

### American Nationalist Union

The Populist Party was a political party in the United States between 1984 and 1996. It was conservative and often white nationalist in its ideology. The party was unrelated to the original American Populist Party or other American parties that have used the same name. Willis Carto helped found the Populist Party, which eventually served as an electoral vehicle for the former Knights of the Ku Klux Klan member David Duke.

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#### 1984 presidential election

In the 1984 presidential election, athlete and minister Bob Richards ran for president of the United States on the newly formed far-right, Populist Party ticket. He and running mate Maureen Salaman earned 62,646 votes.

#### 1988 presidential election

In the 1988 presidential election, white nationalist David Duke was the Populist Party's nominee for President of the United States. In some states, the vice presidential nominee was Floyd Parker, while in other states it was Trenton Stokes.[1] Parker replaced Bo Gritz, who had initially agreed to act as the party's nominee. However, Gritz pulled out when he discovered that the presidential nominee would be Duke rather than James Traficant. (Gritz ran for a Nevada seat in the House of Representatives instead.) The Populist Party ticket garnered 47,047 votes, for 0.04 percent of the national popular vote.

#### 1992 presidential election

In the 1992 presidential election, the Populist Party nominated Bo Gritz for president and Cyril Minett for vice president.[2] Under the campaign slogan "God, Guns and Gritz" and publishing his political manifesto "The Bill of Gritz" (playing on his last name rhyming with "rights"), he called for staunch opposition to "global government" and "The New World Order", ending all foreign aid, and abolishing federal income tax and the Federal Reserve System.[2] Gritz received 106,152 votes nationwide, or 0.14 per cent of the popular vote.[2] In two states he had a respectable showing for a third party candidate: Utah, where he received 3.84 per cent of the vote, and Idaho, where he received 2.13 per cent of the vote.[2] In some counties, his support topped 10%, and in Franklin County, Idaho, was only a few votes away from pushing Bill Clinton into fourth place in the county.[2]

#### Dissolution

By 1996, the party had collapsed. It did not nominate any candidates for the 1996 presidential election or any other election.

### Churchman's Committee for Decent Publication

The Churchmen's Committee for Decent Publications was a Protestant pro-censorship, anti-pornography advocacy group in the United States.[1] It was a contemporary of the Roman Catholic National Organization for Decent Literature and the National Legion of Decency.[1]

### American Independent Party

The American Independent Party (AIP) is a far-right political party in the United States that was established in 1967. The AIP is best known for its nomination of former Governor George Wallace of Alabama, who carried five states in the 1968 presidential election running on a segregationist "law and order" platform against Richard M. Nixon and Hubert H. Humphrey. The party split in 1976 into the modern American Independent Party and the American Party. From 1992 until 2008, the party was the California affiliate of the national Constitution Party. Its exit from the Constitution Party led to a leadership dispute during the 2016 election.

In 1967, the AIP was founded by Bill Shearer and his wife, Eileen Knowland Shearer. It nominated George C. Wallace (Democrat) as its presidential candidate and retired U.S. Air Force General Curtis E. LeMay as the vice-presidential candidate. Wallace ran on every state ballot in the election, though he did not represent the American Independent Party in all fifty states: in Connecticut, for instance, he was listed on the ballot as the nominee of the "George Wallace Party." The Wallace/LeMay ticket received 13.5 percent of the popular vote and 46 electoral votes from the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. No third-party candidate has won more than one electoral vote since the 1968 election.[7][8]

In 1969, representatives from forty states established the American Party as the successor to the American Independent Party. In some places, such as Connecticut, the American Party was constituted as the American Conservative Party. (The modern American Conservative Party, founded in 2008, is unrelated to the Wallace-era party.) In March 1969, the party ran a candidate in a special election in Tennessee's 8th congressional district in northwestern Tennessee, where Wallace had done well the previous November, to replace Congressman Robert "Fats" Everett, who had died in office. Their candidate, William J. Davis, out-pollied Republican Leonard Dunavant, with 16,375 votes to Dunavant's 15,773; but the race was carried by moderate Democrat Ed Jones, with 33,028 votes (47% of the vote).

The party flag, adopted on August 30, 1970, depicts an eagle holding a group of arrows in its left talons, over a compass rose, with a banner which reads "The American Independent Party" at the eagle's base.

The American Party, as it was commonly called and legally styled in several states, ran occasional congressional and gubernatorial candidates, but few made any real impact. In 1970, the AIP fielded a candidate for governor of South Carolina, Alfred W. Bethea, a former Democratic member of the South Carolina House of Representatives from Dillon County. Democrat John C. West defeated the Republican nominee, Albert Watson, an outgoing member of the United States House of Representatives. Bethea finished with only 2 percent of the votes cast.[9] In another 1970 gubernatorial race, the Arkansas American Party ran Walter L. Carruth (1931–2008), a justice of the peace from Phillips County in eastern Arkansas, against Republican Winthrop Rockefeller and Democrat Dale Bumpers. Carruth received 36,132 votes (5.9 percent), not enough to affect the outcome in which Bumpers handily unseated Rockefeller.[10] The American Party had gained ballot access in Tennessee in 1970 as the result of George Wallace's strong (second-place) showing in the state in 1968, easily crossing the 5 percent threshold required, and held a primary election which nominated a slate of candidates including businessman Douglas Heinsohn for governor. However, neither Heinsohn nor any other candidate running on the American Party line achieved the 5 percent threshold in the 1970 Tennessee election, and it likewise failed to do so in 1972, meaning that the party lost its newfound ballot access, which as of 2017 it has never regained.[11]

In 1972, the American Party nominated Republican Congressman John G. Schmitz of California for president and Tennessee author Thomas Jefferson Anderson, both members of the John Birch Society, for vice president (they received well over a million votes). In that election, Hall Lyons, a petroleum industry executive from Lafayette, Louisiana, and a former Republican, ran as the AP U.S. Senate nominee but finished last in a four-way race dominated by the Democratic nominee, J. Bennett Johnston, Jr.

After the 1976 split

In 1976, the American Independent Party split into the more moderate American Party, which included more northern conservatives and Schmitz supporters, and the American Independent Party, which focused on the Deep South. Both parties have nominated candidates for the presidency and other offices. Neither the American Party nor the American Independent Party has had national success, and the American Party has not achieved ballot status in any state since 1996.

In the early 1980s, Bill Shearer led the American Independent Party into the Populist Party. From 1992 to 2008, the American Independent Party was the California affiliate of the national Constitution Party, formerly the U.S. Taxpayers Party, whose founders included the late Howard Phillips.

2007 leadership dispute

A split in the American Independent Party occurred during the 2008 presidential campaign, one faction recognizing Jim King as chairman of the AIP with the other recognizing Ed Noonan as chairman. Noonan's faction claims the old AIP main website while the King organization claims the AIP's blog. King's group met in Los Angeles on June 28–29, elected King to state chair.[12] Ed Noonan's faction, which included 8 of the 17 AIP officers, held a convention in Sacramento on July 5, 2008. Issues in the split were U.S. foreign policy and the influence of Constitution Party founder Howard Phillips on the state party.[13]

The King group elected to stay in the Constitution Party and supported its presidential candidate, Chuck Baldwin. It was not listed as the "Qualified Political Party" by the California Secretary of State and Baldwin's name was not printed in the state's ballots.[14] King's group sued for ballot access [15] and their case was dismissed without prejudice.[16]

The Noonan group voted to pull out of the Constitution Party and join a new party called America's Party, put together by perennial candidate and former United Nations Ambassador Alan Keyes as a vehicle for his own presidential campaign.[13] Since Noonan was on record with the California Secretary of State as (outgoing) party chairman, Keyes was added to the state ballots as the AIP candidate.[17] This group elected Markham Robinson as its new chair at the convention.

#### American Solutions for Winning the Future

American Solutions for Winning the Future (often referred to as American Solutions) was a 527 organization created by former Speaker of the United States House of Representatives Newt Gingrich. The group first received national attention for its 2008 effort, "Drill Here. Drill Now. Pay Less", focused on the issue of offshore drilling. The organization closed in July 2011.[1]

American Solutions was established by Gingrich in 2007.[2] Gingrich served as chairman of the group.[2] The group was a "fundraising juggernaut" that raised \$52 million from major donors, such as Sheldon Adelson and the coal company Peabody Energy.[2] The group promoted deregulation and increased offshore oil drilling and other fossil-fuel extraction and opposed the Employee Free Choice Act.[2][3] Politico reported in 2009 that, "The operation, which includes a pollster and fundraisers, promotes Gingrich's books, sends out direct mail, airs ads touting his causes and funds his travel across the country." [3] American Solutions closed in 2011 after he left the organization.[2]

American Solutions was officially launched with an opening presentation on September 27, 2007 before a standing-room only crowd at the Cobb Galleria Center in Atlanta, Georgia, which featured then-Governor Sonny Perdue.[4] On September 29, 2007, American Solutions held its first "Solutions Day" with more than 2,000 workshops across the United States, designed to help volunteers learn how to get involved with government activism at the state, federal and local level. American Solutions' broad goals include transforming government "from bloated bureaucracy to lean machine." [5]

In October 2010, American Solutions Director of Internet Strategy was named at George Washington University's PoliticsOnline conference as one of the "Top 10 Who Are Changing the World of Internet and Politics", joined by fellow winners including President Barack Obama, MTV and The Huffington Post.[6] The same month, Politico reported American Solutions had raised more than \$10 million during the 2010 year.[7] "Drill Here. Drill Now." is an American political slogan coined on May 20, 2008 by former speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich and the organization to advocate for increased use of America's domestic energy resources in a bid to lower the cost of oil.

The slogan inspired the title of Gingrich's 2008 book *Drill Here, Drill Now, Pay Less: A Handbook for Slashing Gas Prices and Solving Our Energy Crisis*. [8]

#### Drill Here. Drill Now. Pay Less

See also: United States offshore drilling debate

In 2008, American Solutions launched its Drill Here. Drill Now. Pay Less. campaign, which involved a television ad campaign featuring Gingrich and a petition to Congress in support of opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling, and expanded offshore drilling. The petition stated "We ... the undersigned citizens of the United States, petition the U.S. Congress to act immediately to lower gasoline prices (and diesel and other fuel prices) by authorizing the exploration of proven energy reserves to reduce our dependence on foreign energy sources from unstable countries." [9][10] South Carolina Republican Party chairman Katon Dawson was the first state party chair to endorse the campaign. [11] The petition garnered over a million names and email addresses. [10]

In August 2009, American Solutions launched its "Jobs Here. Jobs Now. Jobs First" campaign, which promoted five major tax cuts: a two-year, 50 percent reduction in payroll taxes; a 100 percent annual write-off for small businesses' new equipment purchases; a reduction in the corporate income tax to 12.5 percent (the Irish rate); elimination of the estate tax; and elimination of the capital gains tax. [12][13]

### No More Obamacare

On January 6, 2011, American Solutions launched NoMoreObamacare.com, a website encouraging congressional Republican lawmakers to defund and repeal the federal health care legislation passed in 2010. The site included a petition calling for the bill's repeal as well as tools for activists.[14] As of January 19, 2011, the petition had gathered more than 100,000 signatures.[15]

### Dissolution

Gingrich left the organization when he announced his forming an exploratory committee to run for president in March 2011, as required by law. The organization was dissolved in July 2011. Joe Gaylord, who took over after Gingrich's departure, stated: "We had difficulty raising money after Newt left." [1] During its four years it raised \$52 million but spent nearly two-thirds of that on fundraising.[1] According to an August 2011 filing with the IRS, it raised \$2.4 million in the first half of 2011, but spent \$2.9 million.[16]

On September 14, 2011, the defunct organization's landlord, B.G.W. Limited Partnership, filed a complaint against American Solutions in the landlord-tenant division of District of Columbia Superior Court alleging that the organization owed \$16,000 in back rent on its offices located in the same "K" Street building that houses the other Gingrich Enterprises organizations, and that the office space had neither been vacated nor the keys surrendered. American Solutions failed to enter an appearance at a court hearing held on October 6, and on October 19 Superior Court Judge A. Franklin Burgess Jr. ruled that the organization owed \$20,130 in back rent and court fees and authorized the U.S. Marshals Service to evict American Solutions.[17]

### National Congressional Club

The National Congressional Club (NCC) was a political action committee formed by Tom Ellis in 1973 and controlled by Jesse Helms, who served as a Republican Senator from North Carolina from 1973 to 2003. The NCC was originally established as the Congressional Club of North Carolina to cover Helms's campaign debt for the Senatorial elections of 1973.[1] It was described as a "vast and sophisticated enterprise." [2] As a political fundraiser, Helms had few rivals.[2] The National Congressional Club, had "computerized lists of hundreds of thousands of contributors" and a "state-of-the-art" direct-mail operation that raised millions for Helms and other conservative candidates.[2] Almost seventy percent of its regular contributors were from outside North Carolina.[2]

Helms's "political organization, the Congressional Club, became remarkably successful at raising millions of dollars and in operating a highly sophisticated, media-driven political machine. The Congressional Club also provided a source of national standing and power for Helms." [3] By 1995, Helms's political action committee was the most successful in raising funds in the United States at that time. It offered Helms a freedom from restraints under which most politicians operated. He did not need the Republican Party to raise money nor did he depend on the media to reach voters.[4]

The NCC became known for "what critics called 'attack ads'-television ads that emphasized presumably negative aspects of an opponent's record." [1]

By 2008, Helms's biographer described him as the "nexus of the burgeoning [conservative right] movement, pushing conservative causes, linking conservative politicians up with wealthy donors and amassing more power than many Senators within memory." [3]

### National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

The National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage (NAOWS) was founded in the United States by women opposed to the suffrage movement in 1911. It was the most popular anti-suffrage organization in northeastern cities.[1] NAOWS had influential local chapters in many states, including Texas and Virginia. History

The National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage (NAOWS) was established by Josephine Jewell Dodge in New York City in 1911.[1] Dodge had the first meeting at her house and women came from New York and surrounding states.[2] Dodge was currently the president of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NYSAOWS).[3] Dodge resigned from NYSAOWS to take over as president of NAOWS.[4] Shortly after formation, state branches of NAOWS began to form.[5][6] Headquarters in Washington, D.C. were opened in 1913, giving the organization a front in both New York and the U.S. Capital.[7][8]

Like other anti-suffrage organizations, NAOWS published a newsletter as well as other publications, containing their opinions on the current political issues of the time. The newsletter of the association was called *Woman's Protest* (later renamed *Woman Patriot* in 1918).[9] Dodge also toured the country, spreading anti-suffrage views to other states.[10]

Members of the NAOWS typically belonged to wealthy families who feared suffrage would upset the status quo.[11] In the South, the NAOWS gained support from many plantation owners who believed rights for women would lead to rights for minorities. Josephine Dodge, the founding president, was replaced in 1917,[12] by Alice Hay Wadsworth, wife of U.S. Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr. from New York.[13] Upon amendment to the New York State Constitution granting women the right to vote, the focus of the NAOWS shifted from the state level to the federal level. The organization also began to see more men join NAOWS than before.[14] The headquarters were moved solely to Washington D.C. and they merged with the *Woman Patriot Publishing Company*. [15] The organization disbanded in 1920 as a result of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.[16]

#### Texas Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

In March 1916, the Texas Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (TAOWS) was created as a chapter of NAOWS in Houston with Pauline Wells as the president.[17][18] The chapter in Texas also connected the increase in African Americans voting to women's suffrage and they stoked fears of "domination by the black race in the South." [17] They also believed that women's suffrage was linked to "feminism, sex antagonism, socialism, anarchy and Mormonism." [17] Like their parent organization, TAOWS had local chapters in major Texas cities.[19] TAOWS fought against the Texas Equal Suffrage Association who were pushing for Texas women's right to vote in Texas primary elections in 1918.[17] In April 1919, headquarters were moved to Fort Worth.[20] In 1919, TAOWS successfully campaigned against a state measure for women's vote which was defeated by 25,000 votes in May.[17] However, in June 1919, Texas passed a suffrage amendment, allowing women to vote and the TAOWS stopped fighting against women's suffrage.[17]

#### Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

A group, the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (VAOWS) formed in Richmond in March 1912 and affiliated with NAOWS.[21] Jane Rutherford served as the president of VAOWS.[22] Local branches in different cities formed by 1913 and the organization distributed anti-suffrage literature.[23][24] In 1915, VAOWS helped raise money for the Belgian Relief Fund during World War I.[25] By May 1917, VAOWS had doubled in size and continued to grow through 1918.[26][27] Around 8,000 women had signed up with the anti-suffrage cause in Richmond by 1919.[28]

Like the Texas Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, VAOWS also suggested that race riots, the black vote and women's suffrage were connected.[28] In a sponsored editorial published in *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* on September 2, 1919, VAOWS exclaimed, "Race riots will increase if there is more politics between the races and if women are mixed up in politics!" [28] One of NAOWS' publications included a pamphlet, *Some Reasons Why We Oppose Votes for Women*, [29] which, as the title suggests, outlines some of the reasons why they are opposed to women suffrage. They believed it was irrelevant to the success of the country, as stated in their pamphlet:

"Because the great advance of women in the last century— moral, intellectual and economic— has been made without the vote; which goes to prove that it is not needed for their further advancement along the same lines." [29]

The National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage opposed women's right to vote because they said that the majority of women did not want the right to vote,[30] and because they believed that the men in their lives accurately represented the political will of women around the United States. NAOWS submitted pamphlets like these to the general public as well as directing them to government officials so that political figures would see that women opposed the then-unratified nineteenth amendment. They did this in order to counteract the rhetoric of the suffragettes of the time. According to the NAOWS and the state-based

organizations that it inspired, voting would severely and negatively affect the true submissive and domestic state of the feminine. These organizations were championed by women who thought themselves the prime examples of true womanhood—quiet, dignified, and regal. They looked with disdain at the outward protests of suffragettes.

NAOWS wanted to appeal to conservative and traditional members of their community, including other women and religious figures.[31] They positioned themselves as being in opposition of "the militant suffragette" and militant or "hysterical" tactics.[32][33] NAOWS also believed that women's involvement in politics would interfere with their "civic duties for which they are peculiarly adapted." [2] NAOWS believed that women were equal to men, but had different duties and "functions." [34]

Quotes from Some Reasons Why We Oppose Votes For Women

"We believe that political equality will deprive us of special privileges hitherto accorded to us by law." [29]

"[We oppose suffrage] Because it means simply doubling the vote, and especially the undesirable and corrupt vote of our large cities." [29]

"[We oppose suffrage] Because our present duties fill up the whole measure of our time and ability, and are such as none but ourselves can perform"

National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government

The National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government (NCUCG), also known as the Committee for Constitutional Government (CCG), [1] was founded in 1937 in opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt's Court Packing Bill. The Committee opposed most, if not all, of the New Deal legislation.

Founders of the Committee were Frank Gannett, Amos Pinchot and Edward Rumely. The organization enjoyed considerable success in opposing the Bill, also because of large mailing list campaign targeted at legal professionals.

Pinchot would later lead an America First chapter in New York City, although the committee itself was silent on the foreign policies of Roosevelt, and included many interventionists as its members. Gannett would become a presidential candidate in 1940.

Other people associated with the Committee were U.S. Representative Samuel B. Pettengill, John M. Pratt, Ralph W. Gwinn, John T. Flynn and Robert E. Wood.

The Committee was thrice investigated by Congress for suspected lobbying activities. Most notably, Rumely was twice indicted for Contempt of Congress. In 1946, he was acquitted in the second Congressional investigation. In 1953, he was cleared in the third Congressional investigation, a case he pleaded all the way to the United States Supreme Court on appeal.

Citizens for a Sound Economy

Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE) (1984–2004) was a conservative political group operating in the United States. It was established in 1984 by Charles and David Koch of Koch Industries. Ron Paul was appointed as the first chairman of the organization. The CSE described itself as "hundreds of thousands of grassroots citizens dedicated to (1) free markets and limited government, and (2) the highest level of personal involvement in public policy activism." [citation needed]

In 2002, the CSE designed its tea party movement website, though the movement did not take off until 2009. [1] In 2003, Dick Armey became the chairman of CSE after retiring from Congress. [2] In 2004, Citizens for a Sound Economy split into two new organizations, with Citizens for a Sound Economy being renamed

as FreedomWorks, and Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation becoming Americans for Prosperity. Both organizations played key roles in the Tea party movement beginning in 2009. Between 1986 and 1990, the Koch family foundations the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, and the Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation granted a combined \$4.8 million to the CSE.[3]

The CSE was one of several organizations that was connected with non-profit organizations that the tobacco industry and other corporate interests worked with and provided funding for after the 1971 Powell Memorandum.[4][5] The CSE was mainly funded by the tobacco, oil, energy and sugar industries, including Phillip Morris, General Electric, and Exxon. Other contributors included Microsoft and Hertz. The CSE "received almost \$5 million from various Koch foundations between 1986 and 1990, and David Koch and several Koch Industries employees serve[d] as directors of CSE and the CSE Foundation." [citation needed]

CSE briefly assumed control of the financially troubled Tax Foundation and operated it as a subsidiary from CSE's offices until the split in 2000. Beginning in 1990, the Tax Foundation "operate[d] as a separate unit" of Citizens for a Sound Economy.[6] By July 1991, the Tax Foundation was again operating as "an independent 501(c)(3) organization".[7] [8]

OpenSecrets.org[9] has no contributions listed to CSE after 2000, when it received a total of about \$35,000, and zero contributions in 1998.

In 2002, CSE designed and made public a "tea party" website. The website stated "our US Tea Party is a national event, hosted continuously online and open to all Americans who feel our taxes are too high and the tax code is too complicated".[1] In 2003, Dick Armev became the chairman of CSE after retiring from Congress.[10]

In 2004, Citizens for a Sound Economy split into FreedomWorks and Americans for Prosperity, according to the British newspaper The Guardian.[11] Dick Armev stayed as chairman of FreedomWorks, while David Koch stayed as chairman of Americans for Prosperity.[citation needed]

On July 23, 2006, The Washington Post reported on the organization's tactics in signing up as members people who did not know about the organization, by enrolling them as members during unrelated insurance transactions in order to boost membership numbers. The group obtained about \$638,000 and 16,000 members through the sale of insurance policies in this way, according to the report.[12] When someone signed up for insurance through "Medical Savings Insurance Company", they were also automatically signed up for Citizens for a Sound Economy without their knowledge, the report asserted. Their information is subject to be rented out as the Medical Savings Insurance Company deemed fit, which is not uncommon for many groups who obtain client contact information. Critics suggested the effort as a way for this group to inflate their membership rosters, and more exactly, by taking dues from people with no interest in the groups' politics.[12]

#### Activity

The group produced more than 100 policy papers each year in its run, delivering them to many congressional offices, sending out thousands of pieces of mail, and getting coverage of its viewpoints in thousands of news articles around the United States. The group's representatives appeared on hundreds of radio and television shows and published hundreds op-ed articles arguing that "environmental conservation requires a commonsense approach that limits the scope of government," acid rain is a "so-called threat [that] is largely nonexistent," and global warming is "a verdict in search of evidence." [citation needed]

According to the conservative magazine Weekly Standard, CSE's greatest political success came in 1993 when it opposed Bill Clinton's proposal for a BTU energy tax.[13] In addition to fighting tobacco taxes and healthcare reform, the CSE was a member organization of the Cooler Heads Coalition.[14]

Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy was accused in 2004 of encouraging George W. Bush supporters to help get Ralph Nader on the ballot in Oregon.[15]

#### American Writers Association

The American Writers Association (AWA) was an organization formed in 1946 in opposition to an attempt to introduce a form of trade unionism for authors. Its members included writers such as Bruce Barton, John Dos Passos, John Erskine, James T. Farrell, John T. Flynn, Rupert Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Clarence Budington Kelland, Clare Boothe Luce, Eugene Lyons, Margaret Mitchell, Ayn Rand, Dorothy Thompson and Louis Waldman.[1][2][3]

The organization formed as a response to the "Cain Plan", a proposal put forth by the novelist and screenwriter James M. Cain. In July 1946, Cain proposed that an "American Authors' Authority" be created to act as a central repository for copyrights, and additionally negotiating collectively for authors to give them greater bargaining power. The AWA opposed this plan. Many AWA members considered the Cain Plan to be an attempt by Communists to gain control over copyrights. Flynn compared the Authority's board of governors to the politburo of the Soviet Union.[1] Cain responded by referring to members of the AWA as "reactionary, almost incomprehensibly censorious".[4]

In September 1946, a group of 50 writers signed a joint letter to Elmer Rice, president of the Authors League of America, to announce the group's formation.[3] The AWA soon found backing from radio and film producers, as well as newspaper editors and publishers.[1] The group held meetings and began a newsletter.[2] Erskine was initially elected as the group's leader,[5] but he was soon succeeded by Hughes.[6] Flynn, Lyons and Waldman were selected for a "strategy committee".[1]

The Cain Plan was quickly defeated, but the AWA continued to exist for several years after. In 1949, the group supported the Contempt of Congress citations against the Hollywood Ten by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.[7] That same year the AWA denounced the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace as a "fraud", saying its Russian delegates were "prisoners" of that country's Communist authorities.[8]

#### Committee for the Free World

The Committee for the Free World was a neoconservative anti-Communist think tank in the United States.[1][2][3]

##### Overview

It was founded in February 1981 with US\$125,000 from the Scaife Foundations, the John M. Olin Foundation and the Smith Richardson Foundation.[1][3] Later, donors included Sears and Mobil Oil (now known as ExxonMobil).[3]

Midge Decter served as the Executive Director of the Committee.[2][4][5][6] Other members included Jeane Kirkpatrick, Leszek Kołakowski, Irving Kristol, Melvin J. Lasky, Seymour M. Lipset, Donald Rumsfeld, Tom Stoppard and George Will.[1][2] Eugene V. Rostow, then serving as Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under President Ronald Reagan, was a speaker at a CFW event on Poland in 1982.[7]

Given the number of members who were formerly involved with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a C.I.A. front organization, John S. Friedman has argued in *The Nation* that there are strong reasons to believe that the CFW continued the work of the CCF and still had ties to the C.I.A.[8]

It was headquartered in New York City.[9] It published a monthly newsletter, *Contentions*.<sup>[3]</sup> It also helped conservative newspapers on college campuses develop and the National Association of Scholars.<sup>[3]</sup> In



1989, both Decter and Democratic Senator Daniel P. Moynihan denied donating US\$1 million to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi through the organization.[9]

It was discontinued shortly after the collapse of the Berlin Wall signaled the collapse of the Soviet Union.[2][4][6]

America Party(Modern)

N/A(?)

National Tea Party Federation

The National Tea Party Federation (NTPF) was formed on April 8, 2010 by leaders of a broad coalition of national and regional Tea Party groups to help spread the movement's message and to respond to mainstream media misinformation about the Tea Party with a quick, unified response.[1][2] Its press release announcing its formation said, "The NTPF will act as a clearinghouse and to promote the Tea Party movement's objectives of Fiscal Responsibility, Constitutionally Limited Government and Free Markets." [2]

NTPF claimed in January 2011 to have 85 member and affiliate organizations representing over a million individuals. [3]

The Federation requires that member groups reject Birthers, 9/11 Truthers, racial discrimination, hate speech and acts of violence and subversive behavior.[4] It expelled the Tea Party Express when it refused to remove spokesman Mark Williams, who had made racial comments that he later admitted were objectionable.[5][6]

The National Tea Party Federation sent a letter to the Congressional Black Caucus denouncing racism and requesting that the CBC supply any evidence of alleged racist acts at a protest on March 20, 2010 at the U.S. Capitol.[7]

Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals

The Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals (MPAAI, also MPA) was an American organization of high-profile, politically conservative members of the Hollywood film industry. It was formed in 1944 for the stated purpose of defending the film industry, and the country as a whole, against what its founders claimed was communist and fascist infiltration.[1][2]

When the organization was formed in 1944,[3] the initial, immediate purpose was to assemble a group of well-known show business figures willing to attest, under oath, before Congress to the supposed presence of Communists in their industry.[4] When the House Un-American Activities Committee investigated the motion picture industry, the vast majority of "friendly witnesses" were supplied by the Alliance.[4][5][6]

The Alliance officially disbanded in 1975.[7]

Prominent members of the Alliance included Robert Arthur, Martin Berkeley, Ward Bond, Walter Brennan, Roy Brewer, Clarence Brown, Charles Coburn, Gary Cooper, Laraine Day, Cecil B. DeMille, Walt Disney, Irene Dunne, Victor Fleming, John Ford, Clark Gable, Cedric Gibbons, Hedda Hopper, Leo McCarey, James Kevin McGuinness, Adolphe Menjou, Robert Montgomery, George Murphy, Fred Niblo, Dick Powell, Ayn Rand, Ronald Reagan, Ginger Rogers, Morrie Ryskind, Barbara Stanwyck, Norman Taurog, Robert Taylor, King Vidor, John Wayne, Frank Wead and Sam Wood.[4][6][9][10]

Statement of Principles

Shortly after its formation in 1944, the Alliance issued a "Statement of Principles":

We believe in, and like, the American way of life: the liberty and freedom which generations before us have fought to create and preserve; the freedom to speak, to think, to live, to worship, to work, and to govern ourselves as individuals, as free men; the right to succeed or fail as free men, according to the measure of our ability and our strength.

Believing in these things, we find ourselves in sharp revolt against a rising tide of communism, fascism, and kindred beliefs, that seek by subversive means to undermine and change this way of life; groups that have forfeited their right to exist in this country of ours, because they seek to achieve their change by means other than the vested procedure of the ballot and to deny the right of the majority opinion of the people to rule.

In our special field of motion pictures, we resent the growing impression that this industry is made of, and dominated by, Communists, radicals, and crackpots. We believe that we represent the vast majority of the people who serve this great medium of expression. But unfortunately it has been an unorganized majority. This has been almost inevitable. The very love of freedom, of the rights of the individual, make this great majority reluctant to organize. But now we must, or we shall meanly lose "the last, best hope on earth."

As Americans, we have no new plan to offer. We want no new plan, we want only to defend against its enemies that which is our priceless heritage; that freedom which has given man, in this country, the fullest life and the richest expression the world has ever known; that system which, in the present emergency, has fathered an effort that, more than any other single factor, will make possible the winning of this war.

As members of the motion-picture industry, we must face and accept an especial responsibility. Motion pictures are inescapably one of the world's greatest forces for influencing public thought and opinion, both at home and abroad. In this fact lies solemn obligation. We refuse to permit the effort of Communist, Fascist, and other totalitarian-minded groups to pervert this powerful medium into an instrument for the dissemination of un-American ideas and beliefs. We pledge ourselves to fight, with every means at our organized command, any effort of any group or individual, to divert the loyalty of the screen from the free America that give it birth. And to dedicate our work, in the fullest possible measure, to the presentation of the American scene, its standards and its freedoms, its beliefs and its ideals, as we know them and believe in them.[2]

Ayn Rand pamphlet

In 1947, Ayn Rand wrote a pamphlet for the Alliance, entitled Screen Guide for Americans, based on her personal impressions of the American film industry. It read, in excerpt:

The purpose of the Communists in Hollywood is not the production of political movies openly advocating Communism. Their purpose is to corrupt our moral premises by corrupting non-political movies — by introducing small, casual bits of propaganda into innocent stories — thus making people absorb the basic principles of Collectivism by indirection and implication.

The principle of free speech requires that we do not use police force to forbid the Communists the expression of their ideas — which means that we do not pass laws forbidding them to speak. But the principle of free speech does not require that we furnish the Communists with the means to preach their ideas, and does not imply that we owe them jobs and support to advocate our own destruction at our own expense.[11][12]

Rand cited examples of popular and critically acclaimed films that in her view contained hidden Communist or Collectivist messages that had not been recognized as such, even by conservatives. Examples included *The Best Years of Our Lives* (because it portrayed businessmen negatively, and suggested that bankers should give veterans collateral-free loans), and *A Song to Remember* (because it implied that Chopin sacrificed himself for a patriotic cause rather than devoting himself to his music).[13]

Minute Women of the U.S.A.

The Minute Women of the U.S.A. was one of the largest of a number of anti-Communist women's groups that were active during the 1950s and early 1960s. Such groups, which organized American suburban housewives into anti-Communist study groups, political activism and letter-writing campaigns, were a bedrock of support for McCarthyism.

The primary concerns of the Minute Women and other similar groups were the exposure of Communist subversion, the defense of constitutional limits, opposition to Atheism, Socialism and social welfare provisions such as the New Deal; and rejection of Internationalism, particularly in the form of the United Nations. They campaigned to expose supposedly Communist individuals, focusing particularly on school and university administrators.

#### Structure and activities

The Minute Women were a national group founded by Suzanne Stevenson of Connecticut in September 1949. They grew rapidly, especially in Texas, California, West Virginia, Maryland, and Connecticut. By 1952 they had over 50,000 members. They were predominantly white middle and upper-class women aged between thirty and sixty, with school-aged or grown children. Chapters were relatively small, numbering only a few dozen to a few hundred people. The Houston chapter, which later became famous, was one of the largest in the nation with around 500 members. Over sixty of the Houstonian Minute Women were doctors' wives, reflecting medical opposition to socialized medicine.

Unlike many other anti-Communist groups, the Minute Women operated in a semi-covert fashion. Stevenson instructed members to never reveal that they were Minute Women and always present themselves as individual concerned citizens. In her view, political activism was more effective when it appeared to be spontaneous.[1]

The organization was structured in a unique fashion, ostensibly to defend against Communist infiltration. It had no constitution or bylaws, no parliamentary procedure to guide the meetings, and no option for motions from the floor; its officers were appointed rather than elected. Its members communicated via a chain-telephoning system in which one member called five others, who in turn made five more calls, enabling hundreds to be contacted within a short space of time.[2] Membership of the Minute Women was restricted to American citizens, though the group's founder had been born in Belgium and was the sister of the Belgian Ambassador, Baron Robert Silvercruys [de].[3]

The Minute Women sought to apply political pressure through letter-writing campaigns, heckling speakers and swamping their opponents with telephone calls. In Houston, Texas, where they were particularly strong, they took over the local school board and claimed to have planted observers in University of Houston classrooms to watch out for controversial material and teachers.[3][4]

#### Impact

Their tactics were highly effective; as the Houston Post noted, "Many public officials... who might... defy a lone organization... would be loath to go against the wishes of 500 individuals." The Houston Minute Women harassed and instigated the firing of teachers and school administrators, including the deputy superintendent of the Houston public schools, for alleged Communism. They also forced the university to eliminate history programs from its educational television broadcasts. An annual essay-writing contest sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was banned on the grounds that UNESCO was unacceptably "internationalist". At one point, the Minute Women circulated a report that "troops flying the United Nations flag once took over several American cities in a surprise move, throwing the mayors in jail and locking up the police chiefs." A member who pointed out the falsity of the report found herself ruled out of order by her fellow Minute Women.[3]

Even well-respected groups and individuals found themselves targeted by the Minute Women. The Quakers' American Friends Service Committee was refused permission to use a Houston meeting hall after the Minute Women protested that Alger Hiss had once attended a Quaker meeting. Rufus Clement, the president of Atlanta University and the first-ever African-American to serve on the Atlanta Board of Education, faced protests from Minute Women when he lectured at a Houston Methodist church, on the grounds that he was "too controversial". The Houston Post commented that "a new meaning has been given to the word controversial... It now often becomes a derogatory epithet, frequently synonymous with the word Communist." [3] There was an overt element of racism in the Minute Women's activities, which included distributing anti-semitic literature and opposing proponents of integrated schools, which they regarded as Communist-inspired advocates of "race mongrelization." [5]

#### Exposure and decline

The Minute Women's campaign in Houston was eventually blunted by an exposé by the Houston Post in 1953, which published an eleven-part series of articles by reporter Ralph O'Leary which highlighted the group's activities. The newspaper was deluged by an avalanche of mail which was largely complimentary of the newspaper's courage in taking on the Minute Women. O'Leary's reports were widely praised, with Time magazine describing the Post's coverage as "a model of how a newspaper can effectively expose irresponsible vigilantism."<sup>[3]</sup>

Despite this setback the Minute Women remained active throughout the remainder of the 1950s and into the 1960s. They played a major role in stoking the 1956 controversy over the Alaska Mental Health Bill (HR 6376), claiming that the bill was an attempt by Congress to give the government authority to abduct citizens at will and imprison them in concentration camps in Alaska.<sup>[1]</sup> The group finally faded away as the nation turned against McCarthyism and the anti-Communist hysteria diminished.

#### Americans Battling Communism

Americans Battling Communism Inc. (ABC) was an anti-communist organization created following an October 1947 speech by Pennsylvania Judge Blair Gunther that called for an "ABC movement" to educate America about communism. Chartered in November 1947 by Harry Alan Sherman, a local lawyer active in various anti-communist organizations, the group took part in such activities as blacklisting by disclosing the names of people suspected of being communists. Its members included local judges and lawyers active in the McCarthy-era prosecution of communists.

#### History

Americans Battling Communism, Inc. (ABC) was conceived in Pittsburgh when anti-communists in Western Pennsylvania expressed anxiety over what they saw as the infiltration of "Reds" into the Croatian Fraternal Order, a Croatian American society.<sup>[1]</sup> In October 1947, Blair Gunther, an anti-communist local judge, organized a meeting of fifty prominent locals to discuss ways of campaigning against similar communist infiltration. Gunther spoke of the need to "expose the Reds" through "education" in the form an "ABC movement," which inspired the name.<sup>[1]</sup>

ABC was chartered by lawyer Harry Alan Sherman in November 1947 as a "non-profit organization to combat Communism."<sup>[1]</sup> The charter called for an "aggressive program for enlightening American people as to the purpose, the methods, and the agencies of the Communist organizations to the end that an enlightened and alerted public. . . shall take steps, including. . . security legislation as may be necessary to eliminate the threat posed by Communism to the American way of life."<sup>[1]</sup>

The organization soon began to identify Communists or "left-wing sympathizers," whose names the local newspapers then published. A number of these people were immigrants who were threatened with deportation.<sup>[2]</sup> Others were forced out of their jobs.<sup>[2]</sup>

When Matt Cvetic, an FBI informant with a deteriorating relationship with the FBI, approached newspaperman James Moore with the offer of telling his anti-communist stories in early 1950, the newsman put him in touch with Gunther and Sherman.<sup>[3]</sup> ABC came up with financial and other support, with Sherman becoming Cvetic's attorney and manager.<sup>[4]</sup>

Left wing historian Daniel Leab argues that the organization was foremost a tool employed by Sherman for his personal purposes: "for much of its existence Americans Battling Communism was not much more than a façade that Sherman used to enhance his own prestige: thus, a press release would be sent out by Sherman, identifying him as the 'chairman of Americans Battling Communism: who would address the members of (you name it) on 'Communists in Our Midst' (or a similar topic)."<sup>[1]</sup>

The group's membership included several Pennsylvania judges presiding over McCarthy-era trials against communists.<sup>[5]</sup> Steven Nelson, one of the communists sent to jail in the McCarthy-era prosecutions, recalled his sedition trial under Judge Harry M. Montgomery, a member of ABC:

I asked the judge to tell me if it wasn't a fact that he was one of the founders of the Americans Battling Communism, an organization which had demanded my arrest and circulated propaganda against me. Yes, he admitted that he was one of the officers, 'but at the present time inactive' (he meant while in the courtroom).[6]

#### Meadeau View Institute

The Meadeau View Institute was a conservative organization that operated in Duck Creek, Utah, from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s.[1] The institute was notable for seeking to build a Utopian community of alternative-lifestyle conservatives in Southern Utah. The community collapsed in 1994 due to financial problems incident to the loss of property in an accidental explosion.

##### Founding

William H. Doughty, the institute's founder and money manager, accepted over \$1 million in donations and loans from backers in an attempt to build a conservative Utopia in Duck Creek and Mammoth Valley, Utah (near Hatch). In December 1986, Doughty purchased a vacant lodge in Duck Creek from Harry and Gabrielle Moyer, who carried the note for him. He later moved his Institute for Constitutional Education (ICE) from Cedar City to the lodge. Contributors include W. Cleon Skousen, Glenn Kimber, and Donald N. Sills.[citation needed]

##### Collapse

During the winter of 1993, snow build-up from a record snowfall led to a propane explosion at the Meadeau View lodge. The investment which had been made in this asset was lost, as well as the income from seminars and conferences. As a result, donations and other fundraising efforts also failed, leading to the demise of the organization. On January 25, 1994, the Utah Division of Real Estate issued a cease-and-desist order to Doughty, ordering him to stop marketing the Mammoth land and timeshares at Liberty Village, because the offerings weren't registered with the division.[2] At least 72 families and individuals were promised land at Mammoth with "donations" ranging from \$2,000 to \$14,000. [3] The fledgeling George Wythe College, which had been holding classes in the lodge, moved to Cedar City, and those who sought to build the community, including Shanon Brooks (who later became president of George Wythe University), left.[4]

As of 2004, Doughty still maintained a ranch in Mammoth Valley.

##### Aftermath

The Deseret News reported that participants who lost money were reluctant to come forward to authorities, due to their inherent distrust for the government.[1]

#### Moral Majority

The Moral Majority was a prominent American political organization associated with the Christian right and Republican Party. It was founded in 1979 by Baptist minister Jerry Falwell Sr. and associates, and dissolved in the late 1980s. It played a key role in the mobilization of conservative Christians as a political force and particularly in Republican presidential victories throughout the 1980s.

In a general sense, the term refers to "the majority of people, regarded as favoring firm moral standards", according to Oxford Dictionaries.[1]

##### History

###### Before establishment

The origins of the Moral Majority can be traced to 1976 when Baptist minister Jerry Falwell Sr. embarked on a series of "I Love America" rallies across the country to raise awareness of social issues important to him.[2] These rallies were an extension of Falwell's decision to go against the traditional Baptist principle of separating religion and politics, a change of heart Falwell says he had when he perceived what he described as the decay of the nation's morality.[3] Through hosting these rallies, Falwell was able to gauge national support for a formal organization and also raise his profile as a leader. Having already been a part of a well-established network of ministers and ministries, within a few years Falwell was favorably positioned to launch the Moral Majority.

The impetus for the Moral Majority was the struggle for control of an American conservative Christian advocacy group known as Christian Voice during 1978. Robert Grant, Christian Voice's acting President, said in a news conference that the religious right was a "sham... controlled by three Catholics and a Jew." Following this, Paul Weyrich, Terry Dolan, Richard Viguerie (the Catholics) and Howard Phillips (the Jew) left Christian Voice.

During a 1979 meeting, they urged televangelist Jerry Falwell Sr. to found Moral Majority (a phrase coined by Weyrich[4]). This was the period when the New Christian Right arose.[5][6] Joining Falwell in the Moral Majority was Ed McAteer, who the same year, founded the Religious Roundtable in Memphis, Tennessee.[7]

#### Establishment and organizational activity

Falwell and Weyrich founded the Moral Majority in June 1979.[8] According to former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee, who was Texas evangelist James Robison's communications director at the time, Robison's "Freedom Rally" at the Dallas Convention Center was the genesis of the Moral Majority.[9]

The Moral Majority was predominately a Southern-oriented organization of the Christian Right, although its state chapters and political activity extended beyond the South.[2] The number of state chapters grew quickly, with organizations in eighteen states by 1980.[10][11] The variety of resources available to the Moral Majority at its founding facilitated this rapid expansion, and included Falwell's mailing list from his program, Old Time Gospel Hour. In addition, the Moral Majority took control of the Old Time Gospel Hour's publication, Journal Champion, which had been distributed to the show's donors.[12] Through the 1980s, Falwell was the organization's best-known spokesperson. By 1982, Moral Majority surpassed Christian Voice in size and influence.

The Moral Majority's headquarters were in Lynchburg, Virginia, where Falwell was the presiding minister of the nation's largest independent Baptist church, Thomas Road Baptist Church. Virginia has been a seat of Christian Right politics, being the state where the Christian Coalition's first headquarters were established. Falwell was at the head of the Moral Majority and maintained an advisory board, constituting the organization's primary leadership. This leadership was drawn mostly from Falwell's fellow members of the Baptist Bible Fellowship. Falwell insisted the Moral Majority leadership also include Catholics and Jews, although not all members of the leadership approved of this inclusion.[13]

The Moral Majority was an organization made up of conservative Christian political action committees which campaigned on issues its personnel believed were important to maintaining its Christian conception of moral law. They believed this represented the opinions of the majority of Americans (hence the movement's name). With a membership of millions, the Moral Majority became one of the largest conservative lobby groups in the United States and at its height, it claimed more than four million members and over two million donors.[14] These members were spread among about twenty state organizations, of which Washington State's was the largest. The Moral Majority was incorporated into the Liberty Federation in 1985, remaining a distinct entity but falling under the Liberty Federation's larger jurisdiction. By 1987, Falwell retired as the formal head of the Moral Majority, and was succeeded by Jerry Nims,[15][16] although he maintained an active and visible role within the organization.

#### Dissolution

By the end of Ronald Reagan's presidential administration, Christian Right organizations were generally in a phase of decline. After Reagan's two terms in office, donations were decreasing, possibly because after eight years of Christian Right-supported leadership, the nation did not appear to donors to be in the same state of moral peril as they perceived it to be when Reagan first took office.[17] The Moral Majority's financial base seriously eroded by the time it became part of the Liberty Federation; its financial difficulties ultimately were a major factor in the decision to disband the organization.[18] Falwell offered an optimistic public opinion about the Moral Majority's dissolution. Disbanding the Moral Majority in 1989 in Las Vegas, Falwell declared, "Our goal has been achieved... The religious right is solidly in place and ... religious conservatives in America are now in for the duration." [19]

#### Organizational goals and composition

The Moral Majority sought to mobilize conservative Americans to become politically active on issues they thought were important. A variety of tactics were used to garner support. These tactics included direct-mail campaigns, telephone hotlines, rallies, and religious television broadcasts.[20] Although the Moral Majority operated for only a decade, it rapidly became a visible political force and was relatively effective in its mobilization goals. According to Robert Liebman and Robert Wuthnow, common explanations for this success include:[21]

The Moral Majority was founded with strong financial backing already in place. Its leaders frequently communicated with its constituents, enabling consistent messages to resonate throughout all levels. Its leaders generally had previous organizational and management experience. The general public was amenable to the issues the Moral Majority emphasized. Some issues for which the Moral Majority campaigned included:[22]

#### Promotion of a traditional family values

Opposition to media outlets accused of promoting an anti-family agenda  
Opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and Strategic Arms Limitation Talks  
Opposition to state recognition or acceptance of homosexual acts  
Prohibition of abortion, including in cases involving incest or rape[23]  
Support for Christian prayers in schools  
Proselytising to Jews and other non-Christians for conversion to Christianity  
Social Agenda

Moral Majority successfully campaigned to create an integrated social platform that appealed to most conservative Christians by packaging a variety of previously disparate issues under the banner of "traditional family values".[24] Moral Majority portrayed issues such as abortion, divorce, feminism, gay and lesbian rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment as attacks on the traditional concept and values of American families and tapped into a sense of societal moral decay that resonated with many evangelicals.[25] They also campaigned for the inclusion of prayer in schools and tax incentives for married couples as protection for the traditional family structure. Under this pro-family agenda, they mobilized a large base of supporters with issue-centric dialogue that they proliferated in their network of preachers and mailings.[26]

#### Gay Rights Issues

In particular, their anti-homosexual rhetoric that they publicized through fund-raising letters and Christian broadcasting had higher contribution rates than other topics. While not explicitly anti-gay in their public platforms during the 1970s, their internal mobilization as "shared anti-gay sentiment aided in solidifying a collective set of grievances and ideologies, in establishing a collective identity of constituents, and in constructing a hostile enemy against which the conservative Christian activists were to fight[27]". The Moral Majority refrained from directly speaking out against gays, feminists, and pro-abortion parties and instead used "pro-family" rhetoric to articulate their point. For example, instead of coming out directly against homosexuality and gay families, leaders of the Moral Majority defined a family as "two heterosexual parents" which appealed to many conservatives.[28]

Later, as the organization gained more influence in the 1980s, their rhetoric became more explicit in their stance on gay rights as they characterized the movement as an attack on the American family. Jerry Falwell Sr. expressed that because gay people were rejected by most of society, they had no choice but to prey on the young and were therefore a threat to children and families. Various Moral Majority members also expressed more extreme opinions, such as Moral Majority commentator Charlie Judd, who argued that "There are absolutes in this world. Just as jumping off a building will kill a person, so will the spread of homosexuality bring about the demise of American culture as we know it".[29]

#### Organizational structure

The Moral Majority comprised four distinct organizations:[30]

Moral Majority Inc. – the organization's lobbying division, which addressed issues on local, state, and national levels.

Moral Majority Foundation – the organization's educational component, through which the Moral Majority educated ministers and lay people on political issues and conducted voter registration drives.

Moral Majority Legal Defense Fund – the organization's legal instrument, used primarily to challenge the American Civil Liberties Union and secular humanist issues in court.

Moral Majority Political Action Committee – the organization's mechanism for supporting the candidacy of people whose political platforms reflected Moral Majority values.

The state chapters of the Moral Majority were financially independent from the national organization and relied on local resources to conduct their activities. Consequently, the national organization encouraged local chapters to cooperate with their policies but had little control over local chapters' activities.[31] Political activity of the Moral Majority divided accordingly, with the national Moral Majority office usually focused on addressing multiple issues through Congress while local branches tended to work on a single issue within their respective states.[32]

#### Political involvement

The Moral Majority engaged in political activity in a variety of ways, including national media campaigns and grassroots organization aimed at supporting particular candidates in elections and using mail and phone calls to reach office-holders.[33] The Moral Majority's initial political actions were aimed at supporting Jesse Helms' proposed legislation on school prayer.[34] Before long, the Moral Majority became heavily invested in presidential elections and national politics; although at the state level branches of the Moral Majority continued to pursue specific issues at lower levels of government. As far as elections, state Moral Majority chapters tended to deliberately focus their efforts towards particular candidates. For example, state chapters participated in campaigns to oust liberal members of Congress during the 1980 election. Also, in 1981, the Moral Majority mobilized delegates to the Virginia Republican state nominating convention in order to support Guy Farley, an evangelical candidate for lieutenant governor.[35]

Nationally, the Moral Majority encouraged electoral participation among its members and used registration drives to register church-goers to vote, with the logic that Moral Majority members would be likely to vote for Moral Majority-endorsed candidates, thus strengthening the organization's electoral efficacy and strengthening its endorsements. Leaders within the Moral Majority asked ministers give their congregants political direction, reminding congregants when to vote, whom to vote for, and why the Moral Majority held particular positions on issues.[36] The Moral Majority, however, is probably best known for its involvement in presidential elections, specifically those of Ronald Reagan.

#### Presidential elections

The 1976 election of Jimmy Carter as President of the United States marked a milestone for evangelical Christians. For the first time, a self-professed evangelical Christian had been elected to the nation's highest office, bringing the national awareness of evangelical Christianity to a new level. Despite commonality in religious identification, however, evangelical Christians in general and eventually the newly formed Moral Majority in particular came to be disappointed with Carter's policies. Carter did not share the Moral Majority's political imperative to unify personal and political positions and would instead support the positions of his own party, the Democratic Party. In particular, Carter did not actively oppose his party's general pro-choice platform on abortion, nor did Carter work to bridge the church-state divide, both factors in the Moral Majority's decision to support Ronald Reagan's candidacy in 1980.[3]

#### 1980

The Moral Majority was a relatively early supporter of Reagan, endorsing him before the Republican convention.[37] According to Jimmy Carter, "that autumn [1980] a group headed by Jerry Falwell purchased \$10 million in commercials on southern radio and TV to brand me as a traitor to the South and no longer a Christian." [38] Naturally, the Moral Majority continued working on behalf of Reagan after he gained the Republican nomination. Following the organization's lead, more than one-fifth of Moral Majority supporters that had supported Carter in 1976 voted for Reagan in 1980.[39] After Reagan's victory, Falwell attributed Reagan's success directly to the Moral Majority and others registering and encouraging church-goers to vote who had never before been politically active.[40] Empirical evidence suggests that Falwell's claim about the role of Christian Right organizations in Reagan's victory has some truth, though difficult to determine definitively.[41]



Reagan sought input from the Moral Majority leadership during his campaign and appointed the Rev. Robert Billings, the Moral Majority's first executive director, to be a religious advisor to the campaign.[42] Later, Reagan appointed Billings to a position in the Department of Education. This appointment was particularly significant for the Moral Majority, which had lobbied on education policy issues, especially those regarding private schools.[43]

1984

The Moral Majority maintained their support for Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign and, alongside other Christian Right organizations, influenced the Republican platform for the election, shaping the party's campaign stances on school prayer and abortion.[44] The nation's political climate, however, had changed since Reagan's first campaign. Although Reagan won reelection, the role of the Moral Majority in the victory had changed since 1980. A study of voters in the 1984 election showed that more anti-Moral Majority voters voted for Walter Mondale than pro-Moral Majority voters voted for Reagan, suggesting the Moral Majority may have actually had a negative effect on Reagan's campaign.[45]

1988

1988 was the last presidential election for which the Moral Majority was an active organization. With Reagan having reached his two-term limit, the Republican nomination was open to a variety of primary contenders. The evangelical minister and televangelist Pat Robertson sought the Republican nomination and would have been, at first glance, a natural choice for the Moral Majority's support. Although Robertson's political platforms were extremely similar to the ones the Moral Majority supported, Falwell gave his organization's endorsement to contender George H. W. Bush instead. Falwell's decision highlighted the rivalry between Falwell and Robertson as televangelists but also revealed the deep-seated tension that still persisted between competing evangelical traditions – Falwell's fundamentalist tradition was at odds with Robertson's charismatic tradition.[46]

Challenges to the Moral Majority

By 1987–88, the views of the Moral Majority were challenged widely and the organization started to crumble. With its waning support, critics said "The Moral Majority is neither", meaning the organization was neither moral nor a majority. By 1988, there were serious cash flow problems and Falwell dismantled the organization in 1989.[47]

During its existence the Moral Majority experienced friction with other evangelical leaders and organizations as well as liberal leaders and organizations. For example, Bob Jones particularly sought to challenge the public position of the Moral Majority and was known to make public statements that the Moral Majority was an instrument of Satan.[13] Such rivalries affected the Moral Majority's grassroots efforts. In South Carolina, the Moral Majority had no presence because Bob Jones University's religious network had already organized the state's independent Baptists.[48] The tension between Falwell and Pat Robertson also affected the Moral Majority, as noted in the presidential elections section of this article.

On the ideologically opposed side, Norman Lear's liberal organization People for the American Way was formed with the specific intention of opposing the platforms of the Moral Majority and other Christian Right organizations.[49]

Moral Majority Coalition

In November 2004, Falwell revived the Moral Majority name for a new organization, the Moral Majority Coalition. The intent of the organization is to continue the "evangelical revolution" to help conservative politicians get elected. Referring to the Coalition as a "21st century resurrection of the Moral Majority," Falwell, a father of the modern "religious right" political movement, committed to leading the organization for four years.[50] He died on May 15, 2007.[51]

Notable people within the movement

Ed Dobson  
Jerry Falwell Sr. (Founder)  
Robert Grant  
Jesse Helms  
D. James Kennedy  
Beverly LaHaye  
Tim LaHaye  
Trent Lott  
Judith A. Reisman  
Pat Robertson  
James Robison  
Charles Stanley  
Cal Thomas  
Richard Viguerie  
George Wallace  
Paul Weyrich  
See also

#### Western Goals Foundation

Western Goals Foundation was a private domestic intelligence agency active in the United States.[1] It was founded in 1979 by John K. Singlaub, John Rees, and Congressman Larry McDonald. It went defunct in 1986 when the Tower Commission revealed it had been part of Oliver North's Iran–Contra funding network. Western Goals Foundation published several pamphlets, books, and documentaries.[1]

After the Watergate and COINTELPRO scandals of the early 1970s, several laws were passed to restrict police intelligence gathering within political organizations and tried to make it necessary to demonstrate that a criminal act was likely to be uncovered by any intelligence gathering proposed. Many files on radicals, collected for decades, were ordered destroyed. The unintended effect of the laws was to privatize the files in the hands of 'retired' intelligence officers and their most trusted, dedicated operatives.[1]

Each founder of Western Goals was also a member of the World Anti-Communist League, the John Birch Society, and similar organizations. John Rees and Larry McDonald joined forces with Major General John K. Singlaub to form the Western Goals Foundation in 1979. One of its principal sponsors was the Texan billionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt.[citation needed]

Western Goals was sued by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) after a police officer was caught adding information from the disbanded Los Angeles Police Department "Red Squad" to a related computer bulletin board system.[2][3]

The organization also founded an offshoot, Western Goals (UK), later the Western Goals Institute, which was briefly influential in British Conservative politics.[1]

Advisory board and directors  
Hon. Jean Ashbrook  
Mrs. Walter Brennan  
Mrs. Lyman H. Brooks  
Taylor Caldwell  
Roy M. Cohn, Esq.  
Congressman Philip M. Crane  
Gen. Raymond G. Davis  
Miss Julia Ferguson  
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Adm. Thomas Moorer  
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Dr. Robert C. Shuman  
Major Gen. John K. Singlaub  
Dan Smoot  
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Dr. Edward Teller  
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Dr. Eugene Wigner  
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Filmography  
Documentaries

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See also

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Ocean State Policy Research Institute

Ocean State Policy Research Institute (OSPRI) was free market-oriented, Rhode Island-based think tank that was active from July 2007 until July 2011.[1][2] The group's stated mission was to "craft sound public policy based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, and traditional American values". OSPRI's CEO was former major league baseball player Mike Stenhouse. After OSPRI was dissolved, Stenhouse and several members of OSPRI's board of directors went on to found another think tank, the Rhode Island Center for Freedom and Prosperity.[3]

Youth for Western Civilization

Youth for Western Civilization (YWC) was a student group registered as a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization in the United States.[1] It was founded by Kevin DeAnna. Its honorary chairman was former Colorado US Representative Tom Tancredo.[2]

The group opposed what it viewed as "radical multiculturalism, socialism, and mass immigration" and a "poisonous and bigoted leftist campus climate".

YWC opposed multiculturalism and affirmative action [3] on college campuses. It was incorporated in 2006 and began actively organizing in 2008.[4]

YWC was a more conservative and issue-specific alternative to groups such as the College Republicans (CRs),[3] but many of its leaders and active members were also involved in the CRs, and YWC was represented at the 2009 National CR Convention.[5]

YWC was organized on at least seven university campuses. According to its website, the group hoped to inspire Western youth on the "basis of pride in their American and Western heritage", defeat "leftism on campus", and create a right-wing subculture as an alternative to what it calls a "poisonous and bigoted" campus climate.[4]

#### Mission statement

YWC's mission statement was "to organize, educate, and train activists dedicated to the revival of Western Civilization":[6]

**Organize:** Youth for Western Civilization will identify and organize students to form chapters that will host speakers, protests, educational events, and other activities to promote discourse and inspire action on issues of importance to the survival of our civilization.

**Educate:** Youth for Western Civilization will print a publication and host study groups and discussions for the benefit of our members and the public at large.

**Train:** Youth for Western Civilization will host conferences, training workshops, and education in political technology to make members more effective in executing the goals stated above.

The mission page stated that YWC had "the self-evident right and duty to work for the survival of our own culture and civilization". It asserted that "Western Civilization has also given priceless gifts to the rest of mankind, including advances in medicine, the arts, and scientific exploration" and that it received "continual assault and hatred" from the "radical left".[6]

#### Chapters

YWC had chapters at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Vanderbilt University, American University, Elon University, the University of Connecticut-Storrs, Liberty University, Boise State University, Bentley University, and Towson University; there was also a chapter at Providence College recognized by the national organization but not by the school.

#### Logo

The logo of YWC, in black and white, featured a hand gripping an object. According to the group, the object was a hammer carried by Charles Martel, who stopped the impending Islamic expansion into Europe during its early years. However, the logo was criticized by some who say it closely resembled a fasces.[3]

#### Activism

YWC members engaged in a range of activities, including protesting a performance of The Vagina Monologues, and bringing speakers such as Tom Tancredo, Robert Spencer, and Bay Buchanan to university campuses. They also invited white supremacist Richard B. Spencer at Vanderbilt University in 2010 and Rhodes College in 2011.[7][8]

On October 5, 2009, the Vanderbilt YWC chapter protested at the site of a Wachovia Bank in Nashville because of Wachovia's affiliation with the now-defunct Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN).[9]

#### Tom Tancredo incident

On April 14, 2009, campus police at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill used pepper spray and the threat of Tasers against protesters outside the room where Tom Tancredo was scheduled to speak to YWC against in-state tuition benefits for illegal immigrants. The group's president, Riley Matheson, attempted to introduce Tancredo but was shouted down by protesters. When Tancredo appeared, he was booed with shouts of "racist" and "white supremacist". He attempted for several minutes to speak but was repeatedly shouted down.

A window was smashed a few feet from Tancredo.[10] Two protesters held a sign reading "No Dialogue with Hate" in front of Tancredo's face. Tancredo was eventually escorted out of the room by the police.[11]

Tancredo later claimed that a police officer accidentally broke Tancredo's middle toe by stomping on his foot, as the officer attempted to escort the speaker through a crowd of protesters.

UNC-Chapel Hill chancellor Holden Thorp and UNC System President Erskine Bowles called Tancredo to apologize for the incident.[10] The head of the American Civil Liberties Union in North Carolina said that the video of the incident was "chilling" and "de facto censorship".[10]

Tancredo returned to UNC-Chapel Hill on April 25 to speak, again at the invitation of YWC. During his second appearance, Tancredo gave a brief speech entitled "Is Western civilization worth saving?" He was interrupted once, when two thirds of the audience stood up, chanted "No human being is illegal" and filed out of the room. Tancredo finished his speech and took questions while protesters rallied in the Pit, outside.

#### Cramer resignation

On September 18, 2009, Elliot Cramer, the faculty adviser for the University of North Carolina branch of the YWC, resigned after writing in an e-mail that he had a gun and knew how to use it. The e-mail came in response to brochures opposing the organization and had Cramer's photograph, home address and telephone number. It said in bold letters, "Why is your professor supporting white supremacy?"

Nikhil Patel, president of the university's chapter of the YWC, sent an e-mail to Cramer notifying him of the brochures and saying that he was concerned for his safety. Cramer responded to the e-mail with "I have a Colt 45 and I know how to use it. I used to be able to hit a quarter at 50 feet seven times out of 10." Cramer also sent Patel's letter and his reply to the chancellor of the university, Holden Thorp.

Thorp then contacted Cramer, expressing concern that this e-mail might be used against the university and ultimately asked him to resign from the faculty adviser position. He said Cramer's statement was "highly inappropriate and not consistent with the civil discourse we are trying to achieve". Cramer explained to the chancellor that this was not meant to be taken seriously but that the chancellor should know about the distribution of these brochures.[12]

Three advisers were appointed to replace Cramer.[13]

#### Oregon Citizens Alliance

The Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) was a conservative Christian political activist organization, founded by Lon Mabon in the U.S. state of Oregon. It was founded in 1986 as a vehicle to challenge then-U.S. Senator Bob Packwood in the Republican primaries,[1] and was involved in Oregon politics from the late 1980s into the 1990s.

#### Legislative activism

In 1988 the group sponsored Measure 8, an initiative that repealed Governor Neil Goldschmidt's executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in the executive branch of state government. The measure not only repealed the executive order, but also put a statute on the books that prohibited any job protection for gay people in state government. The measure was approved by the voters, 52.7 percent to 47.3 percent. It was the OCA's only statewide victory.

Afterwards, the OCA turned its attention to abortion. It placed Measure 10 on the 1990 general election ballot, which would have required parental notification for a minor's abortion. The measure was defeated, 52.2 percent to 47.8 percent.

In 1992 the OCA returned to the issue of homosexuality, when it proposed Measure 9. This initiative would have amended the Oregon Constitution to prevent what the OCA called "special rights" for homosexuals and bisexuals, by adding a provision that the state "recognizes homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism and

masochism as abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse." The ballot measure was defeated, 56 percent to 44 percent. That same year, the Oregon Court of Appeals declared Measure 8 unconstitutional.[2] As a result, the OCA's only statewide victory was nullified.

The OCA promoted similar measures at the local level, both before and after the 1992 election, but those measures were ultimately invalidated by the Oregon Legislative Assembly. It also promoted similar statewide measures with language softer than that of Measure 9.[3] These included Measures 13 and 19 in 1994, and Measure 9 (sometimes referred to as "Son of 9") in 2000.

The organized opposition to 1992's Measure 9 formed the basis of much of the current LGBT rights movement in Oregon, including the organization Basic Rights Oregon.[1]

#### Local efforts

After failing to pass Measure 9 in 1992, the OCA turned its attention to passing anti-discrimination bans at the county and municipal level. Couching the debate in terms of forbidding LGBT people from receiving so-called "special rights," the OCA sought not only to block ordinances in these communities but to bar them from spending money to "promote homosexuality." [4] The OCA was successful in passing over two dozen initiatives. However, in 1993 the Oregon Legislative Assembly passed a law prohibiting local governments from considering LGBT rights measures so the ordinances had no legal force.[5] The Oregon Court of Appeals upheld the state law in 1995, and the Oregon Supreme Court denied review.[6][7] Two weeks after the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Romer v. Evans*, the OCA suspended its efforts for a third statewide ballot initiative.[8]

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oregon\\_Citizens\\_Alliance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oregon_Citizens_Alliance)

#### IMPORTANT

#### Hands Off Washington

In 1993, the OCA intervened in Washington state politics by introducing two ballot measures that would have threatened the employability of persons who were, or were perceived to be, LGBT. An ad hoc grassroots movement called Hands Off Washington was organized in opposition to the measures. The Hands Off Washington campaign repelled both efforts.[citation needed]

#### 1996 Senate race

In the 1996 U.S. Senate special election to succeed Senator Packwood, the OCA endorsed Gordon Smith over Ron Wyden in the race. Critics faulted Smith for failing to take a strong stand against the OCA, and he was defeated by Wyden. When Smith made a second run for the Senate a few months later after incumbent Mark Hatfield had retired, Mabon ran against Smith. The Oregonian cited Mabon's candidacy as a key component of Smith's attempt in the second race to establish himself as a centrist, contributing to his victory over Democrat Tom Bruggere.[23]

#### Christian Voice (United States)

Christian Voice is an American conservative political advocacy group, known as part of the Christian right within U.S. politics. It is a project of the American Service Council. In 1980, Christian Voice claimed 107,000 members including 37,000 pastors from 45 denominations.[1] Christian Voice was headquartered at the Heritage Foundation in the 1970s and 1980s and is currently located in suburban Washington, D.C., in Alexandria, Virginia.[1]

Christian Voice was among a group of four prominent Christian Right groups formed in 1978 and 1979.[2] Christian Voice, Moral Majority, The Religious Roundtable and the National Christian Action Coalition all enjoyed high times before being reduced to rubble by the end of Ronald Reagan's Presidency.[2]

Christian Voice is best known as the originator and developer of the Moral Report Cards[2] the "Congressional Report Card" and the "Candidates Scorecard" that were issued mainly between the years 1980 and 1984.[3] It helped organize grassroots action through use of its "Church Networking Guide".

#### History

Christian Voice, founded by Reverends Dr. Robert Grant and Richard Zone in 1978, was formed out of several California anti-gay and anti-pornography organizations.[2] Evangelical minister Pat Robertson, who later formed the Christian Coalition, furnished some early financial resources for the organization.[2] Paul

Weyrich, the leader of the conservative think tank the Heritage Foundation and the chief architect of the Christian right movement which the Christian Voice was a part of,[4] met with Grant in 1976 and agreed to let Grant set up headquarters for his future organization at the headquarters of the Heritage Foundation.[5] Weyrich, a member of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church,[4] then recruited mail king Howard Phillips, a Jew who converted to Evangelical Christianity,[5] and former Nixon administration official Richard Viguerie, a Roman Catholic who was known for leading crusades to "defund the Left,"[5] to help develop Grant's organization.[5]

Christian Voice made its reputation as a lobbying organization, owing mostly to Grant's decision to hire Gary Jarmin, a Washington insider and Republican politico,[2] to run Christian Voice's lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill. Jarmin, in a Francis Schaeffer and Frank Schaeffer "co-belligerent" strategy also later mimicked by Ralph E. Reed, Jr. of the Christian Coalition, urged Jews, fundamentalists, Roman Catholics, Pentecostals and charismatics, and others to put aside their differences and work together for common notions of political change.[2] This stood Christian Voice in contrast to Moral Majority, the Religious Roundtable and the National Christian Action Coalition, all of which were more narrowly fundamentalist in their ideology and were initially less willing to build political bridges to other religious communities.[2] Weyrich, Viguerie and Phillips also abandoned the group in 1978 after Grant announced that the Christian Voice was "a sham" that was "controlled by three Catholics and a Jew;"[5] they then decided to align with rising televangelist Jerry Falwell and form the Moral Majority.[5]

Christian Voice sought to counter US President Jimmy Carter's influence over the American Christian community.[2] A Democrat who embraced the born-again Christian label,[2] Carter gained high levels of popularity among Christian conservatives during his 1976 campaign.[2] After he took office, however, Carter disappointed many Christian conservatives by supporting the Panama Canal Treaty and by taking what many Christian conservatives considered to be a soft stance on Communism.[2] This perception caused Christian Voice and other Christian right organizations to rally behind Republican nominee Ronald Reagan in 1980.[2] During the 1980 US Presidential election, Christian Voice organized "Christians for Reagan" as a subdivision with the group and it also sponsored an advertising campaign that implied Carter approved of homosexual lifestyles.[2] The group gained even further notoriety when it issued "moral report cards" to grade the social voting patterns of members of Congress.[2]

Christian Voice was the first of the Christian Right groups, pre-dating the Christian Coalition, American Coalition for Traditional Values, Concerned Women for America, Moral Majority, Family Research Council, and other Christian political groups. Christian Voice has employed hundreds of political organizers, including Susan Hirschman, Chief of Staff to former House Majority Leader Tom DeLay, Congressman Tom Hagadorn, who chaired the organization for several years, and Tim LaHaye, co-author of the Left Behind series.[citation needed] At one point, US Senators Orrin Hatch (Utah), Roger Jespen (Iowa) and James McClure (Idaho) all served on the organization's board of directors.[2] Many of the techniques used by current independent and 527 political campaigns were originally developed by Christian Voice (Most notably, a commonly used "Political Report Card" used to inform voters of how their representative voted was created by Christian Voice chief architect Colonel V. Doner).[3]

#### Decline

The group's bare-knuckle politics angered many Christian Voice supporters, including some of the Congressmen on the board of directors.[2] Christian Voice's primary legislative objective, a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in public schools, failed near the end of Reagan's first term. After Reagan's second term began, Christian Voice shifted its activities away from lobbying and toward the publication of campaign literature, especially the aforementioned "report cards." [2] The group claimed to have distributed some 30 million report cards during the 1986 election cycle.[2] However, funding and leadership flagged after the 1986 elections,[2] which saw Republicans lose control of the US Senate,[2] and many of the key members of Christian Voice fled to form the American Freedom Coalition with funding from Unification Church leader Sun Myung Moon.[2]

As of 2012, the Christian Voice was still maintained by the American Service Council as a vehicle for direct mail campaigns both the targeting of voters and contributors and the delivery of petitions to the U.S. federal government.[6] The American Service Council no longer lists the Christian Voice on its own web site nor maintains a separate Christian Voice web site.[7]

#### Principals

Terry Dolan

Colonel V. Doner, Chief Strategist (1978-1986)

Robert Grant, Founder, Chairman and CEO (1978-1998; 2003-2008)[8]

Richard Viguerie

#### Texas Regulars

The Texas Regulars was a group based in Texas which was formed in 1944 to deny Franklin D. Roosevelt a majority of the Electoral College in the 1944 presidential election.

#### Background

By the 1940s, conservative Democrats in Texas had become increasingly disenchanted with Roosevelt and his New Deal.

They were also unhappy that the US Supreme Court, in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), had disallowed the segregated primaries used by the Democratic Party in Texas and some other states.[1]

#### History

Attempt at taking over the Texas Democratic Party

The Texas Regulars tried to gain control of the state nominating convention and select a slate of presidential electors who would not vote for Roosevelt. The group's supporters included US Representative Martin Dies Jr., former Texas governor Dan Moody, and Senator W. Lee O'Daniel.[1]

The Texas Regulars won the first convention, but lost the second convention.

#### Unpledged electors

This defeat led them to form their own ticket of unpledged electors, not bound to any candidate.[2] On election day, they finished third both in Texas and in the national popular vote, with 135,439 votes (0.3% of the vote nationally, and 11.8% of the vote in Texas). They won a majority in only Washington County, Texas.[3]

Roosevelt easily carried Texas with 71.4% of the statewide vote, and won national re-election with 432 of 531 Electoral Votes.

#### Platform

The Texas Regular opposed the New Deal, trade unions and government intervention and supported states' rights and White supremacy:[4][5]

Restoration of the Democratic Party to the integrity which has been taken away by Hillman, Browder, and others.

Protection of honest labor unions from foreign-born racketeers who have gained control by blackmail.

Return of state rights which have been destroyed by the Communist-controlled New Deal.

Restoration of the freedom of education.

Restoration of the supremacy of the white race, which has been destroyed by the Communist-controlled New Deal.

Restoration of the Bill of Rights instead of rule by regimentation.

Restoration of government by laws instead of government by bureaus.

Restoration of the individual appeal for justice, instead of a politically appointed bureau.

#### Aftermath

The Texas Regulars disbanded soon afterward, but many of them went on to support the Dixiecrat candidacy of Strom Thurmond in the 1948 presidential election.[1]

They later became "Eisenhower Democrats" (or unpledged electors supporters) in the 1950s, before becoming Republicans in the 1960s and 1970s.[1]



See also

#### Citizens for Constitutional Freedom

citizens for Constitutional Freedom (C4CF), later also known as People for Constitutional Freedom (P4CF), was the name taken on January 4, 2016, by an armed private U.S. militia that occupied the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's Malheur National Wildlife Refuge headquarters in the U.S. state of Oregon from January 2 to February 11, 2016.[1][2] The leader of the organization was Ammon Bundy,[1][3] son of Cliven D. Bundy, who engaged in a standoff with the federal government over grazing rights on federal land.[4][5]

Eight of its members, including Ammon Bundy, were arrested on January 26, 2016[6] while a ninth member, Robert "LaVoy" Finicum, was shot and killed by law enforcement officers.[7][8] This was followed by a number of other arrests that eventually culminated in the end of the occupation.[2] A total of 27 people were charged under federal law with a variety of offenses, including a single count of felony conspiracy.[9][10][11] Their trials were scheduled to start on September 7, 2016, and February 14, 2017.[12][13]

During the occupation, the militant group claimed that the United States Constitution allows the federal government of the United States to own only a small amount of land, and that the government can acquire land in states only with the state's consent.[14] Such claims have been repeatedly rejected by federal courts, including the United States Supreme Court; the property clause of the United States Constitution grants plenary authority to Congress to manage federal property, including land.[15][16]

#### Known members

Main articles: Occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge and Timeline of the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge

A total of at least 34 people from 13 states are known to have served roles in the group during the occupation. Some have had a history of criminal activity and prior involvement in right-wing activism.[17] They are:

#### Indicted

Dylan Wade Anderson, 34, of Provo, Utah, identified himself as "Captain Moroni" in reference to a figure in the Book of Mormon who rescues his people by raising a flag called a "title of liberty" against an evil force.[18] He was arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on January 27 at a checkpoint outside the refuge.[19]

Sandra Lynn Anderson, 48, of Riggins, Idaho, surrendered to the FBI on February 11 and was arrested.[20] She was a former barber and cosmetologist who recently moved from Wisconsin to Idaho.[21]

Sean Larry Anderson, 47, of Riggins, Idaho (husband of Sandra Anderson), surrendered to the FBI on February 11 and was arrested.[20] Prior to the occupation, he owned an outdoor supplies store in Riggins.[21] Anderson had an outstanding bench warrant related to an August 2014 arrest and had been charged with resisting an officer, possession of THC, and drug paraphernalia, all misdemeanors. He was previously convicted of misdemeanor disorderly conduct in 1998, 2008, and 2009, and of criminal trespassing in 2002, all in Wisconsin. He was one of the last four remaining holdouts and unsuccessfully tried to bargain to get the warrant dropped prior to his arrest.[22] He and Jake Ryan were responsible for digging a large trench on an archaeological site at the refuge, which was considered sacred to the Burns Paiute Tribe.[23]

Jeff Wayne Banta, 46, of Yerington, Nevada, surrendered to the FBI on February 11 and was arrested.[20] He was a carpenter who reportedly went to the refuge to assist in the occupation after seeing an online video about the Bureau of Land Management (BLM).[24]

Jason Charles Blomgren, also known as "Joker J," 41, of Murphy, North Carolina, was arrested on February 11 in Bunkerville, Nevada, after being named in an indictment.[17][25][26]

Ammon Edward Bundy, 40, of Emmett, Idaho, is a car fleet manager and was the leader of the occupation until his arrest on January 26 during a traffic stop on U.S. Route 395 in Harney County, Oregon.[27][28] On April 10, 2014, he was videotaped being tasered by federal agents when protesters surrounded a civilian driving a BLM-owned truck.[29] According to Bundy, he began leading the occupation after receiving a divine message ordering him to do so.[30][31]

Ryan C. Bundy, 43, of Mesquite, Nevada,[28] is the brother of Ammon Bundy.[32] As he was being arrested in January 2015 in Cedar City, Utah, on a warrant for interfering with an animal control officer, Bundy allegedly resisted arrest and was given additional charges.[33][34] In 2014, Ryan organized and conducted an illegal ATV ride to protest ATV restrictions on federal property which were meant to protect the

archaeological sites there.[35] In March 2015, Ryan harassed and threatened BLM employees during a city hall presentation regarding a BLM Land Management Plan related to Gold Butte, Nevada.[36] Ryan was lightly wounded while being arrested on January 26 during a traffic stop on U.S. Route 395 in Harney County, Oregon.[7] Ryan is believed to have planned and organized actions taken during the occupation, and recruited other supporters.[17] Awaiting trial on charges stemming from the occupation, Ryan, who is representing himself, filed a motion with the court claiming he was incompetent. According to Oregon Public Broadcasting, Bundy wrote to the court: "I, ryan c, man, am an idiot of the 'Legal Society'; and; am an idiot (layman, outsider) of the 'Bar Association'; and; i am incompetent; and; am not required by any law to be competent. [sic]" His motion was denied.[37]

Brian D. Cavalier, also known as "Booda" or "Booda Bear,"[28] 44, of Bunkerville, Nevada,[38] was involved in the 2014 Bundy standoff in Nevada and had described himself as a "personal bodyguard" to Cliven Bundy during that time. After leaving the refuge on January 5, Cavalier was arrested in Maricopa County, Arizona, on an outstanding warrant and later released.[17][39] According to prosecutors, his access to firearms is restricted due to his criminal record, but he has nonetheless consistently possessed weapons.[40] Cavalier was convicted in Arizona of misdemeanor theft in 2014, and misdemeanor extreme DUI in 2005. Cavalier has claimed to have served in the U.S. Marine Corps, but the Corps has stated it has no record of Cavalier.[39][41] He was arrested on January 26 during a traffic stop on U.S. Route 395 in Harney County, Oregon.[7]

Blaine Cooper, also known as Stanley Blaine Hicks, 36, of Dewey-Humboldt, Arizona,[42][43] was arrested in Utah on February 11 for his role in the occupation, after traveling there in an "armed convoy" to attend a memorial for fellow militant LaVoy Finicum.[25][44] He enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps through the Delayed Entry Program, but according to service records, he never reported for Marine recruit training.[45][46] He had been convicted in Arizona of felony aggravated assault in 2009.[42] In 2013, during a town hall meeting hosted by U.S. Senator John McCain, Cooper called for McCain to be arrested for treason.[45][46][47]

Shawna Cox, 59, of Kanab, Utah,[48] was arrested on January 26 during a traffic stop on U.S. Route 395 in Harney County, Oregon.[7] A friend of the Bundy family,[17][49] she, along with her husband, owned and operated small, local businesses and rental properties.[50]

Travis Levi Cox, 21, of Redmond, Oregon, the youngest of the militants,[51] was on the run from federal authorities after being named in an indictment. He was arrested in Utah on April 12 and held in a county jail in Cedar City, Utah.[52][53][54][55]

Duane Leo Ehmer, 45, of Irrigon, Oregon, was arrested by the FBI at a checkpoint outside the refuge on January 27.[19][17] He was frequently photographed with his horse at the refuge. He is a convicted felon banned from possessing firearms, but he, too, was carrying a pistol when he was arrested in January, according to the records. Prosecutors said he also recently posted a photo on Facebook with the threatening caption: "The only way to win a war is to kill enough of the enemy that they do not want to fight anymore." [19][40]

Eric Lee Flores, 22, of Tulalip Bay, Washington, was arrested in his hometown on February 11 after being named in an indictment.[17][25][26] A member of the Tulalip Tribes, he had been living on the reservation with his fiancée and their six-month-old daughter before the occupation, and also had plans of joining the U.S. Army. During the occupation, Flores traveled back and forth between Burns, Oregon, and Tulalip Bay, Washington, and intermittently served as part of the group's "security detail." [56]

David Lee Fry, 27, of Blanchester, Ohio, was the last militant to be arrested at the refuge, surrendering to the FBI on February 11.[20] Prior to the occupation, he maintained a social media account and made posts mentioning ISIS and Adolf Hitler, and calling for U.S. President Barack Obama to be found guilty of treason and executed. He had a criminal record that included convictions for possession of drugs and related paraphernalia.[21]

Wesley Kjar, 32, of Manti, Utah, was arrested on February 11 after being named in an indictment.[25][26] At the time of his arrest, he had been hauling a trailer containing firearms and magazines. During the occupation, Kjar was quoted in news reports as saying he "wouldn't hesitate to stand between a bullet and Ammon Bundy." [57]

Corey Lequieu, 44, of Fallon, Nevada, left the refuge immediately after Finicum's death on January 26,[17][58] though he was arrested on February 11 after being named in an indictment.[25][26] He served six years in the U.S. Army and had been working for a Fallon trash-haul company prior to the occupation. According to prosecutors, Lequieu made violent threats against the BLM and the FBI, and had been openly declaring his intentions to kill police officers in Harney County, Oregon.[52]

Kenneth Medenbach, 62, of Crescent, Oregon, was apprehended by the Oregon State Police in Burns on January 15, while driving a government vehicle stolen from the refuge facility; a second vehicle stolen from the wildlife refuge was also recovered at the scene. Both vehicles bore altered markings of "Harney County Resource Center" on the doors, the unofficial name the militants have used for the refuge since shortly after the takeover.[59][60] Medenbach previously had a history of troubles with the law, including a prior

conviction for illegal occupation of government land that included setting up a makeshift shelter with booby traps and a stockpile of explosives, and was on bail awaiting trial for a similar charge from 2015.[61] Medenbach reportedly used many legal quirks and filed legal documents in a way consistent with the anti-government sovereign citizen movement. Medenbach had previously told news reporters that "the Lord's telling me to possess the land, and I can legally do it, because the U.S. Constitution says the government does not own the land." [62]

Joseph Donald O'Shaughnessy, 43, of Cottonwood, Arizona,[38] was arrested by the FBI on January 26 in Burns. He has previously been arrested for disorderly conduct, domestic violence and drug offenses, according to court records. O'Shaughnessy has argued that he was not a member of the group, being a member of an unrelated militia,[17] but was trying to keep the peace at the refuge.[48][40]

Jason Patrick, 43, of Bonaire, Georgia, a roofing contractor,[42] was arrested by the FBI on January 27 at a checkpoint outside the refuge.[19] Patrick, one of the last holdouts at the refuge, faced charges in August 2014 of "making terrorist threats" after he "threatened to kill everyone" inside a Georgia municipal court building, according to prosecutors. Patrick posted bond in that case and was released, but agreed not to possess weapons—a condition that he has since violated. He was photographed with guns during the occupation, prosecutors noted.[19][40] Initially offering guided tours for journalists during the start of the occupation,[63] Patrick seemed to become the group's new leader following Ammon Bundy's arrest on January 26.[17]

Ryan Waylen Payne, 32, of Anaconda, Montana,[28][64] is an electrician and a U.S. Army veteran who served in Iraq. He is a founding member of the West Mountain Rangers, a militia group from Montana.[42][65][66][67] During the Bundy standoff in 2014, Payne claimed to have organized a team of militia sharpshooters.[46] During the occupation, Payne commented that they would "be here for as long as it takes." However, he further remarked that his group was not violent, but it was possible that the standoff could turn violent.[68] Payne was arrested and taken into custody on January 26 during a traffic stop on U.S. Route 395 in Harney County, Oregon.[69][70][71][72] He helped coordinate community meetings outside the refuge during the occupation.[17]

Jon Eric Ritzheimer, 32, of Peoria, Arizona,[28] is an anti-government and anti-Islam militant affiliated with the 3 Percenters[73] and formerly associated with the controversial Oath Keepers group.[74][75] He voluntarily surrendered to the FBI on January 26 in his hometown of Peoria, Arizona.[7][76][77]

Jake Edward Ryan, 27, of Plains, Montana, was named in an indictment on February 11. He was arrested on April 6 after spending two weeks on the run from authorities.[11] Ryan was found hiding in a shed armed with a loaded .45-caliber handgun and several knives. He and Sean Anderson were responsible for digging a large trench on an archaeological site at the refuge, which was considered sacred to the Burns Paiute Tribe.[23]

Peter Santilli, 50, of Cincinnati, Ohio, is a conservative media host who live-streamed the occupation until his arrest by the FBI on January 26 in Burns. He was the first person to report Finicum's shooting and the arrests on U.S. Route 395. Santilli previously bragged on YouTube about refusing to turn in his guns in violation of a restraining order filed against him. Santilli, who is a vocal supporter of the Bundys, argued that he was a journalist covering the protests.[17][7][40][78] He has also been charged with 16 federal felonies, each attracting sentences of between 5 and 20 years and fines of up to US\$250,000 per count, relating to the earlier standoff in Nevada.[79] His arrest prompted an outcry from civil liberties advocates, including the American Civil Liberties Union, who stood by his assertion that he was simply covering the occupation.[17][80]

Geoffrey Alan Stanek, 26, of Lafayette, Oregon, was arrested in Forest Grove, Oregon, on February 11 after being named in an indictment the previous day.[17][25][26][53][81] He served in the U.S. Army for three years before being honorably discharged.[82]

Darryl William Thorn, 31, of Marysville, Washington, was arrested in Bend, Oregon, on February 11 after being named in an indictment.[17][25][26] A worker in Bremerton, Washington, he was a friend of fellow militant Eric Lee Flores, who he met in their shared association with the 3 Percenters.[56]

Neil Sigurd Wampler, 68, of Los Osos, California, is a camp cook and a retired woodworker. He was convicted in 1977 of second-degree murder for killing his father and as a result is prohibited from possessing firearms, which Wampler has frequently protested.[17][83] He was arrested on February 11 after being named in an indictment.[25][26]

Scott Alan Willingham, 49, an unemployed musician who had been part of a "security detail" during the occupation, was arrested on March 17 by a Grant County, Oregon, sheriff's deputy in Mount Vernon, Oregon, and charged with weapons offenses after threatening to shoot federal law enforcement officers unless he was arrested for his role in the occupation.[84] On March 23, he was transferred into federal custody after being indicted on two federal charges of stealing government property in relation to his stealing of a camera and related equipment worth more than US\$1,000 from a utility pole at a transformer station.[85][86]

Others

The following militants were reported as avoiding arrest and prosecution related to the occupation:

Melvin D. Bundy, 41, of Round Mountain, Nevada, is the brother of Ammon and Ryan Bundy. Like his brothers, he opposed the BLM, signing a Change.org petition that opposed restrictions imposed on public lands located in St. George, Utah. He reportedly left the refuge early on in the occupation and is currently not charged for his role.[17][42] However, he was arrested by federal agents on March 3 following his indictment in connection with the 2014 Bundy standoff in Nevada.

Melissa Cooper of Dewey-Humboldt, Arizona, is the wife of Blaine Cooper and an employee of a warehouse. She was a cook at the refuge during the occupation.[17][87]

Gerald A. DeLemus, 61, of Rochester, New Hampshire, the co-chair of Veterans for Trump in New Hampshire, made headlines in January when he traveled to Malheur to meet with the militants. DeLemus said at the time he was acting on his own and not as a representative of the Donald Trump presidential campaign.[88] He was arrested on March 3 following his indictment in connection with the 2014 Bundy standoff in Nevada. DeLemus is facing nine federal charges based on an indictment brought in Nevada, including conspiracy to commit an offense against the United States, threatening a federal law enforcement officer, assault on a federal officer, obstruction of justice, attempting to impede or injure a federal law enforcement officer, interference with interstate commerce by extortion, and several firearms charges, according to court records.[89]

Brandon Dowd, 31, of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, one of only two known militants of non-Caucasian heritage, was observed by The Guardian conducting armed security duty at the refuge during the occupation. He encouraged people to visit the refuge and be educated about constitutional rights, and stated that he had been inspired by the 2014 Bundy standoff. Dowd was not among those named in an indictment. He was, however, arrested on February 8 in Harney County, Oregon, for an unrelated May 2015 firearm theft case in Kansas.[17][90][91]

Michael Ray Emry, 54, of Boise, Idaho, was taken into custody by the FBI on May 6 in John Day, Oregon, on federal weapons charges, though he was not charged for his activities at the refuge.[92] He had been found to be in possession of a stolen fully automatic .50-caliber M2 Browning heavy machine gun. The serial number on the weapon was found to have been removed. Before the occupation, Emry had a history of bomb-making and assisted people in airing their anti-government views.[92][93][94][95][96] According to fellow militant Scott Alan Willingham, Emry spent time at the refuge for media purposes and to share his expertise with weapons, and supplied another militant at the refuge with a semi-automatic AK-47 rifle.[97] Robert "LaVoy" Finicum (January 27, 1961 – January 26, 2016),[28] was a Northern Arizona rancher whose cattle grazed on BLM land, maintained that he owned grazing rights on that land through natural law as his friend Cliven Bundy had also maintained.[98] He was shot dead by Oregon State Police officers on January 26 while resisting arrest on U.S. Route 395 in Harney County, Oregon.[7][99][100]

Debra Carter Pope, also known as Debra Bass, 61, of Fallon, Nevada, is the fiancée of Corey Lequieu. She was a former sheriff's deputy and is a U.S. Air Force veteran. Alongside Melissa Cooper, she was a cook at the refuge.[17][87][101]

Motives for the occupation

See also: Occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge § Background

The motivation for the occupation was the control and use of federal lands, which the militants wanted transferred to private ownership or to Harney County, Oregon, control.[102][103][104][105] There is a long history of conflicting interests between different citizens on federal lands, specifically in this case between ranchers and environmentalists. Ranchers have a long history of using federal lands to graze livestock, which was unregulated until the enactment of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934.[106] Overgrazing can damage or destroy habitats for the livestock themselves and for wildlife. Environmental restrictions like the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and the Endangered Species Act of 1973, intended to protect wildlife and the environment, have been increasing over time, placing a burden on ranchers or even putting them out of business. A specific, relevant example was the case of Cliven Bundy, the father of militant Ammon Bundy. In that case, the government determined that Bundy's cattle were damaging the habitat of the desert tortoise, an endangered species. He was subsequently ordered to greatly reduce the number of cattle on federal rangeland on which he had grazing rights, but Bundy refused and also stopped paying grazing fees. The government began removing the trespass cattle, resulting in the 2014 Bundy standoff. Similarities were drawn between the occupation and the Sagebrush Rebellion and wise use movements.[107]

Ammon and Ryan Bundy are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church).[31][108] They and some of the other militants have cited the Mormon scripture as justification for defying government authority. After the occupation began, the LDS Church issued a statement, strongly

condemning the seizure and that the armed occupation can in no way be justified on a scriptural basis.[108][109][110][111] Alex Beam describes the Bundys as "Mormon religious fanatics." [112]

Cliven Bundy has frequently made references to the Book of Mormon in his conflicts with the United States government for years. According to Oregon Public Broadcasting (OPB), during the family's 2014 standoff, Bundy used banners quoting Captain Moroni: "In memory of our God, our religion, and freedom, and our peace, our wives, and our children." [113] Ammon Bundy used much of the same language as his father, "mixing Mormon religious symbolism with a disgust of the federal government," according to OPB reporter John Sepulvado. One member of Ammon's militant group refused to give any other name to the press than "Captain Moroni, from Utah" [114] and was quoted as saying, "I didn't come here to shoot I came here to die." [115]

In an op-ed, Chris Zinda of The Independent, published in St. George, Utah, references a relevant work:

Many people do not know that Cliven Bundy, along with his former neighbor Keith Nay, self-published a book titled 'Nay Book' that is a combination of LDS theology and Skousen constitutional theory. Written in the late 1990s, it is the revelatory playbook that Cliven used in 2014 in Bunkerville and that his sons used in Malheur in 2016. It is a vivid example of how his 1950s–80s John Birch Society/Skousen indoctrination formulated his adulthood opinions that have since been passed on to his posterity and beyond. [116]

Before, during, or after the occupation, several militants and a few reported visitors to the refuge espoused connections or used language commonly used by the sovereign citizen movement. Also during the occupation, one visitor, a self-proclaimed judge from Colorado named Bruce Doucette, announced that a "citizens grand jury" would be convened, a common tactic of sovereign citizen groups. [117][118][119] Ryan Bundy's court filings have been noted to contain sovereign citizen rhetoric, [37] while Shawna Cox explicitly claimed to be a "sovereign citizen" in a filed countersuit. [120]

#### Criminal charges against militants

As of March 23, 2016, 27 people involved in the occupation have been charged under federal law; of those, 26 have been indicted for a single federal felony count of conspiracy to impede officers of the U.S. from discharging their official duties through the use of force, intimidation, or threats. [10] A number of those under indictment on the conspiracy charge are also charged with a variety of other counts, some of which incur sentences up to life imprisonment, including possession of firearms and dangerous weapons in federal facilities, use and carry of firearms in relation to a crime of violence, depredation of government property (relating to damaging the site "by means of excavation and the use of heavy equipment"), and theft of government property. [121][122] In addition, several of those under indictment in Oregon have also been indicted separately for their roles in the 2014 Bundy standoff in Nevada. [123]

The indictees and their initial charges were:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizens\\_for\\_Constitutional\\_Freedom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizens_for_Constitutional_Freedom)  
IMPORTANT(SOMEWHAT)

Notes:

- (1). Charge dismissed on June 10. [134][135]
- (2). Charge will be dismissed at August sentencing. [136]
- (3). Charge will be dismissed at October sentencing. [137][138][139]
- (4). Charge will be dismissed at December sentencing. [140][141]
- (5). Charge will be dismissed at February 2017 sentencing. [142][143]
- (6). Charge will be dismissed at May 2017 sentencing. [144]
- (7). Charge dismissed on September 6; no Oregon trial. [145]
- (8). Charge dismissed on October 3. [146]
- (9). Not guilty verdict declared for charge on October 27. [147]
- (10). Hung jury declared for charge on October 27. [147]
- (11). Acquitted of the initial conspiracy charge, but found guilty of digging ditches. [148]

PG. Pleaded guilty.

TBD. To be determined.

TS. Time served.

