

THE STATE
OF THE
RELIGIOUS RIGHT
2006



THE ANATOMY OF POWER

TEXAS AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT IN 2006



TEXAS
FREEDOM
NETWORK
EDUCATION
♦ FUND ♦

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A REPORT FROM THE TEXAS FREEDOM NETWORK EDUCATION FUND

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ABOUT THE TFN EDUCATION FUND

The Texas Freedom Network Education Fund is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation. Created in 1996, the TFNEF researches the agenda, activities and funding of the religious right. It also educates mainstream people of faith in how to formulate and to advocate a faith-based response to the religious right's policy agenda.

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INTRODUCTION

State of the Religious Right: 2006 – *The Anatomy of Power* is the first of a planned series of annual reports from the Texas Freedom Network Education Fund on the influence of the religious right in Texas. As Texans go to the polls this year in statewide elections, this report explores the rise of religious conservatives to positions of power in partisan politics and state government.

Broadly speaking, the religious right is a political movement that seeks to structure law and society around a conservative interpretation of Christian biblical principles. It is not a monolithic organization with one leader. Rather, the religious right includes a network of individuals, groups and wealthy donors who share a decidedly conservative biblical worldview.

Since the 1970s, two great pillars of the movement have been opposition to abortion and gay rights. Over the years, however, social conservatives have also pushed a broad agenda that includes state-sponsored prayer in schools, abstinence-only sex education, tax-funded faith-based social services, and – more recently – opposition to medical research on stem cells. Another high priority has been using tax dollars to fund voucher programs that subsidize tuition at private and religious schools. In fact, public education has been a favorite target of the religious right, with leaders such as the Rev. Jerry Falwell openly calling for the end of public schools. “I hope I live to see the day when, as in the early days of our country, we won’t have any public schools,” Falwell wrote in 1979. “The churches will have taken them over again and Christians will be running them. What a happy day that will be!”¹

From the 1970s to the 1990s, the movement’s leaders often portrayed themselves as “outsiders” working to protect traditional Christian values in a world controlled by secular forces. In the last decade, however, those same people who criticized government as secular and anti-Christian have become power brokers in Austin and Washington, D.C. They are judges and lawmakers, bureaucrats and party leaders, lobbyists and advisers.

The result is that today we see a mix of religion and politics that should be astonishing and alarming to supporters of religious freedom. Prominent conservative evangelicals such as the Rev. Rod Parsley of Ohio and the Rev. Rick Scarborough of Texas sound as much like politicians as they do religious leaders. Pastors, they argue, should use their positions to demand that elected officials protect and promote distinctly Christian principles in government. Those who disagree – those who, for example, remind us that separation of church and state is the best protection for religious freedom – are accused of promoting a “war on Christians.” (Rev. Scarborough’s Vision America even sponsored a March 2006 conference in Washington, D.C., called “The War on Christians and the Values Voter in 2006.”)

Even more alarming is how politicians cravenly pander for the support of Parsley, Scarborough and other religious-right leaders such as James Dobson of Focus on the Family and Tony Perkins of Family Research Council. We can see this pandering most clearly in vitriolic attacks on an independent judiciary. It was shocking, for example, when U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay of Sugar Land predicted some form of retribution for judges who ruled that Florida doctors could remove the feeding tubes from a brain-damaged woman trapped for years in a vegetative state.² Another Texas politician, U.S. Sen. John Cornyn, has suggested that cases of judges “making political decisions” might lead people to “engage in violence” in the nation’s courthouses.³ (See Appendix B for a sampling of some of the more outrageous things heard from the religious right in 2005.)

Bowing to the religious right was also obvious in Texas Gov. Rick Perry’s decision in June 2006 to sign anti-abortion and anti-gay marriage measures at an evangelical church school in Fort Worth. Consider also how political speeches by the governor – and other elected officials – often sound much like sermons to the faithful. (See Chapter 3.) In fact, it is becoming increasingly difficult to tell the difference between the preacher in the pulpit and the politician on the stump. They are essentially reading off of the same script.



AP PHOTO/JOHN RUSSELL



AP PHOTO/LM OTERO

◀ U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay, R-Sugar Land, speaks here during “Justice Sunday II,” an event broadcast on conservative Christian television stations across the country in August 2005. Sponsored by far-right groups such as the Family Research Council, the event featured speakers who railed against “activist” judges whose rulings have angered Christian conservatives.

▲ When Gov. Rick Perry traveled to a Fort Worth church school to sign a parental consent bill on abortion and an anti-gay marriage measure, he was surrounded by prominent leaders on the religious right. From left to right: Molly White of Redeemed for Life, Joe Pojman of Texas Alliance for Life, Kelly Shackelford (partly obscured) of Free Market Foundation, Dr. Linda Flowers of Texas Physicians Resource Council, Kyleen Wright of Texans for Life Coalition and Cathie Adams of Texas Eagle Forum. State Sen. Jane Nelson, R-Lewisville, the author of the bill on parental consent, stands at the far right.

The Religious Right’s Rise in Texas

Texas politicians, it appears, are particularly willing to appeal overtly for the support of religious conservatives. This willingness has grown as the religious right has moved in little more than a decade from the fringes of the political realm to the halls of Texas politics and government. Throughout the following four chapters, this report examines how religious conservatives accomplished this remarkable evolution into a powerful political force in the state. Together, these chapters map out the anatomy of a powerful movement in Texas: the takeover of the Republican Party of Texas, access to vast amounts of political money from wealthy donors, the support of a network of pressure groups and the development of leaders skilled in the art of political evangelism.

Chapter 1 examines how the Republican Party of Texas came under the control of the religious right. Today the party leadership is solidly in the hands of movement activists – including the head of the Christian advocacy group WallBuilders, David Barton, who serves as the party’s vice chair. (See Chapter 4 for a full discussion of Barton.) Moreover, the party’s political platform – its statement of core values and positions – has moved sharply rightward over the past decade. Gone, for example, are the days when the platform expressed acceptance for all religious views. Today the platform formally declares the United States to be a

“Christian nation” and derides the notion that the U.S. Constitution guarantees separation of religion and state. (See Appendix C.) Moreover, most Republican candidates for office now find themselves forced to court the support of the dominant far-right wing of the party.

Chapter 2 explores how San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger has used his fortune to support the religious right’s rise to power. Money – mountains of it – has long been important in Texas politics, whether it has come from oil and other business interests, trial lawyers or other powerful constituencies. In the last two decades, however, Texas has witnessed the increasing influence of extravagantly wealthy donors who use their vast fortunes to advance a hard-right social agenda. Dr. Leininger has been the most important of these ideological super-donors.

Chapter 3 looks at the origins and goals of the Texas Restoration Project, a new and potentially powerful organization of politically motivated conservative pastors. The Texas Restoration Project is just one group in an interconnected web of pressure groups that have helped organize social conservatives in the state. Information about many of those groups – such as the Free Market Foundation, Heritage Alliance, Vision America and Texas Eagle Forum – can be found in Appendix E.

Chapter 4 focuses on David Barton, the Texas Republican Party vice chairman who uses his uniquely twisted interpretation of American history to attack the separation of church and state and to draw more Christian evangelicals into the GOP. Barton and other leaders have risen from the ranks of far-right groups to positions of authority within both the Republican Party and state government. Susan Weddington, for example, appointed Barton to his post as party vice chair in 1997. Weddington herself is a longtime Christian conservative activist who joined Concerned Women for America in the 1980s. She became chair of the Texas GOP in 1997 and then began appointing social conservatives to positions of influence in the party. She also recruited far-right candidates and prominent donors – including longtime associate James Leininger – to help the Republican Party win control of state government from 1998 to 2002. In 2004, Gov. Perry made Weddington the head of the OneStar Foundation, a quasi-public

nonprofit that oversees a variety of state charitable and volunteer programs, including the Governor’s Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.

Other leaders of far-right groups, such as Kelly Shackelford of the Free Market Foundation and Rick Scarborough of the Texas-based Vision America, have been influential from outside the GOP. Yet Barton has provided the intellectual justification, however dubious, for the transformation of a religious movement into a political power. This self-styled historian heads an influential Christian advocacy organization, WallBuilders, serves as vice chair of the Texas GOP and has been the point man for the Republican National Committee’s efforts to recruit Christian evangelical pastors into the party. He is, in fact, a prime example of the religious right’s success in developing leaders who can successfully push a sectarian agenda in the political world.

{ CHAPTER 1 }

The Republican Party of Texas:
God's Own Party?

The Republican Party of Texas: God's Own Party?

The year 1990, in the words of one *Washington Post* columnist, was supposed to be the time when “a modern, urbane, cosmopolitan Texas GOP reached parity with the Democrats.”⁴ The rising Republican national tide was finally beginning to lap at the steps of the state Capitol in Austin. To end the long-time Democratic domination there, Republican leaders sought candidates who had the polish, education and talent for building consensus that would appeal to crossover voters. Republican hopes rose throughout the year, particularly with a wealthy Republican oilman from West Texas, Clayton Williams, bankrolling his own gubernatorial campaign, one that seemed – for a while anyway – to be unbeatable.

It wasn't. A series of gaffes – verbal and political – helped doom Williams' campaign. A much more politically deft Ann Richards carried the Democratic banner back into the Governor's Mansion. Her party also won a majority of statewide races and kept control of the Legislature. Forced to regroup, Republicans looked for a candidate who could beat Gov. Richards in 1994. Party power brokers eventually settled on George W. Bush and styled him into a version of the straight-talking rancher and businessman long popular with Texans. But in the process, they spent little time looking down at the grass roots of their own party. While they were searching for a savior at the top, the party below was changing rapidly.

In the Beginning

Across the country, the foundation of the Republican Party had begun to shift in the late 1970s. Evangelical Christian leaders at the time were becoming increasingly disenchanted with President Jimmy Carter – a Democrat as well as a “born again” Christian. When Ronald Reagan brought the Republican Party to power in 1980, he did so with the strong backing of Christian conservative leaders such as the Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority. Over the next decade, Falwell, broadcaster Pat Robertson and other Christian evangelicals began to build a power base within the Republican Party.

Robertson took the first overt steps in creating a political machine within the party itself. In 1986, while preparing to run for president, Robertson distributed

among Iowa supporters an important memo under the heading, “How to Participate in a Political Party.” “Rule the world for God,” the memo read. “Give the impression you are there to work for the party, not to push an ideology; hide your strength; don't flaunt your Christianity.” The memo went on to explain, “Christians need to take leadership positions. Party officers control political parties and so it is very important that mature Christians have a majority of leadership positions whenever possible, God willing.”⁵

Two years later Robertson finished a strong second in the Iowa Republican Party caucuses. He ultimately lost the GOP presidential nomination to George H.W. Bush, but he had revealed a key strategy by which Christian conservatives would take over the party machinery itself. Indeed, from the mid-1980s, they had worked precinct-by-precinct to take over the Iowa party leadership at the local level until, eventually, they controlled the state party apparatus. One tactic was to drag out precinct meetings for hours and then take control when people decided they had had enough and left. Social conservatives who remained at the caucus meeting then appointed themselves leaders.⁶

The strategy worked well enough to export to other states. In Texas, journalists attending Republican Party events in the early 1990s witnessed the tipping point at which committee after committee at the precinct level fell under the sway of Christian conservatives. “The so-called Christian activists have finally gained control,” read the resignation letter of the president of the Alamo City Republican Women's club in 1993. “The Grand Old Party is more religious cult than political organization.”⁷

The same year Steven Hotze, a conservative Christian activist, ousted the Harris County (Houston) party chair.⁸ Hotze eventually worked his way on to the Republican Party of Texas Executive Committee. He was also a member of the National Coordinating Council (NCC), a political arm of the Coalition on Revival (COR). The COR was an organization that openly proposed “Christianizing” America, in part by taking over government beginning with local councils and county sheriff's offices. Over time the group also sought to abolish public schools, the Federal Reserve and the federal Internal Revenue Service.

Hotze kept close ties to another COR/NCC activist, Gary DeMar, follower of a religious philosophy known by various names, including “Dominionism,” “Christian Reconstructionism” and “Restorationism.” Dominionist doctrine holds that men must legislate God’s kingdom into existence, with society based on biblical law. Hotze sponsored DeMar as a speaker at Republican Party functions, and he used DeMar’s books in seminars he taught.⁹ Hotze’s desire to use his position within the party to advance the ideas of Dominionism marks him as a political forerunner of the current Texas Republican Party vice chair, David Barton. (See Chapter 4 for a full report on Barton.)

Taking Control

None of the Christian right’s inroads into the Texas Republican Party leadership should have surprised anyone. In 1991 Robertson had pledged to use his new organization, the Christian Coalition, to place “a working majority of the Republican Party in the hands of pro-family Christians by 1996.”¹⁰ Robertson’s deputy, Ralph Reed, explained the Coalition’s brand of guerrilla politics with a now legendary boast: “You don’t know it’s over, until you’re in a body bag.”¹¹ By 1992 major newspapers were circulating these claims as part of extensive exposés on the religious right’s tactics. They introduced readers to the notion of “stealth” candidates who did not reveal their social conservatism until already in office. The *Los Angeles Times* went so far as to report specific numbers of evangelical activists (1,000) trained in the fall of 1992 to take over precinct-level party committees across various states.¹²

In Texas, these tactics began to pay off for Christian conservatives in a big way by 1994. When Fred Meyer that year considered running for re-election to the state party chairman’s post he had held for six years, he knew the Texas GOP was a coalition of factions that included a growing number of Christian conservatives. Yet Meyer displayed confidence in his ability to lead those factions. In late January of that year, Meyer sent a memo to reporters with a letter he had mailed to party activists seeking their support. “I won’t go as far as (Dallas Cowboy coach) Jimmy Johnson did in boldly declaring

victory before the game even started,” he wrote. “But I will say that based on my successful record and grassroots support from across the state, I’m confident I will be re-elected at the state convention in June.”¹³

He was wrong. From 1988 to 1994 the number of elected Republicans in Texas increased from 580 to 930 officeholders, almost 60 percent. Texans elected a second Republican U.S. senator, and 74 conservative Democratic elected officials switched parties.¹⁴ But those successes could not secure Meyer’s re-election. A growing challenge from Christian conservatives within the party led Meyer ultimately to withdraw from the race.

None of the Christian right’s inroads into the Texas Republican Party leadership should have surprised anyone.

Tom Pauken, a Dallas mediation lawyer and longtime Republican activist, won the party chairmanship that year in part by appealing directly to the pragmatism that had united what he called “limited government conservatives and traditional values conservatives” in support of Ronald Reagan.¹⁵ But he also won by highlighting his perceived status as an outsider. Pauken was not a political neophyte, but he didn’t move within the party’s ruling elite. This outsider status combined with his grassroots political work increased his credibility among Christian conservatives. In a 2004 article, Tom Pauken himself explained that he “was not part of the Religious Right,” but unlike establishment Republicans, he knew how to take Christian conservatives seriously.¹⁶

For their part, activists associated with Pat Robertson’s Christian Coalition had learned to take themselves very seriously by polishing their rhetoric, at least on the national stage. By 1993 Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, was fond of explaining the group’s official view that “a political party is not a church. Its purpose is not to enunciate a doctrine of faith and enforce it; its purpose is to elect people to public office and engender public support as broad as possible.”¹⁷

The reality on the ground, however, was quite different. When a preliminary vote at the Texas GOP convention in 1994 gave Pauken a commanding lead in the race

for party chair, his main rivals – U.S. Rep. Joe Barton of Ennis and Dolly Madison McKenna of Houston – withdrew well ahead of a formal vote, avoiding a potentially bitter floor fight at the convention. Taking advantage of their momentum, social conservatives altered the party’s rules to delete a statement that expressed acceptance of all religious views. Colleen Parro, executive director of the Republican National Coalition for Life, particularly objected to Reed’s statement that “the Republican Party is not a church,” a phrase the more moderate McKenna had used in a speech to delegates. “I might remind you that [McKenna] was not elected chairman of this party,” the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* reported that Parro said to cheers from the convention floor. She continued, “Are you Republicans or are you Democrats?”¹⁸

The Purge Begins

That same year religious-right activists began to redefine the terms of Parro’s question: to be a Republican in Texas meant that one was not only a social conservative, but also a particular kind of Christian conservative. Tom Pauken may not have seen himself as part of the religious right, but under his leadership the GOP convention adopted a stridently anti-abortion, anti-gay platform that found its justifications in literalist and selective interpretations of the Old and New Testament. The document detailed a sweeping vision of an America in which only the private sector provides healthcare, English is the only official language, the state sponsors prayer in schools, sex education is banned in schools, abortion is illegal and immigration and federal funding for the arts are halted.¹⁹ In fact, party platforms more and more read much like religious tracts. The 2004

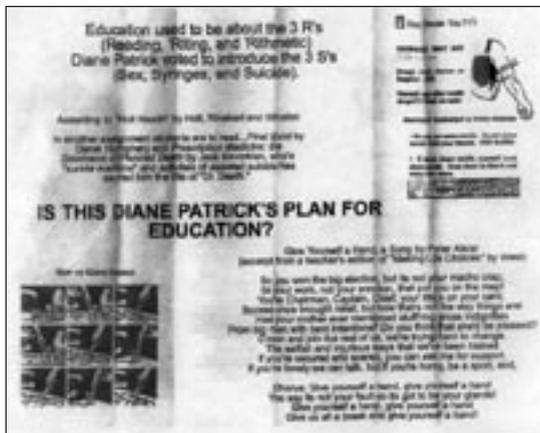
Texas Republican Party platform, for example, declares that “the United States of America is a Christian nation” and attacks as “myth” any idea that the U.S. Constitution guarantees separation of church and state. The platform also calls for tax-funded vouchers to subsidize tuition at religious and private schools and for public schools to emphasize “Judeo-Christian principles.” (See Appendix C for a summary of the 2004 Texas Republican Party platform.)

