, which is

packaged for closed-circuit satellite feeds to members and subscribers across the country. What NET viewers do not see, because it is not available to them, is a considerably more tailored message. On one such recent broadcast, Reed told Christian Coalition members and supporters precisely why they should support the Contract, even though it omitted many of their key issues: "If the Contract gets off on a bad foot and stumbles, and if the Balanced Budget Amendment is defeated, then all the other things that religious conservatives want to have -- whether it's cutting the NEA or reforming education or protecting unborn life or toughening the Hyde Amendment -- if we lose this vote [on the Balanced Budget Amendment], we're going to lose so much momentum, we'll never get it back." Later, he reiterated: "[T]he pro-family cultural agenda can only succeed if we gain momentum by passing and gaining the Contract."

In keeping with that political rationale, the Christian Coalition and other Religious Right groups have sought to identify themselves closely with the Contract. On January 19, 1995, Reed announced Christian Coalition plans to conduct a million-dollar grassroots campaign in support of the Contract with America. And since January, groups such as the Christian Coalition and the Family Research Council claim to have engaged in a major grassroots campaign, utilizing direct mail, phone banking, and television and radio shows to lobby for passage of the Contract.

Religious Right support has proved unwavering, even in the face of substantive arguments that might once have given movement leaders pause. Key aspects of the Contract have proved controversial both within the Republican party and with the American people, but self-styled "pro-family" groups have continued to provide support for virtually every aspect of the Contract, from upper class tax cuts to punitive welfare "reforms." These "pro-family" groups have embraced policies that have a devastating effect on children and low-income families. While the U.S. Catholic Conference spoke out against some of those provisions, calling the welfare debate a "test of our nation's values and our commitment to the 'least among us,'" Reed called the welfare bill his number one priority. While both pro-life and pro-choice groups strongly opposed provisions that would coerce women's reproductive decisions, Reed and others persisted. Even as polls showed public disapproval for harsh budget cuts in programs for children and families, Reed exhorted his audience to "light up the switch board on Capitol Hill. Urge your members of Congress to vote for the things you voted for last November."

The groups reserved their greatest enthusiasm for the Gingrich tax plan, which ensures that upper income families earning up to \$200,000 a year are eligible for the a \$500 per child tax credit, a plan embraced by the Christian Coalition as "just allowing families to keep their own money." But, remarkably, low and moderate income working families with children would, by virtue of specific statutory language, be prohibited from claiming the \$500 benefit if their tax bill were too small. (Some previous tax credits have allowed families to claim refunds if their pre-credit tax bill was smaller than the credit; this one does not.) Many Senate Republicans rejected the plan out of hand, and 100 House Republicans, stung by criticism that the tax plan put money in the pockets of the rich at the expense of children, wrote a letter to Gingrich asking that tax credits be limited to middle class families. Nevertheless, the Family Research Council pledged a million-dollar direct-mail and radio ad campaign to help pass the measure, which cleared the House in its original form just as the 100 days came to an end.

The Religious Right's fealty to the Contract and to the House leadership has already yielded important payoffs. For example, Reed and his allies on the Right have not had to wait until "Day 101" to attack funding for the National Endowment for the Arts and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, to target reproductive choice for poor women, or to get assurances that anti-gay initiatives will be on the congressional agenda. Religious Right organizations have been invited to put their imprimatur on Contract legislation in numerous Congressional hearings, with Gary Bauer's Family Research Council, for example, testifying for tax credits, welfare reform, and the elimination of public broadcasting, and Concerned Women for America speaking on tax credits and welfare reform. But the Religious Right's achievements so far are just a glimmer of what movement leaders are hoping to push through Congress in the months ahead.

A New Contract

Religious Right support for the Contract has not stopped movement leaders from advancing their issues -- during or after the first 100 days. Many of them remain dissatisfied that the Contract excluded the so-called "family agenda" in the first place, and have launched an aggressive campaign to insist that their agenda take priority in the Congress' second "100 Days." As Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council explained, "We are disgruntled and we don't intend to tolerate it. I think across the board we feel that the Republican Party is taking us for granted." Some Religious Right leaders have begun to single out Republican leaders for censure. When Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KS) said he would not use abortion as a litmus test for choosing a running mate, James Dobson of Focus on the Family fumed, "What an insult to the millions of Americans who grieve over the killing of pre-born children. What arrogance it was to trivialize an issue that burns in their hearts." Dobson also branded New Jersey Governor Christine Whitman unfit to serve as Republican party spokesperson: "She's pro-abortion, pro-gay, pro-lesbian and pro-condom distribution. She stands for the opposite to what the pro-family movement believes."