Penalties for the offenses are as follows:

Conspiracy to impede or injure officer of the U.S.—fine or up to six years' imprisonment[149]

Possession of firearms and dangerous weapons in federal facilities—fine or up to five years' imprisonment if used in the commission of a crime[150]

Use and carry of firearm in relation to a crime of violence—imprisonment for minimum five years to life (dependent on type of firearm used), consecutive to any other sentences passed[151]

Depredation of government property of value greater than US\$1,000—fine or up to ten years' imprisonment[152]

Theft of government property of value greater than US\$1,000—fine or up to ten years' imprisonment[153]

Other arrests and charges

Cliven D. Bundy, 74, of Bunkerville, Nevada, was arrested on the night of February 10 by the FBI at the Portland International Airport while he was on his way to support the standoff at the refuge. He faces federal charges related to his own standoff with the BLM in 2014.[154]

Joseph Stetson, 54, of Woodburn, Oregon, was arrested on January 25 by the Oregon State Police in Burns for driving under the influence while en route to the refuge. He was drunk and threatened to kill police as he was being arrested.[155]

Legal proceedings

Pretrial court appearances

January–February 2016

Ammon Bundy, Ryan Bundy, Ryan Payne, Dylan Anderson, and Jason Patrick all appeared in court on January 29. Ammon Bundy stood in court and explained the motives of the occupation to U.S. Magistrate Judge Stacie F. Beckerman, saying that "[his] only goal from the beginning was to protect freedom for the people." However, he and the other militants were denied bail, with the judge saying she would not release them while the occupation continues.[156][157][158]

Shawna Cox was released on bail on January 29 and ordered to home detention with extensive conditions.[159] Nineteen days later, she filed a countersuit against the U.S. government in the U.S. District Court for the District of Oregon. In it, she claimed to be a "sovereign citizen" instead of "a subject of corporate United States of America" and accused any judge who is a member of a state bar association or the Federal Bar Association of being "Foreign Agents operating subversively within United States." [120] Her suit demanded "damages from the works of the devil in excess \$666,666,666.66." [160] The document was quickly dismissed by a judge, saying that her claims were "not cognizable in this criminal proceeding and will not be addressed in this case." [161] During her home detention, she made online statements about the case and urged people to travel to Montana and provide shelter for militant Jake Edward Ryan, who had been on the run from federal authorities at the time.[50]

Duane Ehmer was released on home detention on February 4 and is being monitored via GPS.[162] He was released from jail on February 5 after it was ruled that his connections to Irrigon were strong and that he did not pose a flight risk.[162]

David Fry, Sean and Sandra Anderson, and Jeff Banta, the last four militants to surrender in the occupation, appeared in court on February 12, a day after their surrender. Also appearing were militants Darryl William Thorn and Geoffrey Stanek. They were all charged with several offenses, with all six pleading not guilty. Stanek claimed that he had gone to the refuge to act as a medic and that he had been cooperating with the investigation, though U.S. District Judge John V. Acosta expressed concerns about him being armed during the occupation and the fact that he had been armed during his arrest.[82]

Also on February 12, Wesley Kjar appeared in federal court in Salt Lake City, Utah, while Blaine Cooper made a separate court appearance in St. George, Utah.[163] Kjar was denied release from jail with conditions on February 16 after being judged as a flight risk and a danger to the community.[57]

Sandra Anderson was released from jail on February 19 under the conditions that she remain in her home state of Idaho unless she needed to make court appearances in Oregon; would not make any contact with the other militants, including her husband; and not possess any firearms. She was also ordered to undergo a mental health evaluation.[164] She was released after U.S. Magistrate Judge Janice M. Stewart ruled that she is not a flight risk because she has no criminal history and has held a steady job.[165]

Ten of the jailed militants, including Ammon Bundy, appeared in court on February 24, when U.S. District Judge Anna J. Brown stated that she would push to try them on the federal conspiracy charges as soon as possible. During the hearing, several of the militants challenged her assertions; and two of them, Ryan Bundy and Kenneth Medenbach, expressed their wishes to represent themselves.[166] Bundy and Medenbach's requests were later granted by Judge Brown.[167]

Jeff Banta was released from jail on February 26 under the conditions that he would not make any contact with the other militants and not make any statements in support of illegal activity.[168]

March–May 2016

On March 29, a federal judge lifted Shawna Cox's home detention and replaced it with a curfew under the condition that she not make any public comments regarding the case.[50]

On April 19, Kenneth Medenbach was convicted by a federal court in Eugene, Oregon, of unlawfully occupying and camping on federal public land managed by the BLM in Josephine County, Oregon, in 2015.[169]

On April 28, some of the lawyers of the militants began urging the court to dismiss certain counts specified in the February indictment. They claimed that the federal conspiracy charge was "unconstitutionally vague" and that the firearm charge is inadmissible because a violent crime wasn't committed during the course of the occupation.[170]

The militants' lawyers began expressing concerns about an impartial jury during the actual trial on May 4. One lawyer "suggested the possibility of change of venue, and asked a federal judge to approve funding for an analysis of the media attention the case received and, possibly, a survey of community attitudes." U.S. District Judge Anna J. Brown did not respond to the suggestion, but it was reported that she was "more agreeable" to have jurors originate from different areas throughout Oregon rather than just Portland, which was the original plan.[171]

On May 11, Jason Patrick was allowed by Judge Brown to represent himself in his case, though his request to not have standby counsel was denied.[167]

On May 12, Scott Willingham pleaded guilty to one of two counts of theft of government property filed against him, being the first of the militants to submit a guilty plea. Under a plea bargain, Willingham will face six months in prison, followed by two years of supervised release, and he also agreed to undergo a mental health evaluation and pay an unspecified amount of restitution to the U.S. government.[86][132][133]

On May 19, Corey Lequieu pleaded guilty to conspiracy to impede federal officers as part of a plea bargain deal reached by his attorneys and federal prosecutors, being the first militant to do so. His sentencing was set for August 25, with prosecutors intending to recommend a sentence of two and a half years in prison along with a required payment of restitution to the government. In exchange for the guilty plea, prosecutors agreed to drop the weapons charges as well as charges relating to the 2014 Bundy standoff.[136][128]

On May 25, Ammon Bundy's defense team filed a "notice of substitution of counsel" in the U.S. District Court for the District of Oregon, replacing attorneys Lissa Casey and Michael Arnold for Utah attorney J. Morgan Philpot.[172][173]

June–August 2016

On June 2, Jake Ryan and Travis Cox were released on bail to family members pending trial. Both men were released under the conditions that their parents report any bail violations; and that the men find employment, obey curfews and travel restrictions, and refrain from contact with militias or participation in other protests or public comment on the case. Prosecutors opposed the motion on the basis of previous attempts by the men to avoid arrest, and commented on the recent ejection of Darryl Thorn from a Donald Trump rally while on similar terms of release.[55]

On June 7, Ammon Bundy's lawyer J. Morgan Philpot filed a pro hac vice special admission in the U.S. District Court for the District of Oregon to allow Utah attorney Marcus Mumford to assist him.[173][174]

On June 9, Eric Lee Flores pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge as part of a plea bargain deal.[140]

On June 10, U.S. District Judge Anna J. Brown dismissed one of two firearms charges against the Bundy brothers, David Fry, Jon Ritzheimer, Ryan Payne, Brian Cavalier, Jason Patrick, and Sean Anderson. She cited that the underlying conspiracy charge does not meet the legal definition of a "crime of violence" as defined by Ninth Circuit case law.[134][135]

From June 14 to June 23, Geoffrey Alan Stanek, Jason Blomgren, and Wesley Kjar all pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge as part of plea bargain deals.[137][138][139] On June 29, Brian Cavalier also pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge, as well as a firearms possession charge, as part of a plea bargain deal. Cavalier's plea deal does not affect federal charges pending against him in Nevada.[175][176][177]

On June 30, Ammon Bundy's defense team filed a motion asking for a delay for their client's September 7 trial, explaining they needed more time to prepare for the defense. In the motion, the defense team argued that several pretrial motions were not resolved and Bundy's detention "has rendered it virtually impossible for him to participate meaningfully in his defense." The lawyers also asked the court to "allow Bundy another two months to argue for his release pending trial and to help prepare his defense to challenge the federal charges." [178][179] This latest action prompted Bundy's brother Ryan and other militants, on July 1, to file similar motions asking for delays in their trials.[178][180] On July 6, U.S. District Judge Anna J. Brown denied Ammon Bundy's defense request for a delay in trial.[181][182][183]

On July 7, Blaine Cooper pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge.[184]

On July 19, Ryan Payne pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge for his role in the occupation, as well as three federal charges related to the 2014 Bundy standoff, as part of a plea bargain deal.[143]

On July 20, Travis Cox pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge as part of a plea bargain deal.[141]

On August 1, Joseph O'Shaughnessy pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge and is expected to do the same to federal charges related to the Bundy standoff.[185] That same day, Kenneth Medenbach was sentenced to five years' probation for unlawfully occupying and camping on federal public land in Josephine County, Oregon, in 2015.[186]



On August 15, Jon Ritzheimer pleaded guilty to a federal conspiracy charge as part of a plea bargain deal.[144]

On August 22, U.S. District Judge Robert E. Jones admonished Duane Ehmer for writing a threatening post against liberal Democrats on Facebook, which has since been deleted. As a result, Jones added a new condition for Ehmer's release, to "not engage in conduct or speech that will incite others to trespass on or destroy federal property, or engage in violence." [187]

On August 30, Judge Brown granted Ryan Bundy and Kenneth Medenbach the right to represent themselves, despite Bundy and Medenbach's repeated defiance of her rulings and willingness to violate court orders. Medenbach subsequently agreed to follow Brown's rulings and instructions in exchange. Bundy remained more defiant with this requirement and asserted he would follow rulings only as long as "they are in accordance with the law"; Brown later said she believed that he was "reserving" his right to follow rulings based on his own interpretation of the law, but decided to give him "the benefit of the doubt". [188]

Also on August 30, David Fry's lawyer announced his intention to argue that his client suffers from schizotypal personality disorder, claiming that he had been quiet and mostly kept to himself at the refuge during the occupation until the shooting death of LaVoy Finicum. Fry's lawyer also claimed that after Finicum's shooting, Fry became paranoid that federal agents were going to come after him and escalated his actions as a result. [189]

September 2016

On September 6, Judge Brown approved federal prosecutors' request to dismiss the federal conspiracy charge against Peter Santilli, the only charge he faced for his role in the occupation. [145] He later said that he was not angry over his eight-month ordeal. [190]

On September 7, Ammon and Ryan Bundy (through Ammon's lawyers, Philpot and Marcus Mumford), filed a motion seeking to permit his client to wear "cowboy" attire in court. The U.S. Marshals Service has barred the defendants from wearing ties, boots, and belts, citing safety concerns. Denying the motion on grounds that the Bundys not showing their attire would prejudice their case, Judge Brown said Ammon was "dressed better than most people in the building, period." [191][192][193]

Trials

Preparation

The trials for Bundy and six other co-defendants was scheduled to start on September 7, 2016; while a further seven co-defendants were set for trial beginning February 14, 2017. [12][13][145] On August 3, about 1,500 potential jurors were summoned and asked to complete questionnaires that would be reviewed by the attorneys and parties involved in the September 7, 2016, trials. [194] Judge Brown previously said the case would require an unusually large jury pool. [12] The defense will focus on the argument that the federal government doesn't actually have jurisdiction of federal land, as they lost the right to own the land inside of Oregon once it became a state. [195]

September 2016

Jury selection for the first set of trials began on September 7, 2016. On that day, eleven of 31 potential jurors were excused for a variety of reasons, such as opinions regarding the occupation and also personal hardships. [196] By September 9, 2016, 62 people were identified as potential jurors. [197] Twelve jurors (consisting of eight women and four men) and eight alternates were selected by the end of the day. Opening statements were scheduled for September 13, 2016. [198]

On September 12, Jeff Banta, one of the defendants for the first set of trials, had to correct Judge Brown's accidental error in leaving out firearms charges while recounting the charges against him. He also said he traveled to the refuge on January 25 to help bring attention to the Hammond arson case, an issue raised by

the militants during the occupation's first days. He added that he also wanted to work on the Hammond ranch while Dwight and Steven Hammond were still imprisoned.[199]

On September 13, opening statements were given, with a line of about a dozen people present outside the courthouse.[200][201] The prosecution argued that Ammon Bundy and the other militants were leading an armed occupation of the refuge and not a political protest. The defense argued that the militants were not intending to interfere with refuge activities, but to restore local control of lands in the Western United States, as they were frustrated by the federal government's grazing and water rights restrictions on public land.[200]

On September 14, Sheriff David Ward, who was the lead local law enforcement official during the occupation, was the first to testify against the militants.[200][202]

#### Sentencing

On August 16, Corey Lequieu became the first defendant to be sentenced in the federal conspiracy case against the militants. Judge Brown sentenced him to two-and-a-half years in prison, followed by three years of supervised release, and also ordered him to pay restitution. Though the conspiracy charge carried a maximum of six years' imprisonment, his sentencing was recommended by prosecutors as part of the plea bargain deal he reached, and decided after the government considered the fact that Lequieu was the first militant to take responsibility.[128]

#### Farmers Independence Council of America

The Farmers Independence Council of America was an American political organization formed in the 1930s to oppose President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's effort to reform American agriculture through the Agricultural Adjustment Act during the Great Depression. Originally considered a nonpartisan organization, testimony in front of the United States Senate Lobby Investigation Committee revealed the council had close ties with the American Liberty League and Republican Party.

#### Liberty Political Action Conference

The Liberty Political Action Conference (LPAC) was an annual political conference attended by conservative and libertarian activists and elected officials from across the United States. The conference was held from 2011 to 2014, in various locations.

LPAC was hosted by Campaign for Liberty, a 501(c)(4) nonprofit that is currently chaired by former Congressman Ron Paul of Texas.

#### History

The first Liberty Political Action Conference took place prior to the 2012 Republican primary season from September 15-17, 2011 in Reno, Nevada. Speakers at the conference included Ron Paul, Senators Rand Paul and Mike Lee, Congressman Steve Stockman, actors Vince Vaughn and Jerry Doyle, Chuck Baldwin, and Debra Medina, among others.[1]

The second LPAC took place following the 2012 Republican primary season, from September 13-15, 2012, and prior to the 2012 presidential election in Chantilly, Virginia outside of Washington, D.C.. Speakers at the conference included Ron Paul, Senators Rand Paul, Mike Lee, Jim DeMint and Ted Cruz, Congressman Justin Amash and Scott Garrett, actor Jerry Doyle, Mallory Factor, and Virginia Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli, among others.[2]

The third LPAC conference took place in Chantilly, Virginia from September 19-22, 2013. The fourth LPAC conference took place in Alexandria, Virginia from September 18-20, 2014, but there was never a confirmation of an event held in 2015.

#### Locations

Hosting city	Attendees	Date	Hosting venue
1 Reno, Nevada	700	September 15 – 17, 2011	Grand Sierra Resort
2 Chantilly, Virginia		September 13 – 15, 2012	Westfields Marriott

3	Chantilly, Virginia	September 19 – 22, 2013	Westfields Marriott
4	Alexandria, Virginia	September 18 - 20, 2014	Hilton Alexandria Mark Center

#### Church League of America

The Church League of America was founded in Chicago in 1937 to oppose left-wing and Social Gospel influences in Christian thought and organizations. The group's founders were Frank J. Loesch, a lawyer and head of the Chicago Crime Commission, Henry Parsons Crowell, chairman of the board of Quaker Oats, and George Washington Robnett, an advertising executive. The nonprofit organization became an influential anti-communist research and advocacy group in the 1950s, under the direction of former United States Air Force Intelligence Officer Major Edgar C. Bundy. It famously denounced the mainstream National Council of Churches for being dominated by communists. In 1961, the Church League moved its headquarters to Wheaton, Illinois, where it continued its research operations, and created an extensive library of materials on subversive activity. Selling reports and access to its information was a major source of revenue for the Church League, and they also sometimes provided it without charge to like-minded researchers, including members of government and law enforcement agencies. The Church League of America dissolved in 1984.

#### Institute for Constitutional Education

The Institute for Constitutional Education (ICE) was a conservative constitutionalist organization operating in Southern Utah from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. It was formerly part of the National Center for Constitutional Studies<sup>[1]</sup> and was later renamed "Families for America".<sup>[2]</sup> The institute produced summer seminars at its facility in Duck Creek, Utah.<sup>[3]</sup> The school George Wythe College was formed as a subsidiary of ICE in 1992, and control was later transferred to Coral Ridge Baptist University.

Notable directors include W. Cleon Skousen and William H. Dougherty.

#### Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government

The Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government was a state agency created by the Virginia legislature in 1956, with the mission of promoting "constitutional government" in the wake of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Commission brought together leading Virginia writers, journalists, lawyers, and politicians who wrote pamphlets and books opposing integration of the public schools, federal civil rights statutes, and recent Supreme Court decisions. The Commission was headed by David J. Mays, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author,<sup>[1]</sup> and James J. Kilpatrick. The Commission maintained an active publication schedule until 1967.

Their publications included *Civil Rights and Federal Powers*,<sup>[2]</sup> *Civil Rights and Legal Wrongs*,<sup>[3]</sup> *The Right Not to Listen*,<sup>[4]</sup> *Did the Court Interpret or Amend?*,<sup>[5]</sup> and *Alfred Avins' The Reconstruction amendments' debates : the legislative history and contemporary debates in Congress on the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments*.

#### Job Creators Network

The Job Creators Network (JCN) is a conservative U.S. advocacy group. It was founded by Bernie Marcus, the co-founder and former CEO of Home Depot.

The organization has received significant funding from the Mercer Family Foundation, a private grant-making foundation that invested about \$70 million into conservative causes between 2009 and 2014.<sup>[1][2][3][4]</sup>

##### Overview

The organization advocates for free-market solutions, lower taxes and fewer government regulations.<sup>[5]</sup> The organizations motto is: "We are the Voice of Main Street."<sup>[6]</sup>

The organization also runs the "Information Station" website, which offers "explainer" type videos and articles from a pro-business perspective.<sup>[7]</sup>

#### Activities

In 2015, JCN and Carly Fiorina launched a "National Women's Coalition," with the goal of "giving added voice to women business leaders around the country." [8]

JCN launched a "Bring Small Businesses Back" (BSBB) campaign in 2016. In April 2016, JCN hosted a BSBB event in Orlando featuring Frank Luntz, Mike Gallagher, and a panel of small business owners. [9]

Throughout 2017, JCN advocated for tax reform through a campaign dubbed "Tax Cuts Now", [10] and offered the group's support to the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. The Tax Cuts Now campaign included a bus tour that made stops across the country.

In addition to the bus tour, the campaign included advertising in the mediums of print, digital, and television. Notable public figures voiced their support for the campaign including billionaire Steve Forbes [11] and former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, who penned an op-ed in USA TODAY with Brad Anderson, former CEO of Best Buy and a member of JCN. [12]

JCN launched another bus tour in 2018, with the goal of touting the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act as a success. [13] Former Speaker of the House Paul Ryan joined JCN at stops on the tour, including one hosted at a small business in Clinton, Wisconsin. [14]

In February 2019, the group put up a billboard in New York City's Times Square blaming U.S. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for Amazon's decision to abandon the building of the company's second headquarters in Queens. [15] After the congresswoman tweeted that the billboard was "wack", JCN put up two more billboards, one saying "Hey AOC, saw your wack tweet", the other, "Hey AOC, this billboard cost about \$4,000. But you cost NY 25,000 jobs and \$4,000,000,000 in annual lost wages." [3]

In October 2019, JCN Foundation, the 501(c)(3) of JCN, released a framework for an affordable care act rollback under their lobbying group Healthcare For You. Other groups in the Healthcare For You coalition include Physicians for Reform, Americans for Fair Taxation, American Hotel and Lodging Association, Young Americans Against Socialism, and Colorado Business Roundtable. [16][17]

#### COVID-19 experimental drug lobbying

JCN and related entities have promoted experimental drugs as part of the COVID-19 pandemic, through their lobbying group Healthcare For You. They have placed Facebook ads to generate support for a petition, texted physicians, and lobbied the White House to encourage chloroquine as an experimental treatment for COVID-19, the disease responsible for the pandemic. Its use has been promoted by Donald Trump, Sean Hannity, and Rudy Giuliani, among others. Their spokesperson, Elaine Parker, stated that over 700 doctors had signed the petition. [18] JCN's president, Alfredo Ortiz, has been in direct contact with Steven Mnuchin, speaking with him three times in one day during stimulus package discussions. [19][17][20] Trump and other White House staff have financial ties to drugmakers that are ramping up production of the drug. [21][22][23]

#### Membership

JCN was founded by Bernie Marcus, the co-founder and former CEO of Home Depot. [24] Since January 2014, the organization's president and CEO is Alfredo Ortiz, a former Pepsi and Kraft executive. [25] while the president and director of communications for the JCN foundation is Elaine Parker. [26][27] Its members include:

Brad Anderson, former CEO and vice chairman of Best Buy [28]

Heidi Ganahl, founder and CEO of Camp Bow Wow [29]

Carlos Gazitua, CEO of Sergio's Restaurants [30]

Doug Haugh, president of Mansfield Oil [31]

Andy Puzder, CEO of CKE Restaurants [32]

Joseph Semprevivo, owner of Joseph's Lite Cookies [33]

## John M. Olin Foundation

The John M. Olin Foundation was a conservative American grant-making foundation established in 1953 by John M. Olin, president of the Olin Industries chemical and munitions manufacturing businesses. Unlike most other foundations, it was charged to spend all of its assets within a generation of Olin's death, for fear of mission drift over time and to preserve donor intent. It made its last grant in the summer of 2005 and officially disbanded on November 29, 2005. It had disbursed over \$370 million in funding, primarily to conservative think tanks, media outlets, and law programs at influential universities. It is most notable for its early support and funding of the law and economics movement and the Federalist Society. "All in all, the Federalist Society has been one of the best investments the foundation ever made," wrote the Foundation to its trustees in 2003.[1]

### Mission statement

According to the official website, "the general purpose of the John M. Olin Foundation is to provide support for projects that reflect or are intended to strengthen the economic, political and cultural institutions upon which the American heritage of constitutional government and private enterprise is based. The Foundation also seeks to promote a general understanding of these institutions by encouraging the thoughtful study of the connections between economic and political freedoms, and the cultural heritage that sustains them." [2]

### History

The fund was largely inactive until 1969, when John M. Olin was disturbed by the Willard Straight Hall takeover at his alma mater, Cornell University. At the age of 80, he decided that he must pour his time and resources into preserving the free market system.[citation needed]

The Foundation is most notable for its early support and funding of the law and economics movement,[3] a discipline that applies incentive-based thinking and cost-benefit analysis to the field of legal theory. Olin believed that law schools have a disproportionately large impact on society given their size and to this end decided to focus the majority of his funding there.[citation needed]

The executive director of the Foundation in its early years was conservative activist Michael S. Joyce, who left to head the similar Bradley Foundation.[3] William E. Simon, a leverage buyout pioneer who was United States Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, was president of the Foundation from 1977 until his death in 2000.[4] He frequently discussed the foundation's commitment to supporting the "counter-intelligentsia". Conservative scholar James Piereson was the last executive director[3] and secretary.

The foundation supported conservative thinkers such as Heather Mac Donald of the Manhattan Institute; Mac Donald is the John M. Olin Fellow at this New York City-based institution.[5] In 2005, following longstanding plans,[6] the foundation announced its final grants and closed its doors.[3][4] The foundation closed in the same year as the Franklin W. Olin Foundation, which was established by John Olin's father, Franklin W. Olin. The Franklin W. Olin Foundation also shut down for donor intent reasons, but the two foundations were entirely independent and unrelated, except for the family connection of their founders.[7]

According to the Philanthropy Roundtable, the Olin Foundation "dispensed hundreds of millions of dollars to scholars, think tanks, publications, and other organizations" and "shaped the direction and aided the growth of the modern conservative movement that first sprang into visibility in the 1980s." [3] According to the New York Observer, the Foundation distributed "grants to conservative think tanks and intellectuals-the architects of today's sprawling right-wing movement-for a quarter-century." [4]

### Notable persons

James Piereson – past executive director and board member

Peter M. Flanigan – past director

Charles F. Knight – past director

Sponsored professorships

This section does not cite any sources. Please help improve this section by adding citations to reliable sources. Unsourced material may be challenged and removed.

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There are several dozen John M. Olin Professors at universities and law schools around the world, including:

John M. Olin Professor at Fordham University (formerly Ernest van den Haag)

John M. Olin Professor at George Mason University (currently Walter E. Williams)

John M. Olin Professor at Yale Law School (currently George L. Priest)

John M. Olin Professor at Georgetown University (formerly Walter F. Berns)

Judeo-Christian Council for Constitutional Restoration

The Judeo-Christian Council for Constitutional Restoration is a conservative, religious organization formed in early 2005 that ran the website StopActivistJudges.org. By February 28, 2013, the domain had expired and been acquired by a domain parking company.

The council is descended from the Dallas Group. It is currently chaired by Rick Scarborough. The council's executive director is Philip Jauregui, former counsel to Chief Justice Roy Moore. In April 2005, Scarborough was quoted as saying that his group was needed because of, "Activist judges...(whose) distortions of the Constitution have brought us abortion-on-demand, purged religious symbols from public places, made our schools faith-free zones, created a so-called right to homosexual sodomy and threatened 'one nation under God' in the pledge of allegiance. Now, judges seem intent on imposing same-sex marriage by fiat."<sup>[1]</sup> According to the group's website, "Each progressive step down the road to the secularization of America has come not through a referendum of the people, or an act of their elected representatives, but rather at the stroke of a judge's pen."<sup>[2]</sup>

Confronting The Judicial War On Faith

The group's April 2005 conference, Confronting The Judicial War On Faith, attracted many prominent conservatives. According to the Washington Post, "The two-day program listed two House members; aides to two senators; representatives from the Family Research Council and Concerned Women for America; conservative activists Alan Keyes and Morton C. Blackwell; the lawyer for Terri Schiavo's parents; Alabama's "Ten Commandments" judge, Roy Moore; and [Rep. Tom] DeLay, who canceled to attend the pope's funeral."<sup>[3]</sup> The event brought together lawmakers and Capitol Hill staffers with theocrats, adherents of Christian Reconstructionism, a Calvinist doctrine that calls for the biblical law to rule American law.<sup>[4]</sup>

In a session titled "Remedies to Judicial Tyranny," constitutional lawyer Edwin Vieira discussed United States Supreme Court justice Anthony Kennedy's majority opinion in *Lawrence v. Texas*, which struck down that state's anti-sodomy law. Kennedy was accused of relying on "Marxist, Leninist, Satanic principles drawn from foreign law" in his jurisprudence.<sup>[4]</sup>

According to the group's website, "April 7–8 proved to be a divine appointment. There was no way of knowing, humanly speaking, how significant that time would be in the life of our Republic"; Schiavo had died and "the federal judiciary, up to and including the United States Supreme Court, also turned a deaf ear to repeated pleas to save Terri." The group claims that the conference was responsible for creating "a movement... to restore the Constitution to its true meaning and original glory."

Books

Judicial Tyranny: The New Kings of America? by Mark Sutherland 2005. ISBN 0-9753455-6-7 Features conservative perspectives on the United States judicial system from Mark Sutherland, US Attorney General Ed Meese, Ambassador Alan Keyes, Dave Meyer, Phyllis Schlafly, the Honorable Howard Phillips, Alan Sears, William Federer, Ben DuPre, Rev. Rick Scarborough, David Gibbs, Mathew Staver, Don Feder, Roy Moore, James Dobson and Herb Titus.

The Project for the New American Century (PNAC) was a neoconservative[1][2][3] think tank based in Washington, D.C. that focused on United States foreign policy. It was established as a non-profit educational organization in 1997, and founded by William Kristol and Robert Kagan.[4][5] PNAC's stated goal was "to promote American global leadership." [6] The organization stated that "American leadership is good both for America and for the world," and sought to build support for "a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity." [7]

Of the twenty-five people who signed PNAC's founding statement of principles, ten went on to serve in the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush, including Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, and Paul Wolfowitz.[8][9][10][11] Observers such as Irwin Stelzer and Dave Grondin have suggested that the PNAC played a key role in shaping the foreign policy of the Bush Administration, particularly in building support for the Iraq War.[12][13][14][15] Academics such as Inderjeet Parmar, Phillip Hammond, and Donald E. Abelson have said PNAC's influence on the George W. Bush administration has been exaggerated.[16][17][18]

The Project for the New American Century ceased to function in 2006; [19] it was replaced by a new think-tank named the Foreign Policy Initiative, co-founded by Kristol and Kagan in 2009. The Foreign Policy Initiative was dissolved in 2017.

#### Origins and operation

The Project for the New American Century developed from Kristol and Kagan's belief that the Republican Party lacked a "compelling vision for American foreign policy," which would allow Republican leaders to effectively criticize President Bill Clinton's foreign policy record.[19]

During the summer of 1996, Kristol and Kagan co-authored an article in *Foreign Affairs* titled "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy" - referring to the foreign policy of President Ronald Reagan. In the article, they argued that American conservatives were "adrift" in the area of foreign policy, advocated a "more elevated vision of America's international role," and suggested that the United States' should adopt a stance of "benevolent global hegemony." [20] In June 1997, Kristol and Kagan founded the PNAC in order to advance the goals they had first laid out in *Foreign Affairs*, echoing the article's statements and goals in PNAC's founding Statement of Principles.[19]

According to Maria Ryan, the individuals who signed the PNAC's statements and letters were not employees or members of the group, and "supporters of PNAC's initiatives differed from case to case." [19] While its permanent staff was relatively small, the organization was "especially well connected," with some of its statements and letters attracting the support of prominent conservatives and neoconservatives.[9][19]

In this regard, Stuart Elden has stated that "The influence that PNAC had was astonishing," and noted that

The number of figures associated with PNAC that had been members of the Reagan or the first Bush administration and the number that would take up office with the administration of the second President Bush demonstrate that it is not merely a question of employees and budgets.[21]

#### Statement of Principles

PNAC's first public act was to release a "Statement of Principles" on June 3, 1997. The statement had 25 signers, including project members and outside supporters (see Signatories to Statement of Principles). It described the United States as the "world's pre-eminent power," and said that the nation faced a challenge to "shape a new century favorable to American principles and interests." In order to achieve this goal, the statement's signers called for significant increases in defense spending, and for the promotion of "political and economic freedom abroad." It said the United States should strengthen ties with its democratic allies, "challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values," and preserve and extend "an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and our principles." Calling for a "Reaganite" policy of "military strength and moral clarity," it concluded that PNAC's principles were necessary "if the United States is to build on the successes of this past century and to ensure our security and our greatness in the next." [5]

In September 2000 PNAC released "Rebuilding America's Defenses" a report that promotes "the belief that America should seek to preserve and extend its position of global leadership by maintaining the preeminence of U.S. military forces." The report also states, "advanced forms of biological warfare that can "target" specific genotypes may transform biological warfare from the realm of terror to a politically useful tool." [22] [23] [24]

#### Calls for regime change in Iraq

In 1998, Kristol and Kagan advocated regime change in Iraq throughout the Iraq disarmament process through articles that were published in the New York Times.[25][26] Following perceived Iraqi unwillingness to co-operate with UN weapons inspections, core members of the PNAC including Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, R. James Woolsey, Elliot Abrams, Donald Rumsfeld, Robert Zoellick, and John Bolton were among the signatories of an open letter initiated by the PNAC to President Bill Clinton calling for the removal of Saddam Hussein.[19][27] Portraying Saddam Hussein as a threat to the United States, its Middle East allies, and oil resources in the region, and emphasizing the potential danger of any weapons of mass destruction under Iraq's control, the letter asserted that the United States could "no longer depend on our partners in the Gulf War to continue to uphold the sanctions or to punish Saddam when he blocks or evades UN inspections." Stating that American policy "cannot continue to be crippled by a misguided insistence on unanimity in the UN Security Council," the letter's signatories asserted that "the U.S. has the authority under existing UN resolutions to take the necessary steps, including military steps, to protect our vital interests in the Gulf." [28] Believing that UN sanctions against Iraq would be an ineffective means of disarming Iraq, PNAC members also wrote a letter to Republican members of the U.S. Congress Newt Gingrich and Trent Lott,[29] urging Congress to act, and supported the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (H.R.4655)[30][31] which President Clinton signed into law in October 1998.

In February 1998, some of the same individuals who had signed the PNAC letter in January also signed a similar letter to Clinton, from the bipartisan Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf.[27][32]

In January 1999, the PNAC circulated a memo that criticized the December 1998 bombing of Iraq in Operation Desert Fox as ineffective. The memo questioned the viability of Iraqi democratic opposition, which the U.S. was supporting through the Iraq Liberation Act, and referred to any "containment" policy as an illusion.[33]

Shortly after the September 11, 2001 attacks, the PNAC sent a letter to President George W. Bush, specifically advocating regime change through "a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq." The letter suggested that "any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and its sponsors must include a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq," even if no evidence surfaced linking Iraq to the September 11 attacks. The letter warned that allowing Hussein to remain in power would be "an early and perhaps decisive surrender in the war on international terrorism." [34] From 2001 through the invasion of Iraq, the PNAC and many of its members voiced active support for military action against Iraq, and asserted leaving Saddam Hussein in power would be "surrender to terrorism." [35][36][37][38][39]

Some have regarded the PNAC's January 16, 1998 letter to President Clinton urging "the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power," [28][40] and the involvement of multiple PNAC members in the Bush Administration [10][11] as evidence that the PNAC had a significant influence on the Bush Administration's decision to invade Iraq, or even argued that the invasion was a foregone conclusion. [14][41][42][43][44] Writing in Der Spiegel in 2003, for example, Jochen Bölsche specifically referred to PNAC when he claimed that "ultra-rightwing US think-tanks" had been "drawing up plans for an era of American global domination, for the emasculation of the UN, and an aggressive war against Iraq" in "broad daylight" since 1998. [45] Similarly, BBC journalist Paul Reynolds portrayed PNAC's activities and goals as key to understanding the foreign policy of the George W. Bush administration after September 11, 2001, suggesting that Bush's "dominant" foreign policy was at least partly inspired by the PNAC's ideas. [41]

Some[who?] political scientists, historians, and other academics have been critical of many of these claims. Donald E. Abelson has written that scholars studying "PNAC's ascendancy" in the political arena "cannot possibly overlook the fact" that several of the signatories to PNAC's Statement of Purposes "received high



level positions in the Bush administration," but that acknowledging these facts "is a far cry from making the claim that the institute was the architect of Bush's foreign policy." [16][46][47]

### Rebuilding America's Defenses

One of the PNAC's most influential publications was a 90-page report titled *Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategies, Forces, and Resources For a New Century*. Citing the PNAC's 1997 Statement of Principles, *Rebuilding America's Defenses* asserted that the United States should "seek to preserve and extend its position of global leadership" by "maintaining the preeminence of U.S. military forces." [48] The report's primary author was Thomas Donnelly who began living as a transwoman in October 2018, taking the name Giselle. Donald Kagan and Gary Schmitt are credited as project chairmen. It also lists the names of 27 other participants who contributed papers or attended meetings related to the production of the report, six of whom subsequently assumed key defense and foreign policy positions in the Bush administration. [49][50] It suggested that the preceding decade had been a time of peace and stability, which had provided "the geopolitical framework for widespread economic growth" and "the spread of American principles of liberty and democracy." The report warned that "no moment in international politics can be frozen in time; even a global Pax Americana will not preserve itself.

According to the report, current levels of defense spending were insufficient, forcing policymakers "to try ineffectually to "manage" increasingly large risks." The result, it suggested, was a form "paying for today's needs by shortchanging tomorrow's; withdrawing from constabulary missions to retain strength for large-scale wars; "choosing" between presence in Europe or presence in Asia; and so on." All of these, the report asserted, were "bad choices" and "false economies," which did little to promote long-term American interests. "The true cost of not meeting our defense requirements," the report argued, "will be a lessened capacity for American global leadership and, ultimately, the loss of a global security order that is uniquely friendly to American principles and prosperity." [48]

*Rebuilding America's Defenses* recommended establishing four core missions for US military forces: the defense of the "American homeland," the fighting and winning of "multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars," the performance of "'constabular' duties associated with shaping the security environment" in key regions, and the transformation of US forces "to exploit the 'revolution in military affairs.'" Its specific recommendations included the maintenance of US nuclear superiority, an increase of the active personnel strength of the military from 1.4 to 1.6 million people, the redeployment of US forces to Southeast Europe and Asia, and the "selective" modernization of US forces. The report advocated the cancellation of "roadblock" programs such as the Joint Strike Fighter (which it argued would absorb "exorbitant" amounts of Pentagon funding while providing limited gains), but favored the development of "global missile defenses," and the control of "space and cyberspace," including the creation of a new military service with the mission of "space control." To help achieve these aims, *Rebuilding America's Defenses* advocated a gradual increase in military and defense spending "to a minimum level of 3.5 to 3.8 percent of gross domestic product, adding \$15 billion to \$20 billion to total defense spending annually." [48]

### Critics

#### Rebuilding America's Defenses

Written before the September 11 attacks, and during political debates of the War in Iraq, a section of *Rebuilding America's Defenses* entitled "Creating Tomorrow's Dominant Force" became the subject of considerable controversy: "Further, the process of transformation, even if it brings revolutionary change, is likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event – like a new Pearl Harbor." [48] Journalist John Pilger pointed to this passage when he argued that Bush administration had used the events of September 11 as an opportunity to capitalize on long-desired plans. [51]

Some critics went further, asserting that *Rebuilding America's Defenses* should be viewed as a program for global American hegemony. Writing in *Der Spiegel* in 2003, Jochen Bölsche claimed that *Rebuilding America's Defenses* "had been developed by PNAC for Rumsfeld, Cheney, Wolfowitz and Libby," and was "devoted to matters of 'maintaining US pre-eminence, thwarting rival powers and shaping the global security system according to US interests.'" [45][52] British MP Michael Meacher made similar allegations in 2003, stating that the document was "a blueprint for the creation of a global Pax Americana," which had been "drawn up for" key members of the Bush administration. [53] Academic Peter Dale Scott subsequently wrote

"[PNAC's] ideology was summarized in a major position paper, *Rebuilding America's Defenses*, in 2000. This document advocated a global Pax Americana unrestrained by international law ..."[54]

Other academics, such as Donald E. Abelson and Phillip Hammond, have suggested that many of these criticisms were overblown, while noting that similar statements about PNAC's origins, goals, and influence "continue to make their way into the academic literature on the neo-conservative network in the United States." Hammond, for example, notes that while *Rebuilding America's Defenses* "is often cited as evidence that a blueprint for American domination of the world was implemented under cover of the war on terrorism," it was actually "unexceptional." According to Hammond, the report's recommendations were "exactly what one would generally expect neoconservatives to say, and it is no great revelation that they said it in publicly available documents prior to September 2001." [55] Similarly, Abelson has written that "evaluating the extent of PNAC's influence is not as straightforward" as Meacher and others maintain," as "we know very little about the inner workings of this think tank and whether it has lived up to its billing as the architect of Bush's foreign policy". [56]

Focus on military strategies, versus diplomatic strategies  
PNAC fellow Reuel Marc Gerechted stated:

"We have no choice but to re-instill in our foes and friends the fear that attaches to any great power. ... Only a war against Saddam Hussein will decisively restore the awe that protects American interests abroad and citizens at home". [57]

The Strategic Studies Institute's Jeffrey Record in his monograph *Bounding the Global War on Terrorism*, Gabriel Kolko, research professor emeritus at York University and author of *Another Century of War?* (The New Press, 2002), in his article published in *CounterPunch*, and William Rivers Pitt, in *Truthout*, respectively, argued that the PNAC's goals of military hegemony exaggerated what the military can accomplish, that they failed to recognize "the limits of US power", and that favoring pre-emptive exercise of military might over diplomatic strategies could have "adverse side effects." [58][59][60] (Paul Reynolds and Max Boot have made similar observations. [41][61])

End of the organization

By the end of 2006, PNAC was "reduced to a voice-mail box and a ghostly website [with a] single employee ... left to wrap things up", according to a correspondent at the BBC News. [62] In 2006 former executive director of the PNAC Gary Schmitt said PNAC had never been intended to "go on forever," and had "already done its job," suggesting that "our view has been adopted." [62] In 2009 Robert Kagan and William Kristol created a new think tank, the Foreign Policy Initiative, which scholars Stephen M. Walt and Don Abelson have characterized as a successor to PNAC. [2][63] From September 5, 2018, till January 13, 2019, the PNAC homepage went back online without any further explanation. [64]

People associated with the PNAC  
Project directors  
[as listed on the PNAC website:]

William Kristol, Co-founder and Chairman [6]

Robert Kagan, Co-founder [6]

Bruce P. Jackson [6]

Mark Gerson [6]

Randy Scheunemann [6]

Project staff

Other director(s):

Ellen Bork, Deputy Director [6]

Timothy Lehmann, Assistant Director [6]

Other associates:

Senior fellows:

Giselle (formerly Thomas) Donnelly, Senior Fellow[6]

Reuel Marc Gerecht, Senior Fellow[6]

Gary Schmitt, Senior Fellow[6][65]

Research associates:

Michael Goldfarb, Research Associate[6]

Comptroller:

Dov Zakheim[6], Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) (2001-2004)

Former directors and staff

John R. Bolton, Director, former Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs (2001-2005) and United States Ambassador to the United Nations (2005-2006), former National Security Advisor of the United States (2018-2019), former senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI)

Daniel McKivergan, Deputy Director[66]

Christopher Maletz, former Assistant Director

Richard N. Perle, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Global Strategic Affairs under the Reagan administration, an AEI associate, and member (and former chairman) of the Defense Policy Board

Signatories to Statement of Principles

Elliott Abrams[5], National Security Advisor (2005-2009)

Gary Bauer[5]

William J. Bennett[5]

John Ellis "Jeb" Bush[5], Governor of Florida (1999-2007)

Dick Cheney[5], Vice President of the United States (2001-2009)

Eliot A. Cohen[5], Counselor of State Department (2007-2009)

Midge Decter[5]

Paula Dobriansky[5], Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs (2001-2009)

Steve Forbes[5]

Aaron Friedberg[5]

Francis Fukuyama[5]

Frank Gaffney[5]

Fred C. Ikle[5]

Donald Kagan[5]

Zalmay Khalilzad[5], Ambassador to Afghanistan (2003-2005), Ambassador to Iraq (2005-2007), Ambassador to United Nations (2007-2009)

I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby[5], Chief of Staff to Vice President (2001-2005)

Norman Podhoretz[5]

J. Danforth Quayle[5]

Peter W. Rodman[5]

Stephen P. Rosen[5]

Henry S. Rowen[5]

Donald Rumsfeld[5], Secretary of Defense (2001-2006)

Vin Weber[5]

George Weigel[5]

Paul Wolfowitz[5], Deputy Secretary of Defense (2001-2005)

See also

American Century

American Imperialism

Liberal internationalism

Wilsonianism

Center for a New American Security

Committee on the Present Danger

Committee for the Liberation of Iraq

A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm

Restore our Alienated Rights

Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR) was an organization formed in Boston, Massachusetts by Louise Day Hicks in 1974.[1] Opposed to desegregation busing of Boston's public school students, the group protested the federally-mandated order to integrate Boston Public Schools by staging formal, sometimes violent protests. It remained active from 1974 until 1976.[2]

Background Information

Many citizens felt the racial imbalance in Boston needed to be improved. The African-Americans of Boston had been fighting for equality in black and white public schools for decades before the creation of the Racial

Imbalance Act or the formation of ROAR. Due to the inherent segregation within Boston, many schools were composed of either majority white or majority black students. This led to the white schools receiving more funding per student and having newer educational resources while black schools were receiving statistically much less funding and were typically of inferior quality than schools in primarily white districts. There was apparent segregation which occurred by chance legally. This form of segregation, known as "de facto" segregation, was not intentional. Rather, it occurred by circumstance.[3]

One of the members of the Boston School Committee, Louise Day Hicks, was to become the founder of ROAR. The committee itself denied any accusations of inequity amongst white and black students. Hicks spoke outwardly against the desegregation of schools. The NAACP was not willing to let this segregation continue and filed a lawsuit against the Boston School Committee; this was the beginning of the *Tallulah Morgan v. James Hennigan* case which would eventually bring about forced busing. On June 21, 1974, Judge Garrity ruled that the Committee was to create a plan to desegregate their schools. When the committee failed to provide such an idea, the federal court became involved. By federal decision, students were to be bused to schools in different districts to decrease the level of unequal education students were receiving.[3]

Those who opposed the forced busing, which happened to be the majority of whites, especially mothers, in Boston, retaliated with protests. They eventually organized to create ROAR. While some of their concerns were legitimate, the organization was ultimately pro-segregation of schools. Not all members were definitive racists, but there was a connection between the group and racism as some of the members spoke outwardly against blacks.[3] Initially a small group of females, they quickly gained local popularity as many locals shared their opinions. The act of forced busing was seen as a populist movement that potentially threatened the traditional values that the women of ROAR held.[2] The fusing of mainly African-American and white districts could dissipate the borders between two very different neighborhoods that held different values, leading to certain groups feeling alienated.[4]

#### Founding

Louise Day-Hicks created "Save Boston Committee" in February 1974 with an agenda to restore "the custodial rights of parents over their children".[5] She believed it was unfair for the government to force all public schools to desegregate, claiming it was neither a viable nor a beneficial way to improve American society and education. The group was later renamed ROAR to oppose the Racial Imbalance Act in 1974. The busing change in their eyes was "a total disaster".[6] Hicks changed the name by the summer to ROAR. She used her position as a mother to rally others into her cause, arguing that the government needed to take a different approach if they wanted a stable nation. Some Americans, namely white mothers believed they were righteous in their cause and that they just wanted to keep the school environment running properly as much as possible.

#### Purpose

The group's purpose was to fight off U.S. Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity's court order requiring the city of Boston to implement desegregation busing — an order intended to eliminate de facto racial segregation in its public schools. To supporters, ROAR's purpose was its namesake; i.e., to protect the "vanishing rights" of white citizens. To its many opponents, however, ROAR was a symbol of mass racism coalesced into a single organization. ROAR was composed primarily of women, and its leaders argued that "the issue of forced busing is a women's issue." [7]

On April 3, 1974, the committee organized a 20,000 person march from Boston City Hall Plaza to the State House.[7] On March 19, 1975, 1,200 ROAR members marched in Washington DC to generate national support for their cause.[8]

#### Notable members

Louise Day Hicks, the founder of the organization, firmly opposed the racial integration of schools in Boston for ten years beforehand.[9] Her office served as the headquarters for ROAR, she led a majority of protests, and she responded to all letters addressed to ROAR.[10] Once a fight between Hicks and fellow member Pixie Palladino broke out, members' trust in Hicks began to diminish.

Palladino was considered to be more radical than Hicks.[10] In January 1975, Palladino and eighty ROAR women stormed into a governor's commission on the status of women, dressed in "Stop Forced Busing" T-shirts.[11] On March 10, 1976, Palladino began to create her own group, "United ROAR", which catered to beliefs that were more moderate than those of Hicks.[10]

Fran Johnnene was one of ROAR's most influential members. Johnnene was mostly responsible for holding meetings at her house in Hyde Park, rounding up neighbors and community members.[12] Johnnene was also involved with the less radical anti-busing group, the Massachusetts Citizens Against Forced Busing, in February 1974. Towards the end of 1975, Johnnene left ROAR due to the increased radicalism.[10]

A majority of the group's members were white Boston housewives, known as "militant mothers." [7]

#### Activities

There were instances of both violent and peaceful protest from the organization ROAR. During a protest, a wooden bus was burned as a representation of the forced busing policy (Powell). There were also occasions on which school children and parents alike pelted the buses coming from predominantly African-American areas (Gellerman). Protester signs often displayed racial slurs such as, 'Nigger Go Home,' and depicted monkeys (Gellerman). On December 11, 1974, at South Boston High, Michael Faith, a white student was stabbed by a black student by the name of James White. Hicks, present at the scene, attempted to calm the crowd, most of which belonging in ROAR. At that time, she prioritized the black students' safety on their way back home.

However, members also protested in peaceful ways. For example, in the time immediately following the desegregation, majority of white children did not attend school in both the formerly African-American schools and historically white schools (Gellerman). They reenacted the Boston Massacre to symbolize their empathy with the oppressed inhabitants of colonial America (Lukas). On April 3, 1974, over 20,000 ROAR protesters marched on the State House to show their distaste for desegregation busing.[2] On March 19, 1975, 1,200 members of ROAR marched on Washington DC to gain national recognition for their cause and possibly an amendment placed into the constitution that would make desegregation busing illegal .[8]

#### Societal Response

By the year 1975, ROAR shifts its focus from busing to feminine issues, including participating in the signing for the year 1975 to be known as "International Women's Year." At that point, the forced busing act was seen more as an attack on women, specifically mothers. ROAR however remained ignored by the government, but continued to protest fervently. Though the media particularly the Boston Globe, often portrayed the group as racist, ROAR leader Virginia Sheehy states that their issues are mainly class-based. Sheehy argued by stating that she initially worked alongside black women in the Home and School Association prior to the forced busing issue. On the other hand, The Real Paper, a local newspaper company stated that the ROAR group is truly fighting for their traditional values. Overall, ROAR helped to consolidate the conservatism movement in the following year.[2]

#### See also

- Civil Rights Movement
- Desegregation busing in the United States
- Boston busing crisis
- Louise Day Hicks

#### Draft Goldwater Committee

The Draft Goldwater Committee was the organization primarily responsible for engineering the nomination of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater for President of the United States on the 1964 Republican Party ticket.

#### Beginnings

The effort to draft Goldwater and to secure his nomination began with a secret meeting at a Chicago motel on October 8, 1961. F. Clifton White, a longtime party activist and official from Upstate New York, discussed the possibility of a Goldwater campaign with twenty-two activists, most of them members of Young

Republican organizations throughout the U.S. A December meeting (this one attended by Governor Tim Babcock of Montana) determined to divide the country into nine regions for organizing, and to raise sufficient funds to open a national office.[1]

The movement grew to a full-time operation with a Manhattan office opened in the spring of 1962; its address in the Chanin Building gave Clif White the title of his account of the Goldwater campaign, Suite 3505.[2] As the committee's efforts continued throughout 1962, the national press learned of and reported on a meeting that December. White met with Goldwater in January 1963 to discuss their activities; "Goldwater, annoyed by the publicity, chilled White but did not repudiate him outright," wrote journalist Theodore H. White in his *Making of the President 1964*. [3]

#### Going public

By February 1963, the organization had grown to hundreds of operatives and activists, and its executive committee decided to go public, with the formation of the National Draft Goldwater Committee, headed by Peter O'Donnell, Jr., then chairman of the Texas Republican Party. He soon brought aboard Wirt Yerger, first modern chairman of the Mississippi Republican Party. The first public event was a July 4 rally at the District of Columbia Armory. Dozens of busloads (including 43 from New York State alone) helped deliver a crowd of 7,000 for the event (Goldwater himself did not attend).[4]

In the coming months, Goldwater continued to keep his distance from White's volunteer organization, but brought attorney Denison Kitchel to Washington to oversee his campaign operations, ostensibly for his scheduled Senate re-election in 1964. By November 1963, it was seen as certain by White, Kitchel and others that Goldwater would run—and then came Kennedy's assassination in Dallas. The hoped-for contrast between the liberal Easterner Kennedy and the conservative Westerner Goldwater was now lost; the Arizonan would be facing a Texan whose ideology was far less obvious than Kennedy's. Moreover, would the country be prepared to have three different men as President in just 14 months?[5]

Pressed by Senate colleagues and GOP organizational allies, Goldwater dithered through December, and on January 3, 1964, declared his candidacy for President.[6]

#### Primaries

In the coming months, White's operation (now with a full-time Washington headquarters at 1025 Connecticut Ave. NW) locked up commitments and delegates in state after state. They were surprised when Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., won a write-in campaign in the New Hampshire presidential primary, and followed with wins in New Jersey and his native Massachusetts. However, Lodge tired of campaigning and withdrew his candidacy. In the meantime, Goldwater won primaries in Illinois, Texas, Indiana and Nebraska.

By this time, Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York emerged as the strongest moderate challenger, and he won primaries in West Virginia and Oregon, while Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania and Governor Jim Rhodes of Ohio won favorite-son contests and controlled their states' large delegations.

The final showdown came in California on June 2: Rockefeller's bottomless campaign funding against the Draft Goldwater organizers. Goldwater triumphed, 51% to 49%, and under the winner-take-all rules of the time, he received the entire 86-strong California delegation.

#### Nomination

The result was an easy first-ballot nomination victory for Goldwater, who captured 883 votes, to 214 for Scranton and 114 for Rockefeller.

In all, the Draft Goldwater effort resulted in Goldwater taking 2,267,079 (38.33%) of the primary vote, compared to 1,304,204 (22.05%) for Rockefeller; no other competitor topped 11%. But this actually understates the Arizonan's advantage; at this time, dozens of state Republican parties selected their

delegates in conventions and caucuses, and this is where the Draft Goldwater Committee held its main advantage.

#### Election defeat

White and the organizers of the Draft Goldwater Committee were largely shut out of the fall campaign, shunted aside to the Citizens for Goldwater-Miller Committee. Goldwater was defeated that November by Johnson in an epic landslide.

#### Belle Haven Consultants

In 1997, The Heritage Foundation's president Edwin Feulner and Heritage's Asian policy expert Ken Sheffer formed a for-profit entity, Belle Haven Consultants. Feulner's wife, Linda Feulner, later took his place as a partner until 2001, when she became a paid senior adviser in the firm.

Belle Haven, the Heritage Foundation, and the Alexander Strategy Group (ASG) shared the same office, Suite 401 of the Baskerville House office building, in Central Hong Kong. Belle Haven was a subcontractor, then was purchased by ASG partner Edward Stewart (co-owner with long-time associate Beth Allison Cave); was a client of ASG's lobbying business. (ASG closed in 2006 because of the Jack Abramoff scandal.)

By the end of 2001, Belle Haven had hired ASG for help "promoting and advocating Malaysia's positive investment climate and business opportunities" in connection with a company called PK Baru Energy. A new group called the US-Malaysia Exchange Association also hired ASG for support "enhancing the bilateral relationship between Malaysia and the US." Megat Junid, an associate of then-prime minister Mahathir Mohammed, said in a 2004 interview that he organized Malaysia Exchange after talks with Edwin Feulner.

In 2001, House majority leader Tom DeLay and three other congressmen traveled to Malaysia with their spouses on a trip officially sponsored by Heritage. Heritage senior fellow and former U.S. Senator Malcolm Wallop, who went on the trip, told Time magazine that Belle Haven's financial involvement was more important to the trip than Heritage's. In the following months, more congressmen made their way to Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia and senior Malaysian officials began beating a path to Washington, an interchange that climaxed with Mahathir visiting the White House in May 2002, which was his first state visit in eight years. Though in past years Heritage had been publicly critical of Mahathir, Feulner hosted a dinner reception on that visit to honor the prime minister.

According to US Senate records, Belle Haven paid ASG at least \$620,000 between September 2001 and January 2006. Belle Haven also hired three other Washington lobbying firms, including the Western Strategy Group, run by Wallop, and the Harbour Group, around the same time, to support its Malaysian campaign, paying them a total of \$780,000.

## G2-250k-range

### Doctors for Disaster Preparedness

Doctors for Disaster Preparedness (DDP) is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization located in Tucson, Arizona.[1] The group is closely affiliated with the American Association of Physicians and Surgeons, a politically conservative nonprofit association advocating numerous discredited hypotheses including AIDS denialism.[2] It is run by Arizona physician Jane Orient.[3]

According to Bloomberg News, the group was "founded to promote civil defense during the Cold War", and has been "transformed over the years into a forum" on "fringe-science topics" such as global warming denial.[3] DDP was described by The Guardian as a "fringe political group" and as a "truly bizarre lobby group".[2] It promotes the denialist view that man-made global warming is not real or not an important concern.[2]

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- 1 Affiliations
- 2 Petr Beckmann Award
- 3 Annual meetings
- 4 Political views
- 5 Funding
- 6 References

### Affiliations

Doctors for Disaster Preparedness share the same address with AAPS.[1][2][4]

DDP President Jane Orient is also the Executive Director of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons (AAPS).[5][6]

DDP Vice-President Arthur B. Robinson is also the President of the Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine (OISM).[5][7]

### Petr Beckmann Award

The Petr Beckmann Award for courage and achievement in defense of scientific truth and freedom is awarded at the annual meeting of the Doctors for Disaster Preparedness. The award is named for Petr Beckmann, an electrical engineer and libertarian who challenged Albert Einstein's theory of relativity.[8] The Guardian described the Beckmann Award as "handed out by obscure rightwing lobbyists".[8] The following people have received this award:

1995 - Jane Orient[9]

1996 - Robert Jastrow[10]

1997 - Sallie Baliunas[11]

1998 - Arthur B. Robinson[12]

2000 - S. Fred Singer[13]

2003 - Sherwood B. Idso[14]

2004 - Willie Soon[15]

2012 - Marc Morano

Especially Morano's selection was criticized in The Guardian, as Morano had previously republished the email address of a climate scientist who had received death threats. Morano wrote of climate scientists: "I seriously believe we should kick them while they're down. They deserve to be publicly flogged." [8]

### Annual meetings

In August 2015 the group held its 33rd annual meeting. While attacks on mainstream climate science are "a staple", the meeting provides a forum to a "broad" range of material. Presentations at the 2015 meeting included a theory about links between John F. Kennedy's assassination and the deaths of his brother and son; a prediction that the aim of Obamacare was to cause the collapse the U.S. health-care system and a recommendation "that the audience start stockpiling medications and finding doctors who would work for cash"; a sympathetic discussion of the theory that low doses of radiation are "beneficial to human health"; and an argument that the HIV virus does not cause AIDS, but instead was invented by government scientists who wanted to cover up other health risks of "the lifestyle of homosexual men." [3] The meeting was covered by conservative website Breitbart, attended by George Gilder, and the conservative Heartland Institute sent its science director to present his plan to abolish the Environmental Protection Agency.[3]

### Political views

Doctors for Disaster Preparedness President Jane Orient has asserted that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports are unreliable and that relevant data was "hidden, locked in the clutches of the elite few" because the data would "decisively disproves their computer models and shows that their draconian emission controls are based on nothing except a lust for power, control and profit." [16]



After the nuclear accident at Fukushima, Orient argued in the John Birch Society publication The New American that concerns about the disaster were exaggerated and the accident should not deter the United State from using nuclear power.[17]

After a reported increase in fallout-shelter construction since the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, she was quoted as saying, "They're treating me less like a crazy woman than they did before." [18]

#### Funding

Computer scientist and hedge fund manager Robert Mercer has been a donor to DDP.[3]

Founded 1984

Type 501(c)(3)

Tax ID no.

592414338

Focus Disaster Preparedness

Location

Tucson, Arizona

Key people

Jane M. Orient, President

Arthur B. Robinson, Vice-President

Revenue

\$58,633

Website [www.ddponline.org](http://www.ddponline.org)

#### Family Research institute

The Family Research Institute (FRI), originally known as the Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality (ISIS), is an American socially conservative non-profit organization based in Colorado Springs, Colorado which states that it has "...one overriding mission: to generate empirical research on issues that threaten the traditional family, particularly homosexuality, AIDS, sexual social policy, and drug abuse". [2] The FRI is part of a sociopolitical movement of socially conservative Christian organizations which seek to influence the political debate in the United States. They seek "...to restore a world where marriage is upheld and honored, where children are nurtured and protected, and where homosexuality is not taught and accepted, but instead is discouraged and rejected at every level." [2] The Boston Globe reported that the FRI's 2005 budget was less than \$200,000. [3][quantify]

The FRI is led by Paul Cameron, who received a doctorate in psychology from the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1966. Cameron founded the Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality in 1982, and this institute later became the FRI. [3]

The Family Research Institute has been designated an anti-gay hate group [4] by the Southern Poverty Law Center since 2006 [5] [6] because of Cameron's discredited research and claims about LGBT people. [7] [8] [9] [10] [11]

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#### History

##### Founding

FRI (known then as ISIS) was founded in 1982 in Lincoln, Nebraska by psychologist Paul Cameron. [12] In 1980, a local organization, the Lincoln Legion of Lesbians, had asked the Lincoln city government to outlaw discrimination based on sexual orientation. [13] Cameron was vehemently opposed to legal protections for gay people, and presented his opposition as grounded in his psychological research. [14] The opposition organization he formed was successful not only in defeating the proposed law, but in quickly becoming a major part of the nationwide anti-LGBT movement. [15]

##### AIDS epidemic

Sociologist Sara Diamond of UC Berkeley states that the AIDS epidemic gave FRI a chance to oppose gay rights using "fear-mongering pseudoscience" before accurate scientific understanding of AIDS could be communicated to the public. [16] Among other proposals, FRI advocated limiting AIDS by imprisoning "sexually active homosexuals" in concentration camps. [12]

The organization's name was changed to the current one in 1987. [16] It moved to Colorado Springs in 1992. [12]

## Reactions

In 1984, the Nebraska Psychological Association adopted a resolution stating that it "formally disassociates itself from the representations and interpretations of scientific literature offered by Dr. Paul Cameron in his writings and public statements on sexuality."<sup>[3]</sup>

In 1986 the American Sociological Association (ASA) passed a resolution condemning Cameron for "consistent misrepresentation of sociological research"<sup>[17]</sup> based on a report from the ASA's Committee on the Status of Homosexuals in Sociology, which summarized Cameron's inflammatory statements and commented, "It does not take great analytical abilities to suspect from even a cursory review of Cameron's writings that his claims have almost nothing to do with social science and that social science is used only to cover over another agenda. Very little of his work could find support from even a bad misreading of genuine social science investigation on the subject and some sociologists, such as Alan Bell, have been 'appalled' at the abuse of their work."<sup>[18]</sup> In 1996, the Board of Directors of the Canadian Psychological Association approved a position statement disassociating the organization from Cameron's work on sexuality, stating that he had "consistently misinterpreted and misrepresented research on sexuality, homosexuality, and lesbianism."<sup>[19]</sup>

Herek and others have also said that the FRI's research has been published in Psychological Reports. The Boston Globe says that the small journal charges authors to publish their studies, and that it has a non-standard peer-reviewing policy. Herek says that it has a "low rejection rate" and that Cameron's research "would have been rejected by more prestigious scientific journals"<sup>[20]</sup>

## Decline

The anti-LGBT religious right began to distance itself from FRI and Cameron in the mid-1990s. His acrimonious attacks on gays and lesbians were backfiring, according to journalist Wayne Besen; his attacks were responsible for a growing impression that Christianity was intolerant, and his claims appeared further removed from the truth as public understanding of AIDS grew. Focus on the Family denounced FRI, and moved on to associate itself with other pseudoscientific claims, such as conversion therapy, instead.<sup>[21]</sup> However, FRI's claims are still cited in politics as of 2020.<sup>[22]</sup>

## Hate group designation

The Southern Poverty Law Center has listed FRI as an anti-gay hate group<sup>[4]</sup> because of Cameron's discredited research<sup>[8][9]</sup> and claims about LGBT people. According to the SPLC, Cameron's "continued demonization of LGBT people and the shoddy and suspect research methods he uses to advance his claims have earned his Family Research Institute (FRI) a place on the SPLC's anti-LGBT hate group list."<sup>[10]</sup>

According to political scientist Barry J. Balleck, FRI continues to publish "pseudoscientific studies" as of 2019 that, Balleck says, "remain central to anti-LGBT groups on the extreme right of the political spectrum."<sup>[12]</sup> Organizations that cite FRI's pseudoscientific research include the American Family Association, Coral Ridge Ministries, Concerned Women for America, Americans for Truth About Homosexuality, the Family Research Council. The Illinois Family Institute has also cited FRI's research, but no longer does.<sup>[11][23]</sup>

## See also

List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as anti-gay hate groups

## Accuracy in Academia

Accuracy in Academia (AIA) is an American organization that seeks to counter what it sees as liberal bias in education.

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## Mission

AIA describes itself as a nonprofit watchdog group<sup>[2]</sup> and think tank that "want[s] schools to return to their traditional mission-the quest for truth".<sup>[3]</sup> The AIA claims to promote academic freedom and is particularly critical of what it describes as a left-wing bias in American academia.<sup>[4]</sup> The AIA characterizes such bias as liberal or communist "indoctrination", and aims to stand up for the rights of politically conservative students and faculty.

## History

The AIA was founded in 1985 by columnist and former Federal Reserve economist Reed Irvine as an outgrowth of Accuracy in Media.

The AIA is run by executive director Malcolm Kline.[3] Its previous executive director, Daniel J. Flynn, was the author of the book *Why the Left Hates America*.

The group was criticized by prominent conservative and first Secretary of Education, William Bennett, who described AIA as "a bad idea" at the time of its founding in 1986.[5]

#### Reception

In 1985 the American Association of University Professors claimed that the AIA is a threat to academic freedom due to the group's efforts to recruit students to report professors alleged to "disseminate misinformation".[6] Some have described the AIA as a "useful irritant".[7]

#### MassResistance

MassResistance is an activist group which promotes anti-LGBT and socially conservative positions. The group is designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center,[4] in part for claims linking LGBT people with pedophilia and zoophilia, and claims that suicide prevention programs aimed at gay youth were created by homosexual activists to normalize and "lure" children into homosexuality.[3][5][6]

MassResistance says it "provides the information and guidance people need to confront assaults on the traditional family, school children, and the moral foundation of society".[7] The groups activism takes several forms, including promoting its views via its website, blog, email, lobbying, and voters' guides.[8][9][10][11][12] It has also provided support for anti-gay activism in foreign countries such as Taiwan and Australia.[13][14]

MassResistance was founded by Brian Camenker in 1995 as the Parents' Rights Coalition, and in 2003 it changed its name to Article 8 Alliance. It adopted its current name, MassResistance, in 2006.[3][15]

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#### History

Brian Camenker, a conservative activist in Massachusetts, founded Parents' Rights Coalition in 1995. The name was changed to Article 8 Alliance in 2003 and then to its current name, MassResistance, in 2006. The organization is based in Waltham, Massachusetts.[3] Camenker, a resident of Newton, Massachusetts, has also participated in local politics and was the president of the Newton Taxpayers Association.[16]

#### Origins

Camenker's vocal opposition to "the homosexual agenda" began in 1992, when his neighbor showed him a teaching guide that contained what he characterized as "disgusting descriptions of gay sex".[17] Camenker was one of several parents who expressed concern to the Newton school committee about a pamphlet provided to teachers for use as background material at Newton's Day Junior High School. The pamphlet listed graphic tips on subjects including safe sex for lesbians.[18] A short while later, Camenker founded a conservative organization, Newton Citizens for Public Education (NCPE), which opposed a controversial ninth-grade sex education program in Newton. Camenker was accused by state Board of Education chairman, Martin Kaplan, of having ties with Christian right organizations.[19] Following a vote by the Board of Education which recommended support groups for LGBT students, Camenker expressed concern about harassment of gay students, but stated that direction being taken would "cause more acrimony rather than less". He added, "People should view gays as friends, as Americans, rather than as someone who's different than them".[20][21]

#### Parents' Rights Coalition

Camenker formed the Parents' Rights Coalition on May 8, 1995.[3][22] That same year, Camenker, heading the Massachusetts Interfaith Coalition,[23] sponsored a bill in Massachusetts requiring school officials to notify parents about sex-education courses. The bill, if passed, would give parents the option to remove their children from those

classes.[24][25]

MassResistance has promoted its platform through media appearances and lobbying for laws related to parental rights in public schools. The bills that have been submitted on behalf of MassResistance in the past several years have been consistently rejected by the Joint Judiciary Committee.[26][27]

Parents' Rights Coalition opposed a Massachusetts public school teacher reading of King & King, a fairy tale involving two married men, to kindergartners. In 2006, they alleged that the school violated a law requiring the school to inform parents of all sex-ed-related material.[28] The lawsuit has since been thrown out of Federal Court.[26]

#### Hate group designation

Since March 2008, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has listed MassResistance as an active anti-gay hate group.[3][6][29]

In 1996 MassResistance's leader, Brian Camenker claimed that suicide prevention programs aimed at gay youth actually were "put together by homosexual activists to normalize homosexuality". MassResistance also asserted that groups such as the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), which support school anti-bullying programs, actually want to "lure children into homosexuality and, very possibly, sadomasochism".[3]

MassResistance has also insisted that gays were "trying to get legislation passed to allow sex with animals", later adding, "They [gays and lesbians] are pushing perversion on our kids".[3]

MassResistance has claimed that "gays are dangerous to kids", and have made comments regarding "skyrocketing homosexual domestic violence"[3][30] and called a gay pride event a "depraved" display that featured "a great deal of obviously disturbed, dysfunctional, and extremely self-centered people whose aim was to push their agenda".[3]

#### Political involvement

In March 2012, MassResistance president Brian Camenker[31][32][33] and the anti-gay organization, Jews and Christians Together, jointly made a series of pre-recorded telephone calls endorsing U.S. Presidential candidate Rick Santorum and opposing U.S. Presidential candidate Mitt Romney for the Ohio "Super-Tuesday" Republican primary.[34][35][36][37][38][39]

A few days after the calls were broadcast, MassResistance's website stated: "As the 2012 presidential primary races are heating up, MassResistance is being called on to expose an important issue that the mainstream media (even Fox News) won't talk about. Millions of emails and robo-calls with MassResistance's information went to voters in key states leading up to Super Tuesday, which likely made a difference, say activists".[36]

#### Criticism of FBI and CIA

In 2012 MassResistance publicly criticized the FBI and CIA for "embracing the homosexual movement". Camenker is critical of the FBI's LGBT program promoted on the FBI's careers website, as well as their involvement with the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and the CIA's Agency Network of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Employees and Allies (ANGLE).[40][41][42][43]

According to MassResistance, the FBI actively recruits homosexual and transgender employees and agents. MassResistance is especially critical of the FBI's "outrageous" official partnership with the SPLC.[40][42]

#### Positions

MassResistance has maintained conservative social positions on "hot-button" issues such as abortion, assisted suicide, homosexual and transgender rights, gun control, marriage, and other issues.[44] The group monitors changes to LGBT rights legislation in countries as far away as Australia, but focuses most of its efforts on the United States, and especially in Massachusetts.[8][12][45]

#### Abortion

MassResistance has expressed strong opposing views about Mitt Romney for his moderate policies on abortion.[10] During Romney's term as governor of Massachusetts, MassResistance criticized him for his stance on abortion, referring to him as "probably the most pro-abortion and pro-gay rights Republican official in the nation for the last decade".[17][44]

In 2012 MassResistance opposed the nomination of Kenneth Salinger to the Massachusetts Superior Court by Governor Deval Patrick, citing Salinger's activist agenda and financial contributions to MoveOn.org and "pro-abortion" group EMILY's List.[11] MassResistance gave a presentation at a conference hosted by Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum. Camenker spoke to U.S. Representative Todd Akin during the conference, and reflected later on how he "gets it" and how thrilled he was to meet and speak "with a smart, principled, pro-life, pro-family Congressman". After Todd Akin's televised interview in August 2012 in which he claimed that women victims of what he described as "legitimate rape" rarely experience pregnancy from rape and the ensuing backlash, MassResistance commented that "Todd Akin misspoke during a lengthy interview and then apologized and clarified his statement. Given his record, that should be the end of it".[46]

## Same-sex marriage

Main article: Same-sex marriage in Massachusetts

MassResistance has always maintained staunch opposition to same-sex marriage.[10] In its booklet, *What same-sex 'marriage' has done to Massachusetts*, Camenker characterizes acceptance of same-sex marriage as "a hammer to force the acceptance and normalization of homosexuality on everyone". The organization objects to schools teaching children that same-sex marriages are a normal part of society. They cite "radical" activist judges and "cowardly" politicians as factors in the increasing acceptance of same-sex marriage, and warn the public to fight back.[47][48]

Massachusetts has permitted same-sex marriage since 2004, and MassResistance has continued to oppose it through political activism. In October 2008, MassResistance mounted a petition campaign for a ballot referendum to reinstate a recently repealed 1913 law to deny Massachusetts marriage licenses to same-sex couples who reside in states that do not recognize same-sex marriage.[49] It failed to gather a sufficient number of signatures.[50]

## Anti-bullying

MassResistance has voiced objections to anti-bullying efforts in Massachusetts, including anti-bullying legislation, in part because of concern that it could "silence criticism of the gay movement".[51] They criticized Mitt Romney's support of the Massachusetts Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth.[52][51] MassResistance has characterized efforts to prevent bullying as "a very aggressive, fascist-type movement".[53][54][55]

According to MassResistance, the "homosexual anti-bullying agenda" is exploiting the legitimate problem of school bullying, with the aim of pushing "homosexual-normalization propaganda" at children.[55]

Testifying at a Joint Committee on Education hearing in 2009 which was considering nearly a dozen bills that would address bullying, Brian Camenker of MassResistance "claimed supporters had been brought in by 'special-interest groups' with a gay-rights agenda".[56] In its written testimony, MassResistance stated that it had filed bill H.1059 in the Massachusetts Legislature[*further explanation needed*] to repeal the anti-bullying law that the commission was addressing. The testimony suggested adopting a student-run approach to anti-bullying in schools, and concluded that the anti-bullying law was onerous and costly, and should be repealed in favor of a top-down, school-directed solution. It went on to say that homosexual activist groups were behind the law and that the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) had diverged from its role of fighting anti-Semitism.[57][*clarification needed*]

## Transgender identity and rights

On Nov. 6, 2018, Massachusetts voters preserved an existing nondiscrimination law that protects the right of people to access public accommodations based on the gender with which they identify. MassResistance had campaigned unsuccessfully to strike down the law. The organization posted an article several days later criticizing the campaign efforts. MassResistance claimed that there is "no basis whatsoever" to use "civil rights" language to protect transgender people; that transgender identity is "bizarre and delusional" and is "a mental disorder and a destructive ideology"; that the belief that "men" can "become women" is "absurd," and that transgender women are "mentally dysfunctional men wearing dresses" who are not "actual women"; and that the nondiscrimination law is "an Orwellian mandate." [58]

## Activities

### Fistgate

In 2000 members of the Parents' Rights Coalition attended a statewide conference, called "Teach-Out", that was sponsored by the Massachusetts Department of Education, the Governor's Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth, and the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network, held at Tufts University.

One student asked about fisting and was provided with an explanation.[59] MassResistance dubbed the incident "Fistgate" after one of its members "secretly recorded the workshop".[60][61] A state employee who participated in the discussion filed suit against Camenker and Scott Whiteman as a result of the distribution of the tape recordings.[62] According to Bay Windows, a "Massachusetts Superior Court judge ruled that the tape was illegally acquired and therefore an invasion of privacy against those individuals present, who were never told they were being recorded." [63] Greg Carmack suggested that the question might have been planted by those making the recordings.[64]

In October 2008, MassResistance employee Michael Olivio was arrested for disorderly conduct at a school after parents became concerned about his taking many pictures of their children.[65] When questioned by police, he explained that he was filming footage for a documentary, but mistook an elementary school for a high school. When asked by police to leave, Olivio began to "act erratically"; he "ran through yards [...] shedding clothing". Camenker supported Olivio's statement that he was working for the MassResistance, but went to the wrong school.[65]

## Criticism of Mitt Romney

Camenker first voiced concerns about Mitt Romney in 1994, when Romney unsuccessfully ran for U.S. Senate on a platform supporting gay rights and abortion rights. According to Camenker, "Romney is a RINO, a Republican In Name Only".[17]

In April 2006, MassResistance tried to pressure Romney into ending a state advisory commission on LGBT youth. Romney instead ordered the commission to focus on suicide prevention among gay and lesbian teens.[66]

In November 2006, Camenker released a 28-page report critical of Romney's sympathetic positions on gay rights and portraying him as a social liberal. The report focused on Romney's term as governor of Massachusetts and his peripheral involvement with social issues such as gay rights and abortion. Camenker wrote that "the biggest problem is that Romney is so clearly and blatantly faking this. He's a fraud", suggesting that Romney was merely pandering to special interests.[44][66]

In January 2007, Romney's campaign issued a press release critical of Camenker for MassResistance's "Mitt Romney Deception" report.[17] Romney's campaign removed the press release from its site, but MassResistance continued to display it on their own site, and they issued their own press release as well.[67] Romney responded in defense of his conservative record as governor that he was "as staunch a defender as anyone in the country" of traditional marriage, and a pro-life position on stem cell research.[66]

Question 3, November 2018

When transgender rights were put on the statewide November 2018 ballot, MassResistance grew dissatisfied with the campaign efforts of Keep MA Safe, the ad-hoc group that wished to revoke existing rights for transgender people. Complaining that Keep MA Safe relied on a "side argument to avoid getting into the real fight," MassResistance started its own parallel campaign one month before the election with what it felt was stronger messaging. MassResistance engaged in "highway standouts, leafletting, and some public debates" with its self-described "admittedly more inflammatory alternative arguments." [68] (Massachusetts voted 68%-32% in favor of transgender rights.)

Founded May 8, 1995

Founder Brian Camenker

Type Political activist

Tax ID no.

04-3271722 (EIN)

Location

Waltham, Massachusetts

Key people

Brian Camenker, President

Revenue

\$137,953 (2010)[1]

Website massresistance.org

Formerly called

Parents' Rights Coalition[2]

Article 8 Alliance[3]Cornerstone Policy Research

Cornerstone Policy Research

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Jump to navigationJump to search

Cornerstone Policy Research

Cornerstone Action

Cornerstone Policy Research logo, 2010.png

Cornerstone Action logo, 2010.png

Abbreviation CPR

Motto Working to Protect New Hampshire Families

Formation2000

Type Public policy think tank

Location

Concord, New Hampshire

Executive Director

Kevin H. Smith

Revenue (2015)

\$56,667[1]

Expenses (2015) \$57,813[1]

Website www.nhcornerstone.org

www.cpraction.org

Cornerstone Policy Research and its legislative action arm Cornerstone Action are a conservative think tank headquartered and primarily active in the U.S. state of New Hampshire. The organization describes itself as "dedicated to the preservation of strong families, limited government and free markets".[2] It is a Family Policy Council, the state affiliate of Focus on the Family for New Hampshire.[3]

CPR was founded by Karen Testerman, the organization's first Executive Director,[4] Shannon McGinley, current chairwoman of the board,[5] and others in 2000. Kevin H. Smith, a former New Hampshire state legislator, became the second Executive Director in 2009[4] and resigned to pursue public office in October 2011.[6][7] As of February 2012 the Cornerstone web site lists Wendy P. Warcholik as the organization's Executive Director.

In addition to the Executive Directors in recent years Ellen Kolb, the organization's legislative policy director,[8] has

spoken for CPR and Cornerstone Action.

The organization has sponsored a number of events in New Hampshire such as a 2004 award ceremony for New Hampshire's Longest Marriage, a 2005 event honoring pro-life state lawmakers,[9] a state conservative summit at the New Hampshire Institute of Politics in 2009[10] and a debate amongst the Republican Primary candidates for the U.S. Senate seat in 2010. CPR holds an annual dinner event as well.

Fergus Cullen, a former director of the New Hampshire Republican Party, referred to Cornerstone Action as "New Hampshire's best-organized advocacy group on the right".[11]

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#### Political issues

In 2004 then-Executive-Director Karen Testerman wrote in an article entitled "Promiscuous Plague" that sexually transmitted diseases are "encouraged by a message of 'safe sex' and an adult population that acts as if self-control and traditional morality are outdated and without value." [12]

Karen Testerman spoke against civil unions in New Hampshire, calling gays and lesbians a "special interest group." [13] She indicated that due to the incidence of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases amongst the gay population civil unions "could promote the acceptance of a behavior that is jeopardizing the health of our children." She went on to say, "Multiple partners when you're doing something unnatural — it's just not good." [14] In 2009 CPR under Kevin Smith worked in opposition to the legalization of same-sex marriage in New Hampshire. [15] efforts which included telephoning thousands of constituents in key districts. [16] Cornerstone opposed a New Hampshire bill that would have extended anti-discrimination protections to transgender individuals. [17]

In 2009 CPR urged the New Hampshire Department of Education to adopt a resolution for the removal of controversial federal Assistant Deputy Secretary of Education Kevin Jennings. Also in 2009, Cornerstone opposed a 2009 bill in the New Hampshire legislature that would have legalized assisted suicide. [18] Ellen Kolb called the bill "a recipe for elder abuse." [19] CPR also opposed the 2009 effort to legalize medical marijuana in New Hampshire. [20] The organization participated in a 2009 protest at one of Barack Obama's "town hall" events on the topic of health care reform. [21][22] In 2010 Kevin Smith asserted that the health insurance mandate of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act is unconstitutional.

In 2010 Kevin Smith spoke in opposition to legislative action in New Hampshire to repeal a law making adultery a criminal offense. After passage of the law CPR sought to amend the repeal measure to specify that adultery was still a civil offense and grounds for divorce. [23]

#### See also

#### United Families International

United Families International (UFI) is a United States nonprofit organization founded in 1978 by Susan Roylance. [1][2] UFI works on an international scale to influence public policy toward "maintaining and strengthening the family". The organization is not affiliated with any religious organizations, governments or political parties. UFI has NGO status with ECOSOC and works to educate United Nations (UN) ambassadors and delegates on family related issues. [6] UFI also operates a website, DefendMarriage.org. [clarification needed][7]

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#### History

United Families International was founded in 1978 by Susan Roylance [1][2] of Washington state and Jan Clark of South Carolina. [8] The group actively promotes what it believes are "traditional family values" internationally, nationally and locally.

UFI under Roylance was actively involved in promoting "traditional family values" at the Beijing Conference in the mid 1990s. Roylance characterized the conference as a "wake up call for those who believe the traditional family unit to be an important basic unit of society". [9]

The organization received ECOSOC accreditation[10]:xxxi and participated in the World Congress of Families II Conference in Switzerland in 1999.[10]:82 UFI has brought its platform to international organizations, including the UN in 2002, at which it joined more than 300 activists in urging diplomats to "reaffirm marriage and promote sexual abstinence among teen-agers." Sharon Slater, UFI's president at the time asked UN diplomats "to ensure that religions are respected and protected in U.N. documents, insofar as they respect the family and the dignity of the human person".[11]

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) designates United Families International as an anti-gay hate group.[12][13][14]

#### Issues

##### Political involvement

UFI, considered by some to be part of the Christian right and a Mormon organization,[9][10] is connected with several politicians in Arizona. Arizona Republican state Representative Andy Biggs is the former policy advisor to UFI and his wife Cindy is the secretary and treasurer of the organization. Republican state Representative Cecil Ash and his wife are also affiliated with the organization.[14][15]

In 2006, UFI contributed \$50,000 in support of Arizona Proposition 107, the Protect Marriage Arizona initiative, a proposed same-sex marriage ban that was ultimately defeated.[16]

##### Homosexuality

In their Guide to Family Issues UFI makes a number of claims about homosexuality, including[17]

"Discrimination on the basis of gender or race is vastly different from discrimination on the basis of sexual practice."

"Pedophilia is widespread among the homosexual community."

"Reputable studies and decades of successful treatment show that homosexual behavior can be changed."

"It is not marriage, but women in marriage, that help to contain and channel the male sexual appetite."

"In fact it is more compassionate to discourage homosexuality than to tolerate it."

#### Cardinal Newman Society

Not to be confused with the Oxford University Newman Society, the Society for the Study of Cardinal Newman, or Newman Centers, the name often used to designate Catholic campus ministry centers at state and other non-Catholic universities.

The Cardinal Newman Society is an American 501(c)(3) tax-exempt, nonprofit organization founded in 1993 whose stated purpose is to promote and defend faithful Catholic education. The organization is guided by Cardinal John Henry Newman's *The Idea of a University* and Pope John Paul II's 1990 Apostolic Constitution *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*. The organization publishes *The Newman Guide to Choosing a Catholic College*. However, it has been criticized for adopting views that Newman would have opposed.

##### Founding

The society was founded in 1993 by Fordham University alumnus Patrick Reilly. After decisions by Fordham to recognize pro-choice and gay student clubs and create a counseling helpline which referred pregnant students to an abortion provider, Reilly used his position as editor of the school paper to express his opinions in defense of Catholic teaching on sexuality and abortion.[1] Reilly launched the society with the help of other recent Catholic university graduates.

The society's leadership included prominent conservative commentator L. Brent Bozell III. It was Bozell, founder and president of the conservative media-watchdog group Media Research Center, who suggested use of direct mail marketing to invigorate the organization at a time when it existed "primarily as letterhead." [2] According to Reilly, "It took a while, but there was such a need, more and more, to engage students and working with alumni and working with faculty and as we went on, it became clear that they were all looking for some kind of national voice to express the concerns that very many faithful Catholics had about the state of Catholic education." [3]

In 1996 the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops invited the Newman Society to advise on guidelines to implement *Ex corde Ecclesiae*. The bishops approved final guidelines in 1999, consistent with the recommendations of the Newman Society.[4][better source needed] In 2006, the Bishops' and Presidents' Committee of the USCCB sent a letter to the ten bishops listed as "ecclesiastical advisers" to the Cardinal Newman Society, calling the organization "often aggressive, inaccurate, or lacking in balance" and its methods "often objectionable in tone and substance." It suggested that the bishops resign from the advisory board. The board was subsequently disbanded.[2]

According to journalist Joe Feuerherd, "[A]s Cardinal Newman rolls over in his recently relocated grave, Reilly uses the cardinal's good name to promote the idea of university as Catholic madrassa...Reilly searches for hot button issues on Catholic campuses... – that will energize their base of donors and activists. Then they highlight these offenses on the Web and through direct mail to generate revenue." [5] The sentiment is echoed by John J. Paris, S.J., professor of bioethics at Boston College and one of the targets of the Society, "I think he is a fraud, a charlatan, and a snake-oil salesman" and of the Society, that its purpose is "whipping up right-wing types to open their checkbooks." [2]

##### Activities

Through the Higher Education program the Society seeks to work directly with college presidents and administrators of



various levels to promote best practices and strengthen Catholic identity and education. However, the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities charges that the group eschews dialogue and "chooses to criticize and make distorted claims against Catholic colleges, oftentimes maligning them in the process".[6] The Society has published research into the effects of implementing a faithful Catholic mission as well as various aspects of Student Life on campus including dorm visitation policies and human sexuality policies.[7]

Through the K-12 Programs the K-12, Society provides resources on hiring for mission, setting clear expectations for teachers in Catholic schools, and encouraging primary and secondary schools to strengthen their Catholic identity.[8] In response to the promulgation of Common Core State Standards, the Newman Society introduced the Catholic is Our Core program exploring the implication of the standards for Catholic schools and their students. Through the Catholic is Our Core program, the Society maintains that the core of a Catholic K-12 education is a strong Catholic identity, and takes a negative view of the Common Core concept which it sees as unnecessary and falling "...short of the Holy See's vision for Catholic education".[9]

They also issue numerous press releases publicizing departures from orthodoxy or tolerance of ideas, activities, and presentations that are not in accordance with Roman Catholic teaching at Catholic colleges and universities. The Society claims credit for the 2011 resignation of Chicago business executive and University of Notre Dame board member, Roxanne Martino, who had donated to EMILY's List and the Chicago Foundation for Women, an organization that addresses domestic violence and economic equality, but has ties to Planned Parenthood. Both university president Rev. John Jenkins and chairman of the university's board of trustees, Richard C. Notebaert, said Martino didn't realize any of the organizations she supported also promoted abortion rights.[10]

In 2012 the Newman Society assumed management of the Catholic High School Honor Roll program from the Acton Institute. The Honor Roll recognizes Catholic high schools across America that have demonstrated excellence in Catholic identity and academics as defined in the Society's publication Principles of Catholic Identity in Education. On the 2014 Honor Roll, seventy-one secondary schools were named Schools of Excellence. In addition to a Certificate of Recognition, the program is a way for recognized schools to increase positive publicity, visibility, enrollment, and donations. There is a \$140 application fee.[11]

The society sponsors conferences and speakers as well as producing Our Catholic Mission and The Renewal Report, the society's newsletters. Its website indicates an emphasis on "researching activities both on campus and in the classroom." The Newman Society launched Center for the Advancement of Catholic Higher Education in 2008 to promote best practices in Catholic higher education.[4] The Center has published research on visitation policies at Catholic universities, Catholic colleges whose websites referred students to pro-abortion organizations and clinics,[citation needed] and sexuality policies on campuses of Catholic universities.

First published in 2007, The Newman Guide to Choosing a Catholic College purports "to show students where they can learn and grow in a genuine Catholic environment without the nonsense that has overtaken even some of the most well-known Catholic universities." [citation needed] The 2014 Guide identified 20 of the 197 Catholic colleges in the United States, as well as seven colleges and universities abroad and online where, in their view, "students can reasonably expect a faithful Catholic education and a campus culture that generally upholds the values taught in their homes and parishes." Not all recommended colleges were currently accredited,[12] and the criteria for recommendation includes whether or not the Tridentine Mass is offered on campus, although a majority of recommended colleges do not offer a weekly Tridentine Mass.[13][14] According to Fr. Robert W. Cook, president of one of the smallest (124 students) and newest Catholic colleges in the country, Wyoming Catholic College in Lander, founded in 2007, "Being listed in The Newman Guide has been extremely helpful in student recruitment and in finding solid and generous benefactors".[6]

The organization partners with conservative groups like The Heritage Foundation to sponsor such events as their joint forum on academic freedom.[15] It has a large presence on the Web, issuing "Catholic Higher Education Alerts" to publicize not only what it considers scandalous programming at universities, but in opposition to the ACA contraceptive mandate, judges it deems activist or with whom it disagrees, and what it perceives as "liberal bias" more generally.[16] The organization has stated that "a Catholic bishop contacted Patrick Reilly to discuss how he could put the screws to a wayward Catholic college in his diocese, including ways of encouraging the removal of dissident theology faculty." [1] Reilly declined to identify the bishop, citing confidentiality.[1]

#### Speakers

The Society monitors speakers at Catholic universities, and provides a mechanism for online reporting of what it believes to be scandalous commencement speakers and honorees. In 2009, the Society criticized the University of Notre Dame for inviting President Barack Obama to receive an honorary doctorate of law and deliver the commencement speech due to his pro-choice position and record in support of abortion.[17] Nevertheless, the University of Notre Dame stood by its invitation to the President, who was warmly received by the graduating class and others.

The organization also deplored a commencement address given at Notre Dame de Namur University by Sr. Helen Prejean, a nun opposed to capital punishment and author of *Dead Man Walking*, claiming the Josephite nun "is out-of-line with church teaching on, of all issues, capital punishment." [18] The organization faulted Prejean's critique of a "loophole" in the Church's teaching which permits capital punishment under limited circumstances.

In 2011, due to complaints raised by the Cardinal Newman Society, Saint Francis University in Loretto, Pennsylvania cancelled a lecture by journalist Ellen Goodman on civility in public discourse because of her views regarding abortion.[19]

In the spring of 2012, the Cardinal Newman Society listed 12 Catholic universities whose commencement speakers were considered objectionable because of their support for abortion or gay rights. Among the speakers was Kathleen Sebelius, secretary of Health and Human Services, who was invited to speak at Georgetown University. The Society presented a

26,000-signature petition that called the choice of Sebelius "insulting to faithful Catholics and their bishops who are engaged in the fight for religious liberty and against abortion." Sebelius personally supports abortion and has upheld the mandate in the Affordable Care Act requiring all institutions, including Catholic colleges, to provide birth control coverage. The Archdiocese of Washington sent a letter of rebuke to Georgetown's president on the matter.[17]

The Newman Society reports on its website that in 2011 it caused bishops to intervene in homosexual conferences at Fordham and Fairfield University.[4]

The Society has on several occasions criticized colleges for awarding Sister Elizabeth Johnson honorary degrees. Patrick J. Reilly, its president, said of her, "This is a person who has described the male-only priesthood as a sign of 'patriarchal resistance to women's equality. So I think she has officially challenged church teaching in ways that are beyond the pale.'"[20]

#### Criticism

The Cardinal Newman Society is often at the center of controversy, as for example when it solicited donations to "finance a major effort to expose the heretics within our Catholic colleges," an effort which was called "red-baiting in ecclesiastical garb" by the Rev. John Beal, canon law professor at The Catholic University of America. It has been criticized for "McCarthyite tactics" and a "fundamentalist agenda." [5]

Charles L. Currie, president of the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities said that the society's "attacks can no longer go unchallenged," and characterized their work as "a long trail of distorted, inaccurate, and often untrue attacks on scholars addressing complex issues." Michael James, vice president of the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, said the society is "destructive and antithetical to a spirit of unity in our commitment to serve society and the church." [1]

Reilly has been referred to in Catholic publications as the "self-appointed ayatollah to Catholic academia in this country." [5] Rev. James Keenan, a priest and professor at Boston College who was targeted in a fundraising letter sent out by the Society, said "Hopefully, someday our bishops will call us to end this awful conduct, which hurts not only those of us targeted, but more importantly, the unity of the church itself." [1] According to Robert McClory, "If John Henry Newman, by some miracle of grace, were to rise from the dead today and be invited to speak at a prestigious Catholic institution, the most likely organization to protest and picket the event would be the Cardinal Newman Society." [21]

The organization is also criticized for focusing on conservative political issues that are "only tangentially related to issues of Catholic higher education." [22] One "review of 50 of the most recent headlines on the Society's blog shows that 60% of them were related to abortion (9), homosexuality (10), or sexuality in general (10). That leaves only 40% for all other issues relating to Catholic education." [23] When a group of Catholic scholars issued a statement calling on political leaders to consider the common good, the Newman Society attacked it saying that they were "distorting Church teaching in favor of left-leaning politics to take political shots at vice presidential nominee Paul Ryan." [22] In their critique, however, the Society did not "cite a single instance where the statement strays from Catholic teaching. Instead, the Society makes an ad hominem attack on one of the signatories." [22]

#### California Republican Assembly

The California Republican Assembly (CRA) is a conservative California Republican activist group. It is the oldest and largest grassroots volunteer organization chartered by the California Republican Party, and is the California affiliate of the National Federation of Republican Assemblies (NFRA).

The CRA can date its origin to the 1930s and was an early supporter of Governor Earl Warren but also an early opponent of Chief Justice Earl Warren, whom it believed had moved left from his gubernatorial days to his time on the court and so was regarded as far too liberal to merit support by conservatives. The CRA was largely supportive of the efforts of Barry Goldwater's Presidential bid and helped him finalize his nomination at the 1964 Republican National Convention held in San Francisco. Later that year it helped the cause of George Murphy, a former movie actor and close friend of Ronald Reagan in being elected to the United States Senate, and then helped Reagan himself to be elected Governor of California in 1966.

The group claims to hold much of the responsibility for the "Reagan Revolution". Ronald Reagan often referred to CRA as the "Conscience of the Republican Party." Unlike some other conservative political groups, it makes no pretense at being nonpartisan; the "CRA has been working to elect Republican candidates who stand unwaveringly for Republican principles," according to their website. It is anti-abortion and pro-"family values" and it supports a limited-government agenda calling for lower taxes, less governmental regulation, and more personal freedom. In the 1990s it spawned a national organization based on its own efforts, the National Federation of Republican Assemblies, which now has affiliates in approximately forty states.

#### American Majority Action

American Majority Action is a conservative 501(c)(4) nonprofit political action organization which focuses on voter education and mobilization efforts. [1]

Founded in August 2010, American Majority Action is affiliated with American Majority, a nonprofit political training

organization that identifies and trains grassroots candidates and activists for local and state campaigns. The founder and president of American Majority Action is Ned Ryun.[2]

In October 2010, American Majority Action released the Voter Fraud App, a smartphone application developed to report and track illegal voting activity at polling places. Using photographs and text, the Voter Fraud App compiled a list of vote fraud incidents and was updated in real-time throughout election day.[3]

In 2012, American Majority Action launched a "#FireBoehner" campaign aimed at removing John Boehner from his position as Speaker of the United States House of Representatives.[4][5]

American Majority Action

Founded 2010

Founder Ned Ryun

Type Grassroots Political Action Organization

Focus Conservative principles, small government, and grassroots activism

Location

Purcellville, Virginia

Area served

United States

Method Political campaign strategy, mass protest, grassroots organizing

Affiliations American Majority

Website americanmajorityaction.org

## VDARE

VDARE is an American website focusing on opposition to immigration to the United States and is associated with white supremacy,[2][3] white nationalism,[4][5][6] and the alt-right.[7][8][9] Anti-Immigration in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia describes VDARE as "one of the most prolific anti-immigration media outlets in the United States" and states that it is "broadly concerned with race issues in the United States".[10] Established in 1999, the website's editor is Peter Brimelow, who believes that "whites built American culture" and that "it is at risk from non-whites who would seek to change it".[10]

The Southern Poverty Law Center describes VDARE as "an anti-immigration hate website" which "regularly publishes articles by prominent white nationalists, race scientists and anti-Semites", including Steve Sailer, Jared Taylor, J. Philippe Rushton, Samuel T. Francis, John Derbyshire[11] and Pat Buchanan.[12] Brimelow acknowledges that VDARE published writings by white nationalists but has said that VDARE is not a "white nationalist Web site".[13][14][15]

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### History

Peter Brimelow, who edits VDARE, is a former editor at the National Review[16] and Fortune.[10] The English-born Brimelow founded the website in 1999 under the auspices of the Center for American Unity, a Virginia-based organization that he also founded.[12] in 1999.[7] VDARE was founded as an outgrowth of Brimelow's anti-immigration activism and the publication of his book *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster*. [6] The website says it is concerned with the "racial and culture identity of America" and "honest consideration of race and ethnicity, the foundations of human grouping, that human differences can be explained and their social consequences understood, whether those differences are philosophical, cultural or biological." [17]

Brimelow was president of the Center,[7] which funded VDARE.com until 2007, when the Center announced an intent to focus on litigation.[12] The VDARE Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization, was formed by Brimelow to take the place of the Center as the website's sponsor.[12] Brimelow's wife, Lydia Brimelow, is VDARE's advancement officer.[6]

The name VDARE and the site's logo, the head of a white doe, refer to Virginia Dare, the first child born to English settlers in the New World in the late 16th century.[7][18] Dare disappeared along with every other member of the Roanoke Colony.[10] Anti-Immigration in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia explains that "For Brimelow, Anglo-Saxon Americans and their culture are in danger of disappearing like Virginia Dare; he writes that he considered adding a fictional vignette at the end of his book *Alien Nation* (1995), in which the last white family flees Los Angeles, which had been overrun by the crime and pollution caused by its non-white residents." [10]

Brimelow has written on the site that United States immigration policy constitutes "Adolf Hitler's posthumous revenge on America". In a radio interview with Alan Colmes, he said he wished to return to the US immigration policies before 1965, when restrictions to non-whites were lifted, as "the US is a white nation." He has cited Holocaust denier David Irving to

make uncorroborated and anti-Semitic claims.[17]

#### Controversy and criticism

##### Designation as a hate website

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which tracks extremist groups in the United States, wrote that VDARE was "once a relatively mainstream anti-immigration page" but had become "a meeting place for many on the radical right" by 2003.[7] The SPLC describes VDARE as "an anti-immigration hate website" which "regularly publishes articles by prominent white nationalists, race scientists and anti-Semites".[7] The SPLC cited examples such as a column concerning immigration from Mexico that warned of a "Mexican invasion" where "high teenage birthrates, poverty, ignorance and disease will be what remains", and an essay complaining how the U.S. government encourages "the garbage of Africa" to come to the United States.[7]

The SPLC has described VDARE's contributor list as "a Rolodex of the most prominent pseudo-intellectual racists and anti-Semites. They include people such as Jared Taylor and Kevin MacDonald.[7] Taylor (who Brimelow acknowledges is a "white nationalist") [12] once wrote that black people are incapable of sustaining any kind of civilization, while MacDonald is a retired professor who wrote a trilogy claiming that Jews are genetically driven to undermine the Christian societies they live in. Another (former contributor), Sam Francis, was the editor of a newspaper published by the Council of Conservative Citizens, a white supremacist group.[7] Francis died in 2005.[12]

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) similarly concludes that "VDARE posts, promotes, and archives the work of racists, anti-immigrant figures, and anti-Semites".[19][20]

##### White nationalist writings

VDARE is regarded as a white nationalist website.[4][5][21][22][23][24] David Weigel wrote in 2010 that the site "is best known for publishing work by white nationalists while maintaining that it is not a white nationalist site".[25]

Brimelow "denies that the organization itself is white nationalist, but he admits that VDARE.com provides a forum for a variety of viewpoints, including white nationalism".[10][13][14] Of individuals like Taylor, Brimelow has written they "aim to defend the interests of American whites. They are not white supremacists. They do not advocate violence. They are rational and civil." As immigration from the developing world increases, he believes "this type of interest-group 'white nationalism' will inexorably increase." [12] Brimelow has participated on panels multiple times with Taylor and Richard Spencer on the aims of the alt-right.[17]

#### Young Conservatives of Texas

Young Conservatives of Texas (YCT) is a non-partisan conservative youth organization based in Texas. Founded in 1980, it has chapters at 20 universities—including Baylor University, the University of North Texas, Texas A&M University, Texas State University, the University of Texas at Austin, Trinity University, Lone Star College, Texas Wesleyan University, St. Edwards University, and Texas Tech University.[1]

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#### History

Young Conservatives of Texas was formed by a faction that split off from Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) in 1980. A total of 177 delegates attended the first convention.[2]

The Texas chapter of YAF, led by student activist Steve Munisteri, broke off after a dispute with the national organization. The Young Conservatives of Texas was founded on March 2, 1980, (Texas Independence Day) in Austin. There was a convention held that day wherein Congressman Bill Archer, Ernest Angelo (former Mayor of Midland and former National Committeeman), and many others spoke at a gathering to launch the group. A total of 177 persons attended part or all of the convention. At the conclusion of the convention, it was decided that Young Conservatives of Texas would be founded.[3]

#### Controversies

On October 1, 2013 the Young Conservatives chapter at UT Austin held a bake sale to show the effects of affirmative action on minorities. Prices were different depending on the person's race. The head of the chapter Lorenzo Garcia[4] said they wanted to show how affirmative action can be more harmful than helpful and said it can cause reverse racism. However, it received negative reactions even from the school's own news columnist. Pavel Nitchovski, a columnist at the Horn, a local newspaper that covers UT Austin said "What's so sad about this whole bake sale (aside from its utter tastelessness and caricaturization of a very serious issue) is that the people involved actually think that they're making a valid intellectual point with their childish actions," Nitchovski wrote. "They are convinced that rather than behaving like attention-seeking children, they are genuinely starting an intellectual discourse." [5]

The next month, the same chapter made national headlines when they proposed an on-campus game called "Catch an Illegal Immigrant," involving students in red shirts that said Illegal Immigrant whose capture would net a player 25 dollars. They cancelled plans after criticism from other students, the administration, and state attorney general Greg Abbott, a Republican.[4] This time chapter head Garcia said, "The idea for the event was intentionally over-the-top in order to get attention for the subject." [4]

#### Young Americans for Liberty

Young Americans for Liberty (YAL) is a libertarian student activism organization headquartered in Austin, Texas. Formed in 2008 in the aftermath of the Ron Paul 2008 presidential campaign, YAL establishes chapters on high school and college campuses across the United States, for the purpose of "advancing liberty on campus and in American electoral politics." [1]

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#### History

YAL was founded in 2008 at the end of Congressman Ron Paul's first presidential campaign. Paul's candidacy inspired students to organize on-campus under the banner of Students for Ron Paul. After the 2008 presidential election in November, the movement continued, soon becoming Young Americans for Liberty. [2][3]

On May 23, 2019, YAL announced it would be moving its headquarters to Austin from Arlington, Virginia, saying that the group "doesn't belong" in Washington, D.C. due to its "toxic environment," and that it was a "rapidly growing organization" that needed more space in its headquarters. [4]

#### Activities

YAL activists at the University of California, Los Angeles (2018)

In March 2011, 78 YAL chapters across 32 states organized a student protest of the national debt. Each chapter constructed a 40-foot debt clock and placed it in the middle of their campus. The mass protest garnered nationwide media attention. [5][6][7][8][9][10][11][12]

YAL students hosting event at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln (2019)

In April 2014, two YAL students at the University of Hawaii filed a federal lawsuit after they were prevented from handing out copies of the US constitution. [13]

On March 1, 2019, YAL announced the launch of the Hazlitt Coalition "to provide YAL's elected officials with modern legislation, facts, and strategies to give them the extra muscle they need to be effective liberty legislators." [14][15] The name is from Henry Hazlitt, author of Economics in One Lesson (1946).

Beginning in 2009, YAL hosted annual National Conventions in Arlington, Virginia. More than 300 students attended the 2014 convention. [16] Speakers included U.S Senator Rand Paul and former U.S. Representative Ron Paul, with a video address by Glenn Greenwald. [17][18] Speakers at the 2016 convention included speakers Ron Paul and U.S. Representative Justin Amash, Judge Andrew Napolitano, and David Boaz of the Cato Institute. [19]

#### Controversies

During a February 2010 CPAC panel, 2 Minute Activist: Saving Freedom Across America, Students For Liberty's Alexander McCobin opened his remarks by thanking the American Conservative Union for welcoming GOProud as a co-sponsor of the event. California Young Americans for Freedom chairman Ryan Sorba followed with a speech that was critical of McCobin, Students For Liberty, YAL's Jeff Frazee, and the American Conservative Union, condemning the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) for inviting GOProud. [20][21][22][23][24]

In 2011, the University of North Texas chapter of YAL protested a potential outdoor smoking ban on campus by handing out cigarettes in an effort to get students to sign a petition opposing the ban. [25] When university officials reprimanded them, the group claimed they would seek legal aid and that restrictions on handing out the cigarettes was a violation of their First Amendment rights. [26] The group collected 206 signatures for the petition. [27] The university implemented the smoking ban at the beginning of 2013. [28]

In a Facebook post perceived by YAL chapter leaders as an official blacklisting of Breitbart News Tech Editor Milo Yiannopoulos in May 2016, YAL National Field Director Ty Hicks urged chapter leaders not to invite the conservative firebrand to speak at their events. This came as a result of the YAL chapter at the University of California, Santa Barbara defying a regional field director's instructions to prohibit Yiannopoulos from promoting presidential candidate Donald Trump when he spoke at the university - which she believed could jeopardize the national organization's 501(c)3

non-profit status. The event proceeded with Yiannopoulos asking audience members to address a cardboard cutout of Trump, and chapter members wearing pro-Trump clothing as they hand-carried Yiannopoulos into the event. YAL president Cliff Maloney said Hicks' post did not represent an official YAL position and that "our relationship with Milo remains unchanged."<sup>[29]</sup> The group's association with Yiannopoulos and others caused Wichita State University to reject the formation of a YAL chapter on campus.<sup>[30]</sup>

#### Maggie's List

Maggie's List is a United States federal political action committee founded in Florida in 2010 to "raise awareness and funds to increase the number of conservative women elected to federal public office."<sup>[2]</sup><sup>[3]</sup> It is named after Margaret Chase Smith, a Republican who was the first woman elected to both houses of Congress (elected to the House in 1940 and the Senate in 1948).<sup>[4]</sup> Maggie's List first raised money and made donations to candidates in the 2010 elections.<sup>[5]</sup>

See also

EMILY's List, similar organization to help Democratic women in favor of abortion rights get elected

Susan B. Anthony List — helps pro-life women get elected

National Federation of Republican Women

References

#### National Federation of Republican Assemblies

The National Federation of Republican Assemblies (NFRA) is a political organization which promotes conservative principles and candidates within the Republican Party.<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Members at the local, state and national levels work to recruit and elect Republican candidates who reflect the Party's conservative philosophy, and to oppose "RINOs" (Republicans In Name Only), leaders and candidates who take positions to the left of the party's conservative mainstream.