The overwhelming approval by convention delegates of these increasingly religious party platforms has masked underlying tensions between longtime traditional Republicans and ascendant Christian conservatives. Indeed, the party’s new rulers in the 1990s viewed even Gov. George W. Bush with suspicion in the early years of his administration, in part because of his relatively cozy relationships with Democrats who still held state offices. In 1996, just two years after Gov. Bush won election to office, Christian conservatives moved to block him from leading the Texas delegation to the Republican National Convention. They also tried, unsuccessfully, to deny U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison – a Republican who supports abortion rights – from being part of the Texas convention delegation at all.

The attacks on Sen. Hutchison were just a taste of what was to come. Over time Republican nominees were pressured to pledge support for all parts of the party platforms regardless of their own personal views on mixing religion and politics. Then in 2002 the far-right Free Enterprise PAC, or FreePAC, worked to defeat Republican incumbent legislators in party primary elections. FreePAC – funded largely by Christian

FreePAC’s fliers during the 2002 GOP primary targeted Republican state Sen. Rill Ratliff (the state’s acting lieutenant governor at the time) and other GOP moderates in the Legislature. Far-right groups have distributed similar fliers in other elections, both for the State Board of Education and, most recently, for the Legislature again in 2006.





Similar to FreePAC fliers in 2002, these fliers targeted challenger Diane Patrick in her successful race against state Rep. Kent Grusendorf in the March 2006 GOP primary. Rep. Grusendorf, who was supported by far-right voucher proponents, including Dr. James Leininger of San Antonio, accused Patrick's campaign of sending out the fliers to garner sympathy from voters.

conservative donors such as John Walton and Bo Pilgrim – distributed fliers, some decorated with images of men kissing each other, charging that the targeted Republicans were promoting homosexuality, same-sex marriage, abortion and assisted suicide in Texas.

All of the targeted incumbents won their primaries, but FreePAC's nasty campaign had a significant effect on public policy. It persuaded moderate Republicans that far-right forces were willing to spend lots of money and run vicious campaigns – and just might succeed the next time. In the most heated battle, for example, incumbent state Sen. Jeff Wentworth barely defeated his religious-right challenger. Some observers have suggested that during the 2003 legislative session, Sen. Wentworth tried to immunize himself against further attacks from the right by authoring and winning passage for a bill outlawing same-sex marriage in Texas.

The State Board of Education (SBOE) also became embroiled in the right's attempted purge of moderates from elected office. In fact, Dr. James Leininger of San Antonio used the SBOE as a model for helping Christian conservatives take control of government. In the early 1990s, huge financial contributions from Dr. Leininger turned once-sleepy campaigns for the state board into savage political brawls. (See Chapter 2 for a full discussion of Dr. Leininger.) Christian conservatives supported by Leininger money at first attacked bewildered Democratic opponents as promoters of homosexuality and abortion in public schools. Then Republican moderates on the state board also became targets for defeat.

In 2002, conservative Republican board member Geraldine "Tincy" Miller helped finance the defeat of the board's moderate Republican chairwoman, Grace Shore. Linda Bauer defeated Shore in the GOP primary, but then she proved insufficiently conservative as well. Social conservatives turned on Bauer after she voted in 2003 to approve new biology textbooks that taught about evolution but not the religion-based concept of "intelligent design." One conservative board member even claimed that Bauer was supported by atheists and communists. Bauer lost a bid for re-election in the 2004 GOP primary to Barbara Cargill, who supports teaching "intelligent design" in science classes and has the full backing of Christian conservatives.

As a result of these purges, the state board has become a playground for religious fanatics seeking to censor textbook content based on their own personal beliefs. The Legislature in 1995 moved to limit the problem by restricting the board's authority over textbook content. Yet each year, the board has been the center of raging battles in the nation's "culture wars" on issues such as evolution, sex education and even the role of women and "traditional families" in the working world.

Closing the Deal in 2006?

Efforts to purge moderate voices from the Republican Party – and, by extension, state government – have continued into 2006. After the Legislature failed once again to pass a private school voucher plan in 2005, social conservatives rallied around pro-voucher challengers to anti-voucher House Republicans. In fact, Dr. Leininger of San Antonio poured more than

\$2.4 million (at least) into political action committees supporting pro-voucher candidates. He and his wife also funded far-right social conservatives seeking seats on the SBOE.

The primary election results were mixed, however. Four of six incumbent Republicans targeted for defeat by Dr. Leininger won their primaries. In addition, a handful pro-voucher incumbent Republicans lost their primary races to candidates running as strong advocates for public schools. The defeated candidates included state Rep. Kent Grusendorf, chair of the House Public Education Committee and a key Leininger ally. Even so, Dr. Leininger appeared to succeed in purging at least two moderate Republicans who opposed vouchers. In

addition, his two SBOE candidates won their primary and runoff races.

The results of the March primary certainly showed that moderates can still win in the Republican Party, even when opposed by millions of dollars from the religious right's biggest financial backer. Yet the successful efforts to purge at least two moderates from the House will likely encourage the right to continue its efforts to "purify" the party. Moreover, the primary election results appeared to give the religious right majority control of the State Board of Education for the first time. The consequences of that result are likely to be seen not just in the Republican Party, but also in public schools across the state for years to come.

{ CHAPTER 2 }

James Leininger:
**Sugar Daddy of the
Religious Right**

James Leininger: Sugar Daddy of the Religious Right

The religious right's takeover of the Republican Party of Texas in the 1990s succeeded largely through the efforts of legions of grass-roots foot soldiers who began their campaign at the precinct level. Yet it has taken money – a lot of it – to solidify that control and to push a hard-right political agenda in the halls of Texas government. No other political donor on the religious right has been more important to that effort than Dr. James Leininger.

The San Antonio physician made a fortune selling specialty hospital beds. His business empire has included a variety of other companies, including Promised Land Dairy (which places a Bible verse on each milk container), the direct mail company Focus Direct and the political consulting firm of Winning Strategies.²⁰ Yet among Dr. Leininger's most significant investments have been in the careers of politicians who back his public policy agenda, including tort reform, private school vouchers, pushing religious conservative principles in public schools, and opposition to abortion and gay rights.

By the 1990s, Dr. Leininger and his wife were among the biggest financial backers of Republican candidates and causes championed by the religious right. Of course, millions of dollars have also flowed into Republican campaign coffers from donors such as Houston homebuilder Bob Perry and East Texas chicken tycoon Bo Pilgrim. What sets Dr. Leininger apart, however, is his ideological focus. His donations have not been made to benefit just any Republican. His contributions have been targeted almost exclusively to help Republican candidates who agree with his hard-right public policy agenda. Indeed, Dr. Leininger has been instrumental in transforming the Texas State Board of Education and the state Capitol into major battlegrounds in the nation's culture wars.

From 1997 to March 2006, the Leiningers contributed or loaned nearly \$10 million to candidates for state offices and to political action committees active at the state level.²¹ During the same period, the Leiningers contributed more than \$1 million to campaigns and political committees at the federal level and in other states.²² Those vast sums of money went almost exclusively to Republicans and far-right political committees. Indeed, Dr. Leininger has been called the "sugar daddy of the religious right" in Texas, and the name clearly fits.²³

Building a Web

Dr. Leininger's public policy agenda has long been dominated by two major goals: tort reform and promoting hard-right policies on issues such as private school vouchers, abortion and gay rights. Over the past decade he has created a vast web of interlocking and overlapping pressure groups to promote this agenda.

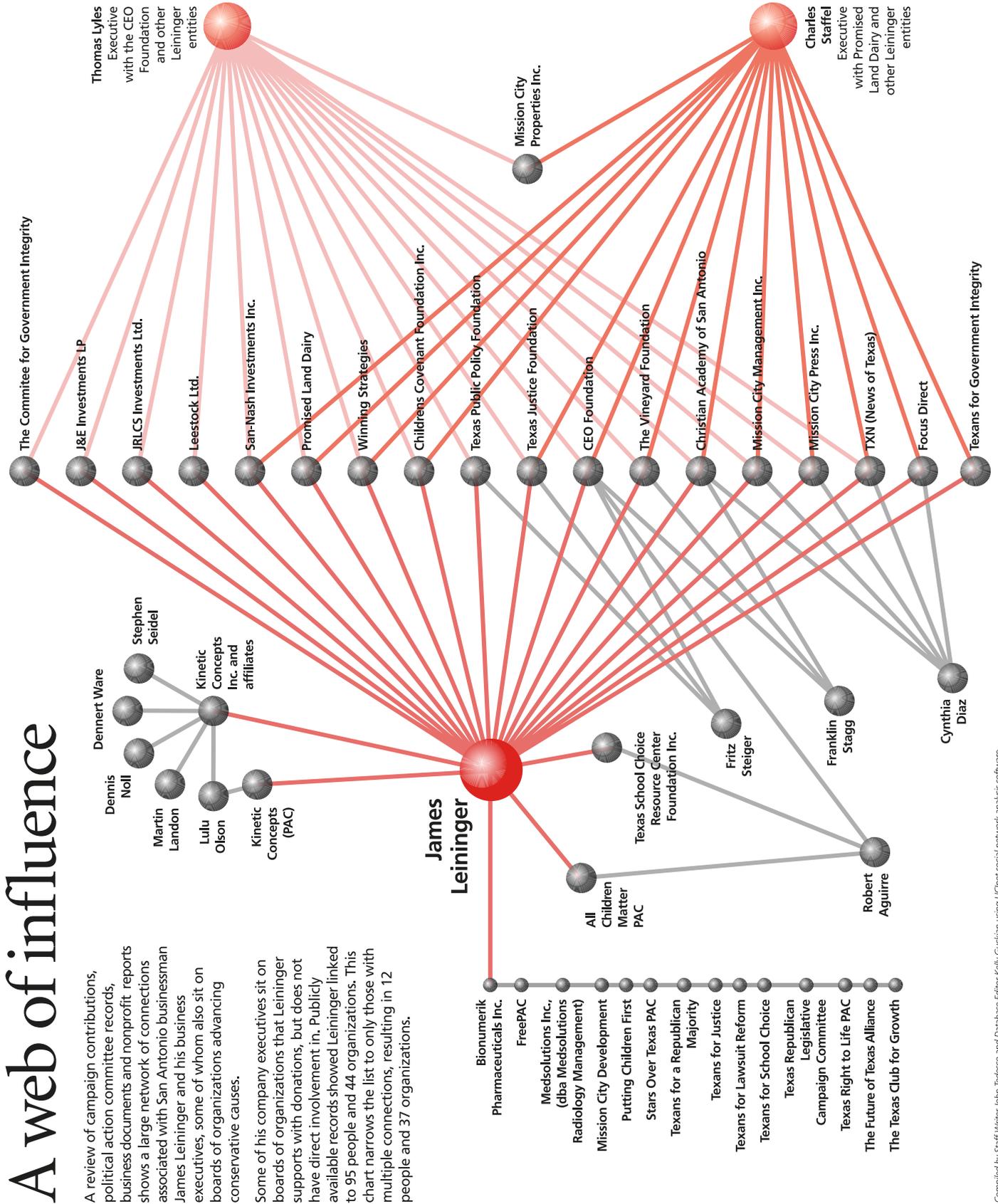
In 1989, for example, Dr. Leininger funded the creation of the Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF). Using the Heritage Foundation as a model, TPPF has styled itself as a conservative "think tank" that produces policy papers on a variety of conservative pet causes, such as education "reform" – especially private school vouchers. TPPF was once also prominent in the state's "textbook wars," backing social conservatives seeking to censor public school textbooks because of perceived anti-American, anti-free enterprise and anti-Christian bias. Texas Justice Foundation, a spin-off of TPPF, advances the causes of social conservatives through the courts.



COURTESY OF THE SAN ANTONIO CURRENT. ILLUSTRATION BY ANN WILLUGHBY KAPLAN.

The *San Antonio Current* noted the importance of James Leininger's financial backing for far-right causes in a 1998 cover story.

Figure 1:



Compiled by Staff Writer John Tedesco and Database Editor Kelly Guckian using UCInet social network analysis software.

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MARK BLACKWELL/STAFF

The list of political action committees founded or backed financially by Leininger money is long. A few examples: Texans for Justice has advocated for tort reform and worked to influence state Supreme Court elections.²⁴ Texans for Judicial Integrity, the Committee for Governmental Integrity, Entertainment PAC and Texans for Governmental Integrity have all been pet PACs used to promote Dr. Leininger's public policy positions.

The importance of these organizations, especially the PACs, has been demonstrated repeatedly. Since the 1990s, for example, tens of thousands of dollars have flowed from Dr. Leininger and political action committees he has funded into the campaigns of social conservatives seeking seats on the State Board of Education (SBOE). Once relatively inexpensive campaigns for the board have become vicious, bare-knuckled brawls. In 1994, for instance, Texans for Governmental Integrity distributed to voters in an SBOE race a campaign mailer that featured a lurid image of two men kissing (a recurring theme in Leininger-funded campaign attacks). The direct mail piece accused a board incumbent of supporting the promotion of homosexuality and abortion in health textbooks. Donna Ballard, backed by Dr. Leininger and groups such as the Christian Coalition, the Eagle Forum and the American Family Association, defeated the incumbent on election day.²⁵

Ballard no longer sits on the SBOE, but her election in 1994 was just one in a series of victories by social conservatives seeking to take full control of the board. Dr. Leininger has also backed other far-right board members, including Republicans Terri Leo of Spring and Barbara Cargill of the Woodlands. As a result, pitched battles over controversial social issues now overshadow the board's primary responsibility to ensure that textbooks conform to basic curriculum standards. Indeed, social conservatives on the board continue to use debates over textbook adoptions – in courses such as health, literature, history and science – to press campaigns against homosexuality, sex education, the theory of evolution and other demons of the religious right.

Targeting the Capitol

Dr. Leininger's primary focus, however, has been building his influence in elections to statewide offices and the Texas Legislature. Massive campaign

contributions and loans from Dr. Leininger have been instrumental in Republican victories up and down the ballot. Gov. Rick Perry has been the biggest beneficiary of those campaign contributions. A \$1.1 million loan from Dr. Leininger in the final weeks of the 1998 campaign funded a media blitz that helped Perry defeat – by just 2.3 percent of the vote – Democrat John Sharp for lieutenant governor. The Leiningers have donated or loaned more than \$1.3 million to Perry campaigns since 1997. Ironically, Dr. Leininger once was a major political donor to Carole Keeton Strayhorn, who is challenging Gov. Perry in his race for re-election in 2006. A \$950,000 Leininger loan late in 1998 also helped Strayhorn, the Republican nominee, sneak past her Democratic opponent in the race for state comptroller. All together, the Leiningers have donated or loaned more than \$1.1 million to Strayhorn's campaigns since 1997. Since 2003, however, Strayhorn hasn't received any Leininger campaign donations.

Among current officeholders, other major beneficiaries of the Leiningers' direct financial contributions since 1997 have been the campaigns of Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst (\$350,000), Attorney General Greg Abbott (more than \$193,000), U.S. Sen. John Cornyn (Texas attorney general 1999-2003) (\$142,400, including at least \$9,900 for his U.S. Senate campaigns), and state Sen. Bob Deuell (\$81,847). Since 1997, the Leiningers have also spent \$127,465 on direct contributions to the campaigns of candidates for the State Board of Education. None of the above totals include the millions of dollars that the Leiningers have contributed to political action committees, which in turn have made financial or in-kind contributions to candidates.