Religious Right leaders have explicitly employed Contract rhetoric to advance their social agenda. Shortly after the November election, Martin Mawyer of the Christian Action Network issued a "Pro-Family Contract With America," which listed among its top priorities a constitutional amendment for school prayer, the abolition of the National Endowment for the Arts, and a "de-fund[ing] of the homosexual agenda." Similarly, Dr. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries wasted no time in unveiling a "Family Values Contract," covering such hot button issues as abortion, prayer in school, funding for the arts, and gay rights. In recent weeks, Religious Right leaders, led by Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition and James Dobson of Focus on the Family have stepped up the pressure, declaring abortion the most critical issue facing the Republican party. Reed warned that the Christian Coalition would not support a presidential ticket that included a candidate who favored abortion rights, and Dobson sent a letter to 2.1 million supporters, 8,000 government leaders, 1,500 members of the press, and 110,000 pastors saying that "I am committed never again to cast a vote for a politician who would kill one innocent baby." Dobson says he is determined to force Republicans to make a commitment to the

anti-abortion position: "If [the mailing] doesn't change some hearts and minds at (the Republican National Committee), then we'll launch a second, third and fourth wave to generate support."

The lobbying has included direct threats to abandon the Republican Party in future elections. "If the Republican Party continues to imitate the Democrats by evading these broader issues, or by defending immoral solutions, they will be abandoned by the pro-family community," railed Dobson. "Either a third party will emerge or conservatives will sit on their hands."

This vocal grumbling from the Republican Party's most powerful political supporters got party leaders' attention. At a March meeting between Religious Right leaders and Republican House leaders, Gingrich proclaimed a steadfast commitment to passing a "pro-family" agenda in the months ahead.

What that agenda includes is clear from Religious Right political groups' public declarations, their lobbying efforts in the 103rd Congress and this spring, and their communications with their supporters.

The Religious Right Agenda for Day 101 and Beyond

Since the election, the Religious Right has worked to stake out the full sweep of its social agenda. In deference to the wishes of the Republican leadership, they have waited on many planks of their platform. On other issues, they have seized, or in some cases created, opportunities to advance their proposals within the context of the Contract.

What follows is a brief sketch of the Religious Right's expressed agenda for Day 101 and beyond, taken from their own broadcasts, writings and mailings, and the action already taken in Congress in the first hundred days. Even the increasing influence of the Religious Right will probably not be sufficient to enact the entire agenda, particularly in light of expected opposition from mainstream religious, education and other groups, as well as moderate Republicans and Democrats. But it is clear that the Religious Right will have an unprecedented opportunity to translate their once-theoretical policy objectives into statutory reality.

Reproductive Rights

- **Reject Surgeon General nominee Dr. Henry Foster.** Religious Right and anti-choice groups are mobilizing their grassroots activists to pressure the Senate to reject President Clinton's nominee for the post of Surgeon General, terming Dr. Foster a "ghoul" who "opted out of the Hippocratic Oath." Several Senators expressed opposition to the nominee well before a hearing date was announced. Polls show that most Americans do not believe that Dr. Foster should be disqualified from serving as Surgeon General for having performed abortions during his distinguished 38-year career as an obstetrician/gynecologist.