The first Republican Assembly was founded in 1934 in California. The Republican Assembly movement grew primarily in the western part of the United States until, in 1996, the several state Republican Assemblies formalized their relationship to one another through the creation of the NFRA, which was also tasked with the establishment of state chapters in those parts of the country to which the movement had not yet spread.

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#### Purpose

Republican Assemblies have 3 main purposes:

to recruit activists into the Republican Party

to elect conservative leadership to party offices

to endorse and work for the nomination of conservative candidates in party primaries.

The Republican Assembly movement views itself as a reform movement within the Republican Party, and opposes the creation of one or more third parties, which it believes would split the conservative vote and result in the election of more Democrats. Ronald Reagan called the Republican Assemblies "the conscience of the Republican Party," while others have called them "the Tea Party before there was a Tea Party."

A central aspect of the NFRA's mission is the endorsement of candidates in contested Republican primaries, something most Republican support groups and committees choose not to do. NFRA endorsing conventions are held at the local and state levels, and a Presidential Preference Convention is held at the national level. Candidates must win two-thirds of the votes cast at a convention to secure its endorsement. Endorsements are upwardly binding: a local or state chapter's endorsement automatically secures the endorsement of the higher levels of the organization.<sup>[1]</sup><sup>[2]</sup>

In 2012, the NFRA's Presidential Preference Convention endorsed Rick Santorum for President on the fifth ballot.<sup>[3]</sup> In 2016, it endorsed Senator Ted Cruz.<sup>[4]</sup>

#### National governance

The NFRA is governed by a Board of Directors composed of its officers and three national directors from each state, one of which is the state's president. Unlike the Republican National Committee, there is no gender requirement for any office. National officers are elected for two year terms at the organization's bi-annual convention.

Former Nevada Republican U.S. Senate nominee Sharron Angle was elected President on September 15, 2013. Former Ohio Secretary of State and Republican nominee in the 2006 Ohio gubernatorial election Ken Blackwell was elected Executive Vice President in 2011 and was re-elected in 2013. Sharon Ford, President of the Tennessee Republican Assembly, was elected Executive Vice-President in 2017. <sup>[5]</sup> In 2016, Angle resigned to run again for United States

Senate, and was succeeded as President by Willes Lee, former chairman of the Republican Party of Hawaii. Lee is a West Point graduate, former Army Ranger, and a founder of the Republican National Committee's Conservative Caucus.[6]

#### State and local chapters

The NFRA is composed of state Republican Assemblies, which in turn are made up of local Republican Assemblies. The latter of these elect state boards of directors in much the same way that the state assemblies elect the national board. The NFRA is strongly federalist, both in its ideology and in its own internal organization: most powers are vested in the state assemblies, while the NFRA is bound by national bylaws which strictly limit and enumerate its powers.

This federalist outlook extends even to endorsements. All levels of the organization hold grassroots endorsing conventions, according to the rules described above. However, while the NFRA holds a Presidential Preference Convention every four years, its endorsement is not binding on the states: each state may individually endorse a Presidential candidate of its choosing for its own primary or caucus voters. By contrast, local assemblies may endorse candidates in all races except statewide and federal offices, the latter endorsements being reserved to the state conventions, and all of these endorsements are upwardly binding on the levels of organization above them.

#### Advisory Board

Members of the advisory board include Fox News contributor and former Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush policy director Jim Pinkerton, U.S. Senator Ted Cruz's father and advisor Rafael Cruz, Conservatives of Faith founder Bob Fischer, former Crisis magazine publisher and senior George W. Bush advisor Deal Hudson, former appeals court justice and leader of the Conservative Resurgence in the Southern Baptist Convention Paul Pressler, National Religious Broadcasters president Jerry Johnson, fund manager and best-selling author Kevin Freeman, former Republican Study Committee executive director Paul Teller and former U.S. Congressman Ernest Istook.[7]

#### Notable NFRA members

Prominent current and past Republican Assembly members include President Ronald Reagan, storied actress Jane Russell, Eagle Forum founder Phyllis Schlafly, Americans for Tax Reform founder Grover Norquist, former U.S. Senator Rick Santorum, former Nevada U.S. Senate candidate Sharron Angle, former Ambassador and Ohio Secretary of State Ken Blackwell, conservative activist Morton Blackwell, Texas Republican Party Chairman Emeritus Tom Pauken, California Republican State Chairmen Ron Nehring and Tom Del Beccaro, former Republican National Committee Treasurer and Arizona Republican State Chairman Randy Pullen, and current U.S. Senators Rand Paul and Ted Cruz.

#### Young Conservatives of Texas

Young Conservatives of Texas (YCT) is a non-partisan conservative youth organization based in Texas. Founded in 1980, it has chapters at 20 universities—including Baylor University, the University of North Texas, Texas A&M University, Texas State University, the University of Texas at Austin, Trinity University, Lone Star College, Texas Wesleyan University, St. Edwards University, and Texas Tech University.[1]

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#### History

Young Conservatives of Texas was formed by a faction that split off from Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) in 1980. A total of 177 delegates attended the first convention.[2]

The Texas chapter of YAF, led by student activist Steve Munisteri, broke off after a dispute with the national organization. The Young Conservatives of Texas was founded on March 2, 1980, (Texas Independence Day) in Austin. There was a convention held that day wherein Congressman Bill Archer, Ernest Angelo (former Mayor of Midland and former National Committeeman), and many others spoke at a gathering to launch the group. A total of 177 persons attended part or all of the convention. At the conclusion of the convention, it was decided that Young Conservatives of Texas would be founded.[3]

#### Controversies

On October 1, 2013 the Young Conservatives chapter at UT Austin held a bake sale to show the effects of affirmative action on minorities. Prices were different depending on the person's race. The head of the chapter Lorenzo Garcia[4] said they wanted to show how affirmative action can be more harmful than helpful and said it can cause reverse racism. However, it received negative reactions even from the school's own news columnist. Pavel Nitchovski, a columnist at the Horn, a local newspaper that covers UT Austin said "What's so sad about this whole bake sale (aside from its utter tastelessness and caricaturization of a very serious issue) is that the people involved actually think that they're making a valid intellectual point with their childish actions," Nitchovski wrote. "They are convinced that rather than behaving like attention-seeking children, they are genuinely starting an intellectual discourse." [5]

The next month, the same chapter made national headlines when they proposed an on-campus game called "Catch an Illegal Immigrant," involving students in red shirts that said Illegal Immigrant whose capture would net a player 25 dollars. They cancelled plans after criticism from other students, the administration, and state attorney general Greg Abbott, a Republican.[4] This time chapter head Garcia said, "The idea for the event was intentionally over-the-top in order to get attention for the subject." [4]

## References

### Advance America (advocacy group)

Advance America (formerly Citizens Concerned for the Constitution)[1] is a conservative political advocacy group in the U.S. state of Indiana. Advance America claims that it is a "non-partisan tax exempt, educational organization." [1] It claims affiliation with approximately 4,000 Indiana churches,[2] nearly one third of all churches in the state of Indiana.[3]

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#### History and governance

Advance America was founded in 1980 by Eric Miller, an attorney from Indianapolis, with the help of ten other people.[1][3] It shares space and employees with Miller's law office.[3][2] It is governed by a seven member board of directors consisting entirely of pastors.[3]

#### Activities

Advance America publishes an annual voter's guide informing voters of the stance of various candidates for local office on issues Advance America is concerned about.[1][4] These voter guides are distributed primarily through mail, e-mail, and churches.[5][3]

Advance America attempts to keep people informed about what bills and issues the state legislature is considering through mailings, e-mails, voting record summaries, pastor and citizen briefings, and speaking engagements (frequently in churches).[1][2][3]

Advance America claims that their staff reviews each bill to come before the state legislature.[1][2] They testify before legislative committees, talk to legislators, draft amendments and bills, and mobilize the public to contact legislators.[2][3]

#### Issues

Advance America regularly campaigns for issues that they perceive affect the family and religious freedom. They supported the controversial Indiana Religious Freedom Restoration Act[6] as well as pushing to uphold the state's same sex marriage ban.[6] They have opposed legislation permitting transgender persons to use the bathroom of their choice.[7][8][6] They have opposed extending regulations on daycares to include those daycares run by churches.[3]

#### See also

Indiana gubernatorial election, 2004 - where Eric Miller ran in the Republican primary

### Secure America Now

Secure America Now (SAN) is a politically conservative nonprofit group that focuses on United States foreign policy issues.[1]

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#### Notable activities

In 2012, SAN created an advertisement that featured Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu warning Florida residents about the threat of nuclear weapons in Iran.[2] The advertisement aired in three markets in Florida that represented some of the state's largest Jewish communities.[3]

In 2013, SAN commissioned a poll in which almost two thirds of all respondents in the United States said that they believed that the Obama administration was covering up facts related to the 2012 Benghazi attack.[4]



In 2014, SAN sponsored a trip by Texas senator Ted Cruz to Ukraine and other eastern European countries in which Cruz met with leaders of Euromaidan, the protest movement that led to the ousting of Ukraine's pro-Russian president Viktor Yanukovich.[5]

Later that year, SAN created "Secure the Border" advertisements that attacked four Democratic senators and one Democratic congressman for their positions on U.S. immigration policy. One of the advertisements, which targeted New Hampshire senator Jeanne Shaheen, showed an image of slain journalist James Foley and was condemned by both Shaheen and Scott Brown, her general election opponent.[6][7] The advertisement was pulled a few days later.[8]

In 2015, SAN conducted a poll in which 77% of likely voters in the 2016 United States presidential election said that Congress should be involved in the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, the nuclear deal that the Obama administration was negotiating with Iran.[9]

Shortly before the United States presidential election in 2016, SAN published videos and accompanying web sites suggesting that the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) would overthrow France and Germany.[10][verification needed]

#### Organization

SAN's president is Allen Roth,[8] the political adviser of Ronald Lauder.[11] Its board of directors includes several prominent Republicans, including Mike Huckabee and John R. Bolton.[9]

#### Funding

As a 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization, SAN is not required to disclose its donors.[3] OpenSecrets reported that the main funders in 2016 were Hedge Fund manager Robert Mercer, former Best Buy CEO Brad Anderson, Best Buy founder Richard Schulze,[11] and Estee Lauder heir Ronald Lauder, who gave \$1.1 Million .[12]

#### References

##### Southeastern Legal Foundation

The Southeastern Legal Foundation is a conservative non-profit constitutional public interest law firm and policy center in the United States. It was founded in 1976 and has its headquarters in Marietta, Georgia.

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#### Organization

The Southeastern Legal Foundation represents individuals, businesses, and organizations in courts of law to defend the ideals of: limited government, individual freedoms, and government deregulation. In addition to the specific legal services offered, the SLF provides pro bono legal representation for constitutional matters.

#### Cases

As of 2010, The Southeastern Legal Foundation has filed a petition challenging the United States Environmental Protection Agency's December 7, 2009[1] findings which claim primarily that the "atmosphere threatens the public health and welfare of current and future generations.", but also it hold humans as the responsible cause.[2][3]

##### National Day of Prayer Task Force

The National Day of Prayer Task Force (NDP Task Force) is an American evangelical conservative Christian non-profit organization which organizes, coordinates, and presides over Evangelical Christian religious observances each year on the National Day of Prayer.

Shirley Dobson, whose husband is James Dobson, an evangelical conservative Christian author and the founder of the politically conservative evangelical Christian organization Focus on the Family, was Chairwoman of the NDP Task Force from 1991 to 2016.[1] The 2019 President, that took over the role of Chairman of the NDP Task Force is Kathy Branzell.[2] The Task Force's theme for the 2013 Annual Observance was "Pray for America" and is based on the Biblical reference in Matthew 12:21, which states, "In his name the nations will put their hope." [3]

The headquarters of the NDP Task Force is in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Offices were located at Focus on the Family until 2009. The website of the NDP Task Force states that "its business affairs remained separate" from those of Focus on the Family, but also that "between 1990 and 1993, Focus on the Family did provide grants in support of the NDP Task Force" and that "Focus on the Family was compensated for services rendered." [4]

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#### Purpose and mission

In 2010, The National Day of Prayer Task Force's stated mission was to "communicate with every individual the need for personal repentance and prayer, mobilizing the Christian community to intercede for America and its leadership in the seven centers of power: government, military, media, business, education, church and family."<sup>[5]</sup>

In 2011, the stated mission and purpose of the NDP Task Force were modified. Currently, the NDP Task Force's stated mission is "to mobilize prayer in America and to encourage personal repentance and righteousness in the culture." <sup>[6]</sup>

The NDP Task Force's current "vision", according to their website, is "to mobilize and encourage personal and corporate prayer, regardless of current issues and positions; preserve America's Christian heritage and defend the religious freedoms granted by the Constitution; emphasize prayer for America and its leadership in the seven centers of power: Government, Military, Media, Business, Education, Church and Family; foster unity within the Christian Church".<sup>[6]</sup>

#### History

Founded in 1983, the NDP Task Force is a non-profit subsidiary of the evangelical Christian National Prayer Committee,<sup>[7]</sup> which was founded in 1979 by Mrs. Vonette Bright, co-founder of the evangelical Christian organization Campus Crusade for Christ International.<sup>[8][9]</sup>

While the NDP Task Force coordinates thousands of local events throughout the nation on the National Day of Prayer, the most prominent event is the National Observance in Washington D.C.

During each year of the George W. Bush Administration, events coordinated with the NDP Task Force were held in the White House. Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush each held only one NDP Task Force-coordinated religious ceremony on a National Day of Prayer during their tenures. Presidents Bill Clinton and Barack Obama held informal prayer meetings but did not participate in NDP Task Force events.

#### Controversy

Critics have charged that the NDP Task Force used its political power to "hijack" the National Day of Prayer to exclude all faiths except traditional Christians, and that this violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.<sup>[10]</sup>

Aseem Shukla, co-founder of the Hindu American Foundation stated, "In 2005, the Hindu American Foundation was repulsed by Shirley Dobson's National Day of Prayer Task Force, when it sought to join celebrations throughout the country. This same task force joined the likes of Focus on Family and others, that enjoyed official status and the aura of government sanction."<sup>[11]</sup>

During the George W. Bush administration, the NDP Task Force excluded members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from active participation in National Day of Prayer events, even in the state of Utah where Mormons make up 70% of the state's population. In 2004, this led an ecumenical group of 40 faiths to boycott the Task Force-sponsored event in the Utah Valley.<sup>[12]</sup>

#### Liberty Caucus

The House Liberty Caucus is a congressional caucus consisting of conservative, libertarian and libertarian conservative members of the United States House of Representatives. It hosts a bimonthly luncheon in Washington, D.C.<sup>[1]</sup> The group was founded by Rep. Justin Amash of Michigan and joined by Republican members who wanted to "focus on specific issues like economic freedom, individual liberty, and following the Constitution".<sup>[1]</sup> During his time in Congress, the incumbent Governor of Colorado, Jared Polis, who served five terms as the United States Representative from Colorado's 2nd congressional district from 2009 to 2019, was the only Democratic member of the caucus. The caucus has also been characterized as "conservative with a libertarian emphasis" and associated with the Tea Party movement.<sup>[2]</sup>

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#### Members

Justin Amash, founder and chairman of the Liberty Caucus  
Justin Amash of Michigan, Chair<sup>[1][4]</sup>

Paul Gosar of Arizona[5]  
Morgan Griffith of Virginia[6]  
Thomas Massie of Kentucky  
Warren Davidson of Ohio  
Jim Jordan of Ohio  
Scott Perry of Pennsylvania  
Andy Biggs of Arizona  
History

Prior to the formal creation of the House Liberty Caucus, Rep. Ron Paul hosted a luncheon in Washington, D.C. every Thursday for a group of Republican members of the House of Representatives that he called the Liberty Caucus.[7] The group was in close association with the political action committee the Republican Liberty Caucus and "support[ed] individual rights, limited government and free enterprise".[8] Past attendees of this luncheon include:

Michele Bachmann of Minnesota[9] – retired in 2014  
Roscoe Bartlett of Maryland – defeated in 2012 general election  
Dave Brat of Virginia – defeated in 2018 general election[10]  
Chris Cannon of Utah – lost renomination in 2008  
Jo Ann Davis of Virginia – died in 2007  
Jimmy Duncan of Tennessee[11] – retired in 2018  
Jeff Flake of Arizona – ran successfully for the Senate in 2012, formerly Senator from Arizona  
Trent Franks of Arizona – resigned in 2018  
Scott Garrett of New Jersey – defeated in 2016 general election  
Virgil Goode of Virginia – defeated in 2008 general election  
John Hostettler of Indiana – defeated in 2006 general election  
Walter Jones of North Carolina – died in 2019  
Jack Kingston of Georgia – ran unsuccessfully for Senate in 2014, defeated in primary  
Raúl Labrador of Idaho – ran unsuccessfully for [[2018 Idaho gubernatorial election]][1]  
Jeff Miller of Florida – retired in 2016  
Marilyn Musgrave of Colorado – defeated in 2008 general election  
Butch Otter of Idaho – ran successfully for 2006 Idaho gubernatorial election, former Governor of Idaho  
Ron Paul of Texas (former Chairman) – ran unsuccessfully for the presidency in 2012 and in 2008  
Jared Polis of Colorado (Democrat)- ran successfully for 2018 Colorado gubernatorial election, currently Governor of Colorado[5]  
Richard Pombo of California – defeated in 2006 general election  
Bill Posey of Florida  
Denny Rehberg of Montana – ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 2012  
Mark Sanford of South Carolina - lost re-nomination in 2018  
John Shadegg of Arizona – retired in 2010  
Tom Tancredo of Colorado – retired in 2008  
Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania – ran successfully for the Senate in 2010, currently Senator from Pennsylvania  
Joe Walsh of Illinois – defeated in 2012 general election  
Zach Wamp of Tennessee – ran unsuccessfully for the nomination for the 2010 Tennessee gubernatorial election  
Dave Weldon of Florida – retired in 2008  
After the 112th Congress began and Ron Paul switched his focus to his presidential campaign, his luncheon was replaced by a formal congressional member organization called the House Liberty Caucus and chaired by Justin Amash.[12][13] In June 2014, the caucus supported Raúl Labrador's campaign for House Majority Leader.[14][15]

Past members of the current organization include:

Steve Stockman of Texas – ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 2014[3]  
Kerry Bentivolio of Michigan – lost renomination in 2014[16]  
Paul Broun of Georgia – ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 2014[17]  
Jason Chaffetz of Utah[18][19]  
Curt Clawson of Florida – retired in 2016[citation needed]  
Scott Garrett of New Jersey – defeated in 2016 general election[17]  
Tom Graves of Georgia[20][21]  
Vicky Hartzler of Missouri[18]  
Tim Huelskamp of Kansas – lost renomination in 2016[3]  
Walter Jones of North Carolina  
Cynthia Lummis of Wyoming – retired in 2016[17]  
Mick Mulvaney of South Carolina – appointed as Director of the Office of Management and Budget in 2017[1]  
Cathy McMorris Rodgers of Washington[20][21]  
Jared Polis of Colorado (Democrat)- ran successfully for 2018 Colorado gubernatorial election, currently Governor of Colorado. Polis was the only Democratic member of the Liberty Caucus.[5]  
Matt Salmon of Arizona – retired in 2016[17]  
Marlin Stutzman of Indiana – ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 2016[17][failed verification]

Tim Walberg of Michigan[18]  
Rob Woodall of Georgia[18]  
See also  
Freedom Caucus  
Libertarian Republican  
Libertarian conservatism  
Republican Liberty Caucus  
Republican Main Street Partnership  
Republican Study Committee  
Second Amendment Caucus  
Tea Party Caucus  
Tea Party movement

#### Liberty Alliance, LLC

For other uses, see Liberty Alliance.

Liberty Alliance, LLC is a private United States company with its headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. It operates a collection of conservative and Christian websites.

In August 2012, Inc. magazine ranked Liberty Alliance number 576 on its sixth annual Inc. 5000, which is a ranking of the nation's fastest-growing private companies. It was also ranked number 12 in the fastest-growing top media companies category and ranked the 20th fastest-growing private company in the Atlanta, Georgia area.[1][2][3][4]

The Liberty Alliance publishes books through an imprint called White Hall.[5]

Company leadership  
Brandon Vallorani, Founder[6]  
Jared Vallorani, Chief Executive Officer[6]  
Tracey Lee, Chief Financial Officer[6]  
Kenny Rudd, Business Manager[6]  
Joe Weathers, VP, Marketing[6]  
Ted Slater, VP, Website Development[6]

#### London Center for Policy Research

The London Center for Policy Research (LCPR) was founded in 2012 by Herbert London, and defines itself as a boutique think-tank created to engage in research and advise on key policy issues of national security, international relations, energy, and risk analysis. The Center claims to challenge conventional wisdom where appropriate, add texture to the current deliberations on policy issues and build support for positions that further the national interest and the interest of key allies. [1]

The London Center has been influential in the staffing and policy direction of the Trump Administration with many of its Senior Fellows taking on both official and unofficial roles in the administration. [2]

Fellows  
Deroy Murdock  
Gordon G. Chang  
Monica Crowley  
Jim Woolsey  
Derk Jan Eppink  
Walid Phares

#### The Family Leader

About Us

Focus [Social conservative]

Location

Pleasant Hill, Iowa

Area served

Iowa

Key people

Bob Vander Plaats (President & CEO)

Chuck Hurley (President, Iowa Family Policy Center)

The Family Leader (stylized The FAMILy LEADER)[1] is an American social conservative in [Iowa]. The Family Leader is

an umbrella group comprising The Family Leader Foundation, Marriage Matters, Iowa Family PAC, and Iowans for

Freedom. The Family Leader is loosely affiliated with the national social conservative organization Focus on the Family.[2]

According to its website, The Family Leader "provides a consistent, courageous voice in the churches, in the legislature, in the media, in the courtroom, in the public square...always standing for God's truth." [3]

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### Arms of the organization

[icon]

This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (December 2011)

The Iowa Family Policy Center is the educational arm and works through the media and also operates the Iowa Liberty Justice Center, a public interest law firm handling cases "in the areas of religious liberty, family values, or sanctity of life."<sup>[4]</sup>

Marriage Matters seeks to strengthen marriage through individual mentoring and seminars.<sup>[5]</sup>

The Iowa Family PAC is a political action committee which supports social conservative candidates. It was formed in 2004<sup>[6]</sup>

Iowa for Freedom "stands up against judicial activism" and was heavily involved in the campaign to remove three Iowa Supreme Court justices who legalized same-sex marriage in Iowa in the *Varnum v. Brien* case.

### 2012 presidential election

Through the new group, the organization planned to play a more influential role in the 2012 Iowa caucus campaigns than in 2008, including offering an endorsement for the first time.<sup>[7]</sup>

In mid-2011, The Family Leader gained national recognition for its pledge, "The Marriage Vow: A Declaration of Dependence upon MARRIAGE and FAMILY",<sup>[8]</sup> which it asked 2012 presidential hopefuls to sign. Vander Plaats himself also gained recognition, being referred to in one news post as a "kingmaker."<sup>[9]</sup> The Hill claimed Vander Plaats' endorsement as one of the top 10 coveted endorsements for Republicans running for president.<sup>[10]</sup>

Though the pledge was signed very quickly by candidate Michele Bachmann,<sup>[11]</sup> others were not so quick to sign or support it. Former Iowa State Senator Jeff Angelo, a Republican, said: "This pledge is an attempt to shut down dialogue between voters and the people vying to represent them."<sup>[12]</sup> Presidential hopeful Mitt Romney called the pledge "undignified and inappropriate."<sup>[13]</sup> Romney's campaign later clarified that he would not sign because language in the pledge made the assertion that African American children born into slavery in 1860 were better off than children raised today.<sup>[13]</sup> He was not the only one to take issue with this language.<sup>[14]</sup> The "slavery portion" of the pledge was soon removed.<sup>[15]</sup>

After the controversies with the pledge, House Speaker Pro-Tem Jeff Kaufmann, said the pledge has "ridiculous implications," questioned Vander Plaats' integrity, and said that his "political credibility is waning to the point of no impact."<sup>[16]</sup>

In November and December 2011, the organization "agonized" over whether to make an endorsement and whom to endorse.<sup>[17]</sup> After removing Herman Cain, Jon Huntsman, Ron Paul, and Mitt Romney from consideration, the seven-member board of directors of the organization could not decide on one candidate among Newt Gingrich, Michele Bachmann, Rick Santorum, and Rick Perry. The organization announced on December 20, 2011 that it would officially stay neutral and instead allow board members to make their own endorsements; Vander Plaats and Hurley endorsed Santorum.<sup>[18]</sup>

### Liberty Committee

N/A

### Family Policy Council

A Family Policy Council (FPC) is a group that works to influence government policy and culture. In particular, the term refers to US state-based organizations affiliated with Focus on the Family (FotF), a conservative Christian organization. Family Policy Councils work for policies that FotF describes as "pro-family".<sup>[1]</sup> These include opposition to same-sex marriage, LGBT adoption, and LGBT workplace protections, and support for abstinence-only sex education, increased legal restrictions on abortion and traditional Christian gender roles. FPCs also work to shape public opinion, organize political demonstrations, and cultivate future politicians.

The term "Family Policy Council" has also historically referred to government entities on a couple of occasions. A Washington state coalition of state agencies<sup>[2]</sup> named Family Policy Council operated from 1992 to 2012.<sup>[3]</sup> A proposed Delaware government entity was also named Family Policy Council in 1993.<sup>[4]</sup>

The existence of Focus on the Family's affiliated FPCs has spurred the development of other, sometimes opposing policy organizations. An example is OutNebraska, a "statewide LGBTQ advocacy organization" that works against policy goals of Nebraska Family Alliance<sup>[5]</sup>

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#### Origins

Focus on the Family (FotF) states that the first Family Policy Council opened in 1988.[6]

The early history of FPCs was kept "behind the scenes" by FotF.[1] Michael Jameson, a FotF representative, spoke about FotF's nascent effort to create "pro-family" organizations in US states to "affect legislation and to affect our culture" at 1989 Denver meeting of conservative policy groups. The United Methodist Reporter wrote that while FotF "is helping pro-family groups create coalitions, at the same time it is urging them to keep secret their participation in the coalition and even that a coalition exists." Jameson explained that "the coalitions can be more effective with a low profile and by leaving their public identity to the groups comprising the coalitions." [7]

Religion journalist Frederick Clarkson has stated that FotF "often has selected and reshaped an existing state-level organization rather than create a Family Policy Council from scratch." [8] For example, Citizens for Community Values was a Cincinnati anti-pornography organization founded in 1983 before it was reshaped into the official Family Policy Council for Ohio in 1991. [9] The Wisconsin Family Council was founded as Family Research Institute of Wisconsin to advocate for corporal punishment in religious schools in 1986. The Minnesota Family Council was previously known as The Berean League, "a publisher of anti-gay literature." [8] These organizations were taken under the FotF umbrella.

An organization named "Family Policy Council" was active in Richmond, Virginia 1989; it was formed to oppose sex education. [10] Later organizations with names that contain "Family Policy Council" include North Carolina Family Policy Council, founded in 1992. [11]

Family Policy Councils are loosely based on the FotF-affiliated lobbying group Family Research Council, [8] which states: "Family Policy Councils (FPCs) accomplish at the state level what Family Research Council does at the national level - shape public debate and formulate public policy." [12]

#### Operations

Family Policy Councils sometimes divide their operations into legal entities with differing tax status. For example, Colorado Family Action is a 501(c)(4) organization, which can legally do more government lobbying than its sibling Colorado Family Action Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization dedicated to shaping culture. [13]

As of 2019, Family Research Council's website lists FPCs for 41 states; [12] 39 of these are also listed by Family Policy Alliance. [14] Family Policy Alliance is FotF's state government lobbying arm and liaison to the FPCs.

FPCs' work is socially conservative. [15] FPCs sometimes coordinate their work with, and exchange staff with, a network of fiscal conservative organizations called State Policy Network (SPN). A few organizations are both FPC and SPN members, for example, Alabama Policy Institute. [8]

#### Impact

Family Policy Councils advocated for state bans on same-sex marriage in the 1990s and 2000s, many of which passed into law. A University of Arizona statistical study of the bans concluded that the "measure of Family Policy Council strength in a state increases the probability of adopting a same-sex marriage ban." [16]

An example is Ohio's gay marriage ban, spearheaded by the Ohio FPC in 2004. [17] A lawsuit against the Ohio ban led to Obergefell v. Hodges, the US Supreme Court decision that legalized gay marriage nationwide in 2015. [18]

#### Listing of organizations

##### Focus on the Family affiliates

The following organizations have an official connection to Focus on the Family and its state government lobbying arm, Family Policy Alliance. This is not a complete list. [14]

- Alabama Policy Institute
- Center for Arizona Policy
- Nebraska Family Alliance
- Indiana Family Institute
- The Family Leader in Iowa
- Family Foundation of Virginia
- Colorado Family Action

Citizens for Community Values in Ohio  
Christian Civic League of Maine  
Cornerstone Policy Research in New Hampshire  
Missouri Family Policy Council  
Family Institute of Connecticut  
Louisiana Family Forum  
Palmetto Family Council  
Similar organizations

The following organizations also lobby for policy and encourage cultural change in connection with families. They are not affiliated with Focus on the Family, and may have differing and in some cases opposed policy goals.

Australian Family Association  
Campaign for Children and Families  
Love Makes a Family  
See also  
Alliance Defense Fund  
American Family Association  
Family Research Council  
Family Research Institute

#### Institute for Faith and Freedom

The Institute for Faith and Freedom, formerly The Center for Vision and Values, is a conservative think tank established at Grove City College in April 2005 to provide their faculty members with the opportunity to share the fruits of their research and scholarship with the public. In 2010, the Center for Vision Values was given the Templeton Freedom Award for Excellence in Promoting Liberty, in the category of "Special Achievement by a University-based Center." Instituted in the fall of 2003, and named after the late philanthropist and pioneering investor—Sir John Marks Templeton—the Templeton Freedom Awards were the result of a partnership between the John Templeton Foundation and the Atlas Network, which administers the prize. Paul Kengor is a professor of political science at Grove City College and the executive director of the center. In April 2019, the Institute's name was changed from the The Center for Vision and Values to The Institute for Faith and Freedom.[1]

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#### Objective and mission

Many years prior to the establishment of the Center for Vision and Values, Grove City College faculty members had been pursuing research projects — books, white papers, laboratory experimentation — of all kinds in their fields of expertise. The center was established because the college's leaders recognize that this scholarship could enrich not only the classroom but the public square via hundreds of media placements such as opinion editorials, newspaper and magazine stories, web sites and blogs, and speaking engagements. Through this center, the leaders of the college hope to take the transformational scholarship of the College's faculty into the marketplace of ideas.

The Center's focus is to advance freedom with Christian scholarship dedicated to the pursuit of truth. Scholars and contributors at the Center believe that freedom is the fountainhead of economic and political progress, and religious tolerance.

The Center for Vision & Values at Grove City College works on the presupposition that God is sovereign, that man is made in the image of God and is therefore of inestimable and eternal value, and that the God of the Bible is the indispensable starting point for understanding truth. Hence, the center aims to share the results of their scholarship that helps the public to understand that the pursuit of truth is inextricably linked to personal freedom, political and economic freedom, religious freedom, and orderly progress.

The Center's purpose is to convince people to comprehend that God's truth pertains to all areas of life and reality while providing answers for today's difficult issues using scholarly methodologies that presuppose truth and human value — as opposed to relativism and chance — as the proper foundation for addressing society's challenges.

#### Initiatives

One of the center's first initiatives has been establishing an annual conference aimed at attracting some of the best minds from around the world to talk about topics of national and international importance.[1]

The inaugural conference in April 2005 [2], held forty years after President Lyndon B. Johnson announced his "War on Poverty", examined whether the "war" had been successful.

Subsequent conferences examined such diverse issues as The bioethics and theological implications of regenerative technology such as stem cell research and cloning, Democracy's Prospects in the Arab World, The De-Christianization of Europe, the implications of China's one-child policy, the legacy of President Ronald Reagan, and the history of Church-State relations in America.

Additionally, the Center sponsors several regular lecture series and conferences. Among them are :

The American Founders series, which aims to bring respected scholars on the American Founding and the founding fathers of the United States to present engaging talks focused on the beliefs, ideas, actions and character of those leaders who pursued the "Great Experiment" called the United States of America, in whether humans are capable of governing themselves.

The Annual Ronald Reagan Lecture series, which is held around Feb. 6 each year, the day of Reagan's birth. The lecture aims to bring to light Ronald Reagan's contributions to America and to history. Each year, the Center hosts an individual who worked for, knew or has produced important work on the 40th President. Michael Reagan, Reagan's adopted son, and nationally syndicated talk show host was the first guest lecturer. Edwin Meese III, Reagan's Chief of Staff, U.S. Attorney General and close friend and advisor, was the second guest lecturer.

The Austrian Student Scholar's Conference, which is open to undergraduates and first-year graduate students in any academic discipline, the conference brings together students from colleges and universities across the country to present their own research papers written in the tradition of the great Austrian School intellectuals such as Ludwig von Mises, F.A. Hayek, Murray Rothbard, and Hans Sennholz. Cash prizes are awarded to the authors of the top three papers, as judged by a select panel of Grove City College faculty.

#### Research

Several Grove City College faculty are engaged in various research work with the Center, and as many as 30 campus scholars are currently participating in research working groups.

The working groups are divided into the following areas of research:

- American Studies
- Economic theory & Policy
- Education policy
- Faith & Politics
- Middle East & Terrorism
- Poverty Studies & Poverty reduction
- Public Persuasion & Media
- Medical Ethics
- Science & Faith
- Artificial Intelligence, Technology & Computer ethics

#### Friends of Abe

The Friends of Abe, Inc. (FOA) was a support and networking group for politically conservative members of the Hollywood elite. The organization was formed in 2004 by actor Gary Sinise.

#### History

Screenwriter Lionel Chetwynd helped organize the group. "Friends of Abe" is a reference to "Friends of Bill", which is how members of Alcoholics Anonymous sometimes identify themselves, and "Friends of Dorothy" (a euphemism for male homosexuals), while "Abe" refers to Abraham Lincoln.[2] As of January 2012, the organization had more than 1,800 members. In addition to Sinise, Pat Boone, Jon Voight, Kelsey Grammer, Kevin Sorbo, and Scott Baio[3] have stated that they are members of the organization.[4][5] The organization fiercely[according to whom?] protects its list of members for whom it maintains a secure private website, abespal.com.[citation needed] Sinise later withdrew from the leadership and Hollywood producer Jeremy Boreing became executive director.[6]

The group met monthly to hear guest speakers.[7] It has hosted a number of Republican politicians at its events, including Herman Cain, Michele Bachmann, Paul Ryan, Rick Santorum, John Boehner, and Thaddeus McCotter.[citation needed] Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia received reimbursement for giving a speech at a FOA fundraiser in 2012.[8][9] Glenn Beck, Ann Coulter, Michael Steele and Mark Levin have also met with Friends of Abe, as have political operatives Frank Luntz and Karl Rove.[6][10]

Friends of Abe spent three years trying to get tax-exempt 501(c)(3) status for their organization. The tax status is reserved for organizations that do not engage in any partisan activity.[citation needed] IRS officials have questioned whether the organization's promotion of presidential candidates during its events constituted political campaign support, an activity forbidden for tax-exempt organizations.[6] During the application process, FOA refused IRS demands to provide it with access to the part of its website that includes its list of members since such access is not required by federal law.[10] The tax-exempt status was granted in March 2014.[11]

Dole CEO David H. Murdock has hosted FOA's annual gatherings at his 1,300-acre estate, Ventura Farms.[10]



In April 2016 it was announced by executive director Boreing that "Effective immediately, we are going to begin to wind down the 501 c3 organization, bring the Sustaining Membership dues to an end, and do away with the costly infrastructure and the abespal.com website" [12][why?]

A rival[when defined as?] group with the same name was founded in 2017, partly due to conservative divisions over Donald Trump.[13][additional citation(s) needed]

See also

Conservatism portal  
Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals  
Hollywood Congress of Republicans

#### Institute on the Constitution

The Institute on the Constitution is a think-tank and educational organization based in Pasadena, Maryland. The institute is a project of the American College of Cultural Studies. The institute's aim "is intended to reconnect Americans to the history of the American Republic and to their heritage of freedom under the law." The institute educates students about American history and constitutional government from a "constitutional conservative" perspective.

The institute also offers a course on jury duty, stating that: "The duty of the jury is to judge the law and the facts in order to defend our Constitutional Republic, yet Americans have been taught that the jury serves a radically different purpose. Most modern Americans believe that the jury's duty is to follow the particular instructions of a judge and evaluate "justice" for a plaintiff or defendant in light of the manipulated presentation of evidence in the courtroom. This erroneous view is actually destructive to the very justice for which the role of the jury was established."

The institute is heavily associated with the Constitution Party. It is funded primarily by the law firm of 2004 Constitution Party presidential nominee Michael Peroutka. Maryland Republican Party Delegate Donald H. Dwyer, Jr. and former Republican David K. Kyle have both served as directors of the institute.

The institute is also heavily involved in the efforts of Judge Roy Moore.

#### Society for Sanity in Art

he Society for Sanity in Art was an American artist's society whose members strongly opposed all forms of modern art, including cubism, surrealism, and abstract expressionism. In 1939, a western branch of this Society changed its name to the Society of Western Artists.

##### History

It was founded in Chicago in 1936 by Josephine Hancock Logan,[1] and from there it spread all over the country, with major branches in Boston and San Francisco. Ms. Logan also published a book entitled Sanity in Art in 1937.[2] Branches of the group established themselves all around the United States.

Haig Patigian served as president of the group in the 1940s.[1] Margaret Fitzhugh Browne founded the Boston branch of the organization, and led it in protesting a 1940 exhibit of paintings by Picasso at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[3] A western branch of the Society changed its name to the Society of Western Artists in 1939, and remains to this day the largest society of representational artists in the western United States. The San Francisco branch of The Society for Sanity in the Arts sponsored an annual art exhibit-for-sale by its members at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor at least as late as 1945.[1][4]

Artists that support the cause of this group included; William Winthrop Ward, Florence Louise Bryant, Percy Gray, Rudolph F. Ingerle, Frank Montague Moore, Thomas Hill; Frank Charles Peyraud, Theodore Wores and Chauncey Foster Ryder.[1]

The Society gave out awards to artists who met its standards of "sanity"; these awards included the Logan Medal of the Arts.[5]

##### References

#### Project 21

Project 21 is a conservative public policy group. The organization refers to itself as "the National Leadership Network of Black Conservatives." and started out as a blog to reclaim liberal African Americans at the grassroots level[1].

According to its website, Project 21 is "an initiative of the National Center for Public Policy Research to promote the views of African-Americans whose entrepreneurial spirit, dedication to family and commitment to individual responsibility has not traditionally been echoed by the nation's civil rights establishment."

Project 21's New Visions Commentaries have been distributed to more than 300 black newspapers across the United

States and have usually been featured as guest columns or editorials.[2]

See also

#### Steamboat institute

The Steamboat Institute is a conservative nonprofit organization located in Steamboat Springs, Colorado. It was founded in 2008 by Rick and Jennifer Schubert-Akin.[1] The organization's stated mission is to "promote America's first principles and inspire active involvement in the defense of liberty." [2] The Steamboat Institute sponsors an annual conference. Speakers have included former United States Secretary of the Interior Ryan Zinke.[3][4][5] The organization also awards an annual journalism fellowship named in honor of Tony Blankley.[6]

#### ProEnglish

ProEnglish is an American nonprofit lobbying organization that is part of the English-only movement.[1] The group supports making English the only official language of the United States.[2] The group has also campaigned against immigration reform and bilingual education.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and Anti-Defamation League, which track extremist groups in the United States, identify the group as an anti-immigrant group.[3][4] The SPLC designated the organization as a hate group.[5][6][7]

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#### Founding and leadership

The group was founded in 1994 as English Language Advocates.[8] The group was established by John Tanton, a leading figure in the anti-immigration movement, along with several of his associates from the organization U.S. English,[9] from which Tanton had resigned after a controversial over racially-charged memos that he had written.[3] The organization is part of Tanton's broader "loose-knit" network of anti-immigration organizations; others include Californians for Population Stabilization, the Center for Immigration Studies, NumbersUSA, and Social Contract Press.[10] As of 2015, ProEnglish "is one of the few remaining groups in Tanton's network in which he remains actively involved." [3] ProEnglish is a project of US Inc., a Petoskey, Michigan-based 501(c)(3) group that is also part of the Tanton network.[11] Dr. Tanton passed away in July of 2019.[12]

The group was originally based in Arlington, Virginia,[8] where it shared office space with NumbersUSA.[13] Its headquarters are now located in Washington, D.C.[4] Robert D. Park was the first chair of the group.[14] Later, Rosalie Pedalino Porter became chair of the group.[15]

The group's former executive directors are K.C. McAlpin[2] and Robert "Bob" Vandervoort.[3][16] In 2016, Sam Pimm, former executive director of Young Americans for Freedom and former executive director of a pro-Ben Carson super PAC, became executive director of the group.[17] Subsequently, Stephen D. Guschov, a lawyer who formerly worked at Liberty Counsel, became executive director of the group.[18]

#### Beliefs and activities

Map of United States Official Language Status By State

Map of US official language status by state before 2016. Blue: English declared the official language; light-blue: 2 official languages, including English; gray: no official language specified.

ProEnglish has been a major part of the "English-as-official-language movement." [19] The group also has opposed comprehensive immigration reform.[20] The chief purpose of the organization at the time of its founding was to defend the Arizona "Official English" ballot initiative, which was adopted in 1988, overturned by the Arizona Supreme Court in 1998, and re-enacted in revised form by Arizona voters in 2006.[9] The group has also supported federal English-only legislation, specifically the English Language Unity Act.[21] In addition to seeking the enactment of laws and policies declaring English to be the official language, ProEnglish "seeks to end bilingual education, repeal federal mandates for the translation of government documents and voting ballots in languages other than English." [8] Among ProEnglish's key priorities is the rescission of Executive Order 13166, an executive order signed by President Bill Clinton which states that any entity that receives federal funds "must provide whatever services it offers in any foreign language spoken by anyone likely to receive those services." [1] ProEnglish also opposes Puerto Rican statehood unless Puerto Rico were to adopt English as its official language.[8]

The group's reported ties to the white nationalist movement have drawn scrutiny.[20][22] The Anti-Defamation League wrote in 2014 that the group had a "nativist agenda and xenophobic origins and ties." [4] Robert Vandervoort of Illinois, the former executive director of ProEnglish, was head of the Chicagoland Friends of American Renaissance, the racist magazine led by Jared Taylor that serves as an outlet for white nationalist ideology.[16] In 2012, ProEnglish hosted a panel discussion at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) on "The Failure of Multiculturalism," on which

one of the panelists was VDARE founder Peter Brimelow.[23] The Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks extremist groups in the United States, designated the group as a hate group in its 2014, 2015, and 2016 annual reports.[5][6][7] The group has dismissed such criticism.[24]

ProEnglish was a major backer of the unsuccessful 2009 Nashville Charter Amendment 1, a local "English First" ballot referendum in Nashville, Tennessee, which would have generally required government communication and publications to be printed in English only.[25] ProEnglish donated \$82,500, about 92% of the total amount raised by the referendum's supporters.[22] The referendum was rejected by Nashville voters.[22][25] In 2012, ProEnglish was the leading force behind a successful effort to make English the official language of Frederick County, Maryland; the county enacted an ordinance closely based on one drafted by the group.[19] However, in 2015, the county repealed the ordinance, marking a defeat for the organization.[3]

In 2013, ProEnglish vocally opposed the comprehensive immigration reform bill sponsored by the "Gang of Eight," a bipartisan group of U.S. senators. ProEnglish carried out a radio ad campaign against U.S. Senator Lindsey Graham, who was part of the Gang of Eight.[20]

In 2014, ProEnglish criticized The Coca-Cola Company for airing a Super Bowl commercial that showed people of different ethnicities singing "America, the Beautiful" in a variety of languages. ProEnglish condemned Coca-Cola (saying the ad fostered "disunity") and urged its supporters to contact the company to express opposition.[4]

#### Litigation history

In 2005, ProEnglish was helping pay the legal fees of at least two employers who had an "English-only rule" requiring employees to speak only English while on the job.[2] ProEnglish paid the legal fees of Terri Bennett, a former nursing student at Pima Community College (PCC) in Tucson, Arizona, "who claimed she was wrongly suspended for complaining when fellow students spoke Spanish to one another in class." [26][24] At trial, the evidence showed that Bennett had called Hispanic classmates "spics, beaners and illegals" and the Spanish language "gibberish." [26] A jury unanimously rejected the Bennett's claims, and in 2015 ordered her to pay \$111,000 in attorney's fees to PCC.[26]

In 2008, ProEnglish, along with the Pacific Legal Foundation, filed a lawsuit in federal court challenging 2004 U.S. Department of Health and Human Service regulations that required federally funded healthcare providers to provide translation services for patients who do not speak English. The challengers claimed that the regulations were an "illegal intrusion" on healthcare providers. U.S. District Judge Barry Ted Moskowitz dismissed the suit in 2009.[27]

In *EEOC v. Kidmans* (2005), ProEnglish helped fund the litigation costs of a small drive-in restaurant in Page, Arizona, that was sued by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission after it refused to retract an English-on-the-job rule. The restaurant said that the rule was adopted to stop "trash talking" in the Navajo language among employees, most of whom are Navajo.[28] The EEOC and the restaurant owners ultimately negotiated a settlement, in which the employees "may require employees to speak English while dealing with the public, but not at other times." [29]

#### Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal

The Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal is a nonprofit educational organization based out of Mecosta, Michigan. It was founded in order to continue the legacy of Dr. Russell Kirk, an American political theorist, historian, social critic, literary critic, and fiction author. The Center is known for promoting traditionalist conservatism and regularly publishing *Studies in Burke and His Time* and *The University Bookman*, the oldest conservative book review in the United States.

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#### The University Bookman

The University Bookman was founded by Russell Kirk in 1960 as *A Quarterly Review of Educational Materials*. It is the oldest continuously published right-leaning book journal in the United States. From 1960 to 1990, the journal was distributed freely to subscribers of *National Review*. For most of its history, the journal had been edited by members of the Kirk family, until 2005, when Gerald Russello was appointed editor.[1]

Some of its notable contributors include James Schall, Peter Augustine Lawler, Allan Carlson, John Lukacs, and George Nash.

#### Staff

The Russell Kirk Center's President is Annette Y. Kirk, widow of Russell Kirk and Dr. Jeffrey O. Nelson, Kirk's son-in-law, is Director of Publications. Senior Fellows at the Center include Dr. Ian Crowe, Dr. Bruce Frohnen, Dr. Vigen Guroian, Dr. George H. Nash, Marco Respinti, Jeffrey Polet, and Gleaves Whitney. The Center's Board of Advisors include T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr., John Engler, Edwin J. Feulner, Dr. John Lukacs, Dr. Forrest McDonald, and Dr. George H. Nash.[2]

See also  
Russell Kirk  
Traditionalist conservatism

#### James Madison Center for Free Speech

The James Madison Center for Free Speech is a legal defense organization in Washington, D.C., United States.[1][2]

##### Overview

The James Madison Center was founded by Republican Senator Mitch McConnell in 1997.[1][2] Its general counsel is James Bopp.[3][4]

It has supported the recognition of the Ten Commandments as one of America's founding texts.[5] It opposed a measure proposed by the Federal Election Commission to ban nonprofits from expressing views on public policy.[6]

#### AEI Legal Center for the Public Interest

AEI Legal Center for the Public Interest (LCPI) was formed when the National Legal Center for the Public Interest (NLCP) was merged into the conservative think tank American Enterprise Institute (AEI) in September 2007. Its stated mission is to "foster knowledge about law and the administration of justice, especially with respect to individual rights, free enterprise, property ownership, limited government, and a fair and efficient judiciary. It has pursued its educational and intellectual missions through a publishing program, conferences, and the annual Gauer Distinguished Lecture in Law and Public Policy." [1]

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##### History

The NLCP was founded in 1975 with funding by J. Simon Fluor and interests controlled by Richard Mellon Scaife.[2]

Publications included white papers, legal monographs, judicial and legislative watch reports, and the Public Interest Law Review. NLCP also sponsored a legal intern program, in which interns performed research and assisted in drafting legal briefs.[2]

Its longtime president was Ernest Hueter, who served in that capacity for 25 years, retiring in 2004.[3]

Fred Fielding was the most recent chairman of the foundation. Other prominent members included Theodore Olson, Judge Kenneth Starr, Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts, Robert H. Bork, and Bruce Fein. Much of its funding came from corporate and conservative foundations, including the Carthage Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Alcoa Foundation and ExxonMobil.[2] The Center has also been associated with several prominent Democrats, including Cliff Sloan, Walter Dellinger, Seth Waxman, Griffin Bell, and Robert Strauss.[4]

NLCP publications frequently supported tort reform, the corporate interest, and were critical of the "impossibilities" of the Americans With Disabilities Act.[5][6][7] NLCP also ran a "Federal judge identification program" that sought "to identify those who believe that the appropriate role of the judiciary is to interpret the law, not make it." [5]

According to a 1990 column by David Margolick, the national legal affairs editor at The New York Times, "This is a group that has taken the famous dictum of Charles E. Wilson one step further. It is no longer only what's good for General Motors that is good for America, but what's good for Dow Chemical, Amway, Shell Oil, 3M and others represented on the legal center's board of directors." [5]

##### Merger with AEI

In September 2007, the NLC was merged into the conservative American Enterprise Institute to become the AEI Legal Center for the Public Interest, directed by AEI resident fellow Ted Frank.[8] AEI's existing legal and constitutional studies program, Federalism Project, and Liability Project were subsumed into the AEI Legal Center.

##### References

#### Patriot Prayer

Patriot Prayer is a far-right group based in the Portland, Oregon area.[1][2] Patriot Prayer describes itself as advocating in favor of free speech,[3] and opposing big government.[4][5] The group has organized rallies in support of Donald Trump[6] and far-right protests in predominantly liberal areas, which have been met with large numbers of counter-protesters.[7][8] White nationalists as well as far-right groups, such as Proud Boys,[9] and Hell Shaking Street Preachers,[10][11][12] have

attended the rallies organized by Patriot Prayer, sparking controversy and violence.[13][14][15]

An infiltrator into Patriot Prayer said that the group had only around 15 core members.[16]

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## Overview

Joey Gibson, founder of Patriot Prayer, at a demonstration in Seattle

Patriot Prayer was founded in 2016[2] by Joey Gibson.[17] Gibson says he became an activist after seeing a brawl start between supporters of the Trump presidency and counter protesters.[18] Patriot Prayer is a far-right group,[19] part of the Right wing of American politics.[20] It holds rallies in areas known as centers of liberal politics.[21][failed verification] It has also been described as anti-government.[22][23][24][25] The San Jose Mercury News describes Patriot Prayer as a "right-wing group ... [whose] events ... have attracted white supremacists and ended up in violent confrontations among demonstrators on both sides".[2] In 2017 Gibson described himself as Conservative libertarian.[26]

According to the BBC, Patriot Prayer have been connected to the alt-right as well as other far-right groups.[21] Gibson denies this, saying the group is neither white nationalist nor alt-right and that they support "freedom, love and peace".[27] The group's stated aim is support of the First Amendment, free speech and to "liberate the conservatives on the West Coast".[18]

The Seattle Times and The Washington Post have described Patriot Prayer as a "pro-Trump group".[28][29] According to The Weekly Standard, "In the early days, his [Gibson's] rallies had overtly pro-Trump themes. These days, mentions of Trump have mostly been scrubbed from his own rhetoric, as he knows even invoking the name can be alienating." [30]

Patriot Prayer has made allegations against the Council on American–Islamic Relations (CAIR) calling the group a "Muslim extremist organization". Its supporters have made threats online against CAIR, prompting an investigation by authorities.[31][32][33]

Patriot Prayer has a history of harassing and assaulting Abolish ICE and other leftist activists.[34][35][36]

David Neiwert, writing for the Southern Poverty Law Center blog Hatewatch, described Patriot Prayer as "trolling" the Pacific Northwest with the intention of provoking a response from far-left antifascists.[37] Neiwert noted that Gibson denounced white supremacists and neo-Nazis during an August 13 rally in Seattle the day after the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, and described that Gibson explained in subsequent interviews that he aims to "actively exclude" white supremacist groups.[37] During the August 13 rally in Seattle such groups had no obvious presence; however, a week earlier at another rally in Portland, Oregon, which was led by Gibson, members of Identity Evropa were in attendance.[38][39] The SPLC reportedly does not list Patriot Prayer as a hate group.[40] SPLC narrates them as "violent extremists" on their website.[41][42]

## Activities

Prior to the violence at the Unite the Right Rally in Charlotteville, the Patriot Prayer rallies featured "right-wing nationalists".[43][44] Since Charlottesville the group has tried to distance themselves from the alt-right.[45][46]

## Portland

On April 2, 2017, approximately 300 people of both, supporters and opposition of President Donald Trump exchanged words, during a pro-Trump rally at Vancouver's Esther Short Park on Sunday afternoon, near Portland, but was relatively peaceful.[47] Security for the Patriot Prayer rally, "Rally for Trump and Freedom" was provided by the 3 Percenters (often spelled III%).[48][49]

Following the cancellation of a Rose Festival event due to threats of violence against the Multnomah County Republican Party who were to take part in the rally, allegedly from anti-fascist groups,[50] Gibson organized a "March for Free Speech" to occur on April 29, 2017.[51] Gibson told the Guardian, "We are going to continue with our rally. There is no way that we will stop. It is even more important that we come out with a strong message of love." [52] There were an estimated 60 counter protesters and police said there had been three arrests.[53] Jeremy Joseph Christian, who was later arrested for the fatal stabbing of two men in an apparently racially-motivated attack, was seen at the march yelling racial slurs.[54] Gibson denounced Christian's actions and said he ejected Christian from the April 2, 2017, event due to his "bizarre behavior".[52]

On May 11 and 13, 2017, Patriot Prayer organized the attendance of a dozen "antifa watchers" at a protest at a south-east Portland grocery liquidator. Interviewed by The Oregonian, Gibson said the group were there to watch the protest and report any property damage, and that he attended "to start conversations".[55]

Demonstrators at Patriot Prayer's "Trump Free Speech Rally" on June 4, 2017

A June 4 "Trump Free Speech Rally" in downtown Portland[54] attracted a large counter-protest and 14 people were arrested, after Portland's mayor Ted Wheeler unsuccessfully sought to have the event's permit revoked.[56][57][3] That has held rallies from the San Francisco Bay Area.[58] According to The Washington Post, this rally provided "a vivid illustration of the city's divisions".[56] The rally caused controversy as it was scheduled one week after the stabbings by Jeremy Christian. The mayor of Portland, Ted Wheeler had requested that federal authorities revoke the permit saying he was concerned over increasing tensions in the city due to the stabbings. The General Services Administration denied the request, stating that the permit had been lawfully obtained weeks beforehand.[59] The Oregon chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union's legal director, Mat Dos Santos, said it was unconstitutional of Wheeler to attempt to prevent the demonstration based on the political and personal viewpoints of those who organized the event.[60] Gibson cancelled the event citing safety concerns.[61]

By the end of the month Patriot Prayer gathered for their "Freedom March" on June 30, 2017, at the Portland Waterfront near the annual Blues Festival, and were met by counter-protesters. The often heated exchanges of the dueling rallies ended with minimal violence and no reports of arrests.[62][63][64] The rally occurred in the midst of a national debate on the First Amendment, one which has seen violent clashes between right-wing and left-wing groups over appearances by contentious public figures, often in liberal cities such as Portland.[57] The atmosphere in Portland had also become tense after Christian's recent arrest for the train attack.[65][66][67]

On August 6, 2017, it was much smaller crowds for their "Freedom March" at Salmon Street Springs, Portland, but it followed the well-established pattern with a few arrests of counter protesters and a lot of shouting and chants from both the Patriot Prayer group and counter protesters.[68][69]

For the September 10, 2017, Portland, "Peaceful Portland Freedom March", Joey Gibson asked followers take a new non-violent approach though not all appear willing to go along[70] and the counter-protests also appear to be settling on a number of different measures depending on the organization.[71][72][73] In an attempt to out-manuever counter-protesters, Patriot Prayer switched their planned march to Vancouver, Washington, just across the river from Portland and changed the time of the event; but a small cohort of followers intend to go to the original march site to provoke the counter-protesters. In another change, this once pro-Trump organization, will now be collecting charitable relief for the victims of the recent Eagle Creek fire in the Columbia River Gorge, and the new rally is renamed, "Peaceful Vancouver Freedom March".[74] The small rallies drew large counter-protest crowds in both Portland and Vancouver with several arrests and the detention of the driver of a pickup that sped through a crowd of counter-protesters, no injuries were reported.[15][75] Among those drawn to the rallies were the militia-style Three Percenters, and the Proud Boys, a white nationalist group.[76][14][15]

On June 3, 2018, Patriot Prayer and anti-fascists again fought in parks in downtown Portland. Police arrested four people for disorderly conduct.[77] Participants threw rocks, bottles, ball bearings, and fireworks at each other.[78] The Portland Mercury reports that Patriot Prayer organized the rally as a counter-protest to another leftist rally led by the Empower Portland Alliance and the Direct Action Alliance. This earlier rally was intended to protest police violence and to commemorate the anniversary of an incident a year earlier when Portland police detained 200 people for several hours. In response to Patriot Prayer's plans to counter-protest this earlier rally, local antifa groups organized a counter-protest of Patriot Prayer, calling this third rally "Call to Resist Patriot Prayer Bringing Nazis to Portland." [79] Pepper spray was used by a Multnomah County sheriff's deputy and by demonstrators. Police report that although there were several people who were evaluated medically at the parks, no one was transported to the hospital.

On June 30, 2018, a Patriot Prayer rally that consisted of 150 supporters clashed with anti-fascists protesters who had been waiting for them at a barricaded street. Police observed "assaults, criminal behavior, and projectiles being thrown". Reports suggest that the counter-protesters initiated the violence when they began assaulting the Patriot Prayer supporters with thrown projectiles.[80] Subsequently, the permit to march through downtown Portland was revoked, and the police declared the Patriot Prayer rally a riot. The police fired non-lethal ammunition towards the counter-protestors and 9 people in all were arrested.[81][82]

A rally called the "Gibson for Senate Freedom March", including members of both Patriot Prayer and the Proud Boys, was held in Portland on August 4, 2018, along Tom McCall Waterfront Park.[83] It attracted counter-protestors, both from a coalition of labor unions, immigrant rights advocates, and other groups, and from organized antifa ("anti-fascist") activists. Hundreds of riot-gearred policeman, from both the Portland Police and the Oregon State Police attempted to keep the two groups apart, using rubber bullets and flashbangs when protestors refused to move. At one point, the police forces came under attack from rocks and bottles. Police reported that they confiscated weapons including fireworks, long sticks, baseball bats, pepper spray and home-made shields. There were injuries, and arrests were made, but the police characterized the event as a "civil disturbance" and not a "riot". The event also featured people wearing T-shirts saying

"Pinochet Did Nothing Wrong" with an image of people dropped from a helicopter and "RWDS" (Right-Wing Death Squad) both of which were also spotted in Charlottesville.[84][85][86][87][88][89]

In October 2018, the Portland police announced that it had found members of the organization carrying loaded firearms on the roof of a parking garage overlooking the site of the August protest; the people carrying them had concealed carry permits. The police confiscated the weapons and made the people leave the roof.[90]

On November 17, 2018, an offshoot of Patriot Prayer scheduled a Him Too rally at Terry Schunk Plaza in downtown Portland, and was met with counter protesters.[91][92][93]

Rose City Antifa has organized opposition to Patriot Prayer rallies in Portland.[52]

In January 2019, Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson, Proud Boy Tusitala "Tiny" Toese and former Proud Boy Russell Schultz initiated a campaign to tear off the bandanas of anti-fascist (antifa) demonstrators and taking pictures of their faces. The announcement of the campaign came shortly after an altercation that took place when Patriot Prayer and Proud Boys members attempted and failed to invade a chapter meeting of the left-wing organization Democratic Socialists of America. The groups clashed with anti-fascist activists nearby after being denied entry to the meeting, and claimed to be attacked.[94][95][96]

In August 2019, Gibson, along with five other far-right extremists, was arrested for his actions in connection with a riot that took place in Portland on May 1. As a result of the riot, which took place outside a tavern, a woman was beaten unconscious and had her vertebrae broken.[97][98][99] A Navy veteran referred to as "Ben", who had infiltrated Patriot Prayer and took videos of the violence at their rallies, was expected to testify at Gibson's trial.[16]

#### Seattle area

On May 1, 2017, Patriot Prayer went to counter-protest at Seattle's May Day parade with their "Stand Against Communism" rally. The events were mostly peaceful with arrests of counter protesters.[100]

On June 15, 2017, Patriot Prayer members held a rally at Evergreen State College, timed to coincide with one by the Evergreen Anti-Fascist Community Defense Network.[101] The former promoted solidarity with Bret Weinstein, whose critical comments about an event for racial awareness had ignited campus protests.[102] One arrest was made at the event after the vehicles of the group leader Joey Gibson and one other person had their tires slashed, allegedly by a member of antifa.[103]

On August 13, 2017, the group held the "Freedom Rally Seattle" at Westlake Park with a large police presence to keep thousands of counter-protesters away. The concurrent events came one day after the death and injuries in Charlottesville and tensions were high with arrests of counter protesters made by police.[104][105][106][107]

On February 10, 2018, Patriot Prayer were invited by the University of Washington College Republicans to speak at their "Freedom Rally" in Red Square. Several groups organized counter-protests, leading to skirmishes. Five people were arrested.[108]

#### San Francisco Bay area

A rally which was to be held at Crissy Field in San Francisco on August 26, 2017 was cancelled by Gibson.[109][110] In response to allegations by Nancy Pelosi that the event was intended to be a "white supremacist rally",[40] Gibson said "For those of you who believe we are seriously going to throw a white nationalist supremacist rally in San Francisco, it's time for logic." In a video posted to his Facebook page Gibson said, "We have a black speaker, two Hispanic speakers, we've got an Asian, a brown speaker right here (referring to himself) – we got a transsexual, and we aren't talking about race." [111] Security for the event was to be handled by the Oath Keepers.[112]

On August 26, 2017, news of a planned Patriot Prayer press conference in San Francisco's Alamo Square Park drew over 1000 counter-protesters to the neighborhood. The group, which had already canceled a planned rally at Crissy Field due to safety concerns, held the press conference in Pacifica instead.[110][113] Prior to the event, the group's leader, Joey Gibson, denounced white supremacists before an August 2017 rally, saying "Don't show up, you're not welcome." [114] Group organizers arrived at Crissy Field later that afternoon to talk with counter-protesters.[115]

A September 26, 2017 Patriot Prayer demonstration near Sproul Plaza resulted in violence between the group and left-wing activists, including By Any Means Necessary (BAMN). The demonstration continued in a march to People's Park, where Kyle "Stickman" Chapman, a self-described American nationalist[116] claimed there was "a war on whites" and a "battle for Berkeley". Police made three arrests, including Yvette Felarca.[117]

#### Relationship with the Portland police

In February 2019, Willamette Week reported that Portland police lieutenant Jeff Niiya kept in close touch with Gibson, passing on to him intelligence about the anti-fascist movement in the city. He also advised Gibson on how a Patriot Prayer member could avoid being arrested.[118] On February 21, a public "listening session" convened by the PPB consisted in large part of strong criticism of the bureau.[119]

On March 1, 2019, The Guardian said that it had obtained video which showed Portland police officers approaching Patriot Prayer leader Joey Gibson at a June 3, 2018 rally, and telling him that even though Niiya had probable cause to arrest several members of the group, they could avoid being arrested by leaving. The officers inform Gibson of who the members who would be arrested were (Tusitala "Tiny" Toese and another man), and tell him that they had already arrested members of "the other side". Five days after the rally, Toese and Donovan Flippo – a member of Proud Boys – allegedly attacked a man in Portland. They were later indicted for the incident by a grand jury. The Portland Police Bureau did not comment on the video because their investigation on the relationship between Niiya and Patriot Prayer is ongoing. [119]

The Guardian also reported that in December 2017, Lt. Niiya told Gibson that the police would not execute a warrant for the arrest of Toese. In a text, Niiya wrote "Just make sure he doesn't do anything which may draw our attention. ... If he still has the warrant in the system (I don't run you guys so I don't personally know) the officers could arrest him. I don't see a need to arrest on the warrant unless there is a reason." He also indicated that police officers had ignored previous arrest warrants for Toese.[119]

Portland's Independent Police Review investigated Niiya and cleared him in September 2019; determining that he was gathering information on the groups and trying to defuse potential clashes with his advice.[120]

#### Collegiate Network

The Collegiate Network (CN) is a program that provides financial and technical assistance to student editors and writers of roughly 100 independent, conservative and libertarian publications at colleges and universities around the United States. Member publications have a combined annual distribution of more than two million.[1] Since 1995, the CN has been administered by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI), headquartered in Wilmington, Delaware.[2]

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#### Mission

According to its web site, CN supports college publications which "serve to focus public awareness on the politicization of American college and university classrooms, curricula, student life, and the resulting decline of educational standards." [3] Newspapers and journals in the CN regularly call attention to what they interpret as corruption and hypocrisy in campus administrations' and student groups' policies, argue in favor of free speech in liberal education, encourage discussion and debate, and train students in the principles and practices of journalism.[4]

#### History

In 1979, the Institute For Educational Affairs (IEA) responded to the request of two University of Chicago students for start-up funding for a new conservative newspaper, Counterpoint.[5][6][7] By 1980, the grant program had been expanded and named the Collegiate Network, and by 1983, under the continuing administration of the IEA, had added both internships and persistent operating grants for conservative campus newspapers. In 1990, the Madison Center for Educational Affairs merged with the IEA to maintain funding for what had expanded to 57 conservative student publications. The Intercollegiate Studies Institute took over operations in 1995 and has since administered the CN from Wilmington, Delaware.

#### Member publications

CN member publications include:[8][4]

The Brown Spectator, Brown University  
California Patriot, University of California, Berkeley  
The Centurion, Rutgers University  
The Cornell Review, Cornell University  
The Dartmouth Review, Dartmouth College  
The Harvard Ichthus, Harvard University  
The Harvard Salient, Harvard University  
The Kenyon Observer, Kenyon College  
The Michigan Review, University of Michigan  
The UPenn Statesman, University of Pennsylvania  
The Prince Arthur Herald, McGill University  
Princeton Tory, Princeton University  
The Stanford Review, Stanford University  
Texas Review of Law and Politics, University of Texas at Austin  
The Villanova Times, Villanova University



The Virginia Informer, College of William & Mary  
The Tower, Trinity University  
The Irish Rover[9], University of Notre Dame

#### Christian Coalition of America

The Christian Coalition of America (CCA), a 501(c)(4) organization, is the successor to the original Christian Coalition created in 1989 by religious broadcaster and former presidential candidate Marion Gordon "Pat" Robertson.[1] This US Christian advocacy group includes members of various Christian denominations, including Baptists (50%), mainline Protestants (25%), Roman Catholics (16%), Pentecostals (10% to 15%), among communicants of other Churches.[2][3]

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#### History

##### Formation

In 1988, following a well-funded but failed bid for the U.S. presidency, Pat Robertson, a religious broadcaster and political commentator, used the remainder of his campaign resources to jump-start the formation of a voter-mobilization effort dubbed the Christian Coalition. Americans for Robertson accumulated a mailing list of several million conservative Christians interested in politics. This mailing provided the basis of the new organization.

The coalition had four original directors: Robertson; his son Gordon Robertson; Dick Weinhold, head of the Texas organization; and, Billy McCormack, pastor of the University Worship Center in Shreveport, Louisiana. McCormack had headed the Louisiana division of Americans for Robertson in 1988[4] and was also the vice president of the coalition.[5]

After its founding, the Christian Coalition applied to become a tax-exempt charitable organization with the Internal Revenue Service.[6] Forty-nine state chapters formed as independent corporations within their states, including the Christian Coalition of Texas. A handful, including the Christian Coalition of Texas, successfully obtained tax-exempt status as social-welfare organizations. After ten years, the Internal Revenue Service declined the Christian Coalition's application for charitable status because it engaged in political activities.[6] In response, the Christian Coalition of Texas was renamed the Christian Coalition of America, and the organization relocated in order to work nationwide.[6]

##### Voter guides

In 1990, the national Christian Coalition, Inc., headquartered in Chesapeake, Virginia, began producing non-partisan voter guides which it distributed to conservative Christian churches. Complaints that the voter guides were partisan led to the denial by the IRS of the Christian Coalition, Inc.'s tax-exempt status in 1999.[7] Later that same year, the Coalition prevailed in its five-year defense of a lawsuit brought by the Federal Election Commission.[8]

Ralph Reed, an Emory University Ph.D. candidate, whom Robertson had met when the younger man was working as a waiter at an inaugural dinner for George H. W. Bush in January 1989, took control of day-to-day operations of the coalition in 1989 as its founding executive director. He remained in the post until August 1997 when he left to enter partisan political consulting, founding his new firm Century Strategies, based near Atlanta, Georgia.[9]

##### Political involvement

Robertson served as the organization's president from its founding until June 1997, when President Reagan's Cabinet Secretary Donald P. Hodel was named president of the CCA, and former U. S. Representative Randy Tate (R-WA) was named executive director.[10][11] Upon announcement of Hodel becoming president of the CCA, Robertson expressed a desire to serve the grassroots activists that made up the Coalition: "...I am here. Not only because I felt God's call on me but that I knew of God's call on you." [citation needed]

Grover Norquist, Washington insider, president of Americans for Tax Reform, and an old Reed ally, said of the appointments: "What you've got is Reagan and Gingrich. Hodel is a Reagan Republican and Tate is a Gingrich Republican." [12]

Late in 1997 the CCA was ranked by Fortune magazine as the 7th most powerful political organization in America.[13]

After a disagreement with Robertson, Hodel left in January 1999[14] and Tate soon followed. Robertson took over the presidency. Later in 2001 he turned it and the chairmanship over to Roberta Combs, the group's Executive Vice President and former State Chairman of South Carolina, when he officially left the Coalition.[15]

2000s

In 2000, the Coalition moved from Chesapeake, Virginia, to a large office on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. Combs is the current president and CEO of the Christian Coalition of America. She is a founding state director and has been the only woman on the board of directors in the history of the Christian Coalition of America. Since moving to the capital, Combs installed members of her family as high-ranking officials in the group, including her daughter Michele Ammons and son-in-law Tracy Ammons. Michele and Tracy Ammons later divorced. Combs fired her former son-in-law Tracy Ammons after her daughter received a judgement against him for alimony and child support. Combs had filed an affidavit on her behalf on Coalition letterhead.[16][17]

In November 2002, Combs down-sized the staff and moved the organization's offices from Washington, D.C., to a suburb of Charleston, South Carolina. The Coalition reduced its lobbyists in Washington from a dozen to one.[18] The Christian Coalition was later sued for \$1,890 by Reese & Sons Enterprises of Maryland, the moving company it used for transporting its goods to South Carolina, because of failure to pay the wrapping and packing fee. The Coalition lost in court in Richmond, Virginia, and finally paid the movers.[19][20][21]

Other reported debts have been \$69,729 owed to its longtime law firm, Huff, Poole & Mahoney PC of Virginia Beach, and Global Direct, a fundraising firm in Oklahoma, sued for \$87,000 in expenses.[17] From the time Robertson left the group in 2001 until 2006, the Coalition's influence greatly declined. Revenue declined from a high of \$26.5 million in 1996 to \$1.3 million in 2004. The organization's 2004 income tax return showed the Christian Coalition to be technically bankrupt, with debts exceeding assets by more than \$2 million.[20]

In 2005, the Coalition finally concluded a settlement agreement with the Internal Revenue Service, ending its long-running battle with that agency regarding its tax exempt status.[22] As a result, the IRS has recognized the Coalition as a 501(c)(4) tax-exempt organization, the first time in the agency's history that it has granted a letter of exemption to a group that stated in its application that it would distribute voter guides directly in churches. The consent decree enforces limitations on the terminology that may be used in the Coalition's voter guides.[22]

In late 2005, the Washington Post reported that the Christian Coalition was unable to pay its office postage bill to Pitney Bowes. In addition, it had not paid new lawyers in Virginia Beach; the law firm sued the Coalition.[19][23]

In March 2006, the Christian Coalition of Iowa renamed itself the Iowa Christian Alliance. In splitting from the national group, the Iowa Christian Alliance cited "the current problems facing the Christian Coalition of America". In August 2006, the Christian Coalition of Alabama split from the national group. It later renamed itself Christian Action Alabama.[20][24]

In November 2006, the president-elect of the Christian Coalition of America resigned his post, citing a difference in philosophy over which issues the organization should embrace. Reverend Joel Hunter, currently the senior pastor of the Northland Church in Longwood, Florida, was to assume the presidency in January. However, Hunter stated the Coalition's leaders resisted his calls to expand their issue base, saying it would not expand the agenda beyond opposing abortion and same-sex marriage. Hunter also said he wanted to focus on rebuilding the Coalition's once powerful grassroots, an appeal he says board members rejected. "After initial willingness to consider these changes, the board of the CCA decided, 'that is fine, but that is not who we are,'" Hunter said. Combs continues as the Coalition's president.[25]

#### Coalition for Religious Freedom

The Coalition for Religious Freedom is a religious right organization founded by Tim LaHaye and Robert Grant to lobby against government regulation of religion. In the 1980s the organization concentrated its efforts on defending the Unification Church.

#### Christianity.com

Christianity.com is a site owned and operated by Salem Web Network and headquartered in Richmond, Virginia. The stated focus of Christianity.com is to provide Christian content and interactive tools to help people understand Christianity. The site has a conservative, Protestant theological tone. Pastors, authors, and speakers such as John F. MacArthur, Adrian Rogers, Kay Arthur, Chuck Swindoll, Hank Hanegraaff, and John Piper contribute to the site.

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#### Traffic

Traffic for the site is between 2 and 3 million page views per month.[2][citation needed]

#### History

When it originally debuted in 1999, Christianity.com was headquartered in Silicon Valley, California. Spencer Jones from Christian Broadcasting Network (who invested \$10 million in the startup) and David Davenport, who was head of Pepperdine University for 10 years, served as COO and CEO. Other funding and credit partners are Sequoia Capital,

which invested \$10 million, and Comdisco Ventures Group, which loaned \$10 million for equipment and services.[3] In the middle of the dotcom bust the company went bankrupt and on December 18, 2001, the domain name was purchased by a successful startup.com named Renewal Enterprises, LLC,[4] located in Alexandria, Virginia, which had also started in 1999, but to much less fanfare.

Salem Web Network announced the acquisition of Christianity.com from Renewal Enterprises on February 11, 2005[5] for approximately \$3.4 million.

#### Online Bible Search Engine

Christianity.com's sister site Biblestudytools.com[6] offers bible browsing functionality and a number of search functions as well as a variety of other study tools.

#### Campaign for Working Families

Campaign for Working Families is a conservative political action committee founded in 1998 that focuses on support for traditionalism and free enterprise. While it is a nonpartisan organization,[1] it tends to support Republicans more than Democrats.[2][3] The campaign is headed by Gary Lee Bauer.[4]

## G3-500k range

### CatholicVote.org

CatholicVote.org is a conservative,[1][2][3][4] non-profit political advocacy group based in the United States. While the organization acknowledges the authority of the Magisterium, it is independent of the Catholic Church.[5] It had a stated goal of "electing new pro-life and pro-family candidates to Congress and, of course, electing a pro-life candidate to the Presidency in 2012." [6]

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#### Structure

CatholicVote.org is divided into three organizations:

CatholicVote.org, a project of Fidelis, a Catholic organization.[7][8][9][10][11]

CatholicVote.org Political Action Committee is an affiliated non-partisan political action committee which assists selected candidates in their election campaigns. CatholicVote PAC is the group's connected political action committee; its goal is to "provide qualified candidates with direct financial support while working independently to mobilize voters to elect candidates whom we believe will be faithful stewards of Catholic social teaching and the common good." [5] In 2010, it made campaign contributions to six Republicans and one Democrat.[12]

CatholicVote.org Education Fund is a 501(c)3 tax-deductible program which comprises two units: the CatholicVote.org Education Fund and the CatholicVote.org Legal Action Fund.

#### History

##### Domain name

The CatholicVote.org domain name was first used by the Catholic Alliance in early 2000.[13] The Catholic Alliance was a grassroots group of Americans who agreed with the platform of the fundamental evangelical Protestant Christian Coalition but wished to widen the Coalition's scope to include Catholics.[14] The Catholic Alliance, formed in 1995, held the website until mid-2002. The next owner of the domain name was Larry Cirignano, founder of Catholic Vote, later called Catholic Citizenship. He used the domain for six years until mid-2008.[15][16] The Fidelis Center began operating the domain in October 2008, initially redirecting it to CatholicVote.com. The first published articles linked on the site included ones by co-founders Brian Burch and Joshua Mercer. The Fidelis Center subsequently sold the domain to Fidelis, a related, but independent 501(c)4 organization which operates the domain today.[17]

##### Fidelis

CatholicVote.org is run under the umbrella of the Fidelis Center, a Catholic non-profit group. "Imagine Spot 1" was the first release of the national media campaign "Life: Imagine the Potential" in 2009. In ten days it recorded over 700,000 hits.[18] The commercial centers around the story of President Barack Obama, showing an ultrasound image and saying that despite a hard childhood, the unborn child will grow up to be President of the United States.[19] The advert was rejected by both NBC for airing during the Super Bowl[18] and CNN for airing during coverage of President Obama's first State of the Union Address.[20]

The second commercial was also released in 2009, "Imagine Spot 2". This commercial featured Nelson Mandela. It was aired in selected markets during the American Idol season 8 finale.[7]

In 2010 CatholicVote.org organized a petition urging the United States Postal Service to move forward with issuing a Mother Teresa commemorative stamp despite opposition by the Freedom From Religion Foundation and similar groups.[21] The petition gained over 146,000 signatures.[22]

##### Backlash

On June 25, 2015, one day before same-sex marriage became legal everywhere in the United States, CatholicVote.org uploaded a video onto YouTube called "Not Alone".[23] The video, which shows Catholic people who oppose same-sex marriage, features those Catholic people defending themselves and all others who oppose same-sex marriage, saying that people should not hate or dislike those who oppose same-sex marriage.[24][25] "Not Alone" quickly received a minimum of a million views on YouTube.[23] "Not Alone" received lots of massive backlash due to the video's message.[24] On YouTube, "Not Alone" both received many more dislikes than likes[23][24] and received a lot of negative comments.[25] Parodies of "Not Alone" appeared very quickly.[23][24] Many websites condemned "Not Alone" and called

the people who are in the video "bigots" or "anti-gay".[25]

Kemberlee Kaye of Legal Insurrection defended the video.[26] CatholicVote.org president Brian Burch said "literally tens of thousands of people are emailing, saying: 'thank you for speaking up for me. I don't agree with the Supreme Court decision, but I don't hate anyone.' "[25]

#### Council of Conservative Citizens

The Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC or CCC) is an American white supremacist organization.[4][5] Founded in 1985, it advocates white nationalism, and supports some paleoconservative causes.[6] In the organization's statement of principles, it states that they "oppose all efforts to mix the races of mankind".[7]

Headquartered in St. Louis, Missouri,[3] as of 2015, the group's president is Earl Holt; Jared Taylor is the group's spokesman, and Paul Fromm is its international director.[8]

The CofCC traces its provenance to the segregationist Citizens' Councils of America, which was founded in 1954, but had slipped to obscurity by 1973. The original CofCC mailing list came from the Citizen's Council, as did several members of the CofCC Board of Directors.[1][9]

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#### History

The Council of Conservative Citizens was founded in 1985 in Atlanta, Georgia, and relocated to St. Louis, Missouri. The CofCC was formed by white supremacists, including some former members of the Citizens' Councils of America, sometimes called the White Citizens' Councils, a segregationist organization that was prominent in the 1950s through 1970. Lester Maddox, former governor of Georgia, was a charter member.[10] Gordon Lee Baum, a retired personal injury lawyer, was CEO until he died in March 2015.[11][12] Earl P. Holt III of Longview, Texas[13][14] is the president. Leonard Wilson, a former Alabama State Committeeman for both Republican and Democratic parties and state commander for the Sons of Confederate Veterans, was a founder.[15]

The organization often holds meetings with various other ethno-nationalist organizations in the United States, and sometimes meets with nationalist organizations from Europe. In 1997, several members of the CofCC attended an event hosted by Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front party.

Following several articles detailing some of its members' past involvement with the White Citizens' Councils, several conservative politicians distanced themselves from the organization. Although Representative Bob Barr had spoken at CofCC functions, in 1999 he rejected the group, saying he found the group's racial views to be "repugnant," and that he had not realized the nature of the group when he agreed to speak at the group's meeting.[16] Barr gave the keynote speech at its 1998 national convention.[17]

In later years, the press reported the involvement of other politicians with the CofCC. For instance, U.S. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott had also been a member of the CofCC. Following the press report, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Jim Nicholson, denounced the CofCC for holding "racist and nationalist views" and demanded that Lott formally denounce the organization. Although Lott refused to denounce the organization, he said that he had resigned his membership. Subsequently, Nicholson demanded Lott denounce his former segregationist views following a speech he gave at Senator Strom Thurmond's birthday dinner in 2002, when Lott praised the Senator's 1948 Dixiecrat presidential campaign.[18] Following the controversy sparked by Nicholson's demands, Lott apologized for his past support for segregation, his past associations, and his remarks at Thurmond's birthday. This caused him loss of support from a number of important segregationists, not least Thurmond himself. Consequently, Lott resigned his post as Senate Minority Leader.

Similarly, former House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt (D) had attended an event of the organization's St. Louis predecessor, the "Metro-South Citizens Council", shortly before the name was changed in the mid-1980s. He has repeatedly said that this was a mistake.[19]

In 1993, Mike Huckabee, then the Lieutenant Governor of Arkansas, agreed to speak at the CofCC's national convention in Memphis, Tennessee, in his campaign for the governorship of Arkansas. By the time of the CofCC convention, Huckabee was unable to leave Arkansas. He sent a videotaped speech, which "was viewed and extremely well received by the audience," according to the CofCC newsletter.[20] However, following his election as governor, in April 1994, Huckabee withdrew from a speaking engagement before the CofCC. He commented, "I will not participate in any program that has racist overtones. I've spent a lifetime fighting racism and anti-Semitism." [21]

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and the Miami Herald tallied 38 federal, state, and local politicians who appeared at CofCC events between 2000 and 2004.[22] The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) says the following politicians are members or have spoken at meetings: Senator Trent Lott, Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour, Mississippi state senators Gary Jackson, and Dean Kirby, several Mississippi state representatives. Speakers have included Ex-governors Guy Hunt of Alabama, and Kirk Fordice of Mississippi. U.S. Senator Roger Wicker[23] of Mississippi is said to have attended as well.[24]

In 2005, the Council of Conservative Citizens held its National Conference in Montgomery, Alabama. George Wallace Jr., an Alabama Public Service Commissioner and former State Treasurer who was then running for Lieutenant Governor, and Sonny Landham, an actor, spoke at the conference.

Mississippi is the only state that has major politicians who are openly CofCC members, including State Senators and State Representatives. The CofCC once claimed 34 members in the Mississippi legislature.[25]

#### Platform

The CofCC considers itself a traditionalist group opposing liberals and what they refer to as mainstream conservatives; it supports national self-determination, immigration restriction, federalism, and home rule, and opposes free trade and global capitalism. Its specific issues include states' rights, race relations (especially interracial marriage, which it opposes), and Christian right values. They have criticized Martin Luther King, Jr., who is considered by the organization as a left-wing agitator of Black American communities with notable ties to communism, and holding personal sexual morals unworthy of a person deserving national recognition.[26] They consider the American Civil Rights Movement and the Frankfurt School as elementally subversive to the separation of powers under the United States Constitution. The Council of Conservative Citizens is active in organizing the restriction, reduction, or moratorium of immigration, enforcing laws and regulations against illegal aliens, ending what they see as racial discrimination against whites through affirmative action and racial quotas, overturning Supreme Court rulings and Congressional Acts such as busing for desegregation and gun control, ending free trade economic policy, and supporting a traditionalist sexual morality, which includes promotion of the Defense of Marriage Act and opposition to the inclusion of homosexuality as a civil right.

The CofCC's statement of principles condemns the federal government's intervention into state and local affairs in forcing racial integration (item 2), free-trade and globalism, immigration by non-Europeans (item 2), homosexuality, and interracial marriage (item 6).[7] CofCC's materials in 2001 said, "God is the author of racism. God is the One who divided mankind into different types. Mixing the races is rebelliousness against God." [27]

In a 2015 statement, president Earl Holt wrote, "The CofCC is one of perhaps three websites in the world that accurately and honestly report black-on-white violent crime, and in particular, the seemingly endless incidents involving black-on-white murder." [28]

The CofCC publishes the Citizens Informer newspaper quarterly. Previous editors include Samuel T. Francis.[29]

#### Reception

Various critics describe the organization as a hate group. Most conservatives do not consider it to be conservative, and believe that the organization added the word conservative to their name in order to hide their true ideology.[30] The New York Times called it a white separatist group with a thinly veiled white supremacist agenda.[31] The Anti-Defamation League said "Although the group claims not to be racist, its leaders traffic with other white supremacist groups".[24] The CofCC is considered by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) to be part of the "neo-confederate movement,"[32] and organizations such as the NAACP, League of United Latin American Citizens and the Anti-Defamation League consider it a threat.[citation needed] Max Blumenthal has called it America's premier racist organization and elementally dangerous to America.[33]

Conservative columnist Ann Coulter has defended the group against charges of racism, stating on the basis of a viewing of their website that there is "no evidence" that the CofCC supports segregation.[34] Coulter and Pat Buchanan are listed as being recommended columnists on the organization's official website.

Mass murderer Dylann Roof, perpetrator of the 2015 Charleston church shooting, searched the Internet for information on "black on White crime", and wrote in his manifesto, "The Last Rhodesian," that the first website he found was the CofCC's.[35] He cited its portrayal of "black on White murders" as something that radically changed him ("I have never been the same since that day").[36][37] The CofCC issued a statement on its website "unequivocally condemn[ing]" the attack, but that Roof has some "legitimate grievances" against black people. An additional statement from Earl Holt III, president of the CofCC, disavowed responsibility for the crime and stated that the group's website "accurately and honestly report[s] black-on-white violent crime".[38] In the days following Roof's arrest and subsequent investigation it was revealed that Holt had made campaign contributions to several conservative politicians including 2016 Republican presidential candidates Ted Cruz, Rick Santorum, Scott Walker and Rand Paul, as well as Tom Cotton and Mia Love; all subsequently announced that they would return Holt's contributions or donate them to a fund for the families of Roof's victims.[39][40][41]

See also

#### Cooler Heads Coalition

The Cooler Heads Coalition is a politically conservative<sup>[1]</sup> "informal and ad-hoc group" in the United States, financed and operated by the Competitive Enterprise Institute.<sup>[2]</sup> The group, which rejects climate science, is known to promote falsehoods about climate change and has been characterized as a leader in efforts to stop the government from addressing climate change.<sup>[3][4]</sup>

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#### Operation

The Coalition operates a website and blog, and publishes the e-newsletter Cooler Heads Digest (last issued in 2012). It was founded by Consumer Alert.<sup>[5]</sup>

The Washington Post described the group as "in the vanguard of efforts to cast doubt on the gravity of climate change and thwart government efforts to address it."<sup>[3]</sup> The New Yorker has described the Cooler Heads Coalition as "an umbrella organization operated by the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a nonprofit that prides itself on its opposition to environmentalists."<sup>[4]</sup> In the 2011 Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society, the Cooler Heads Coalition was listed as one of the "front groups" that form "key components of the climate change denial machine".<sup>[6]</sup> According to the Intercept, Myron Ebell, the head of the Cooler Heads Coalition "has spent most of his career tossing out industry-funded nonsense bombs about climate change."<sup>[7]</sup>

The Cooler Heads Coalition describes itself as "focused on dispelling the myths of global warming by exposing flawed economic, scientific, and risk analysis".<sup>[2]</sup>

#### Reception

According to the Washington Post, the group was for "long dismissed as cranks by mainstream scientists and politicians in both parties" until the group was embraced by Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign.<sup>[3]</sup>

The Cooler Heads Coalition has been criticized for ties to energy industries that would be affected if the United States enacted any legislation targeted at reducing CO2 emissions.<sup>[8]</sup> The Coalition has been accused by Mother Jones of astroturfing.<sup>[9]</sup> Writing in October 2004 for The American Prospect, Nicholas Confessore described the Coalition as "an Astroturf group funded by industries opposed to regulation of CO 2 emissions".<sup>[10]</sup>

#### Membership

Notable members of the Coalition have included:<sup>[11][12]</sup>

60 Plus Association  
Alexis de Tocqueville Institution  
Americans for Prosperity  
Americans for Tax Reform  
American Legislative Exchange Council  
Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow  
Competitive Enterprise Institute  
Fraser Institute  
FreedomWorks  
George C. Marshall Institute  
The Heartland Institute  
Independent Institute  
Istituto Bruno Leoni  
JunkScience.com  
Lavoisier Group  
Liberty Institute  
National Center for Policy Analysis  
National Center for Public Policy Research

#### Center for Medicine in the Public Interest

The Center for Medicine in the Public Interest (CMPI) is a non-profit medical issues research group.<sup>[2]</sup> It was founded by the "free-market think tank" Pacific Research Institute.<sup>[3]</sup> CMPI's research agenda deals with clinical outcomes and

econometric studies that analyze the value of new medicines and genomic and molecular-based medical innovation.

CMPI is a 501(c)3 organization and as such is not permitted to devote a substantial part of its activity to lobbying. Its officers have written articles on various issues including price controls on pharmaceutical products in publicly funded healthcare schemes in the United States,[4] and restrictions on advertising in the European Union.[5] The Economist Intelligence Unit has written that the organisation generally takes a pro-drug industry viewpoint.[6]

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#### Issues

##### Universal healthcare

CMMPI is a strong opponent of universal healthcare and favors a free-market approach to health care policy. The center created website called BigGovHealth.org to tell the stories of people who faced difficulties with the health care systems in Europe and Canada. The site also includes interviews with health policy experts in Europe and Canada.[7]

##### Drug imports

The group opposes the importation of drugs in order to lower prices in the United States, arguing in part that Canadian pharmaceutical companies' products are dangerous because they are not regulated by the FDA but by foreign government agencies.[8]

##### Personnel

CMPI was founded by Peter Pitts, former FDA Associate Commissioner for External Relations under the Bush administration, and Dr. Robert Goldberg, former fellow at the Manhattan Institute.[9]

CMPI Senior Fellows include:

Marc Siegel

Doug Badger

John F. P. Bridges

Jacob Arfwedson

Funding

Funders include PhRMA and Pfizer.[10]

##### Reports

CMPI has published studies on the value of new cancer drugs, the cost-effectiveness of certain Alzheimer's treatments, evidence-based medicine, and drug counterfeiting.[11]

#### Center for Arizona Policy

This article contains content that is written like an advertisement. Please help improve it by removing promotional content and inappropriate external links, and by adding encyclopedic content written from a neutral point of view. (April 2014) (Learn how and when to remove this template message)

The Center for Arizona Policy (CAP) is a nonprofit conservative lobbying group based in Arizona. The organization advocates for the passage of socially conservative policies in the state. It also produces voter guides to encourage its supporters to elect conservative lawmakers.[1] Over 100 bills supported by CAP have been signed into law in Arizona.[2]

CAP employees co-wrote Arizona's controversial SB 1062, which would have shielded business owners and employees from lawsuits if they refused service to anyone based on what they described as sincerely held religious beliefs. In particular, the bill would have exempted such businesses if they refused to hire or service people because of the person's sexual orientation based on religious beliefs.[3][4][5] The bill was vetoed by governor Jan Brewer.[2]

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### 3 References History

#### Cathi Herrod

The Center for Arizona Policy was founded by Len Munsil in 1995; he served as Founding President and General Counsel until 2005.[6] The current President is Cathi Herrod, who joined the organization as legal counsel in 1997.[7]

CAP receives some of its funding from the National Christian Charitable Foundation, an organization largely funded with money from the Hobby Lobby craft store company. In 2011 the Foundation awarded \$236,250 of the \$1.6 million CAP received in grant revenue that year.[2]

#### Legislation

CAP has supported and lobbied for over 100 bills that have been signed into law in Arizona.[8] In 2012, 13 CAP-supported bills passed, including a law banning abortion after 20 weeks of pregnancy.[9]

#### Abortion

The Center for Arizona Policy opposes legal abortion and has supported legislation to restrict access to abortion.[10] CAP helped to write a bill in Arizona to require that women to explain to their medical providers why they are seeking to have an abortion.[11] Lawsuits against anti-abortion laws have cost Arizona taxpayers more than \$2 million, but CAP president, Cathi Herrod, stated that the anti-abortion policies "outweigh the losses in court." [12]

#### Civil Union Ordinances

See also: Same-sex marriage in Arizona

In 2013, the City of Bisbee announced that it intended to legalize same-sex civil unions within the municipality.[13] The Arizona Attorney General, Tom Horne, initially opposed the ordinance, but withdrew a legal challenge after the city adopted an amended version of the ordinance that complied with state laws.[14][15] The Center for Arizona Policy opposed the city's move to offer civil unions and responded with a challenge saying, "If the City of Bisbee enacts a law recognizing a quasi-marital relationship not provided for by Arizona law, it will likely find itself involved in expensive and time-consuming litigation, which it is likely to lose." [16] Following Bisbee, the cities and towns of Clarkdale, Cottonwood, Jerome, Sedona, and Tucson also approved of civil unions.[17]

CAP describes acceptance of homosexuality in society as "a deceitful and angry ideology" and supports what it describes as a "biblical value that God has a specific intent for sexuality and that it is only realized in the relationship between one man and one woman within the confines of marriage." [18]

The Center for Arizona Policy, along with the Alliance Defending Freedom, helped write Arizona Senate Bill 1062, a controversial bill that, if signed into law, would have allowed business owners and employees to refuse to serve anyone based on sincerely held religious beliefs.[2] Supporters of the bill claimed it was meant to protect the religious freedoms of Arizonans, while opponents pointed out that it was intended to allow discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. Top aides for Arizona Governor Jan Brewer worked closely with CAP in crafting the language of the bill, but Brewer, in response to boycott threats and other economic pressure from various national groups,[19] vetoed it on February 26, 2014, a few days after it passed the state Senate and House.[20] CAP and its president Cathi Herrod received a great deal of media attention during the debate over the bill, with several stories highlighting the amount of influence the organization has in Arizona politics.[1][21]

### References

#### Center for Military Readiness

The Center for Military Readiness is a tax-exempt, non-profit organization founded by Elaine Donnelly, which opposes the service of gay and transgender people and favors limiting the positions open to women in the United States military.[1][2][3][4] It has been described as a right-wing organisation by the SPLC and other sources.[5][6][7]

The Center was established in 1993 following the implementation of the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy under President Bill Clinton.[8][9] It is headquartered in Livonia, Michigan.[10] Its Board members include Allan C. Carlson, Frank Gaffney, David Horowitz, Frederick Kroesen, John Lenczowski, Kate O'Beirne, Carlisle Trost, Claudius E. Watts III, Faith Whittlesey, and Walter E. Williams, among others.[11] Other members at large have included Linda Chavez, Beverly LaHaye, Phyllis Schlafly, and Wally Schirra.[9][12]

It opposes allowing gay and transgender persons to serve in the military[8][13][4] and aims to limit the number of women in the military as well as the positions open to them.[8][14] Founder and president Donnelly has argued that "[w]omen in combat units endanger male morale and military performance." [15] A 2004 study of the role of women in the U.S. military called it "the most significant organization... representing the interests of individuals opposed to the expansion of women's military opportunities that might affect troop readiness." [16]

According to the Washington Post, after the death of pilot Kara Hultgreen "Donnelly in January 1995 began circulating leaked copies of Lorenz's confidential records in news releases and center reports. At the time, Lorenz was referred to as

"Pilot B." [17] She then published a report that alleged that the Navy showed favoritism toward one of the first female combat pilots during training. Susan Barnes, Lorenz's attorney stated that "the Report MISREPRESENTS the content of those training records. I know. I have read the Report and have compared it to the content of the training records." She also described the CMR as "a radical right front for a woman named Elaine Donnelly who has a long, and very public, record of opposition to military women." [18] The pilot subsequently brought a suit for defamation against the Center, but lost because the court determined that, by virtue of her status as one of the first women to attempt to qualify as a carrier combat pilot, she was a "public figure" and needed to prove malice on the part of those who published the charge of favoritism. She appealed but the appeal was denied, with a statement that "Our conclusion about Lt. Lohrenz's public figure status does not suggest that she was not a good Naval aviator trying to do her job, and it does not penalize her for acting with 'professionalism'." [19]

In 2011 the Center boycotted the Conservative Political Action Conference due to the participation of GOProud, an LGBT membership group within the Republican Party. [20]

#### Calvert Institute for Policy Research

The Calvert Institute for Policy Research is a think tank based in Baltimore, Maryland that espouses limited government ideas. [3]

#### CO2 Coalition

The CO2 Coalition is a nonprofit think tank in the United States. It consists of 55 climate scientists and energy economists. [1] The Coalition publishes White Papers, Climate Issues in Depth papers, and op-eds. [2] The coalition was established in 2015 by scientists who concluded that CO2 is a minor warming gas and a powerful plant food. The Coalition's scientists and economists question claims that warming from CO2 emissions, or from natural warming since the Little Ice Age, are causing a climate catastrophe. [3] The CO2 Coalition says it relies on UN IPCC data in its research, including in its testimony before Congress in April 2019. [4] It is viewed as the successor to the George C. Marshall Institute. [5]

The CO2 Coalition was one of over 40 organizations to sign a letter dated May 8, 2017, to president Donald Trump thanking him for his campaign promise to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, [6] an action Trump announced 3 weeks later on June 1, 2017.

The coalition receives funding from the Mercer Family Foundation and Koch brothers. [7]

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#### Criticism

There is limited evidence to suggest that an increase in carbon dioxide would be beneficial for plant growth, in the long term. Carbon dioxide is rarely the limiting factor for natural plant growth. [8]

The consensus that humans are causing recent global warming is shared by 90%–100% of publishing climate scientists according to six independent studies by co-authors of a 2016 paper. Those results are consistent with the 97% consensus reported by Cook et al (Environ. Res. Lett. 8 024024) based on 11 944 abstracts of research papers, of which 4014 took a position on the cause of recent global warming. A survey of authors of those papers (N = 2412 papers) also supported a 97% consensus. [9]

Atmospheric CO2 concentrations over the past millennium. From a pre-industrial level of approximately 280 ppm in the atmosphere, CO2 concentrations have risen to over 370 ppm in the year 2000. By the end of the 21st century – depending on future industrial trends – concentrations are projected to reach 540 to 970 ppm (Prentice et al. 2001). Climate change is likely to stimulate the development of harmful cyanobacterial blooms in eutrophic waters, with negative consequences for water quality of many lakes, reservoirs and brackish ecosystems across the globe. [10]

Air pollution needs to be addressed as visible threat. A total of 54 000 and 27 500 premature deaths can be avoided by a 20% reduction of global anthropogenic emissions in Europe and the US, respectively (The article subsumes the surface concentrations of O3, CO, SO2 and PM2.5 in their so labeled "Economic Valuation of Air Pollution-index") . A 20% reduction of North American anthropogenic emissions avoids a total of ~ 1000 premature deaths in Europe and 25 000 total premature deaths in the US. A 20% decrease of anthropogenic emissions within the European source region avoids a total of 47 000 premature deaths in Europe. Reducing the east Asian anthropogenic emissions by 20% avoids ~ 2000 total premature deaths in the US. These results show that the domestic anthropogenic emissions make the largest impacts on premature deaths on a continental scale, while foreign sources make a minor contribution to adverse impacts of air pollution. However, the results of the study are not based on CO2 emissions. [11]

Air pollution already costs a lot. In the entire Medicare population, there was significant evidence of adverse effects

related to exposure to PM2.5 and ozone at concentrations below current national standards. This effect was most pronounced among self-identified racial minorities and people with low income. (Supported by the Health Effects Institute and others.)<sup>[12]</sup>

Generally, global past and planned land usage of the Earth is not with the view of helping plants grow.<sup>[13]</sup> Much of the Earth's biodiversity is facing extinction<sup>[14]</sup> due to human activity all while CO2 has been rising.