Generous campaign contributions from the Leininger clan helped Republicans sweep all statewide races in 1998 and 2002. Leininger money also greased the path to power for Republicans in the state Legislature in 2002. During that election cycle, the Leiningers gave nearly \$1.5 million to Republican candidates for the state House and Senate, conservative political action committees, the state Republican Party and a national Republican committee that funds state election races. Combined with redistricting in 2001, those massive donations helped fund the political tsunami that swept away the longtime Democratic House majority and increased the GOP's Senate majority from just one to seven.

Beginning in 2002, however, Dr. Leininger began to shift his attention more and more to the Republican primary. With control of state government solidly in GOP hands, he began to work on purging from office moderate Republicans who were not reliable votes on issues important to him, particularly when it came to private school vouchers. During the March 2006 primary election campaign, Dr. Leininger poured more than \$2.3 million into just two new political action committees, the Texas Republican Legislative Campaign Committee and the Future of Texas Alliance. His contributions accounted for all but a tiny fraction of each PAC's receipts. Those PACs then spent that money to support challengers to five anti-voucher Republican incumbent House members as well as pro-voucher incumbents who were trying to fight off challenges from advocates for public schools.

Dr. Leininger succeeded in knocking off just two anti-voucher Republicans in the primary. On the other hand, his money may help religious conservatives win a majority of seats on the State Board of Education. Dan Montgomery has been a conservative member of the state board, but he has also been an unreliable vote for social conservatives on issues such as watering down the discussion of evolution in biology textbooks. His challenger in the March 2006 GOP primary, former state Rep. Ken Mercer, had the backing of Dr. Leininger, social conservatives on the state board itself and a host of groups associated with the religious right. Mercer defeated Montgomery decisively in an April runoff election. Another Leininger-backed SBOE candidate, Cynthia Dunbar from Richmond, essentially won election to an open seat by finishing first in her GOP primary. Mercer and Dunbar face only Libertarians in the November general election.

The mixed success Dr. Leininger had in the March 2006 primaries should encourage what moderates are left in the GOP. Clearly, the results of the elections showed that some of them can win primaries even when opposed by Dr. Leininger's money and Christian conservative activists. Yet it is unlikely that he and his wife will cease their massive financial support for candidates who back the religious right's public policy agenda.

Figure 2: Leininger Contributions in State Elections, 1997-March 2006

Source: Texas Ethics Commission

Cycle	Total	Primary
1997-98	\$3,863,349	\$417,600
1999-00	\$586,987	\$55,000
2001-02	\$1,314,850	\$563,851
2003-04	\$1,260,142	\$452,007
2005-06	\$2,887,798	\$2,787,798

Once Republicans finally gained full control over state government in 2002, James and Cecelia Leininger moved more aggressively to purge moderate Republicans from elected office. Campaign contributions from the Leiningers leading up to the March 2006 GOP primary were nearly double what they contributed during the previous four primary election campaigns combined. The Leiningers made at least \$9,913,126 in campaign loans and contributions from 1997 to March 2006. Of that total, they contributed \$4,276,256 to campaigns leading up to GOP primary elections.

Figure 3: Leininger State PAC Contributions, 1997-March 2006

Source: Texas Ethics Commission

Cycle	PAC
1997-98	\$1,262,600
1999-00	\$175,000
2001-02	\$422,500
2003-04	\$625,135
2005-06	\$2,530,807

More than half of the Leininger's financial contributions – more than \$5 million – to state campaigns have been funneled through political action committees over the past decade. The totals include \$200,000 Dr. Leininger gave to PACs supporting constitutional amendments in 2003 and 2005.

Figure 4: Leininger State PACs
Leininger Contributions to PACs, 1997-March 2006

Source: Texas Ethics Commission

State PAC (Leininger contribution years)	Total Contributions
8 in 98 (1998)	\$155,000
A+ PAC for Parental School Choice (1997)	\$51,100
All Children Matter (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006)	\$191,514
Associated Republicans of Texas (1998, 2000, 2002, 2003)	\$240,000
FreePAC (1998, 2000)	\$100,000
South Texas Republicans (2005)	\$750
Stars Over Texas (2004)	\$103,135
Texans for a Republican Majority (2002)	\$142,500
Texans for Governmental Integrity (2002)	\$193,000
Texans for Lawsuit Reform (2000, 2002, 2004, 2006)	\$425,000
Texans for Marriage (2005)	\$100,000
Texas Club for Growth (2005)	\$13,000
Texas Home School Coalition (1998, 2002, 2004)	\$84,500
Texas Republican Campaign Committee (1997, 1998)	\$781,500
Texas Republican Legislative Campaign Committee (2005, 2006)	\$1,807,443
Texas Republican Legislative Caucus (2004)	\$2,500
Texas Right to Life (2002, 2004)	\$30,000
The Future of Texas Alliance (2006)	\$495,000
Wilson County Republican Party Campaign Fund (2005)	\$100
Yes on 12 (2003)	\$100,000
Total	\$5,016,042

◀ The Leiningers have donated at least \$525,000 to political action committees backing measures to limit lawsuits that accuse businesses of wrongful behavior. The bulk of the Leiningers' PAC contributions, however, have been used to support far-right candidates for elected office. Leininger's Texans for Governmental Integrity, for example, has been a major supporter of far-right candidates for the State Board of Education, including former SBOE member Donna Ballard. In 2005-06, the Leiningers gave at least \$2.3 million to two PACs – Texas Republican Legislative Campaign Committee and The Future of Texas Alliance – that backed pro-private school voucher candidates for the state Legislature.

Figure 5: Leininger State and Federal Campaign Contributions, 1997-March 2006

Sources: Texas Ethics Commission, Center for Responsive Politics, Center for Public Integrity

State Elections in Texas	\$9,913,126
Federal Elections and State GOP Committees (partial totals, 1997-2005)	\$1,299,162
Total	\$11,212,288

The Leiningers' financial contributions include at least \$1.3 million to candidates for federal office and to state Republican Party committees around the country. Nearly \$750,000 in federal contributions from 1997 to 2005 went to the Republican National Committee's Republican National State Elections Committee.

{ CHAPTER 3 }

The Texas Restoration Project:
**Dragging Churches into
Partisan Politics**

The Texas Restoration Project: Dragging Churches into Partisan Politics

The religious right's rise to dominance within the Republican Party of Texas has been accompanied by the proliferation of pressure groups. Many of the earliest groups, such as the Texas Christian Coalition, played key roles in the takeover of the state GOP. Their work relied largely on the efforts of grass-roots supporters – mostly laypeople – whose outside careers didn't include nurturing the spiritual needs of a church congregation. In 2006, however, Texas is seeing an evolution in the religious right's tactics. Today more and more conservative pastors are using their pulpits to press a hard-right political agenda. No organization better exemplifies this new approach than the Texas Restoration Project.

The Texas Restoration Project is a network of hundreds of church pastors who, organizers hope, share a common desire to “reclaim Texas” and “restore Texas and America to our Judeo-Christian heritage.”²⁶ The Rev. Dr. Laurence White, senior pastor of Our Savior Lutheran Church in Houston, chairs the group. The executive director is David Lane, who also helped



This Texas Restoration Project brochure notes that the group is “working to restore Judeo-Christian values in Texas.”

run the now-defunct California Restoration Project. (According to IRS records filed by the group, the California Restoration Project closed its doors in 2000.) The network of state Restoration Projects includes similar groups in Ohio and Florida, and groups under different names have sought to organize pastors in Pennsylvania and other states.

Political Pastors

Having pastors engage in political work within their own congregations is a significant evolution away from earlier efforts to organize Christian conservatives. Indeed, the work of groups such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition was limited somewhat by a longstanding reluctance among evangelical pastors to tie their spiritual calling too closely to secular matters such as politics. That reluctance is fast becoming a quaint relic from another time. Today a growing number of these pastors are pushing their conservative political message directly to people in the pews.

In 2004, for example, the Ohio Restoration Project mobilized hundreds of conservative evangelical pastors to conduct voter registration drives in their churches and to turn out voters for a state constitutional ban on gay marriage. The amendment passed overwhelmingly, also helping President Bush win the state narrowly in his successful bid for re-election. Organizers of the Ohio group were publicly gleeful and continue to recruit pastors for future electoral efforts. “It’s time for the church to get a spinal column,” the leader of the Ohio Restoration Project, Rev. Russell Johnson, told one congregation early in 2005. Johnson said he wants to push the “seculars and jihadists ... into the dust bin of history.”²⁷

Prominent supporters of the Ohio group have embarked on a crusade to spread their message to other states. Chief among these political evangelists is the Rev. Rod Parsley, who founded the conservative Center for Moral Clarity. Rev. Parsley has spoken at numerous Texas and Florida Restoration Project events. His talks often focus on the need for pastors not only to preach on moral issues, but essentially to instruct their congregants on political issues as well. He has called efforts to mobilize Christian conservative voters a “revolutionary movement” and criticizes pastors who “avoid confrontation by dwelling in the devil’s demilitarized zone inside their church walls in order



AP PHOTO/COLUMBUS DISPATCH, DORAL CHENOWETH III

◀ The Rev. Rod Parsley, a far-right evangelical minister from Ohio, has been a prominent speaker at Texas Restoration Project events. In January 2006, clergy from nine mainstream denominations in Ohio accused Rev. Parsley's and another evangelical minister's churches of illegal partisan political activities involving a candidate for governor there. The group asked the Internal Revenue Service to investigate.

that they might preserve their little façade of peace at any price.”²⁸ Clearly, for Parsley and other new leaders of the Christian right, politicking from the pulpit must come with no hesitation, no middle ground and no compromise.

Organizing in Texas

Rev. Parsley is just one of a number of prominent religious leaders making pilgrimages from state to state, working to create a loose political network of what some call “patriot pastors.” This networking is one hallmark of the high level of political sophistication behind the efforts of the Restoration Projects. Money is another.

As in Ohio, California and Florida, the primary organizing tool for the Texas Restoration Project has been so-called “pastors’ policy briefings.” The Texas group hosted six such “briefings” in 2005. It seems that no expense was spared. Even overnight stays at the posh Austin Hilton came at no charge to the hundreds of pastors who arrived from all over the state – an estimated 800 (including 300 spouses) at each of two such Austin events. Four one-day “briefings” attracted hundreds of pastors in Fort Worth, Dallas, San Antonio and Houston – also at no charge to those attending. The overall cost for these events – including lodging, catered meals and rental of meeting facilities for thousands of people – almost certainly runs into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. While the Texas Restoration Project’s leaders refuse to say who is footing the bill, speakers at the “briefings” have thanked prominent conservative moneymen in attendance, including Dr. James Leininger of San Antonio and Bo Pilgrim, the East Texas chicken tycoon.

The pastors’ “briefings” have featured preachers, choir members and prominent Republican leaders, combining the trappings of religious revivals and campaign rallies. (See Appendix F for more on the speakers at the Texas “briefings.”) Speakers have rallied the attending pastors and their spouses with highly emotional appeals to support “traditional values,” especially opposition to homosexuality and abortion. Some of the rhetoric has evoked rather violent imagery. At an Austin “briefing,” for example, Arlington pastor Dwight McKissic warned the audience that God is prepared to incinerate the United States because of the nation’s perceived tolerance of homosexuality. At a later “briefing” in Houston, Rev. McKissic suggested that God sent Hurricane Katrina to destroy New Orleans to purify a sinful nation and a city whose residents were tolerant of homosexuality. “At some point, God will hold us accountable for our sins,” Rev. McKissic later told a reporter.²⁹

The main goal of the speakers at the pastors’ “briefings,” however, is to encourage attending pastors to spread the political gospel of the Christian right and, by all appearances, to help elect anointed candidates. The Ohio Restoration Project, for example, has been closely linked to Ken Blackwell, Ohio’s current secretary of state and a GOP candidate for governor there. Last fall, Texas Restoration Project leaders urged pastors to host “Citizen Sunday” events in their churches to register congregants to vote. They also asked pastors to participate in “Reclaiming Texas Sunday,” a get-out-the-vote effort in support of Proposition 2, a state constitutional ban on gay marriage and civil unions. In October the Texas Freedom Network filed a complaint with the Texas Ethics Commission, asking that state

officials investigate whether the Texas Restoration Project was ignoring state election laws for groups engaged in political activities. (As this report goes to press, the Texas Ethics Commission has not released a ruling on the complaint.)

Gov. Perry and the Restoration Project

It is not clear how close the Texas Restoration Project came to its goal of registering 300,000 new Christian conservative voters in 2005. What is much clearer, however, is that efforts to pass Proposition 2 served as a massive voter identification campaign for the religious right and its candidates for public office. "The uptick in voter registration and increase in early voting is a predictor that the conservatives have mobilized people and that pastors have engaged the culture through voter registration and get out the vote," David Lane, the Texas Restoration Project's executive director, told a reporter just before the November election.³⁰

Rev. Parsley has also noted the importance of identifying voters in his state of Ohio. "I can snap my fingers and 200,000 Ohioans send an e-mail to our Ohio legislators," Rev. Parsley said at a Texas Restoration Project "briefing" in August.³¹ Indeed, the Texas Restoration Project's chairman, Rev. White, has made it clear that his organization – with its massive and growing mailing list and other voter contact information – would remain a force in state politics. He also claimed that the group would not endorse a candidate in the statewide elections in 2006. Yet Republican Gov. Rick Perry, seeking re-election this year, certainly appears to be something of a favorite son.

Gov. Perry found time in his schedule to speak at each of the six pastors' "briefings" in 2005. No other gubernatorial candidates on the ballot in 2006 – Republican or Democrat – received invitations to speak. Republican Party operatives and supporters of the governor helped fill out the program at each "briefing." They included David Barton, current vice chairman of the state Republican Party; Susan Weddington, a former state GOP chairman who now heads Gov. Perry's OneStar Foundation (which manages, among other things, government and charitable funding for faith-based services); Bo Pilgrim, a prominent contributor to the governor's re-election campaign; and representatives from the governor's staff.

Links between the governor's campaign and the Texas Restoration Project have been clear. For example, the

Associated Press reported in June that the governor's campaign itself (rather than his official office) had released a copy of Gov. Perry's speech at the May pastors' "briefing."³² Then in December, pastors on the Texas Restoration Project's massive mailing list received holiday greeting cards from the governor's campaign.

Gov. Perry's political consultants have not been shy about acknowledging the importance of the Proposition 2 campaign and their work with the amendment's supporters. "This is going to help us a lot because these voters who turn out to vote for Proposition 2 are people we're going to be able to communicate with and try to get them to vote in the primary," one of the governor's political advisers said the weekend before the November vote.³³ The governor's campaign pollster echoed those comments right after the vote. "(I)t's our job to recontact people that haven't voted in the Republican primary but who voted in that election (the Proposition 2 election) and ask them where they stand in the governor's race and then communicate with them," he told a reporter.³⁴

Gov. Perry clearly wants the thousands of pastors associated with the Texas Restoration Project to help him communicate with evangelical Christians and other conservatives who backed Proposition 2. In fact, he has already demonstrated his willingness to drag churches into the political arena. In June of last year, he thrilled Christian conservatives by signing an anti-abortion measure and the proposed anti-gay marriage amendment (even though it did not require his signature) at an evangelical church school in Fort Worth. Even his speeches at pastors' briefings now sound much like sermons.

"This I know," the governor-cum-evangelist preached to approving pastors at one of the Restoration Project's Austin events. "He who counts every hair on our heads and every drop in the oceans; He who knows the number of our days and every thought before it enters our heads; this all-knowing, all-powerful Creator loves us so much that there is not a matter so trivial or so small that we can't surrender it to Him and say, 'Father, your will be done!' I certainly know this to be the heartfelt prayer of a governor."³⁵

A big question now is whether thousands of pastors will answer another heartfelt prayer of the governor and help him win re-election. Many may do so, but others may decide that dragging their churches into the secular world of partisan politics serves neither the state nor the faithful well.

{ CHAPTER 4 }

David Barton:
**Amateur Historian,
Professional Propagandist**

David Barton: Amateur Historian, Professional Propagandist

In the fight to dominate Texas politics, one of the religious right's biggest assets has been David Barton, a former school teacher and self-styled historian. Named one of the 25 "most influential evangelicals in America" by Time magazine in 2005, Barton is the president of WallBuilders, a Christian-advocacy organization based in Aledo, Texas. He has also served as vice chairman of the Texas Republican Party since 1997. Barton's dual role has made him a virtual traveling salesman peddling the Republican Party to evangelical pastors. Indeed, Barton has helped grow Republican voter rolls with legions of new social conservatives. This influx of voters increasingly forces his party's primary candidates to court an electorate whose most active members stand far outside the political mainstream.