- Pass a permanent Hyde Amendment, to restrict federal funding of abortions and restrict Medicaid funding of abortions. Rep. Ernest Istook (R-OK) successfully offered an amendment to the rescission bill in committee to allow states to deny Medicaid funding for abortions for victims of rape and incest. After the amendment was withdrawn from the bill under pressure from moderate Republicans, Speaker Gingrich (R-GA) announced his intention to include the provision in legislation this summer.
- Defund Title X of the Public Health Service Act, which has provided accessible family planning services for many American women. The Family Research Council calls for the federal government to “promote...that sex should be saved for marriage” to the exclusion of all other forms of family planning. While the rescission bill was before the House, Rep. Tom DeLay (R-TX) announced his intention to cut Title X funds by \$25 million. He later withdrew his amendment. An amendment offered by Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-CT) in committee to increase family planning support was ruled out of order.
- Reinstate the abortion “gag rule.” This regulation prevented non-doctors in family planning clinics receiving federal funds from even discussing abortion with their patients, and was overturned by President Clinton in 1993. Although the “gag rule” provision originally included in the “Contract with America” was removed due to pressure from moderate Republicans, restoring and enacting the provision remains a top priority.
- End federal funding and ban any research using fetal tissue. Such research, supported by mainstream medical groups, is opposed by Religious Right and anti-choice groups.
- Pass parental consent laws. Focus on the Family is asking for national parental consent laws for minors seeking abortions.
- Repeal of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE). Already modest efforts to provide clinic security have met with Congressional opposition. In February, a Schroeder amendment to the “Take Back Our Streets Act” to allow states to use federal block grant money for clinic security was termed “an abortion vote” by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) and rejected by a vote of 266 to 164.
- Pass constitutional amendment extending legal protection to the unborn. Several bills have been introduced which seek to amend the Constitution “with respect to the right to life” or to provide civil rights to the unborn.
- Prohibit the sale and manufacture of RU-486. Anti-abortion groups are leading opposition to the effort to bring the drug into the U.S.
- Prevent Planned Parenthood from receiving any federal grants for its domestic or international family planning efforts. The Christian Coalition has made eliminating federal funds for Planned Parenthood a part of its “Contract with the American Family.” Religious

Right activists have claimed that Planned Parenthood, which has long been at the forefront of voluntary family planning efforts, is involved in “family banning.”

AIDS Funding

- Drastically alter the structure of HIV/AIDS programs so that funding levels are “brought into line with expenditures for other life-threatening diseases.” The Family Research Council has called for the overhaul of the Ryan White Act and AIDS education programs, as well as redirecting the funds to reduce the focus on white, homosexual males. Already, the House Appropriations Committee made an unsuccessful attempt to slash the funds for the Ryan White program.

Welfare Reform

- Support House-passed welfare reform legislation, which includes coercive policies which put children at risk and limit reproductive choice, such as “family caps” and the notorious “illegitimacy ratio,” which awards cash bonuses to states if they reduce out-of-wedlock births and discourage abortions within the entire state population. These provisions were opposed by pro- and anti-choice organizations alike, but were supported by Religious Right groups, which sought to end federal “subsidies” for “illegitimacy.” The U.S. Catholic Conference spoke out against some of these provisions, calling the welfare debate a “test of our nation’s values and our commitment to the ‘least among us.’”
- Restrict women on welfare from having access to abortion services. A broad Hyde amendment adopted on the House floor would restrict funding under the “Personal Responsibility Act” for “medical services.” The amendment clearly targets abortion but could be interpreted to limit access to family planning services.

Public Education

- Pass a school prayer or religious freedom constitutional amendment. After negative reaction to Rep. Ernest Istook’s (R-OK) school prayer amendment unveiled last fall, Religious Right groups such as the Christian Coalition, Traditional Values Coalition, and the Family Research Council are pushing for a sweeping “Religious Equality Amendment” that would authorize government-sponsored religious activity in all public places, including schools. Although it has not yet been introduced, the amendment is being framed by Gary Bauer, for example, as ending “pervasive hostility to religious expression that began with the ‘62 and ‘63 Supreme Court decisions on school prayer.” However, the amendment appears likely to be a radical move to carve a major hole in the Establishment Clause’s separation of Church and State.