#### Center for the National Interest

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia  
Jump to navigationJump to search  
Center for the National Interest  
Founder(s) Richard Nixon  
Established 1994  
Focus Foreign policy  
President Dimitri Simes  
Staff 20  
Subsidiaries The National Interest  
Formerly called Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom  
Location United States  
Coordinates 38.9033°N 77.0393°WCoordinates: 38.9033°N 77.0393°W  
Address 1025 Connecticut Ave NW, S-1200  
Washington, DC 20036  
Website cftni.org

The Center for the National Interest is a conservative<sup>[1]</sup> Washington, D.C.-based public policy think tank. The Center was established by former U.S. President Richard Nixon on January 20, 1994, as the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom.<sup>[2]</sup> The group changed its name to The Nixon Center in 1998. In 2001 the Center acquired The National Interest, a bimonthly journal, in which it tends to promote the realist perspective on foreign policy. The Center's President is Dimitri K. Simes. In March 2011, it was renamed the Center for the National Interest (CFTNI or CNI).<sup>[3][4][5]</sup>

The center has a staff of approximately twenty people supporting six main programs: Energy Security and Climate Change, Strategic Studies, US-Russia Relations, U.S.-Japan Relations, China and the Pacific, and Regional Security (Middle East, Caspian Basin and South Asia).<sup>[6]</sup> In 2006 it had an annual budget of \$1.6 million.<sup>[7]</sup> The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program of the Foreign Policy Research Institute ranked it as one of the top 30 think tanks in the United States in 2007,<sup>[8]</sup> and it has consistently earned similar praise since then.<sup>[citation needed]</sup> According to the 2014 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report (Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, University of Pennsylvania), the Center is number 43 (of 60) in the "Top Think Tanks in the United States".<sup>[9]</sup>

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See also

Mueller Report

The National Interest

Timeline of Russian interference in the 2016 United States elections

Timeline of investigations into Trump and Russia (2019–2020)

Notes

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## Citizens for the Republic

Citizens for the Republic (CFTR) is an American political action committee founded in 1977 by Ronald Reagan, five months after he narrowly lost his bid for the 1976 Republican Party (GOP) presidential nomination to Gerald R. Ford, Jr. The committee was first directed by Reagan aide Lyn Nofziger.[1] Under American tax law, it is a 527 organization.

### Organizational history

According to the CFTR website, "Reagan took the tired, run-down GOP [of the Ford-Nixon years] and turned it into a vibrant political force which drew sustenance from the millions of conservative Americans who believed in these principles." [2]

By the time Reagan unseated Jimmy Carter to become president in 1980, the group continued to be active throughout the 1980s, eventually becoming dormant following President Reagan's departure from office. The Executive Director was Curtis Mack, who became Director of the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration following Reagan's re-election in 1984. Mack was succeeded by Wendy Borchardt.

In 2009, it was revived by Craig Shirley, a political consultant who has written two best-selling books on the Reagan campaigns of 1976 and 1980. Shirley remains the chairman of Citizens for the Republic.[3] CFTR describes itself as a "national organization dedicated to revitalizing the conservative movement [through] education, grassroots organization, advocacy, and political activism ... [to promote] the principles of limited government, maximum freedom, personal responsibility, peace through strength, and defense of the dignity of every individual." [2]

In the summer of 2013, CFTR announced that it was developing a new political rating system of lawmakers. Its website said scores would be based on loyalty to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and the protection of liberty.[4]

CFTR endorses political candidates. In 1978, in one of its more surprising actions, it supported Jim Reese, former mayor of Odessa, Texas in his Republican challenge to George W. Bush in the race for Texas' 19th congressional district seat. Bush defeated Reese and then lost to the Democrat Kent Hance.

In June 2013, CFTR announced support for the author and columnist Quin Hillyer, a former press secretary to former U.S. Representative Bob Livingston of Louisiana. Hillyer was a Republican candidate in Alabama's 1st congressional district special election, 2013 to succeed Jo Bonner, who resigned in August to take a position as vice chancellor with the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. [5] Hillyer was eliminated after finishing fourth in the Republican primary.

CFTR directors include former Attorney General of the United States Ed Meese, former Reagan policy advisor Peter D. Hannaford, and Mari Maseng Will, former Reagan White House Communications Director, speechwriter and political consultant and wife of columnist George Will.[3] The late former Reagan policy advisor Peter D. Hannaford also served as a director. The organization is based at 122 South Patrick Street in Alexandria, Virginia.[6]

### References

## Colorado Family Action

Colorado Family Action (CFA) is a Christian fundamentalist lobbying organization founded in 2007. It opposes gay marriage or domestic partnership,[3] gay adoption, and adoption by unmarried people.[4] In conjunction with Lieutenant Governor Jane Norton, CFA led the 2006 campaign that outlawed gay marriage in the Colorado Constitution.[3] The organization advocates for conversion therapy[5], the pseudoscientific practice of trying to change sexual orientation. It fights against birth control access[6] and legal marijuana.[7]

CFA is a Family Policy Council, meaning that it is a state-based affiliate of Focus on the Family.[8]

### Board of directors

The board of directors sets CFA's policy. Notable past and present board members listed by the Colorado Secretary of State include:

Mike Kopp, Colorado senator

Michael J. Norton, United States Attorney for Colorado from 1988 to 1993 and husband of former Lieutenant Governor Jane Norton

Doug Stimple, prominent Colorado builder and developer

Craig A. Saeman, CDO of Catholic Charities of Denver

Mark Cowart, COO at Church For All Nations, a Colorado Springs megachurch

Andy Limes, Principal at SDR Ventures, an investment bank

Marc Butler, owner of a glass and window business, contractor on Canvas Stadium

## American Ideas Institute

N/A

## Americans for Truth about Homosexuality

Americans for Truth about Homosexuality (AFTAH) is an organization which describes its mission as "exposing the homosexual activist agenda".[2] AFTAH rejects the idea that sexual orientation is inborn and believes that people can "leave the homosexual lifestyle".[3] AFTAH contends that there is a fundamental conflict between gay rights and religious freedom.[4] It is designated as an anti-gay hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC).[5][6]

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#### History

AFTAH was formed as a part-time enterprise in 1996 to oppose the "radical homosexual agenda." It was reorganized in 2006 by Peter LaBarbera.[3] It was a 501(c)3 United States tax-exempt organization until stripped of that designation in 2010, following years of failing to file the appropriate paperwork.[7] AFTAH's tax exempt status was reinstated in 2012[8] but again revoked in 2015.[9]

#### Activism

In 1997, LaBarbera, then an editor for the Family Research Council, criticized US President Bill Clinton for supporting the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) stating: "He's out there using his presidential power to boost the gay lobby. I think there is an increasing acceptance [of homosexuality], but the majority of Americans are put off by the kind of homosexual advocacy they are seeing." [10]

In 2009, AFTAH filed a lawsuit in US Federal Court against a Naperville, Illinois, Holiday Inn Select, because of the cancellation of a banquet the AFTAH planned to hold October 6, 2007, at the hotel. The hotel cancelled the AFTAH event after learning that it would likely draw protests from the Chicago-based Gay Liberation Network.[11] That same year, LaBarbera, while speaking at the Reclaiming Oklahoma for Christ Conference, called for a government study of the dangers of homosexual sex.[12]

#### Criticism

In 2010, AFTAH was designated as an anti-gay hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) for spreading "hateful propoganda", and claiming that homosexuality can be "cured". [5][6]

#### See also

Parents Action League

Heterosexuals Organized for a Moral Environment

List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as anti-gay hate groups

#### American Majority

American Majority is a nonprofit organization that provides training to conservative activists and political candidates in the United States.[1][2] Registered as a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization, American Majority says that it "is dedicated to developing a new generation of American leadership that will reject the self-destructive policies associated with government expansion." [3]

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#### Overview

American Majority is registered as a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization.[4] The organization began as an affiliate of the Sam Adams Alliance.[5] The president of American Majority is Ned Ryun, a former presidential writer for George W. Bush and the son of former Republican U.S. Congressman Jim Ryun.[6] Headquartered in Purcellville, Virginia, the organization conducts trainings across the country and has offices in Vermont and Wisconsin.[3] American Majority opened its Wisconsin office in October 2010.[7]

#### Activities

Ned Ryun, President of American Majority.

The organization makes use of social media to disseminate their opinions and electoral information, and publishes guides illustrating the basics of social media.[8] They provide guides on how to use Twitter and Facebook for political purposes.[9]

In 2010, 8 of 12 school board candidates that the organization trained in Oklahoma were elected. The organization also trained the state's superintendent of public instruction, Janet Barresi, who was elected in 2010.[10]

When the 2011 Wisconsin protests began, American Majority organized a rally in support of Scott Walker in Madison, Wisconsin.[11] American Majority also sponsored training sessions in Wisconsin to assist in efforts to support Governor Walker.[12]

On the one year anniversary of Andrew Breitbart's passing, American Majority hosted a training aimed at equipping activists with tools to carry Breitbart's legacy forward.[13]

In October 2011, American Majority's president, Ned Ryun, called on Michele Bachmann to drop out of the Republican presidential primary.[1]

American Majority Racing was a national program of American Majority.[14][15] The program was designed to target millions of NASCAR fans in an effort to register and urge conservatives to vote in the November elections 2012 elections. Having partnered with NASCAR driver Jason Bowles and car #81 MacDonald Motorsports for the 2012 NASCAR Nationwide Series racing season, the American Majority Racing program was designed to educate Americans about how smaller government and less spending will "Keep America Free." [16]

In the spring of 2014, American Majority-trained candidates helped flip the Menomonee Falls Village Board and Kenosha Unified School Board from having liberal majorities to conservative control.[17]

As of 2015, American Majority's Wisconsin chapter had trained 128 successful candidates for state or local office and held 140 trainings in the state.[18] Wisconsin elected officials trained by American Majority include Assemblyman Michael Schraa, Ozaukee County Judge Joe Voiland, former Wisconsin State Senator Pam Galloway, Assemblyman Paul Tittl, former Assemblyman Evan Wynn, and Assemblyman Dave Murphy.[19][20]

#### Conservatives Concerned About the Death Penalty

Conservatives Concerned About the Death Penalty (CCATDP) is a national network of conservative Republicans and Libertarians calling for a re-examination of the American system of capital punishment.

#### Conservatives Concerned About the Death Penalty

Formation March 12, 2013

Headquarters Brooklyn, NY

Website [www.conservativesconcerned.org](http://www.conservativesconcerned.org)

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#### Organization

CCATDP engages in advocacy, education, and outreach to conservative, Republican, and Libertarian leaders and organizations. CCATDP provides a national forum for them to express their concerns about the death penalty.[1]

CCATDP is a project of Equal Justice USA, a non-profit organization working on criminal justice issues.[2]

#### Activities

CCATDP officially debuted at CPAC in 2013.[3] Since that time, its national coordinators have been meeting with conservative, Republican, and Libertarian leaders across the country and they have exhibited at the national conventions of the Republican Liberty Caucus,[4] the Young Republican National Federation, the Young Americans for Liberty,[5] the Liberty Political Action Conference,[6] CPAC St. Louis,[7] CPAC,[8] and the Faith and Freedom Coalition's Road to Majority conference.[9] They have also attended several evangelical conferences.

Since their launch in early 2013, several states began forming their own state-level Conservatives Concerned about the Death Penalty groups, including North Carolina,[10] Nebraska,[11] Washington,[12] Kentucky,[13] Tennessee,[14] Georgia, Florida, Kansas, Wyoming, and Utah.[15]

#### History

CCATDP was first created in Montana in 2009 when individual Republican legislators realized that they weren't alone in having concerns about the death penalty. As word spread outside of Montana, there was interest in forming a national group.[16]

In August 2013, Ron Paul endorsed the group's efforts,[17] and in October 2013, CCATDP formed a strategic partnership with Young Americans for Liberty .[18]

Additionally, in October 2014, CCATDP partnered with the Liberty Coalition.[19]

## References

### USA Next

USA Next (also known as USA United Generations), formerly known as the United Seniors Association, is a United States lobbyist group whose slogan is "Building a Legacy of Freedom for America's Families". It presents itself as a conservative senior citizens organization. The group is a 501(c)(4) organization. Since 2001, Charles Jarvis has led the group.

According to the group's website, "USA United Generations and USA NEXT are grassroots projects of United Seniors Association (USA) which is celebrating its 13th anniversary as the non-partisan, 1.5 million-plus nationwide grassroots network Uniting the Generations for America's Future." [3]

United Seniors Association took in \$26.6 million in revenue for 2003 according to the group's IRS form 990.

USA Next presents itself as an interest group for senior citizens as an alternative to the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP).

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- 5.2 Critical articles

### Criticisms

As a self-described conservative alternative to the AARP[1] USA Next has often received criticism for its political orientation and associations; in particular, to its connections to conservative positions, organizations, businesses, etc. It also receives criticism for certain organizational issues.

In February 2003 the rival organization AARP[2] stated that "recently, the U.S. Social Security Administration ordered one of them to halt what it determined to be misleading mailings." USANext was eventually fined \$554,000 for two such mailings, violating a 1988 amendment to the Social Security Act in 1988 prohibiting the private use of the phrase "Social Security" and several related terms in any way that would convey a false impression of approval from the Social Security Administration. The constitutionality of this law (42 U.S.C. § 1140) was upheld in *United Seniors Association, Inc. v. Social Security Administration*, \_\_\_ F.3d \_\_\_ (4th Cir. 2005) (text at Findlaw[3]). On May 30, 2006, the Supreme Court declined to hear an appeal.

It also reports that it began backing a plan "to allow more production of domestic energy in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge" after receiving more than \$181,000 from Anchorage-based Arctic Power.

The liberal [4][5][6][7] think-tank Center for American Progress stated in its Report of November 14, 2003:

COMPANIES HIRE MERCENARY "GRASSROOTS" GROUP: To influence the final Medicare bill, the drug industry has bankrolled a front group[8] to air ads throughout the country.[9] The United Seniors Association[10] (USA) is "a conservative, grassroots organization for the elderly just as likely to be flacking for corporate special interests as it is to be representing seniors." The drug lobby pays the group "as a front for its TV and radio 'issue' ad campaigns," which is also "used by several corporate energy front groups pushing for the GOP [ Republican Party ] legislation."

A May 2004 article from the center-Left *The Washington Monthly* elaborated as follows:

Then there's the benignly-named United Seniors Association (USA), which serves as a soft money slush fund for a single GOP-friendly industry: pharmaceuticals. USA claims a nationwide network of more than one million activists, but, just like Progress for America, listed zero income from membership dues in its most recent available tax return. USA does, however, have plenty of money on its hands. During the 2002 elections, with an "unrestricted educational grant" from the drug industry burning a hole in its pocket, the group spent roughly \$14 million--the lion's share of its budget--on ads defending Republican members of Congress for their votes on a Medicare prescription-drug bill.[11]

In 2004, USANext was one of the groups supporting Bush administration's Social Security privatization plan. According to the *New York Times*, the organization had \$28 million in annual revenues, and it aggressively seeks contributions from industry: "Health care companies, energy companies, the food industry, just about everybody except for financial investment companies." [12]

The *Times* reported in February 2005 the group's recent hires:

To help set USA Next's strategy, the group has hired Chris LaCivita, a Republican consultant who advised Swift Vets and

POWs for Truth, formerly known as Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, on its media campaign and helped write its commercials. He earned more than \$30,000 for his work, campaign finance filings show. Officials said the group is also seeking to hire Rick Reed, a partner at Stevens Reed Curcio & Potholm, a firm that was hired by Swift Vets and was paid more than \$276,000 to do media production, records show. For public relations, USA Next has turned to Creative Response Concepts, a Virginia firm that represented both Swift Vets — the company was paid more than \$165,000 — and Regnery Publishing, the publisher of "Unfit for Command," a book about Senator John Kerry's military service whose co-author was John E. O'Neill, one of the primary leaders of Swift Vets.[13]

In March 2004, the United Seniors Association commissioned a push-poll about the potential rise in long distance telephone costs as a result of a prior DC Circuit Court ruling.

In a letter to Congress on March 10, 2004, Mary P. Mahoney, Vice President of Government Relations for USA, wrote: "We are concerned about the recent development in the DC Circuit Court that over turned what Congress has done in regard to local telephone competition. We know you must be as concerned about this as we are... I have enclosed an op-ed by [USA President] Charlie Jarvis, an op-ed by Tech Central Station's James Glassman, as well as a script of a telephone survey we will be conducting in your district."

This action appears to be coordinated with a campaign run by Voices for Choices to pressure the Bush administration and Federal Communications Commission to appeal a recent telecommunications court decision. In addition to being president of USA, Charlie Jarvis is a board member of Defenders of Property Rights, one of several conservative groups that comprise the AT&T-funded (and DCI Group-operated) "Voices for Choices" coalition front group. The Washington Monthly also exposed Tech Central Station in December 2003 as a DCI creation with funding from AT&T. According to news reports, AT&T opposed the DC Circuit ruling because the decision would impact the company's bottom line.

In February 2005, USA Next hired the advertising agency behind the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth campaign that attacked 2004 presidential candidate John F. Kerry. The group gained instant notoriety late in that month when they placed an advertisement on several conservative web sites and blogs. This advertisement depicted a large red 'x' over a picture of a soldier and a large green check mark over a picture of a just-married homosexual couple. The AARP has no position on marriage rights for homosexuals, but (along with many established groups including the AFL-CIO) opposed an amendment to Ohio's state constitution intended to prohibit gay marriage, claiming it would deprive all unmarried cohabitating couples of rights they currently enjoyed. The amendment was passed in November 2004 by Ohio voters.

In March, 2005, the couple Richard and Steven Hansen-Raymen pictured in the advertisement filed a US\$25 million lawsuit against USA Next, alleging that group used the couple's image without their permission. A restraining order preventing USA Next from running the ad was granted.

While the organization, however, has no age requirement for membership it does openly claim an agenda for reforming/retrenching of the American Social Security entitlement program and strengthening American institutions so they will be able to benefit current and future generations.

A recent "opinion poll" on the USA Next web site asked the question, "Did you know that the AARP has taken over \$1 billion in taxpayer money over the last 20 years?"

The organization has also received criticism from conservatives and libertarians for signing onto a lawsuit against the tobacco industry. Theodore Frank of the American Enterprise Institute called the lawsuit "frivolous" and Walter Olson of the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research and Cato Institute criticized the move as placing them in company with Eliot Spitzer for litigiousness.[14]

#### Supportive views

There are seniors who feel that the AARP has a socially liberal outlook, which is not relevant to their needs as elders and may actively go against their values. Seniors who feel this way find conservative groups like USA Next to be more compatible to themselves. This more socially conservative outlook is buttressed by Charles Jarvis's connections to Focus on the Family.[15]

#### Staff and board members

Information from Public Citizen [4] and from USA's IRA form 990.

USA President and CEO Charles Jarvis served as deputy under secretary at the Department of Interior during the Reagan and Bush administrations. Jarvis was also the executive vice president of Focus on the Family. Jarvis received \$242,500 in base salary for his work in 2003.

Craig Shirley, a USA board member, has long been a Republican Party public relations powerhouse. His public relations firm Shirley & Banister Public Affairs currently represents the Republican National Committee (RNC). During the 1984 presidential campaign, he was the director of communications for the National Conservative Political Action Committee, America's largest independent political committee. More recently, he co-founded Conservatives for Effective Leadership, an organization devoted to defeating Hillary Clinton in her Senate bid.

The New York Times called USA board member Jack Abramoff "one of the most influential – and, at \$500 an hour, best



compensated – lobbyists in Washington."

USA board member James Wootton is president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Institute for Legal Reform where he advocates for tort "reform." During the 2000 election cycle, PhRMA shoveled \$10 million to the Chamber of Commerce to run electioneering ads just before the November election.

USA lobbyist David Keene is chairman of the American Conservative Union, the nation's largest conservative grassroots organization. Keene is a lobbyist with the Carmen Group.

Beau Boulter, a USA lobbyist, is a former GOP congressman from Texas who served in the House of Representatives from 1985 to 1989. He formerly lobbied for the Carmen Group and represented the Major Medicaid Hospital Coalition, Northwest Airlines and U.S. Bank.

Lawyer Curtis Hergé, USA's corporate counsel, served as a member of Reagan's Presidential Transition Team. He later held positions as the assistant to the secretary and chief of staff at the Department of the Interior.

William Brindley is executive vice president/treasurer for USA. He received \$126,000 for his work in 2003.

Entertainer Art Linkletter served as the group national chair and spokesman.

Other USA directors and paid staff:

Sandra Bulter, director

Anne R. Keast, director

Ron Robinson, director

A. Lee Barrett, Jr., director

Anne L. Edwards, director

Kathy Diamond, VP member services

Mary P. Mahoney, VP legislative

Kathleen Pattern, VP marketing

#### Media Research Center

The Media Research Center (MRC) is an American politically conservative content analysis group based in Reston, Virginia, founded in 1987 by L. Brent Bozell III.[2] It characterizes itself as a media watchdog,[2] whereas the Columbia Journalism Review considers it "propaganda clothed as critique".[3]

The nonprofit MRC has received financial support primarily from Robert Mercer,[4] but with several other conservative-leaning sources, including the Bradley, Scaife, Olin, Castle Rock, Carthage and JM foundations, as well as ExxonMobil.[5][6][7] It has been described as "one of the most active and best-funded, and yet least known" arms of the modern conservative movement.[8] The organization rejects the scientific consensus on climate change, and criticizes media coverage that reflects the scientific consensus.[6][9]

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- Foundation and funding

L. Brent Bozell III founded the Media Research Center in 1987.

Bozell and a group of other conservatives founded the MRC on October 1, 1987. Their initial budget was at US\$339,000.[10] Prior to founding the MRC, Bozell was the chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee; he resigned from that position a month before establishing MRC.[11] A wealthy donor whose name has been kept anonymous helped set up the MRC.[12] The MRC has received financial support from several foundations, including the Bradley, Scaife, Olin, Castle Rock, Carthage and JM foundations.[5] It also receives funding from ExxonMobil. The organization rejects the scientific consensus on climate change, and criticizes media coverage that reflects the scientific consensus.[6][7][9] The MRC received over \$10 million from Robert Mercer, its largest single donor.[4]

As of its 2015 reporting to the IRS, the organization had revenue approaching \$15 million and expenses in excess of \$15 million. Mr. Bozell's salary during this year was reported as close to \$345,000, with nearly \$122,000 in additional compensation from the organization and related organizations.

## Projects

### Reports on the media

From 1996 to 2009, the MRC published a daily online newsletter called CyberAlert written by editor Brent Baker. Each issue profiles what he perceives as biased or inaccurate reports about politics in the American news media.[13] Prior to CyberAlert, MRC published such reports in a monthly newsletter titled MediaWatch,[14] from 1988 to 1999.[15] Media analysis articles are now under the banner BiasAlert.[16] Media analysis director Tim Graham and research director Rich Noyes regularly write Media Reality Check, another MRC publication documenting alleged liberal bias.[17] Notable Quotables is its "collection of the most biased quotes from journalists".[10] In Notable Quotables, editors give honors such as the "Linda Ellerbee Awards for Distinguished Reporting" based on the former CNN commentator, who Bozell considered "a liberal blowhard who has nothing to say".[18] Other features on its website include the weekly syndicated news and entertainment columns written by founder Bozell.

MRC staff members have also written editorials and books about their findings of the media. Bozell has written three books about the news media: *And That's the Way it Isn't: A Reference Guide to Media Bias* (1990, with Brent Baker); *Weapons of Mass Distortion: The Coming Meltdown of the Liberal Media* (2004); and *Whitewash: How The News Media Are Paving Hillary Clinton's Path to the Presidency* (2007, with Tim Graham). Research director Rich Noyes has also co-authored several published books.[19]

### MRC Business

In 1992, the MRC created the Free Market Project to promote the culture of free enterprise and combat what it believes is media spin on business and economic news. That division recently[when?] changed its name to the Business & Media Institute ([www.businessandmedia.org](http://www.businessandmedia.org)) and later to MRC Business and is now focused on "Advancing the culture of free enterprise in America." BMI's advisory board included such well-known individuals as economists Walter Williams and Bruce Bartlett, as well as former CNN anchor David Goodnow. BMI is led by career journalist Dan Gainor, a former managing editor at CQ.com, the website for Congressional Quarterly. It released a research report in June 2006 covering the portrayal of business on prime-time entertainment television during the May and November "sweeps" periods from 2005. The report concluded that the programs, among them the long-running NBC legal drama *Law & Order*, were biased against business.[20] Another report of the BMI accused the networks of bias in favor of the Gardasil vaccine, a vaccine intended to prevent cervical cancer.

### CNSNews.com

Main article: [CNSNews.com](#)

Bozell founded CNSNews.com (formerly Cybercast News Service) in 1998 to cover stories he believes are ignored by mainstream news organizations.[21] CNSNews.com provides news articles for Townhall.com and other websites for a subscription fee. Its leadership consists of president Brent Bozell and editor Terry Jeffrey. Under editor David Thibault, CNSNews.com questioned the validity of the circumstances in which Democratic Rep. John Murtha received his Purple Hearts as a response to Murtha's criticisms of the U.S. War in Iraq. The Washington Post and Nancy Pelosi have commented that this approach is similar to the tactics of the Swift Vets and POWs for Truth, which opposed John Kerry's candidacy in the 2004 election.[22]

### NewsBusters

In the summer of 2005, Media Research Center launched NewsBusters, a website "dedicated to exposing & combating liberal media bias," in cooperation with Matthew Sheffield, a conservative blogger involved in the CBS Killian documents story. NewsBusters is styled as a rapid-response blog site that contains posts by MRC editors to selected stories in mass media.[23] Although the site is advertised chiefly as a conservative site, it frequently defends Neoconservatives as well.[24] Not only does the site highlight journalists it deems are liberally biased, but also non-journalists (writers, musicians, producers, scientists, etc.) who they perceive have liberal viewpoint.[25][26][27][28] In addition to conventional media outlets, NewsBusters has attacked Wikipedia over perceived liberal bias in its John Edwards discussion pages.[29]

### MRC Culture

Main article: [Culture and Media Institute](#)

In October 2006, the MRC created the Culture and Media Institute, the mission of which is "to advance, preserve, and help restore America's culture, character, traditional values, and morals against the assault of the liberal media." [30] Robert H. Knight was the institute's first director. MRC VP Dan Gainor is now in charge of that department. In 2018, the MRC started a new project in the Culture Department to monitor online censorship of conservatives called MRC TechWatch.

### MRCTV

MRC sponsors MRCTV (formerly Eyeblast),[31] a conservative-leaning YouTube-like video-hosting site.[32]

### Viewpoints

In its mission to show that there is a "strident liberal bias" [33] in the national news media. The Media Research Center frequently criticizes media coverage on the science of climate change. In September 2018, MRC criticized Katy Tur for reporting on the science connecting Hurricane Florence to climate change.[34] In 2017, MRC sponsored a conference by the Heartland Institute, a climate change denial organization known for its effort to cast doubt about the scientific consensus on climate change.[35] In 2002, MRC said CNN was "[Fidel] Castro's megaphone." [36] In 1999, the MRC said

that network news programs on ABC, CBS, and NBC largely ignored Chinese espionage in the United States during the Clinton administration.[37]

In MRC reports released from 1993 to 1995, it was claimed that such programs made more references to religion each later year, most of which became more favorable.[38] In 2003, the MRC urged advertisers to pull sponsorship from The Reagans, a miniseries about President Ronald Reagan to be shown on CBS. The network later moved the program to its co-owned premium cable network Showtime.[39]

The MRC has been a critic of the video game industry, arguing that there is a link between violent videogames and real-world violence; in this capacity, they (along with the Parents Television Council, a subsidiary) were invited to President Donald Trump's 2018 summit on video games and gun violence.[40][41]

MRC released a report in 2007 claiming that the network morning shows devoted more airtime to covering Democratic presidential candidates than Republican ones for the 2008 election. Producers for such shows criticized the MRC's methodology as flawed.[42] During the 2008 US presidential election, MRC claimed that the vast majority of news stories about Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama had a positive slant.[43] MRC president Bozell praised MSNBC for having David Gregory replace Chris Matthews and Keith Olbermann as political coverage anchor beginning September 8, 2008, but MSNBC president Phil Griffin disputed the statements by Bozell and others who have accused the network of liberal bias.[44]

In March 2010, About.com named MRC one of the top 20 conservatives to follow on Twitter.[45]

Bozell was an outspoken critic of Donald Trump during the 2016 Republican primaries, describing him as "the greatest charlatan of them all", "a "huckster" and "shameless self-promoter".[12] He said, "God help this country if this man were president." [12] After Trump clinched the Republican nomination, Bozell attacked the media for their "hatred" of Trump.[12] Politico noted, "The paradox here is that Bozell was once more antagonistic toward the president than any journalist." [12] Bozell singled out Jake Tapper for being "one of the worst offenders" in coverage of Trump, however several senior MRC staff told Politico that they considered Tapper a model of fairness.[12]

#### Criticism

Extra!, the magazine of the progressive media watch group FAIR, criticized the MRC in 1998 for selective use of evidence. MRC had said that there was more coverage of government death squads in right-wing El Salvador than in left-wing Nicaragua in the 1980s, when Amnesty International stated El Salvador was worse than Nicaragua when it came to extrajudicial killings. Extra! also likened a defunct MRC newsletter, TV etc., which tracked the off-screen political comments of actors, to "Red Channels, the McCarthy Era blacklisting journal." [46]

Journalist Brian Montopoli of Columbia Journalism Review in 2005 labeled MRC "just one part of a wider movement by the far right to demonize corporate media", rather than "make the media better." [47]

On December 22, 2011, Media Research Center president Bozell appeared on Fox News and suggested U.S. President Barack Obama looks like a "skinny ghetto crackhead". [48]

The Media Research Center has also faced scrutiny over the group's \$350,000 purchase in 2012 of a Pennsylvania house that a top executive had been trying to sell for several years. [49]

In 2013, Media Research Center president Bozell appeared on Fox News to defend a Fox interview in which Fox journalists conducted almost no research into the background of Reza Aslan to prepare for its interview with him, and its putative biases. [50]

Progressive media watchdog group Media Matters for America has repeatedly criticized the MRC, charging they view the media "through a funhouse mirror that renders everything--even the facts themselves--as manifestations of insidious bias". [51]

When the Media Research Center bestowed an award named for William F. Buckley to Sean Hannity, neoconservative columnist for The New York Times, Bret Stephens, wrote an editorial in which he lamented, "And so we reach the Idiot stage of the conservative cycle, in which a Buckley Award for Sean Hannity suggests nothing ironic, much less Orwellian, to those bestowing it, applauding it, or even shrugging it off. The award itself is trivial, but it's a fresh reminder of who now holds the commanding heights of conservative life, and what it is that they think." [52]

#### National Center for Constitutional Studies

The National Center for Constitutional Studies (NCCS) is a conservative, religious-themed organization, founded by Latter-day Saint political writer W. Cleon Skousen. It was formerly known as The Freeman Institute.

According to the NCCS, the founding of the United States was a divine miracle. As such, the NCCS worldview and program are based on two major pillars: (1) understanding the divine guidance that has allowed the United States to thrive

and (2) rejecting what it views as the sometimes tyrannical or sinful deviations of the modern U.S. federal government from that divine mold.[citation needed]

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### History

The center had its origins when in 1967 Skousen, a professor at Brigham Young University, organized an off-campus institute for constitutional studies. In 1971, this was formerly christened as The Freeman Institute. It was later given its current name and its headquarters moved to Washington, D.C.[1]

The center ran conferences in the 1980s and 1990s through a non-profit it controlled called "The Making of America Conferences, Inc." Board members of this non-profit included Skousen, William H. Doughty, Donald N. Sills, and Glenn Kimber. Impeached Arizona governor Evan Mecham was also a regular donor to the center.[2]

In the early 1990s, an effort to build a conservative community in Southern Utah to house the center collapsed amid the developer's unfulfilled promises.

### Leadership

The current CEO and chairman of the board is Zeldon Nelson [3] Previous chairmen were:

W. Cleon Skousen

Andrew Allison

Jim Bartleson

John L. Harmer, former lieutenant governor of California

Earl Taylor Jr.

### The Making of America controversy

In 1987, controversy erupted in California over the NCCS-published textbook *The Making of America* by W. Cleon Skousen. The book quoted a 1934 essay on slavery by Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Fred Albert Shannon that described black children as "pickaninnies"; another section stated that life for white Southerners was "a nightmare" due to "the constant fear of slave rebellion", and claimed that white slave owners were "the worst victims of slavery".[4] The state's bicentennial commission had approved the sale of the book as a fundraising device to coincide with the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution.

Gary K. Hart and Willie Brown demanded that then-Governor George Deukmejian fire the three members of the Bicentennial Commission who had cast "yes" votes on the sale of the book. The controversy was resolved after the commission issued an apology, stating that it had made a "serious error in judgment" by approving the sale of the book.[4][5]

### Allies and popularity

A 2011 report by the Southern Poverty Law Center said that the NCCS had found a number of new organizational allies among "constitutionalist" groups such as the John Birch Society, the Eagle Forum, and the Oath Keepers.[6] Additionally, in the media, the NCCS "found a powerful voice in the form of Glenn Beck, who is a Mormon himself and used his Fox News platform to advocate for NCCS books and ideas. Through Beck's sustained and energetic advocacy, once-forgotten NCCS tracts... such as *The 5,000 Year Leap* have become unlikely bestsellers... Since the rise of the Tea Party Movement, the all-volunteer NCCS has experienced exploding interest from Tea Party-affiliated groups such as the 9.12 Project and the Tea Party Patriots. On any given Saturday, several of nearly twenty "Making of America" NCCS lecturers are giving seminars" across the United States.[6]

At a 2010 seminar presented by the NCCS, participants were told that the Constitution came directly from a governmental system adopted by Moses and much later by the legendary Anglo-Saxon brothers Hengist and Horsa and then copied by Thomas Jefferson. Among other things specific to the amendments of the Constitution they were told that by giving women the vote the 19th Amendment violated states' rights.[7]

### Publications

*The Roots of America*

*The Miracle of America*

*The Making of America*

*The 5,000 Year Leap*

*The Real Thomas Jefferson*

The Real George Washington  
The Real Benjamin Franklin

#### National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools

The National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools (NCBCPS) is a conservative nonprofit organization that promotes the use of its 300-page Bible curriculum, *The Bible in History and Literature*, in schools throughout the United States.[1]

The NCBCPS was founded in 1993,[1] and as of 2000 its curriculum has been in use in at least 70 public school districts across the United States.[2]

It has been criticized by separationists as presenting a religious interpretation of the Bible as well as an unbalanced view of American history which promotes specific religious beliefs. The use of the curriculum has been challenged in lawsuits in two school districts, which have withdrawn the course as contravening the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment.[3]

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#### Overview

NCBCPS was founded on April 8, 1993, by Elizabeth Ridenhour, a Greensboro, NC, paralegal. The organization's annual 990 tax forms, available on [Guidestar.org](http://Guidestar.org), list Ridenhour as an ordained minister. According to the NCBCPS, "the Bible was the foundation and blueprint for our Constitution, Declaration of Independence, our educational system, and our entire history until the last 20 or 30 years." [4] But according to Mark A. Chancey, the organization is a "promotion of a fundamentalist Protestant understanding of the Bible and a revisionist history of the United States as a distinctively (Protestant) Christian nation, the curriculum appears not to pass legal muster." [4] Purportedly, it is based off a course previously taught in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools. [4]

According to the organization's Web site, "312 U.S. school districts in 37 states have educated 175,000 of their students using the Bible curriculum as a public high school elective."

A 2006 report, "Reading, Writing and Religion: Teaching the Bible in Texas Public Schools," by Bible scholar Dr. Mark Chancey of Southern Methodist University found that in Texas, "the number of Texas school districts using the NCBCPS curriculum, 11, is less than a fourth of the 52 claimed by the NCBCPS itself. Adding the very few school districts known to have used the course in the past ... does not significantly change the total number. The NCBCPS markets its course by strongly emphasizing the large number of school districts that supposedly teach it; as of late July 2006, its Web site claimed that its curriculum is currently offered in 362 districts nationwide. Such oft-repeated claims now appear to be quite inaccurate. If the situation in Texas is representative, the curriculum is probably actually taught in only a few dozen districts."

#### Curriculum legality

The NCBCPS web site states that the organization's curriculum "has never been legally challenged", [5] and features an opinion from four lawyers claiming the course to be constitutional. Whilst the NCBCPS itself has not been sued, two school boards have been for adopting the NCBCPS materials in their district:

#### *Moreno v. Ector County School Board*

A federal lawsuit on behalf of eight parents in Odessa, Texas, was filed on May 16, 2007 against the Ector County school board. The suit was brought by the ACLU of Texas, the People For the American Way Foundation and the law firm of Jenner & Block. The suit alleged that the course promotes certain religious beliefs to the exclusion of others. [6] The Ector County School Board was represented by Liberty Legal Foundation. In a May 17, 2007 article in the *Odessa American*, ECISD trustee L.V. "Butch" Foreman III said he did not understand how the parents could sue the school board since they do not have children taking the course. "If they don't have children in the class, they can kiss my butt," Foreman said. [7]

On March 5, 2008, the lawsuit was settled with an agreement by the Ector County School Board to cease teaching NCBCPS materials in its public schools after that current school year. The course offered was taught as an elective in two high schools and was described as unconstitutionally promoting a particular interpretation of the Bible that is not shared

by Jews, Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and most Protestants. Bible scholars had seriously criticized the course as lacking accuracy, ignoring scholarly research, promoting a particular religious interpretation of the Bible, and presenting an unbalanced view of American history which promoted specific religious beliefs.

According to the settlement,[8] any Bible course Ector County schools offer in the future cannot be based on the NCBCPS curriculum, and must follow strict legal standards for objectivity and balance. One of the plaintiffs, an ordained elder and deacon at a local Presbyterian Church, said that it was inappropriate for one set of religious beliefs to be promoted over others, and that "It seems as though a church had invaded the public school system – and it wasn't my church". The ACLU's Director of Litigation said in a press release that "We trust that any future curriculum will be appropriate for students of all faiths – including nonbelievers – and that it will respect the religious liberty of all Odessans." [3]

#### Gibson v. Lee County School Board

The Lee County School Board (Florida) was sued while using the NCBCPS curriculum, for "unconstitutionally advancing religion in public school classrooms." According to the website of People for the American Way Foundation, which represented the plaintiffs in the suit (Gibson v. Lee County School Board), "In January 1998, the court issued a preliminary injunction that prohibited the teaching of the 'New Testament' curriculum and allowed the 'Old Testament' curriculum to be taught only under strict monitoring. The court also ordered the two sides to begin settlement negotiations.

"After the court's ruling, the Board agreed to settle the case by withdrawing the 'Old Testament' and 'New Testament' curricula it had adopted and replacing them with a new, objective and non-sectarian course based on a textbook called "An Introduction to the Bible."

#### Winter 2007 Baylor Law Review article

In the Winter 2007 issue of the Baylor Law Review, Amanda Colleen Brown reviewed the NCBCPS' The Bible in History and Literature and the Bible Literacy Project's The Bible and Its Influence (59 Baylor L. Rev. 193). The author subjects both curricula to three legal tests used by the Supreme Court to determine the legality of Bible courses, and concludes that the NCBCPS curriculum is "unfit for use in public school classrooms," while the Bible Literacy Project's curriculum "comports with constitutional standards, thus making it a viable alternative to the NCBCPS curriculum." Brown argues that a key problem with the NCBCPS curriculum is that it consists of only a teacher's guide, with no student textbook. Brown writes:

Using only the Bible makes compliance with the Constitution and regulating the classroom instruction much more difficult. If there is a text to follow, then the majority of what will be discussed in class can be scrutinized and approved or disapproved. It also provides a guide by implication for teachers as to the tone and content of course lessons. Using only the Bible makes inadvertent or intentional Constitutional violations much more likely, since the class content is predominantly lectures by the teacher. Given that the curriculum has a sectarian nature and promotes religious viewpoints, the fact that the Bible serves as the only text makes the effect of the advancement of religion even more likely. It is possible, as well, that the NCBCPS intentionally chose not to develop a text, in order to give the teachers more freedom to control the content of the course toward the views expressed by the NCBCPS in the curriculum.

#### Opinion of the Attorney General of Georgia

In 1999, the Attorney General of Georgia, Thurbert Baker, issued an opinion stating that the state's proposed adoption of the NCBCPS courses could not be assured that they would survive a legal challenge.[9]

#### Curriculum quality

On August 1, 2005, Dr. Mark Chancey, professor of Biblical studies at Southern Methodist University, released a report through the Texas Freedom Network detailing his concerns about the scholarly quality of the curriculum. Chancey stated that the curriculum was improperly sectarian, and contained "shoddy research, factual errors and plagiarism." In particular, Chancey wrote that the curriculum "uses a discredited urban legend that NASA has evidence that two days are missing in time, thus 'confirming' a biblical passage about the sun standing still [pp. 116–17];" and that more than one-third of the curriculum's 300 pages are reproduced word-for-word from uncredited sources such as Microsoft's Encarta encyclopedia. Hundreds of Biblical scholars at universities around the United States have signed on as endorsers of Chancey's findings.[10]

The NCBCPS responded with an August 4 press release asking the public to "consider the source." The release described the Texas Freedom Network as "a small group of far left, anti-religion extremists ... desperate to ban one book – the Bible – from public schools.[11]

In a subsequent article,[11] Dr. Chancey wrote:

As early as August 12, however, the NCBCPS was mailing school districts a revised edition of its curriculum, along with a letter urging them in bold, italicized, underlined letters to 'please discard any previous editions of the curriculum that you may have.' ... Why a purportedly problem-free book that had been published only five months earlier needed to be completely replaced was not explained.

Robert Marus of the Associated Baptist Press Washington Bureau wrote that the revision of the curriculum "incorporat[ed]

many of the changes recommended by an organization [the NCBCPS] characterized as 'anti-religion extremists.'" [12]

Mark A. Chancey has written more previously (2007) on the updated curriculum. Chancey says the updated 2005 version is "though an improvement, still maintains a historicizing perspective that strongly reflects conservative Protestant views". [4] To evaluate the curriculum, Chancey uses the "Lemon test." This came from *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971). From this case, the Supreme Court ruled that for something to be Constitutional, it "(1) must have a "secular purpose;" (2) that "its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion;" (3) and that it "must not foster 'an excessive government entanglement with religion.'" [4] Chancey found that all versions of the curriculum did not pass the Lemon test, showing that it does not have a secular purpose and has a likely effect of advancing the interest of particular religious groups. [4]

#### Perspectives of others on the curriculum

The syllabus of the National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools has endorsed by D. James Kennedy, Bill Bright, Joyce Meyer, Jerry Falwell, John Hagee, T.D. Jakes, Dale Evans Rogers, Jane Russell, Pat Boone, Carman Licciardello, and Scott O'Grady.[13]

The Chicago Tribune Editorial Board, in an editorial published July 7, 2007, stated that "The folks at the National Council are right on one count: The Bible should be taught in public schools. But they shouldn't be the ones to do it." The editorial criticised the NCBCPS for not releasing the names of the authors of the curriculum and for "sloppy editing, factual errors and outright copying, word for word, from sources." The Editorial Board noted that "The National Council is not the only option school districts have. A competing curriculum (The Bible and Its Influence) offered by the Bible Literacy Project, a non-profit group, has been vetted, accepted and praised by a wide range of scholars, critics and education officials."

TIME Magazine, in the cover story of its April 2, 2007 issue, wrote that the curriculum is not "legally palatable ... Its spokespeople claim it is refining itself as it goes and its most recent edition, which came out last month, eliminates much literalist bias—but still devotes 18 lines to the blatantly unscientific notion that the earth is only 6,000 years old." By contrast, TIME stated that "[Public school Bible electives] should have a strong accompanying textbook on the model of (the Bible Literacy Project's) *The Bible and Its Influence*." [14]

#### American Decency Association

The American Decency Association (ADA) is a non-profit organization associated with the Christian right based in Fremont, Michigan. Its principal cause is against pornography and "indecent" media. The ADA was founded in 1999 by former elementary school teacher, Bill Johnson, the first-named state director of the American Family Association (AFA) from 1987 to 1999.[1] The organization was formerly known as the Michigan chapter of the AFA.

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#### Activism

##### Detroit Pistons dancers

In 2006, the ADA opposed the distribution of a calendar depicting Detroit Pistons dance group, "Automotion" members in swimsuits. The calendar was given away to fans during a December basketball game, and then sold to legal adults for \$13 in Pistons' stores. A member of the ADA described the calendar as "legalized prostitution." The ADA opposed the calendar by means of its e-mail newsletter, and said that since the basketball team counted women and young children among its fans, the calendar was inappropriate. The proceeds of the calendar went to charity.[2]

In January 2006, Brother Rice High, a Michigan Catholic school disinvited Automotion to an alumni fundraising event after repeated urging by the ADA. The ADA held that the event "legitimizes pornography and the objectification of women." Though the high school's decision was made in response to public pressure instead of an admission of wrongdoing by the principal, the ADA still viewed it as a victory. The dancers planned to donate their time to the fundraising event.[3]

#### Supporters

The ADA receives some funding from the Holland, Michigan-based Prince Foundation (formerly the Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation), which funds many other Christian right groups including the Family Research Council and Focus on the Family, which each received a little over a million dollars in 2003 and 2004, and 2003 and 2005, respectively. The Prince Foundation also gave money to the Promise Keepers, and the Concerned Women for America. Many other local and national groups associated with the religious right have received money from the Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation.[4]

#### American Civil Rights Institute

The American Civil Rights Institute is a non-profit organization located in Sacramento, California founded by Ward Connerly and Thomas L. "Dusty" Rhodes in opposition to racial and gender preferences.[1][2] The organization describes

itself as "a national civil rights organization created to educate the public on the harms of racial and gender preferences." The American Civil Rights Institute also known as The American Civil Right Coalition wasn't fully formed until 1997, in order to take the battle against affirmative action nationwide.

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### Ward Connerly

Ward, the President of the American Civil Rights Institute focused on educating the public about the need to move beyond race, specifically, racial and gender preferences. Connerly has gained attention as being an outspoken advocate of equal opportunity for all Americans, regardless of race, sex, or ethnic background. Ward Connerly was President and Chief Executive Officer of Connerly & Associates, a consulting firm in Sacramento, that primarily focuses on association management and land development and was founded in 1973. "If you really believe in freedom and limited government, to be intellectually consistent and honest you have to oppose efforts of the majority to impose their will on people" quoted by Ward Connerly.

### Ward Connerly

#### Thomas L. "Dusty" Rhodes

Thomas L. Rhodes, was President of National Review, a co-founder of the American Civil Rights Institute, and a political editor. Mr. Rhodes resigned as the President of National Review on June 30, 2010. Rhodes has been involved in the Conservative Movement for years. Being one of the founders of the Project to Republican Future, which has led to major formulated debates and impacted several public policy issues.

### Goal

The American Civil Rights Institute (ACRI) was established in 1996 by Ward Connerly and Thomas L. "Dusty" Rhodes (President of Review) after leading the campaign in California to adopt Proposition 209.[3] The organization opposes affirmative action and racial and gender preferences in federal, state and local government programs. It focuses on public education, policy research and supporting constitutional amendments[which?] in California, Washington, Florida, Michigan, Nebraska and Arizona that seek to abolish racial and gender preferences. ACRI also assists other anti-affirmative action organizations in various states in opposing racial and gender preferences in government programs and advancing the view that such racial and gender preferences are harmful. ACRI states that its members believe that "civil rights are individual rights and government policies should not uphold group rights over individual rights." The organization states that its goal is to achieve equal opportunity for everybody.[4]

### Activities and events

#### Year Event

1998 Washington state voters approve "Initiative 200" which bans the state from using race, gender or sex to give preferential treatment in employment, contracting or public education admissions.

1999 Connerly petitioned in support of a 2000 ballot initiative to overturn affirmative action in Florida. Supporters of the "Florida Civil Rights Initiative" gathered signatures, then waited for the Supreme Courts decision to approve the ballot.

2000 Thousands of Civil Rights Supporters march in Tallahassee, Florida in response to Gov. Jeb. Bush's own anti-affirmative action plan "One Florida".

2002 ACRI's "Racial Privacy Initiative", a proposed constitutional amendment which would ban state and government from collecting racial data.

2003

California voters rejected the "Racial Privacy Initiative"

The Individual Rights Foundation submits an amicus brief on behalf of Ward Connerly to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Gratz v. Bollinger*, attacking the affirmative action policies of the University of Michigan.

The American Civil Rights Institute, The Center for Equal Opportunity, and The Independent Women's Forum, filed an amicus brief with the U.S. Supreme Court supporting the petitioners *Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Gratz v. Bollinger*.

Civil Rights Organizations submitted continuously friend -of court briefs urging the Court to grant review for *Grutter v. Bollinger*.

2006

"Michigan Civil Rights Initiative", placed an anti-affirmative action ballot on the 2006 ballot.

Michigan voters approved the affirmative action plan ban by a 58-42 percent win.

2008

On the November 2008 ballot (Same Sex Marriage), sponsored petition drives in up to five states-Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. The Initiative failed to make it on the ballot in Arizona, Missouri, and Oklahoma and was rejected in Colorado.

### Funding



Ward Connerly takes in donations to help fund ACRI. In 2001, Connerly received \$700,000 from Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation of Milwaukee for his anti-affirmative action campaign in California. Connerly also gained \$150,000 from Olin Foundation and \$200,000 from Richard Mellon Scaife.

#### National Reform Association

The National Reform Association (NRA), formerly known as the National Association to Secure the Religious Amendment of the United States Constitution, is an organization that seeks to introduce a Christian amendment to the U.S. Constitution in order to make the United States a Christian state.[1][2] Founded in 1864, the National Reform Association included representatives from eleven Christian denominations as well as the official support of a number of Churches.[1] It publishes a magazine called The Christian Statesman.[3]

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#### History

The National Reform Association was founded in 1864 by representatives from eleven Christian Churches in the United States.[1] It sought to, and continues to advocate for the following Christian amendment to be introduced to the U.S. Constitution:[1]

"We the people" would acknowledge "Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler among nations, His revealed will as the supreme law of the land, in order to constitute a Christian government..."[1]

This movement soon gained the support of several Churches.[1] For example, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, in its 1896 Discipline contained a section on National Reform, which continues to be retained by its successor, the Allegheny Wesleyan Methodist Connection in its most recent 2014 Discipline that contains the following statement:[4][5]

It shall be the duty of the ministers and members of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection to use their influence in every feasible manner in favor of a more complete recognition of the authority of Almighty God, in the secular and civil relations, both of society and of government, and the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ as King of nations as well as King of saints.[4][5]

As such, the Allegheny Wesleyan Methodist Church advocates for Bible reading in public schools, chaplaincies in the Armed Forces and in Congress, Sunday blue laws (reflecting historic Methodist belief in Sunday Sabbatarianism), and amendments that advance the recognition of God.[5]

The National Reform Association desired for reverence for the Sunday Sabbath, opposing the distribution of newspapers on the Lord's Day as Sunday newspapers became popular in the 1880s.[6]

In 1895, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which was at that time the largest women's organization in the United States, proclaimed its solidarity with the National Reform Association "whose efforts are parallel to ours on many lines." [3] To this end, the WCTU passed a resolution "God in Christ is the King of Nations, and as such should be acknowledged in our government; and His Word made the basis of our laws." [3]

In the early 1900s, the National Reform Association supported the aims of the temperance movement, which was supported by many Christians at that time.[7]

#### Nebraska Family Alliance

Nebraska Family Alliance (NFA) is a religious 501(c)(3) education, policy research, and lobbying organization headquartered in Lincoln, Nebraska. It advocates for traditional gender roles and conservative Christian views on public policy. NFA policies include protecting the sanctity of life, permitting displays of religious affiliation in public schools, defending religious liberty for business owners[2], permitting businesses to decline serving LGBT customers[3], reducing human-trafficking and sexual-exploitation, opposition to no-fault divorce and LGBT employment protections, and support for biblical marriage and traditional family values. The organization has lobbied in favor of conversion therapy and against same-sex adoption.

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#### Organization

Nebraska Family Alliance was founded in 1988 as Nebraska Family Council. Its name changed to the current one in 2013, when it merged with another Nebraska organization, Family First.[4]

NFA is a family policy council, meaning that it is a state-affiliate of Family Policy Alliance,[5] the public policy arm of Focus on the Family.[6]

#### History of lobbying positions

##### Marriage and divorce

In its early days, NFA was focused on opposition to divorce. They supported "making divorces harder to get by increasing the waiting period for them to become final"[7] and other efforts against no-fault divorce.

The organization led the successful 2000 ballot initiative that amended the Nebraska Constitution to prohibit same-sex marriage.[8] Guyla Mills, organizer of the ballot initiative petition drive and NFA executive director, explained her organization's motivation at a January 2001 victory celebration. "We are not hate mongers," she said, addressing protesters on the street outside the celebration venue. "This is not about hate, this is about love. The Defense of Marriage Act movement was just a platform we had to share the love of Jesus Christ." [9]

##### Adoption

From 2000 to 2002, lawyers for the organization fought a court battle against a lesbian couple who were attempting to adopt a child. NFC lawyers won the case, *In re Adoption of Luke*, in the Nebraska Supreme Court. This set precedent prohibiting gay and unmarried adoption throughout the state.[10][11]

In 2007, the Nebraska legislature considered a bill that would allow gay couples to adopt.[12] Executive director Dave Bydalek testified against the bill, saying "kids are better off with loving parents of both sexes." [13] The measure failed; adoption by same-sex couples was prohibited in Nebraska until 2017.[14]

##### Domestic assault

The organization opposed a 2004 attempt to modernize Nebraska domestic assault law to use the phrase "intimate partner" to include unmarried couples. Executive Director Dave Bydalek stated "I am aware there are domestic assaults involved in dating, but the public policy of recognizing dating and other types of relationships outside the context of marriage cheapens the importance of marriage in our society." Al Riskowski of Nebraska Family Council said that legally recognizing two people living together is "recognizing an immoral situation. That is not upholding the family." [15]

##### Human trafficking

NFA has worked to raise awareness about human trafficking and supported the first anti-trafficking law in 2006 that made human-trafficking illegal under Nebraska law.[citation needed] In 2019 NFA supported legislation granting law enforcement the authority to utilize wire-taps in trafficking investigations and to expand the statute of limitations for prosecuting trafficking crimes.[16] NFA also backed legislation in 2018 to allow trafficking victims' criminal records to be expunged of charges that were a result of trafficking,[17] and in 2017 advocated for a law increasing criminal penalties for trafficking offenses for both traffickers and buyers.[18]

##### LGBT protections

In 2012, shortly before their merger, Family First and Nebraska Family Council jointly led a successful petition drive against an attempt to ban LGBT employment, housing and public accommodations discrimination in Lincoln.[19] Firing an employee, evicting a renter, and ejecting a customer from a business for reason of sexual orientation remain legal in Lincoln.

NFA lobbied in opposition to a series of LGBT anti-discrimination bills in the Nebraska legislature from 2015[20] to 2019.[21]

##### Gambling

NFA opposes state-sponsored gambling and in 2016 helped defeat a ballot initiative attempting to legalize casino gambling.[22][failed verification]

### Fetal alcohol syndrome

NFA also raised awareness about fetal alcohol spectrum disorder and the alcohol-related issues plaguing the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation stemming from the sale of alcohol in the unincorporated village of Whiteclay, Nebraska.[23]

### Abortion

They identify as a pro-life organization and support restrictions on abortion. In 2019 NFA advocated for a law requiring abortion providers to inform women seeking a medication abortion about the possibility of continuing their pregnancy after beginning a medication abortion.[24] Such legislation has drawn criticism from professional medical associations. The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists issued a fact sheet stating "claims regarding abortion 'reversal' treatment are not based on science and do not meet clinical standards."[25] The American Medical Association filed a lawsuit to block similar legislation from being enacted in North Dakota.[26]

The organization helped pass a bill in 2018 giving parents the option to request a state-issued commemorative birth certificate for miscarried babies at any gestational age.[27]

### Conversion therapy

In 2019 NFA testified before the Nebraska Legislature in support of keeping conversion therapy legal in Nebraska. NFA cited the bill's broad definition of conversion therapy that would criminalize self-directed talk-therapy.[28]

### Religious freedom

NFA's website says of religious freedom: "Due to the ever increasing size of government and the development of same-sex marriage, this fundamental freedom is at risk." [29] NFA invited Jack Phillips and Barronelle Stutzman to speak at a 2018 fundraiser[30] as exemplars of religious freedom because both had declined to provide wedding services to same-sex couples.[31][32]

NFA supported legislation in 2017 that passed into law to protect the religious freedom rights of teachers by repealing a decades-old law that prohibited teachers from wearing any religious dress or garb.[33]

NFA also hosts an annual National Day of Prayer event and promotes proclamations recognizing "Religious Freedom Day" in Nebraska.[34]

### Notable people

Russ Gronewold, CEO of Bryan Health, was an NFA board member.[35]

L. Steven Grasz, a federal judge appointed by Donald Trump in 2017, was an NFA board member.[36]

## Woman's Christian Temperance Union

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is an active international temperance organization that was among the first organizations of women devoted to social reform with a program that "linked the religious and the secular through concerted and far-reaching reform strategies based on applied Christianity." [1] It plays an influential role in the temperance movement. The organization supported the 18th Amendment and was also influential in social reform issues that came to prominence in the progressive era.

The WCTU was originally organized on December 23, 1873, in Hillsboro, Ohio, and officially declared at a national convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874.[2] It operated at an international level and in the context of religion and reform, including missionary work and women's suffrage. Two years after its founding, the American WCTU sponsored an international conference at which the International Women's Christian Temperance Union was formed.[3] The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was founded in 1883 and became the international arm of the organization, which has now affiliates in Australia, Canada, Germany, Finland, India, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Korea, United Kingdom, and the United States, among others.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union conducts a White Ribbon Recruit (WRR) ceremony, in which babies are dedicated to the cause of temperance through a white ribbon being tied to their wrists, with their adult sponsors pledging to help the child live a life free from alcohol and other drugs.[4]

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#### History and purpose

At its founding in 1874, the stated purpose of the WCTU was to create a "sober and pure world" by abstinence, purity, and evangelical Christianity.[5] Annie Wittenmyer was its first president.[6] The constitution of the WCTU called for "the entire prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage." [7]

Frances Willard, a noted feminist, was elected the WCTU's second president in 1879 and Willard grew the organization to be the largest organization of women in the world by 1890. She remained president until her death in 1898.

Its members were inspired by the Greek writer Xenophon, who defined temperance as "moderation in all things healthful; total abstinence from all things harmful." In other words, should something be good, it should not be indulged in to excess; should something be bad for you, it should be avoided altogether — thus their attempts to rid society of what they saw (and still see) as the dangers of alcohol.[8]

The WCTU perceived alcohol as a cause and consequence of larger social problems rather than as a personal weakness or failing. The WCTU also advocated against tobacco. The American WCTU formed a "Department for the Overthrow of the Tobacco Habit" as early as 1885 and frequently published anti-tobacco articles in the 1880s. Agitation against tobacco continued through to the 1950s.[8]

This 1902 illustration from the Hawaiian Gazette newspaper humorously illustrates the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union's campaign against the producers and sellers of beers in Hawaii. As a consequence of its stated purposes, the WCTU was also very interested in a number of social reform issues, including labor, prostitution, public health, sanitation, and international peace. As the movement grew in numbers and strength, members of the WCTU also focused on suffrage. The WCTU was instrumental in organizing woman's suffrage leaders and in helping more women become involved in American politics. Local chapters, known as "unions", were largely autonomous, though linked to state and national headquarters. Willard pushed for the "Home Protection" ballot, arguing that women, being the morally superior sex, needed the vote in order to act as "citizen-mothers" and protect their homes and cure society's ills. At a time when suffragists were viewed as radicals and alienated most American women, the WCTU offered a more traditionally feminine and "appropriate" organization for women to join.[citation needed]

Although the WCTU had chapters throughout North America with hundreds of thousands of members, the "Christian" in its title was largely limited to those with an evangelical Protestant conviction and the importance of their role has been noted. The goal of evangelizing the world, according to this model, meant that very few Catholics, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists or Hindus were attracted to it, "even though the last three had a pronounced cultural and religious preference for abstinence".[9] As the WCTU grew internationally, it developed various approaches that helped with the inclusion of women of religions other than Christianity. But, it was always primarily, and still is, a Christian women's organization.

#### Policy Interests

The WCTU's work extended across a range of efforts to bring about personal and social moral reform. In the 1880s it worked on creating legislation to protect working girls from the exploitation of men, including raising Age of Consent laws.[10] It also focused on keeping Sundays as Sabbath days and restrict frivolous activities. In 1901 the WCTU said that golf should not be allowed on Sundays.[11]

The WCTU also wanted to aid immigrants coming into the United States through "Americanization" activities. Between 1900 and 1920, much of their budget was given to their center on Ellis Island, which helped to start the Americanization process. The WCTU promoted the idea that immigrants were more prone to alcoholism than Native Americans, focusing particularly on Irish and German immigrant communities as the source of the problem.[citation needed]

The WCTU was also concerned about trying to alleviate poverty, through abstinence from alcohol. Through journal articles, the WCTU tried to prove that abstinence would help people move up in life. A fictional story in one of their journal articles illustrates this fact:

Ned has applied for a job, but he is not chosen. He finds that the potential employer has judged him to be like his Uncle Jack. Jack is a kindly man but he spends his money on drink and cigarettes. Ned has also been seen drinking and smoking. The employer thinks that Ned Fisher lacks the necessary traits of industriousness which he associates with abstinence and self-control.[10]

#### Spread and influence

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union grew rapidly. The WCTU adopted Willard's "Do Everything" philosophy, which meant that the "W.C.T.U. campaigned for local, state, and national prohibition, woman suffrage, protective purity legislation, scientific temperance instruction in the schools, better working conditions for labor, anti-polygamy laws, Americanization, and a variety of other reforms"[12] despite having the image of a gospel temperance organization. The presidential addresses of the WCTU provide excellent insight as to how the organization seamlessly blended issues of grass-roots organizing, temperance, education, immigration and cultural assimilation.[citation needed]

One prominent state chapter was the Minnesota Women's Christian Temperance Union. The Minnesota chapter's origin is rooted in nation's anti-saloon crusades of 1873 and 1874 where women all throughout the United States "joined together outside saloons to pray and harass the customers." [12] In Minnesota there was stiff resistance to this public display and "in Anoka, Minnesota, 'heroic women endured the insults of the saloon-keeper and his wife who poured cold water upon the women from an upper window while they prayed on the sidewalk below. Sometimes beer was thrown on the sidewalk so that they could not kneel there but they prayed.'" [12] As a result, Minnesotan women were motivated and "formed local societies, which soon united to become the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1874. Women from St. Paul, Minneapolis, Red Wing, and Owatonna organized their first local W.C.T.U. clubs between 1875 and 1877. The Minnesota WCTU began in the fall of 1877. [12] From this point the Minnesota WCTU began to expand throughout the state in both size and interests.

The Minnesota WCTU worked hard to extol the values of the WCTU which included converting new immigrants to American culture or "Americanization." Bessie Laythe Scovell, a native New Englander that moved to Minnesota in the 1800s and served as president of the Minnesota WCTU chapter from 1897–1909 delivered her 1900 "President's Address", where she expounded on the methods the Minnesota chapter of the WCTU would utilize to accomplish its variety of goals within the state. Scovell adopted what was at the time a "progressive" approach to the issue of immigrants, particularly German and Scandinavian in Minnesota, indulging in alcohol and stated:

We must have a regiment of American workers, who will learn the German language, love the German people, work among the German children and young people until we get them to love clear brains better than beer. There must be others who for the love of country and dear humanity will learn the Scandinavian language and be real neighbors to the many people of this nationality who have come to make homes in America. Again others must learn the French and Italian and various dialects, even, that the truths of personal purity and total abstinence be taught to these who dwell among us. We must feel it a duty to teach these people the English language to put them in sympathy with our purposes and our institutions.[13]

For Scovell and the women of the Minnesota WCTU, speaking English and participating in established American institutions were essential to truly become "American" just as abstaining from alcohol was necessary to be virtuous. By linking language to culture and institutions, Scovell and the WCTU recognized that a multicultural approach would be necessary to communicate values to new immigrants, but did not conclude that multiculturalism was a value in itself. The WCTU viewed the foreign European cultures as a corrupter and despoiler of virtue, hence the excessive drinking. That is ultimately why it was paramount the immigrants learned English and assimilated.[citation needed]

#### Prohibition

Over the years, different prohibition and suffrage activists had suspected that brewer associations gave money to anti-suffrage activities. In 1919, there was a Senate investigation that confirmed their suspicions. Some members of the United States Brewers Association were openly against the woman's suffrage movement. One member stated, "We have defeated woman's suffrage at three different times." [14]

Although the WCTU was an explicitly religious organization and worked with religious groups in social reform, it protested wine use in religious ceremonies. During an Episcopal convention, it asked the church to stop using wine in its ceremonies and to use unfermented grape juice instead. A WCTU direct resolution explained its reasoning: wine contained "the narcotic poison, alcohol, which cannot truly represent the blood of Christ." [15]

The WCTU also favored banning tobacco. In 1919, the WCTU expressed to Congress its desire for the total abolition of tobacco within five years. [16]

Under Willard, the WCTU supported the White Life for Two program. Under this program, men would reach women's higher moral standing (and thus become woman's equal) by engaging in lust-free, alcohol-free, tobacco-free marriages. At the time, the organization also fought to ban alcohol use on military bases, in Indian reservations, and within Washington's institutions. [17] Ultimately, Willard succeeded in increasing the political clout of the organization because, unlike Annie Wittenmyer, she strongly believed that the success of the organization would only be achieved through the increased politicization of its platform. [citation needed]

### Reach of the Woman's Christian Temperance Movement

In the United States, the WCTU was divided along ideological lines. The first president of the organization, Annie Wittenmyer, believed in the singleness of purpose of the organization—that is, that it should not put efforts into woman suffrage, prohibition, etc.[18] This wing of the WCTU was more concerned with how morality played a role during the temperance movement. With that in mind, it sought to save those whom they believed to be of lower moral character. For them, the alcohol problem was one of moral nature and was not caused by the institutions that facilitated access to alcohol.[citation needed]

### Women of the WCTU at a meeting, 1924

#### WCTU display booth at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, 1945

The second president of the WCTU, Frances Willard, demonstrated a sharp distinction from Wittenmyer. Willard had a much broader interpretation of the social problems at hand. She believed in "a living wage; in an eight-hour day; in courts of conciliation and arbitration; in justice as opposed to greed in gain; in Peace on Earth and Good-Will to Men." [19] This division illustrated two of the ideologies present in the organization at the time, conservatism and progressivism. To some extent, the Eastern Wing of the WCTU supported Wittenmyer and the Western Wing had a tendency to support the more progressive Willard view.[citation needed]

Membership within the WCTU grew greatly every decade until the 1940s.[20] By the 1920s, it was in more than forty countries and had more than 766,000 members paying dues at its peak in 1927.[1]

Years	Membership
1881	22,800
1891	138,377
1901	158,477
1911	245,299
1921	344,892
1931	372,355
1941	216,843
1951	257,540
1961	250,000[21]
1989	50,000 (worldwide)[22]
2009	20,000[23]
2012	5,000[24]

#### Classification of WCTU Committee Reports by Period and Interests[25]

Period	Humanitarian Reform		Moral Reform		Temperance	Other	N
1879–1903	78.6	23.5	26.5	15.3	98		
1904–1928	45.7	30.7	33.1	18.0	127		
1929–1949	125.8	37.0	48.2	1.2	81		

Source: Sample of every fifth Annual Report of the WCTU

Percentages total more than 100 percent due to several interests in some committee reports.

Frances Willard was president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union for 19 years.

Frances Willard

Main article: Frances Willard (suffragist)

In 1874 Willard was elected the new secretary of the WCTU. Five years later, in 1879, she became its president. Willard also started her own organization, called the World's Women Christian Temperance Union, in 1883.[26]

After becoming WCTU's president, Willard broadened the views of the group by including woman's rights reforms, abstinence, and education. As its president for 19 years, she focused on moral reform of prostitutes and prison reform as well as woman's suffrage. With the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920, Willard's predictions that women voters "would come into government and purify it, into politics and cleanse the Stygian pool" could be tested.[27] Frances Willard died in February 1898 at the age of 58 in New York City. A plaque commemorating Willard's election to president of the WCTU in 1879 by Lorado Taft is in the Indiana Statehouse, Indianapolis, Indiana.[28]

Matilda Bradley Carse

Main article: Matilda Carse

Matilda B. Carse became an activist after her son was killed in 1874 by a drunk wagon driver. She joined the Chicago Central Christian Woman's Temperance Union to try to eliminate alcohol consumption. In 1878 she became the president of the Chicago Central Christian Woman's Temperance Union, and in 1880 she helped organize the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, selling the stock to rich women. That same year she also started *The Signal*; three years later it merged with another newspaper to become *The Union Signal*. [29]

It became the most important woman's newspaper and soon sold more copies than any other newspaper. During her time as president, Carse founded many charities and managed to raise approximately \$60,000,000 a year to support them. She started the Bethesda Day Nursery for working mothers, two kindergarten schools, the Anchorage Mission for erring girls, two dispensaries, two industrial schools, an employment bureau, Sunday schools, and temperance reading rooms.[29]

#### The World's WCTU

The World's WCTU (WWCTU) is one of the most prominent examples of internationalism, evidenced by the circulation of the Union Signal around the globe; the International Conventions that were held with the purpose of focusing "world attention on the temperance and women's questions,[30] and the appointment of "round-the-world missionaries." Examples of international Conventions include the one in 1893 scheduled to coincide with the Chicago World's Fair; the London Convention in 1895; the 1897 one in Toronto; and the Glasgow one in 1910. The first six round-the-world missionaries were Mary C. Leavitt, Jessie Ackermann, Alice Palmer, Mary Allen West, Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew, and Dr Katharine Bushnell.[31]

The ambition, reach and organizational effort involved in the work undertaken by the World's WCTU leave it open to cynical criticism in the 21st century, but there is little doubt that at the end of the 19th century, "they did believe earnestly in the efficacy of women's temperance as a means for uplifting their sex and transforming the hierarchical relations of gender apparent across a wide range of cultures." [32]

#### South Africa

The president of the Cape Colony WCTU was Georgiana Solomon, who eventually became a world vice-president.[33]

#### New Zealand

##### Banner, Gore Women's Christian Temperance Union

Further information: Temperance movement in New Zealand

Arriving in 1885, a prominent American missionary, Mary Leavitt, traveled to Auckland, New Zealand to spread the message of the WCTU.[34] For the next eight years, Leavitt traveled around New Zealand establishing WCTU branches and advocating for women to, "protect their homes and families from liquor, by claiming their rightful voice" and work to end the over-consumption of alcohol through gaining the vote.[34] Working alongside Leavitt was Anne Ward, a New Zealand social worker and temperance activist, who served as the first national president of the WCTU in New Zealand.[34]

Māori women were also active members of the WCTU in New Zealand, as many Māori women signed WCTU-initiated national franchise petitions.[35] Specifically, the 1892 WCTU petition was signed by Louisa Matahau of Hauraki and Herewaka Poata from Gisborne, and the 1893 petition was also signed by Matilda Ngapua from Napier and four other Māori women using European names instead.[35]

The WCTU played a significant role in New Zealand, because it was the only public organisation in the country that could provide women political and leadership experience and training, and as a result, well over half of suffragists at the time were members of the organisation.[34] One of the most notable New Zealand suffragists was Kate Sheppard, who was the leader of the WCTU's franchise department, and advised women in the WCTU to work closely with members of Parliament in order to get their ideas in political discourse.[34] This eventually led to women winning the right to vote in 1893.[36] Some prominent New Zealand suffragists and WCTU members include Kate Sheppard, Learmonth Dalrymple, Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia, Elizabeth Caradus, Kate Milligan Edger, Christina Henderson, Annie Schnackenberg, Anne Ward, and Lily Atkinson.

#### Canada

First Alberta Provincial WCTU convention, 1913, Olds, Alberta

The WCTU formed in Canada in 1874, in Owen Sound, Ontario.[37] and spread across Canada. The Newfoundland branch played an important part in campaigning for women's suffrage on the grounds that women were vital in the struggle for prohibition.[38] In 1885 Letitia Youmans founded an organization which was to become the leading women's society in the national temperance movement. Youmans is often credited with spreading the organization across the country.[39] One notable member was Edith Archibald of Nova Scotia. Notable Canadian feminist Nellie McClung was also involved.[40]

#### Newfoundland

The Newfoundland chapter of the WCTU formed in September 1890. Early supporters included Reverend Mr. A.D. Morton, the Methodist minister of Gower Street Church, and local women such as Emma Peters, Lady Jeanette Thorburn, Jessie Ohman[41],[42] Maria C. Williams, Elizabeth Neyle, Margaret Chancey, Ceclia Fraser, Rev. Mrs. Morton, Mrs. E.H. Bulley, Tryphenia Duley[43], Sarah (Rowell) Wright[44] and Fanny Stowe.

The WCTU agitated for women's suffrage in the Dominion especially in the wake of the sacrifices of WW1,[45] but did not

see this realized until 1925.[46]

#### India

Further information: Temperance movement in India

The WCTU formed in India was formed in the 1880s.[47] It publishes *Temperance Record* and *White Ribbon*, remaining very active today.[48]

#### Australia

Further information: Temperance movement in Australia

The WCTU began in Australia following visits from Jessie Ackermann in 1889 and 1891; a number of other Christian Temperance and Abstinence Societies existed throughout Australia before that time.[49] Jessie Ackermann acted as the round the world missionary for the American-based World's WCTU, and became the inaugural president of the federated Australasian WCTU, Australia's largest women's reform group.[50] They were active in the struggle for the extension of the franchise to women through promoting suffrage societies, collecting signatures for petitions and lobbying members of parliament. (See, for example, Women's suffrage in Australia.) After visiting New Zealand, Miss Ackermann came to Hobart in May 1889,[51][52] then toured the mainland for almost 12 months, stopping in Adelaide, Port Augusta, Clare, Kapunda and Burra in June to August,[53][54][55] Mount Gambier, Brisbane, Sydney, and Bathurst. She returned for a further visit, including Melbourne in 1891.[citation needed]

In Victoria, weekly temperance conferences were held at the East Melbourne home of Margaret McLean,[56] a founding member and coordinator of the Melbourne branch of the WCTU of Victoria; she was president of the organisation for two periods, 1892–93 and 1899–1907.[57][58]

#### Sweden

Further information: Swedish temperance movements

The Swedish WCTU, known as *Vita Bandet* (*White Ribbon*) was founded by Emilie Rathou in Östermalm in Stockholm in 1900.[59] Rathou was a leading member of the International Organisation of Good Templars, and the pioneer for organizing the WCTU and its local branches in Sweden.[59]

#### Woman's Temperance Publishing Association

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association was started in Indianapolis by Wallace but thought up by Matilda B. Carse. They thought there was a need for a weekly temperance paper for women of color. The creators wanted the first board of directors to be seven women who had the same vision as Carse.[60]

Exterior of the National WCTU headquarters, a building on the national register of historic places.

Current status

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union Administration Building in Evanston, Illinois, has been the headquarters of the WCTU since 1910.

The WCTU remains an internationally active organization.[61] In American culture, although "temperance norms have lost a great deal of their power"[20] and there are far fewer dry communities today than before ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, there is still at least one WCTU chapter in almost every U.S. state and in 36 other countries around the world.[62]

Requirements for joining the WCTU include paying membership dues and signing a pledge to abstain from alcohol. The pledge of the Southern Californian WCTU, for example, is "I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including beer, wine, and hard cider, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same." [63] Current issues for the WCTU include alcohol, which the organization considers to be North America's number one drug problem, as well as illegal drugs, and abortion.[64] The WCTU has warned against the dangers of tobacco since 1875. They continue to this day in their fight against those substances they see as harmful to society.[citation needed]

The WCTU quarterly journal titled *The Union Signal*, last edition was published in 2015, the main focus of which was current research and information on drugs.[65] Other national organizations also continue to publish.[66]

The WCTU also attempts to encourage young people to avoid substance abuse through participation in three age-divided suborganizations: *White Ribbon Recruits* for pre-schoolers, the *Loyal Temperance Legion* (LTL) for elementary school children, and the *Youth Temperance Council* (YTC) for teenagers.[citation needed]

The *White Ribbon Recruits* are mothers who will publicly declare their dedication to keeping their babies drug-free. To do this, they participate in the *White Ribbon Ceremony*, but their children must be under six years of age. The mother pledges "I promise to teach my child the principles of total abstinence and purity", and the child gets a white ribbon tied to its wrist.[67]

The *Loyal Temperance Legion* (LTL), is another temperance group aimed at children. It is for children aged six to twelve



who are willing to pay dues annually to the LTL. Its motto is "That I may give my best service to home and country, I promise, God helping me, Not to buy, drink, sell, or give Alcoholic liquors while I live. From other drugs and tobacco I'll abstain, And never take God's name in vain." [68]

The Youth Temperance Council is the final type of group meant for youths and is aimed at teenagers. Its pledge is "I promise, by the help of God, never to use alcoholic beverages, other narcotics, or tobacco, and to encourage everyone else to do the same, fulfilling the command, 'keep thyself pure'." [69]

#### Conventions

1874, Cleveland, Ohio  
1875, Cincinnati, Ohio  
1876, Newark, New Jersey  
1877, Chicago, Illinois  
1878, Baltimore, Maryland  
1879, Indianapolis, Indiana  
1880, Boston, Massachusetts  
1881, Washington, D.C.  
1882, Louisville, Kentucky  
1883, Detroit, Michigan  
1884, St. Louis, Missouri  
1885, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
1886, Minneapolis, Minnesota  
1887, Nashville, Tennessee  
1888, New York, New York  
1889, Chicago, Illinois  
1890, Atlanta, Georgia  
1891, Boston, Massachusetts  
1892, Denver, Colorado  
1893, Chicago, Illinois  
1894, Cleveland, Ohio  
1895, Baltimore, Maryland  
1896, St. Louis, Missouri  
1897, Buffalo, New York  
1898, St. Paul, Minnesota  
1899, Seattle, Washington  
1900, Washington, D.C.  
1901, Fort Worth, Texas  
1902, Portland, Maine  
1903, Cincinnati, Ohio  
1904, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
1905, Los Angeles, California  
1906, Hartford, Connecticut  
1907, Nashville, Tennessee  
1908, Denver, Colorado  
1909, Omaha, Nebraska  
1910, Baltimore, Maryland  
1911, Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
1912, Portland, Oregon  
1913, Asbury Park, New Jersey  
1914, Atlanta, Georgia  
1915, Seattle, Washington  
1916, Indianapolis, Indiana  
1917, Washington, D. C.  
1918, St. Louis, Missouri  
1919, St. Louis, Missouri  
1920, Washington, D.C.  
1921, San Francisco, California  
1922, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
1923, Columbus, Ohio  
1924,  
1925, Detroit, Michigan  
1926,  
1927,  
1928, Boston, Massachusetts

#### Presidents

The presidents of the WCTU and their terms of office are: [70]

1874 - 1879 - Annie Turner Wittenmyer  
1879 - 1898 - Frances Willard  
1898 - 1914 - Lillian M. N. Stevens  
1914 - 1925 - Anna Adams Gordon  
1925 - 1933 - Ella A. Boole  
1933 - 1944 - Ida B. Wise  
1944 - 1953 - Mamie White Colvin  
1953 - 1959 - Agnes Dubbs Hays  
1959 - 1974 - Ruth Tibbets Tooze  
1974 - 1980 - Edith Kirkendall Stanley  
1980 - 1988 - Martha Greer Edgar  
1988 - 1996 - Rachel Bubar Kelly  
1996 - 2006 - Sarah Frances Ward  
2006 - 2014 - Rita Kaye Wert  
2014 - 2019 - Sarah Frances Ward  
2019 - Current - Merry Lee Powell

Notable people

Sarah C. Acheson  
Jessie Ackermann  
Mary Jane Aldrich  
Eunice Eloisae Gibbs Allyn  
Edith Archibald  
Lily Atkinson  
Clara Babcock  
Lepha Eliza Bailey  
Frances Julia Barnes  
Susan Hammond Barney  
Emma Curtiss Bascom  
Belle G. Bigelow  
Ellen A. Dayton Blair  
Mary Shuttleworth Boden  
Lizzie Borden  
Caroline G. Boughton  
Emma Eliza Bower  
Euphemia Bridges Bowes  
Ada Chastina Bowles  
Leah Belle Kepner Boyce  
Kate Parker Scott Boyd  
Caroline Brown Buell  
Helen Louise Bullock  
Emeline S. Burlingame  
Cynthia S. Burnett  
Woodnut S. Burr  
Mary Towne Burt  
Alice Sudduth Byerly  
Matilda Carse  
Jennie Casseday  
Sallie F. Chapin  
Cordelia Throop Cole  
Julia Colman  
Mary Helen Peck Crane  
Mary L. Doe  
Eva Craig Graves Doughty  
Alice May Douglas  
Lavantia Densmore Douglass  
Mary G. Charlton Edholm  
Nellie Blessing Eyster  
Susan Frances Nelson Ferree  
Anna Adams Gordon  
Eva Kinney Griffith  
Hattie Tyng Griswold  
Sophronia Farrington Naylor Grubb  
Utako Hayashi  
Rebecca Naylor Hazard  
S. M. I. Henry

Eliza Trask Hill  
Clara Cleghorn Hoffman  
Lillian Hollister  
Esther Housh  
Emeline Harriet Howe  
Mary Hunt  
Mary Bigelow Ingham  
Eliza Buckley Ingalls  
Hannah M. Underhill Isaac  
Therese A. Jenkins  
Laura M. Johns  
Carrie Ashton Johnson  
Ella Eaton Kellogg  
Agnes Kemp  
Narcissa Edith White Kinney  
Sarah Doan La Fetra  
Mary Torrans Lathrap  
Maria Elise Turner Lauder  
Louisa Lawson  
Olive Moorman Leader  
Mary Greenleaf Clement Leavitt  
Lilah Denton Lindsey  
Margaret Bright Lucas  
Nellie V. Mark  
Harriet Calista Clark McCabe  
Mary A. McCurdy  
Olive Dickerson McHugh  
Margaret McLean  
Caroline Elizabeth Merrick  
Cornelia Moore Chillson Moots  
Carrie Nation  
A. Viola Neblett  
Angelia Thurston Newman  
Della Whitney Norton  
Hannah Borden Palmer  
Belle L. Pettigrew  
Esther Pugh  
Emily Lee Sherwood Ragan  
Laura Jacinta Rittenhouse  
Elizabeth Lownes Rust  
Susanna M. Salter  
Semane Sethoko Khama  
Kate Sheppard  
Henrietta Skelton  
Olive White Smith  
Amelia Minerva Starkweather  
Emily Pitts Stevens  
Lillian M. N. Stevens  
Katharine Lente Stevenson  
Eliza Daniel Stewart  
Margaret Ashmore Sudduth  
Hannah E. Taylor  
Eva Griffith Thompson  
Anna Augusta Truitt  
Alice Bellvadore Sams Turner  
Phoebe Jane Babcock Wait  
Lala Fay Watts  
Mary Allen West  
M. Ella Whipple  
Reah Whitehead  
Sophronia Wilson Wagoner  
Lucy Hall Washington  
Laura Moore Westbrook  
Agnes Weston  
Mary Sparkes Wheeler  
Dora V. Wheelock

Hannah Tyler Wilcox  
Frances Willard  
Mary Bannister Willard  
Jennie Fowler Willing  
Zara A. Wilson  
Ida B. Wise  
Mary A. Brayton Woodbridge  
Lenna Lowe Yost

#### Brothers to the Rescue

Brothers to the Rescue (Spanish: Hermanos al Rescate) is a Miami-based activist nonprofit right wing organization headed by José Basulto. Formed by Cuban exiles, the group is widely known for its opposition to the Cuban government and its former leader Fidel Castro. The group describes itself as a humanitarian organization aiming to assist and rescue raft refugees emigrating from Cuba and to "support the efforts of the Cuban people to free themselves from dictatorship through the use of active non-violence".<sup>[1]</sup> Brothers to the Rescue, Inc., was founded in May 1991 "after several pilots were touched by the death of" fifteen-year-old Gregorio Perez Ricardo,<sup>[2]</sup> who "fleeing Castro's Cuba on a raft, perished of severe dehydration in the hands of U.S. Coast Guard officers who were attempting to save his life."<sup>[3]</sup>

The Cuban government accuses them of involvement in terrorist acts,<sup>[4]</sup><sup>[5]</sup> and infiltrated the group (see Juan Pablo Roque and the Wasp Network).

In 1996, two Brothers to the Rescue planes were shot down by the Cuban Air Force in international airspace. The incident was condemned internationally, including by the UN Security Council while the Cuban government defended the decision claiming the planes were there to destabilize Cuban government. The Castro-approved mission against Brothers to the Rescue was codenamed "Operation Scorpion."

#### Contents

- 1 Rafting missions
  - 2 Roque and Wasp Network
  - 3 1996 shootdown incident
  - 4 See also
  - 5 Notes
  - 6 External links
- Rafting missions

Sample political leaflet dropped by Brothers to the Rescue on Cuba in 1996.

In its early years, the group actively rescued rafters from Cuba and claims to have saved thousands of Cubans, who were emigrating from the country.<sup>[1]</sup><sup>[6]</sup> Eventually, the group's focus shifted after changes in US immigration policy meant that rafters would be sent back to Cuba.

The group's founder has stated that after August 1995, it stopped seeing rafters in the water. Heavily dependent on funding for rafting activities, the group's funding rapidly dropped to \$320,455 in 1995, down from \$1.5 million the year before. As a result, the group focused more on civil disobedience against the Cuban government.<sup>[7]</sup> At least once, the group's founder dropped leaflets on Cuba.<sup>[6]</sup><sup>[8]</sup>

#### Roque and Wasp Network

One of the group's pilots, Cuban Juan Pablo Roque, a former major in the Cuban air force, unexpectedly left on February 23, 1996, the day before the two planes were shot down, and he turned up in Havana<sup>[9]</sup> where he condemned the group. Roque had left Cuba four years earlier and was shortly after recruited by Brothers, where he flew several missions.

Despite being dismissed as a Cuban agent by US officials, Roque denied working for the Cuban government and claimed to have returned home after being disillusioned with the Brothers. He claimed that they had plans to carry out attacks on military bases in Cuba and to disrupt its defence communications.

Roque appeared on Cuban television on February 26, 1996, where he denounced the Brothers as an illegal and anti-Cuban organization the fundamental purpose of which is to provoke incidents that aggravated relations between Cuba and United States. In an interview with the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), he stated that the group had planned to introduce anti-personnel weapons into Cuba and blow up high tension pylons to interrupt the energy supply.<sup>[10]</sup>

While in Miami, Roque had contacts with and was paid by the FBI. His claims brought questions about the role of agencies such as the FBI and CIA in the activities of the exile community. However, White House spokesperson David Johnson said that "there does not exist, nor has there existed, any tie between the North American intelligence services and Hermanos al Rescate," adding that the organization is "not a front" for those services, nor is it financed by them.<sup>[5]</sup><sup>[11]</sup> José Basulto agrees with US officials that Roque was a Cuban spy who, along with the Wasp Network,

infiltrated the Brothers.[6]

Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel after the shoot down, Roque has lived in a government-provided home with security since the incident. In an interview with The Miami Herald in 2012, he expressed remorse for the shootdown. "If I could travel in a time machine," he said, "I'd get those boys off the planes that were shot down." In 1999, he was indicted on federal charges of defrauding the FBI and failing to register as a foreign agent. However, Cuba has refused to extradite him. To this day, the Cuban exile community in South Florida considers Roque a traitor.[12]

Rene Gonzalez, another Wasp Network spy, also infiltrated Brothers to the Rescue and regularly sabotaged aircraft and reported on its activities until his subsequent arrest.

1996 shootdown incident

Main article: 1996 shootdown of Brothers to the Rescue aircraft

On February 24, 1996, two of the Brothers to the Rescue Cessna Skymasters involved in releasing leaflets to fall on Cuba, were shot down by a Cuban Air Force MiG-29UB. They were pilots Carlos Costa; Armando Alejandro, Jr.; Mario de la Peña; and Pablo Morales.

#### New Yorkers for Constitutional Freedoms

New Yorkers for Constitutional Freedoms is a non-profit Christian conservative political advocacy group in the State of New York. NYCF "exists for the purpose of influencing legislation and legislators for the Lord Jesus Christ." [1] The organization was founded in 1982. As of January 2018, Rev. Jason J. McGuire is the organization's Executive Director. NYCF's educational arm, New Yorker's Family Research Foundation, was formed in 1990. [2]

NYCF was active in opposition to same-sex marriage in New York, which was legalized by the Marriage Equality Act in 2011. After the Act was passed, NYCF set up a "Courage Fund" to "assist courageous municipal clerks and other people of conscience in New York State who oppose same-sex 'marriage' from harassment, denial of rightful promotion, or unfair termination for invoking New York State law protecting their sincerely-held religious beliefs." [3] After Barker town clerk Laura Fotusky resigned rather than be forced to sign same-sex marriage licenses, NYCF pledged to match the \$25,000 salary she gave up in resigning. [3]

On July 25, 2011, NYCF filed a lawsuit against the New York Senate in the New York Supreme Court seeking an injunction against the law which had taken effect a day earlier, alleging violations of the law in the process by which the bill was passed. [4] Rev. McGuire, Rev. Duane Motley (NYCF's senior lobbyist), and Rabbi Nathaniel Leiter (Executive Director of the Orthodox Jewish organization Torah Jews for Decency) were named as plaintiffs in the lawsuit. [5] On November 18, 2011, Acting Supreme Court Justice Robert B. Wiggins allowed the plaintiffs' claims under the Open Meetings Law, but dismissed other portions of the case. [6] On July 6, 2012, a five-judge panel of the Appellate Division ruled unanimously that no violation of the Open Meetings Law had occurred and dismissed the suit. [7] The New York Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, declined to hear an appeal in the case on October 23, 2012. [8]

#### American Opportunity

American Opportunity (formerly the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation) is a conservative think tank founded by Paul Weyrich. [1] It is based in Alexandria, Virginia. Under Paul Weyrich The Free Congress Foundation had focused on cultural concerns such as forming the "next conservatism", anti-abortion, on public transportation concerns, and on Fourth-generation warfare. [2] Since 2010, the Foundation has been headed by former governor of Virginia Jim Gilmore, and with the aid of former Reagan Treasury official Gary Robbins the American Opportunity organization has focused on lowering taxes across the board, with the aim of completely removing all taxes on shareholder dividends and capital gains, as well as removing the inheritance tax entirely. [3] [4]

It is a 501(c)(3) research and education organization.

#### Louisiana Family Forum

Louisiana Family Forum (LFF) is a social conservative non-profit advocacy group based in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The organization supports Louisiana's covenant marriage law and opposes abortion and same-sex marriage. The group's stated mission is to "persuasively present biblical principles in the centers of influence on issues affecting the family through research, communication and networking." [1] According to its website the group "maintains a close working relationship with Focus on the Family and Family Research Council" and is part of a network of individual state Family Policy Councils.

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- 2 Political advocacy
- 3 2007 earmark
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History

Louisiana Family Forum was founded in Baton Rouge in 1998 by a group of citizens, including retired City Court Judge Darrell White, former State Representative Tony Perkins, and LSU law professor Katherine Spaht.

The organization is currently headed by Executive Director Gene Mills, while Judge White and former State Senator Dan Richey serve as consultants. Louisiana Family Forum is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt non-profit organization.[2]

The Family Forum honors a Louisiana state legislator each year for the member's advocacy of moral principles and family values.[3]

#### Political advocacy

Louisiana Family Forum Action (LFF Action), is a 501(c)(4) tax-exempt non-profit organization advocacy group formed by LFF. Dan Richey, who holds the title of Grassroots Coordinator for LFF Action, joined the organization as a consultant in 2005. Prior to his work with LFF Action, Richey was a paid consultant in David Vitter's 2004 U.S. Senate campaign.[4] Records show that Vitter's campaign employed Beryl Amedee of Gray in Terrebonne Parish, then the LFF Education Resource Council chairman and currently the District 51 Republican member of the Louisiana House of Representatives.[4] In 2007, Amedee was named LFF education chairman.[5]

#### 2007 earmark

Wikinews has related news:

Senator David Vitter to earmark \$100,000 for creationist group  
In September 2007, U. S. Senator Vitter earmarked \$100,000 in a health and education financing bill for fiscal year 2008; the earmark specifies payment to the Louisiana Family Forum "to develop a plan to promote better science education." [4] This received national attention and was later cut from the bill after Vitter yielded to opposing political pressure. [6][7]

#### Koch Family Foundations

The Koch family foundations are a group of charitable foundations in the United States associated with the family of Fred C. Koch. The most prominent of these are the Charles Koch Foundation and the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, created by Charles Koch and David Koch, two sons of Fred C. Koch who own the majority of Koch Industries, an oil, gas, paper, and chemical conglomerate which is the US's second-largest privately held company.[1] Charles' and David's foundations have provided millions of dollars to a variety of organizations, including libertarian and conservative think tanks. Areas of funding include think tanks, political advocacy, climate change skepticism, higher education scholarships, cancer research, arts, and science.

In May 2019, the Kochs announced a major restructuring of their philanthropic efforts. Going forward, the Koch network will operate under the umbrella of Stand Together, a nonprofit focused on supporting community groups. The stated priorities of the restructured Koch network include efforts aimed at increasing employment, addressing poverty and addiction, ensuring excellent education, building a stronger economy, and bridging divides and building respect.[2]

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#### Foundations

##### Fred C. and Mary R. Koch Foundation

The Koch family foundations began in 1953 with the establishment of the Fred C. and Mary R. Koch Foundation. The Fred C. and Mary R. Koch Foundation was established to support non-profits in Kansas focusing on "arts, environmental stewardship, human services, enablement of at-risk youth, and education" through the funding of diversity programs at Kansas State University; the program Youth Entrepreneurs, a high-school level entrepreneurial and business program; the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, which develops programs to enhance the schools' history curricula;[3] and the Bill of Rights Institute, an organization that holds seminars and workshops for teachers and administrators to provide "educational resources on America's Founding documents and principles" to enhance the learning experience for students.[4] The Foundation's environmental aid includes support for science education,[5] and donations to organizations

such as The Nature Conservancy to help preserve the Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve, as well as the creation of the Koch Wetlands Exhibit in the Cheyenne Bottoms wetlands in Kansas.[5][6]

#### Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation

The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation was established in 1980 by Charles Koch.[7] The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation was established with the stated purpose of advancing social progress and well-being through the development, application and dissemination of "the Science of Liberty".[7]

The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation funded college study groups called Koch Scholars who gather and read "an assortment of select books, movies, and podcasts surrounding the principles of a free society." [8] Such groups exist at the Jon M. Huntsman School of Business at Utah State University[8] and the University of Alaska Fairbanks.[8][9]

The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation granted Dr. Willie Soon, a researcher at the Harvard-Smithsonian Centre for Astrophysics who says that most global warming is driven by the sun, at least \$230,000 over 14 years, according to documents obtained by Greenpeace under the US Freedom of Information Act.[10][11]

In 2011, the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation granted \$25,000 to the Heartland Institute, an American conservative and libertarian public policy think tank based in Chicago, a prominent supporter of global warming skeptics.[12]

In 2011 the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation split into the Charles Koch Institute and the Charles Koch Foundation.[13]

#### Charles Koch Institute

Main article: Charles Koch Institute

The Charles Koch Institute was established in 2011, and is active in the area of professional education, research and training programs for careers in advancing economic freedom. It runs the Koch Internship Program, the Koch Associate Program, and Liberty@Work.[14]

The Charles Koch Institute has advocated bipartisan criminal justice reforms. Among the planned reforms are reducing recidivism rates, lower barriers into the workforce for the rehabilitated, and eliminate the systemic overcriminalization and overincarceration of persons from generally low-income minority communities.[15][16][17] The reforms would also put an end to asset forfeiture by law enforcement, which deprives the incarcerated of, very often, the majority of their private property.[18]

The Institute, steered by the Koch family, has worked closely with the Obama administration, the ACLU, the Center for American Progress, Families Against Mandatory Minimums, the Coalition for Public Safety, the MacArthur Foundation and other left-leaning organizations to promote these reforms.[15][19][20] Both President Barack Obama and Anthony Van Jones have applauded the commitment to progress over party.[16][21]

#### Charles Koch Foundation

The Charles Koch Foundation was established in 2011, and is focused on grants and supporting higher education programs that analyze how free societies advance the well-being of mankind. It supports the Koch Institute's programs.[22] As of 2014, the Charles Koch Foundation has given grants to almost 300 colleges and universities, according to their website.[23] Brian Hooks, who formerly led the Mercatus Center, has served as the Foundation's president since 2014.[24]

In 2014, Koch Industries Inc. and the Charles Koch Foundation granted \$25 million to the United Negro College Fund (UNCF).[25] In protest of the Kochs, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a major labor union, ended its annual \$50,000–\$60,000 support for the UNCF, saying that the UNCF's involvement with the Charles Koch Foundation was 'a betrayal of everything the UNCF stands for' because, they said, the Koch brothers were 'the single most prominent funders of efforts to prevent African-Americans from voting'.[26]

A student campaign, spearheaded by Greenpeace, Forecast the Facts, and the American Federation of Teachers, called UnKochMyCampus claimed the Charles Koch Foundation at Florida State University stipulated final approval of hiring economics professors in return for their donation. Kimberley A Strassel criticized UnKochMyCampus in her March 27, 2015 Potomac Watch column of The Wall Street Journal.[27] Strassel wrote that the campaigns' website directs student activists to a list of universities Koch foundations have donated to and provides instructions for how to "expose and undermine" any college thought that works against "progressive values." [28]

The Charles Koch Foundation is sponsoring two public lecture series at The Institute of World Politics starting in 2015. One is on American Grand Strategy, and the other on Economics and Foreign Policy.[29][30][third-party source needed]

Between 2011 and 2018, the Foundation gave \$300,000 to the online magazine Spiked, which has written articles against those in opposition to Koch brothers' interests.[31]

#### David H. Koch Charitable Foundation

David H. Koch established the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, which, according to its website, "has given nearly \$200 million to support diverse causes nationwide including science and medical research, education, the arts, and more".[32] The foundation has funded cancer research and a number of arts and science organizations, including the American Ballet Theatre, New York City Ballet, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the American Museum of Natural History.[1][33] In 2015, an open letter to museums from 36 members of the scientific community demanded that the Smithsonian and other museums cut any ties with the Kochs, because of worries that they would remove information on climate change. The Smithsonian countered by stating both exhibits in question did examine in great detail the impacts of climate change. The Koch Foundation responded they "have pledged or contributed more than \$1.2 billion dollars to educational institutions and cultural institutions, cancer research, medical centers, and to assist public policy organizations." [34]

David Koch donated \$35 million in 2012 to the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum and \$20 million to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.[35] Joe Romm of ThinkProgress stated "David Koch did not personally intervene to affect the exhibit".[36] David Koch was a member of the board of trustees of the American Museum of Natural History in New York and the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History in Washington.[34]

The David H. Koch Charitable Foundation is a significant funder of Americans for Prosperity.[37] a libertarian/conservative political advocacy group. David H. Koch chaired the board of directors of the associated AFP Foundation.[38]

#### Koch Cultural Trust

The Koch Cultural Trust was founded 1986 as the Kansas Cultural Trust and renamed in 2008 as the Koch Cultural Trust closed January 2013 and filed termination with the IRS February 2014.[39][40]

#### Frederick R. Koch foundations

Another of Fred Koch's sons, Frederick R. Koch, is associated with the Frederick R. Koch Foundation and the Sutton Place Foundation, which are involved in supporting art and other cultural activities..[41]

#### Other beneficiaries

##### American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC)

Between 2005 and 2011, the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a nonprofit organization of conservative state legislators and private sector representatives that drafts and shares model state-level legislation for distribution among state governments in the United States, was granted \$348,858 from the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, according to Greenpeace, a non-governmental environmental organization.[42]

##### Citizens for a Sound Economy

Between 1986 and 1990, the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, and the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, granted a combined \$4.8 million to the Citizens for a Sound Economy, a conservative political group.[43][page needed]

##### Competitive Enterprise Institute

The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, and David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, were among the funders of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a non-profit, libertarian think tank.[44]

##### Americans for Prosperity Foundation

David H. Koch Charitable Foundation granted \$1 million in 2008 and the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation granted \$67,556 in 2009 to the Americans for Prosperity Foundation.[45]

See also

Donors Trust

#### Freedom Foundation of Minnesota

The Freedom Foundation of Minnesota (FFM) is a conservative think tank based in Minnesota.[2][3] The group states that it "actively advocates the principles of individual freedom, personal responsibility, economic freedom, and limited government." [4] Annette Meeks founded the organization in 2006 and currently serves as CEO. The Freedom Foundation of Minnesota founded Minnesota Watchdog, an online news service.[5] The organization is a member of the State Policy Network.