Marrying Church and State

Susan Weddington appointment of Barton as the Texas GOP's vice chair in 1997 raised more than a few eyebrows among Republicans. Many were anxious about the rising clout of Christian conservatives in the party. Questioned about Barton's ability to separate his activism from his party advocacy, Weddington defended her lieutenant: "He's got solid Republican credentials and he can motivate, mobilize and train our grass roots to be involved in party precinct politics."³⁶



AP PHOTO/ERIC GAY

But Barton has done more than train precinct captains. His main accomplishment has been to provide a bridge between the secular and political world of the Republican Party and the religious world of evangelicals. Cultivating the illusion that he is a trained historian, Barton provides the secular justification for why evangelicals should make their religious beliefs the basis for government policy. After all, he argues, that is what the nation's Founders wanted.

Barton has become something of a chief recruiter for the Republican Party, particularly among conservative evangelicals. His chosen audiences have been especially receptive to Barton's key thesis: activist judges have twisted the Constitution and the Founders' intent by guaranteeing separation of church and state. Moreover, he argues, efforts to maintain that separation – such as barring government-sponsored prayer in schools – is a primary cause of high crime rates, declining public schools and a host of other social and moral ills. That message is also central to the mission of WallBuilders,³⁷ which Barton founded in 1989. WallBuilders seeks to educate Americans about "the Godly foundation of our country," to help government officials "develop public policies which reflect Biblical values," and encourage "Christians to be involved in the civic arena."³⁸

Of course, Barton's ideas have made him a hero among social conservatives and a darling of the Republican Party. He has addressed Christian Coalition national gatherings multiple times; the Rev. Jerry Falwell sells his materials at the Liberty University bookstore; and he has been a frequent guest on the radio show of James Dobson, founder of Focus on the Family. Just months before he became speaker of the U.S. House, Newt Gingrich called Barton's book *Myth of Separation* "most useful" and "wonderful."³⁹ In 1997, the year he became party vice chair in Texas, a Barton pamphlet entitled *Impeachment* came to the attention of Eagle Forum founder Phyllis Schlafly. Schlafly praised the pamphlet for its instruction on "the constitutional foundations for using impeachment to curb our present overactive judiciary."⁴⁰

Texas GOP Chair Tina Benkiser and Vice Chair David Barton have made appeals to Christian conservatives a key strategy in building the Republican Party.

More recently, Barton has been a prominent speaker at events designed to recruit pastors into the political realm. In the hotly contested presidential campaign year of 2004, the Republican National Committee hired Barton to speak at pastors' meetings around the country. The RNC reportedly paid Barton \$12,000 for ostensibly nonpartisan "political consulting."⁴¹ Barton also spoke at all six of the "pastors' policy briefings" the Texas Restoration Project hosted in 2005. (See Chapter 3 for a full report on the Texas Restoration Project.)

Dancing on the Edge

Barton's appeal to the political faithful is partly due to his deserved reputation as a polished speaker but also to his self-promoted status as a "historian."

⁴² Republican Party officials often reinforce the belief that Barton boasts a hefty academic vita. "He is an historian noted for his detailed research into the religious heritage of our nation," U.S. Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, R-Tenn., wrote his Senate colleagues in 2005. Frist had invited Barton to give senators and their families a tour of the nation's Capitol.⁴³

When reviewing Barton's work, however, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he is a pseudo-intellectual fraud whose twisted interpretations of history are little more than propaganda that often dances on the edge between fact and fiction. In the first place, information about Barton's academic career is a bit fuzzy. His biography on the WallBuilders Web site (as of February 2006) notes that he holds a Bachelor of Arts (the field is not specified) from Oral Roberts University and an Honorary Doctorate of Letters from Pensacola Christian College. Apparently, an earlier version of the biography noted that Barton's degree was in religious education and that he taught math and science after college.⁴⁴ Nowhere does he note any formal academic training in historical research. Even so, the WallBuilders Web site claims that his "exhaustive research (from original writings) on the Founding Era has rendered him an expert in this field."⁴⁵ Throughout the 1990s, however, groups such as Americans United for Separation of Church and State, the Baptist Joint Committee, and Texas Baptist Committed all published sharp critiques of Barton's historical accounts.⁴⁶

Barton's twisted interpretations of history are little more than propaganda that often dances on the edge between fact and fiction.

One problem is Barton's tendency to invent causal links where actual research shows none. Barton claims, for example, that the mandate to write his first book, *America: To Pray Or Not To Pray?* (1988) came directly from God. God, he says, asked him to research a connection between the removal of state-mandated prayer in public schools by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962 and 1963 and the drop in SAT scores.⁴⁷ Claiming to find such a cause-effect relationship, Barton proceeded to blame decades of social problems on an overactive judiciary. "We could correlate that when the court made certain decisions on values, we would see subsequent corresponding changes in societal indicators," Barton wrote in an article for a Christian Coalition newsletter. "Like when you took the Ten Commandments out, violent crime went up."⁴⁸ That astonishing leap of logic finds no support outside social conservative circles.

Some of Barton's worst problems, however, involve his supposedly "exhaustive research on the Founding Era" of the nation.⁴⁹ Barton dubiously claims that his research proves the nation's Founders intended the United States to be a distinctly Christian nation. To help bolster his point, Barton published *The Myth of Separation* in 1989, complete with quotations

Barton attributed to a number of the nation's Founders. Here's one, attributed to James Madison, often called by historians the "Father of the Constitution": "We have staked the whole future of American civilization, not upon the power of government, far from it. We have staked the future of all of our political institutions upon the capacity of each and all of us to govern ourselves according to the Ten Commandments of God."⁵⁰

It turns out, however, that Madison said no such thing. Indeed, outside researchers later found that quotes Barton used from Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Patrick Henry, and even a Supreme Court decision were either wholly false or highly suspect. In 1995, Barton's WallBuilders group itself issued a statement entitled "Questionable Quotes." The organization listed 12 statements attributed by Barton to the Founders that were probably never uttered or written by any of them. At least 9 of the 12

statements had been included in *The Myth of Separation* (later purged of the false quotes and retitled *Original Intent*) and appeared in the video version, “America’s Godly Heritage.”⁵¹

Around the same time that WallBuilders was publicly acknowledging problems with Barton’s questionable research, U.S. District Judge Neal B. Biggers, Jr., ruled that Barton’s materials were unsuitable for use in a public school classroom. Biggers wrote that the use



WallBuilder Report provides articles that support efforts to weaken separation of Church and State.

of Barton’s video, “America’s Godly Heritage,” and other religious films was an attempt by teachers “to indoctrinate the students in their religious beliefs by claiming to teach” a class on Middle Eastern history. “This practice cannot be condoned in the context of a public school system,” he wrote. “It is best left to the family and the church.”⁵² (Even so, the conservative group National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools continues to recommend that teachers use a variety of materials created by Barton as part of a Bible study course in public schools.⁵³)

Even Barton’s grasp of more recent history is suspect. At a time when the Republican Party is seeking to attract more African-American voters, Barton frequently writes or speaks about the role of the Republican and Democratic parties during the civil rights struggle. He regularly paints the Democratic Party as the party of slavery and segregation and notes the Republican Party’s early opposition to slavery and support of voting and civil rights for African Americans. Some historians might argue that Barton’s storyline has kernels of truth – as far as it goes.

But Barton’s story is simplistic and misleading. In a 2003 WallBuilder report entitled “A History of Black Voting Rights,” Barton notes that Strom Thurmond, a notoriously segregationist U.S. senator from South Carolina, switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party after a “change of heart on civil rights” in 1964.⁵⁴ That’s nonsense. Thurmond was among the first of legions of southern white conservatives who began leaving the Democratic Party in the mid-1960s. Most switched their support to the GOP as Democrats finally began to overcome southern Congressional opposition to civil rights legislation. Indeed, Barton neglects to include any discussion of successful efforts by the Republican presidential campaigns of Barry Goldwater (1964) and Richard Nixon (1968) to court southern whites anxious about integration and the civil rights movement.

Moreover, Barton’s attempts to woo African-American voters are ironic in light of his past associations with white supremacist groups. In 1991 Barton spoke at two events sponsored by groups that have been tied to the racist “Christian Identity” movement. Christian Identity doctrine espouses white supremacy and is virulently anti-Semitic and anti-gay. The leader of Scriptures for America, a Colorado group that hosted Barton, has even called for executing homosexuals. Barton later claimed that he had not known when he was invited to speak that the two groups were “part of a Nazi movement.”⁵⁵

Teaching the Republican Party to Speak

Despite revelations of the flaws in Barton’s work, his views on American history – complete with misquotes – continue to be circulated by supporters. Those supporters have continued to note his work in op-ed pieces, and his speaking schedule is more robust today than ever.⁵⁶ Since 1988, when he took time off from

his high school teaching job to write the book *America: To Pray or Not To Pray*, Barton has been telling Christian conservatives that they are somehow victims in an overwhelmingly Christian country.⁵⁷ His rhetorical genius is that with one compelling (but false) claim – that the Founders intended the United States to be a Christian nation above all – he has turned the focus of conservative Christian soldiers from revolution to restoration. Indeed, the one-time school teacher in many ways is teaching both the religious right and the Texas Republican Party how to speak. Consider the 2004 Texas Republican Party platform, parts of which read as if they were lifted from a Barton speech:

- **“The Party understands that the Ten Commandments are the basis of our basic freedoms and the cornerstone of our Western legal tradition.”**
- **“The Republican Party affirms that the United States of America is a Christian nation, and the public acknowledgement of God is undeniable in our history. Our nation was founded on fundamental Judeo-Christian principles based on the Holy Bible.”**
- **“Our Party pledges to exert its influence to restore the original intent of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution and dispel the myth of the separation of Church and State.”**
- **“The Party supports school subjects with emphasis on the Judeo-Christian principles upon which America was founded and which form the basis of America’s legal and its political and economic systems.”**

Barton is also well versed in the tactics of political warfare. At a meeting with pastors in Oregon during his 2004 Republican National Committee-sponsored tour, Barton explained how to get key voters to the polls: “Pastors need to use hot-button issues like same-sex marriage to get out the vote among evangelical Christians.” In fact, Barton has encouraged pastors to test the limits of Internal Revenue Service regulations against partisan politicking by religious organizations. As Barton sees it, a pastor is free to stand before his congregation and sermonize on why one candidate or another is unfit for office, so long as he makes it

plain that he is speaking only for himself and not the church.⁵⁸ Yet, according to IRS communications with political parties and other organizations, such actions by pastors would appear to imperil the tax-exempt status of their churches: “[F]or their organizations to remain tax-exempt under section 501(c)(3), leaders cannot make partisan comments in official organization publications or at official organization functions, including official church publications and functions.”⁵⁹

Nevertheless, Barton’s RNC-sponsored tour in 2004 and his involvement with the Texas Restoration Project reveal the direct relationship the Republican Party is cultivating with its evangelical base, especially pastors. No longer do Barton and other leaders coach evangelical activists in precinct meetings to hide their stripes until the country club set gets tired and goes home. Stealth candidates are no longer needed in a party dominated by Christian right. In fact, Barton’s privileged position within Republican Party structure suggests Christian right activists will continue to dominate the GOP for years to come.

CONCLUSION

The political success of the religious right is not limited to Texas. Across the country, state governments and school boards continue to fall under the control of Christian conservative activists. At the federal level, the Bush administration is tied closely to the religious right. Indeed, President Bush's appointees to federal courts are strong evidence of the religious right's political influence. Each appointee is publicly (and privately) vetted by the likes of James Dobson, Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell and Rick Scarborough.

The rise of the religious right across the rest of America has been accomplished much as it has in Texas: working to control the Republican Party, tapping the fortunes of major financial donors and the power of pressure groups, and the recruitment of a cadre of leaders skilled in the art of political warfare. In fact, with religious conservatives standing at perhaps the pinnacle of their power, the language of victimization employed by their leaders would be ironic if it weren't so obviously calculated. Rick Scarborough, Tony Perkins and a host of far-right leaders continue to issue shrill alarms about a "war on Christians" and a "war on people of faith." Of course, all of this rhetoric is heard in a nation that is predominantly Christian, where the vast majority of people profess a belief in God and where religious freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution. While the rhetoric might be cynical and misleading, however, it has proven to be a powerful political motivator for Christian conservatives.

The increasing influence of the religious right has consequences that reach far beyond partisan politics. As social conservatives tighten their grip on the Republican Party of Texas and the levers of government, their influence over public policy in the state will continue to grow. The result is likely to be continuing battles over social issues that fail to address real problems that most concern Texans.

Consider, for example, the debate over school finance reform. Texas families have been burdened for years by skyrocketing local property taxes needed to pay for public schools even as the state's share of education

spending has dropped. In addition, over the past two years, Texas courts ruled that the way the state pays for public schools is unconstitutional. Yet under the threat of a court-ordered shutdown of schools and pressure from taxpayers, lawmakers repeatedly failed in 2003, 2004 and 2005 to solve the state's school finance crisis.

There are many reasons for this failure, of course. But success was made much harder by the failure of the state's political leaders to set the right priorities. As legislators battled lobbyists over taxes for schools, for example, the state's leaders bowed to the demands of James Leininger and other social conservatives who demanded "reforms" such as taxpayer-funded vouchers for private and religious schools. The bitter debate over vouchers did nothing but slow progress toward a real solution to the state's school finance crisis.

The pattern was repeated on other issues throughout the legislative session in 2005. Social conservatives tried, for example, to bar promising medical research into stem cells. They also sought to ban foster care by gay and lesbian families. They even wanted to deny Texas students the ability to take special honors courses modeled after educational programs developed around the world. Why? They argued that such courses promote multiculturalism and undermine traditional American values.

Public education, in fact, remains a key target of the religious right. Social conservatives continue to seek majority control of the State Board of Education and broad authority over content in public school textbooks. If they are successful, already heated battles over public school textbook censorship will escalate dramatically. Indeed, textbook content will be based more and more on the political and religious beliefs of a majority of board members rather than on actual facts and true scholarship.

All of these issues confront Texas voters as they head to the polls in 2006. Regardless of the outcome of this year's elections, however, the religious right's influence over public policy in Texas will likely be a problem for many years.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

Watch List: 2006

The Texas Freedom Network has spent the past 11 years monitoring activities of the religious right in Texas. This ongoing research has helped TFN identify individuals and groups that are particularly important in advancing the movement's agenda. The following individuals, in particular, are positioned to play important roles this year in expanding the religious right's influence over elections and public policy in Texas. For that reason, each person has earned a spot on the Texas Freedom Network's Watch List for 2006.

David Barton

David Barton will be a major player in Republican efforts to turn out evangelical conservatives at the polls in elections this year. Barton's position as vice chair of the Republican Party of Texas and president of the Aledo-based Christian advocacy group WallBuilders has already made him a prominent recruiter of conservative evangelicals into the GOP. Recently, he has focused much of his energy on persuading pastors to use their pulpits as political platforms. (See Chapter 4 for a full report on Barton.)

Richard Ford

Although not one of the religious right's most public names, Richard Ford has played a key role in the movement for the past three decades. He helped found the far-right Free Market Foundation and is currently head of the Dallas-based Heritage Alliance. Heritage Alliance's political action committee, Heritage Alliance PAC, is the renamed Free Enterprise PAC, or FreePAC. FreePAC is notorious for its slash-and-burn campaigns to purge moderate Republicans from the party. In 2002, for example, FreePAC targeted six Republican incumbent legislators for defeat by mailing out fliers charging that the incumbents were "radicals," "liberals," promoters of a "homosexual agenda," and supporters of assisted suicide. The tactics backfired, however, and voters returned all six incumbents to office. Heritage Alliance created a political action committee to support a constitutional ban on same-sex marriage in 2005 and used that PAC's Web site to build its mailing list. That mailing list could help Heritage Alliance PAC launch another attack campaign before the general election this year.

WATCH LIST

David Barton
Richard Ford
James Leininger
Dwight McKissic
Rick Scarborough
Kelly Shackelford
Susan Weddington
Laurence White

James Leininger

San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger is digging deeper into his pockets this year to buy the kind of Republican legislative majority he desperately wants – one that will pass a private school voucher plan. Dubbed the "sugar daddy" of the religious right by *Texas Monthly*, Dr. Leininger made a fortune selling specialty hospital beds. He has since pumped millions of dollars into far-right causes and campaigns. Campaigns for Gov. Rick Perry, far-right legislative candidates and a constitutional ban on same-sex marriage have been among the biggest beneficiaries of Dr. Leininger's financial generosity. By March of this year, Dr. Leininger had donated to pro-voucher political action committees and candidates nearly five times the money – \$2.8 million – he had ever given in a primary election campaign season over the previous decade. (See Chapter 2 for a full report on James Leininger.)