- Pass the Helms/Johnson/Duncan school prayer funding cut-off amendment. This measure, crafted by Helms with the help of Pat Robertson's American Center For Law & Justice (ACLJ), would cut-off all federal education funding to any state or local education agency that "effectively prevents" participation in "voluntary," constitutionally protected prayer. The result would likely be considerable pressure from right-wing groups to force local school officials into allowing unconstitutional religious activities in the schools. This measure was narrowly defeated when offered to the education authorization legislation last year but was reintroduced by Senator Helms on the first day of the Congress.
- Pass education vouchers legislation. Focus on the Family, the Christian Coalition, and the Family Research Council, along with most other Religious Right organizations, are asking Congress to pass legislation promoting tuition tax credits or vouchers at the federal level as a way to divert tax dollars to private religious schools. Ralph Reed declared in January that "We should return much of the \$33 billion we spend at the federal level . . . and convert it into scholarships or vouchers" Senators Coats (R-IN) and Lieberman (D-CT) have already introduced a voucher bill that seeks to establish a beachhead on the issue by creating voucher demonstration projects and in the House, Rep. Solomon (R-NY) has introduced a bill that would provide for tuition tax credits. House Republicans have also vowed to push for a voucher plan for the District of Columbia.
- Abolish the Department of Education. Both Focus on the Family and the Christian Coalition, along with Empower America's William Bennett, have called for the abolition of the Department of Education, in order to "return control of our schools back to parents and local communities." House Republicans have already announced the formation of a task force that will press for legislation to, among other things, dismantle the Department of Education and eliminate all education regulations mandated on state and local school districts by any federal agency.
- Repeal Goals 2000. Concerned Women for America and Focus on the Family are urging Congress to repeal this educational standards and reform measure. Efforts to undermine Goals 2000 have already begun; the House cut \$173 million, or 43 percent, of its appropriation for this fiscal year in the rescission bill.
- Pass a "parental rights" bill. Rep. Steve Largent (R-OK) has agreed to introduce a parents' right bill, which would be similar in scope to a "Parental Rights Amendment" already introduced in over 20 states. The amendment would give parents a powerful tool to challenge school curricula and health care programs, favorite targets of the Religious Right. On the state level, a parental rights amendment has received support from the Family Research Council and Focus on the Family.
- Gut sex education programs. The Christian Action Network is demanding that Title X and Title XX of the Public Health Services Act be repealed while the Christian Coalition is asking Congress to prevent the government from distributing condoms or other birth control

devices and sexually-explicit sex education materials to children in schools without the consent of parents.

- Pass the Family Privacy Protection Act of 1995. This legislation, originally part of a larger bill designed to “reinforce family values,” would require parental consent before children could be questioned about sex, religion, psychological problems, or their parents’ political beliefs, if such questions are asked in a survey conducted as part of a federally funded program. If passed, the bill would expand the Protection of Pupil Rights Act (PPRA), which applies only to programs funded by the Department of Education. The Eagle Forum and other Religious Right groups have long used the PPRA, referred to as the Hatch Amendment, as leverage to remove books and curricula from public schools -- often stretching the statute far beyond its text -- and have strongly supported expansion of the existing law.
- Revise last year’s reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Focus on the Family is pushing to convert federal education spending into block grants to go to the states. Already education spending has been heavily targeted by the House in the Rescissions bill.

Gay Rights

- Rescind the “Don’t ask, Don’t tell” policy and reinstate the total ban on gays in the military. Focus on the Family, the Family Research Council, Traditional Values Coalition, the Christian Action Network and other Religious Right groups have placed a high priority on a ban against gays. Rep. Bob Dornan (R-CA) has pledged to reinstate the old military policy of probing recruits about their sexual orientation. In 1993, Speaker Gingrich voted against the ban and said that asking recruits about their sexual orientation “strikes me as radically too far, unnecessary and inappropriate.” But now, under pressure from his right flank, he has changed his position twice in the past week.
- Hold hearings on the “homosexual agenda.” The Traditional Values Coalition is trumpeting Gingrich’s promise to hold hearings on the alleged “homosexual agenda” in public schools. Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition told his supporters shortly before the 1994 elections, “I met with Newt Gingrich and Newt promised me -- and will put it in writing -- that if elected Speaker of the House, he will hold field hearings on the homosexual agenda as it is relevant to the public schools, and how they’re trying to promote and advocate homosexuality.”
- Prevent schools from offering counseling, curricula, or library materials that present homosexuality as normal or acceptable. Plans are in the works to reintroduce an anti-gay censorship amendment offered by Rep. Mel Hancock (R-MO). The Hancock amendment would require education officials to engage in sweeping censorship of school activities ranging from classroom discussions and curricular materials to private counseling sessions, school plays, support groups and increasingly popular tolerance programs. It was featured in

Christian Coalition voter guides distributed before the 1994 elections, and was supported by virtually every Religious Right organization, including the Concerned Women for America, the American Family Association, and the Family Research Council.