##### Freedom Foundation of Minnesota

Founder(s) Annette Meeks

Established 2006

CEO Annette Meeks

Budget Revenue: \$350,628

Expenses: \$358,769

(FYE December 2015)[1]

Subsidiaries Minnesota Watchdog

Coordinates 44.9786°N 93.2708°WCoordinates: 44.9786°N 93.2708°W

Address 520 Nicollet Mall, S-510

Minneapolis, MN 55402



Website [freedomfoundationofminnesota.com](http://freedomfoundationofminnesota.com)

#### Ohio Wisler Mennonite

The Ohio Wisler Mennonite Churches, also called Ohio Wisler Mennonite Conference, are a group of churches with a Mennonite tradition, that formed in 1973. They are not considered to be Old Order anymore, but are widely seen as Conservative Mennonites. Stephen Scott lists them as "Ultra Conservative" (Mennonites).[1]

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- 1 History
- 2 Customs and beliefs
- 3 Members and congregation
- 4 References

#### History

In 1973 a large group of Wisler Mennonites in Ohio split from the Ohio-Indiana Mennonite Conference, a car-driving Old Order Mennonite group, and formed the more modern Ohio Wisler Mennonites.[2][3]

#### Customs and beliefs

After the division from the Ohio-Indiana Mennonite Conference, the Ohio Wisler Mennonites adopted Sunday Schools and a more aggressive approach to outreach.[4] They have altered the manner of worship from the Old Order form.[5]

#### Members and congregation

In 1995 the Ohio Wisler Mennonite Churches had 131 households in four congregations.[6] In the year 2000 they had 421 adherents with a total population of about 800 people in five congregations, all in Ohio.[4] According to website of the Mennonite World Conference they had 322 adherents in four congregations in 2018.[7]

#### Home School Legal Defense Association

The Home School Legal Defense Association (HSLDA) is a United States-based organization that seeks to aid homeschooling families through legal representation.[1] HSLDA describes itself on its website as a "Christian organization." [1]

HSLDA is organized as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, located in Purcellville, Virginia, which is also the home of Patrick Henry College, founded by Michael Farris in 2000.

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- 2 Other HSLDA programs
  - 2.1 Generation Joshua
  - 2.2 HSLDA Online Academy
  - 2.3 Publications
  - 2.4 HSLDA Compassion
  - 2.5 NCFCA
  - 2.6 Patrick Henry College
- 3 Significant court cases
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#### History

Founders Hall and Patrick Henry Circle.

HSLDA was founded by Michael Farris in 1983 for the purpose of defending homeschooling families. At that time, homeschooling was not specifically legal in most of the states of the U.S. under compulsory education laws. Those who practiced homeschooling were often harassed or prosecuted. Through a combination of legal action and legislative lobbying, HSLDA played a large part[2] in the legalization of homeschooling throughout the U.S.

The high point of HSLDA's existence was its central role in the 1994 defeat of language in bill H.R. 6. This bill would have required all teachers in the U.S., potentially including home educators, to have teacher certification.[citation needed] HSLDA used their grassroots lobbying system in each of the 50 states which coordinated members to contact their legislators about pending legislation. Their members overloaded the phone switchboards at Capitol Hill,[3] and through the efforts of their members and other organizations,[citation needed] the bill was amended to remove the problematic language.[3]

HSLDA's speech and debate league broke off to form the National Christian Forensics and Communications Association

in 2001. That same year, Patrick Henry College was founded by Michael Farris, who was the college's president until 2006. Today, HSLDA's 80,000+ members receive free legal assistance if they are contacted by public school officials, or need legal help in relation to their rights to homeschool.

HSLDA has been criticized, from both inside and outside the larger homeschooling movement, for its ties to the Christian Right and its advocacy for various conservative political and religious causes, some of which are unrelated to homeschooling.[4][5]

#### Other HSLDA programs

##### Generation Joshua

Main article: Generation Joshua

In 2003, HSLDA, feeling a need to educate youth in civics and politics, founded Generation Joshua. Generation Joshua (often abbreviated as "Gen J" by its members,) is an American Conservative Christian youth organization that aims to encourage the involvement of 11- to 19-year-olds in politics. Its members, which number 6,000 as of 2006, participate in civics education, over 60 clubs, student action teams, voter registration drives, and "Benjamin Rush" Awards, which offer members a chance to earn a trip to Washington, D.C., amongst other things.

##### HSLDA Online Academy

HSLDA and Patrick Henry College founded HSLDA Online Academy in 2009 to provide online Christian courses to homeschool families.[6] Originally named Patrick Henry College Preparatory Academy, HSLDA Online Academy has expanded beyond college preparatory courses and now offers an array of high school classes online, including English & writing, mathematics, social studies, and foreign languages.[7]

#### Publications

The HSLDA publishes a bimonthly magazine which is mailed to all of its members.

The HSLDA published Constitutional Law for Enlightened Citizens by Michael P. Farris.

HSLDA Compassion

HSLDA Compassion provides "Assistance to needy home schooling families".

#### NCFCA

Main article: National Christian Forensics and Communications Association

The National Christian Forensics and Communications Association, or NCFCA, is a speech and debate league for homeschooled students in the United States, established in 2001 after outgrowing HSLDA, which had been running the league since it was originally established in 1995. NCFCA is now organized under its own board of directors with regional and state leadership coordinating tournaments and other activities.

#### Patrick Henry College

Main article: Patrick Henry College

Patrick Henry College, or PHC, is a private, non-denominational Protestant college, founded by HSLDA, that focuses on teaching classical liberal arts and government, located in Purcellville, Virginia. It is the first college in America founded specifically for Christian home-schooled students. The school was incorporated in 1998 by Michael Farris. It officially opened September 20, 2000 with 92 students, and has since grown to approximately 325 students.

#### Significant court cases

##### Federal courts

##### Calabretta v. Floyd

In the 1990s, HSLDA represented a family in their suit against a Yolo County, California, police officer and social worker who conducted a warrantless search, including strip search of minor children, during a child abuse investigation. The social worker argued that she was not bound by the Fourth Amendment restrictions against unreasonable search and seizure. Furthermore, both the social worker and police officer claimed immunity from suits regardless of whether or not they violated a family's constitutional rights. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on August 26, 1999 that "a social worker and a police officer are not entitled to qualified immunity for investigating a report of a child crying by making a nonconsensual entry into a home without a search warrant or special exigency and coercing a parent to aid them in strip-searching her child." [8] This ruling clarified that social workers are government officials and are bound by the Fourth Amendment and may be sued for violations of that amendment and has been cited repeatedly in subsequent court rulings regarding searches in child abuse investigations.

Camdenton R-III School District v. Mr. and Mrs. F

HSLDA represented[when?] a family that sought to have their son protected from a government mandated "special needs evaluation". The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that a school district may not force a child to undergo a special needs evaluation against the desires of the child's parents. The school district rested its arguments on the federal Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA). However, the court ruled that "Where a home-schooled child's parents refuse consent [for an evaluation], privately educate the child, and expressly waive all benefits under the IDEA, an evaluation would have no purpose. . . . [A] district may not force an evaluation under the circumstances in this case." [9] *Loudermilk vs. Arpaio, et al.*

A 2007 decision by the Arizona District Court states that entry by law enforcement and child protective services personnel into a private residence is not consensual when it is given after law enforcement threatens the family with the arrest of the parents and seizure of their children.[10]

State courts

F vs. Braxton Family

Maine Supreme Court ruled that parents' rights to their children override grandparents' rights to their grandchildren. HSLDA represented a family against the grandparents. The grandparents disagreed with the parents' child-rearing decisions and sued the parents to have unrestricted, court-mandated access to the children. The Maine Supreme Court affirmed a lower court ruling against the grandparents.[11]

The People v. DeJonge

Michigan Supreme Court struck down the state's teacher certificate requirement as an unconstitutional abridgment of the constitution's free exercise of religion clause. The DeJonge's were convicted of teaching their children without a government issued teacher's certificate. HSLDA represented the family in its appeals which established that parents do not need a teacher's certificate to teach their children.[12]

In the Matter of Stumbo

The North Carolina Supreme Court unanimously affirmed that social services may not begin an investigation based solely on an anonymous tip. Furthermore, it reaffirmed that social service workers are bound, as government employees, to the Fourth Amendment assurances against unreasonable search and seizure.[13]

In Re Gauthier Children: Petition to Compel Cooperation with Child Abuse Investigation

HSLDA represented a family which faced a court-ordered home visit by a social service worker after the family was accused of medical neglect. The juvenile court approved the court-order without probable cause.[14] The Superior Court of Pennsylvania found that the court-order was illegal in that it "was unsupported by probable cause and therefore violated their state and federal constitutional rights against unreasonable searches and seizures." [15]

See also

Generation Joshua

Patrick Henry College

National Christian Forensics and Communications Association (NCFCA)

REEVO, alternative education organization

## Generation Joshua

Generation Joshua (often called "GenJ" by its members) is an American Christian youth organization founded in 2003[1] that aims to encourage young people to learn about and become involved in government, history, civics, and politics.[2]

Generation Joshua is a division of the Home School Legal Defense Association (HSLDA), which is a non-profit 501(c)3 organization, and is based in Purcellville, Virginia.

Generation Joshua's "vision" is "to assist parents to raise up the next generation of Christian leaders and citizens, equipped to positively influence the political processes of today and tomorrow." [3]

All partisan activities are operated and funded by the HSLDA PAC.[4][5]

Generation Joshua seeks to educate students on the history and founding of the United States of America, while also providing hands-on opportunities for students to be involved in government and politics today. To this end, the organization provides civics education classes, a book club program, and bi-weekly current events chats to educate their members about the history and founding of the nation. Generation Joshua also seeks to promote activism opportunities for members through local clubs, voter registration drives, and Student Action Teams, where the students campaign for political candidates. The organization offers a college scholarship program, called the Ben Rush Awards Program, where students participate in civic involvement to earn money for college.[2][5]

Generation Joshua campaigns solely for conservative candidates who support anti-abortion and otherwise socially conservative platforms.[6] The group's focus on youth has led some critics to characterize its mission as making "Christian nationalism palatable to the MTV generation." [7]

Generation Joshua's name is taken from the Biblical character Joshua, who led the nation of Israel after Moses.

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### Programs

Generation Joshua runs five major programs: the Civics Education program, local Generation Joshua clubs, Student Action Teams, the Voter Registration Initiative, and the Benjamin Rush Awards Program. In addition to these, it offers four political simulation camps (called "IGovern" camps) during the summer. Generation Joshua has over 65 local clubs (as of 2008). At GenJ Club meetings, usually once a month, at least 10 times per year, members discuss current events with a Biblical perspective, listen to a special speaker, pray for the nation and its leaders, and organize local activism. The clubs are governed by Robert's Rules of Order and are led by a president and other officers. The clubs include homeschoolers as well as private and public school students.[8]

Generation Joshua's "Student Action Teams" buses students from across the country to campaign in local, state, federal elections for conservative candidates.[9] These students, often too young to vote, are encouraged to go door to door and campaign for candidates who share their values. Generation Joshua students have influenced the outcomes of congressional elections in November 2016.[10]

### Relation To HSLDA

GenJ's national offices are at the Home School Legal Defense Association, which is also the campus of Patrick Henry College. Michael Smith, president of the group's parent organization, the Homeschool Legal Defense Association sees Generation Joshua as part of a larger movement. By training students (often homeschoolers) in the principles of conservative Christian political views and encouraging them to be active politically, Generation Joshua seeks to fundamentally influence the next generation's involvement in government. Many of these students go on to enter conservative colleges such as Patrick Henry College, (also founded by the HSLDA) where they will learn to "restore a moral framework and return America to its founding principles".[1]

### See also

Conservatism portal  
Patrick Henry College  
Home School Legal Defense Association  
National Christian Forensics and Communications Association

## Educational Research Analysis

N/A

### Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy

The Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy (JBCPP) is a New Hampshire-based free market think tank.[4]

### Contents

- 1 Mission
- 2 History and leadership
- 3 Education policy
- 4 New Hampshire Watchdog
- 5 References
- 6 External links

#### Mission

According to the organization, "The Center has as its core beliefs individual freedom and responsibility, limited and accountable government, and an appreciation of the role of the free enterprise system. The Center seeks to promote policy that supports these beliefs by providing information, research, and analysis."[5]

#### History and leadership

The organization was founded in 1992 after the election of Bill Clinton.[1] The organization's president is Charles Arlinghaus. In November 2016, Arlinghaus was named chief budget adviser for New Hampshire Governor-elect Chris Sununu. Arlinghaus will advise Sununu on the state budget and public policy during the transition period.[6]

#### Education policy

JBCPP has worked to support legislation creating a scholarship tax credit program, which grants tax credits to businesses that donate to nonprofit scholarship organizations that fund low- and middle-income students attending the public, private, or home school of their parents' choice.[7]

#### New Hampshire Watchdog

In 2008, JBCPP launched New Hampshire Watchdog, an online investigative news website. The site is run by Grant Bosse.[8][9]

established1992[1]

Focus State and local public policy issues in New Hampshire

President Charles M. Arlinghaus[2]

Chairman James Sununu

Budget Revenue: \$208,143  
Expenses: \$221,554  
(FYE December 2014)[3]  
Location Concord, New Hampshire  
Coordinates 43.2035°N 71.5366°WCoordinates: 43.2035°N 71.5366°W  
Address 7 South State St.  
Concord, NH 03301  
Website jbartlett.org

#### Parents Television Council

The Parents Television Council (PTC) is a United States-based advocacy group founded by Christian activist L. Brent Bozell III in 1995. Through publications on its website including staff reviews, research reports, and web-based newsletters, the Council proclaims television programs or other entertainment products to be beneficial or harmful to the development of children and works to encourage broadcasters and content producers adhere to the council's advice.

Council activities include attempts to hold advertisers accountable for the content of the programs they sponsor, encouraging the development of what the council considers to be responsible, family-friendly entertainment, encouraging broadcasters to stop and/or limit television content the council says to be harmful to children, as well as pressuring cable operators to unbundle cable channels so consumers can pick and pay for only the channels they want to watch.

The council launches several media campaigns a year against the producers and advertisers of television programs they perceive to be indecent. A typical campaign involves press releases declaring a particular program harmful (often with a list of "unacceptable" character behavior or situations), the organized mass mailing of form letters and emails to advertising sponsors of unapproved programs, organized mass filing of complaints via the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) website complaint form, and direct threats of long, potentially costly FCC license challenges to local network affiliates planning to broadcast what the council considers harmful network programming.[2]

In 2004 the FCC revealed the Parents Television Council as the primary source of most content complaints received.[1] Throughout its existence, the Parents Television Council has been accused of promoting censorship.[3]

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#### History

Steve Allen, former host of The Tonight Show, was PTC's Honorary Chairman and a member of its Advisory Board. In 1989, the Media Research Center (MRC) began monitoring the entertainment industry for alleged liberal bias through its Entertainment Division and newsletter TV, etc.[4] MRC founder and president L. Brent Bozell III later felt that decency was declining on most prime-time television programming.[5][6] The PTC began operations in 1995 following private planning meetings with Charlton Heston, Michael Medved, and others in the entertainment industry, who would eventually make up the Advisory Board of the PTC. After the release of its first annual Family Guide to Prime-Time Television following the 1995-1996 television season, the PTC hoped to hold the entertainment industry accountable for the indecency that it perceived to be prominent on prime-time television.[7] By 1996, the organization had the support of several members of the U.S. Congress, including Joe Lieberman and Lamar S. Smith, and an estimated annual budget of

\$142,000.[5]

By 1998, with an estimated membership of 120,000,[8] comedian and former The Tonight Show host Steve Allen joined PTC as its Honorary Chairman, and PTC released a report questioning the accuracy of the TV Parental Guidelines ratings system[9] and campaigning for advertisers to stop sponsoring programs that the PTC claimed were offensive.[10] Allen launched a newspaper advertisement campaign promoting the PTC, which was published in many outlets including The New York Times.[11] The PTC was noted for criticizing such shows as Ally McBeal, Dawson's Creek, Ellen, Friends, and Spin City.[10][12] Its website was also introduced that year, and its annual budget had already surpassed \$1 million.[8] PTC rolled out another round of full-page newspaper advertisements in 1999; San Francisco Examiner television columnist Tim Goodman perceived Allen and the PTC of advocating complete censorship of television to allow only what PTC considered "Family-Safe TV".[13]

The PTC lost nearly \$1 million in 2008 and in 2009 received \$2.9 million in revenue, a 29 percent drop from the previous year. In 2009 and 2010, the PTC cut its staff by 38 percent to save money.[1]

#### Leadership

L. Brent Bozell III, a conservative political activist, founded the Parents Television Council in 1995. PTC was founded in 1995 by longtime political activist L. Brent Bozell III. Bozell is a prominent conservative activist who has, among other things, served as Executive Director of the Conservative Victory Committee, a political action committee that has supported the election of dozens of conservative candidates over the past ten years.[when?] He was also National Finance Chairman for Pat Buchanan's 1992 presidential campaign, and later president of the National Conservative Political Action Committee. Bozell was succeeded as PTC President by Timothy F. Winter.[14] Winter served as Executive Director of the PTC for three years prior to becoming president. Prior to joining the PTC, Mr. Winter's 20-year career as a media executive included positions with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and NBC.[15] Until 2015 when his position was terminated, Dan Isett, Director of Corporate and Government Affairs of the PTC, represented the PTC on the Consumer Advisory Committee of the Federal Communications Commission.[16]

#### Advisory Board

The PTC also has an Advisory Board consisting of politicians and entertainers working to assist the council in their goal of protecting children against profanity and violence in the media. Notable members of the advisory board include singer Pat Boone, former football player Mel Renfro, writer-producer Coleman Luck, country musician Billy Ray Cyrus, comedian and actor Tim Conway of CBS's The Carol Burnett Show, former U.S. Senator from Kansas and 2008 presidential candidate Sam Brownback, film critic Michael Medved, star of 1980s soap opera Dallas Susan Howard, and ION Television producer Gary Johnson.[17] In addition, the PTC has established numerous local chapters for most American media markets.[18] Notable former Advisory Board members include - both of whom are now deceased - comedian Steve Allen, original host of NBC's The Tonight Show, and C. Delores Tucker, participant in the Civil Rights Movement and activist against gangsta rap music; Allen is now given the title of National Honorary Chairman-Emeritus.[19] Bahçeşehir University associate professor Christian Christiansen questioned the backgrounds of certain PTC advisory board members as not consistent with their stance on morality.[20]

#### Publications

##### Columns and reports

The website of the PTC features reports on what the group says is harmful content on television and regular writings from its staff. Their research is done with the support of their Entertainment Tracking System, an archive of prime-time television programming that they claim is the largest in the world.[21] Such publications include:

"Culture Watch" - Throughout 2005 and 2006, the PTC published columns under this series authored by Christopher Gildemeister, covering the influence on American culture by entertainment as well as exposing the increase in sex, violence, and profanity in cable television and the methods used by advertisers and broadcasting companies to attract young audiences.[22] In a December 2005 column of his, Advertising Age columnist Simon Dumenco criticized the PTC, arguing that the PTC is "very very afraid of gay TV characters".[23] Culture Watch columnist Christopher Gildemeister defended the PTC as being "not homophobic" but simply opposed to "sexual references or innuendo (of any variety, hetero, homo or other) aired where children might be exposed to them." [24]

"Parenting and the Media" authored by Rod Gustafson, where he offers advice on parenting children who frequent the media.[25]

"TV Trends" - Another column by Christopher Gildemeister, published since October 2007 intending to inform parents and TV viewers in general about what he determines to be "harmful or questionable prime-time programming." [26] Hartford Courant television critic Roger Catlin quoted Gildemeister as criticizing ABC for having an "apparent fetish for transsexuals" in certain programs.[27]

Former president Bozell's weekly entertainment column, which it links to within the home page

In 2000, PTC's report What a Difference a Decade Makes allegedly stated that there was an increase in profanity, sex, and violence on television during the 1990s. The report also claimed that references to homosexuality increased the most during that decade - by 24-fold.[28] In 2002, the PTC released a report claiming that there was an increase in profanity on network programming shown during the first hour of prime time.[29] In a 2006 report titled Wolves in Sheep's Clothing, analyst Kristen Fyfe reported an increase in violent, profane, and sexual content in children's programming.[30] Among its

results, based on research during summer 2005, the PTC stated that Teen Titans was the most violent program, and claimed Cartoon Network had the most violent incidents.[31] Richard Huff of the New York Daily News criticized the report for misinterpreting an episode of SpongeBob SquarePants, "Sailor Mouth", over its intent to satirize profanity implicitly.[32]

Following the 2005–06 television season, PTC issued a report Faith in a Box that analyzed depictions of religion in primetime television. The study stated that most positive references to religion were on reality shows such as Extreme Makeover: Home Edition, while claiming that scripted shows tended to be more negative towards it.[33] The report also ranked Fox as the "most anti-religious network", followed by NBC, UPN, ABC, CBS, and the WB.[34] In 2008, PTC published a report titled Happily Never After, using analysis of several primetime shows early in the 2007-2008 television season that asserted that extramarital sex was more favored on television shows during that time period.[35] Ian O'Doherty of The Irish Independent asked regarding the PTC's marriage depiction study: "After all, would you rather watch people having fun or would you rather watch a realistic depiction of marriage, which ... would simply be an hour of two people sullenly chewing their food, pausing occasionally only to throw each other filthies and occasionally grumbling under their breath how the biggest regret of their life was ever setting eyes on you and that their mother was right all along?"[36] PTC released a report in October 2009 stating that prime-time television shows on broadcast networks had twice as many depictions of violence against women in 2009 than in 2004.[37]

In November 2010, the PTC released a study, Habitat for Profanity: Broadcast TV's Sharp Increase in Foul Language, which claims that there was a sharp rise in the usage of profanity between 2005 and 2010—during the 8PM to 9PM ET/PT time period commonly referred to them as the Family Viewing Hour, the PTC claimed that there were 111 instances of profanity during this hour in 2010 versus 10 in 2005; during all of prime time, 276 instances in 2010 against 11 in 2005. The study claimed that there was a 69.3% increase in prime time in general between 2005 and 2010, with the Fox network being heavily accused of bringing a 269% increase for the network during that period. The study also claimed instances in which there was profanity, but the offending word was bleeped out.[38]

#### Entertainment reviews and analysis

The PTC's activities extend to evaluation, rating, and educating around broadcast TV programs according to a traffic light system across three categories of sex, violence and profanity, accumulating to an overall rating based on the ratings of these three categories. The guide has been in use since the 1995–96 season[39] using the traffic light system.[5] In the PTC's definition of its traffic light system, green light indicates that the program is "appropriate for all ages", a yellow light indicates that the program "would be unsuitable for children under the age of 14", and a red light indicates that the program is "appropriate for adult audiences only".[40]

Every television season since 1995–96, the council has released a list of the best and worst prime-time television programs for family viewing.[41] The PTC's website includes the guide from the 1996-97 season at the earliest.[42] Starting with the 2005–2006 season, their list was based on their traffic light system as well as Nielsen Media Research ratings of viewership among children ages 2–17 of certain shows.[43] Popular shows that have frequently been praised as the most family-friendly programs on television include George Lopez,[44][45] 7th Heaven, Touched by an Angel, Home Improvement, Family Matters, Sabrina the Teenage Witch, Boy Meets World,[46] Extreme Makeover: Home Edition, American Idol, Dancing with the Stars, NBC Sunday Night Football, Deal or No Deal,[43] and Who Wants to Be a Millionaire. Popular shows frequently named "Worst of the Season" include American Dad!,[43] CSI: Crime Scene Investigation,[43][44] House, Two and a Half Men, Ally McBeal, Dawson's Creek, Grey's Anatomy,[43] The Drew Carey Show, Family Guy,[43][47] Friends,[42] The O.C., Spin City,[42][46] That '70s Show[44][46] and Will and Grace.[42][46]

On a weekly basis, the PTC publishes reviews of what they consider to be the best and worst television programming for family viewing, authored by the various entertainment analysts at the council.[48] Seth MacFarlane, creator of Family Guy, compared the PTC's frequent negative reviews of the series to "hate mail from Hitler" and "They're literally terrible human beings. I've read their newsletter, I've visited their website, and they're just rotten to the core. For an organization that prides itself on 'Christian' values ... they spend their entire day hating people."[49] MacFarlane became a target again when the PTC protested the Academy Awards' decision to have him host the 85th ceremony.[50] "So You Think You Can Rate a TV Show?", the title being a play on the title of Fox television series So You Think You Can Dance, is a weekly column the PTC began in July 2007 to claim that networks inaccurately rate their shows based on the TV Parental Guidelines, whether the network applied the improper age-based rating (such as TV-PG or TV-14) or failed to include the proper content descriptors (such as "L" for language or "V" for violence).[51]

#### Seal of Approval

To recognize excellence in the media, the Parents Television Council awards its Seal of Approval to television shows, movies, home products, and advertisers that provide or sponsor content it deems to be "family-friendly". It is divided into two categories: Entertainment and Advertiser.[52] Popular television shows that have been awarded include 7th Heaven, American Idol, Extreme Makeover: Home Edition, Everybody Loves Raymond, George Lopez, JAG, Reba, Smallville, Touched by an Angel, The West Wing, and The Wonderful World of Disney. Also receiving the Entertainment Seal of Approval are TiVo's KidZone television filtering service, The Jimmy Wilson Films Children's Adventure Series, the Sky Angel Christian television service, and the CleanFlicks DVD filtering product.[53]

#### Activism

World Wrestling Federation campaign and lawsuit

In 1999, the PTC launched a campaign against the World Wrestling Federation (WWF), now World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE), complaining that their SmackDown! program contained levels of sexuality and violence unbecoming prime time programming.[54] In the campaign, Bozell said that four children had been killed by peers emulating professional wrestling moves learned from the program.[55][56][57] With these allegations, Bozell and various PTC members began meeting with representatives of the advertising departments of various companies that advertised on SmackDown! to persuade them to withdraw sponsorship. The PTC also suggested that between 30 and 40 advertisers had pulled their commercials from WWF programming, an assertion that was not true.[57][58]

On November 9, 2000, the WWF filed a lawsuit against the PTC in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, claiming that the PTC's statements were false and constituted defamation.[59][60] The WWF also filed a copyright infringement lawsuit against the PTC for using clips from WWF programs in their promotional videos.[58] The PTC filed for dismissal of the suit, but on May 24, 2001, U.S. district court Judge Denny Chin denied the PTC's motion on the basis that the WWF's lawsuit had merit.[58] The PTC and the WWF settled out of court and, as part of the settlement agreement, the PTC paid the WWF \$3.5 million USD and Bozell issued a public apology,[61] stating that it was wrong to blame the World Wrestling Federation or any of its programs for the deaths of children and that the original statements had been based on what was later found to be false information designed by people close to the Lionel Tate case to blame the death of Tiffany Eunick on the WWF.[62]

During the conflict the WWF created the Right to Censor (RTC) stable, a group of wrestlers that parodied the PTC by portraying them as self-righteous moral crusaders.

#### Broadcast indecency

In 2003, the PTC unsuccessfully campaigned for the FCC to take action against the NBC television network in response to the use of the word "fucking" by Bono, lead singer for the rock band U2, during the network's January 2003 telecast of the Golden Globe Awards. Among an audience of nearly 20 million, the FCC received only 234 complaints, 217 of which came from the PTC.[63] In October 2003, the FCC decided not to fine NBC because Bono's obscenity was ruled as fleeting and not describing sexual or excretory functions, the FCC's standard for fining a network for indecency.[64] After the PTC filed an Application for Review to the FCC, in March 2004 the FCC decided that the word was indecent by law but still decided not to fine NBC; however, the ruling was to serve as a warning to networks that there would be a "zero tolerance" policy towards obscene language willfully used during the daytime.[65] However, the PTC's complaints about profanity used by presenter Nicole Richie in the December 10, 2003 broadcast of the Billboard Music Awards led the FCC to conclude that the language violated decency law.[66]

The PTC began attracting more attention after it filed around 65,000[67] complaints to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) about the Super Bowl XXXVIII halftime show controversy, in which one of performer Janet Jackson's nipple shielded breasts, was exposed for 9/16ths of a second. FCC chairman Michael Powell stated that the number of indecency complaints to the FCC had risen from 350 in the years 2000 and 2001, to 14,000 in 2002 and 240,000 in 2003.[68] It was also found that the PTC had generated most of the indecency complaints received by the Federal Communications Commission.[68][69][70] In July 2008, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit voided the fine.[71]

PTC campaigns led to a great increase in FCC-issued fines and received complaints compared to those from previous years.

After the halftime show, the PTC launched five more FCC complaint drives, starting March 2004 with an episode of Fox's That '70s Show titled "Happy Jack", which revolved around character Eric Forman being caught masturbating.[72] The beginning of the 2004–2005 television season sparked four new campaigns, the first being against NBC's animated series Father of the Pride, stating that it contained a "barrage of sexual innuendo and profanity"[73] while being promoted "from the creators of Shrek", which they felt would potentially attract children to watching the series. That campaign led to over 11,000 email complaints to the FCC.[74] Later, shortly after CBS broadcast the word "fuck" during an airing of Big Brother 5, the PTC took action again, this time claiming that CBS ignored a warning from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) that there would be zero tolerance toward unbleeped profanity.[75] However, those complaints became moot when Viacom, then-owners of CBS, settled with the FCC for \$3.5 million regarding all allegedly indecent programming broadcast in the years around 2003 and 2004, including the Big Brother 5 episode in question.[76] In March 2006, the FCC ruled that Father of the Pride was not indecent.[77] Following were complaints about an October 2004 episode of ABC's short-lived teen drama Life As We Know It, which the PTC felt was sexually charged.[78]

The PTC started off 2005 with their campaign against the Without a Trace episode "Our Sons and Daughters", leading to CBS being fined for indecency in March 2006; the PTC objected to the depiction of teenagers participating in an orgy in that episode. CBS argued that the episode "featured an important and socially relevant storyline warning parents to exercise greater supervision of their teenagers." [79] The FCC fined CBS \$3.63 million in March 2006 for this episode,[79] but after a court settlement, the network agreed to pay \$300,000 in fines. At the end of January 2005, the FCC rejected a set of complaints that PTC filed between October 2001 and February 2004 for allegedly indecent programs such as NBC's Friends, the WB's Gilmore Girls, and Fox's The Simpsons.[80] The FCC received complaints from the PTC in the summer over an unedited broadcast of the lyric "who the fuck are you?" in The Who's song "Who Are You" from the Live 8 concert broadcast July 2, 2005 on ABC stations on the East Coast.[81]



In 2006, PTC requested that the FCC deny broadcast license renewal for Salt Lake City CBS station KUTV because they felt that the broadcast of the Without a Trace episode that was ruled indecent violated community standards and that CBS failed to take action to reduce indecent content following the FCC fines.[82][83] Subsequently, CBS agreed to pay the FCC \$300,000 to settle the KUTV license challenge.[84] Starting from December 2007,[85] the organization demanded that CBS cancel its plan to rebroadcast an edited version of the Showtime drama Dexter, whose title character was a serial killer and police forensics analyst,[86] because it felt that the program would glorify murder even with the edits. By early February 2008, the Council claimed to have collected 17,000 complaints to CBS.[87]

On January 25, 2008, the FCC proposed an estimated \$1.4 million fine against ABC for a scene of female nudity in the NYPD Blue episode "Nude Awakening" aired on February 25, 2003. Because the episode aired outside the indecency "safe harbor" in the Central and Mountain Time Zones, the fine applied only to ABC stations in those zones.[88] The PTC praised the FCC's action.[89] However, PTC president Winter condemned ABC's decision to appeal the fine in federal court.[90] PTC has also criticized the Third Circuit Court of Appeals' decision to void the FCC's fine for the Super Bowl XXXVIII halftime show.[91] TV series that the PTC has targeted for FCC complaints in 2008 have included NBC's Today morning show and CBS primetime programs Big Brother 10, Survivor: Gabon, and Two and a Half Men. Profanity was the main concern for Today and Big Brother 10,[92][93] the extremely brief exposure of contestant Marcus Lehman's penis for Survivor: Gabon,[94] and a "lap-dance" scene for Two and a Half Men.[95] The PTC's first complaint in 2009 was over sexual content in an episode of Family Guy titled "Family Gay".[96][97] Later in 2009, the PTC urged affiliates of The CW Television Network to pre-empt a Gossip Girl episode to be aired November 9; the episode would reportedly contain a threesome scene.[98] In response to Adam Lambert's performance of his song "For Your Entertainment" at the end of the 2009 American Music Awards broadcast on ABC, PTC urged viewers to complain to the FCC if living in an area where the performance was shown before 10 p.m. local time. PTC complained that the performance contained a simulation of oral sex.[99] Lambert's performance reportedly was broadcast around 11 p.m. Eastern and Pacific time, "outside the FCC's usual 6am-10pm time frame prohibiting the broadcast of indecent material".[100] ABC also received about 1,500 telephoned complaints.[101]

In January 2010, the PTC launched a complaint campaign after the American Dad! episode "Don't Look a Smith Horse in the Mouth" aired in January 2010. The FCC fined Fox \$25,000 on June 4, stating that they failed to respond to an inquiry of 100,000 complaints about the episode.[102] A month later, Fox slammed the decision, claiming that it was "unconstitutional".[103] On May 20, 2010, the PTC announced that it plans to target CBS and its affiliates after the network announced that the new sitcom \$#! My Dad Says was added to the 2010-2011 fall TV lineup. The PTC cites both the show's title and its Thursday 8:30PM timeslot as reasons. The series is based on the popular Twitter account created by Justin Halpern, who also served as one of the co-producers on the show. CBS defended its decision and said that it was working with the account's creator and its content was toned down for the program before the series premiere in September.[104]

In October 2010, the PTC targeted an episode of the Fox series Glee, stating that the episode featured outfits that were scantily clad and guest-star Britney Spears going shopping in lingerie, calling it, "an endorsement of narcotics abuse, public masturbation, and school-sanctioned burlesque." They were also criticizing it for making an episode idolizing Britney in the first place, stating: "Perhaps most troubling is the deification of a troubled popstar into a symbol of empowerment and self-esteem." [105] On October 20, PTC criticized GQ magazine for featuring three Glee stars posing in risqué outfits; the PTC statement said that the photoshoot "borders on pedophilia." [1][106]

The PTC called on the United States Department of Justice and the Judiciary Committees of both houses of Congress to investigate whether MTV violated child pornography laws in casting teenaged actors in Skins, a remake of the British TV series of the same name. MTV rated Skins "TV-MA", meaning the show is not suitable for audiences under 17.[107] The Los Angeles Times responded in an editorial: "...looking for government remedies is ineffective and unwise; we suspect the network's editors are smart enough to skirt prosecution. The Federal Communications Commission doesn't regulate the content of cable networks, and even if it did, a crackdown on shows like "Skins" would be a bad idea, because adults should be able to watch whatever they like on cable and federal attempts to protect kids from adult programming have never been successful." [108]

#### Advertising

In May 2005 Carl's Jr. introduced its "Spicy BBQ Six Dollar Burger" in a television advertisement featuring celebrity Paris Hilton in a swimsuit, soaping up a Bentley Arnage while leaning on it, and then eating the burger. A similar ad with Hilton for Hardee's hamburger chain was aired in June 2005. The Parents Television Council and other media watchdog groups criticized the commercial for being shown during programs that were very likely to be watched by children. Melissa Caldwell, PTC research director, said, "This commercial is basically soft-core porn. The way she moves, the way she puts her finger in her mouth—it's very suggestive and very titillating." [109] The group mobilized more than one million members to contact the restaurant chain and voice their concern and claimed that "[i]f this television commercial were to go unchallenged it would set a new standard for acceptable television commercial content." Caldwell, then-president Bozell, and then-executive director Winter appeared on various news programs such as Good Morning America, Today, The Early Show, American Morning, and The O'Reilly Factor to discuss this issue.[110] Andy Puzder, CEO of Carl's Jr., says the group needs to "get a life ... This isn't Janet Jackson—there is no nipple shield in this," referring to the Super Bowl XXXVIII halftime-show controversy. He continued, "There is no nudity, there is no sex act — it's a beautiful model in a

swimsuit washing a car."<sup>[111]</sup> In addition to featuring the ad on their web site, Carl's Jr. also set up another website playing a longer version of the commercial.

PTC accused television commercials for Hardee's "biscuit holes" food product of suggesting double entendres. The commercial featured consumers suggesting "A-holes" and "B-holes" as nicknames for the biscuit holes. Boddie-Noell Enterprises, which owned 350 Hardee's restaurants in four states, refused to show the ads in its respective markets.<sup>[112]</sup> Ben Mayo Boddie, chairman of Boddie-Noell, wrote a letter to the PTC condemning the ads as well.<sup>[113]</sup>

#### In-flight entertainment

In September 2007, the PTC launched a campaign to get airlines in America to reduce the number of "PG-13" and "R"-rated films shown as in-flight entertainment. Consequently, Heath Shuler, Democratic representative of North Carolina, introduced the Family Friendly Flights Act of 2007 bill to require airlines to set aside "child-safe" viewing areas for families to sit in planes.<sup>[114]</sup> The bill never became law.

#### YouTube

Twice has the PTC targeted video-hosting website YouTube in its campaigns and statements. PTC called for NBC to reconsider uploading the uncensored clip of the Saturday Night Live novelty song "Dick in a Box" on NBC's site and YouTube channel.<sup>[115][116]</sup> In 2008, the PTC released a report The "New" Tube: A Content Analysis of YouTube—the Most Popular Online Video Destination, which praised YouTube for filtering adult content but criticized the site for not filtering profanity and other explicit content from comments sections or videos.<sup>[117]</sup>

#### Ethics controversy

In October 2010, The New York Times reported that former PTC vice president of development Patrick W. Salazar had accused PTC of mishandling hundreds of thousands of mailings to donors and members. Based on Internal Revenue Service filings, the American Institute of Philanthropy rated PTC "C+" on financial efficiency. Salazar also disputed the PTC's official membership figure of 1.3 million and estimated that at most 12,000 people respond to annual fundraisers. Although Salazar stated that he left the PTC in November 2009, the PTC said that it fired Salazar and that Salazar was trying to extort money from the organization.<sup>[1]</sup>

#### Other

The PTC also criticized The Muppets for not meeting "family viewing" guidelines and suggested a boycott, based on the mockumentary format of the series including mentions of plastic surgery, "inside" business language being used in a crude manner, and the Muppets in a bar consuming alcoholic beverages.<sup>[118]</sup>

The PTC also criticized the U.S. version of Sex Box, due to it being a live sex show on basic cable.<sup>[119]</sup>

#### Viewpoints

On its website, PTC states that its mission is to "promote and restore responsibility and decency to the entertainment industry in answer to America's demand for positive, family-oriented television programming."<sup>[120]</sup> The PTC believes that the entertainment industry—not only television but also music, movies, and video games as well—and its sponsors share responsibility with parents for children's television viewing habits. It therefore believes that television is harming children through a perceived "gratuitous" amount of sex, violence, and profanity.<sup>[121]</sup> Its activism has influenced the removal of potentially objectionable content from certain shows, such as the fourth season of the popular CBS crime drama CSI: Crime Scene Investigation.<sup>[122]</sup> Increased government regulation of broadcasting is another viewpoint supported by PTC.<sup>[123]</sup> PTC considers itself nonpartisan;<sup>[121][124]</sup> others have considered the PTC to be bipartisan<sup>[125]</sup> or socially conservative.<sup>[126]</sup> Robyn Blumner of the St. Petersburg Times called the PTC "the Gladys Kravitz of public advocacy" in a column of hers and believed the PTC supported a federal policy on broadcast decency she called "Big Nanny run amok".<sup>[127]</sup>

#### V-Chip

Since the V-Chip was established in conjunction with the TV Parental Guidelines ratings system, PTC has frequently accused the guidelines of having inaccuracy and low standards. In 1997, PTC was twice as likely to rate a show with the toughest rating classification, "red light" in the PTC's case, and "TV-14" in the Guidelines.<sup>[128]</sup> Bill Berkowitz quoted PTC president Bozell as stating, based on PTC research, that "the current ratings system and V-chip are failures."<sup>[129]</sup> In response to a V-Chip advertising campaign in the summer of 2006, Bozell proposed instead that cable companies either apply FCC-style broadcast television standards or offer choice in ordering channels.<sup>[130]</sup> Television Watch considers PTC's reporting on the V-chip inaccurate and ideologically charged.<sup>[131]</sup>

#### Cable choice

Further information: Family and Consumer Choice Act of 2007

The PTC is an avid supporter of "a la carte" cable television services to allow families to choose only the cable television channels that are appropriate for their children, and also impose the same decency standards already in place on broadcast television on cable channels.<sup>[132]</sup> Frequently, the Council has criticized programs on BET, Comedy Central, E!, FX, MTV,<sup>[133]</sup> Spike, TNT, and VH1 because they claim some of the content aired on those channels is inappropriate for younger viewers.<sup>[134]</sup> On the other side of the issue, the PTC has awarded its "Seal of Approval" to cable networks Disney Channel<sup>[135]</sup> and Hallmark Channel<sup>[136]</sup> for their original programs several years ago.

On June 14, 2007, United States Representatives Dan Lipinski (Democratic, Illinois) and Jeff Fortenberry (Republican, Nebraska) introduced into legislation the Family and Consumer Choice Act of 2007, which intends to allow families to choose and pay for only the cable television channels that they want to watch. In September 2007, the PTC launched a new website, HowCableShouldBe.com, to allow cable customers to see how much they are paying for their monthly cable bill currently.[137]

In August 2013, the PTC released a statement criticizing MTV for the airing of a performance by Miley Cyrus during its Video Music Awards and urged Congress to pass the Television Consumer Freedom Act.[138]

#### Popular music

In April 2008, PTC released *The Rap on Rap*, a study covering hip-hop and R&B music videos rotated on programs 106 & Park and Rap City, both shown on BET, and Sucker Free on MTV. PTC urged advertisers to withdraw sponsorship of those programs, whose videos PTC stated targeted children and teenagers "with adult content ... once every 38 seconds".[139][140] PTC also warned radio stations about playing the Britney Spears song "If U Seek Amy" over concerns it contained an audible use of an obscenity.[141] In response to the music video to Miley Cyrus' song "Who Owns My Heart", the PTC stated that it felt it was "unfortunate that she would participate in such a sexualized video like this one"; ironically, Miley Cyrus' father Billy Ray Cyrus sat on the PTC Advisory Board at the time.[1]

In May 2011, the PTC took issue with Rihanna's music video for her song "Man Down." In the video Rihanna portrays a woman who resorts to killing the man who had previously raped her. They claimed the video promoted gun crime and murder, while the pop star said she wanted to be a voice to victims. After the video became the most viewed YouTube video that week, she sarcastically used Twitter to thank the PTC in helping her make the video such a success.[142]

#### Criticism

The PTC has been frequently criticized for hypocrisy, slanted reporting and only criticizing shows that are aimed at adults. Critics of the PTC have alleged that it supports increased governmental censorship of television by lobbying the FCC for indecency enforcement for certain television shows[123] and inaccurately reporting on the V-Chip in order to further their agenda.[143]

Family Guy creator Seth MacFarlane, who is frequently criticized by the PTC, said in *The Advocate*[144]

Oh, yeah. That's like getting hate mail from Hitler. They're literally terrible human beings. I've read their newsletter, I've visited their website, and they're just rotten to the core. For an organization that prides itself on Christian values—I mean, I'm an atheist, so what do I know?—they spend their entire day hating people. They can all suck my dick as far as I'm concerned.

In January 2005, Bahçeşehir University associate professor Christian Christiansen questioned the backgrounds of certain PTC Advisory Board members (L. Brent Bozell III as 'National Finance Chairman for the 1992 "Buchanan for President" campaign' of "neo-fascist Pat Buchanan"; Susan Howard's portrayal of adulterous Donna Culver Krebs on TV series *Dallas*, which series "was soaked in scantily-clad women, emotional cruelty, violence, alcoholism, and marital infidelity"; Coleman Luck as 'writer and producer' ... 'on "Otherworld," "The Equalizer," "[Gabriel's] Fire," "Matrix," and "The Burning Zone" [which] ... included a fair amount of death and violence'; William Bennett as 'a very popular guest at a number of Las Vegas casinos ... gambling'; Bruce Jarchow appearing in 'less family-friendly products ... such as "The Puppet Masters" (R-rated horror), "Mad Dog and Glory" (R-rated comedy) and "Married ... With Children" (crude Fox sitcom packed with blatant sexual banter)'; Billy Ray Cyrus, who 'starred in the TV pilot "Mulholland Drive" made by erotic, anti-family values filmmaker David Lynch' and 'had the lead in the independent film mega-flop, "Radical Jack," the synopsis of which highlights the lunacy of Cyrus being on the board of the PTC: "CIA agent Jack Reynolds (Billy Ray Cyrus) has a score to settle. Five years ago, his family was slaughtered after he tried to break up an illegal arms ring. But now he's discovered the location of the gunrunner who killed his family--and he's going undercover and taking on a whole crooked town in order to get his man!"; and John Carvelli, 'who, in 1987, "took part in a fact-finding mission in Nicaragua and Honduras with the National Conservative Foundation during the Nicaraguan civil war."'), as not consistent with their stance on morality.[20]

In a December 2005 column of his, *Advertising Age* columnist Simon Dumenco claimed that the PTC is "very very afraid of gay TV characters".[145] *Culture Watch* columnist Christopher Gildemeister defended the PTC as being "not homophobic" but simply opposed to "sexual references or innuendo (of any variety, hetero, homo or other) aired where children might be exposed to them." [24]

See also

- Conservatism portal
- Anti-pornography movement
- Parents Music Resource Center
- Think of the children
- Criticism of Family Guy

## Bill of Rights Institute

The Bill of Rights Institute (BRI) is a nonprofit educational organization based in Arlington, Virginia that develops educational resources on American history and government, provides professional development opportunities to teachers, and runs student programs and scholarship contests. It has been described as promoting a conservative view of the United States Constitution.[1]

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- 3 References
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### History

BRI was founded in September 1999 by industrialist Charles Koch and the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation. BRI's first president, Victoria Hughes, was a teacher who had also held a number of executive roles in other non-profit organizations.[2] Hughes led the organization for a decade until her departure, after which Tony Woodlief filled her position as president. David Bobb, a former Hillsdale College professor and head of its Allan P. Kirby, Jr. Center for Constitutional Studies and Citizenship, became BRI's president in December 2013.[3]

Koch has explained that he became concerned with education in the field of constitutional law after he saw that many high school teachers had inadequate resources to develop educational materials on the principles, institutions, and ideas upon which the United States was founded.[4]

### Organization operations

#### Professional development

BRI runs educational programs for teachers around the country.[5] BRI conducted 64 constitutional seminars in the 2010–2011 school year, often held at historic sites such as George Washington's Mount Vernon or James Madison's Montpelier. Seminars include instruction from a university professor and training by a BRI master teacher. BRI professors include BRI board member and Professor of Law at George Mason University Todd Zywicki; author and professor of public policy at Pepperdine University Dr. Gordon Lloyd; University of Texas School of Law and Professor Dr. H.W. Perry, Jr.[6] BRI says it has reached over 22,000 teachers through professional development seminars.

#### Online educational resources

In August 2014, Bill of Rights Institute launched Documents of Freedom, a free digital course on history, government, and economics. The course builds on excerpts from over 100 primary sources, including the Federalist and Anti-Federalist papers, presidential speeches, Supreme Court cases, and the Founding documents; and it offers an extensive set of original essays, focusing on principles such as federalism, separation of powers, limited government, checks and balances, republican government, consent of the governed, natural rights, rule of law, and due process, as well as virtues like self-governance, humility, integrity, justice, perseverance, respect, contribution, and responsibility.[7]

#### Student programs

In 2006, BRI began a high school essay contest which asks students to reflect on civic values.[8] Individuals who have taken part in the awards weekend include Supreme Court Justices Sandra Day O'Connor[9] and Clarence Thomas,[10][11] journalist John Stossel,[12][13] journalist and political analyst Juan Williams,[14][15] Judge Andrew Napolitano, and NBA player Antawn Jamison.

Other student programs run by BRI include the Constitutional Academy which provides students with a six-week study of the Constitution in Washington, D.C.[16][17] In 2011 the Ford Motor Company Fund provided scholarships to 11 students to attend the Constitutional Academy.[18]

## Philadelphia Society

The Philadelphia Society is a membership organization the purpose of which is "to sponsor the interchange of ideas through discussion and writing, in the interest of deepening the intellectual foundation of a free and ordered society, and of broadening the understanding of its basic principles and traditions".[2] The membership of the Society tends to be composed of persons holding conservative or libertarian political views, and many of those associated with the Society have exercised considerable influence over the development of the conservative movement in the United States.

It was founded in 1964 by Donald Lipsett in conjunction with William F. Buckley, Jr., Milton Friedman, Frank Meyer, and Ed Feulner,[3][4][5][6][7][8][9] and the former Presidents of the Society include Henry Regnery, Edwin J. Feulner, Russell Kirk, Mel Bradford, Forrest McDonald, T. Kenneth Cribb, M. Stanton Evans, Ellis Sandoz, Edwin Meese, Claes G. Ryn, Midge Decter, Roger Ream, Steven F. Hayward, Lee Edwards, William F. Buckley, Jr., and George H. Nash.[10]

Notable speakers at past meetings of the Society have included Larry Arnhart, Andrew Bacevich, Wendell Berry, Robert

Bork, Mel Bradford, Warren T. Brookes, William F. Buckley, Jr., Vladimir Bukovsky, Ronald Coase, T. Kenneth Cribb, Midge Decter, M. Stanton Evans, Edwin J. Feulner, Milton Friedman, George Gilder, Victor Davis Hanson, William Hague, S. I. Hayakawa, Friedrich von Hayek, Henry Hazlitt, W.H. Hutt, Herman Kahn, Russell Kirk, Irving Kristol, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Forrest McDonald, Edwin Meese, Frank Meyer, Charles Murray, Robert Nisbet, Michael Novak, Richard Pipes, Norman Podhoretz, Henry Regnery, William A. Rusher, Paul Ryan, Ellis Sandoz, Shelby Steele, George J. Stigler, Terry Teachout, Edward H. Teller, and Eric Voegelin.[11]

#### Citizens Against Government Waste

Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW) is a 501(c)(4) non-profit organization in the United States. It functions as a think-tank, "government watchdog" and advocacy group for fiscally conservative causes. The Council for Citizens Against Government Waste (CCAGW) is the lobbying arm of CAGW, organized as a section 501(c)(4) organization and therefore is permitted to engage in direct lobbying activities. According to its web site, "CAGW is a private, non-partisan, non-profit organization representing more than one million members and supporters nationwide. CAGW's stated mission is to eliminate waste, mismanagement, and inefficiency in the federal government."

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#### History

Located in Washington, DC, CAGW was founded in 1984 by industrialist J. Peter Grace and syndicated columnist Jack Anderson. Peter Grace was chairman of President Ronald Reagan's Grace Commission or President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control.[1] Thomas A. Schatz has been president since 1992.[2]

#### Publications

CAGW produces a number of publications critical of what it calls "pork-barrel" projects. The Congressional Pig Book Summary (Pig Book) is an annual list of such projects and their sponsors.

The 2008 Pig Book identified 10,610 projects in the 11 appropriations bills that constitute the discretionary portion of the federal budget for fiscal 2008, costing taxpayers \$17.2 billion.[3] Related publications include Prime Cuts, a list of recommendations for eliminating waste in the federal government and Porker of the Month, a monthly press release.

Since 1989, the CCAGW has examined congressional roll-call votes to determine which members of Congress are voting in what they view as the interest of taxpayers. CAGW makes public what legislators are engaging in "pork-barrel" spending based on 'key' votes for each congressional session.

#### Activities

CAGW and CCAGW seek to influence public policy through public education, lobbying, and mobilization for email- and letter-writing campaigns. CAGW claims to have helped save taxpayers \$944 billion through its campaigns.

CAGW was one of the critics of the 2001 \$23.5 billion Air Force plan to lease and then buy 100 refueling tankers from Boeing Co. Congress squashed the plan after it was revealed that an Air Force official inflated the price in exchange for an executive job at Boeing.[4]

CAGW was a critic of Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.) and his efforts to secure a \$2.3 billion federal loan for a railroad company that once employed him as a lobbyist. The Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) cited an "unacceptably high risk to taxpayers" in denying the loan to the Dakota, Minnesota, and Eastern Railroad (DM&E) in 2007.[5]

CAGW named Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) its June 2008 Porker of the Month for accepting a preferential mortgage deal from Countrywide Financial which stood to benefit from a mortgage bailout bill he was pushing through Congress.[6]

#### Freeware initiative

In 2003, CAGW put out a press release opposed to what it called the "Freeware Initiative" in the State of Massachusetts, which it claimed would have required "that all IT expenditures in 2004 and 2005 be made on an open-source/Linux format." [7]

Responding to the press release, the state's secretary for administration and finance, Eric Kriss, denied the existence of a 'Freeware Initiative' and said the state was simply considering ways to integrate disparate systems using open standards such as HTTP (Hypertext Transfer Protocol), XML (Extensible Markup Language) and Java.[8]

#### CAGW and tobacco

The St. Petersburg Times reported that CAGW "got at least \$245,000 from the tobacco industry", and subsequently lobbied on its behalf. Internal tobacco industry documents made available by the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement indicate that CAGW and its affiliates supported the tobacco industry in several instances. Specifically, in 2001 when an industry-sponsored bill entitled the "Youth Smoking Reduction Act" was introduced in Congress, CAGW provided a letter of support, despite the opposition of most public health organizations.[9][10] CAGW was also contacted to by Phillip Morris to include ASSIST (Alcohol, Smoking and Substance Involvement Screening Test), a federal tobacco control program, in their Pig Book. ASSIST was considered an imminent threat to industry activities at the time.[11]

Asked about his group's tobacco work, CAGW president Tom Schatz said, "We have always welcomed contributions to support the issues we support. Many of them have to do with fighting higher taxes and more regulations." [12] [13]

#### Other

Throughout its history, CAGW has been accused of fronting lobbying efforts of corporations to give them the appearance of "grassroots" support.[14]

According to the St. Petersburg Times in 2006, the Pig Book has been used to benefit corporate donors, specifically health clubs who donated to CAGW. It listed federal grants to YMCAs who compete with those health clubs as waste. CAGW's president countered that "The Ys are there because they qualify as pork. Period." [14]

A Senate Finance Committee investigating ties between CAGW (and other non-profits) and Jack Abramoff in 2006 stated in a report that the non-profits: 'probably violated their tax-exempt status "by laundering payments and then disbursing funds at Mr. Abramoff's direction; taking payments in exchange for writing newspaper columns or press releases that put Mr. Abramoff's clients in a favorable light; introducing Mr. Abramoff's clients to government officials in exchange for payment; and agreeing to act as a front organization for congressional trips paid for by Mr. Abramoff's clients."' [15]

In 2007, CAGW supported a bill that would limit damages resulting from malpractice lawsuits.[16] Many consumer watchdog groups opposed the bill.[17]

#### "Chinese Professor" ad

The CAGW launched an ad, now commonly referred to as "Chinese Professor" for the 2010 midterm elections, which portrays a 2030 conquest of an indebted United States by China. Local Asian American extras were used to portray the Chinese students, although the actors were not informed of the nature of the shoot.[18] Columnist Jeff Yang said that in the campaign there was a "blurry line between Chinese and Chinese-Americans".[19] Larry McCarthy, the producer of "Chinese Professor," defended his work by saying that "this ad is about America, it's not about China." [20] [21]

## G4-1M range

### State Policy Network

The State Policy Network (SPN) is an American nonprofit organization that functions primarily as an umbrella organization for a consortium of conservative and libertarian think tanks that focus on state-level policy.[2][3][4] The organization serves as a public policy clearinghouse and advises its member think tanks on fundraising, running a nonprofit, and communicating ideas.[5] Founded in 1992, it is headquartered in Arlington, Virginia, with member groups located in all fifty states.

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- 2 History
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#### Overview

SPN characterizes itself as the "professional service organization" for a network of state-level think tanks across the United States.[6][7][8] The Wall Street Journal and National Review have referred to SPN as "a trade association of think tanks." [9][10]

The president of SPN is Tracie Sharp who is credited with implementing the IKEA[11] model, formerly the executive director of the Cascade Policy Institute, SPN's Oregon affiliate.[12]

#### History

The State Policy Network was founded in 1992 by Thomas A. Roe,[1] a South Carolina businessman who was a member of the board of trustees of The Heritage Foundation.[13] Roe told U.S. President Ronald Reagan that he thought each of the states needed something like the Heritage Foundation. Reagan's reply was "Do something about it," which led Roe to establish the South Carolina Policy Council (SCPC).[14] SCPC adapted Heritage Foundation national policy recommendations, such as school choice and environmental deregulation, to the state legislative level.[15]

SPN was an outgrowth of the Madison Group, a collection of state-level think tanks in states including South Carolina, Colorado, Illinois, and Michigan that had been meeting periodically at the Madison Hotel in Washington, D.C. Roe was chairman of the board of directors of SPN from its founding until his death in 2000.[16] Gary Palmer, co-founder and president of the conservative think tank the Alabama Policy Institute from 1989 until 2014, helped found SPN and served as its president.[17]

Initially, SPN's network consisted of fewer than 20 member organizations.[17] Lawrence Reed, the first president of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, a Michigan-based free market think tank, fostered new state-level regular member organizations through delivery of his think tank training course.[18] By the mid-1990s, SPN had a network of 37 think tanks in 30 states.[15] By 2014, there were 65 member organizations, including at least one in each state.[16][17]

Starting in 1993, the SPN has held an Annual Meeting around the country. These meetings serve as a chance for members to discuss and analyze policy priorities, train and build members, and refine operations, among other topics.[19]

#### Policy positions

Policy initiatives supported by SPN members have included reductions in state health and welfare programs, state constitutional amendments to limit state government spending, expanded access to charter schools, and school vouchers.[18][20] Another area of activity has been opposition to public-sector trade unions.[13] Tracie Sharp, SPN's president, has said the organization focuses on issues such as "workplace freedom, education reform, and individual choice in healthcare." [21]

The liberal magazine Mother Jones stated that in 2011 SPN and its member organizations were backing a "war on organized labor" by Republican state lawmakers.[13] Legislative actions taken by the GOP included the introduction and enactment of bills reducing or eliminating collective bargaining for teachers and other government workers and reducing the authority of unions to collect dues from government employees.[13] In Iowa, Governor Terry Branstad cited research by the Public Interest Institute, an SPN affiliate in Iowa, when asking to amend laws to limit collective bargaining by public employees.[13]

In December 2013, The Guardian, in collaboration with The Texas Observer and the Portland Press Herald, obtained, published and analyzed 40 grant proposals from SPN regular member organizations. The grant proposals sought funding through SPN from the Searle Freedom Trust. According to The Guardian, the proposals documented a coordinated

strategy across 34 states, "a blueprint for the conservative agenda in 2014." The reports described the grant proposals in six states as suggesting campaigns designed to cut pay to state government employees; oppose public sector collective bargaining; reduce public sector services in education and healthcare; promote school vouchers; oppose efforts to combat greenhouse gas emissions; reduce or eliminate income and sales taxes; and study a proposed block grant reform to Medicare.[21][22][23][24][25] Brooke Rollins, president and CEO of the SPN member organization Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF), and TPPF policy analyst John Daniel Davidson, in an article posted on the National Review website, said The Guardian was attempting to intimidate those who support libertarian organizations and to undermine the freedoms of expression and association, and said that The Guardian is part of "the activist Left," described as "a deliberate, coordinated effort across the political left to silence Americans who speak against — and lawfully resist — the growth of government power." [26]

#### Political influence

National Review journalist John Miller reported that in 1990, the Mackinac Center for Public Policy shared much of its "brain trust" with Republican governor John Engler's election campaign. After the election, the Mackinac Center worked successfully with the Engler administration to effect policy changes in areas such as the promotion of charter schools and increasing competition in state contracting.[14]

In 2006, three former presidents of SPN member organizations were serving as Republicans in the United States House of Representatives: Mike Pence of Indiana, Jeff Flake of Arizona, and Tom Tancredo of Colorado.[18] National Review described them as having "used SPN organizations as political springboards." [14]

SPN introduced model legislation for state legislators to implement on the state level to undermine the Affordable Care Act.[27] The organization also pushed for states not to expand Medicaid.[27]

#### Finances

Further information: Political activities of the Koch brothers

SPN is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Its independently audited 2013 Internal Revenue Service Form 990 showed \$8 million in revenue and \$8.4 million in expenditures, of which \$1.3 million was used for grants and payments to other organizations.[28][29] The organization received a Charity Navigator score of 88 out of 100 in its most recent evaluation.[28]

In 2013, Sharp told Politico that like most nonprofits, SPN keeps its donors private and voluntary.[30] In 2011, Mother Jones reported that SPN is largely funded by donations from foundations, including the Lovett and Ruth Peters Foundation, the Castle Rock Foundation, and the Bradley Foundation.[13] A 2013 article by The Guardian said that SPN received funding from the Koch brothers, Philip Morris, Kraft Foods and GlaxoSmithKline.[21] Other corporate donors to SPN have included Facebook, Microsoft, AT&T, Time Warner Cable, Verizon, and Comcast.[31][32] Between 2008 and 2013, SPN received \$10 million from Donors Trust, a nonprofit donor-advised fund. In 2011, the approximately \$2 million investment from Donors Trust accounted for about 40% of annual revenue.[33]

#### Activities

SPN provides grant funding to its member organizations for start-up costs and program operating expenses.[13][21][29][33] In 2011, SPN granted \$60,000 in start-up funds to the Foundation for Government Accountability, a free market think tank based in Naples, Florida.[34] SPN also provides practical support to its members, who meet each year at SPN conferences. SPN member organizations exchange ideas and provide training and other support for each other.[18] A spokesperson for the progressive advocacy group People for the American Way said in 2008 that SPN trained its member organizations to run like business franchises.[35] In a 2013 statement to The New Yorker, SPN president Sharp denied that SPN was a franchise and said that member organizations were free to select their own staff and priorities.[11]

SPN is a member of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), an organization that drafts and shares state-level model legislation for conservative causes,[36] and ALEC is an associate member of SPN.[30] SPN is among the sponsors of ALEC.[33] A 2009 article in an SPN newsletter encouraged SPN members to join ALEC.[37] and many SPN members are also members of ALEC.[38] ALEC is "SPN's sister organisation," according to The Guardian.[21]

SPN member think tanks aided the Tea Party movement by supplying rally speakers and intellectual ammunition.[39]

#### Member organizations

As of 2015, SPN had a membership of 65 think tanks and hundreds of affiliated organizations in all 50 states.[40] Membership in SPN is by invitation only and is limited to independently incorporated 501(c)(3) organizations that are "dedicated to advancing market-oriented public policy solutions." [41] According to Politico, SPN's associate members include a "who's who of conservative organizations", including the Cato Institute, Heritage Foundation, Americans for Prosperity Foundation, FreedomWorks, Americans for Tax Reform, and American Legislative Exchange Council.[30] In 2011, SPN and its regular member organizations received combined total revenues of \$83.2 million, according to a 2013 analysis of their federal tax filings by the liberal watchdog group Center for Media and Democracy.[30][22]

#### Regular members



Regular members are described as "full-service think tanks" operating independently within their respective states.[41][42]

Alabama: Alabama Policy Institute  
Alaska: Alaska Policy Forum  
Arizona: Goldwater Institute  
Arkansas: Advance Arkansas Institute, Arkansas Policy Foundation  
California: California Policy Center, Pacific Research Institute  
Colorado: Independence Institute  
Connecticut: Yankee Institute for Public Policy  
Delaware: Caesar Rodney Institute  
Florida: Foundation for Government Accountability, James Madison Institute  
Georgia: Georgia Center for Opportunity, Georgia Public Policy Foundation  
Hawaii: Grassroot Institute  
Idaho: Idaho Freedom Foundation  
Illinois: Illinois Policy Institute  
Indiana: Indiana Policy Review Foundation  
Iowa: Tax Education Foundation[43]  
Kansas: Kansas Policy Institute  
Kentucky: Bluegrass Institute for Public Policy Solutions, Pegasus Institute  
Louisiana: Pelican Institute for Public Policy  
Maine: Maine Policy Institute  
Maryland: Maryland Public Policy Institute  
Massachusetts: Pioneer Institute  
Michigan: Mackinac Center for Public Policy  
Minnesota: Center of the American Experiment, Freedom Foundation of Minnesota  
Mississippi: Empower Mississippi, Mississippi Center for Public Policy  
Missouri: Show-Me Institute  
Montana: Montana Policy Institute  
Nebraska: Platte Institute for Economic Research  
Nevada: Nevada Policy Research Institute  
New Hampshire: Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy, Granite Institute  
New Jersey: Garden State Initiative  
New Mexico: Rio Grande Foundation  
New York: Empire Center for Public Policy  
North Carolina: John Locke Foundation, John William Pope Civitas Institute  
Ohio: Buckeye Institute  
Oklahoma: Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs  
Oregon: Cascade Policy Institute  
Pennsylvania: Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives  
Rhode Island: Rhode Island Center for Freedom and Prosperity  
South Carolina: Palmetto Promise Institute  
South Dakota: Great Plains Public Policy Institute  
Tennessee: Beacon Center of Tennessee  
Texas: Texas Public Policy Foundation  
Utah: Libertas Institute, Sutherland Institute  
Vermont: Ethan Allen Institute  
Virginia: Thomas Jefferson Institute, Virginia Institute for Public Policy  
Washington: Freedom Foundation, Washington Policy Center  
West Virginia: Cardinal Institute for West Virginia Policy  
Wisconsin: Maclver Institute for Public Policy, Badger Institute, Wisconsin Institute for Law and Liberty  
Wyoming: Wyoming Liberty Group

#### The Heartland Institute

The Heartland Institute  
Heartland Building Front.jpg  
Founder(s) David Padden  
Established 1984; 36 years ago  
Focus Public policy  
Key people James Taylor[1]  
(President and CEO)  
Harley Moody  
(Chairman)  
Budget Revenue: \$5,350,800  
Expenses: \$5,524,414  
(FYE December 2016)[2]

Location 3939 North Wilke Drive, Arlington Heights, Illinois, United States

Website [heartland.org](http://heartland.org)

The Heartland Institute is an American conservative and libertarian public policy think tank founded in 1984 and based in Arlington Heights, Illinois. The Institute conducts work on issues including education reform, government spending, taxation, healthcare, tobacco policy, global warming, hydraulic fracturing, information technology, and free-market environmentalism.

In the 1990s, the Heartland Institute worked with the tobacco company Philip Morris to attempt to discredit the health risks of secondhand smoke and to lobby against smoking bans.[3][4]:233–34[5] Since the 2000s, the Heartland Institute has been a leading promoter of climate change denial.[6][7] It rejects the scientific consensus on climate change,[8] and says that policies to fight it would be damaging to the economy.[9]

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## History

The Institute was founded in 1984 by Chicago investor David H. Padden, who served as the organization's chairman until 1995. Padden had been a director of the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank headquartered in Washington, D.C., since its founding as the Charles Koch Foundation in 1974.[10][11][12] Padden was also a former director of Citizens for a Sound Economy, the Acton Institute, the Foundation for Economic Education, and the Center for Libertarian Studies.[11][12] At age 26, Joseph L. Bast became Heartland's first employee. Bast's wife Diane was Heartland's publications director.[13][14]

In the 1990s, Heartland worked with the tobacco company Philip Morris to question serious cancer risks to secondhand smoke, and to lobby against government public-health regulations.[4] Starting in 2008, Heartland has organized conferences to question the scientific consensus on climate change.[4]:334[15]

After the election of U.S. President Barack Obama in November 2008, the Institute became involved with the Tea Party movement. According to the organization's director of communications, speaking at the sixth International Conference on Climate Change in 2011: "The support of the Tea Party groups across the country has been extremely valuable." [16] Heartland was among the organizers of the September 2009 Tea Party protest march, the Taxpayer March on Washington.[17][18] In support of the Tea Party movement, Heartland offered free literature and other assistance to Tea Party activists.[19] created a website "[www.teapartytoolbox.org](http://www.teapartytoolbox.org)", and distributed a free book, *The Patriot's Toolbox*. [20][21]

Heartland says it has a full-time staff of 29, including editors and senior fellows,[22] as well as 222 unpaid policy advisers.[23] Heartland is a 501(c)(3) non-profit charity.[22][24] It reported revenues of \$4.8 million in 2013.[25]

In March, 2020, Heartland laid off staff, reportedly in response to financial issues.[26]

## Policy positions

According to the Institute, it advocates free market policies.[27] The policy orientation of Heartland has been described as conservative, libertarian, and right wing.[14][28][29][30] The Institute promotes climate change denial, advocates for smoker's rights, for the privatization of public resources including school privatization, for school vouchers, for lower taxes and against subsidies and tax credits for individual businesses, and against an expanded federal role in health care,

among other issues.[citation needed][neutrality is disputed] In addition to lobbying activities, Heartland hosts an internet application called "Policybot"[31] which serves as a clearinghouse for research from other conservative organizations such as The Heritage Foundation, the American Legislative Exchange Council, and the Cato Institute.

#### Tobacco regulation

Heartland has long questioned the links between tobacco smoking, secondhand smoke, and lung cancer and the social costs imposed by smokers.[32] One of Heartland's first campaigns was against tobacco regulation.[8] According to the Los Angeles Times, Heartland's advocacy for the tobacco industry is one of the two things Heartland is most widely known for.[33]

During the 1990s, the Institute worked with tobacco company Philip Morris to question the links between smoking, secondhand smoke and health risks.[4] Philip Morris commissioned Heartland to write and distribute reports. Heartland published a policy study which summarized a jointly prepared report by the Association of Private Enterprise Education and Philip Morris. The Institute also undertook a variety of other activities on behalf of the tobacco industry, including meeting with legislators, holding off-the-record briefings, and producing op-eds, radio interviews, and letters.[4]:233–34

A 1993 internal "Five Year Plan" from Philip Morris to address environmental tobacco smoke regulation called for support for the efforts of the Institute.[34][35] In 1996, Heartland president and chief executive officer Joe Bast wrote an essay entitled "Joe Camel is Innocent!,"[8][34] which said that contributions from the tobacco industry to Republican political campaigns were most likely because Republicans "have been leading the fight against the use of 'junk science' by the Food and Drug Administration and its evil twin, the Environmental Protection Agency." [36] In the "President's Letter" in the July 1998 issue of *The Heartlander*, the Institute's magazine, Bast wrote an essay "Five Lies about Tobacco", [8][34] which said "smoking in moderation has few, if any, adverse health effects." [37][38] In 1999, Bast referenced the essays in soliciting financial support from Philip Morris, writing "Heartland does many things that benefit Philip Morris' bottom line, things that no other organization does." [34] A Philip Morris executive, the firm's manager of industrial affairs, was a member of the board of directors of the Institute.[34] In 2005, the Institute opposed Chicago's public smoking ban, at the time one of the strictest bans in the country.[39]

#### Climate change

The Institute rejects the scientific consensus on climate change.[40] claims that the amount of climate change is not catastrophic, claims that climate change might be beneficial,[41][42] and that the economic costs of trying to mitigate climate change exceed the benefits.[9] According to *The New York Times*, Heartland is "the primary American organization pushing climate change skepticism." [43] The Institute has been a member of the Cooler Heads Coalition, a group dedicated to denying climate change science, since 1997.[44] Institute staff "recognize that climate change is a profound threat to our economic and social systems and therefore deny its scientific reality," wrote Naomi Klein in *This Changes Everything*. [45]:211

In their 2010 book *Merchants of Doubt*, Naomi Oreskes and Erik M. Conway wrote that the Institute was known "for its persistent questioning of climate science, for its promotion of 'experts' who have done little, if any, peer-reviewed climate research, and for its sponsorship of a conference in New York City in 2008 alleging that the scientific community's work on global warming is fake." [4]:233 *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society* in a chapter "Organized Climate Change Denial" identified Heartland as a conservative think tank with a strong interest in environmental and climate issues involved in climate change denial. [46]:149 Heartland "emerged as a leading force in climate change denial" in the decade 2003–2013, according to sociology professor Riley Dunlap of Oklahoma State University and political science professor Peter J. Jacques of the University of Central Florida. [47] Historians James Morton Turner and Andrew Isenberg describe Heartland as a leader in the "scientific misinformation campaign" against climate change. [48]

Fred Singer is the director of Heartland's Science and Environmental Policy Project. [49][50] and Heartland is a member organization of the Cooler Heads Coalition. [46]:151 [51]

"Heartland's influence on national climate policy is at an apex" in March 2017 according to PBS *Frontline*. [52]

#### Heartland's list of scientists said to doubt global warming

In 2008, the Institute published a list purporting to identify "500 Scientists with Documented Doubts of Man-Made Global Warming Scares". [53] *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that the work of Jim Salinger, chief scientist at New Zealand's National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research, was "misrepresented" as part of a "denial campaign". [54] In response to criticism, the Institute changed the title of the list to "500 Scientists Whose Research Contradicts Man-Made Global Warming Scares." [53] Heartland did not remove any scientist's name from the list. [53][54] Avery explained, "Not all of these researchers would describe themselves as global warming skeptics...but the evidence in their studies is there for all to see." [53] The Institute's then president, Joseph Bast, argued that the scientists "have no right—legally or ethically—to demand that their names be removed" from Heartland's list. [nb 1]

#### Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change and Climate Change Reconsidered

Since 2008, Heartland has published the work of the Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change (NIPCC), an international group of scientists who analyze the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and other published, peer-reviewed studies that relate to climate change. [55] The aggregated work of the NIPCC is known as

"Climate Change Reconsidered" and concludes, in contradiction to the IPCC and the consensus of the scientific community, that human emissions will not lead to dangerous global warming and climate change.[56]

#### International Conferences on Climate Change

Heartland's conventions of climate change doubters are one of the things the institute is largely known for, according to the Los Angeles Times.[33] Between 2008 and 2015 the Institute has organized ten International Conferences on Climate Change, bringing together hundreds of global warming skeptics.[57] Conference speakers have included Richard Lindzen, a professor of meteorology at MIT; Roy Spencer, a research scientist and climatologist at the University of Alabama in Huntsville; S. Fred Singer, a senior fellow of the Institute and who was founding dean of the School of Environmental and Planetary Sciences at the University of Miami and founding director of the National Weather Satellite Service; Harrison Schmitt, a geologist and former NASA astronaut and Apollo 17 moonwalker; Dr. John Theon, atmospheric scientist and former NASA supervisor; and Wei-Hock "Willie" Soon, a part-time employee of the Solar and Stellar Physics (SSP) Division of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics.[58]

In the first conference, participants criticized the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and Al Gore.[59][60] In 2010 the BBC reported that the heavily politicized nature of the Heartland conferences led some "moderate" climate skeptics to avoid them.[61] In an article in The Nation, the 6th conference was described as "the premier gathering for those dedicated to denying the overwhelming scientific consensus that human activity is warming the planet".[62] The 7th conference (May 2012) was the main subject of the October 2012 documentary, Climate of Doubt, by Frontline, a public television series of original, in-depth documentaries.[63] At the conclusion of the 7th conference, Joseph Bast announced that the organization might discontinue the conferences,[64] but the eighth conference was held in Munich, Germany later the same year (30 November and 1 December 2012).[65] The ninth conference was held during July 2014 in Las Vegas, Nevada.[8][66] The 2015 tenth conference was held in Washington D.C.[67][68] Speakers and panelists at the 2017 twelfth conference included Bast, Soon, Christopher Monckton, marketing professor J. Scott Armstrong, retired astronaut Walter Cunningham, policy analyst Indur M. Goklany, physicist William Happer, geologist Don Easterbrook, and U. S. Representative Lamar S. Smith (R-TX), chairman of the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee.[69] The 2018 thirteenth conference was held at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C.[70]

#### May 2012 "Unabomber" billboard campaign

On Thursday May 3, 2012, Heartland launched an advertising campaign in the Chicago area, and put up digital billboards along the Eisenhower Expressway in Maywood, Illinois, featuring a photo of Ted Kaczynski, the "Unabomber" whose mail bombs killed three people and injured 23 others, asking the question, "I still believe in global warming, do you?" They withdrew the billboards a day later.[71][72] The Institute planned for the campaign to feature murderer Charles Manson, communist leader Fidel Castro and perhaps Osama bin Laden, asking the same question. The Institute justified the billboards saying "the most prominent advocates of global warming aren't scientists. They are murderers, tyrants, and madmen." [73]

The billboard reportedly "unleashed a social media-fed campaign, including a petition from the advocacy group Forecast the Facts calling on Heartland's corporate backers to immediately pull their funding," and prompted Rep. James Sensenbrenner Jr. (R-Wis.) to threaten to cancel his speech at the upcoming seventh International Conference on Climate Change organized by Heartland.[74] (Sensenbrenner ultimately did speak at the conference.)[75] Within 24 hours Heartland cancelled the campaign, although its president refused to apologize for it.[nb 2] The advertising campaign led to the resignation of two of the Institute's 12 board members,[76] and the resignation of almost the entire Heartland Washington D.C. office, taking the Institute's biggest project (on insurance) with it.[77] The staff of the former Heartland insurance project founded the R Street Institute and announced they "will not promote climate change skepticism." [78]

Following the 2012 document leak and the controversial billboard campaign, substantial funding was lost as corporate donors, including the General Motors Foundation, sought to dissociate themselves from the Institute. According to the advocacy group Forecast the Facts, Heartland lost more than \$825,000, or one third of planned corporate fundraising for the year. The shortfall led to sponsorship of the Institute's May 2012 climate conference by Illinois' coal lobby, the Illinois Coal Association, the Institute's "first publicly acknowledged donations from the coal industry," and the Heritage Foundation.[77] The billboard controversy led to the loss of substantial corporate funding, including telecommunications firm AT&T, financial service firm BB&T, alcoholic beverage company Diageo and about two dozen insurance companies, including State Farm and the United Services Automobile Association.[79][80][81][82] Pharmaceutical companies Amgen, Eli Lilly, Bayer and GlaxoSmithKline ended financial support.[83] Heartland's May, 2012, climate conference was smaller than previous years.[64]

#### October 2012 repeal of mandates on renewable energy

The Institute wrote model legislation to repeal mandates on renewable energy, such as solar and wind power, and presented the model legislation to the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a nonprofit organization of conservative state legislators and private sector representatives that drafts and shares model state-level legislation for distribution among state governments in the United States. ALEC's board of directors adopted the model legislation in October 2012.[84]

#### June 2013 Chinese Academy of Sciences

In 2013, the Chinese Academy of Sciences published a report from the Heartland Institute in order to better understand

the public debate and encourage discussion of other views.[85] The preface included a disclaimer that the Academy did not endorse the views in the report, but in June, the Institute announced that the Chinese Academy of Sciences supported their views, and said the publication placed significant scientific weight against climate change.[86][87] The Chinese Academy of Sciences, responding to the announcement, said "The claim of the Heartland Institute about CAS' endorsement of its report is completely false," clarified that they did not endorse the views of the Institute, and asked for a retraction.[85][88]

#### April 2015 Vatican Council on climate change

On April 28, 2015, the Catholic Church convened a council to discuss the religious implications of global warming. Held at the Vatican and hosted by the Vatican's Pontifical Academy of Sciences, it was attended by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as well as national presidents, CEOs, academics, scientists, and representatives of the world's major religions. The Institute sent a delegation in an attempt to present a dissenting opinion. It held a "prebuttal" of the conference and argued that climate science does not justify papal recognition of the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.[89]

After the council ended, a representative (Marc Morano) from the Institute broke into a press briefing being given by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who was reporting on his meeting with the Pope. He interrupted the Secretary-General and the moderator, asking that global-warming skeptics be allowed to speak. After a few minutes, he was escorted from the premises by Vatican officials.[90] In response to the papal encyclical "Laudato Si'", which outlined the Church's moral case for addressing climate change, and in anticipation of Pope Francis' September 2015 visit to the United States, Gene Koprowski, director of marketing for the Institute, suggested that the Pope's pronouncements on climate change indicate that "pagan forms are returning to the Church this day." [91]

#### Center for Transforming Education

In March 2017, the Institute's program the Center for Transforming Education began an unsolicited mailing of the Institute's book *Why Scientists Disagree About Global Warming* and a companion DVD to all 200,000 K-12 science teachers in the U. S., with a cover letter giving a link to an online course planning guide. The material is not science and was intended to confuse teachers, according to the National Center for Science Education.[52][92][93]

#### Budgetary

The Institute is a critic of current federal, state, and local budgets and tax codes. Several of Institute's budgetary views include privatization of federal services to a competitive marketplace, changing the tax code to a more simplified version of the current code, and implementing Taxpayer Savings Grants.[citation needed]

In 1987, the Institute advocated for tenant ownership of the Chicago Housing Authority's Cabrini-Green Homes public housing complex through a cooperative or condominium conversion.[94] In 1990, the Institute advocated for lower taxes in Illinois to foster job growth.[95]

The Institute advocated for the privatization of Illinois' toll highway system in 1999 and 2000.[96][97] In 2008, the Institute opposed state subsidies and tax credits for local film productions, saying the economic benefits are less than the incentives.[98]

#### Education

The Institute supports increased availability of (public) charter schools, education tax credits to attend private schools, and vouchers for low-income students to attend a public or private K–12 school of their family's choosing, as well as the Parent Trigger reform that started in California. The Institute supports the introduction of market reforms into the public K–12 education system to increase competition and provide more options and greater choice for parents and their children.[99]

In 1994, the Institute criticized the Chicago Public Schools' reform efforts and advocated privatization of public schools and school vouchers.[100]

In 2014, the Institute published *Rewards: How to Use Rewards to Help Children Learn – and Why Teachers Don't Use Them Well* co-authored by Joseph Bast, which argued that the public education system should embrace incentives and rewards to spur student achievement.[101][102]

#### Healthcare

The Institute advocates for free-market reforms in healthcare and opposes federal control over the healthcare industry. Heartland supports Health Savings Accounts (HSAs), replacing federal tax deductions for employer-based healthcare with a refundable tax credit to allow individual choice over health insurance, removing state and Federal healthcare regulations aimed at providers and consumers of healthcare, and reducing litigation costs which are associated with malpractice suits.[103]

In 2010, Heartland published the 66 page book, *The Obamacare Disaster*, by Peter Ferrara, which opposed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.[104]

In 2015, the institute filed an amicus curiae brief in support of the petitioner in *King v. Burwell*, a Supreme Court case

challenging income tax subsidies to those who enroll in health insurance under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act via the federal as opposed to the state health insurance exchanges.[105][106]

#### Hydraulic fracturing

The Institute advocates for hydraulic fracturing (aka "fracking"), a well-stimulation technique in which rock is fractured by pressurized liquids.[107] publishing essays in support of fracking in various national newspapers.[108][109][110][111] On March 20, 2015, Heartland's science director defended hydraulic fracturing on the Your World With Neil Cavuto program on Fox News.[112][113]

#### Funding

The Institute no longer discloses its funding sources, stating that it had ended its practice of donor transparency after experiencing the organized harassment of its donors.[114] According to its brochures, Heartland receives money from approximately 5,000 individuals and organizations, and no single corporate entity donates more than 5% of the operating budget.[115] although the figure for individual donors can be much higher, with a single anonymous donor providing \$4.6 million in 2008, and \$979,000 in 2011, accounting for 20% of Heartland's overall budget, according to reports of a leaked fundraising plan.[116] Heartland states that it does not accept government funds and does not conduct contract research for special-interest groups.[117]

Oil and gas companies have contributed to the Institute, including \$736,500 from ExxonMobil between 1998 and 2005.[84][118] Greenpeace reported that Heartland received almost \$800,000 from ExxonMobil.[54] In 2008, ExxonMobil said that it would stop funding to groups skeptical of climate change, including Heartland.[118][119][120][failed verification] Joseph Bast, president of the Institute, argued that ExxonMobil was simply distancing itself from Heartland out of concern for its public image.[118]

The Institute has also received funding and support from tobacco companies Philip Morris,[4]:234 Altria and Reynolds American, and pharmaceutical industry firms GlaxoSmithKline, Pfizer and Eli Lilly.[116] State Farm Insurance, USAA and Diageo are former supporters.[121] The Independent reported that Heartland's receipt of donations from Exxon and Philip Morris indicates a "direct link...between anti-global warming sceptics funded by the oil industry and the opponents of the scientific evidence showing that passive smoking can damage people's health." [59] The Institute opposes legislation on passive smoking as infringing on personal liberty and the rights of owners of bars and other establishments.[122]

As of 2006, the Walton Family Foundation had contributed approximately \$300,000 to Heartland. The Institute published an op-ed in the Louisville Courier-Journal defending Wal-Mart against criticism over its treatment of workers. The Walton Family Foundation donations were not disclosed in the op-ed, and the editor of the Courier-Journal stated that he was unaware of the connection and would probably not have published the op-ed had he known of it.[123] The St. Petersburg Times described the Institute as "particularly energetic defending Wal-Mart." [123] Heartland has stated that its authors were not "paid to defend Wal-Mart" and did not receive funding from the corporation; it did not disclose the approximately \$300,000 received from the Walton Family Foundation.[123]

In 2010, MediaTransparency said that Heartland received funding from politically conservative foundations such as the Castle Rock Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation.[124] Between 2002 and 2010, Donors Trust, a nonprofit donor-advised fund, granted \$13.5 million to the Institute.[125] In 2011, the Institute received \$25,000 from the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation.[126] The Charles Koch Foundation states that the contribution was "\$25,000 to the Heartland Institute in 2011 for research in healthcare, not climate change, and this was the first and only donation the Foundation made to the institute in more than a decade".[127]

In 2012, a large number of sponsors withdrew funding due to the 2012 documents incident and the controversy over their billboard campaign. The Institute lost an estimated \$825,000, or one third of planned corporate fundraising for the year.[77]

According to the organization's audited financial statements for 2014 and 2015 approximately 27% and 19% of revenues, respectively, came from a single unidentified donor.[128]

#### 2012 documents incident

On February 14, 2012, the global warming blog DeSmogBlog published more than one hundred pages of Heartland documents said to be from the Institute. Heartland acknowledged that some internal documents had been stolen.[126] but said that one, the "Climate Strategy memo", was forged to discredit Heartland.[129][130][131]

The documents were initially anonymously sourced, but later found to have been obtained by climate scientist Peter Gleick.[131][132] The documents included a fundraising plan, board of directors meeting minutes, and the organization's 2012 budget.[133][134] The documents were analyzed by major media, including The New York Times, The Guardian, United Press International and the Associated Press. Donors to the Institute included the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, Microsoft, General Motors, Comcast, Reynolds American, Philip Morris, Amgen, Bayer, GlaxoSmithKline, Pfizer and Eli Lilly, liquor companies, and an anonymous donor who had given \$13 million over the past five years.

The documents contained details of payments to support climate change deniers and their programs, namely the founder of the Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change Craig Idso (\$11,600 per month), physicist Fred Singer (\$5,000 plus expenses per month), geologist Robert M. Carter (\$1,667 per month) and \$90,000 to blogger and former meteorologist Anthony Watts. The documents also revealed the Institute's plan to develop curriculum materials to be provided to teachers in the United States to promote climate skepticism, plans confirmed by the Associated Press.[116][126][135][136][137][138] The documents also disclosed Heartland's \$612,000 plan to support Wisconsin Act 10 and to influence the Wisconsin's recall elections called "Operation Angry Badger." [126][139] Carter and Watts confirmed receiving payments.[136]

Several environmental organizations called on General Motors and Microsoft to sever their ties with Heartland. Climate scientists called on Heartland to "recognise how its attacks on science and scientists have poisoned the debate about climate change policy." [29]

Gleick described his actions in obtaining the documents as "a serious lapse of my own and professional judgment and ethics" and said that he "deeply regret[ted his] own actions in this case". He stated that "My judgment was blinded by my frustration with the ongoing efforts—often anonymous, well-funded, and coordinated—to attack climate science and scientists and prevent this debate, and by the lack of transparency of the organizations involved." [140] On February 24 he wrote to the board of the Pacific Institute requesting a "temporary short-term leave of absence" from the Institute.[141][142] The Board of Directors stated it was "deeply concerned regarding recent events" involving Gleick and the Heartland documents, and appointed a new Acting Executive Director on February 27.[143] Gleick was later reinstated to the Pacific Institute after an investigation found Gleick did not forge any documents, and he apologized for using deception to get the documents.[144][145]

#### Publications

##### Periodicals

The Institute publishes four monthly public policy newspapers:[146]

Budget and Tax News – OCLC 53982173, which advocates lower taxes and balanced budgets for state and federal governments

School Reform News – OCLC 36348753 ISSN 1092-8839, which calls for greater competition and school choice

Environment & Climate News – OCLC 43535374, which focuses on "market-based environmental protection"

Health Care News – OCLC 46787462 ISSN 1545-3766, focused on consumer-driven health care reform[147]

##### Books

Bast, Joseph L. (2006). Please Don't Poop in My Salad. Chicago. ISBN 978-0978695903.

Bast, Joseph L.; Gilder, George; Gilroy, Leonard; Glans, Matthew; Haney, Hance; Lehrer, Eli; Moore, Adrian; Stanek, Steve; Vedder, Richard; Walberg, Herbert J. (2010). The Patriot's Toolbox: Eighty Principles for Restoring Our Freedom and Prosperity. ISBN 978-1934791332.

Idso, Craig Douglas; Singer, S. Fred (2009). Climate change reconsidered: 2009 report of the Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change. ISBN 978-1934791288.

Singer, S. Fred (2008). Nature, not human activity, rules the climate. ISBN 978-1934791011.

Watts, Anthony (2009). Is the US surface temperature record reliable?. ISBN 978-1934791295.

##### Notes

Heartland's president, Joseph Bast, wrote "They have no right—legally or ethically—to demand that their names be removed from a bibliography composed by researchers with whom they disagree. Their names probably appear in hundreds or thousands of bibliographies accompanying other articles or in books with which they disagree. Do they plan to sue hundreds or thousands of their colleagues? The proper response is to engage in scholarly debate, not demand imperiously that the other side redact its publications." [53]

President Joseph Bast issued a statement saying: "We know that our billboard angered and disappointed many of Heartland's friends and supporters, but we hope they understand what we were trying to do with this experiment. We do not apologize for running the ad, and we will continue to experiment with ways to communicate the 'realist' message on the climate." [74]

#### The Conservative Caucus

Abbreviation TCC

Formation 1974; 46 years ago

Founder Howard Phillips

Type Public policy organization and lobbying group

Purpose Emphasizing grassroots citizen activism

Headquarters Vienna, Virginia

Location

United States

Chairman

Peter J. Thomas

Budget

\$3.8 million

Website Official Website

This article has multiple issues. Please help improve it or discuss these issues on the talk page. (Learn how and when to remove these template messages)

This article needs additional citations for verification. (April 2013)

This article relies too much on references to primary sources. (November 2011)

The Conservative Caucus, or TCC, is an American public policy organization and lobbying group emphasizing grassroots citizen activism and headquartered in Vienna, Virginia, a suburb of Washington, D.C. It was founded in 1974 by Howard Phillips, who led until 2012 when he retired due to his health. He was replaced by current chairman, Peter J. Thomas.[1] Most of the organization's \$3.8 million budget comes from the efforts of New Right fundraising gurus Richard Viguerie and Bruce Eberle.[2] The organization produced a weekly conservative television program, Conservative Roundtable, which was hosted by Mr. Phillips until his retirement. Howard Phillips is also President of The Conservative Caucus Research, Analysis and Education Foundation (TCCF), a 501(c)3 tax-deductible organization.

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal

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Issues of focus

TCC promotes an uncompromisingly conservative line on a wide range of issues. The following are a few it has emphasized:

Foreign/military

Immigration

TCC opposes illegal immigration and legislation characterized by TCC as an amnesty for illegal immigrants, such as S. 2611. The organization supports measures to secure the Mexican border, including a complete fence.

North American Union

TCC opposes the North American Union (NAU), which the TCC sees as the merging of the United States with Mexico and Canada. TCC also opposes the NAFTA Superhighway which it sees as facilitating smuggling, terrorist infiltration, and bypassing American port workers by using cheaper Mexican ports. TCC held a news conference on October 25, 2006 announcing formation of a coalition to oppose the NAU, which was featured by Lou Dobbs on CNN. The NAU is connected to the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP). TCC is a founder of the 'Coalition to Block the North



American Union', and held a news conference in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada in August 2007 at the time of the SPP summit in Montebello, Quebec with the leaders of the United States, Mexico and Canada. Participating were representatives of many United States organizations as well as Connie Fogal, the Leader of the Canadian Action Party. The news conference was covered by Fox, CTV, Reuters, the Wall Street Journal and other U.S. and Canadian media outlets.

#### Trade

TCC is opposed in principle to what is called excessive or unlimited free trade, seeing such policies as being dangerous to the economic well-being of the American middle class, the manufacturing sector, and of the United States as a whole. TCC also specifically opposes various trade treaties, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and others as being threats to US sovereignty.

#### Cold War

Throughout the Cold War, TCC took a strong anti-communist stance, favoring active U.S. involvement around the world to undermine or overthrow pro-Soviet governments and bolster anti-Soviet allies. TCC often voiced concerns that the U.S. and its allies had fallen behind the Eastern bloc in the arms race to a position of military inferiority, not merely quantitatively but qualitatively as well.

#### China

TCC sees the People's Republic of China as a major military threat to U.S. security and interests. It suspects China of seeking to gain strategic control of the Panama Canal through a front company, Hutchison Whampoa. It also opposes Permanent Normal Trade relations with China and China's membership in the World Trade Organization.

#### Panama Canal

TCC opposed the Panama Canal Treaties which transferred control of the Panama Canal from the U.S. to Panama. To this day, it lobbies to return a limited American military presence to protect the Canal due to its strategic importance in trade and defense. TCC also fears that the Canal is vulnerable to terrorism.

#### United Nations

TCC supports a U.S. withdrawal from the UN, perceiving the organization as having ambitions to be a world government hostile to US interests and sovereignty, and which routinely votes against American interests.

#### Domestic

##### Constitutionalism

TCC supports strict constructionism and original intent when it comes to constitutional interpretation. In its view, the majority of federal agencies and activities are unconstitutional. Through its "Constitutional Education Program", TCC seeks to educate citizens on the Constitution and its importance in protecting the liberty of all Americans. TCC sponsors an annual 'Constitution Day' educational event on the anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution (September 17, 1789), which in 2006 was televised on C-SPAN.

##### Health care

A major focus of TCC activism in 2009 and 2010 was opposing President Obama's health care reform bills and any greater government involvement in health care. Following passage, TCC is campaigning for the repeal of the enacted reform bill.

##### Washington, DC Congressional seat

TCC opposes efforts to create a full voting seat in the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia, based upon the Constitutional provisions that only states can have Congressional representation, and the Founding Fathers' intention to keep the nation's capital a neutral territory where all states may meet without fear of undue influence. TCC also opposed efforts to make the city into a state.

##### Taxes/IRS

TCC favors abolishing the income tax and replacing it with a low revenue tariff. This would eliminate the need for the Internal Revenue Service.

##### Social issues

TCC is strongly anti-abortion and opposes gay marriage. It favors school prayer and championed former Alabama Supreme Court Chief Justice Roy Moore for his stance favoring the display of the Ten Commandments.

#### References

Catholic League (U.S.)

Abbreviation	CL
Formation	1973; 47 years ago
Type	NGO
Legal status	Non-profit

Purpose Roman Catholic advocacy  
Headquarters New York City, New York  
Location  
New York City  
Region served  
United States  
Membership  
350,000 members (1999)[1]  
Official language  
English  
Leader Bill Donohue, President and CEO  
Bernadette Brady, Vice-President  
Budget  
US\$2.75 million  
(fiscal year 2008)  
\$22.7 million in assets[2]  
Staff  
13[2]  
Website [www.catholicleague.org](http://www.catholicleague.org)

The Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, often shortened to the Catholic League, is an American Catholic anti-defamation and civil rights organization. The Catholic League states that it "defends the right of Catholics – lay and clergy alike – to participate in American public life without defamation or discrimination." [3] The Catholic League states that it is "motivated by the letter and the spirit of the First Amendment ...to safeguard both the religious freedom rights and the free speech rights of Catholics whenever and wherever they are threatened." [3] According to the Encyclopedia of American Religion and Politics, the League "is regarded by many as the preeminent organization representing the views of American lay Catholics." [4]

Founded in 1973 by Jesuit priest Virgil Blum, the Catholic League was formed to counter discrimination against Catholics in the U.S. government and in popular culture. The low-profile group initiated public education campaigns and some lawsuits. In 1993 the group became much more aggressive with a new president, former sociology professor Bill Donohue, who also increased its size to become the largest Catholic advocacy organization in America. [4] The Catholic League is known for press releases about what it views as anti-Catholic and anti-Christian themes in mass media.

The Catholic League has taken a stand against anything they perceive as anti-Catholic, including the entertainment industry, certain art exhibits, school programs for sex education, government-funded contraception and abortion, media bias, restrictions against pro-life activism, and restrictions on religious schools. [5] It publishes a journal, *Catalyst*, and operates a website.

The League under Donohue's leadership is criticized for its conservatism and for its combative responses to high-profile media stories. [4][6] Besides education campaigns, the group issues condemnations, initiates boycotts and protests, defends priests against accusations of child sexual abuse, fights proposed legislation and threatens legal action against what it sees as bigotry against Catholics, irreverence against religious figures, and attacks on Catholic dogma. [4][7] However, the Catholic League stresses that "it does not speak authoritatively for the Church as a whole." [4]

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Organizational overview

History

[icon]

This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (December 2007)

The League was founded in Milwaukee in 1973 by Virgil C. Blum S.J.[3][8] Blum served as president of the Catholic League until 1988.

Bill Donohue

Main article: Bill Donohue

Since 1993, the League has been led by its Board of Directors president, Bill Donohue, who works with a small number of organizational staffers. In a 1999 New York Times article, a reporter said Donohue is pragmatic in regards to religion, "media savvy" and "steers clear of divisive debates on theological doctrines and secular politics".[1] The article said Donohue "fans simmering anger with inflammatory news releases, a Web site and newsletter"[1] with "scathing attacks on the blasphemous and the irreverent".[1] In a 2007 interview, Salon Life staff writer Rebecca Traister discussed Donohue with Frances Kissling, former head of the organization Catholics for Choice, which opposes Catholic teaching on abortion, who characterized Donohue as "abusive", and stated she avoided doing media interviews with him for this reason.[9]

Operations and organization

The League is organized under a Board of Directors chaired by Walter Knysz. The League also has Board of Advisors, consisting of prominent lay Catholics like Brent Bozell, Linda Chavez, Mary Ann Glendon, Alan Keyes, Tom Monaghan and George Weigel.[3] The League issues a journal, Catalyst, as well as reports, such as Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust, books, brochures and an annual Report on Anti-Catholicism.

Association with the Catholic Church

The Catholic League is a lay Catholic organization that is independent of the Catholic Church. However, it is listed in The Official Catholic Directory (see the Miscellaneous section under the Archdiocese of New York). According to a New York Times interviewer, the organization "maintains close ties to the New York Archdiocese leadership. Several bishops make personal donations. Cardinal O'Connor spoke at the group's 25th anniversary reception in 1998 and vacated part of his suite for its expanding operations, said Joseph Zwilling, a spokesman for the Archdiocese of New York."[1] The League includes on its website endorsements from many prominent clerics.

Membership

The New York Times reported that the Catholic League had 11,000 members when Donohue took over the group in 1993. By 1999, membership had grown to 350,000, two-thirds of whom were paying members.[1] This is the last estimate of overall membership that the League made. The League's 2003 statement claimed 15,000 members in Nassau and Suffolk counties of New York alone.[10] Annual donations entitle members to home delivery of the print version of Catalyst, the group's monthly journal, which is also available for free on the Catholic League's website.