Dwight McKissic

The Rev. Dwight McKissic has emerged as one of the state's most incendiary speakers to conservative evangelical audiences. Among his favorite targets in 2005 were gay rights. Rev. McKissic, pastor of Cornerstone Baptist Church in Arlington (Texas), does not bother to shade his controversial words. In August he told pastors gathered at a Texas Restoration Project event that God was prepared to incinerate the United States because of the nation's growing tolerance for gay men and lesbians. (See Chapter 3 for a full report on the Texas Restoration Project.) At another event the next month, Rev. McKissic suggested that God had sent Hurricane Katrina to "purify" New Orleans because the city's residents (and America, in general) were so sinful and tolerant

of homosexuality. Texas Gov. Rick Perry, who was in attendance, has expressed no public criticism of Rev. McKissic's venomous language. An African-American pastor himself, Rev. McKissic could play a prominent role in efforts to recruit black pastors into the Texas Restoration Project this year. (See Chapter 3 for a full report on the Texas Restoration Project.)

Rick Scarborough

The Rev. Dr. Rick Scarborough is the founder of the Lufkin (Texas)-based Vision America and a leading promoter of the myth that there is a "war on Christians." He calls for impeaching "activist judges" and for pastors to become more involved in politics. Rev. Scarborough has a long history of preaching politics from the pulpit himself. In 1996, National Public Radio called him the "rising star of the religious right." In 2005, he launched the Judeo-Christian Council For Constitutional Restoration (JCCCR), which advocates for limits on judicial oversight on religious and moral issues – essentially removing the judiciary from its role in the U.S. Constitution's system of checks and balances. JCCCR also advocates for the impeachment of judges with whom the group disagrees. Scarborough has also been involved with a group of biblical literalists called Dominionists, who believe God has called them to take over the U.S. government ("The Crusaders," *Rolling Stone*, April 7, 2005). The weekly e-mailed "Rick Scarborough Report" – with its attacks on an "activist" judiciary and hyperbolic charges about a "war on Christians" – often focuses on national issues and politics. He continues to promote a network of "patriot pastors" who agree to turn their pulpits into political megaphones for religious-right causes.

Kelly Shackelford

Kelly Shackelford is president of the Plano (Texas)-based Free Market Foundation, which focuses mostly on social – not economic – issues. He is also founder and chief counsel for the far-right Liberty Legal Institute, which promotes the religious right's agenda in the courts. Free Market Foundation is the Texas affiliate of Focus on the Family, a far-right national organization headed by Dr. James Dobson. Shackelford's numerous legal and legislative battles in Texas were documented in a 2005 expose in the *Dallas Observer*; "Right Hand

of God" (Feb. 17, 2005). Shackelford has also been a major supporter of the Texas Restoration Project. In fact, e-mails from the Free Market Foundation 2005 invited pastors across the state to attend Texas Restoration Project "policy briefings" free of charge. Expect Shackelford to be active in partisan politicking throughout the year, particularly on behalf of Gov. Rick Perry's re-election campaign.

Susan Weddington

In 2004, Gov. Rick Perry put longtime political activist Susan Weddington in charge of the ostensibly nonpolitical OneStar Foundation. Weddington was an activist for Concerned Women for America and became chair of the Texas Republican Party in 1997. She is now president and chief executive officer of OneStar, the quasi-public nonprofit foundation that manages the state's mentoring and volunteerism programs. OneStar also is home to the Governor's Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. That office can distribute funds to churches and other religious organizations that provide social services. Although her position is officially nonpolitical, Weddington sees little problem in campaigning for the governor. At an August 2005 event hosted by the Texas Restoration Project, for example, Weddington praised Gov. Perry, telling hundreds of conservative pastors and their spouses that the governor is a "spiritual giant."

Laurence White

The Rev. Dr. Laurence White moved more openly onto the political stage in 2005 by helping organize conservative pastors in support of a state constitutional ban on same-sex marriage. Rev. White is pastor of Our Savior Lutheran Church in Houston and chairman of the Texas Restoration Project. (See Chapter 3 for a full report on the Texas Restoration Project.) White and other Restoration Project organizers encouraged pastors to use their pulpits to campaign last year for passage of Proposition 2, the constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions that Texas voters passed last fall. Expect to see Rev. White and the Texas Restoration Project become heavily involved in state elections this year, particularly in support of Gov. Rick Perry's re-election campaign. (See Chapter 3 for a full report on the Texas Restoration Project.)

APPENDIX B

They Really Said It...

Actions, so the saying goes, speak louder than words. Even so, sometimes the words themselves are very revealing. Following is a sampling of some of the more outrageous statements made by individuals associated with the religious right in 2005. The quotations are organized by topic.

CHURCH AND STATE

Rev. D. James Kennedy, Coral Ridge Ministries

"As the vice-regents of God, we are to bring His truth and His will to bear on every sphere of our world and our society. We are to exercise godly dominion and influence over our neighborhoods, our schools, our government . . . our entertainment media, our news media, our scientific endeavors – in short, over every aspect and institution of human society."

- *Christian Science Monitor, March 16, 2005*

Former Star of Hope President Carloss Morris,

testifying in district court in support of a Bible memorial at the Harris County courthouse in Houston:

"If everyone in Harris County . . . accepted Christ as their savior, we would be better than if they were all Hindus."

- *Houston Chronicle, December 8, 2005*

Pat Robertson, The 700 Club

"I'd like to say to the good citizens of Dover: if there is a disaster in your area, don't turn to God – you just rejected Him from your city. And don't wonder why He hasn't helped you when problems begin, if they begin. I'm not saying they will, but if they do, just remember, you just voted God out of your city. And if that's the case, don't ask for His help because He might not be there."

- *Washington Post, November 11, 2005.*

Robertson was reacting to the electoral defeat of Dover (Penn.) school board incumbents who had insisted that public schools teach about "intelligent design" as an alternative theory to evolution.

"The Antichrist is probably a Jew alive in Israel today."

- *Harper's, August 2005*

EDUCATION

President George W. Bush, regarding teaching "intelligent design" in public schools

"Both sides ought to be properly taught . . . so people can understand what the debate is about. Part of education is to expose people to different schools of thought. . . . You're asking me whether or not people ought to be exposed to different ideas, and the answer is yes."

- *Washington Post, August 3, 2005*

Texas Rep. Charlie Howard, R-Sugar Land

"I don't believe in evolution – I believe in creation. Some of our books right now only teach evolution, [but] if you're going to teach one, you ought to teach both. . . . Evolution is a theory. It is a theory, it's not a fact. There is no fact for evolution, none. . . . Why are we teaching a theory, when we have [another] position – creation – that the majority of the people in this country believe?"

- *Dallas Morning News, April 25, 2005*

THE COURTS

James Dobson, Focus on the Family

"I heard a minister the other day talking about the great injustice and evil of the men in white robes, the Ku Klux Klan, that roamed the country in the South, and they did great wrong to civil rights and to morality. And now we have black-robed men [court justices], and that's what you're talking about."

- *EthicsDaily, April 13, 2005*

Tony Perkins, Family Research Council

"For years, activist courts, aided by liberal interest groups like the ACLU, have been quietly working under the veil of the judiciary, like thieves in the night, to rob us of our Christian heritage and our religious freedoms. Whether it was the legalization of abortion, the banning of school prayer, the expulsion of the 10 Commandments from public spaces, or the starvation of Terri Schiavo, decisions by the courts have not only changed our nation's course, but even led to the taking of human lives."

- *Family Research Council, April 2005*

U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay, R-Sugar Land

"One thing that God has brought to us is Terri Schiavo, to help elevate the visibility of what is going on in America. This is exactly the issue that is going on in America, of attacks against the conservative movement, against me and against many others."

- *New York Times*, March 22, 2005

Jerry Sutton, *first vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention*

"I've heard a lot recently about Terri Schiavo. She was murdered by a combination of an adulterous husband, a corrupt court and a medical establishment with no conscience."

- *People for the American Way Web site*

HURRICANE KATRINA

Wiley Bennett, *pastor of Woodland Hill Baptist Church in Tyler, Texas*

"The Big Easy is the modern day Sodom and Gomorrah."

- *KLTV*, September 7, 2005.

Bennett posted this on a sign in front of his church even as Katrina evacuees streamed into his city.

Columbia Christians for Life, *Web site*

"God is not mocked. We reap what we sow. . . . The city of New Orleans has sown innocent bloodshed and violence in the womb for years and years and has now reaped bloodshed and violence on her streets. May the people in the city of New Orleans be broken by God's Holy Law, receive, by God's grace, his gift of faith . . . and receive his great salvation through Christ alone, repenting of their sins, and receiving Jesus Christ (Yahshua Messiah) as their Lord and Savior. Hallelu-Yah ! Then, may New Orleans be delivered from her many sins!"

- *Salon*, September 6, 2005

Alabama State Sen. Hank Erwin, R-Montevallo

"New Orleans and the Mississippi Gulf Coast have always been known for gambling, sin and wickedness. It is the kind of behavior that ultimately brings the judgment of God. Warnings year after year by godly evangelists and preachers went unheeded. So why were we surprised when finally the hand of judgment fell? Sadly, innocents suffered along with the guilty. Sin always brings suffering to good people as well as the bad. America has been moving away from God. We all need to embrace godliness and churchgoing and good, godly living, and we can get divine protection for that point. The Lord is sending appeals to us. As harsh as it may sound, those hurricanes do say that God is real, and we have to realize sin has consequences. If you are a believer and read the Bible, you know sin has judgment. New Orleans has always been known for sin. . . . The wages of sin is death."

- *WorldNetDaily*, September 29, 2005

Michael Marcavage, *director of Repent America*

"Although the loss of lives is deeply saddening, this act of God destroyed a wicked city. From 'Girls Gone Wild' to 'Southern Decadence,' New Orleans was a city that had its doors wide open to the public celebration of sin. From the devastation may a city full of righteousness emerge."

- *Repent America Web site*, August 31, 2005

Rev. Bill Shanks, *New Covenant Fellowship of New Orleans*

"New Orleans now is abortion free. New Orleans now is Mardi Gras free. New Orleans now is free of Southern Decadence and the sodomites, the witchcraft workers, false religion – it's free of all of those things now. God simply, I believe, in His mercy purged all of that stuff out of there – and now we're going to start over again. It's time for us to stand up against wickedness so that God won't have to deal with that wickedness."

- *AgapePress*, September 2, 2005

HOMOSEXUALITY

Jessica Edwards, *secretary of the Ku Klux Klan's Texas chapter*

"We just want to come and encourage people to vote for Christian family values and against legalized homosexual marriage in the state of Texas."

- *KXAN, October 24, 2005*

Mary Ann Markarian, *minister for M.A.P. Ministries, Inc.*

"The Bible is very clear – homosexuality is an abomination, and I do think homosexual marriage should be illegal. This is not just my opinion. This is God's opinion."

- *Texas Observer, October 7, 2005*

Texas Rep. Warren Chisum

"That's where the victory was won, from the pulpits of the state of Texas."

- *Houston Chronicle, November 9, 2005.*

The Pampa (Texas) Republican was speaking about voter passage of Proposition 2, an anti-gay marriage amendment Rep. Chisum authored.

Gov. Rick Perry

"Texans have made a decision about marriage and if there is some other state that has a more lenient view than Texas then maybe that's a better place for them (gay and lesbian families) to live."

- *KXAS, June 6, 2005*

A Web site for Kansas **pastor Fred Waldron Phelps Sr.**

"These turkeys are not heroes ... they voluntarily joined a fag-infested army to fight for a fag-run country now utterly and finally forsaken by God, who Himself is fighting against that country."

- *Pioneer Press (Minnesota), March 7, 2006.*

The Phelps family has been protesting at funerals for American soldiers (of any sexual orientation) killed in Iraq, claiming that God caused their deaths as punishment for tolerance of homosexuality in the United States.

U.S. Rep. John Hostettler, R-Ind.

"Like a moth to a flame, Democrats can't help themselves when it comes to denigrating and demonizing Christians."

- *Washington Post, June 21, 2005*

APPENDIX C

Texas Republican Party Platform: 2004

The Texas Republican Party platform has moved sharply to the right since religious-right activists succeeded in taking control of the party. Following is a survey of positions Texas Republicans adopted at their state convention in 2004. (Page numbers from the platform are enclosed within brackets below.)

Religious Freedom

- “The Republican Party of Texas affirms that the United States of America is a Christian nation.” [8]
- “Our Party pledges to exert its influence to restore the original intent of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution and dispel the myth of the separation of Church and State.” [8]
- The 2004 party platform opposes efforts to restrict display of the Ten Commandments and other religious symbols in government buildings and other places maintained by tax dollars. [7]
- The platform supports using tax dollars to fund faith-based social programs and calls for allowing religious organizations “to address vital issues of the day” without losing tax-exempt status (thus opening the door to explicit, partisan political activity by religious organizations). [4]

Civil/Equal Rights

- “The Party supports amendment of the Americans with Disabilities Act to exclude from its definition those persons with infectious diseases, substance addiction, learning disabilities, behavior disorders, homosexual practices and mental stress, thereby reducing abuse of the Act.” [14]
- Republicans went on record endorsing the repeal of laws that have expanded opportunities for voter registration. The party also wants to require re-registration of all voters every four years laws. [6]
- Echoing calls by U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay of Sugar Land that threaten an independent judiciary, the platform supports the impeachment and removal “of federal judges who abuse their constitutional authority or are no longer acting on good behavior.” [5]

- Republicans state that it should be a felony to issue a marriage license to a same-sex couple “and for any civil official to perform a marriage ceremony for a same-sex couple.” [10]
- Defining marriage as a “God-ordained, legal and moral commitment only between a natural man and a natural woman,” the platform supports a federal constitutional amendment that bans same-sex marriage and opposes “granting of benefits to people who represent themselves as domestic partners without being legally married.” [10]
- The platform opposes hate-crime laws (which increase penalties for crimes that target people based on hatred for their religion, race, sexual orientation and other characteristics). [8]
- The platform supports “covenant marriage” (which endangers battered spouses because it would allow couples to divorce only after a waiting period and counseling, even in cases of domestic abuse) and advocates rescinding no-fault divorce laws. [10]
- The platform condemns homosexuality, supports criminalizing sexual relations between consenting adults of the same sex and calls on Congress to “withhold jurisdiction from the federal courts from cases involving sodomy” (an implicit criticism of last year’s U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling that overturned sodomy laws). [10]
- The platform opposes the adoption of children or foster parenting by gay men and lesbians. [10]
- “We oppose any criminal or civil penalties against those who oppose homosexuality out of faith, conviction, or belief in traditional values.” [10]
- The platform calls for constitutional protection of a fetus and, until then, strict limits and regulation of abortion and abortion providers. [11]
- The party supports corporal punishment and “parental authority to discipline,” mentioning it at least four different times. Republicans also advocate eliminating prohibitions on corporal punishment in order to attract more foster parents. [12, 13, 16]

- The party supports laws that bar Child Protective Services from removing an abused child from his or her home, even in cases of “immediate danger to the child’s physical health or safety.” [13]
- The platform calls for requiring people who report child abuse to identify themselves and their contact information. [13]
- The state party platform calls for a ban on stem-cell research (which experts believe holds the promise of cures for a variety of diseases like Parkinson’s and Alzheimer’s). [12]

Public Education

- The platform supports “child-centered school funding options” that use tax dollars to pay for tuition in private and religious schools (vouchers). [15]
- The party calls for schools to emphasize “Judeo-Christian principles” and for including Bible-based “theories” like “intelligent design” about the origin of humans in science textbooks (which would, in effect, water down discussions of evolution). [16, 17]
- Republicans support health education that promotes abstinence from sex “until heterosexual marriage with an uninfected person” and oppose any other instruction on methods of preventing pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. [15]
- The party calls for the Legislature to restore to the State Board of Education full authority to censor public school textbooks that “undermine belief in America and our Constitutional Republic, promulgate anti-American propaganda, and contain unchallenged biased viewpoints.” [14]
- The platform supports “local control” measures for public schools (which would mean the elimination of basic quality education standards like teacher certification and small class sizes). [14]
- Republicans called for the repeal of “government-sponsored programs that deal with early childhood development” (Head Start) and phasing the programs out “as soon as possible.” [16]

Good Government

- The party “understands government ownership of land to be the cornerstone of socialism.” [4]
- Republicans officially call for privatizing Social Security and “gradually phasing out the Social Security tax.” [13]
- The platform calls for U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations. [24]

APPENDIX D

Political Action Committees

JAMES LEININGER-BACKED PACS

Texans for Governmental Integrity

Texans for Governmental Integrity was one of the first of many political action committees founded and funded almost entirely by Dr. James Leininger. It has also been one of the nastiest. In 1994, Texans for Governmental Integrity sent out a mailer showing a white man kissing a black man and warned voters that incumbent Democratic State Board of Education member Mary Knott Perkins had voted to approve textbooks that supposedly promoted abortion and homosexuality. Dr. Leininger has continued to fund the PAC in various elections since that time.