- Defund the “homosexual agenda.” The Christian Action Network has charged that Congress provides millions of dollars each year to directly and indirectly promote homosexuality in America. Sen. Helms (R-NC) has already put forth legislation that would ban the use of Federal money to support homosexuality. “[T]he promotion of homosexuality at Federal Government expense across the entire Federal Government is taking place today. It’s a clear agenda,” warned Bob Maginnis of the Family Research Council. The only concrete examples targeted have been federal diversity training programs and gay and lesbian employee organizations.
- Prevent “special rights” for homosexuals. Topping most Religious Right wish lists would be legislation to prevent any federal, state or local measures protecting gays and lesbians from discrimination and hate crimes. Bills such as the federal Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) in fact extend no special rights, but simply would protect gay and lesbian Americans from unfair discrimination.

Free Expression

- Abolish the National Endowment for the Arts. Religious Right groups are unanimous in their calls to eliminate the Endowment, which they distort as “taxpayer-funding of pornography and anti-Christian ‘art’ projects. The House rescission bill cut \$5 million from the NEA’s current-year appropriation.
- Abolish the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Christian Action Network claims that the agency is “rife with revisionist history and politically correct mumbo-jumbo.” In a hearing before the House Appropriations Committee on January 24, 1995, William Bennett and Lynne Cheney, former NEH chairs under Presidents Reagan and Bush called for zero funding of the agency, based on its supposed left-wing agenda. Ironically, just two years ago Cheney was testifying in favor of increased funding for the agency. The House rescission bill cut \$5 million from the NEH’s current-year appropriation.
- “Privatize” the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Many “pro-family” groups seek to defund Public Broadcasting and National Public Radio. Senator Larry Pressler (R-SD) is the leading proponent of funding cuts in the Senate, while a recent House Appropriations subcommittee hearing featured testimony from right-wing groups such as Gary Bauer’s Family Research Council, Reed Irvine’s Accuracy in Media, Brent Bozell’s Media Research Center and the National Rifle Association, among others. Despite evidence of overwhelming support for public broadcasting by the American people, the House cut \$47 million from the CPB’s fiscal year 1996 budget in the rescission bill.

- Pass laws to censor communications on the internet. Already, legislation introduced by Senators James Exon (D-NE) and Slade Gorton (R-WA) would unconstitutionally amend existing laws to criminalize even private consensual communications with “filthy” or “lewd” content on all “telecommunications devices.” This legislation has been supported by the Family Research Council, Focus on the Family, and anti-pornography groups.
- Amend the Bill of Rights to “protect” the American flag. Reps. Gerald Solomon (R-NY) and Sonny Montgomery (D-MS) and Sens. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Howell Heflin (D-AL) have introduced a constitutional amendment to carve out an exception to the First Amendment to prevent “desecration” of the flag in political protests. Pat Robertson was an enthusiastic supporter of the amendment during its last incarnation during the Bush Administration. He gleefully proclaimed, “Oh my, that’s going to be a good one. I’ll tell you, the Republicans are rubbing their hands with glee . . . I cannot believe any congressman in an election year is going to vote against such an amendment. It would be political suicide, absolute suicide.” Dr. D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries has already listed passage of the flag amendment as a major priority.

Other Religious Right Goals

- Acknowledge the United States’ Christian heritage and emphasize the Christian legacy of the Founding Fathers. Even this Religious Right wish may be on the agenda shortly. An early draft of the “Religious Equality Amendment” addressing government-sponsored prayer also includes a provision to permit the United States or any state to acknowledge “the religious heritage, beliefs, or traditions of its people.
- Cut funding for the Legal Services Corporation, an entity that provides a principal source of funds for legal representation for the poor. Ralph Reed has asserted that the corporation’s appropriations “cry out for budget cuts.” His only reason: that, among many other cases in which it provides representation for indigent Americans, the corporation’s funding goes to representation of poor people in divorce cases. Legal Services has already been on the chopping block during the first 100 days. It appears that the Senate will rescind \$15 million from the agency. The House voted to cut \$5.8 million from the corporation’s 1995 appropriation.
- Reject the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child. “Pro-family” groups claim that the treaty would usurp parental authority.
- Oppose U.S. representation at the U.N. Conference on Women’s Issues in Beijing, China. The conference is to promote gender equality and to end discrimination against women worldwide.
- Bar women in the military from combat situations.