Political alignment

The Catholic League claims political neutrality, which is mostly required of non-profits. The website states, "The League wishes to be neither left nor right, liberal or conservative, revolutionary or reactionary." [3] Although often characterized as conservative[11][12][13][14] the League has at times been at odds with conservative figures and organizations. For example, they criticized the anti-illegal immigration group, the Minutemen, for opposing a San Diego priest's facilitation of employment for Latino immigrants and for condemning the Church as a whole in public statements about the matter.[15] The Catholic League also condemned pastor and televangelist John Hagee for what they called "anti-Catholic hate speech" and called upon John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign to renounce this alleged bigotry.[16]

Christian Leftist John Swomley criticized the Catholic League as the "most dangerous of the far-right organizations." [4] Donohue has been called "right-wing"[17] and "a conservative reactionary who wants to undo the work of Vatican II and suppress varying opinions within the Church." [18]

Activities

Joan Osborne

In 1996, Donohue took issue with Joan Osborne over her song "One of Us", which explores the question of what it would be like if God were a human being.[19] Donohue questioned the point of the song and brought up her activism calling for support of Rock for Choice and other pro-choice groups stating, "It is no wonder that Joan Osborne instructs her fans to donate their time and money to Planned Parenthood. It is of a piece with her politics and her prejudices. Her songs and videos offer a curious mix of both, the effect of which is to dance awfully close to the line of Catholic baiting." [20] Religious

educator Paul Moses stated that Donohue's was a "tortured reading" and he saw Osborne as having "the Catholic imagination" with the song "awakening...spiritual hunger".[21] Osborne said, in a letter to fans, that "the church's attitudes toward women and gays make the pope look far more ridiculous than any pop song could" and that she did not write the song, which "speaks of the pope only with respect." [21] Donohue also admitted that he was treating the issue in a "kind of a prophylactic approach" because "cultures are changed as a result of patterns." [21]

#### Nothing Sacred

In 1997, Donohue declared the ABC show Nothing Sacred as deeply offensive to Catholicism, although not anti-Catholic in the traditional sense.[22][23] Calling for a boycott, he stated that the show portrayed Catholics with a traditional view as cold or cruel while glorifying more the maverick, irreverent voices in the community. However, the show was defended by some Catholics and had been written with the consultation of Jesuits, from which it later won the Humanitas Prize. Many Catholics agreed with him that the show was hostile to the beliefs and values of the Catholic Church, and ABC canceled Nothing Sacred after less than a season, reportedly for poor ratings. Observers think Donohue may have played a significant role in the show's rapid demise as advertisers often become leery of shows deemed "controversial". [24][25] With regard to the controversy, Henry Herx, director of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops' Office of Film and Broadcast (successor to the National Legion of Decency), emphasized that the Catholic League is not an official agency of the church.[26]

#### Dogma

The year 1999 saw the release of Kevin Smith's controversial film Dogma. Despite the fact that Smith is a practicing Catholic, as Kevin Smith confirmed in an interview on the film's DVD, several religious groups, especially the Catholic League, said the film was anti-Catholic and blasphemous, and organized protests, including one that took place at the November 12 premiere of the film at Lincoln Center in New York City.

Smith noted that several of the protests occurred before the film was even finished, suggesting that the protests were more about media attention for the groups than for whatever was controversial about the film.[27] The Catholic League's main complaints were that the film's main character is supposedly a descendant of Mary, who happens to work in an abortion clinic, which were seen as ironic conventions for a Catholic.[citation needed] The film's distributor, Miramax, removed its name from the production, and hired attorney Dan Petrocelli to defend it publicly. Petrocelli accused Donohue of trying to stir a violent reaction to the film. Donohue responded by taking out an op-ed ad in the New York Times on September 12, 1999 saying that the comments were an attempt to stifle his free speech.[28]

According to Smith, "[Donohue] actually invited me out to have a beer after making my life hell for six months." [29]

#### The Passion of the Christ

Donohue is a staunch defender of Mel Gibson's film The Passion of the Christ. On the December 8, 2004 broadcast of Scarborough Country, he stated: "Hollywood is controlled by secular Jews who hate Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular. It's not a secret, OK? And I'm not afraid to say it. That's why they hate this movie. It's about Jesus Christ, and it's about truth. It's about the Messiah." [30]

In Donohue's book, Secular Sabotage: How Liberals Are Destroying Religion and Culture in America, he responded to what he believed was misrepresentation of his comments via taking them out of context. For example, in that same interview, he said the following: "You have got secular Jews. You have got a lot of ex-Catholic priests who hate the Catholic Church, wacko Protestants in the same group..." Later in the debate, in that same segment of the interview, he said, "There are secularists from every ethnic and religious stock," emphasizing that when people talk about Hollywood, they are "talking mostly about secular Jews." [31]

In his book, Donohue also wrote the following: "The Forward, a Jewish weekly, published an editorial in 2004 saying it was merely a 'sociological observation' to note that 'Jews run Hollywood.' The newspaper quite rightly said that to say 'the Jews run Hollywood' is an entirely different matter, one that smacks of anti-Semitism. So it concluded that 'No, 'the Jews' don't run Hollywood. But Jews do, just as Koreans predominate in New York dry-cleaning and blacks rule in basketball.'" [31]

#### Bush holiday cards

After U.S. President George W. Bush used the term "Holidays" instead of "Christmas" on the White House 2005 Christmas cards, Donohue stated "The Bush administration has suffered a loss of will and...they have capitulated to the worst elements in our culture." [32]

#### Michael Savage

"I was scheduled to be on with Mike Savage the day he savaged the Catholic Church and made bigoted comments about Latinos", Donohue said.

"But in the pre-interview — which occurred just a half hour before Savage went ballistic — I let a producer know that I did not share the host's position; after he checked with Savage, I was told they would not have me on the show. That was fine, but what is not fine is Savage's diatribe about the 'greedy pigs' in the Catholic Church and how 'the institution is rotten from the top to the bottom.' He owes all Catholics an apology." [33]

#### John Edwards campaign staffers

Donohue demanded that former Sen. John Edwards fire two presidential campaign staffers in February 2007, charging that they were "anti-Catholic, vulgar, trash-talking bigots." He cited a blog written by Amanda Marcotte regarding the Church's opposition to birth control, saying it forces women "to bear more tithing Catholics". He also cited another posting called "Pope and Fascists". Donohue also objected to one of the staffers describing President Bush's "wingnut Christofacist base".

Donohue called the statements "incendiary" and "inflammatory", saying, "It's scurrilous and has no place being part of someone's resume who's going to work for a potential presidential contender." On February 8, John Edwards addressed the writings of the staffers, Amanda Marcotte and Melissa McEwan, saying 'that kind of intolerant language will not be permitted from anyone on my campaign, whether it's intended as satire, humor or anything else.'[citation needed] Donohue insisted that Edwards fire the pair immediately.

After the complaints, Marcotte wrote, "The Christian version of the virgin birth is generally interpreted as super-patriarchal where God is viewed as so powerful he can impregnate without befouling himself by touching a woman, and women are nothing but vessels." After Marcotte parted with the campaign, Donohue stated, "It is not enough that one foul-mouthed anti-Christian bigot, Amanda Marcotte, has quit. Melissa McEwan must go as well. Either Edwards shows her the door or she bolts on her own. There is no third choice—the Catholic League will see to it that this issue won't go away." He continued, "The Edwards campaign is in total disarray and the meltdown will continue unless McEwan is removed from his staff. The fact that Marcotte had to quit suggests that Edwards doesn't have the guts to do what is morally right." McEwan resigned on February 13, 2007,[34] citing the hostility of the Catholic League and emails threatening rape and murder.[35]

#### Kathy Griffin

On September 8, 2007, Kathy Griffin won her first Emmy for season two of reality show Kathy Griffin: My Life on the D-List. Griffin stirred up controversy with her acceptance speech, saying that "a lot of people come up here and thank Jesus for this award. I want you to know that no one had less to do with this award than Jesus. He didn't help me a bit." She went on to hold up her Emmy and say, "Suck it, Jesus, this award is my god now!"[36]

Her remarks were quickly condemned by Donohue, who urged the TV academy to "denounce Griffin's obscene and blasphemous comment." [37] After the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences decided to censor Griffin's remark, Donohue said, "The Academy of Television Arts & Sciences reacted responsibly to our criticism of Kathy Griffin's verbal assault on 85 percent of the U.S. population. The ball is now in Griffin's court. The self-described 'complete militant atheist' needs to make a swift and unequivocal apology to Christians. If she does, she will get this issue behind her. If she does not, she will be remembered as a foul-mouthed bigot for the rest of her life." [38]

In a statement issued by her publicist, Griffin responded to the denouncement by the Catholic League with a question: "Am I the only Catholic left with a sense of humor?" [39]

#### The Golden Compass

As part of a two-month protest campaign, Donohue called for a boycott of the film *The Golden Compass*, believing that while the religious elements of the film would be "watered down" from the source novels, the film would still encourage children to read the series, which Donohue says "denigrates Christianity" and promotes "atheism for kids". [40] citing author Philip Pullman as saying that he is "trying to undermine the basis of Christian belief." [41] Donohue hopes that "the film [will fail] to meet box office expectations and that [Pullman's] books attract few buyers." [42] The call for a boycott resulted in action by some Catholic groups in the US and Canada, and a Catholic school board in Ontario has ordered the source novel removed from its library shelves. Pullman has since said that the books do not have a religious agenda, saying of Donohue's call for a boycott, "Why don't we trust readers? Why don't we trust filmgoers? Oh, it causes me to shake my head with sorrow that such nitwits could be loose in the world." [43] Pullman described the Catholic League as "a tiny, unrepresentative organisation," suggesting that "the only person Bill Donohue represents is himself." [44]

Other evangelical groups, such as The Christian Film and Television Commission, adopted a "wait-and-see" approach to the film before deciding upon any action, [45] as did the Roman Catholic Church in Britain. [43]

Some commentators indicated that they believed the criticism would prove ultimately impotent and that the negative publicity would prove a boon for the film's box office. [46] [47]

According to Donohue, this prediction proved to be false. [48] The movie did so poorly at the box office, Donohue claims, that Pullman decided not to go forward with the sequels and blamed Donohue for his decision. [49]

Donohue's position on this controversy was spelled out in a 31-page booklet, "The Golden Compass: Agenda Unmasked." It details his objections to what he said were Pullman's anti-Catholic comments, his books, and the movie. [50]

#### Eucharist incident

In July 2008, a controversy arose surrounding a Communion rite altercation involving Webster Cook, a student and member of the University of Central Florida (UCF) student senate. Cook attended a Catholic Mass on campus and was

given the Eucharist but walked out without consuming it. This action was allegedly related to his protest of the use of public funds for organized worship in the student union hall. According to Donohue, Cook's actions were a form of desecration of the sacrament. Cook was proposed for censure by the student senate and was criticized by local media. He also received numerous death threats.[51][52]

On Pharyngula, biologist and University of Minnesota Morris (UMM) professor PZ Myers publicly expressed support for Cook as well as outrage that Fox News appeared to be inciting readers to cause further problems for the student.[51][53][54] Myers invited readers to acquire some consecrated Eucharistic Hosts, which he described as "crackers", for him to treat "with profound disrespect." [55]

The Catholic League accused Myers of anti-Catholic bigotry and asked UMM and the Minnesota State Legislature to take action against Myers.[56][57] Myers then also received threats and hate mail.[58] The Catholic League also called for Cook to be expelled from the university, with Donohue describing his confiscation of the Eucharist as a hate crime as well as a form of kidnapping.[55] Donohue also accused those who supported Cook of anti-Catholic bigotry, and sent a letter to the UCF asking them to take legal action against Cook.[59] A week after the initial communion Cook apologized and returned the Host. The Catholic League, however, continued to lobby the university for his expulsion.[59]

#### Boycott of Roger Smith Hotel

In March 2007, a sculpture created by Italian-Canadian artist Cosimo Cavallaro was to be displayed at Manhattan's Roger Smith Hotel. The sculpture, entitled "My Sweet Lord", was of a crucified Christ, nude, in molded chocolate. Although the artist claims to be himself a practicing Catholic, Bill Donohue decried the work as "hate speech", "garbage", and "one of the worst assaults on Christian sensibilities ever,"[60] describing Mr. Cavallaro as a "loser artist" and telling him in a television interview on Anderson Cooper 360, "You're lucky I'm not like the Taliban, because you would lose more than your head."

Under the leadership of Donohue, the Catholic League organized a boycott of the hotel aimed at forcing it to remove the statue. The hotel's management stating that the protests "brought to our attention the unintended reaction of you and other conscientious friends", eventually agreed to the League's calls, prompting the curator of the gallery, Matt Semler, to resign in protest.[60] Semler claimed the six-foot sculpture was the victim of "a strong-arming from people who haven't seen the show, seen what we're doing. They jumped to conclusions completely contrary to our intentions." [60]

#### Church child sex abuse issue

Main article: Catholic sex abuse cases

Donohue said, in October 2009, that the Catholic Church has a "homosexual", not a "pedophilia", problem, citing the John Jay Report.[61] The Catholic League has blamed the Survivors Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP), for having "hired, hidden, defended, enabled, ignored and concealed the crimes of child molesters." [62] The Catholic League defended attacking SNAP on the grounds that they were "a menace to the Catholic Church." [63]

In a November 18, 2009, Politics Daily column about Smith's research, David Gibson reported that sexual identity should be "separated from the problem of sexual abuse," according to criminologist Margaret Smith. Smith said, "we do not find a connection between homosexual identity and an increased likelihood of sexual abuse." [64] Nevertheless, Donohue says that this is a homosexual problem in the Catholic Church and not a pedophile one.[64]

Donohue has been asked to respond to Smith's position many times. He argues that "if the acts were of a homosexual nature, and we know they were, it does not matter what the self-perception of the victimizers were." [65]

#### Irish Child Abuse Commission

Main article: Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse

On May 20, 2009, Reuters reported the results of a nine-year investigation by the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, which looked into decades of endemic sexual abuse against children in Catholic-run reform schools in Ireland.[66] In reaction to this report, popularly known as the Ryan Report, Donohue issued a statement downplaying the seriousness of the cases, questioning the inclusion of voyeurism and "inappropriate sexual talk" as instances of sexual abuse along with the more serious charge of rape.[67] Donohue pointed out that rape constituted only 12% of the listed sexual abuse cases in the Ryan report, and that priests committed only 12% of the listed rapes—the other 88% were committed by lay persons and religious brothers.[67]

Since the Ryan Report was released, Donohue has been defending the Church and claiming that much of the outrage is 'moral hysteria'. While stating that he agrees that rape and physical abuse are wrong and that he would not defend those actions, he says the report has conflated these abuses with 'lesser' forms of punishment and is therefore not as serious. He also says many of the purported forms of abuse found by the commission were present and acceptable in the time period.[68]

The Irish politician and child rape victim Colm O'Gorman was highly critical of such statements made by Donohue on the Irish radio show The Last Word.[68] O'Gorman later wrote that Donohue's analysis was shockingly "simplistic". [69]

#### Harry Knox and the White House faith-based office

When President Barack Obama named gay activist[70] Harry Knox to the White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships in 2009, Donohue termed Knox "an anti-Catholic bigot who has called the pope a liar." [70]

#### David Wojnarowicz and National Portrait Gallery

In November 2010, a portion of a video by the late artist David Wojnarowicz, which was included in an exhibit focused on gay-themed art, "Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture" at the National Portrait Gallery (United States), was removed after complaints from the Catholic League.[71] Columnist Frank Rich said of the intervention and removal that the Smithsonian had been "bullied by bigots" and quoted The Los Angeles Times's art critic, Christopher Knight, to the same effect.[72] Tracing the evolution of the issue, Rich cited a piece by Kriston Capps which in turn said "the role of Penny Starr remains hazy. [However, a]...reporter and conservative advocate, [Starr] deserves much credit for both instigating" the negative attention to the piece of art amongst a number in the show.[73]

Donohue's central complaint was the content of the "vile video," as he called it. He objected to the video because it showed "large ants eating away at Jesus on a crucifix," and was hosted in a museum funded by taxpayers.[74]

#### Mortara case

Responding to David Kertzer's book and Alfred Uhry's play about the Mortara case, in which a Jewish boy was kidnapped on the order of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, the Catholic League charged: "Whether it's based on fact or fiction, or whether it's portrayed on the stage or on the screen, the Catholic bashers are a busy lot these days. They are as good at twisting the facts as they are at developing fictional accounts. Truth doesn't matter. What matters is results." [75]

#### Criticism

In 1997, David Carlin of Commonweal criticized Donohue and the Catholic League for being overly sensitive in the identification of anti-Catholicism.[76] In 1999, Jesuit priest James Martin, the associate editor of the Catholic magazine America wrote "Often their criticism is right on target, but frequently they speak without seeing or experiencing what they are critiquing, and that undercuts their credibility. Unfortunately, that type of response gives people the idea that the Catholic Church is unreflective." [1]

#### Checks and Balances

Checks and Balances is a group of conservative and libertarian attorneys that was formed in November, 2018.[1] It is composed of some members of the conservative-libertarian Federalist Society, which had assisted the Trump administration in selecting appointees for federal courts. Charter members of the new organization included, George T. Conway III, Tom Ridge, Peter D. Keisler, Jonathan H. Adler, Orin S. Kerr, Lori S. Meyer, Paul McNulty, Phillip D. Brady, John B. Bellinger III, Carrie Cordero, Peter Keisler, Marisa C Maleck, Alan Charles Raul, and Paul Rosenzweig, amongst others.[1][2][3][4] The group was formed to provide a conservative legal voice for responses when, in its words, "Trump attacks the Justice Department and the news media".[3][4]

Organization member Peter Keisler said the group had received an "overwhelmingly positive response", including from Federalist Society members,[5] however, the formation of the group was sharply criticized by Federalist Society leader Leonard Leo, saying he found "the underlying premise of the group rather offensive".

On October 10, 2019, the group released a statement offering their legal reasoning for an "expeditious" impeachment probe into President Trump.[6] They cited the Special Counsel's report, which highlights that the "Trump 2016 campaign was open to and enthusiastic about receiving Russian government-facilitated assistance to gain an advantage in the previous election" and they outlined the recent facts regarding Trump's attempts to put pressure on Ukraine for his personal and political benefit.[7][8] After the statement by Checks and Balances was published, organization member George Conway said that the White House letter (reported by the Daily Beast as mostly written by Trump),[9] refusing to cooperate in the House of Representatives impeachment hearings, was "trash".[10]

#### Citizens for Self-Governance

itizens for Self-Governance (CSG) is a conservative American nonprofit political organization.[3] In 2015, it launched a nationwide initiative calling for a convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution to reduce federal spending.[4] The group's efforts are focused on imposing fiscal restraint on Washington D.C., reducing the federal government's authority over states, and imposing term limits on federal officials.[3] As of 2019, the organization's resolution has passed in 15 states.[5][6] A total of 34 states would need to pass such a resolution in order for a Convention to Amend the Constitution to be called per Article V. The organization funded and won a class action lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service over the agency's politically-oriented targeting of conservative organizations. The group is based in Austin, Texas.[2]

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#### Leadership

Mark Meckler serves as president of CSG.[7] Meckler was previously co-founder of the Tea Party Patriots before resigning from that group.[8]

Tim Dunn was a founding board member.[9]

Eric O'Keefe is the current chairman of the board as of April 2020.[9]

#### Activities

Lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service

Main article: IRS targeting controversy

In May 2013, CSG filed a class action lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service, alleging violations under the Privacy Act as well as violations of constitutional rights guaranteeing free expression and equal protection under the law.[10][11] The lawsuit stemmed from IRS targeting of conservative groups for more scrutiny as they applied for tax-exempt status.[10][12] In April 2015, a federal judge ordered the IRS to turn over the list of 298 groups it had targeted for intrusive scrutiny.[13] The IRS failed to turn over the list, filing a petition for a writ of mandamus from the appellate court so that it would not have to disclose information on groups the agency had targeted.[14]

In March 2016, a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit issued a unanimous ruling rebuking the IRS and giving the agency two weeks to produce the names of organizations it had targeted based on their political leanings.[15][16][17] In October 2017, the IRS settled with the tea party groups for \$3.5 million. In August 2018, Judge Michael Ryan Barrett approved the \$3.5 million settlement between the IRS and hundreds of tea party groups on "what all sides now agree was unwarranted and illegal targeting for political purposes." [18] The IRS expressed its "sincere apology" for mistreating conservative organizations in their applications for nonprofit status.[19]

#### Convention of States

The Convention of States is a tax-exempt nonprofit group which was originally created to push for a convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution,[20][21] with a focus on balancing the federal budget.[9]

According to Meckler:

By calling a convention of states, we can stop the federal spending and debt spree, the power grabs of the federal courts, and other misuses of federal power. The current situation is precisely what the Founders feared, and they gave us a solution we have a duty to use.[20]

CSG has opened numerous chapters across the nation to urge state legislators to summon a national convention; for example, in Virginia, the group sponsored the founder of Patrick Henry College, Michael Farris, to launch a Convention of States Project which is a forum for delegates appointed by state governments to propose amendments to the constitution.[22]

In December 2013, nearly 100 legislators from 32 states met at Mount Vernon to talk about how to call a convention of states. According to Slate, "The meeting lasted four hours, ending when legislators agreed to meet again in the spring of 2014. That's the most progress anyone's made in decades toward a states-first constitutional amendment campaign." CSG provided the legislators with briefing books that laid out a plan to call a convention of states.[23]

In March 2014, Georgia became the first state to pass CSG's convention of states application.[24] As of 2019, a total of fifteen state legislatures had passed CSG's convention of states application.[6][1]

In July 2014, CSG announced plans to have resolutions before at least 24 state legislatures in 2015.[25] In 2015, the group backed bills in 26 states that would call for a convention. Some members of both the Republican and Democratic parties have supported bills backed by the organization, while others from both the left and right have criticized the proposal, fearing that it could "set the stage for a runaway convention to make over the entire Constitution." [26]

In September 2016, CSG held a simulated convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution in Williamsburg, Virginia.[27] The simulated convention passed amendments relating to six topics, including requiring the states to approve any increase in the national debt, imposing term limits; limiting the Commerce Clause; providing an "easy congressional override" of federal regulations; requiring a supermajority to impose federal taxes and repealing the Sixteenth Amendment; and "giving the states (by a three-fifths vote) the power to abrogate any federal law, regulation, or executive order." [28]



Jim DeMint became a senior advisor to the group in June 2017. According to DeMint, "The Tea Party needs a new mission. They realize that all the work they did in 2010 has not resulted in all the things they hoped for. Many of them are turning to Article V."<sup>[3]</sup>

In early 2020 the group has taken on new focus amid the COVID-19 pandemic, with a goal of limiting the federal government's abilities to force precautionary action. They are operating an online campaign called "Open the States" which collects donations and helps protesters organize.<sup>[9]</sup>

#### Supporters

CSG is aligned with the Tea Party movement.<sup>[10]</sup>

Radio host Mark Levin has supported CSG's efforts to call a second constitutional convention.<sup>[29]</sup> Former U.S. Senator Tom Coburn (R) has endorsed the Convention of States Project and serves as a senior advisor to CSG's efforts.<sup>[30][31]</sup>

U.S. Senator Ron Johnson (R), former Governor of Arkansas Mike Huckabee (R), conservative radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh, Fox News talk show host Sean Hannity, conservative political commentator Glenn Beck, former Governor of Alaska Sarah Palin (R), former Governor of Ohio John Kasich (R), former Governor of Louisiana Bobby Jindal (R), former U.S. Representative Allen West (R), and current Governor of Texas Greg Abbott (R), have all endorsed a convention of states.<sup>[32][20][33][34][35]</sup>

In September 2014, CSG announced that a Legal Board of Reference had signed a "Jefferson Statement" endorsing the Convention of States initiative. The Legal Board of Reference included Randy Barnett, Charles J. Cooper, John C. Eastman, Michael Farris, Robert P. George, C. Boyden Gray, Andrew C. McCarthy, and Mark Meckler.<sup>[36][37]</sup>

In late 2015, U.S. Senator Marco Rubio (R) endorsed CSG's call for a convention of the states.<sup>[29][38]</sup>

In early 2020 Ken Cuccinelli and Ben Carson, both tied to the Trump administration, are noted to have supported the Convention of States group. Ron DeSantis, governor of Florida, has also previously supported the Convention of States movement.<sup>[9]</sup>

#### Opponents

Opponents of the group's efforts to call a convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution include conservative groups the John Birch Society and the Eagle Forum as well as George Soros.<sup>[1][39]</sup> Liberal advocacy group Common Cause has been a vocal opponent of the CSG's Convention of the States initiative; in a May 2016 report entitled *The Dangerous Path: Big Money's Plan to Shred the Constitution*, the group wrote that "There is nothing to prevent the convention, once convened, from proposing additional changes that could limit or eliminate fundamental rights or upend our entire system of government."<sup>[40][41]</sup>

#### Funding

Tax records show that CSG's annual funding increased since its push to amend the Constitution began; the group received \$1.8 million in contributions in 2011, and \$5.7 million in contributions in 2015.<sup>[42]</sup> In 2016, the group raised over \$4.2 million.<sup>[43]</sup> The group does not disclose the sources of its funding; in a 2013 tax filing, CSG stated that disclosure would "chill the donors' First Amendment right to associate in private with the organization."<sup>[42]</sup>

CSG also operates the Alliance for Self-Governance and Convention of States Action, neither of which is legally required to disclose donors' identities.<sup>[42]</sup>

In 2014 they received a \$500,000 donation from the Mercer Family Foundation. The Convention of States movement has also received support from the Donors Trust fund.<sup>[9]</sup>

#### See also

Convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution  
Second Constitutional Convention of the United States  
States' rights  
Wolf-PAC  
References

#### Center of the American Experiment

founder(s) Mitch Pearlstein<sup>[1]</sup>  
Established 1990<sup>[2]</sup>  
President John Hinderaker<sup>[3]</sup>  
Chairman Ron Eibensteiner  
Senior Policy Fellow Kathy Kersten  
Budget Revenue: \$1,191,118  
Expenses: \$1,087,451  
(FYE December 2015)<sup>[4]</sup>

Coordinates 44.9718°N 93.3761°WCoordinates: 44.9718°N 93.3761°W

Address 8441 Wayzata Blvd., Suite 350

Golden Valley, MN 55426

Website Official website

The Center of the American Experiment is a Minnesota-based think tank that advocates for conservative and free-market principles.[5]

#### Overview

The Center of the American Experiment was founded in 1990 by Mitch Pearlstein, a former Reagan appointee.[2] Annette Meeks previously served as the organization's CEO.[6] It has received grants from the Bradley Foundation and the John M. Olin Foundation.[7] Katherine Kersten is a Senior Fellow at the organization.[8]

The Center has supported school vouchers[7] and opposed affirmative action, particularly in academia.[9] The organization has been credited with playing a major role in empowering conservatives in Minnesota.[10]

#### References

#### Competitive Enterprise Institute

bbreviation CEI

Formation1984; 36 years ago

Founder Fred L. Smith Jr.

Type Public policy think tank

Headquarters 1310 L Street NW,

Washington, DC 20036

President and CEO

Kent Lassman

Revenue (2015)

\$7,703,763[1]

Expenses (2015) \$7,811,133[1]

Website cei.org

The Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI) is a non-profit libertarian think tank founded by the political writer Fred L. Smith Jr. on March 9, 1984, in Washington, D.C., to advance principles of limited government, free enterprise, and individual liberty. CEI focuses on a number of regulatory policy issues, including energy, environment, business and finance, labor, technology and telecommunications, transportation, and food and drug regulation.

According to the 2017 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report (Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, University of Pennsylvania), CEI is number 59 (of 60) in the "Top Think Tanks in the United States".[2]

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#### Policy areas

##### Energy and environment

Academic research has identified CEI as one of the Conservative think tanks funded to overturn the environmentalism of the 1960s, central to promoting climate change denial. It was involved in assisting the anti-environmental climate change policy of the George W. Bush administration.[3]

CEI promotes environmental policies based on limited government regulation and property rights and rejects what they call "global warming alarmism".[4] The organization's largest program, the Center for Energy and Environment, focuses on energy policy, chemical risk policy, Clean Air Act regulation, land and water regulation, the Endangered Species Act, and

private conservation policies.

CEI is an outspoken opponent of government action by the Environmental Protection Agency that would require limits on greenhouse gas emissions. It favors free-market environmentalism, and supports the idea that market institutions are more effective in protecting the environment than is government. CEI President Kent Lassman wrote on the organization's blog that, "there is no debate about whether the Earth's climate is warming", that "human activities very likely contribute to that warming", and that "this has long been the CEI's position".[5]

In March 1992, CEI's founder Fred Smith said of anthropogenic climate change: "Most of the indications right now are it looks pretty good. Warmer winters, warmer nights, no effects during the day because of clouding, sounds to me like we're moving to a more benign planet, more rain, richer, easier productivity to agriculture."[6]

In May 2006, CEI's global warming policy activities attracted attention as it embarked upon an ad campaign with two television commercials.[7] These ads promote carbon dioxide as a positive factor in the environment and argue that global warming is not a concern. One ad focuses on the message that CO2 is misrepresented as a pollutant, stating that "it's essential to life. We breathe it out. Plants breathe it in... They call it pollution. We call it life."[8] The other states that the world's glaciers are "growing, not melting... getting thicker, not thinner." [8] It cites Science articles to support its claims. However, the editor of Science stated that the ad "misrepresents the conclusions of the two cited Science papers... by selective referencing". The author of the articles, Curt Davis, director of the Center for Geospatial Intelligence at the University of Missouri, said CEI was misrepresenting his previous research to inflate their claims. "These television ads are a deliberate effort to confuse and mislead the public about the global warming debate," Davis said.[9]

In 2009, CEI's director of energy and global warming policy told The Washington Post, "The only thing that's been demonstrated to reduce emissions is economic collapse".[10]

In 2014, CEI sued the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy over a video that linked the polar vortex to climate change.[11]

#### Regulatory reform

CEI advocates for regulatory reform on a range of policy issues, including energy, environment, business and finance, labor, technology and telecommunications, transportation, and food and drug regulation.[12]

Its annual survey of the federal regulatory state entitled Ten Thousand Commandments: An Annual Snapshot of the Federal Regulatory State, documents the size, scope, and cost of federal regulations, and how the U.S. regulatory burden affects American consumers, businesses, and the economy.[13]

CEI's Clyde Wayne Crews Jr. coined the phrase "regulatory dark matter," referencing astrophysics to distinguish between ordinary government regulations or "visible matter," and "regulatory dark matter," which consists of "thousands of executive branch and federal agency proclamations and issuances, including memos, guidance documents, bulletins, circulars and announcements with practical regulatory effect." [13]

#### Technology and telecommunications

In 2015, CEI filed an amicus brief in support of the petitioners in U.S. Telecom v. FCC. The brief argued that, "Congress did not authorize the FCC to regulate the Internet when it enacted Section 706 of the Telecommunications Act and, in fact, placed it outside the scope of the FCC's rulemaking authority." [14]

CEI was one of several free-market think tanks who publicly supported the Federal Communication Commission's Restoring Internet Freedom Order in 2017, which repealed net neutrality regulations implemented under the Obama Administration.[15]

CEI has argued against using antitrust regulation to break up big technology companies such as Facebook and Google.[16][17]

#### Capitalism

CEI has a longstanding project to recapture the moral legitimacy of capitalism through research, writing, events, and other outreach activities.[18][19][20] In 2019, CEI's Vice President for Strategy Iain Murray argued, in an op-ed for The Wall Street Journal, that advocates of capitalism and free markets had taken the support of social conservatives for granted.[21]

#### Legal advocacy

The Competitive Enterprise Institute "is one of a small number of think tanks that have a litigation arm to their organization." [22]

#### Center for Class Action Fairness (former project)

From 2015 to 2019, the Center for Class Action Fairness (CCAF) was part of CEI. It has since spun off as part of the new Hamilton Lincoln Law Institute, a free-market nonprofit public-interest law founded by Frank and his CCAF colleague

Melissa Holyoak.[23] CCAF represents class members against what it calls, "unfair class action procedures and settlements." [24]

CEI argued *Frank v. Gaos* before the U.S. Supreme Court on October 31, 2018, opposing a proposed class action settlement involving Google, who paid out an \$8.5 million settlement including \$6 million in cy-près funds and more than \$2 million for class-action lawyers. Class members were not awarded any part of the settlement. [25]

In 2015, CEI successfully appealed a class action settlement in a case about the length of Subway's "footlong" sandwiches. CEI argued that the proposed settlement benefited only nine people in the class but awarded more than half a million dollars to the class attorneys. The Seventh Circuit's ruling rejected the settlement in the Subway case that would have paid plaintiffs' attorneys \$525,000 and left the class with nothing. The court's decision included the statement that "[a] class settlement that results in fees for class counsel but yields no meaningful relief for the class is no better than a racket." [26]

#### Challenges to the Affordable Care Act

CEI funded and coordinated *King v. Burwell* and *Halbig v. Burwell*, two lawsuits that challenged the Internal Revenue Service's implementation of the Affordable Care Act. [27] The strategy of bringing such lawsuits was pioneered by Michael S. Greve, former chairman of CEI's board of directors, an avowed ACA opponent who stated: "This bastard [the act] has to be killed as a matter of political hygiene. I do not care how this is done, whether it's dismembered, whether we drive a stake through its heart, whether we tar and feather it, and drive it out of town, whether we strangle it." [28][29] The *King v. Burwell* suit alleged that the IRS's implementation violated the statute and sought to block "a major portion of Obamacare: the subsidies that more than 6 million middle-income people, across more than 30 states, now receive to buy health insurance." [27] CEI general counsel Sam Kazman argued in a *USA Today* op-ed that the disputed IRS rule "raises a basic issue that goes far beyond Obamacare: Do agencies have to follow the laws enacted by Congress, or can they rewrite them?" [30] The case made its way to the Supreme Court, which is a 6-3 decision rejected the challenge and upheld the ACA subsidies. [27]

#### Challenges to the Dodd-Frank Act and financial regulation

In 2012, the CEI, along with the conservative activist group 60 Plus Association, filed a lawsuit against the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). The CEI's suit alleges that the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act's creation of the CFPB violates the constitutional separation of powers. [22][31] The CEI also contends that President Obama's recess appointment of Richard Cordray as CFPB director was unconstitutional [22][32] and that the powers of the Financial Stability Oversight Council, created by Dodd-Frank, are unconstitutional. [22] In 2016, a federal judge rejected the challenge to Cordray's appointment. [31] The CEI's challenge to the constitutionality of CFPB remains pending in the federal courts. [31]

#### CEI events

Every year CEI hosts an annual dinner gala and presents the Julian L. Simon Memorial Award. The Simon award honors the work of the late economist, winner of the Simon–Ehrlich wager. Award winners have included:

Year	Winner	Notes
2001	Stephen Moore	
2002	Robert L. Bradley Jr.	
2003	Bjørn Lomborg	
2004	no award	honored Norman Borlaug
2005	Barun Mitra	
2006	John Stossel	
2007	Indur Goklany	
2008	Václav Klaus	
2009	Richard Tren	
2010	Stephen McIntyre and Ross McKittrick	Joint award
2011	Robert J. Smith	
2012	Matt Ridley	
2013	Deirdre McCloskey	
2014	John Tierney	
2015	Vernon L. Smith	
2016	Dr. Bruce Yandle	
2017	Dr. Pierre Desrochers	
2018	Hernando de Soto	
2019	Johan Norberg	

#### CEI projects

##### Warren T. Brookes Journalism Fellowship

In 1991, CEI established the Warren T. Brookes Journalism Fellowship to identify and train journalists who wish to improve their knowledge of environmental issues and free-market economics. In this manner, the program seeks to perpetuate the legacy of Warren Brookes, who was a longtime journalist with the *Boston Herald* and the *Detroit News* and a nationally syndicated columnist. and Former and current fellows include: [citation needed]

1993–1994	Ronald Bailey
1994–1995	Michael Fumento
1995–1996	Michelle Malkin
1996–1997	James Bovard
1997–1998	Jesse Walker
1999–2000	Brian Doherty
2000–2001	Sean Paige
2001–2002	Eileen Ciesla-Norcross
2002–2003	Hugo Gurdon
2003–2004	Neil Hrab
2004–2005	John Berlau
2005–2006	Timothy Carney
2006–2007	Jeremy Lott
2007–2008	Lene Johansen
2008–2009	Silvia Santacruz
2009–2010	Ryan Young
2010–2011	Kathryn Ciano
2011–2012	Matt Patterson
2012–2013	Matthew Melchiorre
2013–2014	Bill Frezza
2014–2015	Carrie Sheffield

#### Bureaucrash

Bureaucrash was a special outreach and activist project of CEI described as an international network of pro-freedom activists working to promote a political ideology based on personal and economic freedom. Bureaucrash conducted political activism using new media, creative marketing, and education campaigns. Bureaucrash maintained a website (bureaucrash.com) and a YouTube channel, Bureaucrash TV, which featured short videos on political topics. Begun as an independent organization, Bureaucrash was absorbed into CEI and, for a time, maintained full-time staff as part of CEI's staff. In mid-2010 Bureaucrash transferred its only full-time staffer to an open position on CEI's communications staff leaving Bureaucrash itself without any full-time staff.

#### Funding

CEI is funded by donations from individuals, foundations and corporations.[33] Donors to CEI include a number of companies in the energy, technology, automotive, and alcohol and tobacco industries.[34]

CEI's revenues for the fiscal year ending on September 30, 2015, were \$7.5 million against expenses of \$7.4 million.[35]

ExxonMobil Corporation was a donor to CEI, giving the group about \$2 million over seven years.[36] In 2006, the company announced that it had ended its funding for the group.[37]

See also

Donors Trust

References

#### Claremont Institute

Formation 1979; 41 years ago

Type Non-profit

Location

Upland, California

President

Ryan Williams [1]

Key people

John C. Eastman, Charles R. Kesler, Ryan Williams[1]

Budget

Revenue: \$5,588,691

Expenses: \$4,972,703

(FYE June 2016)[2]

Website claremont.org

The Claremont Institute is an American conservative think tank based in Upland, California. The institute was founded in 1979 by four students of Harry V. Jaffa.[3] The Institute publishes the Claremont Review of Books, a quarterly journal of political thought and statesmanship, as well as other books and publications.

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#### History

The institute was founded in 1979 by four students of Harry V. Jaffa, a professor emeritus at Claremont McKenna College and the Claremont Graduate University, although the Institute has no affiliation with any of the Claremont Colleges.[3]

The institute came to prominence under the leadership of Larry P. Arnn, who was its president from 1985 until 2000, when he became the twelfth president of Hillsdale College.[citation needed]

The current president is Ryan Williams, who previously served as the organization's Chief Operating Officer from 2013 until being named president in September 2017.[4] Williams succeeded Michael Pack, who served from 2015 to September 2017.[citation needed]

Today, approximately 20 staff members now coordinate conferences, lecture series, and other projects. The Institute also publishes the Claremont Review of Books, a quarterly journal of political thought and statesmanship, as well as other books and publications, including reprints of Jaffa's works.

The organization was an early defender of then-candidate Donald Trump.[3]

#### Staff

Ryan Williams (President of the Institute)  
William J. Bennett (Washington Fellow)  
Paul Mirengoff (Institute Fellow)  
Mark Helprin (Senior Fellow)  
William A. Rusher (In Memoriam)  
Harry V. Jaffa (Distinguished Fellow)  
Charles R. Kesler (Senior Fellow)  
John H. Hinderaker (Institute Fellow)  
John Marini (senior fellow)  
Michael Uhlmann  
Scott W. Johnson (Institute Fellow)

#### Publications

The Institute publishes the Claremont Review of Books, a quarterly journal of political thought and statesmanship founded in 2000. The CRB is edited by prominent scholar and Institute mainstay Charles R. Kesler and features regular columns by Boston College faculty member Martha Bayles, as well as novelist and journalist Mark Helprin.

#### Publius Fellows program

The Publius program is the Institute's oldest fellowship program. Since 1979, the Institute has hosted a number of young conservatives for seminars and symposia on American politics and political thought. Publius fellows, usually college seniors, recent college graduates, and graduate students meet with the Institute's fellows and other distinguished scholars for several weeks during the summer.

#### Lincoln Fellows program

Since 1996, the internship has offered fellowships to young professionals serving elected officials or appointed policy-makers in the federal government, as well as staff members of national political parties and non-profit institutions that research and publish on public policy and constitutional issues. Among the 60 alumni of the program are senior staff members of U.S. Representatives and Senators, White House speech writers, legal counsel and senior advisors in the U.S. Departments of Justice and State, as well as political editorialists for the Wall Street Journal and the Weekly Standard. Notable alumni of the Lincoln Fellowship include former California State Assemblyman Chuck DeVore, now a vice president with the Texas Public Policy Foundation, political commentator Carol Platt Liebau, editorial cartoonist Michael Ramirez, attorney and talk radio host Mark Levin, and Delaware politician Christine O'Donnell.[5]

More recently Claremont has come under heavy criticism "for beclowning itself with [an] embrace of the smarmy underside of American politics" by naming certain fellows such as Mytheos Holt and the conspiracy theorist Jack Posobiec.[6][7]

#### Ronald Reagan Freedom Medallion

2010 Nevada Senate candidate Sharron Angle received the Ronald Reagan Freedom Medallion from the Claremont Institute in 2004 a year after she hired John C. Eastman of the Claremont Institute to fight the Supreme Court decision when then Governor Kenny Guinn sued the Legislature to nullify the state constitution and allow a simple majority of the legislature to pass an \$836 million tax increase in Angle v. Guinn.[8] In 2006, the state supreme court reversed its 2003 decision and restored the Nevada Constitution's two-thirds vote provision.[9]

## Chalcedon Foundation

Motto "Equipping to Advance the Kingdom"

Founded 1965

Founder Rousas John Rushdoony

Type Nonprofit 501(c)(3)

Tax ID no.

95-6121940 (EIN)

Location

Vallecito, California

Members

3

Owner Chalcedon, Inc.

Key people

Mark R. Rushdoony, President

Martin G. Selbrede, Vice President

Revenue

\$961,294 (2010)[1]

Employees

10

Volunteers

10

Website [chalcedon.edu](http://chalcedon.edu)

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in  
the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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[DodgerBlue flag waving.svg](#) [Conservatism portal](#)

vte

The Chalcedon Foundation is an American Christian Reconstructionist organization founded by Rousas John Rushdoony in 1965. Named for the Council of Chalcedon,[2] it has also included theologians such as Gary North, who later founded his own organization, the Institute for Christian Economics.

The Chalcedon Foundation provides educational material in the form of books, newsletter reports and various electronic media, toward advancing the theological teachings of Rushdoony's Christian Reconstructionism movement. It is notable for its role in the influence of Christianity on politics in the U.S.[3] and has been described as "a think tank of the Religious Right." [4] Rushdoony's son Mark now heads the foundation.

The Chalcedon Foundation has been listed as an anti-gay hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center for, among other reasons, supporting the death penalty for homosexuality.[5]

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## History

The Chalcedon Foundation, which is named after a 451 A.D. council<sup>[2]</sup> that proclaimed the state's subservience to God,<sup>[5]</sup> was officially founded by Rushdoony in summer 1965. In 1971, North was hired part-time, and two years later North was hired full-time while Greg Bahnsen was also hired. Rushdoony founded Ross House Books in 1976, the same year in which North and Bahnsen left the Foundation to pursue careers elsewhere. In 1977, the Foundation's first office building was built. A decade later, the organization's Newsletter became a magazine, the Chalcedon Report.

In the 1970s multimillionaire Howard Ahmanson became a Calvinist and joined Rushdoony's Christian Reconstructionist movement.<sup>[6]</sup> Ahmanson served as a board member of Rushdoony's Chalcedon Foundation for approximately 15 years before resigning in 1996. Ahmanson said he had left the Chalcedon board and "does not embrace all of Rushdoony's teachings."<sup>[7]</sup><sup>[8]</sup> Time magazine covered the Ahmansons in their 2005 profiles of the 25 Most Influential Evangelicals in America, classifying them as "the financiers."<sup>[9]</sup> Former American oil billionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt also made heavy contributions to the Chalcedon Foundation.<sup>[10]</sup><sup>[11]</sup>

Key members of the Chalcedon Foundation over the years have included Gary North, Greg Bahnsen, David Chilton, Gary DeMar, Kenneth Gentry, and Andrew Sandlin. North has defined his politics as Neo-Puritanism.<sup>[4]</sup>

On February 8, 2001, Rushdoony died. He was succeeded by his son Mark Rushdoony, who continues to run the organization. In 2004, Ross House Books merged with Chalcedon, and in 2005, the Chalcedon Report was renamed Faith for All of Life.<sup>[3]</sup>

#### Beliefs

The Chalcedon Foundation describes itself as a Christian educational organization oriented toward promoting Christian reconstruction, emphasizing the Cultural or Dominion Mandate.<sup>[12]</sup> The Foundation's founder, Rousas John Rushdoony, who is known as "father of Christian Reconstruction" theology,<sup>[5]</sup> advocated the imposition of Old Testament laws.<sup>[13]</sup> Newsweek magazine described the Chalcedon Foundation as "a think tank of the Religious Right, including the Moral Majority."<sup>[4]</sup> Rushdoony himself claimed that his movement had 20 million followers, although not all of them are members of an organization.<sup>[11]</sup>

Chalcedon Foundation roots in the late 1960s evolved from Rushdoony's career as an Orthodox Presbyterian pastor. Rushdoony, and a handful of Ph.D.s and ex-seminarians wrote books and articles that were not especially popular at the time. Forty years later, however, secular journalists characterize Rushdoony's movement as "the spark plug behind much of the battle over religion in politics today". Rushdoony's work via the Chalcedon Foundation challenged conservative Christians to "take the whole Bible seriously—including inconvenient verses in the Old Testament that most Christians, even biblical literalists, politely ignore."<sup>[3]</sup>

#### Reconstructionism

The Chalcedon Foundation advocates the Christian Reconstructionism movement which "believes Christians must take control of society for 1,000 years before the Second Coming of Christ can be achieved." Rushdoony believed the Bible should be adopted as law,<sup>[14]</sup> including Scriptures advocating the death penalty for homosexuality, striking or cursing a parent, adultery, and lying. Rushdoony developed and articulated Christian Reconstructionism in his book *The Institutes of Biblical Law* (1973), which is promoted by the Chalcedon Foundation.<sup>[15]</sup> The book is a commentary on the Ten Commandments, and provides an outline of a program for establishing a Christian theocracy.<sup>[4]</sup>

According to American journalist Frederick Clarkson, reconstructionism has played an important role in shaping the contemporary Christian Right<sup>[3]</sup> citing that Reconstructionists who have already moved into positions of significant power and influence are two directors of Chalcedon Foundation, philanthropist Howard Ahmanson and political consultant Wayne C. Johnson, epitomizing the political strategy of the new Christian Right.<sup>[16]</sup>

#### Dominionism

Dominionism or Dominion Theology is a grouping of theological systems<sup>[17]</sup> with the common belief that the law of God, as codified in the Bible, should exclusively govern society, to the exclusion of secular law, a view also known as theonomy. Reconstructionists themselves use the word dominionism to refer to their belief that Christians alone should control civil government, conducting it according to Biblical law.<sup>[18]</sup><sup>[19]</sup>

The central biblical text for Dominionists is Genesis 1: 26–28, in which God declares that man shall have dominion over all the earth. This is seen as a mandate for believers to create both a Christian government and a Christian culture. It has been primarily associated with Rushdoony's Reconstructionism movement, as espoused by the Chalcedon Foundation. Rushdoony himself supported the John Birch Society, while North wrote the epilogue to a conspiracist text by the John Birch Society author, Larry Abraham. North went as far as declaring that the enemies of the United States were "a conspiracy of super-rich and super-powerful insiders."<sup>[20]</sup>

#### Homeschooling

The Chalcedon Foundation advocates homeschooling, believing "that the right place for a child's education is his home, and the right teachers are his parents".<sup>[11]</sup><sup>[21]</sup>

Rushdoony, a staunch advocate of homeschooling,<sup>[4]</sup> viewed it as a way to combat the intentionally secular nature of the



U.S. public school system. He vigorously attacked progressive school reformers such as Horace Mann and John Dewey and argued for the dismantling of the state's influence in education in three works: Intellectual Schizophrenia (a general and concise study of education), The Messianic Character of American Education (a history and castigation of public education in the U.S.), and The Philosophy of the Christian Curriculum (a parent-oriented pedagogical statement), each of which are still promoted by the Chalcedon Foundation.[22][23]

In Harsh Truth About Public Schools published by the Chalcedon Foundation, writer and attorney Bruce N. Shortt, who homeschooled his own children, writes of the "dishonorable conduct, degenerating academic standards, and defensive bureaucracy that are jeopardizing America's future, courtesy of teacher unions' self-interest and increasingly derelict parents".[24]

#### Hate group designation

In 2005,[25] the Chalcedon Foundation was designated an anti-gay hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC).[26][27] The Chalcedon Foundation promotes Christian Reconstruction and calls for the "imposition of Old Testament law on America and the world." According to the SPLC, this "embraces the most draconian of religious views", being "opposed to modern notions of equality, democracy or tolerance." The SPLC also stated that Rushdoony supported the death penalty for homosexuals, opposed interracial marriage, denied the Holocaust, and included "incorrigible children" as a group of people deserving of the death penalty.[5][25]

#### Civitas Institute

Abbreviation Civitas  
Motto "North Carolina's Conservative Voice"  
Formation 9 March 2005  
Founder Art Pope  
Type 501(c)(3) nonprofit  
Headquarters Raleigh, North Carolina  
Location  
805 Spring Forest Road  
Raleigh, NC 27609  
Region  
North Carolina  
Methods Public policy think tank  
President & CEO  
Donald Bryson  
Budget  
Revenue: \$2,487,738.11  
(June 2017)[1]  
Website www.nccivitas.org

The Civitas Institute, Inc. (Civitas) is a Raleigh, North Carolina-based conservative think tank.[2][3][4]

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#### History

Civitas was incorporated on March 9, 2005.[5]

Initial members of the board of directors included the first president of the organization, R. Jack Hawke; businessman Robert Luddy; and Art Pope, a businessman, political figure and philanthropist.[6] Pope resigned from the Civitas board in December 2012 to serve as Deputy Budget Director in the administration of Governor Pat McCrory.[7]

The organization's name honors Art Pope's father, John William Pope, also a businessman and conservative philanthropist.[8]

#### Activities and advocacy

In late 2012, Civitas commissioned a study on the effects of lowering or eliminating state income taxes.[9] In July 2013, the legislature passed and the governor signed into law lower corporate and personal income tax rates.[10][11] The organization has also called for elimination of North Carolina's state corporate income tax.[12]

A Civitas study of the State Board of Elections led Civitas to call on top state officials for an investigation of the board and its ties to a lobbyist.[13]

In 2013, Civitas launched a website to attack the Affordable Care Act, portraying the health care reform legislation as an assault by elites against middle-class North Carolinians.[14]

Civitas has repeatedly sued the State of North Carolina over the same-day voter registration process, which Civitas opposes.[15][16] A suit filed by Civitas seeking to halt the final count of votes in the 2016 North Carolina gubernatorial election[16] was dismissed in December 2016, but the organization subsequently renewed its litigation.[15]

Civitas commissions live-caller opinion polling of North Carolina voters.[17]

Civitas also advocates for increased school choice for students in North Carolina.[18][19]

#### Events

The annual Conservative Leadership Conference offers conservative speakers and workshops on relevant issues. CLC speakers have included Charles Krauthammer, Arthur C. Brooks, Rudy Giuliani, Fred Barnes, Stephen Moore, Elizabeth Dole, Michael Barone, Bob Novak, Grover Norquist, and others.[20] The 2013 CLC featured speakers such as U.S. Senator Ron Johnson,[21] Michelle Malkin,[22] former U.S. Sen. Jim DeMint, former U.S. Rep. Artur Davis, U.S. Reps. Renee Ellmers and George Holding, talk-show host Jason Lewis, Heritage Foundation President Ed Feulner, and Lt. Gov. Dan Forest.[23]

Civitas hosts a monthly lunch series to announce poll findings and offer commentary on issues.[24]

#### Publications

The Civitas Institute publishes a monthly newspaper, the Civitas Capitol Connection, an internet magazine, the Civitas Review and the Civitas Blog.[25][26]

The Civitas Institute has published a number of pieces online critical of the Moral Mondays protests.[27] In one article, William Barber Rakes in Taxpayer Dollars Leads Moral (no it is) Money Mondays! the Civitas Institute criticized Rev. William Barber, head of the state's NAACP, because a non-profit overseen by Barber's church received federal support. Barber responded, stating "People know I'm a volunteer, even with the NAACP. Other work I do, I volunteer. I am a pastor." [28]

The Civitas Institute also released a web page which compiles data on protestors arrested in the course of the civil disobedience actions, which includes demographic information and comments on their voter registration status.[29]

#### Club for Growth

The Club for Growth is a 501(c)(4)[1] conservative[2] organization active in the United States, with an agenda focused on cutting taxes and other economic issues.[3] The Club has two political arms: an affiliated traditional political action committee, called the Club for Growth PAC, and Club for Growth Action, an independent-expenditure only committee or Super-PAC.[4]

According to its website, the Club for Growth's policy goals include cutting income tax rates, repealing the estate tax, supporting limited government and a balanced budget amendment, entitlement reform, free trade, tort reform, school choice, and deregulation.[5] The group has opposed government action to curb greenhouse gas emissions. The Club for Growth PAC endorses and raises money for candidates who meet its standards for fiscal conservatism. According to Politico, "The Club for Growth is the pre-eminent institution promoting Republican adherence to a free-market, free-trade, anti-regulation agenda." [6]

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## History

The Club for Growth was founded in 1999 by Stephen Moore, Thomas L. Rhodes, and Richard Gilder. Moore served as the first president of the Club from 1999 until December 2004, when board members voted to remove Moore as president.[7] In 2003 through 2004, the Club for Growth was the largest single fund-raiser for Republican House and Senate candidates, outside of the Republican Party itself, raising nearly \$22 million.[8]

Pennsylvania United States Senator Pat Toomey served as president from 2005 until his resignation in April 2009. Former Indiana Congressman Chris Chocola succeeded Toomey. Chocola served as president through December 2014. He remains a member of the Club's board. Former Indiana Congressman David McIntosh was named president in January 2015.[9]

On September 19, 2005, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) filed suit against the Club for Growth alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act for failing to register as a political action committee in the 2000, 2002, and 2004 congressional elections.[10] In September 2007, the Citizens Club for Growth (the Club for Growth changed its name) and the FEC agreed to settle the lawsuit.[11] According to their joint filing, Citizens Club for Growth said "that it operated under the good faith belief that it had not triggered political committee status ... [and] [f]or the purposes of this settlement, and in order to avoid protracted litigation costs, without admitting or denying each specific basis for the [FEC's] conclusions," Citizens Club for Growth no longer contested the alleged violations and agreed to pay \$350,000 in civil penalties.[12][non-primary source needed]

According to the Associated Press, the settlement was one of "a series of actions by the FEC to penalize independent political groups that spent money to influence elections but did not register as political committees. The groups, called 527 organizations for the section of the IRS code ... , played a significant role in the 2004 congressional and presidential elections by raising unlimited amounts of money from labor groups, corporations and wealthy individuals." [11] On June 25, 2012, U.S. District Court Judge Robert L. Wilkins issued an order stating that the FEC "is FORMALLY REPRIMANDED as a sanction for violating explicitly clear orders" (emphasis in original text) regarding confidentiality in the 2007 settlement agreement." [13][non-primary source needed]

In 2010, the Club's political arms spent about \$8.6 million directly on candidates and bundled another \$6 million from Club members, directing those funds to candidates.[14] In 2012, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, Club members donated at least \$4 million, and the Club's political arms spent nearly \$18 million on elections.[15]

In 2013, the Club for Growth super PAC's donors included Peter Thiel, an early backer of Facebook and a co-founder of PayPal, who gave \$2 million; Virginia James (\$1.2 million); John W. Childs (\$1.1 million), chairman and founder of the Boston-based private equity firm J.W. Childs Associates; Robert D. Arnott (\$750,000), the chairman and chief executive of California-based Research Affiliates; Robert Mercer, the co-chief executive of Renaissance Technologies and part-owner of Cambridge Analytica, gave \$600,000; and hedge fund manager Paul Singer gave \$100,000.[16]

The Club for Growth's super PAC, which historically has been most active in Republican primary elections, spent more in general elections in the 2018 cycle than it ever had before. This trend was expected to continue into 2020.[17] Club for Growth president David McIntosh described the Club's evolution, saying "We want to be the political arm of the conservative movement—inside the Republican Party." [18]

## Mission

Founder Stephen Moore has said, "We want to be seen as the tax cut enforcer in the [Republican] party." [19] Unlike many other political action committees, the Club for Growth's PAC regularly participates in funding candidates for primary elections.[14] The Club focuses more on open seats than on challenging sitting Republicans, but it has helped to unseat a number of incumbent Republicans.[7][20] The Club for Growth has established a vetting process for potential candidates that involves one or more interviews, research on the race and the candidate's record, and a poll conducted to establish

whether the candidate has a viable chance for victory.[21] Each election cycle, the Club's PAC endorses candidates and encourages donors to support the endorsed candidates.[7] Promoting a more conservative agenda, the Club is known for targeting "establishment" Republican candidates.[14]

#### Issue advocacy

2003

In 2003, the original Club for Growth strongly opposed the Medicare prescription drug benefit proposal.[22] The Club for Growth strongly supported the Bush tax cuts of 2003 and ran television ads against two Republicans who voiced opposition to the tax cuts. According to The New York Times, "Last spring, [Club for Growth president Steve] Moore attacked two Republican Senators who were resisting the latest tax cut: George Voinovich of Ohio and Olympia Snowe of Maine. He ran ads in each of their states in which he compared them with the French president, Jacques Chirac. Karl Rove, President Bush's political advisor, stated that the ads were "stupid" and "counterproductive".[23]

2005

In 2005, Pat Toomey became president and the Club for Growth created a congressional scorecard. The Club's first key vote alert was an amendment sponsored by a Democrat. Representative Earl Blumenauer offered an amendment to an agricultural appropriations bill that would have reduced the sugar program by 6 percent. The Club for Growth supported the amendment, which failed, 146–280.[24][25]

The Club fought to support the Dominican Republic–Central America Free Trade Agreement in 2005, running print advertisements in local Beltway publications in the Washington, DC area. According to Roll Call, "Former Rep. Pat Toomey (R-Pa.), president of the Club for Growth, a CAFTA supporter, said his group continued running advertisements before the Congressional vote." [26]

The Club opposed the 2005 highway bill.[27] President Bush threatened to veto the bill but did sign it. The Christian Science Monitor quoted David Keating saying, "For fiscal conservatives, it's frustrating to watch ... He's beginning to lose all credibility with these veto threats." [28] According to The Washington Post, "The Club for Growth, a conservative group that funds like-minded candidates for Congress, has turned the highway legislation into a bumper sticker for the GOP's fiscal failings." [29]

Keating said to the Chicago Sun-Times, "It is a pork-laden bill." [30] The Christian Science Monitor reported Toomey saying,

"This is a defining moment. The Republican Party came to power in 1995 by advocating limited government. But in the last four to five years, there has been no evidence that the Republican officials in the federal government have any remaining commitment to this vital principle." [31]

During the debate on the highway bill, the Club supported an amendment by Tom Coburn that would defund the noted "Bridge to Nowhere" in Alaska.

Following the Supreme Court's *Kelo v. City of New London* decision, the Club gained an appropriations amendment by Scott Garrett to prohibit funds in the bill from being used to enforce the Court's decision. The amendment passed, 231–189. [32] The Club for Growth PAC highlighted this vote when it targeted Joe Schwarz, a House Republican who it helped defeat in 2006, claiming he was too liberal. [33]

2006

In the spring of 2006, the Club opposed the 527 Reform Act, which curtailed spending by such political organizations. It led a coalition of center-right groups in sending letters to Congress to support its position. [34] The House passed the 527 Reform Act by a margin of 218–209, but the Senate did not consider the legislation. [35]

The Club for Growth supported various amendments to cut earmarks in the budget, such as "dairy education" and a "wine initiative." [36] The Club included assessment of sponsorship of the card check bill in its scorecard. If lawmakers co-sponsored the bill, they were docked points in the rating system. [37]

2007

The Club for Growth issued a new scorecard in 2007 that highlighted how House members voted on several amendments that defunded earmarks. Sixteen congressmen scored a perfect 100% on the so-called "RePORK Card", voting for all 50 anti-pork amendments. They were all Republicans. Conversely, 105 congressmen (81 Democrats and 24 Republicans) scored a 0%, voting against every single amendment. In 2007, the Club also scored against House bills that increased the minimum wage, implemented card check, and sought caps on CEO pay. [38] In the Senate, the Club scored against bills that increased the minimum wage, passage of the farm bill, and the SCHIP healthcare plan. [39]

In 2007, the Club for Growth opposed protectionist policies against China. Senators Chuck Schumer of New York and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina had proposed a bill to apply large tariffs on Chinese imports if that country did not increase the value of its currency. In response, the Club sponsored a petition of 1,028 economists who stated their opposition to protectionist policies against China. The list of economists included Nobel Laureates Finn Kydland, Edward

Prescott, Thomas Schelling, and Vernon Smith. The petition played off a similar petition that was also signed by 1,028 economists in 1930 that opposed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act.[40]

#### 2008–09

In 2008 and 2009, the Club for Growth opposed the \$787 billion stimulus bill, Cash for Clunkers, cap and trade legislation, the Wall Street bailout, the auto bailout, the Affordable Care Act and the bailout of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.[41]

After Barack Obama was elected president in November 2008, Club President Pat Toomey penned an op-ed that included the results of a poll commissioned by the Club: "A poll commissioned by the Club for Growth in 12 swing congressional districts over the past weekend shows that the voters who made the difference in this election still prefer less government—lower taxes, less spending and less regulation—to Obama's economic liberalism. Turns out, Americans didn't vote for Dems because they support their redistributionist agenda, but because they are fed up with the GOPers in office. This was a classic 'throw the bums out' election, rather than an embrace of the policy views of those who will replace them."[42]

In 2009, the Club produced another "RePORK Card". This time there were 22 House members with a 100% score: 1 Democrat and 21 Republicans. At the bottom, 211 House members received a 0% score: 202 Democrats and 9 Republicans.[43]

#### 2010

The Club for Growth launched its Repeal It! campaign in 2010 in an attempt to help build public support for undoing the Affordable Care Act. In 2010, more than 400 federal lawmakers and candidates signed the Repeal It! pledge, including more than 40 of the incoming freshman class of congressmen and Senators.[44]

The Club for Growth advocated the discharge petition, a proposal that would have forced a House vote on repealing the Affordable Care Act. At the time, Keith Olbermann said: "The petition, which would need 218 signatures to force House Speaker Pelosi to put the repeal bill up for a vote, went largely ignored. As Talking Points Memo reports, on Monday it had only 30 signatures. That is until the right wing group Club For Growth e-mailed its members, explaining Mr. [Steve] King's discharge petition will be considered as a key vote on the club's annual Congressional scorecard. That scorecard is considered one of the gold standards of conservative rankings. That and the Spanish Inquisition. So by Tuesday, the petition had 22 more signatures."[45]

#### 2011–12

The Club was involved in the debate over the debt ceiling that took place in August 2011. The Club endorsed and strongly supported "Cut Cap and Balance" and ran issue ads urging Republicans to "show some spine" on maintaining the debt ceiling.[46]

The Club opposed the re-authorization of the Export-Import Bank.[47] The Club also took a strong position against Republicans voting for tax increases during the debate over the so-called "fiscal cliff". The Club opposed the "Plan B" tax increase proposed by John Boehner and also opposed the final deal.[48]

#### 2013

In September 2013, Club for Growth made voting on the Continuing Appropriations Resolution a key vote, announcing it track how representatives voted on the bill and make that part of their congressional scorecard.[49] The group urged representatives to vote yes, particularly with defunding ObamaCare in mind.[49]

The Club for Growth opposed the Ryan-Murray Budget deal.[50] It also opposed the 2013 farm bill, which failed for the first time in the bill's 40-year history.[51][52][53]

#### 2014

The Club's PAC spent \$3.1 million (\$2.4 million on independent expenditures and \$700,000 on ads) or nearly half of the \$7.8 million which it spent in 2014 on Chris McDaniel's effort to defeat Thad Cochran in the United States Senate Republican primary election in Mississippi, 2014.[9]

#### 2015

From April through June 2015, the Club for Growth spent \$1 million on television ads in nine congressional districts, urging the members of Congress in those districts to oppose re-authorization of the Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im Bank). Additional advertisements were announced in two districts in Utah, but were cancelled when the members declared their opposition to the Ex-Im Bank.[54] In addition, the Club for Growth announced a key vote against re-authorization of the Ex-Im Bank.[55]

The Club for Growth produced a series of policy papers on the positions taken by major Republican presidential candidates on the government's role in economic growth. The eleven papers examined the records and remarks of the candidates on issues such as tax reform, government spending, entitlement reform, and free trade.[56] The Club concluded that Senators Ted Cruz, Rand Paul, and Marco Rubio were the most likely candidates to enact pro-growth policies if elected president.[57]

In October 2015, the Club for Growth announced a key vote against the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2015, saying that it would include a \$1.5 trillion in the debt ceiling and a \$112 billion increase in federal spending.[58]

#### Climate change

The Club for Growth has opposed government action to curb greenhouse gas emissions. In 2009, the Club for Growth pressured Republican politicians not to support a cap-and-trade bill, which the group viewed as being "extremely harmful to the economy." [59] In 2011, the group issued a white paper criticizing presidential candidate Mitt Romney's regulatory record as Massachusetts governor, including his support of global warming policies.[60] In 2017, the group called on President Trump to exit the Paris Agreement.[61]

#### Congressional scorecard

Since 2005, the Club for Growth has produced an annual congressional scorecard. Each member of Congress receives a score on a scale of 0 to 100. The Club for Growth awards a Defender of Economic Freedom award to members of Congress who receive a 90% above on the annual scorecard and have a lifetime score of at least 90%.[62] The New York Times described the Club's release of its annual scorecard as "set upon by Republicans like the Oscar nominations list by Hollywood, with everyone dying to know who ranks where, especially in election years." [63]

The Club's 2015 congressional scorecard was based on 29 House votes and 25 Senate votes. Mike Lee was the only U.S. Senator to receive a perfect score. Ben Sasse was ranked second among U.S. Senators, followed by Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz. On the U.S. House side, John Ratcliffe, Tim Huelskamp, and Scott DesJarlais received perfect scores.[64]

The Club for Growth Foundation's 2017 Congressional Scorecard was released in February 2018. Andy Biggs, a Republican from Arizona, was the only member of the U.S. House to receive a 100% rating. A total of 29 members of the U.S. House received a score of at least 90%. In the U.S. Senate, Jeff Flake, Pat Toomey, and James Lankford scored 100%, while four other Senators scored at least 90%.[65]

The Club for Growth's 2018 Congressional Scorecard awarded twenty members of the U.S. House and five U.S. Senators scores of at least 90%. Four U.S. Senators (Jeff Flake, Mike Lee, Rand Paul, and Pat Toomey) and three U.S. Representatives (Justin Amash, Andy Biggs, and Paul Gosar) received perfect scores. Susan Collins received the lowest score among Republican Senators while Brian Fitzpatrick and Christopher Smith were the lowest scoring Republican members of the U.S. House.[66]

#### Club for Growth PAC

##### 2004

In 2004, the Club for Growth's PAC endorsed and supported U.S. Representative Pat Toomey, who challenged incumbent Senator Arlen Specter in the Republican primary in Pennsylvania. The PAC was reported to have collected contributions totaling over \$934,000 for Toomey. It also spent \$1 million on its own independent television advertising campaign on Toomey's behalf.[67] Specter, who had the support of President Bush, the RNC, and Sen. Rick Santorum, defeated Toomey by a narrow margin of 51–49%. Afterward Toomey accepted the position as President of the Club for Growth, where he served until April 2009.

##### 2006

The original Club's PAC supported the electoral bids of freshmen U.S. Congressman Adrian Smith (R-NE), Doug Lamborn [68] (R-CO), Bill Sali [69] (R-ID), and Tim Walberg [70] (R-MI), who all were elected. Congressional Quarterly wrote that Smith's views did not differ greatly from those of his primary election rivals, but the endorsement of the Club for Growth's PAC "gave him the imprimatur of the most fiscally conservative candidate, and it helped boost him to the top of the campaign fundraising competition." [71]

In the 2006 primaries, the Club's PAC recommended to its donors that they support incumbent Democratic Congressman Henry Cuellar (D-TX), the first time the Club's PAC recommended support for a Democrat. Cuellar won the primary race against former Congressman Ciro Rodriguez.[7] The Club's PAC endorsed four candidates for U.S. Senate, including Mike Bouchard in Michigan, Mike McGavick in Washington, Michael Steele in Maryland, and Stephen Laffey in Rhode Island, who did not win.[7]

Support by the Club's PAC was not a guarantee of success: its candidate Sharron Angle was defeated in the Republican primary in Nevada's 2nd congressional district, although it spent more than \$1 million on her campaign.[72] The Club's PAC also supported primary campaigns of Phil Krinkie in Minnesota and Kevin Calvey in Oklahoma, who lost, as did incumbent congressman Chris Chocoma in Indiana,[14] John Gard in Wisconsin, and Rick O'Donnell in Colorado.[73]

The Club's PAC supported the reelection of Steve Chabot in Ohio.

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome
Adrian Smith	Nebraska's 3rd congressional district	39%	55%[74]	Win
Doug Lamborn	Colorado's 5th congressional district	27%[75]	59%	Win
Bill Sali	Idaho's 1st congressional district	26%[76]	50%	Win

Tim Walberg	Michigan's 7th congressional district	53%[77]	50%[77]	Win		
Henry Cuellar	Texas's 28th congressional district	53%	68%[78]	Win		
Mike Bouchard	United States Senate election in Michigan, 2006	60%	41%[79]	Loss		
Mike McGavick	United States Senate election in Washington, 2006		86%[80]	40%[81]	Loss	
Michael Steele	United States Senate election in Maryland, 2006	87%[82]	44%[83]	Loss		
Sharron Angle	Nevada's 2nd congressional district election, 2006	35%[84]	–	Loss		
Phil Krinkie	Minnesota's 6th congressional district		–	Loss		
Kevin Calvey	Oklahoma's 5th congressional district	10%[85]	–	Loss		
Chris Chocola	Indiana's 2nd congressional district	70%	46%[86]	Loss		
John Gard	Wisconsin's 8th congressional district	Unopposed	49%[87]	Loss		
Rick O'Donnell	Colorado's 7th congressional district	Unopposed	42%	Loss		
Steve Chabot	Ohio's 1st congressional district	Unopposed	52%[88]	Win		
Stephen Laffey	United States Senate election in Rhode Island, 2006		46%	–	Loss	
Jon Kyl[89]	United States Senate election in Arizona, 2006	Unopposed	53%	Win		
George Allen	United States Senate election in Virginia, 2006	Unopposed	49%	Loss		
John B. T. Campbell III[90]	California's 48th congressional district	Unopposed	60%	Win		
Jim Jordan[91]	Ohio's 4th congressional district	50%	60%	Win		
Ralph Norman[92]	South Carolina's 5th congressional district	Unopposed	43%	Loss		
David McSweeney[93]	Illinois's 8th congressional district	43%	44%	Loss		

2007

The Club's PAC endorsed state senator Steve Buehrer in the special election for Ohio's 5th congressional district to replace the deceased Rep. Paul Gillmor.[94] Buehrer however was defeated by Bob Latta, the son of former Rep. Del Latta, in the Republican primary in November 2007 by a 44% to 40% margin.

The Club's PAC endorsed Paul Jost, the chairman of the Virginia chapter of the Club for Growth, in the contest to replace deceased Rep. Jo Ann Davis in Virginia's 1st congressional district.[95] In the nominating convention, Jost was defeated by state delegate Rob Wittman.

2008

In Maryland's 1st congressional district, the Club's PAC endorsed state senator Andrew P. Harris against nine term incumbent Wayne Gilchrest. In the February 12 primary, Harris surged to a strong 44% to 32% victory. Gilchrest became the second incumbent Republican to be defeated by a candidate supported by the Club. The first was Rep. Joe Schwarz in Michigan in 2006.[20] Harris was, however, unable to win the general election.

In Georgia's 10th congressional district, the Club's PAC endorsed incumbent Paul Broun who defeated state representative Barry Fleming 71% to 29% in the July 15, 2008, primary election. Broun's victory surprised many political observers.[96]

In Arizona's 5th congressional district, the Club's PAC endorsed former Maricopa County Treasurer David Schweikert, who narrowly defeated former candidate Susan Bitter-Smith by a margin of 30% to 28%; there were three other candidates.[97] He did not win the general election.

During the 2008 Republican presidential primaries, the Club's PAC was critical of Mike Huckabee, attacking him as the "tax-increasing liberal governor of Arkansas".[98] Huckabee, in turn, referred to the Club for Growth as the "Club for Greed".[99]

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome		
Paul Broun[96]	Georgia's 10th congressional district	71%	61%	Win		
Charlie Ross	Mississippi's 3rd congressional district	43%	-	Loss		
Matt Shaner	Pennsylvania's 5th congressional district	17%	-	Loss		
Harri Anne Smith	Alabama's 2nd congressional district	46%	-	Loss		
Bob Onder	Missouri's 9th congressional district	29%	-	Loss		
Sean Parnell	Alaska's at-large congressional district	45%	-	Loss		
Steve Scalise	Louisiana's 1st congressional district	58%	75%	Win		
Woody Jenkins	Louisiana's 6th congressional district	61%	46%	Loss		
John Shadegg	Arizona's 4th congressional district	Unopposed	54%	Win		
Scott Garrett	New Jersey's 5th congressional district	Unopposed	56%	Win		
Doug Lamborn	Colorado's 5th congressional district	45%	60%	Win		
Michele Bachmann	Minnesota's 6th congressional district	85%	46%	Win		
Pete Olson	Texas's 22nd congressional district	69%	53%	Win		
Mike Coffman	Colorado's 6th congressional district	40%	61%	Win		
Tom McClintock[100]	California's 4th congressional district	53%	50%	Win		
Saxby Chambliss	United States Senate election in Georgia, 2008	Unopposed	58%	Win		
John E. Sununu	United States Senate election in New Hampshire, 2008	89%	43%	Loss		
Bob Schaffer	United States Senate election in Colorado, 2008	Unopposed	43%	Loss		
Steve Pearce	United States Senate election in New Mexico, 2008	51%	39%	Loss		

Andrew P. Harris[101]	Maryland's 1st congressional district	43%	48%	Loss	
Tim Walberg[102][103]	Michigan's 7th congressional district	Unopposed		46%	Loss
Tom Feeney	Florida's 24th congressional district	76%	41%	Loss	
Dean Andal	California's 11th congressional district	Dean Andal		45%	Loss
David Schweikert	Arizona's 5th congressional district	30%	44%	Loss	
Chris Hackett	Pennsylvania's 10th congressional district	51%	44%	Loss	
Paul Jost	Virginia's 1st congressional district	Loss			
Steve Buehrer	Ohio's 5th congressional district	40%	-	Loss	

2009

The Club's PAC endorsed in the special election in New York's 23rd congressional district the Conservative Party of New York candidate, Doug Hoffman instead of Republican candidate Dede Scozzafava. With the Club pouring money into Hoffman's campaign, Scozzafava realized that she could not win and withdrew from the race the Sunday before the November 3 special election, endorsing the Democratic candidate Bill Owens.[104] Owens won the election in a district where portions had not had a Democratic congressman since the 19th century.[105]

2010

Of the 26 general election candidates endorsed by Club for Growth in 2010, 20 won election.[106] The following chart lists candidates endorsed by the Club:[107]

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome		
David Schweikert	Arizona's 5th congressional district	37%	52%	Win		
Tom Coburn	United States Senate election in Oklahoma, 2010	90%[108]	71%[109]	Win		
Tom Graves	Georgia's 9th congressional district	55%	Unopposed	Win		
Mike Lee	United States Senate election in Utah, 2010	51%	52%	Win		
Ron Johnson	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2010	85%	52%	Win		
Sharron Angle	United States Senate election in Nevada, 2010	40%	45%	Loss		
Rand Paul	United States Senate election in Kentucky, 2010	59%	56%	Win		
Marco Rubio	United States Senate election in Florida, 2010	84%	48%	Win		
Ken Buck	United States Senate election in Colorado, 2010	52%	46%	Loss		
Joe Miller	United States Senate election in Alaska, 2010	51%	35%	Loss		
Pat Toomey	United States Senate election in Pennsylvania, 2010		82%		51%	Win
Tim Huelskamp	Kansas's 1st congressional district	34%	74%	Win		
Mike Pompeo	Kansas's 4th congressional district	39%	59%	Win		
Jeff Duncan	South Carolina's 3rd congressional district		51%	62%	Win	
Tim Scott	South Carolina's 1st congressional district	68%	65%	Win		
Justin Amash	Michigan's 3rd congressional district	40%	60%	Win		
Mick Mulvaney	South Carolina's 5th congressional district		Unopposed		55%	Win
Todd Young	Indiana's 9th congressional district	34%	52%	Win		
Stephen Fincher	Tennessee's 8th congressional district	48%	59%	Win		
Tim Griffin	Arkansas's 2nd congressional district	61%	58%	Win		
David Harmer	California's 11th congressional district	36%	48%	Loss		
Jesse Kelly	Arizona's 8th congressional district	48%	47%	Loss		
Nan Hayworth	New York's 19th congressional district	69%	53%	Win		
Keith Rothfus	Pennsylvania's 4th congressional district	66%	49%	Loss		
Andrew P. Harris	Maryland's 1st congressional district	67%	55%	Win		
Jim DeMint	United States Senate election in South Carolina, 2010		83%		62%	Win
Doug Hoffman[110]	New York's 23rd congressional district		46%	Loss		
Kevin Calvey[111]	Oklahoma's 5th congressional district	34%	-	Loss		
Robin Smith[112]	Tennessee's 3rd congressional district	28%	-	Loss		

2012

In 2012, the Club for Growth PAC endorsed eighteen congressional candidates, nine of whom won their elections:[113]

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome		
Richard Mourdock[114]	United States Senate election in Indiana, 2012	61%	44%	Loss		
Josh Mandel[115]	United States Senate election in Ohio, 2012	63%	45%	Loss		
Connie Mack IV[116]	United States Senate election in Florida, 2012	59%	42%	Loss		
Ted Cruz[117]	United States Senate election in Texas, 2012	57%	56%	Win		
Jeff Flake[114]	United States Senate election in Arizona, 2012	69%	49%	Win		
Thomas Massie[118]	Kentucky's 4th congressional district	45%	62%	Win		
Steve King[119]	Iowa's 4th congressional district	Unopposed	52%	Win		
Ron DeSantis[120]	Florida's 6th congressional district	38%	57%	Win		
Kevin Cramer[121]	North Dakota's At-large congressional district	54%	54%	Win		
Tom Cotton[122]	Arkansas's 4th congressional district	57%	59%	Win		
Mark Neumann[117]	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2012	22%	-	Loss		
Carl Wimmer[123]	Utah's 4th congressional district	-	Loss			
Don Stenberg[124]	United States Senate election in Nebraska, 2012	18%	-	Loss		



Matt Salmon[125]	Arizona's 5th congressional district	51%	64%	Win			
Scott Keadle[126]	North Carolina's 8th congressional district		36%	—	Loss		
David M. McIntosh[127]	Indiana's 5th congressional district		28%	—	Loss		
Ron Gould	Arizona's 4th congressional district	31%		—	Loss		
Keith Rothfus[128]	Pennsylvania's 12th congressional district			Unopposed	52%	Win	
2014							
Candidate	Race	Primary	Runoff	General	Outcome		
Justin Amash[129]	Michigan's 3rd congressional district			Win[130]	—	Win	Win
Ben Sasse[129]	United States Senate election in Nebraska, 2014			Win[131]	—	Win	Win
Chris McDaniel[129]	United States Senate election in Mississippi, 2014			Went to runoff election[132][133]			Loss
—	Loss						
Tom Cotton[129]	United States Senate election in Arkansas, 2014			Unopposed[134]	—	Win	Win
Bryan Smith[129]	Idaho's 2nd congressional district			Loss[135]	—	Loss	
Dan Sullivan[136]	United States Senate election in Alaska, 2014			Win[137]	—	Win	Win
John Ratcliffe[138]	Texas's 4th congressional district			Went to runoff election[139]		Win	Win
Chad Mathis[140]	Alabama's 6th congressional district			Loss[141]	—	Loss	
Barry Loudermilk	Georgia's 11th congressional district			Went to runoff election[142]		Win	Win
Bob Johnson	Georgia's 1st congressional district			Went to runoff election[143][144]		Loss	—
Loss							
Mike Pompeo[145]	Kansas's 4th congressional district			Win[146]	—	Win	Win
Gary Palmer[147]	Alabama's 6th congressional district			Went to runoff election[148]		Win	Win
Marilinda Garcia[149]	New Hampshire's 2nd congressional district			Win[150]	—	Loss	Loss

2016

#### U.S. presidential election

With regard to the 2016 Republican presidential primary candidates, the Club for Growth was critical of Mike Huckabee, Chris Christie, John Kasich, Ben Carson, Carly Fiorina, and Donald Trump.[151][152][153][154][155] In August 2015, Club for Growth President David McIntosh said that Marco Rubio, Rand Paul, and Ted Cruz are "the real deal candidates, the gold standard of the race," and that while questions remained, Jeb Bush and Scott Walker showed some pro-growth stances.[156]

In August 2015, the Club for Growth PAC announced it would formally support presidential candidates for the first time, saying the group would bundle donations for Cruz, Rubio, Walker, Bush, and Paul. Club for Growth President David McIntosh said "Five candidates are at the forefront of the Republican presidential field on issues of economic freedom, and the Club for Growth PAC is standing with them to help them stand out from the rest." [157] In October 2015, McIntosh said Cruz and Rubio were "the gold standard" of Republican presidential candidates.[158]

The Club for Growth's Super PAC, Club for Growth Action, was particularly critical of Trump's candidacy, announcing a \$1 million Iowa advertising buy against his campaign in September 2015. The Club for Growth Action was the first third-party group to spend significant sums against Donald Trump.[159] The Club for Growth announced a \$1.5 million advertising buy in Florida in March 2016. The group's advertisements highlighted Trump's support for liberal policies, such as a single-payer health insurance system and tax increases.[160][161][162][163]

In March 2016, Politico reported that the Club for Growth PAC planned to deny congressional endorsements to any candidates who endorsed Donald Trump's presidential bid before the nomination was actually clinched. The Club's PAC noted that the warning did not apply to those who endorsed Trump after the May 3, 2016, Indiana primary.[164][165] Also in March 2016, the Club for Growth PAC endorsed Ted Cruz for president. The Club for Growth PAC had never previously endorsed in a presidential race. According to Club for Growth head David McIntosh, "This year is different because there is a vast gulf between the two leading Republican candidates on matters of economic liberty. Their records make clear that Ted Cruz is a consistent conservative who will fight to shrink the federal footprint, while Donald Trump would seek to remake government in his desired image." [166]

#### U.S. congressional elections

In North Carolina's 2nd congressional district, Club for Growth Action opposed incumbent Renee Ellmers without endorsing a specific candidate. She was defeated in the primary.[167]

Candidate	Race	Primary	Primary runoff	General	General runoff	Outcome		
Ron Johnson[168]	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2016			Win	—	Win	—	Win
Mike Lee[168]	United States Senate election in Utah, 2016			Win	—	Win	—	Win
Rand Paul	United States Senate election in Kentucky, 2016			Win	—	Win	—	Win
Tim Scott[168]	United States Senate election in South Carolina, 2016				Win	—	Win	—
Win								
Pat Toomey[168]	United States Senate election in Pennsylvania, 2016				Win	—	Win	—
Win								
Marco Rubio	United States Senate election in Florida, 2016			Win	—	Win	—	Win
Ron DeSantis	Florida's 6th congressional district			Win	—	Win	—	Win
Marlin Stutzman[169]	United States Senate election in Indiana, 2016			Loss[170]	—	—	—	—

Loss

Warren Davidson[171]	Ohio's 8th congressional district	Win[172]	—	Win[173]	—	Win
Jim Banks[174]	Indiana's 3rd congressional district	Win[175]	—	Win	—	Win
Kyle McCarter[176]	Illinois's 15th congressional district	Loss[177]	—	—	—	Loss
Mary Thomas[178]	Florida's 2nd congressional district	Loss	—	—	—	Loss
John Fleming[179]	United States Senate election in Louisiana, 2016	Loss	—	—	—	Loss
Mike Crane[180]	Georgia's 3rd congressional district	Went to runoff election[181]	Loss	—	—	—

Loss

Ted Budd[182]	North Carolina's 13th congressional district	Win[183]	—	Win	—	Win
Rod Blum	Iowa's 1st congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Scott Garrett	New Jersey's 5th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	—	Loss
Tim Huelskamp	Kansas's 1st congressional district	Loss	—	—	—	Loss
Andy Biggs[184]	Arizona's 5th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Paul Gosar[185]	Arizona's 4th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Mike Johnson[186]	Louisiana's 4th congressional district	—	—	Went to runoff	Win	Win

2017

The Club for Growth endorsed Bob Gray to represent Tom Price's district after he left to lead the United States Department of Health and Human Services. The group reportedly also bought \$250,000 of airtime on Atlanta cable against early Republican front-runner Karen Handel.[187][188] The special election took place on April 18, 2017, with Republican Karen Handel defeating Gray and winning a run-off election on June 20, 2017, against Democrat Jon Ossoff.

The organization endorsed Ralph Norman in the Republican primary to replace Mick Mulvaney in South Carolina's 5th congressional district. Norman won the primary and went on to defeat Archie Parnell in the general election.[189] The organization also endorsed Christopher Herrod's candidacy in the special election to replace Jason Chaffetz.[190]

2018

The Club for Growth PAC endorsed Ohio State Treasurer Josh Mandel in his bid to unseat incumbent Democratic Senator Sherrod Brown in the United States Senate election in Ohio, 2018. Mandel dropped out of the race in January 2018.[191]

Candidate	Race	Primary	Primary runoff	General			
Matt Rosendale[192]	United States Senate election in Montana, 2018	Win	—	Loss	—	—	Loss
Van Taylor[193]	Texas' 3rd congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Kevin Nicholson[194]	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2018	Loss	—	—	—	—	—
Marsha Blackburn	United States Senate election in Tennessee, 2018	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Mark E. Green	Tennessee's 7th congressional district	Uncontested	—	Win	—	—	—
Josh Hawley	United States Senate election in Missouri, 2018	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Denver Riggleman	Virginia's 5th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Russ Fulcher[195]	Idaho's 1st congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Chip Roy	Texas's 21st congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Win	Win	—	—
Rick Saccone	Pennsylvania's 18th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	—	—	—
Dino Rossi	Washington's 8th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	—	—	—
Ron Wright	Texas's 6th congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Win	Win	—	—
Andy Coleman	Oklahoma's 1st congressional district	Loss	—	—	—	—	—
Mark Harris	North Carolina's 9th congressional district	Win	—	New election called (see 2019 North Carolina's 9th congressional district special election)	—	—	—
Michael Cloud	Texas's 27th congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Win	Win	—	—
Scott Perry	Pennsylvania's 10th congressional district	Uncontested	—	Win	Win	—	—
Ted Budd	North Carolina's 13th congressional district	Uncontested	—	Win	—	—	—
Bunni Pounds	Texas's 5th congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Loss	—	—	—
Greg Steube	Florida's 17th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Josh Kimbrell	South Carolina's 4th congressional district	Loss	—	—	—	—	—
Lee Bright	South Carolina's 4th congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Loss	—	—	—
Ted Cruz	United States Senate election in Texas, 2018	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Rick Scott	United States Senate election in Florida, 2018	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Dave Brat	Virginia's 7th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	—	—	—
Ross Spano	Florida's 15th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	—	—
Steve Chabot	Ohio's 1st congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	—	—

2019

In the 2019 special election in North Carolina's 9th congressional district, the Club for Growth endorsed state senator Dan Bishop in the 10-candidate Republican primary field.[196] Bishop advanced from the primary and defeated Democrat Dan McCready in the general special election on September 10, 2019.[197]

In the 2019 special election in Pennsylvania's 12th congressional district, the Club for Growth endorsed Fred Keller, who advanced to the general election.[198] Keller won the general special election held on May 21, 2019.[199]

In the 2019 special election in North Carolina's 3rd congressional district, the Club for Growth endorsed Celeste Cairns in

the 17-person Republican primary field. Cairns did not advance to the run-off primary.[200]

2020

Candidate	Race	Primary	Primary runoff	General	
Ben Sasse[201]	2020 United States Senate election in Nebraska	Win	—	—	
Chip Roy[201]	Texas's 21st congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Scott Perry[201]	Pennsylvania's 10th congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Ted Budd[201]	North Carolina's 13th congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Steve Chabot[201]	Ohio's 1st congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
David Schweikert[201]	Arizona's 6th congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Matt Rosendale[202]	Montana's at-large congressional district	June 2, 2020	—	—	
Bill Hightower[203]	Alabama's 1st congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	July 14, 2020	
Nancy Mace[204]	South Carolina's 1st congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Nick Freitas[205]	Virginia's 7th congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Eric Brakey[206]	Maine's 2nd congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Jeanne Ives[207]	Illinois's 6th congressional district	Win	—	—	
Cynthia Lummis[208]	2020 United States Senate election in Wyoming	August 18, 2020	—	—	
Chris Ekstrom[209]	Texas's 13th congressional district	Loss	—	—	
Thomas Massie	Kentucky's 4th congressional district	June 23, 2020	—	—	
Chris Putnam[210]	Texas's 12th congressional district	Loss	—	—	
Tom Tiffany[211]	Wisconsin's 7th congressional district	Win	—	—	
Rich McCormick[212]	Georgia's 7th congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Tommy Tuberville[213]	2020 United States Senate election in Alabama	Advanced to runoff	—	July 14, 2020	
Barry Moore	Alabama's 2nd congressional district	Advanced to runoff	—	July 14, 2020	
Victoria Spartz	Indiana's 5th congressional district	June 2, 2020	—	—	
Steve Daines[214]	2020 United States Senate election in Montana	June 2, 2020	—	—	
Mike Garcia	California's 25th congressional district	Win	—	—	
Matt Gurtler[215]	Georgia's 9th congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Ronny Jackson[216]	Texas's 13th congressional district	Advanced to runoff	—	July 14, 2020	
Shane Hernandez	Michigan's 10th congressional district	August 4, 2020	—	—	
Ross Spano	Florida's 15th congressional district	August 18, 2020	—	—	

#### Americans United for Life

Americans United for Life

AmericansUnitedForLifeLogo.jpg

Abbreviation AUL

Formation1971

Purpose Pro-Life advocacy

Location

Washington D.C.

Region served

United States

President & CEO

Catherine Glenn Foster

Budget

\$2.7 million

Website Americans United for Life

Americans United for Life (AUL) is an American anti-abortion public interest law firm and advocacy group based in Washington, D.C. Founded in 1971, the group opposes abortion, euthanasia, assisted suicide, embryonic stem cell research, and certain contraceptive methods.[1][2] The organization has led campaigns and been involved in judicial actions to prevent the passage and implementation of legislation that permits abortion, or may increase prevalence of abortion, including successfully defending the Hyde Amendment in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The group has been influential in the spread of abortion-related legislation across a number of American states.[3]

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Early history and mission

AUL was founded in Washington, D.C. in 1971, two years prior to the nationwide legalization of abortion following the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade*.<sup>[4]</sup> The organization's first chairman of the board was Unitarian minister and then-Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard Divinity School, George Huntston Williams.<sup>[4]</sup> Initially the group was involved in the intellectual debate surrounding abortion, but in 1975 the founders reorganized it into a legal organization. One of the group's early areas of focus was on building a case to persuade the Supreme Court to overturn its 1973 ruling. In 1987 the group outlined their plan to overturn *Roe v. Wade* in a book titled *Abortion and the Constitution: Reversing Roe v. Wade Through the Courts*.<sup>[5]</sup> AUL was inspired by efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its strategy to impact legislation.<sup>[6]</sup> The organization is a registered 501(c)(3) nonprofit, educational organization and public-interest law firm, with a specific interest in pro-life legislation. AUL's areas of legal interest include abortion, infanticide, euthanasia, stem cell research, and human cloning.<sup>[7]</sup>

During the first half of the 1970s, Eugene Diamond of AUL argued that abortion was dangerous to women's health.<sup>[8]</sup> Charles Rice, a professor at Fordham Law School, who was active in the AUL argued that "birth control fever" had infected American society.<sup>[8]</sup> Early on, the organization did not oppose all forms of abortion.<sup>[8]</sup> Some within the organization also supported a legal right to contraceptives.<sup>[8]</sup> When the organization did not decide to condemn all forms of abortion, a number of member left and formed the United States Coalition for Life (USCL).<sup>[8]</sup>

Leadership

AUL is led by president and CEO Catherine Glenn Foster.<sup>[5]</sup>

Lobbying and litigation

AUL has supported bills to reduce the prevalence of abortion in the United States, including the Pregnant Women Support Act by United States Representative Lincoln Davis, which was introduced in 2006.<sup>[9]</sup> In 1980, AUL played a key role in the *Harris v. McRae* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the Hyde Amendment restricting federal funding of Medicaid abortions only to cases of life endangerment (and, since 1994, rape or incest) and determined that states participating in Medicaid were not required to fund medically necessary abortions for which federal reimbursement was unavailable as a result of the Hyde Amendment. Professor Victor Rosenblum, a board member of AUL, argued the case before the Supreme Court<sup>[10]</sup> and the AUL Legal Defense Fund represented the amendment's chief sponsor Rep. Henry Hyde and others.<sup>[11]</sup>

The group has also been involved in legislative and judicial actions to prevent late-term abortions. Between 1997 and 2000, AUL worked with state attorneys general across the U.S. on partial birth abortion legislation.<sup>[4]</sup> The group supported the passage of legislation in Virginia, banning a late-term abortion procedure.<sup>[5]</sup> In 2006, the organization supported legislation that was proposed in 21 states, which aimed to require that doctors who perform late-term abortions inform their patients that the fetus might feel pain during the procedure. AUL vice president Daniel McConchie stated that the aim of the proposals was "humanizing the unborn".<sup>[12]</sup> In 2007, the organization was involved in a Supreme Court case in which it helped to uphold the 2003 federal ban on partial-birth abortions.<sup>[13]</sup>

Model legislation

AUL writes model legislation every year and makes it available on the web for state legislators and others involved in the policy process. The model legislation is also included in the organization's annual guidebook, *Defending Life*, which is provided to state legislators.<sup>[14]</sup> The organization developed model legislation for state laws requiring that either a parent or doctor be informed before a minor's pregnancy is terminated.<sup>[5][7]</sup> In addition, the organization developed language for state laws requiring doctors to advise patients about the health risks from abortions.<sup>[5]</sup> AUL has also drafted model legislation for states to ban assisted suicide, human cloning and specific kinds of stem cell research,<sup>[5]</sup> and an opt-out provision for states objecting to the "abortion mandate" in the 2009 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.<sup>[15]</sup>

In 2008, AUL produced the Pregnant Woman's Protection Act, a piece of model legislation aimed at providing greater rights to pregnant women to defend themselves from physical attack, especially in regard to domestic violence.<sup>[16]</sup> In 2011, *Mother Jones*, a politically liberal magazine, published a report on Nebraska's Legislative Bill 232, a bill based on the Pregnant Women's Protection Act, that was critical of both the bill's wording and AUL's campaign to introduce the legislation. The report claimed that the bill's wording strongly advocates 'justifiable force', including homicide, against anyone that would be performing or seeking to perform legal abortion services.<sup>[17]</sup> *Mother Jones* was also critical of similar bills, also based in part on the AUL model legislation for the Pregnant Woman's Protection Act, that were introduced in South Dakota<sup>[18]</sup> and Iowa.<sup>[19]</sup>

Other initiatives

Opposition to RU-486, Ella and gender testing

AUL has argued against the use of certain drugs including contraceptives that can be used to induce abortion, and also early-pregnancy gender detection tests. In 1995 the group filed a petition with the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), that demanded the agency apply the strictest possible standards when reviewing a drug used to induce abortions,

RU-486.[20] Later, in 2009 and 2010, the organization opposed the FDA approval of the contraceptive drug Ulipristal acetate (also known under the brand name ella). It argued that the pill caused abortions and campaigned for the FDA to not approve the drug for use in the U.S.[21] The group has also voiced opposition towards an early-pregnancy gender detection kit called the Baby Gender Mentor. It stated that learning the gender at such an early point may lead some parents to terminate the pregnancy if they were hoping for a baby of the opposite sex to that indicated by the test. AUL claims that some women disappointed by the result of their test would find it easier to have an abortion if they get the results early.[22]

#### Obamacare

Main article: Affordable Care Act

AUL opposes the contraceptive mandate in Obamacare.[23][24][25] During the 2009 debate over President Barack Obama's health care proposals, the organization's president at the time, Charmaine Yoest, met with representatives of the Obama administration to discuss "conscience protection" and the absence of "explicit language banning abortion funding and coverage" in the bill. AUL later came out in opposition to the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act,[26] and its affiliated legislative action group launched a targeted campaign in congressional districts of House members who supported the bill.[27] In the two op-eds for the Wall Street Journal, Yoest argued that the health care bill would allow for federal funding of abortions and does not protect the rights of health care providers to not provide abortion services.[28][29]

#### Supreme Court appointments

The organization has voiced opposition against Supreme Court justice appointments for judges who support abortion rights, including Ruth Bader Ginsburg[30] and Stephen Breyer.[31] In 2009, the organization was vocal in opposition of the nomination of Judge Sonia Sotomayor,[4] arguing that she had a record of pro-abortion activism.[32] AUL provided testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee at the Congressional hearings to decide whether Sotomayor should be confirmed, as well as for then-Solicitor General Elena Kagan.[33][34][35]

#### Online campaigns

AUL has produced online campaigns to engage Americans in the pro-life movement. In 2008, the organization created a website and online petition as part of a campaign against the Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA). As of September 2011, the petition had been signed by over 700,000 people.[36][37][38] Other campaigns have included a "Virtual March for Life" of around 85,000 people,[4] which it organized for members of the pro-life community unable to travel to Washington on the 37th anniversary of the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision. The virtual march aimed to provide individuals with a way to be involved in anti-abortion protests without traveling to Washington D.C., where the annual "March for Life" was taking place.[39] The organization also created a Facebook page named "Support Tebow's Super Bowl Ad", to raise support for Tim Tebow's pro-life Super Bowl television commercial.[40]

#### Actions against Planned Parenthood

In 2011, AUL's 501(c)(4) organization, AUL Action, formed a partnership with other organizations, Expose Planned Parenthood, to campaign for the United States Congress to end federal funding of Planned Parenthood.[41] In an article in The Washington Times, the organization's counsel, Anna Franzone, argued that the federal funding of Planned Parenthood effectively means that U.S. taxpayers are funding abortion procedures. She also voiced criticism of Planned Parenthood's advisory role to the government, particularly with regard to health care reform.[42] The organization released a report on Planned Parenthood in July 2011, based on a study of 20 years of its records and other evidence including law enforcement reports. Based on the findings of the report, AUL called for a congressional investigation into Planned Parenthood's activities.[43]

#### Funding

In 2010, AUL received \$45,000[44] from the Center to Protect Patient Rights (CPPR). AUL Action received \$599,000[44] from CPPR in 2010, which was 39% of their budget.