Date Created: 06/06/1990	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)	Leininger donations 2000-06
Spending	0	\$261,562.65	\$100	0	
Contributions	0	\$232,000	0	0	\$193,000

All Children Matter, Texas

All Children Matter is a pro-voucher PAC founded by San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger. Dr. Leininger funds this PAC periodically for political campaigns. As of its January 2006 filing, All Children Matter reported no cash on hand. Texas Ethics Commission records show, however, a \$54,000 donation in November 2005 from All Children Matter to another Leininger pro-voucher PAC, The Future of Texas Alliance. That in-kind donation apparently was for polling.

	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)	Leininger donations 2000-06
Spending	0	0	\$110,726.05	\$108,720.00	
Contributions	0	0	\$152,000	0	\$102,000

The Future of Texas Alliance

The Future of Texas Alliance is a pro-voucher PAC opened in late 2005 with support from the James Leininger-funded All Children Matter, Texas, in the form of an in-kind contribution for polling. The PAC received another \$495,000 from Dr. Leininger in January and February 2006. The Future of Texas Alliance has been supporting pro-voucher Republican state House incumbents in the 2006 election cycle.

Date Created: 10/05/05	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)	Leininger donations 2000-06
Spending	0	0	0	\$221,075.69	
Contributions	0	0	0	\$550,230	\$495,000

Texas Republican Legislative Campaign Committee

The Texas Republican Legislative Campaign Committee (TRLCC) is a pro-voucher PAC founded in 2005. The PAC received nearly all of its funding from San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger leading up to the March 7, 2006, GOP primary. Dr. Leininger had contributed more than \$1.8 million. The money funded campaigns to five challengers of Republican House incumbents in the March 2006 GOP primary. Just two of the challengers won in their primary races.

Date Created: 2005	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)	Leininger donations 2000-06
Spending	0	0	0	\$1,886,833.56	
Contributions	0	0	0	\$1,807,768.25	\$1,807,443

PACS THAT SUPPORTED THE PROPOSITION 2 MARRIAGE AMENDMENT IN 2005

Texans for Marriage

Texans for Marriage was the primary political action committee funding the campaign to pass Proposition 2, the proposed Texas constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions in 2005. The PAC received nearly all of its funding from Dr. James Leininger, Houston homebuilder Bob Perry and Vaquillas LLC, a Laredo investment company owned by Gene Walker.

Date Created: 2005	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)
Spending	0	0	0	\$305,563.17
Contributions	0	0	0	\$339,880.40

Texas Marriage Alliance (TMA)

The Texas Marriage Alliance, formed in 2005, was the creation of a Virginia consulting firm operated by John Colyandro and Jim Ellis. Colyandro and Ellis were charged in 2005 with violating campaign-finance laws involving activities of the unrelated Texans for a Republican Majority PAC during the 2002 election. TMA promoted Proposition 2, an amendment to the Texas Constitution that outlawed gay marriage in 2005. Gov. Rick Perry appeared in ads created the PAC, but the committee received little funding beyond a \$10,000 donation from Houston homebuilder Bob Perry.

OTHER PACS

Free Enterprise PAC/Heritage Alliance GPAC

Heritage Alliance GPAC was once known as the Free Enterprise PAC, or FreePAC. FreePAC was most infamous for funding direct mail pieces in 2002 that claimed Lt. Gov. Bill Ratliff and five other GOP legislative incumbents were promoting the “radical homosexual agenda” by voting for the James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes bill. The mailers also charged that the six supported assisted suicide. The attempt to purge those six moderate Republican legislators and replace them with even more conservative candidates backfired, however. All six won re-election.

Date Created: 12/13/1972	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)
Spending	\$550,593.08	\$597,237.80	\$3,117.46	\$20,970.42
Contributions	\$505,476.34	\$673,650.73	\$15,460	\$72,871

Texas Home School Coalition PAC

The Texas Home School Coalition is a conservative Christian group that supports unregulated home-schooling and, ultimately, state funding for home-schooled students.

Date Created: 10/24/1994	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)
Spending	0	\$950.34	\$36,058.17	\$30,943.47
Contributions		\$26,989.74	\$16,561.85	\$3,150.18

Texas Right to Life PAC

Texas Right to Life PAC supports Christian anti-abortion and anti-stem cell research candidates for public office.

Date Created: 8/14/1973	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)
Spending	0	\$35,171.81	\$33,346.60	\$11,526.58
Contributions	0	\$23,702	\$164,028.86	\$33,292

Legacy PAC

This conservative PAC holds fundraisers in churches throughout Texas to support far-right Republican candidates. The PAC's fundraising activities at Westover Church of Christ in Austin led Americans United for the Separation of Church and State to refer the church to the Internal Revenue Service for possible illegal partisan politicking in 2004.

Date Created: 8/25/1997	2000 Election Cycle	2002 Election Cycle	2004 Election Cycle	2006 Election Cycle (to March 2006)
Spending	\$3,994.94	\$3,877.91	\$9,581.40	\$1,081.10
Contributions	\$3,715.14	\$4,097.39	\$8,817.51	\$250.00

APPENDIX E

Organizations of the Religious Right in Texas

Following is a list of organizations that advance the agenda of the religious right in Texas. Most financial data comes from tax information nonprofit organizations must file with the Internal Revenue Service (Form 990). The data shown is for the most recent year available. Information on leadership, including board members, comes from both IRS filings and Web sites for each group. Because some organizations do not update their Web sites regularly, some information about leaders may be out of date. Even so, this appendix represents a compilation of data that was available at the end of 2005.

Educational Research Analysts

501(c)(3) nonprofit
EIN: 75-1407723

Mel and Norma Gabler of Longview (Texas) began reviewing textbooks in the 1960s, eventually creating Educational Research Analysts. The Gablers and their successors have criticized textbooks for, as they see it, coverage of evolution, failure to promote phonics-based reading instruction, insufficient support for principles of free enterprise, a failure to promote a strict interpretation of the U.S. Constitution, a lack of respect for Judeo-Christian morals, failure to emphasize abstinence-only-until-marriage instruction in health textbooks, and the “politically correct degradation of academics.”

The group’s “reviews” are often really political documents in which many textbook “errors” are simply ideological objections to content. In 2004 the group attacked proposed new health textbooks in Texas as somehow promoting homosexuality and same-sex marriage. Yet the student textbooks included no discussions of sexual orientation, and the teacher editions barely touched on the topic. But Educational Research Analysts argued that the books promoted same-sex marriage through the use of “asexual stealth phrases,” such as “married couples” and “married people,” rather than using language making it clear that marriage is a union of a man and a woman.

Mel Gabler died in December 2004. Neal Frey, a longtime textbook reviewer for the Gablers, runs the organization today. For an informative feature on Frey, see “Chapter & Verse,” *Teacher Magazine*, Jan. 1, 2006 (www.edweek.org).

From the Web site: <http://www.textbookreviews.org/>

Mission

“We are a conservative Christian organization that reviews public school textbooks submitted for adoption in Texas. Our reviews have national relevance because Texas state-adopts textbooks and buys so many that publishers write them to Texas standards and sell them across the country. Our unique 45 years’ experience gives us expertise equal to or beyond that of the education establishment itself in all

phases of the public school textbook adoption process, and in that our standard review criteria spell out what public school textbooks often censor on certain topics. Publisher’s market textbooks — and many teachers select them — based on convenience of their teaching aids. Unlike them, we review textbooks for academic content only. Parents, teachers, and school board members can all profitably use our materials.”

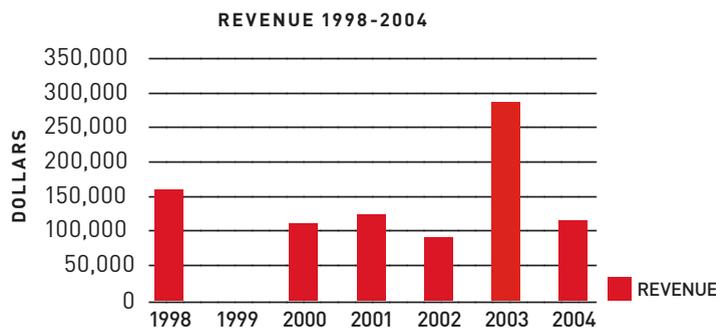
Leadership

Neal Frey, senior textbook analyst

Board Members:

Neal Frey
Judith S. Frey
Richard Gibson
Mrs. Mel Gabler

Revenue 1998: \$158,780.00 Revenue 2004: \$108,325.00 Assets 2004: \$345,180



Revenue information for 1999 was unavailable.

Contact Information:

P.O. Box 7518
Longview, Texas 75607-7518
Phone: (903) 753-5993
Fax: (903) 753-8424
E-mail: info@textbookreviews.org

Free Market Foundation

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit
 EIN: 75-1403169

The Free Market Foundation serves as the statewide policy council for the far-right Focus on the Family, a national organization based in Colorado. The Free Market Foundation was created by Richard Ford, a high-level far-right political donor and organizer in Texas. Ford supports private school vouchers and also founded FreePAC (Heritage Alliance), a political action committee that used its contributions to try to unseat moderate Republican state legislators in Texas and replace them with candidates aligned with the religious right.

Today the head of the Free Market Foundation is Kelly Shackelford, an attorney who previously worked for the Rutherford Institute. The Rutherford Institute specializes in suing the government and public entities in "defense of religious liberty." Shackelford also serves as chief counsel for Liberty Legal Institute, a litigation arm of the Free Market Foundation.

Shackelford has also supported state workers who removed a child from her mother's custody because she was involved in a lesbian relationship. Shackelford contended that the state should "not knowingly place children in homes where they know there is ongoing criminal sexual activity." Shackelford reasoned that state's the sodomy law (since then struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court) meant that the state can't "place children in homosexual households."

The Free Market Foundation has supported failed legislation permitting religious organizations to ignore civil rights laws. The group also produces one of the most widely distributed religious-right voter guides in Texas, typically covering issues such as private school vouchers, same-sex marriage and teaching creationism in science classes. In addition, the Free Market Foundation has demanded that judicial candidates state their affiliations with various organizations ranging from the Christian Coalition and Eagle Forum to the American Civil Liberties Union and Planned Parenthood. The group also created the Texas Physicians Resource Council, a statewide network of Christian physicians and dentists interested in local and state public policies involving such issues as abortion rights, homosexuality, parenting and sexuality education.

The Free Market Foundation has increasingly looked to organizing conservative Christian pastors as a strategy in advancing its political agenda. Shackelford has also been a prominent supporter of the Texas Restoration Project, an organization for conservative Christian pastors.

From the Web site: <http://www.freemarket.org>

Mission

"To protect freedoms and strengthen families throughout Texas by impacting our legislature, media, grassroots, and courts with the truth. To do this we are guided by the principles, which limit government, promote free enterprise and Judeo-Christian values."

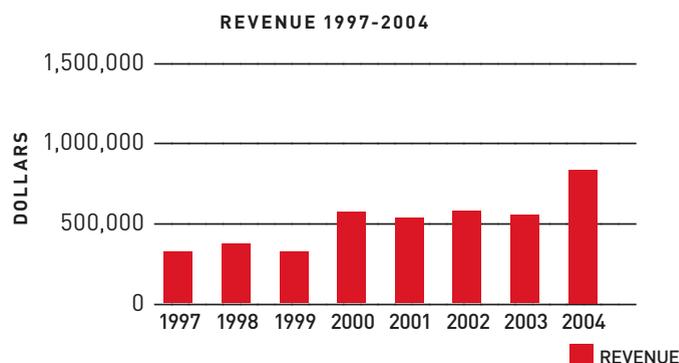
Leadership

Kelly J. Shackelford, president, chief counsel of the legal division (Liberty Legal Institute)

Board Members

- W.W. Caruth III, Dallas, chairman
- James R. Lightner, Dallas
- Tim Dunn, Midland
- Al Angel, Dallas
- William Crocker, Austin
- James Robertson, Plano
- Archer Bonnema, Plano
- Joe Broome, Dallas
- Dan Browning, Plano
- Deborah Muse Carlson, Dallas
- Dr. Linda Flower, Tomball
- Paul Pressler, Houston

Revenue 1997: \$314,004.00 **Revenue 2004:** \$974,233.00 **Assets 2004:** \$533,581.00



Contact Information:

Free Market Foundation
 903 East 18th Street, Suite 230
 Plano, Texas 75074
 Phone: (972) 423-8889
 Fax: (972) 423-8899
 E-mail: programs@freemarket.org

Heritage Alliance

A 501 (c)(4) nonprofit

EIN: 73-1164337

Founded by Richard Ford, the Heritage Alliance and the Heritage Alliance PAC were once known as the Free Market Committee and the Free Enterprise PAC, or FreePAC. FreePAC backed a slate of far-right candidates in the 2002 state elections. In an attempt to purge moderates from the ranks of Republican elected officials, FreePAC also distributed mailers attacking a half-dozen GOP House members and senators during the party primary elections that year. Some of the inflammatory mailers included photos of two men kissing. The mailers painted their moderate Republican targets as, among other sins, being anti-family and supportive of teaching children about gay sex. They also attacked lawmakers for supporting women's reproductive rights, including access to abortion services. The attacks drew condemnation from newspapers and other Republican officials from across the state, and all six of the targeted Republican moderates won their primaries.

In 2005 the Heritage Alliance PAC worked to pass a state constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions. Visitors to the PAC's Web site were asked to provide contact information, thus helping the PAC's voter-identification efforts in advance of the 2006 state elections.

From the Web site: www.heritagealliance.com

Mission

"Heritage Alliance seeks to empower the handful of citizens necessary to restore principles of free enterprise, limited government, limited taxation, and our traditional Judeo-Christian heritage in government.

Our founders believed in electing legislators of character and ability to represent principles on behalf of the common good, not simply to pander to public opinion. We believe that God entrusted us with the right to vote. When we choose not to vote or to not vote intelligently, we forfeit our responsibility to choose just legislators.

It is amazing how few people it takes to influence a legislator or an election! Only 50 emails, letters, or phone calls will influence a legislator on a particular bill. And only 5,000 voters will change the outcome of a primary election.

Your voice and your vote really do make a difference. Heritage Alliance serves to help you use your voice and vote wisely to hold our legislators accountable and ensure traditional values for our children and grandchildren."

Leadership:

Richard Ford, president

Board Members:

Dale Brown, Midland

Robert Carrel, Bonham

Richard Ford, Dallas

Greg Lamb, Dallas

J. Keet Lewis, Dallas, director

Tom Miller, Dallas, director

Robert Schoolfield, Austin

Cindy Sullivan, Galveston

Revenue 2004:

\$49,580.22

Assets 2004:

\$8,119.15

Contact Information:

P.O. Box 741777

Dallas, TX 75374

info@heritagealliance.com

The Justice Foundation

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit
 EIN: 74-2676958

The Justice Foundation (TJF, formerly the Texas Justice Foundation) was formed as a spin-off of the far-right Texas Public Policy Foundation to litigate on behalf of what TJF considers “good government practices.” TJF has filed legal briefs in support of the right of people under restraining orders to bear arms, the right of students to impose their religious beliefs on others, and the religious right’s campaign for “parental rights.”

TJF has been active in the campaign for private school vouchers in Texas by arguing for parental rights and vouchers in front of the Texas Supreme Court, sponsoring a “Putting Children First” private school choice conference at the Capitol, and “evaluating” charter schools for the State Board of Education.

In 2000, TJF filed an amicus brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Santa Fe ISD v. Doe*, arguing in support of school prayer at Texas high school football games. The Justice Foundation also has represented both Norma McCorvey, formerly “Roe” of *Roe v. Wade*, and Sandra Cano, the “Doe” of *Doe v. Bolton*, in the effort to overturn the two landmark cases that protected a woman’s right to choose whether or not to have an abortion.