#### References

Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives

Commonwealth Foundation

Commonwealth Foundation Logo.png

Formation1987

Type Public policy think tank

Location

225 State Street

Harrisburg, PA

Region served

Pennsylvania

President

Charles Mitchell[1]

Chairman

George Coates[2]

Revenue (2015)

\$2,113,078[3]

Expenses (2015) \$2,734,578[3]

Website [www.commonwealthfoundation.org](http://www.commonwealthfoundation.org)

The Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives is a think tank based in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.[4] It develops and advances fiscally conservative and libertarian public policies.[5][6] The organization's stated mission is to "transform free-market ideas into public policies so all Pennsylvanians can flourish."[7]

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#### History

The Commonwealth Foundation was founded in 1987 by Don Eberly.[8] Matthew Brouillette was hired as the organization's president in February 2002. At the time, the organization had three employees and \$350,000 in annual revenue. In April 2016, Brouillette announced he was stepping down from his position. During his tenure, the organization grew to have 18 employees and an annual budget of more than \$4 million with offices in Harrisburg and King of Prussia. Charles Mitchell replaced Brouillette as the organization's president and CEO.[9]

Jane Leader Janeczek, a registered Democrat and the daughter of former Pennsylvania Democratic Governor George M. Leader, became the Commonwealth Foundation's board chair in 2016. She became involved with the Commonwealth Foundation due to the organization's work on prison reform. In a column announcing her election as the organization's chairwoman, she wrote: "As my father and I — both lifelong Democrats — became more familiar with the work of the Commonwealth Foundation, we found not one policy proposal with which we disagreed. Whether prison reform to fix an ailing system, pension reform to put our state on solid financial footing, or paycheck protection to respect the use of taxpayer dollars, the Commonwealth Foundation's proposals represent common-sense policies." [10]

#### Activities

Commonwealth is active in policy areas such as criminal justice reform, school choice, and the Pennsylvania state budget. Commonwealth supports comprehensive criminal justice reforms focusing state resources on violent offenders and helping non-violent offenders who have served their sentences to reintegrate into society.[11][12] The Commonwealth Foundation is a frequent commentator on public school reform; advocating for school choice through increased charter schools and tax credits for scholarships.[13][14][15][16][17]

The group "advocates for small government and market-based solutions"[18] such as supporting the privatization of Pennsylvania's state-run liquor stores.[19] The organization also supported former Democratic Governor Ed Rendell's proposal to privatize or lease the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission.[20] The group was nominated for the Atlas Network's Templeton Freedom Award for its work in support of pension reform in the state.[21]

#### References

#### American Conservative Union

The American Conservative Union (ACU) is an American political organization that advocates for conservative policies, ranks politicians based on their level of conservatism, and organizes the Conservative Political Action Conference. Founded in 1964, it is the oldest ongoing conservative lobbying organization in the USA.[1][better source needed] The ACU is concerned with what they define as foundations of conservatism, issues such as personal liberty or freedom, foreign policy, and traditional values.[2]

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## Activities

The ACU comprises three entities: The American Conservative Union, a 501(c)(4) organization which conducts lobbying; The American Conservative Union Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization best known for hosting the Conservative Political Action Conference; and The American Conservative Union Political Action Committee, a PAC that formally endorses and funds conservative candidates for federal office.[citation needed]

## Congressional ratings

Dating back to 1971, ACU has implemented its own scoring system which annually rates politicians on their conservatism.[3] While the scorecard was novel to conservatism, Americans for Democratic Action has utilized a liberal rubric for liberalism since 1947.[4][5]

Each publication of Congressional and State Ratings contains a statement from Chairman Matt Schlapp about the philosophy guiding the ratings as one of conservatism: "We begin with our philosophy (conservatism is the political philosophy that sovereignty resides in the person) and then apply our understanding of government (its essential role is to defend life, liberty, and property)."[6]

Unlike other congressional ratings that take positions on pending legislation, ACU Foundation rates votes already cast by lawmakers. Each rating provides a conservative interpretation of an official's view of governance. As one spokesperson for the ACU once noted, "clear-cut distinctions between liberals and conservatives [occur] if you have Crane, Ashbrook, and Kemp go a certain way and Burton goes the other".[7]

The ACU annually rates politicians according to how they vote on key issues, providing a numerical indicator of how much the lawmakers agreed with conservative ideals. They use this rating system as a point of accountability for politicians, comparing their political rhetoric to their voting records to assess their conservativeness.[8] Politicians are given a percentile rating, anyone with a rating of over 80% is considered to be an "ACU Conservative".[9] These scores are often used in political science research, in news stories and in election campaigns.

## Conservative Political Action Conference

ACU's most well-known event is the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), an annual event organized by the ACU foundation.[5] CPAC has an annual attendance of thousands. Speakers regularly include sitting and former presidents and other famous conservatives. CPAC 2017 featured President Donald Trump, Vice President Mike Pence, Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX), Governors Matt Bevin (R-KY), Sam Brownback (R-KS), Doug Ducey (R-AZ), and Scott Walker (R-WI) and executive branch officials (EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt and Education Secretary Betsy DeVos).[10][11][12]

## American Conservative Union Foundation

The ACU Foundation's purpose is to educate the public on conservative principles and currently has five "policy centers" which focus on different political areas. There is the Center for Arts & Culture, the Center for Human Dignity, the Center for Statesmanship & Diplomacy, the Center for 21st Century Property Rights, and the Center for Criminal Justice Reform (CCJR). These policy centers are mainly blogs which post articles regarding their topic area.[13] The most extensive of these is the CCJR, who advocate for conservative criminal justice reform through advising governmental officials, media advocacy, and testifying as expert witnesses at governmental hearings. The CCJR focuses on two main policy areas: preventing civil asset forfeiture and increasing mental health facilities within the criminal justice system. The CCJR works with the Texas Public Policy Foundation and Prison Fellow Ministries in the Right on Crime campaign, and offers a panel at the Conservative Political Action Conference each year.[14]

## History

### Founding

The American Conservative Union was one of many conservative organizations formed in the 1960s as part of the resurgence of conservatism.[15] As conservative activist M. Stanton Evans predicted, "Historians may well record the decade of the 1960s as the era in which conservatism, as a viable political force, finally came into its own." [16] During a time of increasing polarization between liberals and conservatives, activists began to build a well-organized conservative movement, forming organizations such as Young Americans for Freedom and the ACU.[17] During this era, conservative groups focused less on direct action and more on long term planning and sought to gain positions in public office.[17]

The ACU was founded in December 1964 in response to the predominance of liberalism in America as evidenced by the defeat of Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign.[18] Founders included Frank S. Meyer, William F Buckley Jr, and Robert E. Bauman, who organized the first meeting.[18] In the initial meetings, a 50-member board of directors was appointed, whose members included Lamont Copeland, Peter O'Donnell, John A. Howard, Donald C. Bruce, and John Dos Passos.[18] Membership grew to 7,000 within 9 months, and 45,000 by the end of 1972.[18]

As part of ACU's mission to unite conservatives, William F. Buckley and Robert Bauman led an initiative to declare ACU's views of the John Birch Society. ACU's founding documents state that,

There is no relation between the two organizations. The directors of the ACU take a view of world affairs substantially at variance with that taken by Mr. Robert Welch in his most publicized writing. Under the circumstances, the leadership of the ACU will be wholly distinct from that of the John Birch Society.[19]

Conservatives' view of the Birchers became a national storyline when Buckley continued to criticize the Birchers in his National Review column.[20][21][22]

#### Foreign policy influence

The ACU spent roughly \$1.4 million opposing the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties in 1977.[23] They used a mass mailing campaign, sending out around 2.4 million letters.[24] This brought in roughly \$15,000 a day in support of conservative candidates who opposed the treaties.[25] They also produced a thirty-minute-long television ad which aired on 150 television station in eighteen states, and took out newspaper ads in thirty states, encouraging citizens to write to their senators to oppose the treaties.[26] The ACU also helped to fund a "truth squad," formed by Senator Paul Laxalt, whose purpose was to "focus renewed public interest in the treaties" and pressure senators to vote against the treaties.[26] Gary Jarmin, who was at the time Legislator of the ACU, stated that the Panama Canal Treaties were "a good issue for the conservative movement. It's not just the issue itself we're fighting for. This is an excellent opportunity to seize control of the Republican Party." [26]

In 1980, the ACU estimated that it would cost roughly \$1.8 million to defeat SALT II; together with other conservative groups, SALT opponents outspent supporters 15:1.[27] Having found the technique of mass mailing to be successful during other campaigns, the ACU used this same technique to oppose SALT II, reaching roughly 500,000 people with this strategy.[27] Additionally, they produced a half-hour-long anti-SALT television program called Soviet Might/American Myth: The United States in Retreat, which was aired on 200 television stations around the country.[28][4]

In 1985, the ACU sent out roughly 100,000 pieces of mail in support of Nicaraguan contra aid in 1985.[29] They also escorted Nicaraguan refugees around Capital Hill in order to persuade undecided politicians to support Reagan's contra aid request.[29]

#### Leadership

Founding members include: William F. Buckley, Jr. Rep. Donald Bruce (R.-Ind.), Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), Rep. Katherine St. George (R.-N.Y.), William A. Rusher, Frank Meyer, Thomas S. Winter, John A. Howard and L. Brent Bozell.[30] Donald Bruce served as the first chairman from 1964 to 1966,[31] succeeded by John Ashbrook from 1966 to 1971.[32][33] M. Stanton Evans then served six years from 1971 to 1977,[34][35] succeeded by a two-year term served by Philip Crane from 1977 to 1979.[36] Mickey Edwards served as chairman from 1979 to 1983.[30] David A. Keene was chairman from 1984 until 2011, succeeded by Al Cardenas, who served until 2014. He was succeeded by the ninth and current chairman, Matt Schlapp, who has previously served as George Bush's political director.[37]

#### Lobbying in the 21st century

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, the American Conservative Union spent roughly \$20,000 on lobbying in 2001, \$400,000 in 2003, and \$1,100,000 in 2005.[38] They did not spend any money on lobbying in 2004. In the years since Schlapp was elected chairman ACU, has spent \$120,000 on lobbying.[38]

Recurring lobbyists are Lorenz Hart and Amir Iljazi.[38]

#### Controversies

##### FedEx

In 2009, ACU offered FedEx the option of paying as much as \$3.4 million for e-mail and other services for "an aggressive grass-roots campaign" to stop a legislative provision being considered by the U.S. Senate.[39] The letter said the ACU's campaign could include "Producing op-eds and articles written by ACU's Chairman David Keene and/or other members of the ACU's Board of Directors." [39]

Two weeks later, Keene and leaders of five other conservative organizations issued a letter saying that FedEx was mischaracterizing the legislative situation and was unfairly trying to tap into public resentment against federal bailouts to attack its competition.[40] The letter included, at its top, logos from ACU and the other organizations.[41] Whitfield said that Keene had endorsed the second letter as an individual, even though the letter bore the logo of ACU.[42] The ACU then issued a press release saying that permission to use the logo had not been given by ACU, and that the ACU continued to stand with the policy supported by FedEx.[43]

#### Embezzlement

Diana Hubbard Carr, ACU's former administrative director and ex-wife of David Keene, pleaded guilty in June 2011 to embezzling between \$120,000 and \$400,000 from 2006 to 2009, during her time as bookkeeper for the group.[44][45]

#### References

##### National Organization for Marriage

The National Organization for Marriage (NOM) is an American non-profit political organization established to work against the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States.[1] It was formed in 2007 specifically to pass California Proposition 8, a state prohibition of same-sex marriage.[2] The group has opposed civil union legislation[3][4] and gay adoption,[5] and has fought against allowing transgender individuals to use bathrooms that accord with their gender identity.[6] Brian S. Brown has served as the group's president since 2010.



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## Leadership

NOM's co-founder Maggie Gallagher speaking at the Cato Institute in 2010

NOM's founding board of directors consisted of:[7]

Maggie Gallagher, President

Brian S. Brown, Executive Director (former Executive Director of Family Institute of Connecticut)[8]

Robert P. George, Chairman of the Board

Neil Corkery, Treasurer

Chuck Stetson (Chairman of the Board, Bible Literacy Project)[9]

Ken Von Kohorn (Chairman of the Board, Family Institute of Connecticut)[10]

Luis Tellez (President, Witherspoon Institute Board of Trustees)[11]

Matthew S. Holland (President, Utah Valley University)[12]

In April 2009, Holland was replaced on the board by Orson Scott Card (science fiction novelist and faculty member, Southern Virginia University).[13] who then resigned in July 2013 after calling the battle against legalization of same-sex marriage in the US "moot" following a Supreme Court decision.[14] In September 2011, law professor John Eastman replaced Gallagher as the Chairman of the Board.[15]

As of at least 2013, Brian S. Brown is the president.[8] Law professor Robert P. George is chairman emeritus.[8]

Gallagher is still a board member and works on specific projects for the group.[15]

## Nonprofit status and funding

### Groups and projects

The group operates two nonprofit arms: a 501(c)(4) political advocacy group called National Organization for Marriage Inc., established in January 2008, and a 501(c)(3) called NOM Education Fund established in July 2008.[16] The latter

arm is not entitled to influence legislation or political campaigns.[17] The Firefighters' Defense Fund, which existed to fund a successful sexual harassment lawsuit by firemen who claim they were forced to participate in a gay pride parade, was a NOM Education Fund project.[18]

The group also operates state-based political action committees such as National Organization for Marriage PAC New York founded in June 2009, and National Organization for Marriage California PAC founded in February 2009.[16][17] The state PACs receive funding from the main 501(c)(4) NOM arm.

#### Funding

NOM claims it has a wide base of grassroots support, however the majority of its funding comes from a very few anonymous sources making large donations.[19] In NOM's IRS filing for 2009,[20] three donations of \$2.4 million, \$1.2 million and \$1.1 million made up 68% of NOM's contributions and grants income of a little over \$7.1 million, and just five donations made up 75%.[19]

In 2010, Jesse Zwick, then a reporter for the Washington Independent, said he uncovered a 2009 donation to NOM—\$1.43 million from the Knights of Columbus[21]—that reporter Luke Johnson later said was apparently not reported to the IRS by NOM.[19]

In 2010, two donors provided \$6 million, two-thirds of the total donations for the year.[22]

On its 2012 tax return, NOM reported a roughly \$2 million deficit. Three donors contributed nearly two-thirds of the organization's \$9.3 million in donations.[23]

#### Mormon connection

Gay rights activist Fred Karger said in 2010 that NOM is connected to LDS Church, with large private donations coming from Mormon sources.[2] Gallagher responded by denying any connection "except that a Mormon serves on NOM's board." [16] Former board member Matthew S. Holland is a Mormon as is his replacement Orson Scott Card, and Catholic board member Robert P. George has served since August 2010 as an editorial advisor to the Deseret News, a newspaper owned by the LDS Church.[24]

#### Activity

NOM has been involved in ballot measures, legislative elections, judicial elections, and issue advertising in various states. NOM was involved in the successful Proposition 8 campaign in California in 2008, as well as a similar successful campaign in Maine one year later. NOM was also involved in unsuccessful efforts to pass an amendment eliminating same-sex marriage in Massachusetts in 2007. NOM participated in efforts to block same-sex marriage in New Jersey,[25] and has unsuccessfully attempted to block same-sex marriage legalization in New York,[26] Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and the District of Columbia. On June 16, 2009, NOM announced the formation of NOM PAC New York, a political action committee with a goal of providing \$500,000 to fund primary challenges against any Republican New York state senator who votes for gay marriage. NOM stated that they were "also looking to aid Democratic candidates who want to buck the establishment on the marriage issue, and to help in general election contests." [27] In 2010, NOM was involved in successful efforts to oust three Iowa Supreme Court judges who had concurred in a decision that effectively legalized same-sex marriage there.[28]

In 2009, Peter Montgomery of the progressive organization People for the American Way stated: "You have to take [NOM] seriously [...] They've raised a tremendous amount of money that they're funneling into various states." [29]

#### 2007 Massachusetts constitutional amendment

One of the group's first public acts was to campaign in support of a proposed 2007 Massachusetts constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage[30] by restricting marriage to "the union of one man and one woman", in response to the Massachusetts court decision that legalized same-sex marriage in that state. The NOM-supported amendment failed to pass. The campaign included a billboard comparing representative Angelo Puppolo to Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold after he changed his position to oppose the amendment.[31]

#### California Proposition 8

NOM was first formed to support the passage of California Proposition 8 in 2008, which amended the state Constitution to discontinue same-sex marriage ceremonies. The amendment defined marriage as the union between one man and one woman.[2][32] NOM contributed \$1.8 million to the Proposition 8 effort,[33] and has been described as being "instrumental" in the success of the initiative.[29] Proposition 8 was passed by voters 52% to 48%, and involved an estimated \$83M[34] by both sides of the issue. The amendment was in force until United States district court Judge Vaughn R. Walker overturned it in August 2010, in the case *Perry v. Schwarzenegger*, ruling that it violated both the Due Process and Equal Protection clauses of the United States Constitution.[35] NOM chairman Maggie Gallagher expressed her disagreement with the ruling, targeting Walker's sexuality and accusing him of "substituting his views for those of the American people and of our Founding Fathers." NOM President, Brian Snow, also expressed dissatisfaction with the ruling, stating "With a stroke of his pen, Judge Walker has overruled the votes and values of 7 million Californians" [36] Walker did however place a temporary injunction on same-sex marriages to allow the defendants to bring their case before the United States Supreme Court. On June 26, 2013 the United States Supreme Court ruled the defendants in the

case lacked standing to appeal earlier rulings in Federal Court.[37] As a consequence, Walker's opinion striking down the law as unconstitutional stands as the final decision in the case. NOM addressed the Supreme Court's ruling on its website, asking the nation "show its displeasure" with the ruling, adding that "the Supreme Court ripped the legs out from under the institution of marriage." [38]

#### Stand for Marriage Maine

In 2009, NOM was the primary contributor to Stand For Marriage Maine, the organization that led [39] the successful [40] campaign for Question 1 in Maine, a voter referendum that repealed the law passed by the legislature to allow same-sex marriages in the state. Voters passed the referendum 53%–47% out of 567,057 votes cast. [41] Out of the initial \$343,000 in contributions, NOM provided some \$160,000. [42]

NOM contributed over \$1.6 million to Stand For Marriage Maine; by reports as of October 2009, NOM had contributed 63% of that group's funding. [43][44]

NOM has brought a number of lawsuits to prevent being required to release the names of its donors funding Stand For Marriage Maine.

#### Advertising campaigns

On April 8, 2009, NOM began a "2 Million for Marriage" (2M4M) initiative with the intention of organizing two million activists nationwide. [45] When NOM used the abbreviation "2M4M" for their "2 Million for Marriage" campaign, the media noted that in personal ads, "2M4M" is code for two men seeking a third male sexual partner. NOM did not secure the domain name and other net resources that use the "2M4M" term. Christopher Ambler, a consultant in rapid web development who characterizes himself as a "happily married straight guy", purchased the domain "2M4M.org" [46] and branded it as "Two Men For Marriage," running material counter to NOM's 2M4M aims. [47][48][49]

#### Gathering Storm

Main article: Gathering Storm (advertisement)

The 2M4M campaign used an advertisement, "Gathering Storm", in which actors, primarily Mormons from Arizona, [16] standing against a dramatic storm-cloud background, voiced opposition to same-sex marriage. [50][51]

The Human Rights Campaign, a lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) lobbying group and political action committee, described the ad saying that, in it, "actors make disproven claims about marriage for lesbian and gay couples." [52][53]

New York Times columnist Frank Rich described the "Gathering Storm" advertisement as "an Internet camp classic", [50] and it was parodied by Stephen Colbert, the website Funny or Die, [54] and in the Futurama episode "Proposition Infinity".

#### Other advertisements

On April 30, 2009, NOM and Carrie Prejean launched another ad campaign against gay marriage, called "No Offense". In the ad, they object to being characterized as "outright bigots" because of their stance. [55] After semi-nude photos of Prejean were posted on the Internet, causing some to accuse NOM of hypocrisy, [56] NOM issued a press release stating that Prejean had appeared with NOM as a private citizen and not as a spokesperson. [57] In the wake of the revelation that Prejean had made masturbation videos, NOM removed reference to the video from the front page of their website. [58]

On May 28, 2009, NOM rolled out an advertising campaign in New York, including a video spot. The Christian Science Monitor described the spot as listing a "litany of grievances" as an "ominous score" plays, with a potentially embarrassing error for a campaign based on education: misspelling marriage as marraige. [59]

During the 2016 North Carolina gubernatorial election, NOM released an ad criticizing Democratic candidate Roy Cooper for his support for allowing transgender individuals access to bathrooms that reflect their gender identity. The ad claimed that doing so would give sexual predators easy access to children and other potential victims. [60]

#### New York Congressional phone campaign

NOM spent over \$112,000 on a get-out-the-vote phone campaign [61] for Conservative Party of New York candidate Douglas Hoffman in the contentious 2009 House of Representatives campaign for New York's 23rd District. After pro-same-sex-marriage Republican candidate Dede Scozzafava withdrew from the race, [62][63] Hoffman lost to Democrat Bill Owens, [64] who also opposed gay marriage, by a 2.3% margin. [65][66] State senators said that this congressional race affected the New York State Senate's December 2, 2009 vote against same-sex marriage legislation; [67][68] all 30 Republican state senators voted "no". [69] Following her unsuccessful campaign, Scozzafava acknowledged that her name had begun being used as a verb: "scozzafavaed". [70][71] When the gay Republican organization GOProud had a booth at the 2010 Conservative Political Action Conference, Brown commented, "[W]e have a message for GOProud on marriage: If you try to elect pro-gay-marriage Republicans, we will Dede Scozzafava them." [72] In addition, Maggie Gallagher has used the phrase "the Dede effect" to describe Republican lawmakers' fear of alienating their constituents by voting for same-sex marriage legislation. [73][74]

#### Summer for Marriage Tour

#### Brian S. Brown at the Summer For Marriage Tour

In 2010, NOM staged a 23-city tour holding rallies against same-sex marriage.[75] The rallies attracted supporters and pro-gay marriage protesters.[76] At many stops along the tour, NOM supporters were outnumbered by counter-protesters supporting same-sex marriage; in Atlanta, LGBT rights supporters outnumbered opponents of same-sex marriage by a ratio of ten to one.[76] The tour ended with a rally at the United States Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., while pro-gay marriage activists held a simultaneous event at the Freedom Plaza.[77]

After Peter Yarrow and Paul Stookey, the surviving members of Peter, Paul and Mary, discovered that NOM had been using their recording of "This Land is Your Land" rallies in this tour, they sent a letter to Brown requesting that NOM cease using their recording, stating that NOM's philosophy was "directly contrary to the advocacy position" held by the group.[78] Similarly, after John Mellencamp was informed that NOM had used his song "Pink Houses" at one of their events, his publicist wrote a letter (at his instruction) stating Mellencamp's support for same-sex marriage and asking that NOM stop using his music.[79]

#### Campaign finance lawsuit

NOM filed a lawsuit in US district court, on free speech grounds, seeking the right to run ads in the Rhode Island governor's race without complying with that state's campaign finance laws, including both campaign financing contribution limits and reporting requirements. In October 2010 the suit was dismissed; the court called the filing "disorganized, vague and poorly constructed" and gave the group one week to refile the lawsuit.[80][81] NOM appealed to federal court, who ruled against them.[82]

#### Civil union opposition

NOM has opposed civil union recognition, calling it "a direct threat to marriage and the religious liberties" and stating that "civil union statutes across the country have been used to sue business owners and professionals who run their practices by their deeply held religious beliefs." [83] It has campaigned against the passage of Illinois's Religious Freedom Protection and Civil Union Act, SB 1716.[84]

#### Iowa judge retention vote campaign

On November 2, 2010, NOM ran a bus tour through Iowa campaigning for removal of three Iowa Supreme Court justices then up for a retention vote, following the court's unanimous decision in *Varnum v. Brien*; the retention vote was "the most controversial...and one of the closest" races on the ballot.[85] All three justices lost the retention vote, the first time any judge had lost that vote since Iowa initiated the retention system in 1962.[86]

#### New York same-sex marriage opposition

NOM actively opposed legalization of same-sex marriage in New York in 2011. The group sponsored a rally in the Bronx in May 2011 with state Senator Ruben Diaz, Sr., a Democrat. After same-sex marriage was legalized in the state by the legislature in June 2011, NOM pledged to spend \$2 million to defeat the four Republicans who voted for the bill to legalize it,[87] and erected signs in the districts of those senators, warning "You're Next". Wealthy same-sex marriage supporters vowed to finance the targeted senators.[88]

NOM supported four "Let the People Vote" rallies later in July of the same year, with the stated purpose of having the voters decide the issue versus the bill passed by the state's legislature.

#### North Carolina Amendment 1

NOM provided more than \$300,000 to the committee supporting North Carolina's Amendment 1, a 2012 referendum which would alter the state's constitution to forbid marriage and all other recognition for same-sex couples.[89]

#### 2012 presidential pledge

On August 3, 2011, NOM unveiled a pledge for 2012 Republican presidential candidates. Signers pledged that they would support a federal marriage amendment, appoint federal judges who are originalists and thus "reject the idea our Founding Fathers inserted a right to gay marriage in our Constitution", [90] defend the Defense of Marriage Act in court, "establish a presidential commission on religious liberty to investigate and document reports of Americans who have been harassed or threatened for exercising key civil rights to organize, to speak, to donate or to vote for marriage", [90] and "advance legalization to return to the people of the District of Columbia their right to vote on marriage." [90][91][92][93] This pledge was signed by candidates Rick Perry, Mitt Romney, Rick Santorum, Michele Bachmann, and Newt Gingrich [94] (who initially declined), along with Tim Pawlenty; [95] Ron Paul and Herman Cain chose not to sign. [96][97][98] During the Iowa primary campaign, NOM aired a TV ad targeting Paul, contrasting his failure to pledge with the activities of "the major presidential candidates", thus implying that Paul was not truly in contention in the primary campaign. [99]

#### Oregon intercession

NOM attempted repeatedly to intercede in the legalization of same-sex marriage in Oregon. The group requested to be allowed to act as defendants in the state court case that ultimately found the ban on same-sex marriage to be unconstitutional, but were denied by the judge as lacking standing, a ruling that was confirmed by the federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. [100] After the ruling that started same-sex marriage in the state, NOM filed a request with the U.S. Supreme Court, asking that the state court's ruling be stayed, to allow NOM to further pursue its case for being an

intercessor, and that the matter be reviewed by the Supreme Court.[101] The request was denied.[102]

#### March For Marriage

NOM organized protest marches against same-sex marriage in Washington, DC in 2013,[103] 2014,[104] 2015,[105] 2016,[106] and 2017.[107] The 2015 March For Marriage took place on April 25, the Saturday before the Supreme Court heard oral arguments in a set of cases related to same-sex marriage.[105] About 100 people attended the 2016 event, including counterprotestors.[108] About 50 attended in 2017.[107]

#### IRS release of donor information

In October 2013, NOM filed a federal lawsuit alleging that the IRS had intentionally leaked its 2008 tax return—including donor lists—in violation of federal law.[109][110][111] The lawsuit arose from the March 2012 disclosure of NOM's 2008 IRS Form 990, Schedule B (which contained donor data) to an LGBT rights advocacy group and to the media.[111] Under U.S. federal law, "the IRS is required to provide the public with certain tax information for 501(c)(4) organizations upon request—but personal identifying information of donors must be redacted by the agency." [112] In a June 2014 ruling, Judge James Cacheris of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia dismissed most of NOM's claims. While the IRS acknowledged that it had improperly made an unredacted copy of NOM's tax information public, the court found that NOM provided "no evidence that the information was willfully disclosed or the result of gross negligence." [112][113] In June 2014, the IRS agreed to settle NOM's remaining claims of improper disclosure of confidential tax information by paying \$50,000 to NOM.[112][114]

#### Transgender students

On September 20, 2013, NOM announced that they would gather signatures aimed at putting a proposition on the November 2014 California ballot to repeal a law addressing the rights of transgender students.[6] The law, AB 1266, allows students to play on school sports teams and to use school bathrooms that accord with their gender identity. Brown said that "Opening our most vulnerable areas at school including showers, bathrooms and changing rooms to members of the opposite sex is politically-correct madness that risks the privacy and security of our children and grandchildren." [115] On February 24, 2014, the California secretary of state's office reported that the proposition had failed to gather enough valid signatures to qualify for the November election.[116]

#### International activities

NOM president Brown has spoken in Russia calling for the illegalization of adoption by LGBT people. He spoke to the Duma committees on international affairs and the family, telling them that persecution of religious people would arise from permitting equal rights in any form.[117]

#### Free Speech Bus

NOM worked with Spain-based advocacy group CitizenGo and the International Organization for the Family[118] to attack the concept of transgenderism by having activists tour the United States, mainly on the East Coast, in the "Free Speech Bus", an orange bus with an anti-transgender message. The bus has the slogan: "It's Biology: Boys are boys... and always will be. Girls are Girls... and always will be. You can't change sex. Respect all." At one stop in Boston, people tried to block the bus, and at another stop, it was vandalized.[119]

#### IRS filings

In 2009, Californians Against Hate (CAH) filed a formal complaint with the IRS against NOM, saying that NOM had refused to make its IRS 990 forms public, as required by law. CAH representatives went to "the Princeton, New Jersey, offices of the National Organization for Marriage twice to get copies of their IRS 990 reports, to no avail," said CAH's president, Fred Karger. "Then our representative, Ben Katzenberg, sent two certified letters to the NOM office on March 18, 2009, requesting its two 990 forms. Federal law requires NOM to furnish copies of these IRS filings within 30 days after the request has been received. And 40 days later, still no 990s." [120] NOM has since posted 990 forms for 2007 and 2008 on their website.[121]

#### Campaign finance issues

In March 2009, Fred Karger filed a complaint with the California Fair Political Practices Commission alleging that the National Organization for Marriage was established by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in order to direct church funds toward the passage of Proposition 8.[122] A church spokesman and NOM's then-president Maggie Gallagher both denied the allegations.[123]

In 2009, the Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices voted, 3-2, to investigate NOM for campaign finance violations; the Commission overrode the recommendation of their staff.[124] Maine law required organizations soliciting more than \$5,000 for ballot question campaigns to file disclosure reports.[125] NOM had contributed \$1.6 million to Stand For Marriage Maine without filing any disclosure reports.[44] NOM filed suit, claiming that the state's election laws violate the Constitution.[44] NOM, arguing that their lawsuit was likely to succeed, sought a federal restraining order to avoid having to provide donor names before the date of the balloting, which U.S. District Court Judge David Brock Hornby denied.[39] In February 2011, Hornby issued a summary judgment ruling that Maine's disclosure law was valid, a decision NOM appealed and lost in August 2011.[126] NOM's efforts to appeal in the federal courts failed when the Supreme Court declined to hear one appeal in February 2012[127] and another in October 2012.[128] In 2014, the Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices fined NOM over \$50,000 and

demanding that the group file a campaign finance report; the report was required to include the identities of donors who supported NOM's efforts in connection with the 2009 Maine referendum.[129] NOM filed a complaint against two groups that support gay marriage: The Human Rights Campaign and the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force Foundation, saying that they had engaged in the same actions as NOM.[130] On August 24, 2015, the Sun Journal reported that NOM had paid the State of Maine a fine of over \$50,000, that it had disclosed the names of its donors, and that NOM had stated that it would not continue to contest the matter in court.[131]

In Iowa, NOM was investigated by the Iowa Ethics & Campaign Disclosure Board over whether it failed to properly disclose the names of donors towards its campaign to unseat judges who had ruled in favor of same-sex marriage in the state.[132] Previously, it had faced accusations from the Interfaith Alliance of Iowa Action Fund and One Iowa that it has failed to properly disclose its contributors.[42] NOM's efforts in that state included spending \$86,060 on the failed state House of Representatives campaign of Stephen Burgmeier.[133]

NOM executive director Brown has stated that the group keeps the identities of its donors private to prevent donor intimidation by proponents of same-sex marriage.[134] The group used that argument in an unsuccessful lawsuit seeking to exempt them from California's disclosure laws.[135][136]

#### Criticism and opposition "NOM Exposed"

In September 2010, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) and the Courage Campaign launched "NOM Exposed", a website which says it documents "Truth, Lies, and Connections about the So-Called National Organization for Marriage." [137][138][139] The site contained profiles of NOM leaders and prominent supporters; details of NOM's links to Latter-Day Saints, the Catholic Church and conservative Christian organizations such as Opus Dei, the Knights of Columbus and Focus on the Family; information about NOM's budget; and an interactive map with information on NOM activities in specific states.[138][140] HRC spokesperson Michael Cole characterized NOM as "a secretive player in antigay politics, which is posing as an offshore company for antigay religious money"; NOM president Brown countered that NOM is "not out to hoodwink voters... [but is] talking openly about same-sex marriage" and predicted that the "NOM Exposed" website would backfire.[138] Brown also said that HRC's "heavy-handed attacks on NOM only prove that we are the key national organization fighting for marriage as one man and one woman." [141]

#### Southern Poverty Law Center

The Southern Poverty Law Center included NOM on its Winter 2010 list of "anti-gay groups" that "have continued to pump out demonizing propaganda aimed at homosexuals." [142] NOM president Brown took issue with the inclusion, stating that NOM "isn't about being anti-anyone." [143][144]

#### Resignation of Louis Marinelli

On April 8, 2011, Louis Marinelli, a 25-year-old NOM activist and online strategist who describes himself as "the one behind the 2010 Summer for Marriage Tour", had driven the bus during that tour, and had moderated many of NOM's web properties (including its Facebook page, its Twitter account, and the Tour blog), resigned from his affiliation with the organization, announced his support for same-sex marriage, and categorically apologized for and repudiated his past actions on behalf of the organization.[145][146][147] He also shut down the Facebook page he had built up for NOM, which had 290,000 followers.[148] The next day, NOM created a new official Facebook page (to replace Marinelli's), and released this statement: "Louis Marinelli worked in a volunteer capacity as a bus driver during our summer marriage tour. Around this time, NOM began to pay him as a part-time consultant for helping us expand our internet reach. He has since chosen a different focus. We wish him well." [148][149] NOM president Brown publicly downplayed Marinelli's role with the organization,[147] however, after Marinelli published several articles critical of NOM on his website, Brown contacted him and said that if the articles were not removed, NOM would pursue legal action against Marinelli for violation of a confidentiality agreement he had signed as a contractor with access to specialized information.[150]

#### Photo manipulation

In October 2011, the blog Good As You showed that NOM used uncredited photographs of 2008 rallies for then-presidential candidate Barack Obama on its website to make it appear that the crowds supporting Obama were actually NOM supporters.[151][152]

The story was subsequently picked up by media including The Rachel Maddow Show and Instinct Magazine. Brown dismissed the photo controversy as a misdirection effort by "Rachel Maddow and her friends on the left". NOM removed the photos in the collage, referring to one of them as "a common use photo in the public domain".[153] The images included one Reuters photo and two that were copyrighted under a Creative Commons license requiring that the photographer be credited.[154]

#### Wedge tactics

In March 2012, NOM memos dated to 2009 advocating strategies of pitting the African-American and homosexual communities against each other, of discouraging Latino assimilation into a culture accepting of same-sex marriage, and of painting President Obama as a "social radical" were released by a federal judge in Maine and published by the Human Rights Campaign.[155][156][157] The internal NOM documents state that they seek "to drive a wedge between gays and blacks" by promoting "African American spokespeople for marriage", thus provoking same-sex marriage supporters into

"denouncing these spokesmen and women as bigots", and to interrupt the assimilation of Latinos into "dominant Anglo culture" by making the stance against same-sex marriage "a key badge of Latino identity". The documents also showed a goal to "sideswipe" US President Barack Obama by depicting him as a "social radical" via issues including child protection and pornography.[158][159]

The revealed tactics were described as "one of the most cynical things I've ever heard"[160] and "scary"[161] by Julian Bond, Chairman Emeritus of the NAACP.[160] The National Black Justice Coalition said that the "documents expose N.O.M. for what it really is – a hate group determined to use African American faith leaders as pawns to push their damaging agenda." [161]

In response to the controversy, NOM stated that the organization has a diverse base of support which includes people of "every color, creed and background" and that it has "worked with prominent African-American and Hispanic leaders, including Dr. Alveda C. King, Bishop George McKinney of the COGIC Church, Bishop Harry Jackson and the New York State Senator Reverend Rubén Díaz Sr." [162] Gallagher, who was president of the organization at the time of the documents, said that their language "makes us sound way too big for our britches", [161] while Brown, president at the time the controversy arose, wrote that the language was "inapt", stating that "it would be enormously arrogant for anyone at NOM to believe that we can make or provoke African-American or Latino leaders do anything". [163]

See also

#### Capital research Center

mation 1984  
Founder Willa Johnson  
Type Nonprofit organization  
Headquarters Washington, D.C., United States  
Services Study of charity, philanthropy, voluntarism  
Official language  
English  
Revenue (2015)  
\$2,561,903[1]  
Expenses (2015) \$2,030,597[1]  
Website capitalresearch.org

Capital Research Center (CRC) is an American conservative and libertarian non-profit organization located in Washington, D.C.[2][3] It was founded in 1984 by Willa Johnson "to study non-profit organizations, with a special focus on reviving the American traditions of charity, philanthropy, and voluntarism." [4] According to the organization, the group supports "free markets, constitutional government, and individual liberty." [5] It discourages donations by corporations to non-profits supporting what it sees as liberal or anti-business policies. [6] It monitors the giving of major liberal donors in the U.S. [3]

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#### History

CRC was founded in 1984 by Willa Johnson, former senior vice president of the Heritage Foundation, Deputy Director of the Office of Presidential Personnel in the first Reagan administration, and a legislative aide in both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. CRC's current president is Scott Walter, a former Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy in the George W. Bush administration, and former vice president of the Philanthropy Roundtable. [7]

Journalist and author Marvin Olasky previously served as a senior fellow at CRC. [8]

In 2011, Politico reported that CRC had received millions of dollars from conservative philanthropists over the years, with a total budget in 2009 of \$1.4 million. [9] Donors have included foundations run by the Koch family, the Scaifes, and the Bradleys. As of 2017, CRC had received more than \$265,000 from ExxonMobil. [10]

David Clarke, the former sheriff of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, is the chair of CRC's American Law and Culture program. [11][12]

#### Publications and policy stances

CRC has been highly critical of animal rights activists and the environmental movement. In 2006, it published *The Green Wave: Environmentalism and Its Consequences*, a book by Bonner Cohen. In 2007, it published the third edition of *The Great Philanthropists and the Problem of "Donor Intent"* by Martin Morse Wooster, a senior fellow at the Center. In 2008, it published *Guide to Nonprofit Advocacy*, by James Dellinger. The CRC said Al Gore's campaign to control carbon

emissions is motivated by the likelihood that he will make an "immense fortune" if laws are passed to control them;[13] argues that organized labor is bad for America;[14] and has criticized government efforts to weaken intellectual property protection of prescription medications.[15]

#### Film production

CRC has a film production arm called Dangerous Documentaries, which partially funded No Safe Spaces by Adam Carolla and radio host Dennis Prager, about political correctness on college campuses.[16][17]

#### References

#### State Policy Network

The State Policy Network (SPN) is an American nonprofit organization that functions primarily as an umbrella organization for a consortium of conservative and libertarian think tanks that focus on state-level policy.[2][3][4] The organization serves as a public policy clearinghouse and advises its member think tanks on fundraising, running a nonprofit, and communicating ideas.[5] Founded in 1992, it is headquartered in Arlington, Virginia, with member groups located in all fifty states.

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#### Overview

SPN characterizes itself as the "professional service organization" for a network of state-level think tanks across the United States.[6][7][8] The Wall Street Journal and National Review have referred to SPN as "a trade association of think tanks." [9][10]

The president of SPN is Tracie Sharp who is credited with implementing the IKEA[11] model, formerly the executive director of the Cascade Policy Institute, SPN's Oregon affiliate.[12]

#### History

The State Policy Network was founded in 1992 by Thomas A. Roe,[1] a South Carolina businessman who was a member of the board of trustees of The Heritage Foundation.[13] Roe told U.S. President Ronald Reagan that he thought each of the states needed something like the Heritage Foundation. Reagan's reply was "Do something about it," which led Roe to establish the South Carolina Policy Council (SCPC).[14] SCPC adapted Heritage Foundation national policy recommendations, such as school choice and environmental deregulation, to the state legislative level.[15]

SPN was an outgrowth of the Madison Group, a collection of state-level think tanks in states including South Carolina, Colorado, Illinois, and Michigan that had been meeting periodically at the Madison Hotel in Washington, D.C. Roe was chairman of the board of directors of SPN from its founding until his death in 2000.[16] Gary Palmer, co-founder and president of the conservative think tank the Alabama Policy Institute from 1989 until 2014, helped found SPN and served as its president.[17]

Initially, SPN's network consisted of fewer than 20 member organizations.[17] Lawrence Reed, the first president of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, a Michigan-based free market think tank, fostered new state-level regular member organizations through delivery of his think tank training course.[18] By the mid-1990s, SPN had a network of 37 think tanks in 30 states.[15] By 2014, there were 65 member organizations, including at least one in each state.[16][17]

Starting in 1993, the SPN has held an Annual Meeting around the country. These meetings serve as a chance for members to discuss and analyze policy priorities, train and build members, and refine operations, among other topics.[19]

#### Policy positions

Policy initiatives supported by SPN members have included reductions in state health and welfare programs, state constitutional amendments to limit state government spending, expanded access to charter schools, and school vouchers.[18][20] Another area of activity has been opposition to public-sector trade unions.[13] Tracie Sharp, SPN's president, has said the organization focuses on issues such as "workplace freedom, education reform, and individual choice in healthcare." [21]

The liberal magazine Mother Jones stated that in 2011 SPN and its member organizations were backing a "war on



organized labor" by Republican state lawmakers.[13] Legislative actions taken by the GOP included the introduction and enactment of bills reducing or eliminating collective bargaining for teachers and other government workers and reducing the authority of unions to collect dues from government employees.[13] In Iowa, Governor Terry Branstad cited research by the Public Interest Institute, an SPN affiliate in Iowa, when asking to amend laws to limit collective bargaining by public employees.[13]

In December 2013, The Guardian, in collaboration with The Texas Observer and the Portland Press Herald, obtained, published and analyzed 40 grant proposals from SPN regular member organizations. The grant proposals sought funding through SPN from the Searle Freedom Trust. According to The Guardian, the proposals documented a coordinated strategy across 34 states, "a blueprint for the conservative agenda in 2014." The reports described the grant proposals in six states as suggesting campaigns designed to cut pay to state government employees; oppose public sector collective bargaining; reduce public sector services in education and healthcare; promote school vouchers; oppose efforts to combat greenhouse gas emissions; reduce or eliminate income and sales taxes; and study a proposed block grant reform to Medicare.[21][22][23][24][25] Brooke Rollins, president and CEO of the SPN member organization Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF), and TPPF policy analyst John Daniel Davidson, in an article posted on the National Review website, said The Guardian was attempting to intimidate those who support libertarian organizations and to undermine the freedoms of expression and association, and said that The Guardian is part of "the activist Left," described as "a deliberate, coordinated effort across the political left to silence Americans who speak against — and lawfully resist — the growth of government power." [26]

#### Political influence

National Review journalist John Miller reported that in 1990, the Mackinac Center for Public Policy shared much of its "brain trust" with Republican governor John Engler's election campaign. After the election, the Mackinac Center worked successfully with the Engler administration to effect policy changes in areas such as the promotion of charter schools and increasing competition in state contracting.[14]

In 2006, three former presidents of SPN member organizations were serving as Republicans in the United States House of Representatives: Mike Pence of Indiana, Jeff Flake of Arizona, and Tom Tancredo of Colorado.[18] National Review described them as having "used SPN organizations as political springboards." [14]

SPN introduced model legislation for state legislators to implement on the state level to undermine the Affordable Care Act.[27] The organization also pushed for states not to expand Medicaid.[27]

#### Finances

Further information: Political activities of the Koch brothers

SPN is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Its independently audited 2013 Internal Revenue Service Form 990 showed \$8 million in revenue and \$8.4 million in expenditures, of which \$1.3 million was used for grants and payments to other organizations.[28][29] The organization received a Charity Navigator score of 88 out of 100 in its most recent evaluation.[28]

In 2013, Sharp told Politico that like most nonprofits, SPN keeps its donors private and voluntary.[30] In 2011, Mother Jones reported that SPN is largely funded by donations from foundations, including the Lovett and Ruth Peters Foundation, the Castle Rock Foundation, and the Bradley Foundation.[13] A 2013 article by The Guardian said that SPN received funding from the Koch brothers, Philip Morris, Kraft Foods and GlaxoSmithKline.[21] Other corporate donors to SPN have included Facebook, Microsoft, AT&T, Time Warner Cable, Verizon, and Comcast.[31][32] Between 2008 and 2013, SPN received \$10 million from Donors Trust, a nonprofit donor-advised fund. In 2011, the approximately \$2 million investment from Donors Trust accounted for about 40% of annual revenue.[33]

#### Activities

SPN provides grant funding to its member organizations for start-up costs and program operating expenses.[13][21][29][33] In 2011, SPN granted \$60,000 in start-up funds to the Foundation for Government Accountability, a free market think tank based in Naples, Florida.[34] SPN also provides practical support to its members, who meet each year at SPN conferences. SPN member organizations exchange ideas and provide training and other support for each other.[18] A spokesperson for the progressive advocacy group People for the American Way said in 2008 that SPN trained its member organizations to run like business franchises.[35] In a 2013 statement to The New Yorker, SPN president Sharp denied that SPN was a franchise and said that member organizations were free to select their own staff and priorities.[11]

SPN is a member of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), an organization that drafts and shares state-level model legislation for conservative causes,[36] and ALEC is an associate member of SPN.[30] SPN is among the sponsors of ALEC.[33] A 2009 article in an SPN newsletter encouraged SPN members to join ALEC,[37] and many SPN members are also members of ALEC.[38] ALEC is "SPN's sister organisation," according to The Guardian.[21]

SPN member think tanks aided the Tea Party movement by supplying rally speakers and intellectual ammunition.[39]

#### Member organizations

As of 2015, SPN had a membership of 65 think tanks and hundreds of affiliated organizations in all 50 states.[40] Membership in SPN is by invitation only and is limited to independently incorporated 501(c)(3) organizations that are "dedicated to advancing market-oriented public policy solutions." [41] According to Politico, SPN's associate members include a "who's who of conservative organizations", including the Cato Institute, Heritage Foundation, Americans for Prosperity Foundation, FreedomWorks, Americans for Tax Reform, and American Legislative Exchange Council.[30] In 2011, SPN and its regular member organizations received combined total revenues of \$83.2 million, according to a 2013 analysis of their federal tax filings by the liberal watchdog group Center for Media and Democracy.[30][22]

#### Regular members

Regular members are described as "full-service think tanks" operating independently within their respective states.[41][42]

Alabama: Alabama Policy Institute  
Alaska: Alaska Policy Forum  
Arizona: Goldwater Institute  
Arkansas: Advance Arkansas Institute, Arkansas Policy Foundation  
California: California Policy Center, Pacific Research Institute  
Colorado: Independence Institute  
Connecticut: Yankee Institute for Public Policy  
Delaware: Caesar Rodney Institute  
Florida: Foundation for Government Accountability, James Madison Institute  
Georgia: Georgia Center for Opportunity, Georgia Public Policy Foundation  
Hawaii: Grassroot Institute  
Idaho: Idaho Freedom Foundation  
Illinois: Illinois Policy Institute  
Indiana: Indiana Policy Review Foundation  
Iowa: Tax Education Foundation[43]  
Kansas: Kansas Policy Institute  
Kentucky: Bluegrass Institute for Public Policy Solutions, Pegasus Institute  
Louisiana: Pelican Institute for Public Policy  
Maine: Maine Policy Institute  
Maryland: Maryland Public Policy Institute  
Massachusetts: Pioneer Institute  
Michigan: Mackinac Center for Public Policy  
Minnesota: Center of the American Experiment, Freedom Foundation of Minnesota  
Mississippi: Empower Mississippi, Mississippi Center for Public Policy  
Missouri: Show-Me Institute  
Montana: Montana Policy Institute  
Nebraska: Platte Institute for Economic Research  
Nevada: Nevada Policy Research Institute  
New Hampshire: Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy, Granite Institute  
New Jersey: Garden State Initiative  
New Mexico: Rio Grande Foundation  
New York: Empire Center for Public Policy  
North Carolina: John Locke Foundation, John William Pope Civitas Institute  
Ohio: Buckeye Institute  
Oklahoma: Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs  
Oregon: Cascade Policy Institute  
Pennsylvania: Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives  
Rhode Island: Rhode Island Center for Freedom and Prosperity  
South Carolina: Palmetto Promise Institute  
South Dakota: Great Plains Public Policy Institute  
Tennessee: Beacon Center of Tennessee  
Texas: Texas Public Policy Foundation  
Utah: Libertas Institute, Sutherland Institute  
Vermont: Ethan Allen Institute  
Virginia: Thomas Jefferson Institute, Virginia Institute for Public Policy  
Washington: Freedom Foundation, Washington Policy Center  
West Virginia: Cardinal Institute for West Virginia Policy  
Wisconsin: Maclver Institute for Public Policy, Badger Institute, Wisconsin Institute for Law and Liberty  
Wyoming: Wyoming Liberty Group

#### Citizens for Self-Governance

Citizens for Self-Governance (CSG) is a conservative American nonprofit political organization.[3] In 2015, it launched a nationwide initiative calling for a convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution to reduce federal spending.[4] The group's efforts are focused on imposing fiscal restraint on Washington D.C., reducing the federal government's authority over states, and imposing term limits on federal officials.[3] As of 2019, the organization's

resolution has passed in 15 states.[5][6] A total of 34 states would need to pass such a resolution in order for a Convention to Amend the Constitution to be called per Article V. The organization funded and won a class action lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service over the agency's politically-oriented targeting of conservative organizations. The group is based in Austin, Texas.[2]

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### Leadership

Mark Meckler serves as president of CSG.[7] Meckler was previously co-founder of the Tea Party Patriots before resigning from that group.[8]

Tim Dunn was a founding board member.[9]

Eric O'Keefe is the current chairman of the board as of April 2020.[9]

### Activities

#### Lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service

Main article: IRS targeting controversy

In May 2013, CSG filed a class action lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service, alleging violations under the Privacy Act as well as violations of constitutional rights guaranteeing free expression and equal protection under the law.[10][11] The lawsuit stemmed from IRS targeting of conservative groups for more scrutiny as they applied for tax-exempt status.[10][12] In April 2015, a federal judge ordered the IRS to turn over the list of 298 groups it had targeted for intrusive scrutiny.[13] The IRS failed to turn over the list, filing a petition for a writ of mandamus from the appellate court so that it would not have to disclose information on groups the agency had targeted.[14]

In March 2016, a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit issued a unanimous ruling rebuking the IRS and giving the agency two weeks to produce the names of organizations it had targeted based on their political leanings.[15][16][17] In October 2017, the IRS settled with the tea party groups for \$3.5 million. In August 2018, Judge Michael Ryan Barrett approved the \$3.5 million settlement between the IRS and hundreds of tea party groups on "what all sides now agree was unwarranted and illegal targeting for political purposes." [18] The IRS expressed its "sincere apology" for mistreating conservative organizations in their applications for nonprofit status.[19]

### Convention of States

The Convention of States is a tax-exempt nonprofit group which was originally created to push for a convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution,[20][21] with a focus on balancing the federal budget.[9]

According to Meckler:

By calling a convention of states, we can stop the federal spending and debt spree, the power grabs of the federal courts, and other misuses of federal power. The current situation is precisely what the Founders feared, and they gave us a solution we have a duty to use.[20]

CSG has opened numerous chapters across the nation to urge state legislators to summon a national convention; for example, in Virginia, the group sponsored the founder of Patrick Henry College, Michael Farris, to launch a Convention of States Project which is a forum for delegates appointed by state governments to propose amendments to the constitution.[22]

In December 2013, nearly 100 legislators from 32 states met at Mount Vernon to talk about how to call a convention of states. According to Slate, "The meeting lasted four hours, ending when legislators agreed to meet again in the spring of 2014. That's the most progress anyone's made in decades toward a states-first constitutional amendment campaign." CSG provided the legislators with briefing books that laid out a plan to call a convention of states.[23]

In March 2014, Georgia became the first state to pass CSG's convention of states application.[24] As of 2019, a total of fifteen state legislatures had passed CSG's convention of states application.[6][1]

In July 2014, CSG announced plans to have resolutions before at least 24 state legislatures in 2015.[25] In 2015, the

group backed bills in 26 states that would call for a convention. Some members of both the Republican and Democratic parties have supported bills backed by the organization, while others from both the left and right have criticized the proposal, fearing that it could "set the stage for a runaway convention to make over the entire Constitution."<sup>[26]</sup>

In September 2016, CSG held a simulated convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution in Williamsburg, Virginia.<sup>[27]</sup> The simulated convention passed amendments relating to six topics, including requiring the states to approve any increase in the national debt, imposing term limits; limiting the Commerce Clause; providing an "easy congressional override" of federal regulations; requiring a supermajority to impose federal taxes and repealing the Sixteenth Amendment; and "giving the states (by a three-fifths vote) the power to abrogate any federal law, regulation, or executive order."<sup>[28]</sup>

Jim DeMint became a senior advisor to the group in June 2017. According to DeMint, "The Tea Party needs a new mission. They realize that all the work they did in 2010 has not resulted in all the things they hoped for. Many of them are turning to Article V."<sup>[3]</sup>

In early 2020 the group has taken on new focus amid the COVID-19 pandemic, with a goal of limiting the federal government's abilities to force precautionary action. They are operating an online campaign called "Open the States" which collects donations and helps protesters organize.<sup>[9]</sup>

#### Supporters

CSG is aligned with the Tea Party movement.<sup>[10]</sup>

Radio host Mark Levin has supported CSG's efforts to call a second constitutional convention.<sup>[29]</sup> Former U.S. Senator Tom Coburn (R) has endorsed the Convention of States Project and serves as a senior advisor to CSG's efforts.<sup>[30][31]</sup>

U.S. Senator Ron Johnson (R), former Governor of Arkansas Mike Huckabee (R), conservative radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh, Fox News talk show host Sean Hannity, conservative political commentator Glenn Beck, former Governor of Alaska Sarah Palin (R), former Governor of Ohio John Kasich (R), former Governor of Louisiana Bobby Jindal (R), former U.S. Representative Allen West (R), and current Governor of Texas Greg Abbott (R), have all endorsed a convention of states.<sup>[32][20][33][34][35]</sup>

In September 2014, CSG announced that a Legal Board of Reference had signed a "Jefferson Statement" endorsing the Convention of States initiative. The Legal Board of Reference included Randy Barnett, Charles J. Cooper, John C. Eastman, Michael Farris, Robert P. George, C. Boyden Gray, Andrew C. McCarthy, and Mark Meckler.<sup>[36][37]</sup>

In late 2015, U.S. Senator Marco Rubio (R) endorsed CSG's call for a convention of the states.<sup>[29][38]</sup>

In early 2020 Ken Cuccinelli and Ben Carson, both tied to the Trump administration, are noted to have supported the Convention of States group. Ron DeSantis, governor of Florida, has also previously supported the Convention of States movement.<sup>[9]</sup>

#### Opponents

Opponents of the group's efforts to call a convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution include conservative groups the John Birch Society and the Eagle Forum as well as George Soros.<sup>[1][39]</sup> Liberal advocacy group Common Cause has been a vocal opponent of the CSG's Convention of the States initiative; in a May 2016 report entitled *The Dangerous Path: Big Money's Plan to Shred the Constitution*, the group wrote that "There is nothing to prevent the convention, once convened, from proposing additional changes that could limit or eliminate fundamental rights or upend our entire system of government."<sup>[40][41]</sup>

#### Funding

Tax records show that CSG's annual funding increased since its push to amend the Constitution began; the group received \$1.8 million in contributions in 2011, and \$5.7 million in contributions in 2015.<sup>[42]</sup> In 2016, the group raised over \$4.2 million.<sup>[43]</sup> The group does not disclose the sources of its funding; in a 2013 tax filing, CSG stated that disclosure would "chill the donors' First Amendment right to associate in private with the organization."<sup>[42]</sup>

CSG also operates the Alliance for Self-Governance and Convention of States Action, neither of which is legally required to disclose donors' identities.<sup>[42]</sup>

In 2014 they received a \$500,000 donation from the Mercer Family Foundation. The Convention of States movement has also received support from the Donors Trust fund.<sup>[9]</sup>

#### See also

Convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution

Second Constitutional Convention of the United States

States' rights

Wolf-PAC

## References

### Center of the American Experiment

Founder(s) Mitch Pearlstein[1]

Established 1990[2]

President John Hinderaker[3]

Chairman Ron Eibensteiner

Senior Policy Fellow Kathy Kersten

Budget Revenue: \$1,191,118

Expenses: \$1,087,451

(FYE December 2015)[4]

Coordinates 44.9718°N 93.3761°WCoordinates: 44.9718°N 93.3761°W

Address 8441 Wayzata Blvd., Suite 350

Golden Valley, MN 55426

Website Official website

The Center of the American Experiment is a Minnesota-based think tank that advocates for conservative and free-market principles.[5]

### Overview

The Center of the American Experiment was founded in 1990 by Mitch Pearlstein, a former Reagan appointee.[2] Annette Meeks previously served as the organization's CEO.[6] It has received grants from the Bradley Foundation and the John M. Olin Foundation.[7] Katherine Kersten is a Senior Fellow at the organization.[8]

The Center has supported school vouchers[7] and opposed affirmative action, particularly in academia.[9] The organization has been credited with playing a major role in empowering conservatives in Minnesota.[10]

### Competitive Enterprise Institute

Competitive Enterprise Institute

Competitive Enterprise Institute.jpg

Abbreviation CEI

Formation1984; 36 years ago

Founder Fred L. Smith Jr.

Type Public policy think tank

Headquarters 1310 L Street NW,

Washington, DC 20036

President and CEO

Kent Lassman

Revenue (2015)

\$7,703,763[1]

Expenses (2015) \$7,811,133[1]

Website cei.org

The Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI) is a non-profit libertarian think tank founded by the political writer Fred L. Smith Jr. on March 9, 1984, in Washington, D.C., to advance principles of limited government, free enterprise, and individual liberty. CEI focuses on a number of regulatory policy issues, including energy, environment, business and finance, labor, technology and telecommunications, transportation, and food and drug regulation.

According to the 2017 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report (Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, University of Pennsylvania), CEI is number 59 (of 60) in the "Top Think Tanks in the United States".[2]

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#### Policy areas

##### Energy and environment

Academic research has identified CEI as one of the Conservative think tanks funded to overturn the environmentalism of the 1960s, central to promoting climate change denial. It was involved in assisting the anti-environmental climate change policy of the George W. Bush administration.[3]

CEI promotes environmental policies based on limited government regulation and property rights and rejects what they call "global warming alarmism".[4] The organization's largest program, the Center for Energy and Environment, focuses on energy policy, chemical risk policy, Clean Air Act regulation, land and water regulation, the Endangered Species Act, and private conservation policies.

CEI is an outspoken opponent of government action by the Environmental Protection Agency that would require limits on greenhouse gas emissions. It favors free-market environmentalism, and supports the idea that market institutions are more effective in protecting the environment than is government. CEI President Kent Lassman wrote on the organization's blog that, "there is no debate about whether the Earth's climate is warming", that "human activities very likely contribute to that warming", and that "this has long been the CEI's position".[5]

In March 1992, CEI's founder Fred Smith said of anthropogenic climate change: "Most of the indications right now are it looks pretty good. Warmer winters, warmer nights, no effects during the day because of clouding, sounds to me like we're moving to a more benign planet, more rain, richer, easier productivity to agriculture."[6]

In May 2006, CEI's global warming policy activities attracted attention as it embarked upon an ad campaign with two television commercials.[7] These ads promote carbon dioxide as a positive factor in the environment and argue that global warming is not a concern. One ad focuses on the message that CO2 is misrepresented as a pollutant, stating that "it's essential to life. We breathe it out. Plants breathe it in... They call it pollution. We call it life." [8] The other states that the world's glaciers are "growing, not melting... getting thicker, not thinner." [8] It cites Science articles to support its claims. However, the editor of Science stated that the ad "misrepresents the conclusions of the two cited Science papers... by selective referencing". The author of the articles, Curt Davis, director of the Center for Geospatial Intelligence at the University of Missouri, said CEI was misrepresenting his previous research to inflate their claims. "These television ads are a deliberate effort to confuse and mislead the public about the global warming debate," Davis said.[9]

In 2009, CEI's director of energy and global warming policy told The Washington Post, "The only thing that's been demonstrated to reduce emissions is economic collapse".[10]

In 2014, CEI sued the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy over a video that linked the polar vortex to climate change.[11]

##### Regulatory reform

CEI advocates for regulatory reform on a range of policy issues, including energy, environment, business and finance, labor, technology and telecommunications, transportation, and food and drug regulation.[12]

Its annual survey of the federal regulatory state entitled Ten Thousand Commandments: An Annual Snapshot of the Federal Regulatory State, documents the size, scope, and cost of federal regulations, and how the U.S. regulatory burden affects American consumers, businesses, and the economy.[13]

CEI's Clyde Wayne Crews Jr. coined the phrase "regulatory dark matter," referencing astrophysics to distinguish between ordinary government regulations or "visible matter," and "regulatory dark matter," which consists of "thousands of executive branch and federal agency proclamations and issuances, including memos, guidance documents, bulletins, circulars and announcements with practical regulatory effect." [13]

##### Technology and telecommunications

In 2015, CEI filed an amicus brief in support of the petitioners in U.S. Telecom v. FCC. The brief argued that, "Congress did not authorize the FCC to regulate the Internet when it enacted Section 706 of the Telecommunications Act and, in fact, placed it outside the scope of the FCC's rulemaking authority." [14]

CEI was one of several free-market think tanks who publicly supported the Federal Communication Commission's Restoring Internet Freedom Order in 2017, which repealed net neutrality regulations implemented under the Obama Administration.[15]

CEI has argued against using antitrust regulation to break up big technology companies such as Facebook and Google.[16][17]

##### Capitalism

CEI has a longstanding project to recapture the moral legitimacy of capitalism through research, writing, events, and other

outreach activities.[18][19][20] In 2019, CEI's Vice President for Strategy Iain Murray argued, in an op-ed for The Wall Street Journal, that advocates of capitalism and free markets had taken the support of social conservatives for granted.[21]

#### Legal advocacy

The Competitive Enterprise Institute "is one of a small number of think tanks that have a litigation arm to their organization." [22]

#### Center for Class Action Fairness (former project)

From 2015 to 2019, the Center for Class Action Fairness (CCAF) was part of CEI. It has since spun off as part of the new Hamilton Lincoln Law Institute, a free-market nonprofit public-interest law founded by Frank and his CCAF colleague Melissa Holyoak.[23] CCAF represents class members against what it calls, "unfair class action procedures and settlements." [24]

CEI argued *Frank v. Gaos* before the U.S. Supreme Court on October 31, 2018, opposing a proposed class action settlement involving Google, who paid out an \$8.5 million settlement including \$6 million in cy-près funds and more than \$2 million for class-action lawyers. Class members were not awarded any part of the settlement.[25]

In 2015, CEI successfully appealed a class action settlement in a case about the length of Subway's "footlong" sandwiches. CEI argued that the proposed settlement benefited only nine people in the class but awarded more than half a million dollars to the class attorneys. The Seventh Circuit's ruling rejected the settlement in the Subway case that would have paid plaintiffs' attorneys \$525,000 and left the class with nothing. The court's decision included the statement that "[a] class settlement that results in fees for class counsel but yields no meaningful relief for the class is no better than a racket." [26]

#### Challenges to the Affordable Care Act

CEI funded and coordinated *King v. Burwell* and *Halbig v. Burwell*, two lawsuits that challenged the Internal Revenue Service's implementation of the Affordable Care Act.[27] The strategy of bringing such lawsuits was pioneered by Michael S. Greve, former chairman of CEI's board of directors, an avowed ACA opponent who stated: "This bastard [the act] has to be killed as a matter of political hygiene. I do not care how this is done, whether it's dismembered, whether we drive a stake through its heart, whether we tar and feather it, and drive it out of town, whether we strangle it." [28][29] The *King v. Burwell* suit alleged that the IRS's implementation violated the statute and sought to block "a major portion of Obamacare: the subsidies that more than 6 million middle-income people, across more than 30 states, now receive to buy health insurance." [27] CEI general counsel Sam Kazman argued in a USA Today op-ed that the disputed IRS rule "raises a basic issue that goes far beyond Obamacare: Do agencies have to follow the laws enacted by Congress, or can they rewrite them?" [30] The case made its way to the Supreme Court, which is a 6-3 decision rejected the challenge and upheld the ACA subsidies.[27]

#### Challenges to the Dodd-Frank Act and financial regulation

In 2012, the CEI, along with the conservative activist group 60 Plus Association, filed a lawsuit against the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). The CEI's suit alleges that the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act's creation of the CFPB violates the constitutional separation of powers.[22][31] The CEI also contends that President Obama's recess appointment of Richard Cordray as CFPB director was unconstitutional[22][32] and that the powers of the Financial Stability Oversight Council, created by Dodd-Frank, are unconstitutional.[22] In 2016, a federal judge rejected the challenge to Cordray's appointment.[31] The CEI's challenge to the constitutionality of CFPB remains pending in the federal courts.[31]

#### CEI events

Every year CEI hosts an annual dinner gala and presents the Julian L. Simon Memorial Award. The Simon award honors the work of the late economist, winner of the Simon–Ehrlich wager. Award winners have included:

Year	Winner	Notes
2001	Stephen Moore	
2002	Robert L. Bradley Jr.	
2003	Bjørn Lomborg	
2004	no award	honored Norman Borlaug
2005	Barun Mitra	
2006	John Stossel	
2007	Indur Goklany	
2008	Václav Klaus	
2009	Richard Tren	
2010	Stephen McIntyre and Ross McKittrick	Joint award
2011	Robert J. Smith	
2012	Matt Ridley	
2013	Deirdre McCloskey	
2014	John Tierney	

2015 Vernon L. Smith  
2016 Dr. Bruce Yandle  
2017 Dr. Pierre Desrochers  
2018 Hernando de Soto  
2019 Johan Norberg

#### CEI projects

##### Warren T. Brookes Journalism Fellowship

In 1991, CEI established the Warren T. Brookes Journalism Fellowship to identify and train journalists who wish to improve their knowledge of environmental issues and free-market economics. In this manner, the program seeks to perpetuate the legacy of Warren Brookes, who was a longtime journalist with the Boston Herald and the Detroit News and a nationally syndicated columnist. and Former and current fellows include:[citation needed]

1993–1994	Ronald Bailey
1994–1995	Michael Fumento
1995–1996	Michelle Malkin
1996–1997	James Bovard
1997–1998	Jesse Walker
1999–2000	Brian Doherty
2000–2001	Sean Paige
2001–2002	Eileen Ciesla-Norcross
2002–2003	Hugo Gurdon
2003–2004	Neil Hrab
2004–2005	John Berlau
2005–2006	Timothy Carney
2006–2007	Jeremy Lott
2007–2008	Lene Johansen
2008–2009	Silvia Santacruz
2009–2010	Ryan Young
2010–2011	Kathryn Ciano
2011–2012	Matt Patterson
2012–2013	Matthew Melchiorre
2013–2014	Bill Frezza
2014–2015	Carrie Sheffield

##### Bureaucrash

Bureaucrash was a special outreach and activist project of CEI described as an international network of pro-freedom activists working to promote a political ideology based on personal and economic freedom. Bureaucrash conducted political activism using new media, creative marketing, and education campaigns. Bureaucrash maintained a website (bureaucrash.com) and a YouTube channel, Bureaucrash TV, which featured short videos on political topics. Begun as an independent organization, Bureaucrash was absorbed into CEI and, for a time, maintained full-time staff as part of CEI's staff. In mid-2010 Bureaucrash transferred its only full-time staffer to an open position on CEI's communications staff leaving Bureaucrash itself without any full-time staff.

##### Funding

CEI is funded by donations from individuals, foundations and corporations.[33] Donors to CEI include a number of companies in the energy, technology, automotive, and alcohol and tobacco industries.[34]

CEI's revenues for the fiscal year ending on September 30, 2015, were \$7.5 million against expenses of \$7.4 million.[35]

ExxonMobil Corporation was a donor to CEI, giving the group about \$2 million over seven years.[36] In 2006, the company announced that it had ended its funding for the group.[37]

See also  
Donors Trust

##### Club for Growth

The Club for Growth is a 501(c)(4)[1] conservative[2] organization active in the United States, with an agenda focused on cutting taxes and other economic issues.[3] The Club has two political arms: an affiliated traditional political action committee, called the Club for Growth PAC, and Club for Growth Action, an independent-expenditure only committee or Super-PAC.[4]

According to its website, the Club for Growth's policy goals include cutting income tax rates, repealing the estate tax, supporting limited government and a balanced budget amendment, entitlement reform, free trade, tort reform, school choice, and deregulation.[5] The group has opposed government action to curb greenhouse gas emissions. The Club for Growth PAC endorses and raises money for candidates who meet its standards for fiscal conservatism. According to Politico, "The Club for Growth is the pre-eminent institution promoting Republican adherence to a free-market, free-trade, anti-regulation agenda." [6]



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### History

The Club for Growth was founded in 1999 by Stephen Moore, Thomas L. Rhodes, and Richard Gilder. Moore served as the first president of the Club from 1999 until December 2004, when board members voted to remove Moore as president.[7] In 2003 through 2004, the Club for Growth was the largest single fund-raiser for Republican House and Senate candidates, outside of the Republican Party itself, raising nearly \$22 million.[8]

Pennsylvania United States Senator Pat Toomey served as president from 2005 until his resignation in April 2009. Former Indiana Congressman Chris Chocola succeeded Toomey. Chocola served as president through December 2014. He remains a member of the Club's board. Former Indiana Congressman David McIntosh was named president in January 2015.[9]

On September 19, 2005, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) filed suit against the Club for Growth alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act for failing to register as a political action committee in the 2000, 2002, and 2004 congressional elections.[10] In September 2007, the Citizens Club for Growth (the Club for Growth changed its name) and the FEC agreed to settle the lawsuit.[11] According to their joint filing, Citizens Club for Growth said "that it operated under the good faith belief that it had not triggered political committee status ... [and] [f]or the purposes of this settlement, and in order to avoid protracted litigation costs, without admitting or denying each specific basis for the [FEC's] conclusions," Citizens Club for Growth no longer contested the alleged violations and agreed to pay \$350,000 in civil penalties.[12][non-primary source needed]

According to the Associated Press, the settlement was one of "a series of actions by the FEC to penalize independent political groups that spent money to influence elections but did not register as political committees. The groups, called 527 organizations for the section of the IRS code ... , played a significant role in the 2004 congressional and presidential elections by raising unlimited amounts of money from labor groups, corporations and wealthy individuals." [11] On June 25, 2012, U.S. District Court Judge Robert L. Wilkins issued an order stating that the FEC "is FORMALLY REPRIMANDED as a sanction for violating explicitly clear orders" (emphasis in original text) regarding confidentiality in the 2007 settlement agreement." [13][non-primary source needed]

In 2010, the Club's political arms spent about \$8.6 million directly on candidates and bundled another \$6 million from Club members, directing those funds to candidates.[14] In 2012, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, Club

members donated at least \$4 million, and the Club's political arms spent nearly \$18 million on elections.[15]

In 2013, the Club for Growth super PAC's donors included Peter Thiel, an early backer of Facebook and a co-founder of PayPal, who gave \$2 million; Virginia James (\$1.2 million); John W. Childs (\$1.1 million), chairman and founder of the Boston-based private equity firm J.W. Childs Associates; Robert D. Arnott (\$750,000), the chairman and chief executive of California-based Research Affiliates; Robert Mercer, the co-chief executive of Renaissance Technologies and part-owner of Cambridge Analytica, gave \$600,000; and hedge fund manager Paul Singer gave \$100,000.[16]

The Club for Growth's super PAC, which historically has been most active in Republican primary elections, spent more in general elections in the 2018 cycle than it ever had before. This trend was expected to continue into 2020.[17] Club for Growth president David McIntosh described the Club's evolution, saying "We want to be the political arm of the conservative movement—inside the Republican Party." [18]

#### Mission

Founder Stephen Moore has said, "We want to be seen as the tax cut enforcer in the [Republican] party." [19] Unlike many other political action committees, the Club for Growth's PAC regularly participates in funding candidates for primary elections.[14] The Club focuses more on open seats than on challenging sitting Republicans, but it has helped to unseat a number of incumbent Republicans.[7][20] The Club for Growth has established a vetting process for potential candidates that involves one or more interviews, research on the race and the candidate's record, and a poll conducted to establish whether the candidate has a viable chance for victory.[21] Each election cycle, the Club's PAC endorses candidates and encourages donors to support the endorsed candidates.[7] Promoting a more conservative agenda, the Club is known for targeting "establishment" Republican candidates.[14]

#### Issue advocacy

##### 2003

In 2003, the original Club for Growth strongly opposed the Medicare prescription drug benefit proposal.[22] The Club for Growth strongly supported the Bush tax cuts of 2003 and ran television ads against two Republicans who voiced opposition to the tax cuts. According to The New York Times, "Last spring, [Club for Growth president Steve] Moore attacked two Republican Senators who were resisting the latest tax cut: George Voinovich of Ohio and Olympia Snowe of Maine. He ran ads in each of their states in which he compared them with the French president, Jacques Chirac. Karl Rove, President Bush's political advisor, stated that the ads were "stupid" and "counterproductive".[23]

##### 2005

In 2005, Pat Toomey became president and the Club for Growth created a congressional scorecard. The Club's first key vote alert was an amendment sponsored by a Democrat. Representative Earl Blumenauer offered an amendment to an agricultural appropriations bill that would have reduced the sugar program by 6 percent. The Club for Growth supported the amendment, which failed, 146–280.[24][25]

The Club fought to support the Dominican Republic–Central America Free Trade Agreement in 2005, running print advertisements in local Beltway publications in the Washington, DC area. According to Roll Call, "Former Rep. Pat Toomey (R-Pa.), president of the Club for Growth, a CAFTA supporter, said his group continued running advertisements before the Congressional vote." [26]

The Club opposed the 2005 highway bill.[27] President Bush threatened to veto the bill but did sign it. The Christian Science Monitor quoted David Keating saying, "For fiscal conservatives, it's frustrating to watch ... He's beginning to lose all credibility with these veto threats." [28] According to The Washington Post, "The Club for Growth, a conservative group that funds like-minded candidates for Congress, has turned the highway legislation into a bumper sticker for the GOP's fiscal failings." [29]

Keating said to the Chicago Sun-Times, "It is a pork-laden bill." [30] The Christian Science Monitor reported Toomey saying,

"This is a defining moment. The Republican Party came to power in 1995 by advocating limited government. But in the last four to five years, there has been no evidence that the Republican officials in the federal government have any remaining commitment to this vital principle." [31]

During the debate on the highway bill, the Club supported an amendment by Tom Coburn that would defund the noted "Bridge to Nowhere" in Alaska.

Following the Supreme Court's *Kelo v. City of New London* decision, the Club gained an appropriations amendment by Scott Garrett to prohibit funds in the bill from being used to enforce the Court's decision. The amendment passed, 231–189.[32] The Club for Growth PAC highlighted this vote when it targeted Joe Schwarz, a House Republican who it helped defeat in 2006, claiming he was too liberal.[33]

##### 2006

In the spring of 2006, the Club opposed the 527 Reform Act, which curtailed spending by such political organizations. It

led a coalition of center-right groups in sending letters to Congress to support its position.[34] The House passed the 527 Reform Act by a margin of 218–209, but the Senate did not consider the legislation.[35]

The Club for Growth supported various amendments to cut earmarks in the budget, such as "dairy education" and a "wine initiative." [36] The Club included assessment of sponsorship of the card check bill in its scorecard. If lawmakers co-sponsored the bill, they were docked points in the rating system.[37]

2007

The Club for Growth issued a new scorecard in 2007 that highlighted how House members voted on several amendments that defunded earmarks. Sixteen congressmen scored a perfect 100% on the so-called "RePORK Card", voting for all 50 anti-pork amendments. They were all Republicans. Conversely, 105 congressmen (81 Democrats and 24 Republicans) scored a 0%, voting against every single amendment. In 2007, the Club also scored against House bills that increased the minimum wage, implemented card check, and sought caps on CEO pay.[38] In the Senate, the Club scored against bills that increased the minimum wage, passage of the farm bill, and the SCHIP healthcare plan.[39]

In 2007, the Club for Growth opposed protectionist policies against China. Senators Chuck Schumer of New York and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina had proposed a bill to apply large tariffs on Chinese imports if that country did not increase the value of its currency. In response, the Club sponsored a petition of 1,028 economists who stated their opposition to protectionist policies against China. The list of economists included Nobel Laureates Finn Kydland, Edward Prescott, Thomas Schelling, and Vernon Smith. The petition played off a similar petition that was also signed by 1,028 economists in 1930 that opposed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act.[40]

2008–09

In 2008 and 2009, the Club for Growth opposed the \$787 billion stimulus bill, Cash for Clunkers, cap and trade legislation, the Wall Street bailout, the auto bailout, the Affordable Care Act and the bailout of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.[41]

After Barack Obama was elected president in November 2008, Club President Pat Toomey penned an op-ed that included the results of a poll commissioned by the Club: "A poll commissioned by the Club for Growth in 12 swing congressional districts over the past weekend shows that the voters who made the difference in this election still prefer less government—lower taxes, less spending and less regulation—to Obama's economic liberalism. Turns out, Americans didn't vote for Dems because they support their redistributionist agenda, but because they are fed up with the GOPers in office. This was a classic 'throw the bums out' election, rather than an embrace of the policy views of those who will replace them." [42]

In 2009, the Club produced another "RePORK Card". This time there were 22 House members with a 100% score: 1 Democrat and 21 Republicans. At the bottom, 211 House members received a 0% score: 202 Democrats and 9 Republicans.[43]

2010

The Club for Growth launched its Repeal It! campaign in 2010 in an attempt to help build public support for undoing the Affordable Care Act. In 2010, more than 400 federal lawmakers and candidates signed the Repeal It! pledge, including more than 40 of the incoming freshman class of congressmen and Senators.[44]

The Club for Growth advocated the discharge petition, a proposal that would have forced a House vote on repealing the Affordable Care Act. At the time, Keith Olbermann said: "The petition, which would need 218 signatures to force House Speaker Pelosi to put the repeal bill up for a vote, went largely ignored. As Talking Points Memo reports, on Monday it had only 30 signatures. That is until the right wing group Club For Growth e-mailed its members, explaining Mr. [Steve] King's discharge petition will be considered as a key vote on the club's annual Congressional scorecard. That scorecard is considered one of the gold standards of conservative rankings. That and the Spanish Inquisition. So by Tuesday, the petition had 22 more signatures." [45]

2011–12

The Club was involved in the debate over the debt ceiling that took place in August 2011. The Club endorsed and strongly supported "Cut Cap and Balance" and ran issue ads urging Republicans to "show some spine" on maintaining the debt ceiling.[46]

The Club opposed the re-authorization of the Export-Import Bank.[47] The Club also took a strong position against Republicans voting for tax increases during the debate over the so-called "fiscal cliff". The Club opposed the "Plan B" tax increase proposed by John Boehner and also opposed the final deal.[48]

2013

In September 2013, Club for Growth made voting on the Continuing Appropriations Resolution a key vote, announcing it track how representatives voted on the bill and make that part of their congressional scorecard.[49] The group urged representatives to vote yes, particularly with defunding ObamaCare in mind.[49]

The Club for Growth opposed the Ryan-Murray Budget deal.[50] It also opposed the 2013 farm bill, which failed for the

first time in the bill's 40-year history.[51][52][53]

2014

The Club's PAC spent \$3.1 million (\$2.4 million on independent expenditures and \$700,000 on ads) or nearly half of the \$7.8 million which it spent in 2014 on Chris McDaniel's effort to defeat Thad Cochran in the United States Senate Republican primary election in Mississippi, 2014.[9]

2015

From April through June 2015, the Club for Growth spent \$1 million on television ads in nine congressional districts, urging the members of Congress in those districts to oppose re-authorization of the Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im Bank). Additional advertisements were announced in two districts in Utah, but were cancelled when the members declared their opposition to the Ex-Im Bank.[54] In addition, the Club for Growth announced a key vote against re-authorization of the Ex-Im Bank.[55]

The Club for Growth produced a series of policy papers on the positions taken by major Republican presidential candidates on the government's role in economic growth. The eleven papers examined the records and remarks of the candidates on issues such as tax reform, government spending, entitlement reform, and free trade.[56] The Club concluded that Senators Ted Cruz, Rand Paul, and Marco Rubio were the most likely candidates to enact pro-growth policies if elected president.[57]

In October 2015, the Club for Growth announced a key vote against the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2015, saying that it would include a \$1.5 trillion in the debt ceiling and a \$112 billion increase in federal spending.[58]

Climate change

The Club for Growth has opposed government action to curb greenhouse gas emissions. In 2009, the Club for Growth pressured Republican politicians not to support a cap-and-trade bill, which the group viewed as being "extremely harmful to the economy." [59] In 2011, the group issued a white paper criticizing presidential candidate Mitt Romney's regulatory record as Massachusetts governor, including his support of global warming policies.[60] In 2017, the group called on President Trump to exit the Paris Agreement.[61]

Congressional scorecard

Since 2005, the Club for Growth has produced an annual congressional scorecard. Each member of Congress receives a score on a scale of 0 to 100. The Club for Growth awards a Defender of Economic Freedom award to members of Congress who receive a 90% above on the annual scorecard and have a lifetime score of at least 90%.[62] The New York Times described the Club's release of its annual scorecard as "set upon by Republicans like the Oscar nominations list by Hollywood, with everyone dying to know who ranks where, especially in election years." [63]

The Club's 2015 congressional scorecard was based on 29 House votes and 25 Senate votes. Mike Lee was the only U.S. Senator to receive a perfect score. Ben Sasse was ranked second among U.S. Senators, followed by Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz. On the U.S. House side, John Ratcliffe, Tim Huelskamp, and Scott DesJarlais received perfect scores.[64]

The Club for Growth Foundation's 2017 Congressional Scorecard was released in February 2018. Andy Biggs, a Republican from Arizona, was the only member of the U.S. House to receive a 100% rating. A total of 29 members of the U.S. House received a score of at least 90%. In the U.S. Senate, Jeff Flake, Pat Toomey, and James Lankford scored 100%, while four other Senators scored at least 90%.[65]

The Club for Growth's 2018 Congressional Scorecard awarded twenty members of the U.S. House and five U.S. Senators scores of at least 90%. Four U.S. Senators (Jeff Flake, Mike Lee, Rand Paul, and Pat Toomey) and three U.S. Representatives (Justin Amash, Andy Biggs, and Paul Gosar) received perfect scores. Susan Collins received the lowest score among Republican Senators while Brian Fitzpatrick and Christopher Smith were the lowest scoring Republican members of the U.S. House.[66]

Club for Growth PAC

2004

In 2004, the Club for Growth's PAC endorsed and supported U.S. Representative Pat Toomey, who challenged incumbent Senator Arlen Specter in the Republican primary in Pennsylvania. The PAC was reported to have collected contributions totaling over \$934,000 for Toomey. It also spent \$1 million on its own independent television advertising campaign on Toomey's behalf.[67] Specter, who had the support of President Bush, the RNC, and Sen. Rick Santorum, defeated Toomey by a narrow margin of 51–49%. Afterward Toomey accepted the position as President of the Club for Growth, where he served until April 2009.

2006

The original Club's PAC supported the electoral bids of freshmen U.S. Congressman Adrian Smith (R-NE), Doug Lamborn[68] (R-CO), Bill Sali[69] (R-ID), and Tim Walberg[70] (R-MI), who all were elected. Congressional Quarterly wrote that Smith's views did not differ greatly from those of his primary election rivals, but the endorsement of the Club for Growth's PAC "gave him the imprimatur of the most fiscally conservative candidate, and it helped boost him to the top of

the campaign fundraising competition." [71]

In the 2006 primaries, the Club's PAC recommended to its donors that they support incumbent Democratic Congressman Henry Cuellar (D-TX), the first time the Club's PAC recommended support for a Democrat. Cuellar won the primary race against former Congressman Ciro Rodriguez. [7] The Club's PAC endorsed four candidates for U.S. Senate, including Mike Bouchard in Michigan, Mike McGavick in Washington, Michael Steele in Maryland, and Stephen Laffey in Rhode Island, who did not win. [7]

Support by the Club's PAC was not a guarantee of success: its candidate Sharron Angle was defeated in the Republican primary in Nevada's 2nd congressional district, although it spent more than \$1 million on her campaign. [72] The Club's PAC also supported primary campaigns of Phil Krinkie in Minnesota and Kevin Calvey in Oklahoma, who lost, as did incumbent congressman Chris Chocola in Indiana, [14] John Gard in Wisconsin, and Rick O'Donnell in Colorado. [73]

The Club's PAC supported the reelection of Steve Chabot in Ohio.

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome
Adrian Smith	Nebraska's 3rd congressional district	39%	55% [74]	Win
Doug Lamborn	Colorado's 5th congressional district	27% [75]	59%	Win
Bill Sali	Idaho's 1st congressional district	26% [76]	50%	Win
Tim Walberg	Michigan's 7th congressional district	53% [77]	50% [77]	Win
Henry Cuellar	Texas's 28th congressional district	53%	68% [78]	Win
Mike Bouchard	United States Senate election in Michigan, 2006	60%	41% [79]	Loss
Mike McGavick	United States Senate election in Washington, 2006		86% [80]	40% [81] Loss
Michael Steele	United States Senate election in Maryland, 2006	87% [82]	44% [83]	Loss
Sharron Angle	Nevada's 2nd congressional district election, 2006	35% [84]	—	Loss
Phil Krinkie	Minnesota's 6th congressional district		—	Loss
Kevin Calvey	Oklahoma's 5th congressional district	10% [85]	—	Loss
Chris Chocola	Indiana's 2nd congressional district	70%	46% [86]	Loss
John Gard	Wisconsin's 8th congressional district	Unopposed	49% [87]	Loss
Rick O'Donnell	Colorado's 7th congressional district	Unopposed	42%	Loss
Steve Chabot	Ohio's 1st congressional district	Unopposed	52% [88]	Win
Stephen Laffey	United States Senate election in Rhode Island, 2006		46%	— Loss
Jon Kyl [89]	United States Senate election in Arizona, 2006	Unopposed	53%	Win
George Allen	United States Senate election in Virginia, 2006	Unopposed	49%	Loss
John B. T. Campbell III [90]	California's 48th congressional district	Unopposed	60%	Win
Jim Jordan [91]	Ohio's 4th congressional district	50%	60%	Win
Ralph Norman [92]	South Carolina's 5th congressional district	Unopposed	43%	Loss
David McSweeney [93]	Illinois's 8th congressional district	43%	44%	Loss

2007

The Club's PAC endorsed state senator Steve Buehrer in the special election for Ohio's 5th congressional district to replace the deceased Rep. Paul Gillmor. [94] Buehrer however was defeated by Bob Latta, the son of former Rep. Del Latta, in the Republican primary in November 2007 by a 44% to 40% margin.

The Club's PAC endorsed Paul Jost, the chairman of the Virginia chapter of the Club for Growth, in the contest to replace deceased Rep. Jo Ann Davis in Virginia's 1st congressional district. [95] In the nominating convention, Jost was defeated by state delegate Rob Wittman.

2008

In Maryland's 1st congressional district, the Club's PAC endorsed state senator Andrew P. Harris against nine term incumbent Wayne Gilchrest. In the February 12 primary, Harris surged to a strong 44% to 32% victory. Gilchrest became the second incumbent Republican to be defeated by a candidate supported by the Club. The first was Rep. Joe Schwarz in Michigan in 2006. [20] Harris was, however, unable to win the general election.

In Georgia's 10th congressional district, the Club's PAC endorsed incumbent Paul Broun who defeated state representative Barry Fleming 71% to 29% in the July 15, 2008, primary election. Broun's victory surprised many political observers. [96]

In Arizona's 5th congressional district, the Club's PAC endorsed former Maricopa County Treasurer David Schweikert, who narrowly defeated former candidate Susan Bitter-Smith by a margin of 30% to 28%; there were three other candidates. [97] He did not win the general election.

During the 2008 Republican presidential primaries, the Club's PAC was critical of Mike Huckabee, attacking him as the "tax-increasing liberal governor of Arkansas". [98] Huckabee, in turn, referred to the Club for Growth as the "Club for Greed". [99]

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome
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Paul Broun[96]	Georgia's 10th congressional district	71%	61%	Win		
Charlie Ross	Mississippi's 3rd congressional district	43%	-	Loss		
Matt Shaner	Pennsylvania's 5th congressional district	17%	-	Loss		
Harri Anne Smith	Alabama's 2nd congressional district	46%	-	Loss		
Bob Onder	Missouri's 9th congressional district	29%	-	Loss		
Sean Parnell	Alaska's at-large congressional district	45%	-	Loss		
Steve Scalise	Louisiana's 1st congressional district	58%	75%	Win		
Woody Jenkins	Louisiana's 6th congressional district	61%	46%	Loss		
John Shadegg	Arizona's 4th congressional district	Unopposed		54%	Win	
Scott Garrett	New Jersey's 5th congressional district	Unopposed		56%	Win	
Doug Lamborn	Colorado's 5th congressional district	45%	60%	Win		
Michele Bachmann	Minnesota's 6th congressional district	85%	46%	Win		
Pete Olson	Texas's 22nd congressional district	69%	53%	Win		
Mike Coffman	Colorado's 6th congressional district	40%	61%	Win		
Tom McClintock[100]	California's 4th congressional district		53%	50%	Win	
Saxby Chambliss	United States Senate election in Georgia, 2008	Unopposed		58%	Win	
John E. Sununu	United States Senate election in New Hampshire, 2008		89%	43%	Loss	
Bob Schaffer	United States Senate election in Colorado, 2008	Unopposed		43%	Loss	
Steve Pearce	United States Senate election in New Mexico, 2008		51%	39%	Loss	
Andrew P. Harris[101]	Maryland's 1st congressional district	43%	48%	Loss		
Tim Walberg[102][103]	Michigan's 7th congressional district	Unopposed		46%	Loss	
Tom Feeney	Florida's 24th congressional district	76%	41%	Loss		
Dean Andal	California's 11th congressional district	Dean Andal		45%	Loss	
David Schweikert	Arizona's 5th congressional district	30%	44%	Loss		
Chris Hackett	Pennsylvania's 10th congressional district		51%	44%	Loss	
Paul Jost	Virginia's 1st congressional district		Loss			
Steve Buehrer	Ohio's 5th congressional district	40%	-	Loss		

2009

The Club's PAC endorsed in the special election in New York's 23rd congressional district the Conservative Party of New York candidate, Doug Hoffman instead of Republican candidate Dede Scozzafava. With the Club pouring money into Hoffman's campaign, Scozzafava realized that she could not win and withdrew from the race the Sunday before the November 3 special election, endorsing the Democratic candidate Bill Owens.[104] Owens won the election in a district where portions had not had a Democratic congressman since the 19th century.[105]

2010

Of the 26 general election candidates endorsed by Club for Growth in 2010, 20 won election.[106] The following chart lists candidates endorsed by the Club:[107]

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome		
David Schweikert	Arizona's 5th congressional district	37%	52%	Win		
Tom Coburn	United States Senate election in Oklahoma, 2010	90%	71%	Win		
Tom Graves	Georgia's 9th congressional district	55%	Unopposed	Win		
Mike Lee	United States Senate election in Utah, 2010	51%	52%	Win		
Ron Johnson	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2010	85%	52%	Win		
Sharron Angle	United States Senate election in Nevada, 2010	40%	45%	Loss		
Rand Paul	United States Senate election in Kentucky, 2010	59%	56%	Win		
Marco Rubio	United States Senate election in Florida, 2010	84%	48%	Win		
Ken Buck	United States Senate election in Colorado, 2010	52%	46%	Loss		
Joe Miller	United States Senate election in Alaska, 2010	51%	35%	Loss		
Pat Toomey	United States Senate election in Pennsylvania, 2010		82%	51%	Win	
Tim Huelskamp	Kansas's 1st congressional district	34%	74%	Win		
Mike Pompeo	Kansas's 4th congressional district	39%	59%	Win		
Jeff Duncan	South Carolina's 3rd congressional district		51%	62%	Win	
Tim Scott	South Carolina's 1st congressional district	68%	65%	Win		
Justin Amash	Michigan's 3rd congressional district	40%	60%	Win		
Mick Mulvaney	South Carolina's 5th congressional district		Unopposed	55%	Win	
Todd Young	Indiana's 9th congressional district	34%	52%	Win		
Stephen Fincher	Tennessee's 8th congressional district	48%	59%	Win		
Tim Griffin	Arkansas's 2nd congressional district	61%	58%	Win		
David Harmer	California's 11th congressional district	36%	48%	Loss		
Jesse Kelly	Arizona's 8th congressional district	48%	47%	Loss		
Nan Hayworth	New York's 19th congressional district	69%	53%	Win		
Keith Rothfus	Pennsylvania's 4th congressional district	66%	49%	Loss		
Andrew P. Harris	Maryland's 1st congressional district	67%	55%	Win		
Jim DeMint	United States Senate election in South Carolina, 2010		83%	62%	Win	
Doug Hoffman[110]	New York's 23rd congressional district		46%	Loss		

Kevin Calvey[111]	Oklahoma's 5th congressional district	34%	-	Loss
Robin Smith[112]	Tennessee's 3rd congressional district	28%	-	Loss

2012

In 2012, the Club for Growth PAC endorsed eighteen congressional candidates, nine of whom won their elections:[113]

Candidate	Race	Primary	General	Outcome
Richard Mourdock[114]	United States Senate election in Indiana, 2012	61%	44%	Loss
Josh Mandel[115]	United States Senate election in Ohio, 2012	63%	45%	Loss
Connie Mack IV[116]	United States Senate election in Florida, 2012	59%	42%	Loss
Ted Cruz[117]	United States Senate election in Texas, 2012	57%	56%	Win
Jeff Flake[114]	United States Senate election in Arizona, 2012	69%	49%	Win
Thomas Massie[118]	Kentucky's 4th congressional district	45%	62%	Win
Steve King[119]	Iowa's 4th congressional district	Unopposed	52%	Win
Ron DeSantis[120]	Florida's 6th congressional district	38%	57%	Win
Kevin Cramer[121]	North Dakota's At-large congressional district	54%	54%	Win
Tom Cotton[122]	Arkansas's 4th congressional district	57%	59%	Win
Mark Neumann[117]	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2012	22%	-	Loss
Carl Wimmer[123]	Utah's 4th congressional district	-	Loss	
Don Stenberg[124]	United States Senate election in Nebraska, 2012	18%	-	Loss
Matt Salmon[125]	Arizona's 5th congressional district	51%	64%	Win
Scott Keadle[126]	North Carolina's 8th congressional district	36%	-	Loss
David M. McIntosh[127]	Indiana's 5th congressional district	28%	-	Loss
Ron Gould	Arizona's 4th congressional district	31%	-	Loss
Keith Rothfus[128]	Pennsylvania's 12th congressional district	Unopposed	52%	Win

2014

Candidate	Race	Primary	Runoff	General	Outcome
Justin Amash[129]	Michigan's 3rd congressional district	Win[130]	-	Win	Win
Ben Sasse[129]	United States Senate election in Nebraska, 2014	Win[131]	-	Win	Win
Chris McDaniel[129]	United States Senate election in Mississippi, 2014	Went to runoff election[132][133]			Loss
-	Loss				
Tom Cotton[129]	United States Senate election in Arkansas, 2014	Unopposed[134]	-	Win	Win
Bryan Smith[129]	Idaho's 2nd congressional district	Loss[135]	-	Loss	
Dan Sullivan[136]	United States Senate election in Alaska, 2014	Win[137]	-	Win	Win
John Ratcliffe[138]	Texas's 4th congressional district	Went to runoff election[139]	Win	Win	Win
Chad Mathis[140]	Alabama's 6th congressional district	Loss[141]	-	Loss	
Barry Loudermilk	Georgia's 11th congressional district	Went to runoff election[142]	Win	Win	Win
Bob Johnson	Georgia's 1st congressional district	Went to runoff election[143][144]	Loss	-	
Loss					
Mike Pompeo[145]	Kansas's 4th congressional district	Win[146]	-	Win	Win
Gary Palmer[147]	Alabama's 6th congressional district	Went to runoff election[148]	Win	Win	Win
Marilinda Garcia[149]	New Hampshire's 2nd congressional district	Win[150]	-	Loss	Loss

2016

U.S. presidential election

With regard to the 2016 Republican presidential primary candidates, the Club for Growth was critical of Mike Huckabee, Chris Christie, John Kasich, Ben Carson, Carly Fiorina, and Donald Trump.[151][152][153][154][155] In August 2015, Club for Growth President David McIntosh said that Marco Rubio, Rand Paul, and Ted Cruz are "the real deal candidates, the gold standard of the race," and that while questions remained, Jeb Bush and Scott Walker showed some pro-growth stances.[156]

In August 2015, the Club for Growth PAC announced it would formally support presidential candidates for the first time, saying the group would bundle donations for Cruz, Rubio, Walker, Bush, and Paul. Club for Growth President David McIntosh said "Five candidates are at the forefront of the Republican presidential field on issues of economic freedom, and the Club for Growth PAC is standing with them to help them stand out from the rest." [157] In October 2015, McIntosh said Cruz and Rubio were "the gold standard" of Republican presidential candidates.[158]

The Club for Growth's Super PAC, Club for Growth Action, was particularly critical of Trump's candidacy, announcing a \$1 million Iowa advertising buy against his campaign in September 2015. The Club for Growth Action was the first third-party group to spend significant sums against Donald Trump.[159] The Club for Growth announced a \$1.5 million advertising buy in Florida in March 2016. The group's advertisements highlighted Trump's support for liberal policies, such as a single-payer health insurance system and tax increases.[160][161][162][163]

In March 2016, Politico reported that the Club for Growth PAC planned to deny congressional endorsements to any candidates who endorsed Donald Trump's presidential bid before the nomination was actually clinched. The Club's PAC noted that the warning did not apply to those who endorsed Trump after the May 3, 2016, Indiana primary.[164][165] Also in March 2016, the Club for Growth PAC endorsed Ted Cruz for president. The Club for Growth PAC had never previously endorsed in a presidential race. According to Club for Growth head David McIntosh, "This year is different because there

is a vast gulf between the two leading Republican candidates on matters of economic liberty. Their records make clear that Ted Cruz is a consistent conservative who will fight to shrink the federal footprint, while Donald Trump would seek to remake government in his desired image."[166]

#### U.S. congressional elections

In North Carolina's 2nd congressional district, Club for Growth Action opposed incumbent Renee Ellmers without endorsing a specific candidate. She was defeated in the primary.[167]

Candidate	Race	Primary	Primary runoff	General	General runoff	Outcome		
Ron Johnson[168]	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2016	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Mike Lee[168]	United States Senate election in Utah, 2016	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Rand Paul	United States Senate election in Kentucky, 2016	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Tim Scott[168]	United States Senate election in South Carolina, 2016	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Pat Toomey[168]	United States Senate election in Pennsylvania, 2016	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Marco Rubio	United States Senate election in Florida, 2016	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Ron DeSantis	Florida's 6th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Marlin Stutzman[169]	United States Senate election in Indiana, 2016	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Warren Davidson[171]	Ohio's 8th congressional district	Win[172]	—	Win[173]	—	Win	—	Win
Jim Banks[174]	Indiana's 3rd congressional district	Win[175]	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Kyle McCarter[176]	Illinois's 15th congressional district	Loss[177]	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Mary Thomas[178]	Florida's 2nd congressional district	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
John Fleming[179]	United States Senate election in Louisiana, 2016	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Mike Crane[180]	Georgia's 3rd congressional district	Went to runoff election[181]	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Ted Budd[182]	North Carolina's 13th congressional district	Win[183]	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Rod Blum	Iowa's 1st congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Scott Garrett	New Jersey's 5th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Tim Huelskamp	Kansas's 1st congressional district	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Andy Biggs[184]	Arizona's 5th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Paul Gosar[185]	Arizona's 4th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Mike Johnson[186]	Louisiana's 4th congressional district	—	—	Went to runoff	—	Win	—	Win

2017

The Club for Growth endorsed Bob Gray to represent Tom Price's district after he left to lead the United States Department of Health and Human Services. The group reportedly also bought \$250,000 of airtime on Atlanta cable against early Republican front-runner Karen Handel.[187][188] The special election took place on April 18, 2017, with Republican Karen Handel defeating Gray and winning a run-off election on June 20, 2017, against Democrat Jon Ossoff.