Attorney Allan Parker leads TJF and is a former Bexar County Christian Coalition president. Parker and former directors of TJF have been familiar names in other pro-voucher organizations. Fritz Steiger, president of CEO America (now Children First America), was a TJF director.

From the Web site: <http://www.txjf.org>

“The Justice Foundation (formerly the Texas Justice Foundation) was founded in 1993 to protect the fundamental freedoms and rights essential to the preservation of American society. The Foundation represents clients free of charge in cases in the areas of limited government, free markets, private property, parental school choice, parental rights in education, and enforcing laws to protect women’s health. The Justice Foundation is a nonprofit, public-interest litigation firm supported by tax-deductible contributions.”

Mission Statement

“The Justice Foundation seeks to mobilize citizens, through financial and service contributions to provide free legal representation in landmark cases to protect and restore justice.”

Philosophy

“We seek to protect, through litigation and education, those fundamental freedoms and rights essential to the preservation of American society.”

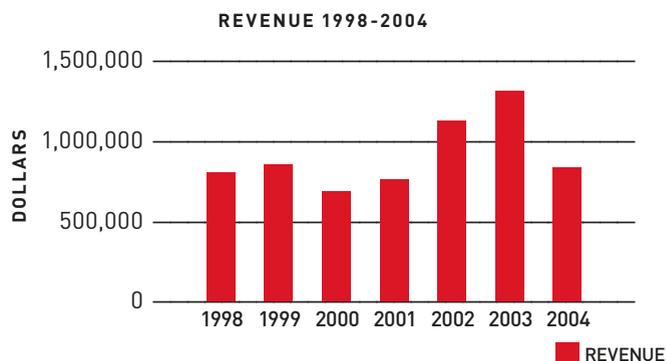
Leadership

Allan E. Parker Jr., president
 Linda Schlueter, vice president of operations
 George Pond, vice president of development
 Clayton Trotter, general counsel
 Anne Newman, director of communications

Board Members (From IRS Form 990, 2003)

Fritz Steiger
 Thomas W. Lyles Jr.
 Allan E. Parker Jr.
 Charles A. Staffel
 James R. Leininger

Revenue 1998:	Revenue 2004:	Assets 2004:
\$796,915.00	\$960,382.00	\$102,802.00



Contact Information:

Texas Justice Foundation
 8122 Datapoint, Suite 812
 San Antonio, Texas 78229
 Phone: (210) 614-7157
 Fax: (210) 614-6656
 E-mail: info@txjf.org

Liberty Legal Institute

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

An arm of Free Market Foundation – itself the Texas outpost of James Dobson’s Focus on the Family – Liberty Legal is a litigation group that attempts to insert religion into the public sphere through lawsuits. In August 2005, Liberty Legal provided work for the National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools (NCBCPS). The NCBCPS had come under fire following a Texas Freedom Network Education Fund report detailing blatant sectarian bias, numerous errors and plagiarism in a Bible curriculum the National Council is aggressively marketing to public schools around the country.

From the Web site: <http://www.libertylegal.org>

“The Institute fights to protect religious freedoms and First Amendment rights for individuals, groups, and churches. LLI’s assistance is provided free of charge to ensure all individuals and groups can thrive without the fear of governments restricting their freedoms.

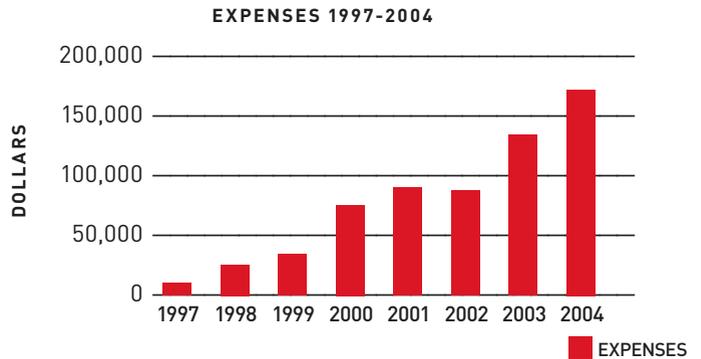
Liberty Legal consists of a network of over 120 dedicated attorneys across the state of Texas successfully battling in the courts for religious freedoms, student’s rights, parental rights, the definition of family, and other freedoms.

The Institute offers its assistance pro bono. Attorneys across Texas donate their professional expertise and time to fight for these sacred freedoms.”

Leadership:

Kelly Shackelford, chief counsel

1997 Expenses: \$6,797.00 **2004 Expenses:** \$163,796.00



Contact Information:

Liberty Legal Institute
 903 E. 18th Street, Suite 230
 Plano, TX 75074
 Phone: (972) 423-3131
 E-mail: libertylegal@libertylegal.org

Life Dynamics

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-2436409

Founded in 1992, Life Dynamics opposes the right to abortion in all circumstances, including to save the life of the mother.

The group has backed its extreme position with extreme tactics, including the distribution of literature with “jokes” suggesting that doctors who perform abortions should be shot.

The group also distributed a video charging that clinics were engaged in an illegal underground trafficking of fetal tissue.

When members of a Congressional committee pointed out discrepancies between the statements of a spokesman in the video and statements on an affidavit by the same individual, the spokesperson answered: “I would go by the affidavit, when I was under oath I told the truth. Anything I said on the video when I was not under oath, that is a different story.” (*Roll Call*, 3/13/2000)

From the Web site: <http://www.lidi.org>

Statement of Position

“The official Life Dynamics position is that no action should be legally permissible if its intent is to take the life of an innocent human being.

Therefore, in recognition of the biological reality that human life begins at the moment of fertilization, the unborn child is entitled to the protection of the law under all circumstances and at every stage of pregnancy. In those extraordinarily rare instances in which a pregnancy poses an immediate and life threatening risk to the mother, she should be allowed to direct her physician to perform any medical procedure that is necessary to save her life. In that effort, however, the physician must always do whatever is possible to save the life of both mother and baby. If as an unintended consequence of saving the mother’s life, her unborn child loses its life, that should be viewed as a profoundly regrettable but lawful outcome.”

Motto

“Pro-Life: without compromise, without exception, without apology.”

Leadership

Mark Crutcher, founder and president

Board Members:

Mark Crutcher

Tulane Crutcher

B.J. Posey

Louise Coleman

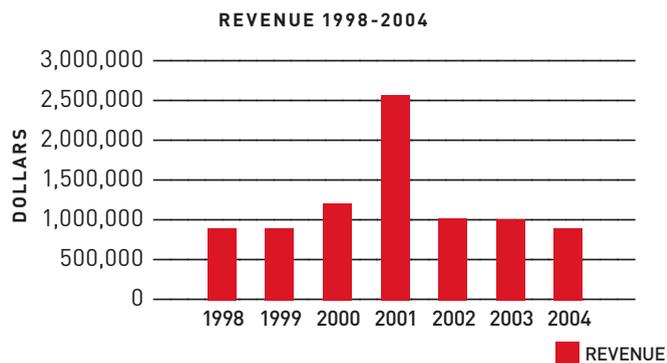
Cheri Driggs

Terrance Anderson

Arden Morley

Lisa Beaulieu

Revenue 1998:	Revenue 2004:	Assets 2004:
\$914,657.00	\$971,862.00	\$1,193,070.00



Contact Information:

Life Dynamics Incorporated

P.O. Box 2226

Denton, TX 76202

Phone: (940) 380-8800

Fax: (940) 380-8700

Texas Alliance for Life

A 501(c)(4) nonprofit
 EIN: 74-2505952

Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit
 EIN: 74-2727699

Texas Alliance for Life was created in 1988 by Joseph Pojman as the Greater Austin Right to Life Committee. In 1999, the organization adopted another name: Texas Coalition of Parents' Rights. Finally, in 2002, the organization became known as Texas Alliance for Life, but it still operated under any of the assumed names. Texas Alliance for Life holds anti-abortion rallies around the state and supports legislation outlawing abortion, stem cell research and the expansion of Planned Parenthood facilities.

From the Web site: <http://www.gartl.org>

Mission

"Texas Alliance for Life is a nonprofit organization made up of people. We are committed to protecting the fundamental right to life of all innocent human beings and to promoting respect for their value and dignity from the moment of conception until natural death. We therefore oppose the advocacy and practice of abortion (except to preserve the mother's life), infanticide, euthanasia, and all forms of assisted suicide."

Organization's purpose, from records filed with the Texas Secretary of State's Office:

- A. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the unborn child, from the moment of fertilization through the moment of natural death.
- B. To combat, curb, and eliminate abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia and any other medical practice that support the taking of innocent human life or involuntary experiments upon human beings.
- C. To organize and conduct educational and public-relations programs directed at advising the public of the true nature of the aforementioned medical practices: which is that these are profane attacks upon the foundations of our society; that these are cruel violence illegally visited upon the victims of such practices; and that they are crimes against humanity.
- D. To provide alternatives to abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia through care and comfort to needy pregnant women, elderly persons, and other potential victims of perverted medical science so as to curb the aforementioned medical practices.
- E. To engage only in peaceful actions not prohibited by law for implementing the aforementioned purposes.

Leadership, Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund:

Joseph Pojman

Board Members:

Christopher Maska
 Jayme Bennett
 Peggy Gerke
 Mary Shearer
 Tiffany Madura
 Jill Davis

Leadership, Texas Alliance for Life, Inc:

Joseph Pojman

Board Members:

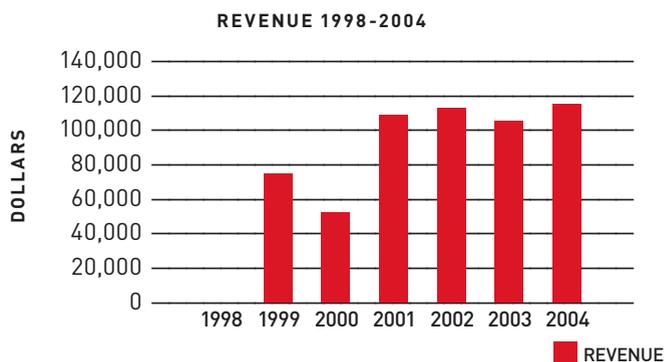
Jean Cullen
 Brandon Frye
 Scott Gilmore
 Christopher Maska
 Chris Munson
 Beverly Nuckols, M.D.
 Robert O'Donnell
 Kayo O'Keefe
 Jack Selman
 Jim Shaw
 Pastor David Smith
 Davida Stike
 Clara Urias

Texas Alliance for Life 501(c)(4)

Revenue 2005: Assets 2005:
 \$72,361 (\$5,876)

Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund 501(c)(3)

Revenue 1999: Revenue 2004: Assets 2004:
 \$72,994.00 \$119,939.00 \$16,268.00



Contact Information:

Texas Alliance for Life
 2026 Guadalupe Street, Suite 220
 Austin, TX 78705
 Phone: (512) 477-1244
 Fax: (512) 472-6246
 E-mail: info@texasallianceforlife.org

Texas Christian Coalition (CCTX, Inc.)

501(c)(4) nonprofit

EIN: 75-2830534

Formerly based in the North Texas city of Bedford, the Texas Christian Coalition in June 2005 changed its registered office to Sugar Land, a suburban city west of Houston. The group’s chairman in 2004, Norm Mason, apparently once lived in Sugar Land. While they were members of the same church in 1992, U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay recruited Mason to head the first Christian Coalition chapter in Fort Bend County, where Sugar Land is located. (*New Republic*, 5-5-05)

The Texas Christian Coalition was active as recently as November 2004, when it produced voter guides on issues such as “unrestricted abortion on demand,” “permanent elimination of the death tax” and “private” social security accounts. Most Democratic candidates provided no responses for the guide. Nevertheless, the guides included “answers” from some of those candidates based on “public voting records” and “public statements.”

From the Web site: <http://www.texascc.org>
 “Ensuring a Christian voice in government”

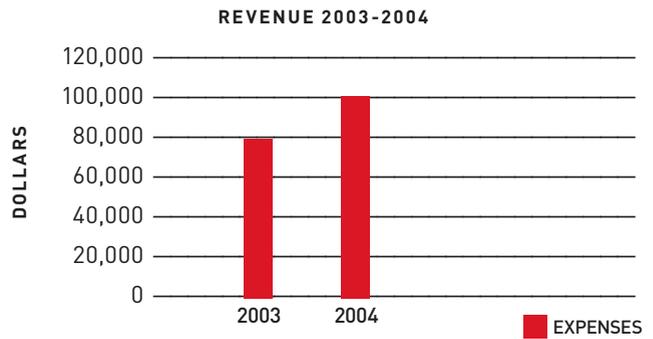
Leadership

Chuck Anderson

Norm Mason, chairman (2004)

Mike Hanneschlager, executive director (2004)

Revenue 2003:	Revenue 2004	Assets 2004:
\$80,343.00	\$98,974.00	\$287



Contact Information:

915 Goldfish Ave.

Sugar Land, TX 77478

E-mail: texascc@texascc.org

Texas Eagle Forum

A 501(c)(4) nonprofit
 EIN: 75-2310138

Texas Eagle Education Fund

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit
 EIN: 75-2310139

The Texas Eagle Forum is extremely active at the State Board of Education (SBOE) on textbook and curriculum issues. The group’s lobbyists have held positions on the SBOE writing team for English/Language Arts and the curricular review committee for Careers and Technology. In addition, the group’s director, Cathie Adams, can often be seen at SBOE hearings testifying on textbook content. Her testimony has opposed the inclusion of references to Cesar Chavez, pictures of Mexican-American cowboys in history textbooks, and recipes to illustrate measurement and fractions in mathematics textbooks.

The group has been a staunch opponent of any instruction on AIDS prevention or pregnancy prevention in Texas high schools other than through an abstinence-only-until-marriage curriculum. It also opposes immunizations requirements, school-based health centers and school nurses, and School-to-Work programs.

From the Web site: <http://texaseagle.org>

Mission

“Texas Eagle Forum’s mission is to enable conservative and pro-family men and women to participate in the process of self-government and public policy-making so that America will continue to be a land of individual liberty, respect for family integrity, public and private virtue, and private enterprise.”

Leadership:

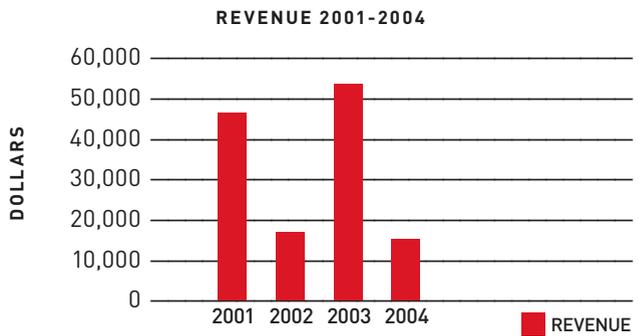
Cathie Adams, president
 Marilyn Statler, secretary

Texas Eagle Forum 501(c)(4)

Revenue 2004: \$55,814.00
Assets 2004: \$27,271.00

Texas Eagle Education Fund 501(c)(3)

Revenue 2001: \$46,390
Revenue 2004: \$16,619
Assets 2004: \$1,077



Contact Information:

Texas Eagle Forum
 P.O. Box 795354
 Dallas, TX 75379
 Phone: (972) 250-0734
 Fax: (972) 380-2853
 E-mail: torch@texaseagle.org

Texans for Life Coalition

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-1908415

Texans for Life (formerly Texans United for Life) is involved in religious-right politics throughout Texas. The organization has opposed comprehensive sex education in Texas health textbooks, stem cell research, reproductive choice and physician-assisted suicide. Though the organization supported Harriet Miers in her run for a Dallas City Council seat in 1989, it turned against her in 2005 when President Bush nominated her to be an associate justice on the U.S. Supreme Court.

From the Web site: <http://www.texlife.org/>

“Pro-life education. Provide information relating to abstinence-based sex education for effective pro-life action including alternatives to abortion.”

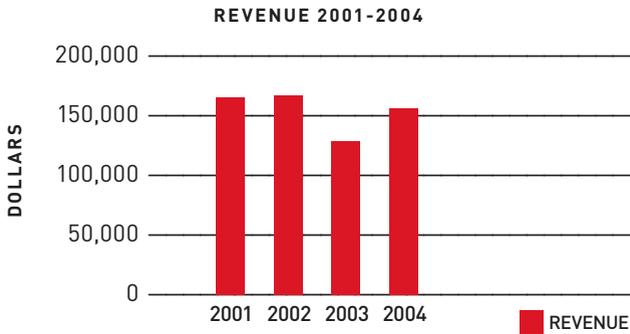
Leadership

Kyleen Wright, president

Board Members

Casey Burke	Dot Hogue
David Edmonson	Dr. Patrick J. McCarty
Betty Garcia	Jeffrey Stewart
Dr. Jack Hatcher	Kyleen Wright

Revenue 2001:	Revenue 2004:	Assets 2004:
\$168,565.00	\$161,923.00	\$21,016.00



Contact Information:

Texans for Life Coalition
 P.O. Box 177727
 Irving, TX 75017-7727
 Phone: (972) 790-9044
 E-mail: webservant@texlife.org

Texas Public Policy Foundation

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 74-2524057

While its work today is not based explicitly on conservative religious principles, the Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF) has played an increasingly influential role in shaping public policy in Texas from a far-right perspective. In fact, many Republican lawmakers attend TPPF’s “policy orientation” events, and TPPF leaders and staff members advise Gov. Rick Perry and other elected officials on public policy. The group has supported censorship of school textbooks in the past, opposes funding for the Children’s Health Insurance Program and promotes policies – such as private school vouchers and school “deregulation” – that threaten public education in the state.

San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger founded TPPF in 1989, using the Heritage Foundation as a model for a conservative “think tank.” The organization writes and disseminates supportive reports on issues long important to Dr. Leininger, especially private school vouchers and tort reform.

From the Web site: <http://www.texaspolicy.com>

“The Texas Public Policy Foundation is a 501 (c) 3 non-profit, non-partisan research institute guided by the core principles of limited government, free markets, private property rights, individual liberty and personal responsibility.

The foundation’s mission is to improve Texas government by generating academically sound research and data on state issues, and by recommending the findings to opinion leaders, policy makers, the media and the general public. The work of the Foundation is conducted by academics across Texas and is funded by hundreds of individuals, foundations and corporations.

The public is demanding a different direction for their government and the Texas Public Policy Foundation is providing the research that enable policy makers to chart that new course.”

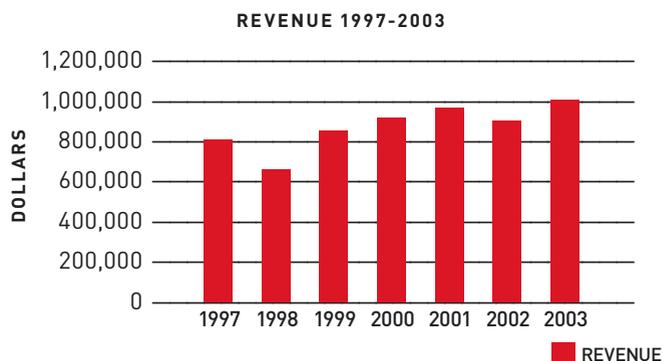
Leadership

Brooke L. Rollins, president
 Michael Quinn Sullivan, vice president
 Byron Schломach, chief economist

Board Members

Phil Adams, Bryan
 Ernest Angelo, Midland
 Tim Dunn, vice chairman, Midland
 Ramiro Galindo, Bryan
 Wendy Gramm, Helotes
 Bill Jones, Austin
 Dale Laine, Austin
 James R. Leininger, MD, San Antonio
 Tim Lyles, San Antonio
 William A. McMinn, chairman, Houston
 Vance C. Miller, Dallas
 John Nau, III, Houston
 Brenda Pejovich, Dallas
 Brooke L. Rollins, Dallas
 Jeff Sandefer, Austin
 Fritz Steiger, Bentonville, Ark.
 Michael Stevens, Houston

Revenue 1997:	Revenue 2003:	Assets 2003:
\$810,456.00	\$1,013,375.00	\$161,790.00



Contact Information

Texas Public Policy Foundation
 900 Congress Ave. Ste. 400
 Phone: (512) 472-2700
 Fax: (512) 472-2728
 E-mail: info@TexasPolicy.com

Texas Restoration Project

Nonprofit status: Unknown

EIN: Unknown

The Texas Restoration Project is a new organization of conservative pastors. Modeled after similar organizations in Ohio and California, the Texas group played a key role in helping pass Proposition 2, a state constitutional ban on same-sex marriage, in November 2005. The Texas Restoration Project has also been closely tied to Gov. Rick Perry. In fact, Gov. Perry was the only elected official to speak at all of six so-called "Pastors' Policy Briefings" hosted by the Texas Restoration Project in 2005. Other speakers at some of the "briefings" included staffers from Gov. Perry's office, other Republican Party officials, Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst and a host of conservative pastors. See Chapter 3 for a full report on the Texas Restoration Project.

Mission (From Texas Restoration Project literature)

"The Texas Restoration Project was established to mobilize pastors and pews to restore Texas and America to our Judeo-Christian heritage. We strive to provide the resources necessary for Churches to educate their members on the moral issues facing our society and encourage them to participate in the democratic process."

Leadership

Rev. Dr. Laurence White, chairman

David Lane, executive director

Board Members

Unknown

Revenue: Assets:

Unknown Unknown

Contact Information:

P.O. Box 200222

Austin, TX 78720-0222

Phone: (800) 491-9032

restoration@sanjacintogroup.com

Vision America

501 (c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 76-0572974

Founded in 1994, the Lufkin (Texas)-based group calls on pastors – so-called “patriot pastors” – to promote a conservative political agenda in their congregations. That agenda is virulently anti-gay and includes opposition to abortion rights and comprehensive sex education in public schools. One of the members of the group’s board of directors is the Rev. Dr. Laurence White, who serves as chairman of the Texas Restoration Project – another organization whose mission is to mobilize pastors into a conservative political force.

The president of Vision America is Rick Scarborough, a former Southern Baptist pastor who is a prominent leader in the far right’s campaign to undermine an independent judiciary. In fact, the group has called for the impeachment of “activist judges” whose rulings it opposes. Scarborough has been one of the loudest voices proclaiming that “activist judges” are engaged in a “war on Christians” and people of faith. In March of this year, Vision America hosted a national conference in Washington, D.C., called “The War on Christians and Values Voters.” The event featured a long list of heavy hitters on the far right, including U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay of Texas, U.S. Sen. John Cornyn of Texas, Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum, and former Republican presidential candidate Alan Keyes.

From the Web site: <http://www.visionamerica.us/>

Mission

“Our mission is to inform, encourage and mobilize pastors and their congregations to be proactive in restoring Judeo-Christian values to the moral and civic framework in their communities, states, and our nation.”

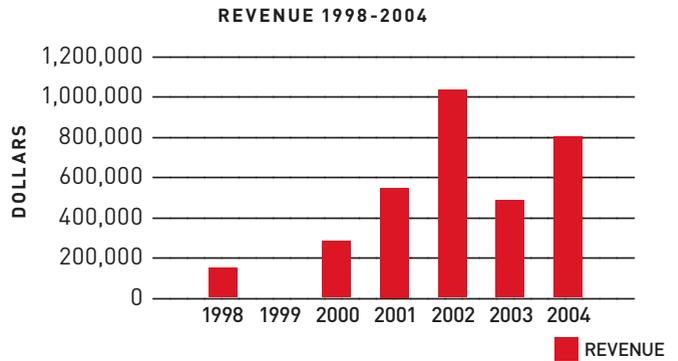
Head of the Group:

Rick Scarborough

Board Members:

- Randall Odom
- Mike Valerio
- Jeannie Gonzales
- Paul Martin
- Roger Bridgewater
- Jack M Williams
- Madeline Collier
- William Gattis
- Ty Moore
- Randall Odom
- Bill Gattis
- Mike Riddle
- Tom Reiser
- Dr. Laurence White

Revenue 1998:	Revenue 2004:	Assets 2004:
\$131,826.00	\$811,080.00	\$72,515.00



Revenue information for 1999 was unavailable.

Contact Information:

Vision America
 P.O. Box 10
 Lufkin, Texas 75902
 Phone: (866) 522-5582
 E-mail: mail@visionamerica.us

WallBuilders

501 (c)(3) nonprofit
 EIN: 75-1627779

Headquartered in the North Texas town of Aledo, WallBuilders is an “educational” organization with a distinct ideological agenda – that the United States is a Christian nation, founded on Christian principles, and that its laws should be based on conservative Christian biblical teaching. The group has an increasingly partisan agenda as well. Its founder and president, David Barton, is vice chair of the Republican Party of Texas and is a prominent speaker before Republican and other conservative groups around the country.

In 2004, Barton served as a political consultant for the Republican National Committee, traveling the country and speaking at about 300 RNC-sponsored lunches for local evangelical pastors. During these lunches, he presented a slide show of American monuments, discussed his view of America’s Christian heritage, and encouraged pastors to endorse political candidates from the pulpit.

Barton has published several books and produced several videotapes calling for the restoration of “America’s Christian values.” In these works Barton argues that the separation of church and state is a myth foisted on the country when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that government-sponsored prayer in the public schools was unconstitutional. The United States, Barton insists, was founded by Christians and was intended to be a fundamentalist-style “Christian nation.” In fact, Barton argues that the Supreme Court’s ruling against state-sponsored prayer in schools is directly tied to the erosion of morals in this country and is just one example of “renegade federal judges who too often impose their own personal values on communities.”

To achieve the group’s desired influence on government, WallBuilders’ ProFamily Legislative Network monitors and collects information on so-called “pro-family” legislation from various states, including on such issues such as marriage, abortion, education, gay and lesbian rights, public morality, gambling and parental rights. This information is then made available to other states where far-right lawmakers can introduce similar bills and spread far-right legislation across America.

Barton’s publications and videos are widely distributed through other religious-right organizations, such as Focus on the Family and Rev. Jerry Falwell’s Liberty University bookstore. WallBuilders’ has also marketed materials in public schools as a “Biblical History of the Middle East.” When parents in a Mississippi public school asserted that the course designed by Barton was a ruse for teaching fundamentalist Christianity, a federal court ruled that materials like Barton’s video “America’s Godly Heritage” were inappropriate for use in public schools. The U.S. district judge acknowledged that the films are an attempt to indoctrinate students in religious beliefs under

the ruse of “Mid-East History.” Even so, the North Carolina-based National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools recommends Barton’s materials for teachers who use the NCBCPS’s own curriculum.

From the Web site: <http://www.wallbuilders.com>

“Presenting America’s forgotten history and heroes, with an emphasis on our moral, religious, and constitutional heritage.”

“WallBuilders’ goal is to exert a direct and positive influence in government, education, and the family by (1) educating the nation concerning the Godly foundation of our country; (2) providing information to federal, state, and local officials as they develop public policies which reflect Biblical values; and (3) encouraging Christians to be involved in the civic arena.”

“WallBuilders is an organization dedicated to presenting America’s forgotten history and heroes, with an emphasis on the moral, religious, and constitutional foundation on which America was built – a foundation which, in recent years, has been seriously attacked and undermined. In accord with what was accurately stated by George Washington, we believe that “the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation which disregards the eternal rules of order and right which heaven itself has ordained.”

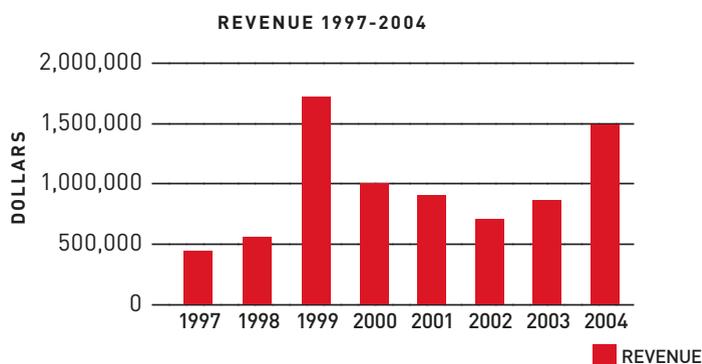
Leadership

David Barton, founder and president

Board Members:

Charles D. Barton	Jeff Fisher
Cheryl Barton	Richard Watsons
Rose Barton	Stephen McDowell

Revenue 1997:	Revenue 2004:	Assets 2004:
\$424,949.91	\$1,450,327	\$1,188,665



Contact Information:

WallBuilders
 P.O. Box 397
 426 Circle Drive
 Aledo, TX 76008-0397
 Phone: (817) 441-6044

APPENDIX F

A “Who’s Who” of Speakers at Texas Restoration Project Events

The following individuals spoke at one or more of six “pastors’ policy briefings” hosted by the Texas Restoration Project in 2005. (See Chapter 3 for a full report on the Texas Restoration Project.)

David Barton: Founder and head of WallBuilders, an organization that publishes books and videos promoting government based on Christian biblical principles. See Chapter 4 for a full report on Barton.

Kenneth Blackwell: Ohio secretary of state and Republican candidate for governor in that state this year; a favorite of the Ohio Restoration Project

Pastor Charles Burchett: Pastor of First Baptist Church in Kirbyville (Texas)

Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst: Elected lieutenant governor of Texas in 2002

Pastor John Hagee: Conservative televangelist and founder of Cornerstone Church in San Antonio in 1975

Dr. Laney Johnson: Pastor of Mobberly Baptist Church in Longview (Texas)

David Lane: Executive director of Texas Restoration Project

Rev. Charles Lewis (C. L.) Jackson: Texas Gov. Rick Perry’s point man in drawing African-American voters in Houston; pastor of Pleasant Grove Missionary Baptist Church

Rev. Dwight McKissic: Pastor of Cornerstone Baptist Church in Arlington (Texas), rabidly anti-gay, and a principal organizer of the “Not On My Watch Coalition,” a group of African-American pastors and leaders opposed to legally sanctioned same-sex unions

Dr. Gary Miller (Abdul-Ahad Omar): Converted to Islam after years of working as a Christian missionary; Ph.D. in mathematics from Kansas University

Pastor Chris Osborne: Pastor of Central Baptist Church in Bryan (Texas); member of Hope Pregnancy Centers of Brazos Valley Advisory Board

Pastor Rod Parsley: Ohio evangelist; along with wife, Joni, is head of World Harvest Church, the worldwide Breakthrough television broadcast, Harvest Preparatory School, World Harvest Bible College and Mission America Crusades; founder and president of The Center for Moral Clarity (CMC)

Tony Perkins: President of the far-right Family Research Council based in Washington, D.C.

Gov. Rick Perry: Republican became Texas governor following George Bush’s election as president in 2000

Bo Pilgrim: Wealthy East Texas chicken tycoon who heads Pilgrim’s Pride Corporation in Pittsburg, Texas; major donor to far-right Republican campaigns and political action committees

Dr. Joe Pojman: Executive director of Texas Alliance for Life

Paul Pressler: Former state judge in Texas who spearheaded efforts by conservatives to take over the Southern Baptist Convention, efforts that succeeded in 1979; currently a board member of the far-right Free Market Foundation; director of Salem Communications Corporation, which owns a network of Christian radio stations that regularly feature religious-right figures and politicians, and Revelation, Inc.

Dr. Jim Richards: Pastor of Impact of Huntsville; executive director of Southern Baptists of Texas Convention

Pastor Vic Schober: Senior pastor of Church of Glad Tidings in Austin; has a radio ministry

Kelly Shackelford: President of the far-right Free Market Foundation, an affiliate of James Dobson’s Focus on the Family; founder and chief counsel for the far-right Liberty Legal Institute

Coby Shorter: Church and Republican political figure; currently serves as deputy director of governmental appointments under Gov. Rick Perry; member of Governor’s Task Force on Faith-Based Community Service Groups under Gov. George W. Bush; pastor of Rosewood Avenue Baptist in East Austin

Dr. Laurence White: Chairman of the Texas Restoration Project; senior pastor of Our Savior Lutheran Church; co-founder and chairman of the greater Houston-area Pastor’s Roundtable, an organization designed to increase anti-abortion, conservative Christian participation in the political process; pastoral counselor for Texas District Lutherans for Life, national co-chairman of Vision America and Clergy Advisory Board member of the Family Research Council

Roger Williams: Texas secretary of state

Phil Wilson: Gov. Rick Perry’s deputy chief of staff

APPENDIX G

The Far Right on the Internet

The following Web sites offer a mix of propaganda and commentary on issues from a far-right perspective.

Texas Daily

<http://texasdaily.net/>

WorldNetDaily

<http://worldnetdaily.com/>

AgapePress

<http://www.agapepress.org/>

CovenantNews.com

<http://www.covenantnews.com/index.html>

Charisma Online

<http://www.charismanow.com>

CBN News

<http://www.cbn.com/cbnnews/>

The Texas Freedom Network Education Fund supports research and education efforts that promote religious freedom and individual liberties.



T E X A S
F R E E D O M
N E T W O R K
E D U C A T I O N
♦ F U N D ♦

www.tfn.org

512.322.0545