The organization endorsed Ralph Norman in the Republican primary to replace Mick Mulvaney in South Carolina's 5th congressional district. Norman won the primary and went on to defeat Archie Parnell in the general election.[189] The organization also endorsed Christopher Herrod's candidacy in the special election to replace Jason Chaffetz.[190]

2018

The Club for Growth PAC endorsed Ohio State Treasurer Josh Mandel in his bid to unseat incumbent Democratic Senator Sherrod Brown in the United States Senate election in Ohio, 2018. Mandel dropped out of the race in January 2018.[191]

Candidate	Race	Primary	Primary runoff	General	General runoff	Outcome		
Matt Rosendale[192]	United States Senate election in Montana, 2018	Win	—	Win	—	Loss	—	Loss
Van Taylor[193]	Texas' 3rd congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Kevin Nicholson[194]	United States Senate election in Wisconsin, 2018	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Marsha Blackburn	United States Senate election in Tennessee, 2018	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Mark E. Green	Tennessee's 7th congressional district	Uncontested	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Josh Hawley	United States Senate election in Missouri, 2018	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Denver Riggleman	Virginia's 5th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Russ Fulcher[195]	Idaho's 1st congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Chip Roy	Texas's 21st congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Rick Saccone	Pennsylvania's 18th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Dino Rossi	Washington's 8th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Ron Wright	Texas's 6th congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Andy Coleman	Oklahoma's 1st congressional district	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss	—	Loss
Mark Harris	North Carolina's 9th congressional district	Win	—	Win	—	New election called (see 2019 North Carolina's 9th congressional district special election)	—	New election called (see 2019 North Carolina's 9th congressional district special election)
Michael Cloud	Texas's 27th congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win
Scott Perry	Pennsylvania's 10th congressional district	Uncontested	—	Win	—	Win	—	Win



Ted Budd	North Carolina's 13th congressional district	Uncontested	—	Win	
Bunni Pounds	Texas's 5th congressional district	Went to runoff election	Loss	—	
Greg Steube	Florida's 17th congressional district	Win	—	Win	
Josh Kimbrell	South Carolina's 4th congressional district	Loss	—	—	
Lee Bright	South Carolina's 4th congressional district	Went to runoff election	Loss	—	
Ted Cruz	United States Senate election in Texas, 2018	Win	—	Win	
Rick Scott	United States Senate election in Florida, 2018	Win	—	Win	
Dave Brat	Virginia's 7th congressional district	Win	—	Loss	
Ross Spano	Florida's 15th congressional district	Win	—	Win	
Steve Chabot	Ohio's 1st congressional district	Win	—	Win	

2019  
In the 2019 special election in North Carolina's 9th congressional district, the Club for Growth endorsed state senator Dan Bishop in the 10-candidate Republican primary field.[196] Bishop advanced from the primary and defeated Democrat Dan McCready in the general special election on September 10, 2019.[197]

In the 2019 special election in Pennsylvania's 12th congressional district, the Club for Growth endorsed Fred Keller, who advanced to the general election.[198] Keller won the general special election held on May 21, 2019.[199]

In the 2019 special election in North Carolina's 3rd congressional district, the Club for Growth endorsed Celeste Cairns in the 17-person Republican primary field. Cairns did not advance to the run-off primary.[200]

## 2020

Candidate	Race	Primary	Primary runoff	General	
Ben Sasse[201]	2020 United States Senate election in Nebraska	Win	—	—	
Chip Roy[201]	Texas's 21st congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Scott Perry[201]	Pennsylvania's 10th congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Ted Budd[201]	North Carolina's 13th congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Steve Chabot[201]	Ohio's 1st congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
David Schweikert[201]	Arizona's 6th congressional district	Uncontested	—	—	
Matt Rosendale[202]	Montana's at-large congressional district	June 2, 2020	—	—	
Bill Hightower[203]	Alabama's 1st congressional district	Went to runoff election	—	—	July 14, 2020
Nancy Mace[204]	South Carolina's 1st congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Nick Freitas[205]	Virginia's 7th congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Eric Brakey[206]	Maine's 2nd congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Jeanne Ives[207]	Illinois's 6th congressional district	Win	—	—	
Cynthia Lummis[208]	2020 United States Senate election in Wyoming	August 18, 2020	—	—	
Chris Ekstrom[209]	Texas's 13th congressional district	Loss	—	—	
Thomas Massie	Kentucky's 4th congressional district	June 23, 2020	—	—	
Chris Putnam[210]	Texas's 12th congressional district	Loss	—	—	
Tom Tiffany[211]	Wisconsin's 7th congressional district	Win	—	—	
Rich McCormick[212]	Georgia's 7th congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Tommy Tuberville[213]	2020 United States Senate election in Alabama	Advanced to runoff	—	—	July 14, 2020
Barry Moore	Alabama's 2nd congressional district	Advanced to runoff	—	—	July 14, 2020
Victoria Spartz	Indiana's 5th congressional district	June 2, 2020	—	—	
Steve Daines[214]	2020 United States Senate election in Montana	June 2, 2020	—	—	
Mike Garcia	California's 25th congressional district	Win	—	—	
Matt Gurtler[215]	Georgia's 9th congressional district	June 9, 2020	—	—	
Ronny Jackson[216]	Texas's 13th congressional district	Advanced to runoff	—	—	July 14, 2020
Shane Hernandez	Michigan's 10th congressional district	August 4, 2020	—	—	
Ross Spano	Florida's 15th congressional district	August 18, 2020	—	—	

## References

### Americans United for Life

Americans United for Life  
 AmericansUnitedForLifeLogo.jpg  
 Abbreviation AUL  
 Formation1971  
 Purpose Pro-Life advocacy  
 Location  
 Washington D.C.  
 Region served  
 United States  
 President & CEO  
 Catherine Glenn Foster  
 Budget  
 \$2.7 million

Website Americans United for Life

Americans United for Life (AUL) is an American anti-abortion public interest law firm and advocacy group based in Washington, D.C. Founded in 1971, the group opposes abortion, euthanasia, assisted suicide, embryonic stem cell research, and certain contraceptive methods.[1][2] The organization has led campaigns and been involved in judicial actions to prevent the passage and implementation of legislation that permits abortion, or may increase prevalence of abortion, including successfully defending the Hyde Amendment in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The group has been influential in the spread of abortion-related legislation across a number of American states.[3]

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### Early history and mission

AUL was founded in Washington, D.C. in 1971, two years prior to the nationwide legalization of abortion following the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade*.<sup>[4]</sup> The organization's first chairman of the board was Unitarian minister and then-Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard Divinity School, George Huntston Williams.<sup>[4]</sup> Initially the group was involved in the intellectual debate surrounding abortion, but in 1975 the founders reorganized it into a legal organization. One of the group's early areas of focus was on building a case to persuade the Supreme Court to overturn its 1973 ruling. In 1987 the group outlined their plan to overturn *Roe v. Wade* in a book titled *Abortion and the Constitution: Reversing Roe v. Wade Through the Courts*.<sup>[5]</sup> AUL was inspired by efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its strategy to impact legislation.<sup>[6]</sup> The organization is a registered 501(c)(3) nonprofit, educational organization and public-interest law firm, with a specific interest in pro-life legislation. AUL's areas of legal interest include abortion, infanticide, euthanasia, stem cell research, and human cloning.<sup>[7]</sup>

During the first half of the 1970s, Eugene Diamond of AUL argued that abortion was dangerous to women's health.<sup>[8]</sup> Charles Rice, a professor at Fordham Law School, who was active in the AUL argued that "birth control fever" had infected American society.<sup>[8]</sup> Early on, the organization did not oppose all forms of abortion.<sup>[8]</sup> Some within the organization also supported a legal right to contraceptives.<sup>[8]</sup> When the organization did not decide to condemn all forms of abortion, a number of member left and formed the United States Coalition for Life (USCL).<sup>[8]</sup>

### Leadership

AUL is led by president and CEO Catherine Glenn Foster.<sup>[5]</sup>

### Lobbying and litigation

AUL has supported bills to reduce the prevalence of abortion in the United States, including the Pregnant Women Support Act by United States Representative Lincoln Davis, which was introduced in 2006.<sup>[9]</sup> In 1980, AUL played a key role in the *Harris v. McRae* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the Hyde Amendment restricting federal funding of Medicaid abortions only to cases of life endangerment (and, since 1994, rape or incest) and determined that states participating in Medicaid were not required to fund medically necessary abortions for which federal reimbursement was unavailable as a result of the Hyde Amendment. Professor Victor Rosenblum, a board member of AUL, argued the case before the Supreme Court<sup>[10]</sup> and the AUL Legal Defense Fund represented the amendment's chief sponsor Rep. Henry Hyde and others.<sup>[11]</sup>

The group has also been involved in legislative and judicial actions to prevent late-term abortions. Between 1997 and 2000, AUL worked with state attorneys general across the U.S. on partial birth abortion legislation.<sup>[4]</sup> The group supported the passage of legislation in Virginia, banning a late-term abortion procedure.<sup>[5]</sup> In 2006, the organization supported legislation that was proposed in 21 states, which aimed to require that doctors who perform late-term abortions inform their patients that the fetus might feel pain during the procedure. AUL vice president Daniel McConchie stated that the aim of the proposals was "humanizing the unborn".<sup>[12]</sup> In 2007, the organization was involved in a Supreme Court case in which it helped to uphold the 2003 federal ban on partial-birth abortions.<sup>[13]</sup>

### Model legislation

AUL writes model legislation every year and makes it available on the web for state legislators and others involved in the policy process. The model legislation is also included in the organization's annual guidebook, *Defending Life*, which is

provided to state legislators.[14] The organization developed model legislation for state laws requiring that either a parent or doctor be informed before a minor's pregnancy is terminated.[5][7] In addition, the organization developed language for state laws requiring doctors to advise patients about the health risks from abortions.[5] AUL has also drafted model legislation for states to ban assisted suicide, human cloning and specific kinds of stem cell research,[5] and an opt-out provision for states objecting to the "abortion mandate" in the 2009 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.[15]

In 2008, AUL produced the Pregnant Woman's Protection Act, a piece of model legislation aimed at providing greater rights to pregnant women to defend themselves from physical attack, especially in regard to domestic violence.[16] In 2011, Mother Jones, a politically liberal magazine, published a report on Nebraska's Legislative Bill 232, a bill based on the Pregnant Women's Protection Act, that was critical of both the bill's wording and AUL's campaign to introduce the legislation. The report claimed that the bill's wording strongly advocates 'justifiable force', including homicide, against anyone that would be performing or seeking to perform legal abortion services.[17] Mother Jones was also critical of similar bills, also based in part on the AUL model legislation for the Pregnant Woman's Protection Act, that were introduced in South Dakota[18] and Iowa.[19]

#### Other initiatives

##### Opposition to RU-486, Ella and gender testing

AUL has argued against the use of certain drugs including contraceptives that can be used to induce abortion, and also early-pregnancy gender detection tests. In 1995 the group filed a petition with the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), that demanded the agency apply the strictest possible standards when reviewing a drug used to induce abortions, RU-486.[20] Later, in 2009 and 2010, the organization opposed the FDA approval of the contraceptive drug Ulipristal acetate (also known under the brand name ella). It argued that the pill caused abortions and campaigned for the FDA to not approve the drug for use in the U.S.[21] The group has also voiced opposition towards an early-pregnancy gender detection kit called the Baby Gender Mentor. It stated that learning the gender at such an early point may lead some parents to terminate the pregnancy if they were hoping for a baby of the opposite sex to that indicated by the test. AUL claims that some women disappointed by the result of their test would find it easier to have an abortion if they get the results early.[22]

#### Obamacare

##### Main article: Affordable Care Act

AUL opposes the contraceptive mandate in Obamacare.[23][24][25] During the 2009 debate over President Barack Obama's health care proposals, the organization's president at the time, Charmaine Yoest, met with representatives of the Obama administration to discuss "conscience protection" and the absence of "explicit language banning abortion funding and coverage" in the bill. AUL later came out in opposition to the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act,[26] and its affiliated legislative action group launched a targeted campaign in congressional districts of House members who supported the bill.[27] In the two op-eds for the Wall Street Journal, Yoest argued that the health care bill would allow for federal funding of abortions and does not protect the rights of health care providers to not provide abortion services.[28][29]

#### Supreme Court appointments

The organization has voiced opposition against Supreme Court justice appointments for judges who support abortion rights, including Ruth Bader Ginsburg[30] and Stephen Breyer.[31] In 2009, the organization was vocal in opposition of the nomination of Judge Sonia Sotomayor,[4] arguing that she had a record of pro-abortion activism.[32] AUL provided testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee at the Congressional hearings to decide whether Sotomayor should be confirmed, as well as for then-Solicitor General Elena Kagan.[33][34][35]

#### Online campaigns

AUL has produced online campaigns to engage Americans in the pro-life movement. In 2008, the organization created a website and online petition as part of a campaign against the Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA). As of September 2011, the petition had been signed by over 700,000 people.[36][37][38] Other campaigns have included a "Virtual March for Life" of around 85,000 people,[4] which it organized for members of the pro-life community unable to travel to Washington on the 37th anniversary of the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision. The virtual march aimed to provide individuals with a way to be involved in anti-abortion protests without traveling to Washington D.C., where the annual "March for Life" was taking place.[39] The organization also created a Facebook page named "Support Tebow's Super Bowl Ad", to raise support for Tim Tebow's pro-life Super Bowl television commercial.[40]

#### Actions against Planned Parenthood

In 2011, AUL's 501(c)(4) organization, AUL Action, formed a partnership with other organizations, Expose Planned Parenthood, to campaign for the United States Congress to end federal funding of Planned Parenthood.[41] In an article in The Washington Times, the organization's counsel, Anna Franzonello, argued that the federal funding of Planned Parenthood effectively means that U.S. taxpayers are funding abortion procedures. She also voiced criticism of Planned Parenthood's advisory role to the government, particularly with regard to health care reform.[42] The organization released a report on Planned Parenthood in July 2011, based on a study of 20 years of its records and other evidence including law enforcement reports. Based on the findings of the report, AUL called for a congressional investigation into Planned Parenthood's activities.[43]

## Funding

In 2010, AUL received \$45,000[44] from the Center to Protect Patient Rights (CPPR). AUL Action received \$599,000[44] from CPPR in 2010, which was 39% of their budget.

## References

### American Conservative Union

The American Conservative Union (ACU) is an American political organization that advocates for conservative policies, ranks politicians based on their level of conservatism, and organizes the Conservative Political Action Conference. Founded in 1964, it is the oldest ongoing conservative lobbying organization in the USA.[1][better source needed] The ACU is concerned with what they define as foundations of conservatism, issues such as personal liberty or freedom, foreign policy, and traditional values.[2]

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### Activities

The ACU comprises three entities: The American Conservative Union, a 501(c)(4) organization which conducts lobbying; The American Conservative Union Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization best known for hosting the Conservative Political Action Conference; and The American Conservative Union Political Action Committee, a PAC that formally endorses and funds conservative candidates for federal office.[citation needed]

### Congressional ratings

Dating back to 1971, ACU has implemented its own scoring system which annually rates politicians on their conservatism.[3] While the scorecard was novel to conservatism, Americans for Democratic Action has utilized a liberal rubric for liberalism since 1947.[4][5]

Each publication of Congressional and State Ratings contains a statement from Chairman Matt Schlapp about the philosophy guiding the ratings as one of conservatism: "We begin with our philosophy (conservatism is the political philosophy that sovereignty resides in the person) and then apply our understanding of government (its essential role is to defend life, liberty, and property)."[6]

Unlike other congressional ratings that take positions on pending legislation, ACU Foundation rates votes already cast by lawmakers. Each rating provides a conservative interpretation of an official's view of governance. As one spokesperson for the ACU once noted, "clear-cut distinctions between liberals and conservatives [occur] if you have Crane, Ashbrook, and Kemp go a certain way and Burton goes the other".[7]

The ACU annually rates politicians according to how they vote on key issues, providing a numerical indicator of how much the lawmakers agreed with conservative ideals. They use this rating system as a point of accountability for politicians, comparing their political rhetoric to their voting records to assess their conservativeness.[8] Politicians are given a percentile rating, anyone with a rating of over 80% is considered to be an "ACU Conservative".[9] These scores are often used in political science research, in news stories and in election campaigns.

### Conservative Political Action Conference

ACU's most well-known event is the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), an annual event organized by the ACU foundation.[5] CPAC has an annual attendance of thousands. Speakers regularly include sitting and former presidents and other famous conservatives. CPAC 2017 featured President Donald Trump, Vice President Mike Pence, Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX), Governors Matt Bevin (R-KY), Sam Brownback (R-KS), Doug Ducey (R-AZ), and Scott Walker (R-WI) and executive branch officials (EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt and Education Secretary Betsy DeVos).[10][11][12]

### American Conservative Union Foundation

The ACU Foundation's purpose is to educate the public on conservative principles and currently has five "policy centers" which focus on different political areas. There is the Center for Arts & Culture, the Center for Human Dignity, the Center

for Statesmanship & Diplomacy, the Center for 21st Century Property Rights, and the Center for Criminal Justice Reform (CCJR). These policy centers are mainly blogs which post articles regarding their topic area.[13] The most extensive of these is the CCJR, who advocate for conservative criminal justice reform through advising governmental officials, media advocacy, and testifying as expert witnesses at governmental hearings. The CCJR focuses on two main policy areas: preventing civil asset forfeiture and increasing mental health facilities within the criminal justice system. The CCJR works with the Texas Public Policy Foundation and Prison Fellow Ministries in the Right on Crime campaign, and offers a panel at the Conservative Political Action Conference each year.[14]

## History

### Founding

The American Conservative Union was one of many conservative organizations formed in the 1960s as part of the resurgence of conservatism.[15] As conservative activist M. Stanton Evans predicted, "Historians may well record the decade of the 1960s as the era in which conservatism, as a viable political force, finally came into its own." [16] During a time of increasing polarization between liberals and conservatives, activists began to build a well-organized conservative movement, forming organizations such as Young Americans for Freedom and the ACU.[17] During this era, conservative groups focused less on direct action and more on long term planning and sought to gain positions in public office.[17]

The ACU was founded in December 1964 in response to the predominance of liberalism in America as evidenced by the defeat of Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign.[18] Founders included Frank S. Meyer, William F Buckley Jr, and Robert E. Bauman, who organized the first meeting.[18] In the initial meetings, a 50-member board of directors was appointed, whose members included Lamot Copeland, Peter O'Donnell, John A. Howard, Donald C. Bruce, and John Dos Passos.[18] Membership grew to 7,000 within 9 months, and 45,000 by the end of 1972.[18]

As part of ACU's mission to unite conservatives, William F. Buckley and Robert Bauman led an initiative to declare ACU's views of the John Birch Society. ACU's founding documents state that, There is no relation between the two organizations. The directors of the ACU take a view of world affairs substantially at variance with that taken by Mr. Robert Welch in his most publicized writing. Under the circumstances, the leadership of the ACU will be wholly distinct from that of the John Birch Society.[19]

Conservatives' view of the Birchers became a national storyline when Buckley continued to criticize the Birchers in his National Review column.[20][21][22]

### Foreign policy influence

The ACU spent roughly \$1.4 million opposing the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties in 1977. [23] They used a mass mailing campaign, sending out around 2.4 million letters.[24] This brought in roughly \$15,000 a day in support of conservative candidates who opposed the treaties.[25] They also produced a thirty-minute-long television ad which aired on 150 television station in eighteen states, and took out newspaper ads in thirty states, encouraging citizens to write to their senators to oppose the treaties.[26] The ACU also helped to fund a "truth squad," formed by Senator Paul Laxalt, whose purpose was to "focus renewed public interest in the treaties" and pressure senators to vote against the treaties.[26] Gary Jarmin, who was at the time Legislator of the ACU, stated that the Panama Canal Treaties were "a good issue for the conservative movement. It's not just the issue itself we're fighting for. This is an excellent opportunity to seize control of the Republican Party." [26]

In 1980, the ACU estimated that it would cost roughly \$1.8 million to defeat SALT II; together with other conservative groups, SALT opponents outspent supporters 15:1.[27] Having found the technique of mass mailing to be successful during other campaigns, the ACU used this same technique to oppose SALT II, reaching roughly 500,000 people with this strategy.[27] Additionally, they produced a half-hour-long anti-SALT television program called Soviet Might/American Myth: The United States in Retreat, which was aired on 200 television stations around the country.[28][4]

In 1985, the ACU sent out roughly 100,000 pieces of mail in support of Nicaraguan contra aid in 1985.[29] They also escorted Nicaraguan refugees around Capital Hill in order to persuade undecided politicians to support Reagan's contra aid request.[29]

### Leadership

Founding members include: William F. Buckley, Jr. Rep. Donald Bruce (R.-Ind.), Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), Rep. Katherine St. George (R.-N.Y.), William A. Rusher, Frank Meyer, Thomas S. Winter, John A. Howard and L. Brent Bozell.[30] Donald Bruce served as the first chairman from 1964 to 1966,[31] succeeded by John Ashbrook from 1966 to 1971.[32][33] M. Stanton Evans then served six years from 1971 to 1977,[34][35] succeeded by a two-year term served by Philip Crane from 1977 to 1979.[36] Mickey Edwards served as chairman from 1979 to 1983.[30] David A. Keene was chairman from 1984 until 2011, succeeded by Al Cardenas, who served until 2014. He was succeeded by the ninth and current chairman, Matt Schlapp, who has previously served as George Bush's political director.[37]

### Lobbying in the 21st century

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, the American Conservative Union spent roughly \$20,000 on lobbying in 2001, \$400,000 in 2003, and \$1,100,000 in 2005.[38] They did not spend any money on lobbying in 2004. In the years since Schlapp was elected chairman ACU, has spent \$120,000 on lobbying.[38]

Recurring lobbyists are Lorenz Hart and Amir Iljazi.[38]

#### Controversies

##### FedEx

In 2009, ACU offered FedEx the option of paying as much as \$3.4 million for e-mail and other services for "an aggressive grass-roots campaign" to stop a legislative provision being considered by the U.S. Senate.[39] The letter said the ACU's campaign could include "Producing op-eds and articles written by ACU's Chairman David Keene and/or other members of the ACU's Board of Directors." [39]

Two weeks later, Keene and leaders of five other conservative organizations issued a letter saying that FedEx was mischaracterizing the legislative situation and was unfairly trying to tap into public resentment against federal bailouts to attack its competition.[40] The letter included, at its top, logos from ACU and the other organizations.[41] Whitfield said that Keene had endorsed the second letter as an individual, even though the letter bore the logo of ACU.[42] The ACU then issued a press release saying that permission to use the logo had not been given by ACU, and that the ACU continued to stand with the policy supported by FedEx.[43]

##### Embezzlement

Diana Hubbard Carr, ACU's former administrative director and ex-wife of David Keene, pleaded guilty in June 2011 to embezzling between \$120,000 and \$400,000 from 2006 to 2009, during her time as bookkeeper for the group.[44][45]

#### National Organization for Marriage

The National Organization for Marriage (NOM) is an American non-profit political organization established to work against the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States.[1] It was formed in 2007 specifically to pass California Proposition 8, a state prohibition of same-sex marriage.[2] The group has opposed civil union legislation[3][4] and gay adoption,[5] and has fought against allowing transgender individuals to use bathrooms that accord with their gender identity.[6] Brian S. Brown has served as the group's president since 2010.

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	Leadership

NOM's co-founder Maggie Gallagher speaking at the Cato Institute in 2010  
NOM's founding board of directors consisted of:[7]

Maggie Gallagher, President

Brian S. Brown, Executive Director (former Executive Director of Family Institute of Connecticut)[8]

Robert P. George, Chairman of the Board

Neil Corkery, Treasurer

Chuck Stetson (Chairman of the Board, Bible Literacy Project)[9]

Ken Von Kohorn (Chairman of the Board, Family Institute of Connecticut)[10]

Luis Tellez (President, Witherspoon Institute Board of Trustees)[11]

Matthew S. Holland (President, Utah Valley University)[12]

In April 2009, Holland was replaced on the board by Orson Scott Card (science fiction novelist and faculty member, Southern Virginia University),[13] who then resigned in July 2013 after calling the battle against legalization of same-sex marriage in the US "moot" following a Supreme Court decision.[14] In September 2011, law professor John Eastman replaced Gallagher as the Chairman of the Board.[15]

As of at least 2013, Brian S. Brown is the president.[8] Law professor Robert P. George is chairman emeritus.[8] Gallagher is still a board member and works on specific projects for the group.[15]

Nonprofit status and funding

Groups and projects

The group operates two nonprofit arms: a 501(c)(4) political advocacy group called National Organization for Marriage Inc., established in January 2008, and a 501(c)(3) called NOM Education Fund established in July 2008.[16] The latter arm is not entitled to influence legislation or political campaigns.[17] The Firefighters' Defense Fund, which existed to fund a successful sexual harassment lawsuit by firemen who claim they were forced to participate in a gay pride parade, was a NOM Education Fund project.[18]

The group also operates state-based political action committees such as National Organization for Marriage PAC New York founded in June 2009, and National Organization for Marriage California PAC founded in February 2009.[16][17] The state PACs receive funding from the main 501(c)(4) NOM arm.

Funding

NOM claims it has a wide base of grassroots support, however the majority of its funding comes from a very few anonymous sources making large donations.[19] In NOM's IRS filing for 2009,[20] three donations of \$2.4 million, \$1.2 million and \$1.1 million made up 68% of NOM's contributions and grants income of a little over \$7.1 million, and just five donations made up 75%.[19]

In 2010, Jesse Zwick, then a reporter for the Washington Independent, said he uncovered a 2009 donation to NOM—\$1.43 million from the Knights of Columbus[21]—that reporter Luke Johnson later said was apparently not reported to the IRS by NOM.[19]

In 2010, two donors provided \$6 million, two-thirds of the total donations for the year.[22]

On its 2012 tax return, NOM reported a roughly \$2 million deficit. Three donors contributed nearly two-thirds of the organization's \$9.3 million in donations.[23]

Mormon connection

Gay rights activist Fred Karger said in 2010 that NOM is connected to LDS Church, with large private donations coming from Mormon sources.[2] Gallagher responded by denying any connection "except that a Mormon serves on NOM's board." [16] Former board member Matthew S. Holland is a Mormon as is his replacement Orson Scott Card, and Catholic board member Robert P. George has served since August 2010 as an editorial advisor to the Deseret News, a newspaper owned by the LDS Church.[24]

Activity

NOM has been involved in ballot measures, legislative elections, judicial elections, and issue advertising in various states. NOM was involved in the successful Proposition 8 campaign in California in 2008, as well as a similar successful campaign in Maine one year later. NOM was also involved in unsuccessful efforts to pass an amendment eliminating same-sex marriage in Massachusetts in 2007. NOM participated in efforts to block same-sex marriage in New Jersey,[25] and has unsuccessfully attempted to block same-sex marriage legalization in New York,[26] Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and the District of Columbia. On June 16, 2009, NOM announced the formation of NOM PAC New York, a political action committee with a goal of providing \$500,000 to fund primary challenges against any Republican New York state senator who votes for gay marriage. NOM stated that they were "also looking to aid Democratic candidates who

want to buck the establishment on the marriage issue, and to help in general election contests." [27] In 2010, NOM was involved in successful efforts to oust three Iowa Supreme Court judges who had concurred in a decision that effectively legalized same-sex marriage there. [28]

In 2009, Peter Montgomery of the progressive organization People for the American Way stated: "You have to take [NOM] seriously [...] They've raised a tremendous amount of money that they're funneling into various states." [29]

#### 2007 Massachusetts constitutional amendment

One of the group's first public acts was to campaign in support of a proposed 2007 Massachusetts constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage [30] by restricting marriage to "the union of one man and one woman", in response to the Massachusetts court decision that legalized same-sex marriage in that state. The NOM-supported amendment failed to pass. The campaign included a billboard comparing representative Angelo Puppolo to Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold after he changed his position to oppose the amendment. [31]

#### California Proposition 8

NOM was first formed to support the passage of California Proposition 8 in 2008, which amended the state Constitution to discontinue same-sex marriage ceremonies. The amendment defined marriage as the union between one man and one woman. [2] [32] NOM contributed \$1.8 million to the Proposition 8 effort, [33] and has been described as being "instrumental" in the success of the initiative. [29] Proposition 8 was passed by voters 52% to 48%, and involved an estimated \$83M [34] by both sides of the issue. The amendment was in force until United States district court Judge Vaughn R. Walker overturned it in August 2010, in the case *Perry v. Schwarzenegger*, ruling that it violated both the Due Process and Equal Protection clauses of the United States Constitution. [35] NOM chairman Maggie Gallagher expressed her disagreement with the ruling, targeting Walker's sexuality and accusing him of "substituting his views for those of the American people and of our Founding Fathers." NOM President, Brian Snow, also expressed dissatisfaction with the ruling, stating "With a stroke of his pen, Judge Walker has overruled the votes and values of 7 million Californians" [36] Walker did however place a temporary injunction on same-sex marriages to allow the defendants to bring their case before the United States Supreme Court. On June 26, 2013 the United States Supreme Court ruled the defendants in the case lacked standing to appeal earlier rulings in Federal Court. [37] As a consequence, Walker's opinion striking down the law as unconstitutional stands as the final decision in the case. NOM addressed the Supreme Court's ruling on its website, asking the nation "show its displeasure" with the ruling, adding that "the Supreme Court ripped the legs out from under the institution of marriage." [38]

#### Stand for Marriage Maine

In 2009, NOM was the primary contributor to Stand For Marriage Maine, the organization that led [39] the successful [40] campaign for Question 1 in Maine, a voter referendum that repealed the law passed by the legislature to allow same-sex marriages in the state. Voters passed the referendum 53%–47% out of 567,057 votes cast. [41] Out of the initial \$343,000 in contributions, NOM provided some \$160,000. [42]

NOM contributed over \$1.6 million to Stand For Marriage Maine; by reports as of October 2009, NOM had contributed 63% of that group's funding. [43] [44]

NOM has brought a number of lawsuits to prevent being required to release the names of its donors funding Stand For Marriage Maine.

#### Advertising campaigns

On April 8, 2009, NOM began a "2 Million for Marriage" (2M4M) initiative with the intention of organizing two million activists nationwide. [45] When NOM used the abbreviation "2M4M" for their "2 Million for Marriage" campaign, the media noted that in personal ads, "2M4M" is code for two men seeking a third male sexual partner. NOM did not secure the domain name and other net resources that use the "2M4M" term. Christopher Ambler, a consultant in rapid web development who characterizes himself as a "happily married straight guy", purchased the domain "2M4M.org" [46] and branded it as "Two Men For Marriage," running material counter to NOM's 2M4M aims. [47] [48] [49]

#### Gathering Storm

Main article: Gathering Storm (advertisement)

The 2M4M campaign used an advertisement, "Gathering Storm", in which actors, primarily Mormons from Arizona, [16] standing against a dramatic storm-cloud background, voiced opposition to same-sex marriage. [50] [51]

The Human Rights Campaign, a lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) lobbying group and political action committee, described the ad saying that, in it, "actors make disproven claims about marriage for lesbian and gay couples." [52] [53]

New York Times columnist Frank Rich described the "Gathering Storm" advertisement as "an Internet camp classic", [50] and it was parodied by Stephen Colbert, the website *Funny or Die*, [54] and in the *Futurama* episode "Proposition Infinity".

#### Other advertisements

On April 30, 2009, NOM and Carrie Prejean launched another ad campaign against gay marriage, called "No Offense". In



the ad, they object to being characterized as "outright bigots" because of their stance.[55] After semi-nude photos of Prejean were posted on the Internet, causing some to accuse NOM of hypocrisy,[56] NOM issued a press release stating that Prejean had appeared with NOM as a private citizen and not as a spokesperson.[57] In the wake of the revelation that Prejean had made masturbation videos, NOM removed reference to the video from the front page of their website.[58]

On May 28, 2009, NOM rolled out an advertising campaign in New York, including a video spot. The Christian Science Monitor described the spot as listing a "litany of grievances" as an "ominous score" plays, with a potentially embarrassing error for a campaign based on education: misspelling marriage as marraige.[59]

During the 2016 North Carolina gubernatorial election, NOM released an ad criticizing Democratic candidate Roy Cooper for his support for allowing transgender individuals access to bathrooms that reflect their gender identity. The ad claimed that doing so would give sexual predators easy access to children and other potential victims.[60]

#### New York Congressional phone campaign

NOM spent over \$112,000 on a get-out-the-vote phone campaign[61] for Conservative Party of New York candidate Douglas Hoffman in the contentious 2009 House of Representatives campaign for New York's 23rd District. After pro-same-sex-marriage Republican candidate Dede Scozzafava withdrew from the race,[62][63] Hoffman lost to Democrat Bill Owens,[64] who also opposed gay marriage, by a 2.3% margin.[65][66] State senators said that this congressional race affected the New York State Senate's December 2, 2009 vote against same-sex marriage legislation:[67][68] all 30 Republican state senators voted "no".[69] Following her unsuccessful campaign, Scozzafava acknowledged that her name had begun being used as a verb: "scozzafavaed".[70][71] When the gay Republican organization GOProud had a booth at the 2010 Conservative Political Action Conference, Brown commented, "[W]e have a message for GOProud on marriage: If you try to elect pro-gay-marriage Republicans, we will Dede Scozzafava them." [72] In addition, Maggie Gallagher has used the phrase "the Dede effect" to describe Republican lawmakers' fear of alienating their constituents by voting for same-sex marriage legislation.[73][74]

#### Summer for Marriage Tour

##### Brian S. Brown at the Summer For Marriage Tour

In 2010, NOM staged a 23-city tour holding rallies against same-sex marriage.[75] The rallies attracted supporters and pro-gay marriage protesters.[76] At many stops along the tour, NOM supporters were outnumbered by counter-protesters supporting same-sex marriage; in Atlanta, LGBT rights supporters outnumbered opponents of same-sex marriage by a ratio of ten to one.[76] The tour ended with a rally at the United States Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., while pro-gay marriage activists held a simultaneous event at the Freedom Plaza.[77]

After Peter Yarrow and Paul Stookey, the surviving members of Peter, Paul and Mary, discovered that NOM had been using their recording of "This Land is Your Land" rallies in this tour, they sent a letter to Brown requesting that NOM cease using their recording, stating that NOM's philosophy was "directly contrary to the advocacy position" held by the group.[78] Similarly, after John Mellencamp was informed that NOM had used his song "Pink Houses" at one of their events, his publicist wrote a letter (at his instruction) stating Mellencamp's support for same-sex marriage and asking that NOM stop using his music.[79]

#### Campaign finance lawsuit

NOM filed a lawsuit in US district court, on free speech grounds, seeking the right to run ads in the Rhode Island governor's race without complying with that state's campaign finance laws, including both campaign financing contribution limits and reporting requirements. In October 2010 the suit was dismissed; the court called the filing "disorganized, vague and poorly constructed" and gave the group one week to refile the lawsuit.[80][81] NOM appealed to federal court, who ruled against them.[82]

#### Civil union opposition

NOM has opposed civil union recognition, calling it "a direct threat to marriage and the religious liberties" and stating that "civil union statutes across the country have been used to sue business owners and professionals who run their practices by their deeply held religious beliefs." [83] It has campaigned against the passage of Illinois's Religious Freedom Protection and Civil Union Act, SB 1716.[84]

#### Iowa judge retention vote campaign

On November 2, 2010, NOM ran a bus tour through Iowa campaigning for removal of three Iowa Supreme Court justices then up for a retention vote, following the court's unanimous decision in *Varnum v. Brien*; the retention vote was "the most controversial...and one of the closest" races on the ballot.[85] All three justices lost the retention vote, the first time any judge had lost that vote since Iowa initiated the retention system in 1962.[86]

#### New York same-sex marriage opposition

NOM actively opposed legalization of same-sex marriage in New York in 2011. The group sponsored a rally in the Bronx in May 2011 with state Senator Ruben Diaz, Sr., a Democrat. After same-sex marriage was legalized in the state by the legislature in June 2011, NOM pledged to spend \$2 million to defeat the four Republicans who voted for the bill to legalize it,[87] and erected signs in the districts of those senators, warning "You're Next". Wealthy same-sex marriage supporters

vowed to finance the targeted senators.[88]

NOM supported four "Let the People Vote" rallies later in July of the same year, with the stated purpose of having the voters decide the issue versus the bill passed by the state's legislature.

#### North Carolina Amendment 1

NOM provided more than \$300,000 to the committee supporting North Carolina's Amendment 1, a 2012 referendum which would alter the state's constitution to forbid marriage and all other recognition for same-sex couples.[89]

#### 2012 presidential pledge

On August 3, 2011, NOM unveiled a pledge for 2012 Republican presidential candidates. Signers pledged that they would support a federal marriage amendment, appoint federal judges who are originalists and thus "reject the idea our Founding Fathers inserted a right to gay marriage in our Constitution",[90] defend the Defense of Marriage Act in court, "establish a presidential commission on religious liberty to investigate and document reports of Americans who have been harassed or threatened for exercising key civil rights to organize, to speak, to donate or to vote for marriage",[90] and "advance legalization to return to the people of the District of Columbia their right to vote on marriage." [90][91][92][93] This pledge was signed by candidates Rick Perry, Mitt Romney, Rick Santorum, Michele Bachmann, and Newt Gingrich[94] (who initially declined), along with Tim Pawlenty.[95] Ron Paul and Herman Cain chose not to sign.[96][97][98] During the Iowa primary campaign, NOM aired a TV ad targeting Paul, contrasting his failure to pledge with the activities of "the major presidential candidates", thus implying that Paul was not truly in contention in the primary campaign.[99]

#### Oregon intercession

NOM attempted repeatedly to intercede in the legalization of same-sex marriage in Oregon. The group requested to be allowed to act as defendants in the state court case that ultimately found the ban on same-sex marriage to be unconstitutional, but were denied by the judge as lacking standing, a ruling that was confirmed by the federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.[100] After the ruling that started same-sex marriage in the state, NOM filed a request with the U.S. Supreme Court, asking that the state court's ruling be stayed, to allow NOM to further pursue its case for being an intercessor, and that the matter be reviewed by the Supreme Court.[101] The request was denied.[102]

#### March For Marriage

NOM organized protest marches against same-sex marriage in Washington, DC in 2013.[103] 2014.[104] 2015.[105] 2016.[106] and 2017.[107] The 2015 March For Marriage took place on April 25, the Saturday before the Supreme Court heard oral arguments in a set of cases related to same-sex marriage.[105] About 100 people attended the 2016 event, including counterprotestors.[108] About 50 attended in 2017.[107]

#### IRS release of donor information

In October 2013, NOM filed a federal lawsuit alleging that the IRS had intentionally leaked its 2008 tax return—including donor lists—in violation of federal law.[109][110][111] The lawsuit arose from the March 2012 disclosure of NOM's 2008 IRS Form 990, Schedule B (which contained donor data) to an LGBT rights advocacy group and to the media.[111] Under U.S. federal law, "the IRS is required to provide the public with certain tax information for 501(c)(4) organizations upon request—but personal identifying information of donors must be redacted by the agency." [112] In a June 2014 ruling, Judge James Cacheris of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia dismissed most of NOM's claims. While the IRS acknowledged that it had improperly made an unredacted copy of NOM's tax information public, the court found that NOM provided "no evidence that the information was willfully disclosed or the result of gross negligence." [112][113] In June 2014, the IRS agreed to settle NOM's remaining claims of improper disclosure of confidential tax information by paying \$50,000 to NOM.[112][114]

#### Transgender students

On September 20, 2013, NOM announced that they would gather signatures aimed at putting a proposition on the November 2014 California ballot to repeal a law addressing the rights of transgender students.[6] The law, AB 1266, allows students to play on school sports teams and to use school bathrooms that accord with their gender identity. Brown said that "Opening our most vulnerable areas at school including showers, bathrooms and changing rooms to members of the opposite sex is politically-correct madness that risks the privacy and security of our children and grandchildren." [115] On February 24, 2014, the California secretary of state's office reported that the proposition had failed to gather enough valid signatures to qualify for the November election.[116]

#### International activities

NOM president Brown has spoken in Russia calling for the illegalization of adoption by LGBT people. He spoke to the Duma committees on international affairs and the family, telling them that persecution of religious people would arise from permitting equal rights in any form.[117]

#### Free Speech Bus

NOM worked with Spain-based advocacy group CitizenGo and the International Organization for the Family[118] to attack the concept of transgenderism by having activists tour the United States, mainly on the East Coast, in the "Free Speech Bus", an orange bus with an anti-transgender message. The bus has the slogan: "It's Biology: Boys are boys... and always will be. Girls are Girls... and always will be. You can't change sex. Respect all." At one stop in Boston, people tried

to block the bus, and at another stop, it was vandalized.[119]

#### IRS filings

In 2009, Californians Against Hate (CAH) filed a formal complaint with the IRS against NOM, saying that NOM had refused to make its IRS 990 forms public, as required by law. CAH representatives went to "the Princeton, New Jersey, offices of the National Organization for Marriage twice to get copies of their IRS 990 reports, to no avail," said CAH's president, Fred Karger. "Then our representative, Ben Katzenberg, sent two certified letters to the NOM office on March 18, 2009, requesting its two 990 forms. Federal law requires NOM to furnish copies of these IRS filings within 30 days after the request has been received. And 40 days later, still no 990s." [120] NOM has since posted 990 forms for 2007 and 2008 on their website.[121]

#### Campaign finance issues

In March 2009, Fred Karger filed a complaint with the California Fair Political Practices Commission alleging that the National Organization for Marriage was established by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in order to direct church funds toward the passage of Proposition 8.[122] A church spokesman and NOM's then-president Maggie Gallagher both denied the allegations.[123]

In 2009, the Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices voted, 3-2, to investigate NOM for campaign finance violations; the Commission overrode the recommendation of their staff.[124] Maine law required organizations soliciting more than \$5,000 for ballot question campaigns to file disclosure reports.[125] NOM had contributed \$1.6 million to Stand For Marriage Maine without filing any disclosure reports.[44] NOM filed suit, claiming that the state's election laws violate the Constitution.[44] NOM, arguing that their lawsuit was likely to succeed, sought a federal restraining order to avoid having to provide donor names before the date of the balloting, which U.S. District Court Judge David Brock Hornby denied.[39] In February 2011, Hornby issued a summary judgment ruling that Maine's disclosure law was valid, a decision NOM appealed and lost in August 2011.[126] NOM's efforts to appeal in the federal courts failed when the Supreme Court declined to hear one appeal in February 2012[127] and another in October 2012.[128] In 2014, the Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices fined NOM over \$50,000 and demanded that the group file a campaign finance report; the report was required to include the identities of donors who supported NOM's efforts in connection with the 2009 Maine referendum.[129] NOM filed a complaint against two groups that support gay marriage: The Human Rights Campaign and the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force Foundation, saying that they had engaged in the same actions as NOM.[130] On August 24, 2015, the Sun Journal reported that NOM had paid the State of Maine a fine of over \$50,000, that it had disclosed the names of its donors, and that NOM had stated that it would not continue to contest the matter in court.[131]

In Iowa, NOM was investigated by the Iowa Ethics & Campaign Disclosure Board over whether it failed to properly disclose the names of donors towards its campaign to unseat judges who had ruled in favor of same-sex marriage in the state.[132] Previously, it had faced accusations from the Interfaith Alliance of Iowa Action Fund and One Iowa that it has failed to properly disclose its contributors.[42] NOM's efforts in that state included spending \$86,060 on the failed state House of Representatives campaign of Stephen Burgmeier.[133]

NOM executive director Brown has stated that the group keeps the identities of its donors private to prevent donor intimidation by proponents of same-sex marriage.[134] The group used that argument in an unsuccessful lawsuit seeking to exempt them from California's disclosure laws.[135][136]

#### Criticism and opposition

##### "NOM Exposed"

In September 2010, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) and the Courage Campaign launched "NOM Exposed", a website which says it documents "Truth, Lies, and Connections about the So-Called National Organization for Marriage." [137][138][139] The site contained profiles of NOM leaders and prominent supporters; details of NOM's links to Latter-Day Saints, the Catholic Church and conservative Christian organizations such as Opus Dei, the Knights of Columbus and Focus on the Family; information about NOM's budget; and an interactive map with information on NOM activities in specific states.[138][140] HRC spokesperson Michael Cole characterized NOM as "a secretive player in antigay politics, which is posing as an offshore company for antigay religious money"; NOM president Brown countered that NOM is "not out to hoodwink voters... [but is] talking openly about same-sex marriage" and predicted that the "NOM Exposed" website would backfire.[138] Brown also said that HRC's "heavy-handed attacks on NOM only prove that we are the key national organization fighting for marriage as one man and one woman." [141]

#### Southern Poverty Law Center

The Southern Poverty Law Center included NOM on its Winter 2010 list of "anti-gay groups" that "have continued to pump out demonizing propaganda aimed at homosexuals." [142] NOM president Brown took issue with the inclusion, stating that NOM "isn't about being anti-anyone." [143][144]

#### Resignation of Louis Marinelli

On April 8, 2011, Louis Marinelli, a 25-year-old NOM activist and online strategist who describes himself as "the one behind the 2010 Summer for Marriage Tour", had driven the bus during that tour, and had moderated many of NOM's web properties (including its Facebook page, its Twitter account, and the Tour blog), resigned from his affiliation with the

organization, announced his support for same-sex marriage, and categorically apologized for and repudiated his past actions on behalf of the organization.[145][146][147] He also shut down the Facebook page he had built up for NOM, which had 290,000 followers.[148] The next day, NOM created a new official Facebook page (to replace Marinelli's), and released this statement: "Louis Marinelli worked in a volunteer capacity as a bus driver during our summer marriage tour. Around this time, NOM began to pay him as a part-time consultant for helping us expand our internet reach. He has since chosen a different focus. We wish him well." [148][149] NOM president Brown publicly downplayed Marinelli's role with the organization,[147] however, after Marinelli published several articles critical of NOM on his website, Brown contacted him and said that if the articles were not removed, NOM would pursue legal action against Marinelli for violation of a confidentiality agreement he had signed as a contractor with access to specialized information.[150]

#### Photo manipulation

In October 2011, the blog Good As You showed that NOM used uncredited photographs of 2008 rallies for then-presidential candidate Barack Obama on its website to make it appear that the crowds supporting Obama were actually NOM supporters.[151][152]

The story was subsequently picked up by media including The Rachel Maddow Show and Instinct Magazine. Brown dismissed the photo controversy as a misdirection effort by "Rachel Maddow and her friends on the left". NOM removed the photos in the collage, referring to one of them as "a common use photo in the public domain".[153] The images included one Reuters photo and two that were copyrighted under a Creative Commons license requiring that the photographer be credited.[154]

#### Wedge tactics

In March 2012, NOM memos dated to 2009 advocating strategies of pitting the African-American and homosexual communities against each other, of discouraging Latino assimilation into a culture accepting of same-sex marriage, and of painting President Obama as a "social radical" were released by a federal judge in Maine and published by the Human Rights Campaign.[155][156][157] The internal NOM documents state that they seek "to drive a wedge between gays and blacks" by promoting "African American spokespeople for marriage", thus provoking same-sex marriage supporters into "denouncing these spokesmen and women as bigots", and to interrupt the assimilation of Latinos into "dominant Anglo culture" by making the stance against same-sex marriage "a key badge of Latino identity". The documents also showed a goal to "sideswipe" US President Barack Obama by depicting him as a "social radical" via issues including child protection and pornography.[158][159]

The revealed tactics were described as "one of the most cynical things I've ever heard"[160] and "scary"[161] by Julian Bond, Chairman Emeritus of the NAACP.[160] The National Black Justice Coalition said that the "documents expose N.O.M. for what it really is – a hate group determined to use African American faith leaders as pawns to push their damaging agenda." [161]

In response to the controversy, NOM stated that the organization has a diverse base of support which includes people of "every color, creed and background" and that it has "worked with prominent African-American and Hispanic leaders, including Dr. Alveda C. King, Bishop George McKinney of the COGIC Church, Bishop Harry Jackson and the New York State Senator Reverend Rubén Díaz Sr." [162] Gallagher, who was president of the organization at the time of the documents, said that their language "makes us sound way too big for our britches", [161] while Brown, president at the time the controversy arose, wrote that the language was "inapt", stating that "it would be enormously arrogant for anyone at NOM to believe that we can make or provoke African-American or Latino leaders do anything". [163]

See also

Jennifer Roback Morse  
Family Research Council

#### Badger Institute

Formation 1987

Type Nonprofit public policy think tank

Purpose Promote free market economic policies in Wisconsin

Location

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

President

Mike Nichols

Chairman

Thomas J. Howatt

Affiliations State Policy Network

Revenue (2015)

\$933,478 [1]

Expenses (2015) \$732,721 [1]

Website [www.badgerinstitute.org](http://www.badgerinstitute.org)

Formerly called

Wisconsin Policy Research Institute

The Badger Institute, formerly the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, is a nonprofit policy research organization based in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.<sup>[2]</sup> It supports free markets and limited government.<sup>[3]</sup> It played a prominent role in the development of the state's school voucher program and has formulated recommendations for the state's higher education system.<sup>[2]</sup><sup>[4]</sup>

See also

## G5-10M+ range

### Institute for Justice

Formation 1991

Founders

Clint Bolick

William Mellor

Type Non-profit corporation

Purpose Economic liberty advocacy

Headquarters 901 N. Glebe Rd., S-900

Arlington, VA 22203

Coordinates 38.8814°N 77.1153°WCoordinates: 38.8814°N 77.1153°W

President & General Counsel

Scott Bullock

Revenue (2015)

\$34,123,923<sup>[1]</sup>

Staff

95 total (39 attorneys) (2016)<sup>[2]</sup>

Website [www.ij.org](http://www.ij.org) Edit this at Wikidata

The Institute for Justice (IJ) is a non-profit libertarian public interest law firm in the United States.<sup>[3][4][5]</sup> It has litigated eight cases considered by the United States Supreme Court dealing with topics that included eminent domain, interstate commerce, public financing for elections, school vouchers, tax credits for private school tuition, civil asset forfeiture, and residency requirements for liquor license. The organization was founded in 1991. As of June 2016, it employed a staff of 95 (including 39 attorneys) in Arlington, Virginia and seven offices across the United States. Its 2016 budget was \$20 million.

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### History

William H. "Chip" Mellor and Clint Bolick co-founded the organization in 1991 with seed money from libertarian philanthropist Charles Koch.<sup>[6]</sup> Mellor was the organization's President & General Counsel through 2015. Bolick was the Vice President and Director of Litigation from 1991 until he left the organization in 2004. In March 2015, the organization announced that Mellor will become the chairman of its board of directors in January 2016. Senior Attorney Scott Bullock replaced Mellor as President.<sup>[7]</sup>

The organization's methods were modeled in part on work Bolick had done as the director of the Landmark Center for Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. For example, in the late 1980s Bolick represented Washington shoeshine stand owner Ego Brown in his attempt to overturn a Jim Crow-era law against bootblack stands on public streets. The law was designed to restrict economic opportunities for African-Americans, but was still being enforced 85 years after its passage. Bolick sued the District of Columbia on Brown's behalf, and the law was overturned in 1989.<sup>[8][9]</sup> In 1991, Bolick joined former Department of Energy Deputy General Counsel Chip Mellor to found the Institute for Justice. Mellor had served as president of the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, a think tank in San Francisco.<sup>[10]</sup> According to the Institute for Justice, books commissioned and published by the Pacific Research Institute "formed the Institute for Justice's long-term, strategic litigation blueprint".<sup>[11]</sup>

As of 2012, the organization employed a staff of 65 (including 33 attorneys) in Arlington, Virginia and five regional offices across the United States.<sup>[2]</sup>

### Supreme Court cases

The organization has litigated eight cases that reached the Supreme Court, winning six, with one pending (the exception being *Kelo v. City of New London*):

*Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002)<sup>[12]</sup> The court ruled in favor of a Cleveland, Ohio school voucher program, allowing the use of public money to pay tuition at private and parochial schools.<sup>[13][14]</sup>

Swedenburg v. Kelly (2005) The court struck down laws in New York and Michigan that made it illegal for consumers to buy wine directly from out-of-state wineries. The institute represented small vintners in Virginia and California.[15][16] (This case was consolidated with Granholm v. Heald[17] prior to consideration by the Supreme Court.[15]) Kelo v. City of New London (2005)[18][19] The court ruled that the state of Connecticut could use eminent domain to take property from the plaintiffs (a group of homeowners) and transfer it to a private business. The institute represented the home owners.[19][20]

Garriott v. Winn (2010) The court upheld an Arizona program that gave tax credits for private school tuition.[21][22] This case was consolidated with Arizona Christian School Tuition Organization v. Winn prior to consideration by the Supreme Court.[23]

Arizona Free Enterprise Club's Freedom Club PAC v. Bennett (2011) The court struck down part of a public campaign financing law in Arizona that provided additional public funding to candidates based on the amount of spending by their opponents. The institute represented several challengers to the law.[24][25] This case was consolidated with McComish v. Bennett prior to consideration by the Supreme Court.[26][27]

Timbs v. Indiana (2019)[28] The court ruled that the Eighth Amendment's Excessive Fines Clause is an incorporated protection applicable to the States under the Fourteenth Amendment's Due Process Clause, thus grossly disproportionate asset forfeiture is unconstitutional.

Tennessee Wine & Spirits Retailers Association v. Thomas (2019)[29] The court ruled the residency requirement for retail liquor licenses violates the Commerce Clause and the 21st Amendment does not save it.

Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue (2019)[30] Currently pending until 22 January 2020.[31]

#### Activities

##### Litigation

The organization provides pro bono legal advice and representation to clients. According to the organization, it selects cases based on the client's ability to pay (giving preference to clients who do not have the means to obtain other representation).[32] and on the case's potential to publicize and educate the public on the issues involved.[33]

##### Commercial regulation

IJ opposes many kinds of business licensing.[34] The organization's first case began in 1991, defending Taalib-Din Uqdah, a Washington, DC businessman who owned a salon to braid hair. Local authorities informed Taalib-Din that he would need a cosmetology license in order to continue operating his business. The institute contended that the licensing requirements did not apply to Taalib-Din's business. Further, the organization claimed that the licensing rules in this case were designed to protect existing businesses from competition, with the effect of reducing choice and raising prices for consumers.[8][35] The case was dismissed in 1992, but later in that year the city council repealed the cosmetology regulations that prevented Taalib-Din from opening his business. While institute co-founders Clint Bolick and Chip Mellor have acknowledged the need for health, safety, and consumer protection regulations,[36] the organization continues to litigate against what it sees as abuse. It has defended a variety of small business owners across the United States in similar cases involving food cart and street vendors,[37] vendors and makers of caskets,[38][39] florists,[40] interior designers,[41] and independent taxi drivers.[42] In defending tour guide operators in Philadelphia and Washington D.C., the Institute for Justice argued that restrictions on these businesses abridged First Amendment rights.[43][44]

In 2005, the organization litigated on behalf of small wineries in California and Virginia.[20] The institute's case, Swedenburg v. Kelly, was consolidated with Granholm v. Heald[17] and considered by the Supreme Court. The court ruled that laws in Michigan and New York that prohibited consumers from buying wine directly from out-of-state wineries were unconstitutional.[16]

In 2009, the organization sued to allow donors to be compensated for giving bone marrow.[45] The National Organ Transplant Act of 1984 (NOTA) made it illegal to compensate organ donors, but did not prevent payment for other forms of donations (such as human plasma, sperm, and egg cells). Although bone marrow is not an organ or a component of an organ, the act made paying bone marrow donors punishable by up to 5 years in prison. At the time the act was passed, donating bone marrow involved a painful and risky medical procedure.[46] In the years after the act was passed, a new procedure (apheresis) made it possible to harvest bone marrow cells through a non-surgical procedure similar to the donation of blood components such as platelets or plasma. The Institute for Justice lawsuit argued that the development of apheresis meant that donors who gave bone marrow through blood donation should be allowed to receive compensation.[46] The organization predicted that allowing compensation would increase the pool of available donors, and claimed that 3,000 Americans die each year while waiting for compatible marrow donors.[2][46] Critics argued that allowing compensation could reduce donation, increase the risk of disease, and lead to exploitation of the poor.[45][46][47] In December 2011, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled unanimously that donors giving bone marrow via apheresis were eligible for compensation.[46] In November 2013, the federal government proposed a regulation that would change legal definitions to cover bone marrow regardless of how it is obtained. This would have the effect of keeping the ban on compensating donors in place.[47] As of July 2014, the proposal was still under review.[48]

##### Eminent domain and civil forfeiture

One of the few remaining houses in the Fort Trumbull neighborhood, September 1, 2006. Underneath the white paint can just barely be read the words "Thank you Gov. Rell for your support" and the web URLs of two organizations protesting over-use of eminent domain, the Castle Coalition and the Institute for Justice.

Eminent domain cases pursued by the organization involve instances where a government seeks to condemn a property

and transfer it from one private owner to another (as opposed to using it for a road, building, park, or other publicly owned property). The organization gained national attention in 1996, defending a small business owner in a case involving Trump Casino (Casino Reinvestment Development Authority v. Coking), and again in 2005, arguing *Kelo v. City of New London* before the Supreme Court.[19][49] In the casino case, a New Jersey state agency (the Casino Reinvestment Development Authority) was attempting to condemn Vera Coking's boarding house, along with two other businesses in Atlantic City, in order to transfer the properties to a business owned by Donald Trump.[49] In 1998, a New Jersey Superior Court judge ruled that the state was not allowed to seize the properties.[50] However, the ruling did not contest the state's right to take property from one private owner for the purpose of giving it to another. The judge based the ruling on the fact that the state did not get a guarantee that the Trump organization would use the property for a new parking area (as promised), instead of using the property for other purposes such as expanding Trump's casino.[50] According to the Institute for Justice, the organization received a "deluge" of requests to participate in other cases of eminent domain abuse after its win in the Coking case. In 2008, organization president Chip Mellor stated:

Frankly, we had not realized just how widespread this phenomenon was until [the Coking case] ... Once we became aware of it, though, we formed a strategic plan to escalate it to national attention and ultimately to the Supreme Court, which we did in the course of the next seven years.[33]

In 2005, the organization represented the plaintiffs in the Supreme Court case *Kelo v. City of New London*. In this case, the state of Connecticut was attempting to take properties owned by state residents and give them to a private company for use in a development. In a 5-to-4 decision the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the state, affirming the right of states to transfer properties from one private owner to another in this way.[19] The ruling prompted what was widely called a "backlash" against this kind of eminent domain activity.[51][52][53][54] In 2006 (on the first anniversary of the *Kelo* ruling), President George W. Bush issued an executive order limiting how federal agencies could use eminent domain.[55] Between the *Kelo* ruling and June 2008, 37 states passed laws to increase restrictions on the use of eminent domain.[51] In 2006, the organization won an eminent domain case in the Ohio Supreme Court, the first eminent domain decision by a state supreme court after *Kelo*. [56] In the years since, the institute has continued its efforts to reform eminent domain laws.[2][33]

The organization also works to publicize what it sees as abuse of civil forfeiture laws.[57] Civil forfeiture is the process by which law enforcement agencies in the United States can take property from citizens, based on the suspicion that the property was used in a crime of some kind, without a criminal charge or conviction. Depending on the state law, law enforcement agencies can keep some or all of the confiscated money and property, and apply it to their budgets. State agencies can also confiscate property under federal statutes, and through a program called "equitable sharing" keep up to 80% of the property.[58] The Institute for Justice and other critics argue that this direct financial reward gives law enforcement agencies a strong incentive to abuse civil asset forfeiture.[59] In these cases, the organization occasionally works with other advocacy groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), The Heritage Foundation, and the American Bankers Association.[57][58][60]

#### Campaign finance

In 2011, the organization challenged an Arizona law in the United States Supreme Court (*Arizona Free Enterprise Club's Freedom Club PAC v. Bennett*).[26][27] The law provided increased public campaign funding based on the amount spent by a candidate's opponent.[24] The institute argued that the law violated the First Amendment rights of independent groups and candidates who do not accept public financing. In a 5-4 ruling, the court struck down the part of the law that provided escalating matching funds. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice John Roberts wrote that the law forced independent groups to face a choice: "trigger matching funds, change your message, or do not speak." [25] Other Institute for Justice cases involve regulations on political activity related to elections.[33]

#### Education

The organization has litigated several cases related to education reform and school vouchers, including two successful cases that went to the Supreme Court: *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002) and *Garriott v. Winn* (2010).[12][23] In the *Zelman* case, the Supreme Court ruled that parents can use public money (in the form of school vouchers) to pay tuition at private schools, including parochial schools.[14] The institute represented parents in that case.[13] In the *Garriott* case, the court dismissed a challenge to a program in Arizona that gave state tax credits for payment of private school tuition.[21] The institute argued in favor of dismissal.[22]

#### Activism and coalitions

The institute maintains training programs, activism networks, and partnerships with other organizations.

The IJ Clinic on Entrepreneurship is a joint project of the Institute for Justice and The University of Chicago Law School. The clinic provides free legal services for startups and other entrepreneurs in economically disadvantaged communities in the Chicago area.[61][62]

The organization provides educational opportunities for law students, such as a yearly conference for law students at George Washington University. According to the Institute for Justice, participants in the conference, along with the organization's former law clerks and interns, can join the institute's "Human Action Network". The institute offers to match network members with volunteer and pro-bono opportunities in their local communities.[63] The organization also recruits



volunteers for its "Liberty in Action" project, for support activism by non-lawyers.[64] The institute founded the Castle Coalition in 2002 to provide more specific tools for activists in the area of eminent domain abuse.

#### Finances

IJ operates as a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt nonprofit. Charity Navigator has given the institute a four-star rating (out of four) for financial transparency and efficiency in each year since it began evaluating charities in 2001.[65]

According to the institute, 85 percent of contributions in 2012 came from individuals, with 14 percent coming from foundations and 1 percent coming from businesses.[66] As of 2005, IJ did not actively solicit corporate donations.[6] According to information provided to the Internal Revenue Service, the organization spent about \$12.8 million in the fiscal year ending June 2013.[67] In that year, 83.2% of money spent went to the programs and services the institute delivers, with the rest going to administrative expenses (9.4%) and fund raising expenses (7.2%).[65]

#### See also

Dana Berliner, Litigation Director at the Institute for Justice

Libertarian theories of law

#### References

### Searle Freedom Trust

Founder(s) Daniel C. Searle

Established 1998

Mission "To support work that will lead to a more just, free, and prosperous society"

President Kimberly O. Dennis

Endowment \$141 million (2017)[1]

Location Washington, D.C., United States

Website [searlefreedomtrust.org](http://searlefreedomtrust.org)

The Searle Freedom Trust is a 501(c)(3) grant-making foundation located in the United States.[2] It was established by business executive Daniel C. Searle in 1998.[3][4] As of 2017, the trust had an endowment of \$141 million.[1]

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#### Grantees

Grantees of the Trust have included conservative and libertarian public policy organizations. Daniel Searle was one of the largest donors to the American Enterprise Institute and the largest in his last two decades.[4] The trust has also donated to the Cato Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, the Pacific Research Institute, the Reason Foundation, the State Policy Network, the Federalist Society, Philanthropy Roundtable, the Institute for Humane Studies, the Collegiate Network, and the Political Theory Project at Brown University and Donors Trust (Searle Freedom Trust funds the Dean Searle Fellowship in Economics at Donors Trust).[4][5][6][7]

The Trust has donated to the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC),[8][9] giving \$735,000 to the organization between 2000 and 2013.[10]

According to a 2013 analysis by the Center for Public Integrity, the Trust was among the most frequent sponsors of the attendance of federal judges to judicial educational seminars.[11]

In 2013, the member organizations in the State Policy Network sought funding from the Trust. In December 2013, The Guardian, in collaboration with The Texas Observer and the Portland Press Herald, obtained, published and analyzed 40 of the grant proposals.[8][12][13] According to The Guardian, the proposals documented a coordinated strategy across 34 states, "a blueprint for the conservative agenda in 2014." [8] The reports described the grant proposals in six states as proposing campaigns to cut pay to state government employees; oppose public sector collective bargaining; reduce public sector services in education and healthcare; promote school vouchers; oppose efforts to combat greenhouse gas emissions; reduce or eliminate income and sales taxes; and study a proposed block grant reform to Medicare.[8][12][13][14][15]

The Trust granted, via Donors Trust, \$597,500 between 2005 and 2010, \$650,000 in 2013, and \$500,000 in 2015, to fund the Project on Fair Representation, a Washington, D.C.-based legal defense fund that recruited plaintiffs in lawsuits to challenge affirmative action in college admissions policies, including the United States Supreme Court case *Fisher v. University of Texas* and at Harvard University.[16][17]

A 2013 Smithsonian Magazine article listed the Foundation as among the largest contributors to the climate change denial movement from 2003 to 2010,[18] and Inside Philanthropy reported on grants to "compile research questioning the scientific consensus on climate change." [19]

See also  
Donors Trust

## Acton Institute

ActonLogo.svg

Motto Connecting good intentions with sound economics

Formation1990; 30 years ago

Type Public policy think tank

Headquarters 98 E. Fulton Street, Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA

Location

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Rome, Italy

Founders

Robert A. Sirico, Kris Alan Mauren

Revenue (2017)

\$10,528,684[1]

Expenses (2017) \$10,964,910[1]

Website acton.org

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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The Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty is an American research and educational institution,[2] or think tank, in Grand Rapids, Michigan, (with an office in Rome) whose stated mission is "to promote a free and virtuous society characterized by individual liberty and sustained by religious principles".[3] Its work supports free market economic policy framed within Judeo-Christian morality.[4][5] It has been alternately described as conservative[6][7][8] and libertarian.[9][10][11] Acton Institute also organizes seminars "to educate religious leaders of all denominations, business executives, entrepreneurs, university professors, and academic researchers in economics principles." [12]

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## History

Acton founders Robert Sirico (left) and Kris Mauren (right) with Ronald Reagan in his library

The Acton Institute was founded in 1990 in Grand Rapids, Michigan by Robert A. Sirico and Kris Alan Mauren.[13] It is named after the English historian, politician and writer Lord Acton, who is popularly associated with the dictum "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely".[14] Sirico and Mauren were concerned that many religious people were ignorant of economic realities, and that many economists and businessmen were insufficiently grounded in religious principles.[15] Sirico explains the essential link between economics and religion with reference to the institute's namesake:

Acton realized that economic freedom is essential to creating an environment in which religious freedom can flourish. But he also knew that the market can function only when people behave morally. So, faith and freedom must go hand in hand. As he put it, "Liberty is the condition which makes it easy for conscience to govern".[16]

The release in 1991 of the papal encyclical *Centesimus annus* buoyed the institute at a critical time. The document provided, a year after Acton's founding, established support for the institute's economic personalism and defense of capitalism. Robert Sirico said at the time that it constituted a "vindication".[15][17][18]

In 2002, the Institute opened a Rome office, Istituto Acton, to carry out Acton's mission abroad.[19] In 2004, the Institute was given the Templeton Freedom Award for its "extensive body of work on the moral defense of the free market".[19] In 2012, the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania included Acton in its list of the top 50 think tanks in the United States.[20]

In 2005, Mother Jones published a chart which included the Acton Institute on a list of groups that had reportedly received a donation (\$155,000) from ExxonMobil.[21] As of 2007, the Institute had received funding from the Earhart Foundation and the Bradley Foundation.[22][23] The Grand Rapids Press wrote in 2013 that much of the Acton Institute's funding comes from residents of western Michigan, including John Kennedy, president and CEO of Autocam Corp., and Amway co-founder Richard DeVos.[24]

#### Affiliations

The Acton Institute is a member of the State Policy Network, a network of free-market oriented think tanks in the United States.[25]

The Acton Institute has built a network of international affiliations including Centro Interdisciplinar de Ética e Economia Personalista, Brazil, Europa Institut, Austria, Institute for the Study of Human Dignity and Economic Freedom, Zambia and Instituto Acton Argentina Organization.[26]

#### Research and publications

From its guiding principles and economic research, the institute publishes books, papers, and periodicals, and maintains a media outreach effort.[2][27]

#### Journal of Markets & Morality:

Peer-reviewed journal that explores the intersection of economics and morality from scientific and theological points of view. Published semi-annually.[2][28][29][22]

#### Monographs:

In-depth treatments of specific policy issues and translations of scholarly works previously unpublished in English.[27][22][30]

#### Abraham Kuyper Translation Project:

In 2011, the institute began a collaboration with Kuyper College to translate into English the three-volume work *Common Grace* (*De Gemene Gratie* in Dutch) of politician, journalist and Reformed theologian Abraham Kuyper. The work, written from 1901-05 while he was Prime minister of the Netherlands, addresses the advance of both Marxism and libertarianism from an ecumenical Christian viewpoint as part of an effort to build a "constructive public theology" for the Western world.[31][32] The first volume of the translation, *Wisdom and Wonder: Common Grace in Science and Art*, was unveiled in November, 2011.[33]

#### Religion & Liberty:

Quarterly publication which covers the interworking of liberty and morality: contains interviews, book reviews, scholarly essays, brief biographies of central thinkers, and discussions of important topics.[17][22]

#### The Samaritan Guide:

Through 2008, the institute gave an annual Samaritan Award to a "highly successful, privately funded charity whose work is direct, personal, and accountable".[34] The Samaritan Guide was produced to encourage effective charitable giving by establishing a rating system for charities considered for the Samaritan Award.[35]

#### Acton Notes:

The bimonthly newsletter of the Acton Institute; contains reports of projects and goings on at the institute.[36]

#### The Acton PowerBlog:

Since April 2005 the institute has provided a synthesis of religion and economics on its blog.[37]

#### Films

Films produced by the Acton Institute include *The Call of the Entrepreneur* (2007) and *Poverty, Inc.* (2014), which won a 2014 Templeton Freedom Award from the Atlas Network.[38] *Poverty Inc.* is part of the Acton Institute's *PovertyCure* initiative, which seeks to create solutions to poverty by "moving efforts from aid to enterprise and from paternalism to partnerships." [39]

#### Personnel

Besides Sirico, notable scholars associated with the institute include Anthony Bradley,[40] Jordan Ballor,[41] Stephen Grabill,[42] Michael Matheson Miller,[43] Marvin Olasky,[44] Kevin Schmiesing,[45] and Jonathan Witt.[46] The institute's director of research is Samuel Gregg, author of the prize-winning book *The Commercial Society*. [47] Andreas Widmer is a research fellow in entrepreneurship for the research department.[48]

Current and former members of the institute's board of directors include Alejandro Chafuen, former president of the Atlas Network; Gaylen Byker, president emeritus of Calvin College; Sean Fieler, Equinox Partners; Leslie Graves, president of

the Lucy Burns Institute; Frank Hanna III of Hanna Capital; and Robert Sirico, president of the Acton Institute.[49]

## References

### American Enterprise Institute

Washington, D.C.

Abbreviation AEI

Formation1938; 82 years ago

Type Public policy think tank

Tax ID no.

53-0218495

Headquarters Washington, D.C.

Location

United States

President

Robert Doar

Revenue (2016)

\$75,066,910[1]

Expenses (2016) \$55,822,303[1]

Website [aei.org](http://aei.org)

This article is part of a series on

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Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, known simply as the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), is a Washington, D.C.-based think tank that researches government, politics, economics, and social welfare.[2][3] AEI is an independent nonprofit organization supported primarily by grants and contributions from foundations, corporations, and individuals.

Founded in 1938, AEI's stated mission is "to defend the principles and improve the institutions of American freedom and democratic capitalism—limited government, private enterprise, individual liberty and responsibility, vigilant and effective defense and foreign policies, political accountability, and open debate".[4] AEI is closely associated with conservatism and neoconservatism, although it is officially non-partisan.

AEI is governed by a 28-member Board of Trustees, composed of executives and former executives from various corporations.[5] Approximately 185 authors are associated with AEI.[6]

Arthur C. Brooks served as president of AEI from January 2009 through July 1, 2019.[7] He was succeeded by Robert Doar.

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	Members

#### American Enterprise Institute marker

AEI current scholars and fellows include Kevin Hassett, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Michael Barone, Nicholas Eberstadt, Jonah Goldberg, Phil Gramm, Glenn Hubbard, Frederick Kagan, Leon Kass, Jon Kyl, Charles Murray, Norman Ornstein, Mark J. Perry, Danielle Pletka, Michael Rubin, Gary Schmitt, Christina Hoff Sommers, Jim Talent, Peter J. Wallison, Michael R. Strain, Bill Lenner, and W. Bradford Wilcox.[8]

Former AEI scholars or affiliates notably include President Gerald Ford, William J. Baroody Jr., William J. Baroody Sr., Robert Bork, Arthur F. Burns, Ronald Coase, Dinesh D'Souza, Alfred de Grazia, Christopher DeMuth, Martin Feldstein, Milton Friedman, David Frum, Reuel Marc Gerecht, David Gergen, Newt Gingrich, James K. Glassman, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Irving Kristol, Michael Ledeen, Seymour Martin Lipset, John Lott, James C. Miller III, Joshua Muravchik, Michael Novak, Richard Perle, Roscoe Pound, Laurence Silberman, Antonin Scalia, Ben Wattenberg, and James Q. Wilson.

Some AEI staff members are considered to be among the leading architects of the Bush administration's public and foreign policy.[9] More than twenty staff members served either in a Bush administration policy post or on one of the government's many panels and commissions. Among the prominent former government officials now affiliated with AEI are: AEI Board of Trustees[10] member Dick Cheney, vice president of the United States under George W. Bush; John R. Bolton, former Ambassador to the United Nations; Lynne Cheney, former chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities; Paul Wolfowitz, former Deputy Secretary of Defense.

#### Political stance and impact

AEI describes itself as nonpartisan and its website includes a statement on political advocacy: "Legal requirements aside, AEI has important reasons of its own for abstaining from any form of policy advocacy as an institution... AEI takes no institutional positions on policy issues (whether or not they are currently before legislative, executive, or judicial bodies) or on any other issues." [4] This distinguishes AEI from other think tanks, such as The Heritage Foundation and the Center for American Progress.[11] Although the institute is often cited as a right-leaning counterpart to the left-leaning Brookings Institution,[12][13] the two entities have often collaborated. From 1998 to 2008, they co-sponsored the AEI-Brookings Joint Center for Regulatory Studies, and in 2006 they launched the AEI-Brookings Election Reform Project.[14] In 2015, a working group consisting of members from both institutions coauthored a report entitled Opportunity, Responsibility, and Security: A Consensus Plan for Reducing Poverty and Restoring the American Dream.[15]

AEI is the most prominent think tank associated with American neoconservatism, in both the domestic and international policy arenas.[16] Irving Kristol, widely considered to be one of the founding fathers of neoconservatism, was a senior fellow at AEI (arriving from the Congress for Cultural Freedom following the revelation of that group's CIA funding)[17] and many prominent neoconservatives—including Jeane Kirkpatrick, Ben Wattenberg, and Joshua Muravchik—spent the bulk of their careers at AEI.[8] AEI staff member Norman J. Ornstein, a self-identified centrist, criticizes commentators who label him a "neocon" and says that "the intellectual openness and lack of orthodoxy at AEI exceeds what I have seen on any college campus... [E]ven though my writings have frequently ticked off conservative ideologues and business interests—especially my deep involvement in campaign finance reform—I have never once been told, 'You can't say that'

or "You better be careful".[18]

AEI staff have taken strong stances against the farm bill and agricultural subsidies. A 2007 document authored by Bruce Gardner claimed that "There is no need for farm subsidies, and it would not really hurt anyone if we eliminated them".[19]

According to the 2011 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report (Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, University of Pennsylvania), AEI is number 17 in the "Top Thirty Worldwide Think Tanks" and number 10 in the "Top Fifty United States Think Tanks".[20] As of 2019, the American Enterprise Institute also leads in YouTube subscribers among free-market groups.[21]

## History

### Beginnings (1938–1954)

AEI grew out of the American Enterprise Association (AEA), which was founded in 1938 by a group of New York businessmen led by Lewis H. Brown. AEA's original mission was to promote a "greater public knowledge and understanding of the social and economic advantages accruing to the American people through the maintenance of the system of free, competitive enterprise".[22] AEI's founders included executives from Eli Lilly, General Mills, Bristol-Myers, Chemical Bank, Chrysler, and Paine Webber.[23]

In 1943, AEA's main offices were moved from New York City to Washington during a time when Congress's portfolio had vastly increased during World War II. AEA opposed the New Deal, and aimed to propound classical liberal arguments for limited government.[citation needed] In 1944, AEA convened an Economic Advisory Board to set a high standard for research; this eventually became the Council of Academic Advisers, which, over the decades, included notable economists and social scientists like Ronald Coase, Martin Feldstein, Milton Friedman, Roscoe Pound, and James Q. Wilson.[citation needed]

AEA's early work in Washington involved commissioning and distributing legislative analyses to Congress, which developed AEA's relationships with Melvin Laird and Gerald Ford.[24] Brown eventually shifted AEA's focus to commissioning studies of government policies. These subjects ranged from fiscal to monetary policy and from health care to energy, and authors included Earl Butz, John Lintner, former New Dealer Raymond Moley, and Felix Morley. Brown died in 1951, and AEA languished. In 1952, a group of young policymakers and public intellectuals—including Laird, William J. Baroody Sr., Paul McCracken, and Murray Weidenbaum—met to discuss resurrecting AEI.[24] In 1954, Baroody became executive vice president of the association.

### William J. Baroody Sr. (1954–1980)

Baroody was executive vice president from 1954 to 1962 and president from 1962 to 1978. Baroody raised money for AEA to expand its financial base beyond the business leaders on the board.[25] During the 1950s, and 1960s, AEA's work became described[by whom?] as more pointed and focused, including monographs by James M. Buchanan, Gottfried Haberler, Edward Banfield, Rose Friedman, P. T. Bauer and Alfred de Grazia.[26][27]

The American Enterprise Institute (AEI)—which had been renamed in 1962—remained a marginal operation with little practical influence in the national politics until the 1970s.[citation needed] Baroody recruited a resident research faculty; Harvard economist Haberler was the first to join in 1972.[22] In 1977, former president Gerald Ford joined AEI as its "distinguished fellow." Ford brought several of his administration's officials with him, including Arthur Burns, Robert Bork, David Gergen, James C. Miller III, Laurence Silberman, and Antonin Scalia. Ford also founded the AEI World Forum, which he hosted until 2005. Other staff hired around this time included Herbert Stein and Walter Berns. Baroody's son, William J. Baroody Jr., had been an official in the Ford White House and now also joined AEI, taking over the presidency from his father in 1978.[22]

The elder Baroody made a concerted effort to recruit neoconservatives who had supported the New Deal and Great Society but had become disaffected by what they perceived as the failure of the welfare state. This also included Cold War hawks who rejected George McGovern's peace agenda. He brought Irving Kristol, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Michael Novak, and Ben Wattenberg to AEI.[28] While at AEI, Kirkpatrick authored "Dictatorships and Double Standards"; it brought her to the attention of Ronald Reagan, and she was later named U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations.[29] AEI also became a home for supply-side economists during the late 1970s and early 1980s.[30] By 1980, AEI had grown from a budget of \$1 million and a staff of ten to a budget of \$8 million and a staff of 125.[22]

### William J. Baroody Jr. (1980–1986)

Baroody Sr. retired in 1978, and was replaced by his son, William J. Baroody Jr. Baroody Sr. died in 1980, shortly before Ronald Reagan took office as US President.[22]

During the Reagan years, several AEI staff members decamped for the administration. That, combined with prodigious growth, diffusion of research activities,[31][original research?] and managerial problems, proved costly.[25] Some foundations then supporting AEI perceived a drift toward the center politically. Centrists like Ford, Burns, and Stein clashed with rising movement conservatives. In 1986, the John M. Olin Foundation and the Smith Richardson Foundation withdrew funding for the institute, pushing AEI to the brink of bankruptcy. The board of trustees fired Baroody Jr. and, after an interregnum under interim president Paul McCracken, hired Christopher DeMuth as president in December 1986.[25]

DeMuth stayed on for twenty-two years.[32]

Christopher DeMuth (1986–2008)

Vice President Dick Cheney delivers his remarks on the war on terror, arguing against a withdrawal from Iraq, during a speech on November 21, 2005, at the American Enterprise Institute. Michael Rubin is on the right in the front row. DeMuth cut AEI's programs and faculty, reorganizing the institute into three primary research areas: economic policy, foreign policy, and social and political studies. He also began fundraising in an effort to regaining the confidence of conservative foundations.[citation needed]

In 1990, AEI hired Charles Murray (and received his Bradley Foundation support for *The Bell Curve*) after the Manhattan Institute dropped him.[33] Others brought to AEI by DeMuth included John Bolton, Dinesh D'Souza, Richard Cheney, Lynne Cheney, Michael Barone, James K. Glassman, Newt Gingrich, John Lott, and Ayaan Hirsi Ali.[citation needed]

During the George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton administrations, AEI's revenues grew from \$10 million to \$18.9 million.[34] The institute's publications *Public Opinion* and *The AEI Economist* were merged into *The American Enterprise*, edited by Karlyn Bowman from 1990–95 and by Karl Zinsmeister from 1995 to 2006, when Glassman created *The American*. DeMuth presided over AEI as it moved into the digital age.[citation needed]

AEI was closely tied to the George W. Bush administration.[35] More than twenty AEI staff members served in the Bush administration, and Bush addressed the institute on three occasions. "I admire AEI a lot—I'm sure you know that", Bush said. "After all, I have been consistently borrowing some of your best people." [36]

Cabinet officials also frequented AEI. In 2002, Danielle Pletka joined AEI to promote the foreign policy department. AEI and several of its staff—including Michael Ledeen and Richard Perle—became associated with the start of the Iraq War.[37] President George W. Bush used a February 2003 AEI dinner to advocate for a democratized Iraq, which was intended to inspire the remainder of the Mideast.[38] In 2006–07, AEI staff, including Frederick W. Kagan, provided a strategic framework for the 2007 surge in Iraq.[39][40] The Bush administration also drew on AEI work in other areas, such as Leon Kass's appointment as the first chairman of the President's Council on Bioethics and Norman J. Ornstein's work drafting the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act that Bush signed in 2002. However, some AEI staff have been critical of the Bush administration's handling of the Iraq War and the economy.[41]

Arthur C. Brooks (2008–2019)

When DeMuth retired as president at the end of 2008, AEI's staff numbered 185, with 70 scholars and several dozen adjuncts.[22] and revenues of \$31.3 million.[42] Arthur C. Brooks succeeded him as president at the start of the Late-2000s recession.[43] In a 2009 op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal*, Brooks positioned AEI to be much more aggressive in responding to the policies of the Barack Obama administration.[44] In 2018, Brooks announced that he would step down effective July 1, 2019.[7]

Robert Doar (2019–)

In January 2019, Robert Doar was selected by AEI's Board of Trustees to be the Institute's 12th president, succeeding Arthur Brooks on July 1, 2019.[45]

Personnel

AEI's officers include Robert Doar, Danielle Pletka, Yuval Levin, Michael R. Strain, and Ryan Streeter.[46]

AEI has a Council of Academic Advisers, which includes Alan J. Auerbach, Eliot A. Cohen, Eugene Fama, Aaron Friedberg, Robert P. George, Eric A. Hanushek, Walter Russell Mead, Mark V. Pauly, R. Glenn Hubbard, Sam Peltzman, Harvey S. Rosen, Jeremy A. Rabkin, and Richard Zeckhauser. The Council of Academic Advisers selects the annual winner of the Irving Kristol Award.[47]

Board of directors

AEI's board is chaired by Daniel A. D'Aniello. Current notable trustees include:[23]

Former vice president Dick Cheney

John V. Faraci, chairman and CEO of International Paper

Harlan Crow, chairman and CEO of Crow Holdings, the Trammell Crow family's investment company

Christopher Galvin, former CEO and chairman of Motorola

Harvey Golub, retired chairman and CEO of the American Express Company

Bruce Kovner, chairman of Caxton Alternative Associates (and a former chairman of AEI)

Edward B. Rust Jr., chairman and CEO of State Farm (and also a former AEI chairman)

Cliff Asness, hedge fund manager and the co-founder of AQR Capital Management

Pete Coors, vice chairman of the board of Molson Coors Brewing Company

Ravenel B. Curry III, president of Eagle Capital Management

Dick DeVos, president of the Windquest Group

Tully Friedman, chairman and CEO of Friedman Fleischer & Lowe

Robert F. Greenhill, founder and chairman of Greenhill & Co.  
Frank Hanna III, CEO of Hanna Capital  
John A. Luke Jr., chairman and CEO of MeadWestvaco  
Kevin Rollins, former president and CEO of Dell  
Matthew K. Rose, executive chairman of BNSF Railway  
Mel Sembler, chairman emeritus of the Sembler Company  
Research programs

AEI's research is divided into seven broad categories: economic policy studies, foreign and defense policy studies, health care policy studies, political and public opinion studies, social and cultural studies, education, and poverty studies. Until 2008, AEI's work was divided into economics, foreign policy, and politics and social policy. AEI research is presented at conferences and meetings, in peer-reviewed journals and publications on the institute's website, and through testimony before and consultations with government panels.[citation needed][48]

#### Economic policy studies

Economic policy was the original focus of the American Enterprise Association, and "the Institute still keeps economic policy studies at its core".[42] According to AEI's annual report, "The principal goal is to better understand free economies—how they function, how to capitalize on their strengths, how to keep private enterprise robust, and how to address problems when they arise". Michael R. Strain directs economic policy studies at AEI. Throughout the beginning of the 21st-century, AEI staff have pushed for a more conservative approach to aiding the recession that includes major tax-cuts. AEI supported President Bush's tax cuts in 2002 and claimed that the cuts "played a large role in helping to save the economy from a recession". AEI also suggested that further taxes were necessary in order to attain recovery of the economy. An AEI staff member said that the Democrats in congress who opposed the Bush stimulus plan were foolish for doing so as he saw the plan as a major success for the administration.[4]

#### Financial crisis of 2007–2008

As the financial crisis of 2007–2008 unfolded, The Wall Street Journal stated that predictions by AEI staff about the involvement of housing GSEs had come true.[49] In the late 1990s, Fannie Mae eased credit requirements on the mortgages it purchased and exposed itself to more risk. Peter J. Wallison warned that Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac's public-private status put taxpayers on the line for increased risk.[50]

"Because of the agencies' dual public and private form, various efforts to force Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac to fulfill their public mission at the cost of their profitability have failed—and will likely continue to fail", he wrote in 2001. "The only viable solution would seem to be full privatization or the adoption of policies that would force the agencies to adopt this course themselves." [51]

Wallison ramped up his criticism of the GSEs throughout the 2000s. In 2006, and 2007, he moderated conferences featuring James B. Lockhart III, the chief regulator of Fannie and Freddie[52]

In August 2008, after Fannie and Freddie had been backstopped by the US Treasury Department, Wallison outlined several ways of dealing with the GSEs, including "nationalization through a receivership," outright "privatization," and "privatization through a receivership." [53] The following month, Lockhart and Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson took the former path by putting Fannie and Freddie into federal "conservatorship." [54]

As the housing crisis unfolded, AEI sponsored a series of conferences featuring bearish commentators, including Lachman, Makin, and Nouriel Roubini. [55][56][57][58][59] Makin had been warning about the effects of a housing downturn on the broader economy for months. [60]

Amid charges that many homebuyers did not understand their complex mortgages, Alex J. Pollock gained recognition for crafting a prototype of a one-page mortgage disclosure form. [61][62]

Research in AEI's Financial Markets Program also includes banking, insurance and securities regulation, accounting reform, corporate governance, and consumer finance. [63]

#### Tax and fiscal policy

Kevin Hassett and Alan D. Viard are AEI's principal tax policy experts, although Alex Brill, R. Glenn Hubbard, and Aparna Mathur also work on the subject. Specific subjects include "income distribution, transition costs, marginal tax rates, and international taxation of corporate income... the Pension Protection Act of 2006; dynamic scoring and the effects of taxation on investment, savings, and entrepreneurial activity; and options to fix the alternative minimum tax". [64] Hassett has coedited several volumes on tax reform. [65]

Viard edited a book on tax policy lessons from the Bush administration. [66] AEI's working paper series includes developing academic works on economic issues. One paper by Hassett and Mathur on the responsiveness of wages to corporate taxation [67] was cited by The Economist; [68] figures from another paper by Hassett and Brill on maximizing corporate income tax revenue [69] was cited by the Wall Street Journal. [70]

Center for Regulatory and Market Studies



From 1998 to 2008, the Reg-Markets Center was the AEI-Brookings Joint Center for Regulatory Studies, directed by Robert W. Hahn. The Center, which no longer exists, sponsored conferences, papers, and books on regulatory decision-making and the impact of federal regulation on consumers, businesses, and governments. It covered a range of disciplines. It also sponsored an annual Distinguished Lecture series. Past lecturers in the series have included William Baumol, Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer, Alfred Kahn, Sam Peltzman, Richard Posner, and Cass Sunstein.[71]

#### Energy and environmental policy

AEI's work on climate change has been subject to controversy (see below). According to AEI, it "emphasizes the need to design environmental policies that protect not only nature but also democratic institutions and human liberty".[64] When the Kyoto Protocol was approaching, AEI was hesitant to encourage the U.S. to join. In an essay from the AEI outlook series of 2007, the authors discuss the Kyoto Protocol and state that the United States "should be wary of joining an international emissions-trading regime". To back this statement, they point out that committing to the Kyoto emissions goal would be a significant and unrealistic obligation for the United States. In addition, they state that the Kyoto regulations would have an impact not only on governmental policies, but also the private sector through expanding government control over investment decisions. AEI staff said that "dilution of sovereignty" would be the result if the U.S. signed the treaty.[72]

AEI has promoted carbon taxation as an alternative to cap-and-trade regimes. "Most economists believe a carbon tax (a tax on the quantity of CO2 emitted when using energy) would be a superior policy alternative to an emissions-trading regime," wrote Kenneth P. Green, Kevin Hassett, and Steven F. Hayward. "In fact, the irony is that there is a broad consensus in favor of a carbon tax everywhere except on Capitol Hill, where the 'T word' is anathema."[73]

Other AEI staff have argued for similar policies.[74][75] Thernstrom and Lane are codirecting a project on whether geoengineering would be a feasible way to "buy us time to make [the] transition [from fossil fuels] while protecting us from the worst potential effects of warming".[76]

Green, who departed AEI in 2013, expanded its work on energy policy. He has hosted conferences on nuclear power[77] and ethanol[78][79] With Aparna Mathur, he evaluated Americans' indirect energy use to discover unexpected areas in which energy efficiencies can be achieved.[80][81]

#### Foreign and defense policy studies

AEI's foreign and defense policy studies researchers focus on "how political and economic freedom—as well as American interests—are best promoted around the world".[42] AEI staff have tended to be advocates of a hard U.S. line on threats or potential threats to the United States, including the Soviet Union during the Cold War, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Venezuela, Russia, and terrorist or militant groups like al Qaeda and Hezbollah. Likewise, AEI staff have promoted closer U.S. ties with countries whose interests or values they view as aligned with America's, such as Israel, the Republic of China (Taiwan), India, Australia, Japan, Mexico, Colombia, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and emerging post-Communist states such as Poland and Georgia.[citation needed]

AEI's foreign and defense policy studies department, directed by Danielle Pletka, is the part of the institute most commonly associated with neoconservatism.[16] especially by its critics.[82][83] Prominent foreign-policy neoconservatives at AEI include Richard Perle, Gary Schmitt, and Paul Wolfowitz. John Bolton, often said to be a neoconservative,[84][85] has said he is not one, as his primary focus is on American interests, not democracy promotion.[86][87] Joshua Muravchik and Michael Ledeen spent many years at AEI, although they departed at around the same time as Reuel Marc Gerecht in 2008 in what was rumored to be a "purge" of neoconservatives at the institute, possibly "signal[ing] the end of [neoconservatism's] domination over the think tank over the past several decades",[88] although Muravchik later said it was the result of personality and management conflicts.[89]

#### U.S. national security strategy, defense policy, and the "surge"

In late 2006, the security situation in Iraq continued to deteriorate, and the Iraq Study Group proposed a phased withdrawal of U.S. troops and further engagement of Iraq's neighbors. Consulting with AEI's Iraq Planning Group, Frederick W. Kagan published an AEI report entitled *Choosing Victory: A Plan for Success in Iraq* calling for "phase one" of a change in strategy to focus on "clearing and holding" neighborhoods and securing the population; a troop escalation of seven Army brigades and Marine regiments; and a renewed emphasis on reconstruction, economic development, and jobs.[40]

While the report was being drafted, Kagan and Keane were briefing President Bush, Vice President Cheney, and other senior Bush administration officials behind the scenes. According to Bob Woodward, "[Peter J.] Schoomaker was outraged when he saw news coverage that retired Gen. Jack Keane, the former Army vice chief of staff, had briefed the president on December 11 about a new Iraq strategy being proposed by the American Enterprise Institute, the conservative think tank. 'When does AEI start trumping the Joint Chiefs of Staff on this stuff?' Schoomaker asked at the next chiefs' meeting."[90]

Kagan, Keane, and Senators John McCain and Joseph Lieberman presented the plan at a January 5, 2007, event at AEI. Bush announced the change of strategy on January 10 the idea having "won additional support among some officials as a result of a detailed study by Gen. Jack Keane, the former vice chief of staff at the Army, and Frederick W. Kagan, a

military specialist, that was published by the American Enterprise Institute".[39] Kagan authored three subsequent reports monitoring the progress of the surge.[91]

AEI's defense policy researchers, who also include Schmitt and Thomas Donnelly, also work on issues related to the U.S. military forces' size and structure and military partnerships with allies (both bilaterally and through institutions such as NATO). Schmitt directs AEI's Program on Advanced Strategic Studies, which "analyzes the long-term issues that will impact America's security and its ability to lead internationally".[64]

#### Area studies

Asian studies at AEI covers "the rise of China as an economic and political power; Taiwan's security and economic agenda; Japan's military transformation; the threat of a nuclear North Korea; and the impact of regional alliances and rivalries on U.S. military and economic relationships in Asia".[64] AEI has published several reports on Asia.[92]

Papers in AEI's Tocqueville on China Project series "elicit the underlying civic culture of post-Mao China, enabling policymakers to better understand the internal forces and pressures that are shaping China's future".[93]

AEI's Europe program was previously housed under the auspices of the New Atlantic Initiative, which was directed by Radek Sikorski before his return to Polish politics in 2005. Leon Aron's work forms the core of the institute's program on Russia. AEI staff tend to view Russia as posing "strategic challenges for the West".[64]

Mark Falcoff, now retired, was previously AEI's resident Latinamericanist, focusing on the Southern Cone, Panama, and Cuba. He has warned that the road for Cuba after Fidel Castro's rule or the lifting of the U.S. trade embargo would be difficult for an island scarred by a half-century of poverty and civil turmoil.[94] Roger Noriega's focuses at AEI are on Venezuela, Brazil, the Mérida Initiative with Mexico and Central America,[95] and hemispheric relations.

AEI has historically devoted significant attention to the Middle East, especially through the work of former resident scholars Ledeen and Muravchik. Pletka's research focus also includes the Middle East, and she coordinated a conference series on empowering democratic dissidents and advocates in the Arab World.[96] In 2009, AEI launched the Critical Threats Project, led by Kagan, to "highlight the complexity of the global challenges the United States faces with a primary focus on Iran and al Qaeda's global influence".[64] The project includes IranTracker.org,[97] with contributions from Ali Alfoneh, Ahmad Majidyar and Michael Rubin, among others.

#### International organizations and economic development

For several years, AEI and the Federalist Society cosponsored NGOWatch, which was later subsumed into Global Governance Watch, "a web-based resource that addresses issues of transparency and accountability in the United Nations, NGOs, and related international organizations".[64] NGOWatch returned as a subsite of Global Governance Watch, led by Jon Entine. AEI scholars focusing on international organizations includes John Bolton, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations,[98] and John Yoo, who researches international law and sovereignty.[64]

AEI's research on economic development dates back to the early days of the institute. P. T. Bauer authored a monograph on development in India in 1959.[99] and Edward Banfield published a booklet on the theory behind foreign aid in 1970.[100] Since 2001, AEI has sponsored the Henry Wendt Lecture in International Development, named for Henry Wendt, an AEI trustee emeritus and former CEO of SmithKline Beckman.[101] Notable lecturers have included Angus Maddison and Deepak Lal.

Nicholas Eberstadt holds the Henry Wendt Chair, focusing on demographics, population growth and human capital development; he served on the federal HELP Commission.

Paul Wolfowitz, the former president of the World Bank, researches development policy in Africa.

Roger Bate focuses his research on malaria, HIV/AIDS, counterfeit and substandard drugs,[102] access to water,[103] and other problems endemic in the developing world.

#### Health policy studies

AEI scholars have engaged in health policy research since the institute's early days. A Center for Health Policy Research was established in 1974.[104] For many years, Robert B. Helms led the health department. AEI's long-term focuses in health care have included national insurance, Medicare, Medicaid, pharmaceutical innovation, health care competition, and cost control.[64]

The Center was replaced in the mid-1980s with the Health Policy Studies Program, which continues to this day. The AEI Press has published dozens of books on health policy since the 1970s. Since 2003, AEI has published the Health Policy Outlook series on new developments in U.S. and international health policy. AEI also published "A Better Prescription" to outline their ideal plan to healthcare reform. In the report, a great amount of emphasis is placed on placing the money and control in the hands of the consumers and continuing the market-based system of healthcare. They also acknowledge that this form of healthcare "relies on financial incentives rather than central direction and control, and it recognizes that a one-size-fits-all approach will not work in a country as diverse as ours".[4]

In 2009, AEI researchers were active in assessing the Obama administration's health care proposals.[105][106]

Paul Ryan, then-minority point man for health care in the House of Representatives, delivered the keynote address at an AEI conference on five key elements of health reform: mandated universal coverage, insurance exchanges, the public plan option, medical practice and treatment, and revenue to cover federal health care costs.[107]

AEI scholars have long argued against the tax break for employer-sponsored health insurance, arguing that it distorts insurance markets and limits consumer choices.[108][109][110][111]

In the 2008 U.S. presidential election, John McCain advocated this plan while Barack Obama disparaged it; in 2009, however, members of the Obama administration indicated that lifting the exemption was "on the table." [112] Dr. Scott Gottlieb, a medical doctor, has expressed concern about relatively unreliable comparative effectiveness research being used to restrict treatment options under a public plan.[113] AEI publishes a series of monographs on Medicare reform, edited by Helms and Antos.[114]

Roger Bate's work includes international health policy, especially pharmaceutical quality, HIV/AIDS, malaria, and multilateral health organizations. In 2008, Dora Akunyili, then Nigeria's top drug safety official, spoke at an AEI event coinciding with the launch of Bate's book *Making a Killing*. [102][115] After undergoing a kidney transplant in 2006, [116] Sally Satel expanded her work from drug addiction treatment and mental health to include studies of compensation systems that she argues would increase the supply of organs for transplant. [117] In addition to their work on pharmaceutical innovation and FDA regulation, Gottlieb and John E. Calfee have examined vaccine and antiviral drug supplies in the wake of the 2009 flu pandemic. [118]

#### Legal and constitutional studies

The AEI Legal Center for the Public Interest, formed in 2007 from the merger of the National Legal Center for the Public Interest, houses all legal and constitutional research at AEI. Legal studies have a long pedigree at AEI; the institute was in the vanguard of the law and economics movement in the 1970s and 1980s with the publication of *Regulation* magazine and AEI Press books. Robert Bork published *The Antitrust Paradox* with AEI support. [119] Other jurists, legal scholars, and constitutional scholars who have conducted research at AEI include Walter Berns, Richard Epstein, Bruce Fein, Robert Goldwin, Antonin Scalia, and Laurence Silberman. Goldwin, assisted by Art Kaufman, William Schamba, and Robert A. Licht, edited the ten-volume "A Decade of Study of the Constitution" series from 1980 -90. [citation needed]

The AEI Legal Center sponsors the annual Gauer Distinguished Lecture in Law and Public Policy. Past lecturers include Stephen Breyer, George H. W. Bush, Christopher Cox, Douglas Ginsburg, Anthony Kennedy, Sandra Day O'Connor, Colin Powell, Ronald Reagan, William Rehnquist, Condoleezza Rice, Margaret Thatcher, and William H. Webster. [120]

Ted Frank, the director of the AEI Legal Center, focuses on liability law and tort reform. [121] Michael S. Greve focuses on constitutional law and federalism, including federal preemption. [122] Greve is a fixture in the conservative legal movement. According to Jonathan Rauch, in 2005, Greve convened "a handful of free-market activists and litigators met in a windowless 11th-floor conference room at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington" in opposition to the legality of the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board. "By the time the meeting finished, the participants had decided to join forces and file suit... No one paid much attention. But the yawning stopped on May 18, [2009,] when the Supreme Court announced it will hear the case." [123]

#### Political and public opinion studies

AEI's "Political Corner" [124] includes a range of political viewpoints, from the center-left [18][125] Norman J. Ornstein to the conservative Michael Barone. The Political Corner sponsors the biannual Election Watch series. [126] the "longest-running election program in Washington", featuring Barone, Ornstein, Karlyn Bowman, and — formerly — Ben Wattenberg and Bill Schneider, among others. [42] Ornstein and Fortier (an expert on absentee and early voting [127]) collaborate on a number of election- and governance-related projects, including the Election Reform Project [128] and the Continuity of Government Commission. [citation needed] also jointly sponsored by AEI and Brookings, with Jimmy Carter and Alan Simpson as honorary co-chairmen. AEI and Brookings are sponsoring a project on election demographics called "The Future of Red, Blue, and Purple America", co-directed by Bowman and Ruy Teixeira. [129]

AEI's work on political processes and institutions has been a central part of the institute's research programs since the 1970s. The AEI Press published a series of several dozen volumes in the 1970s and 1980s called "At the Polls"; in each volume, scholars would assess a country's recent presidential or parliamentary election. AEI scholars have been called upon to observe and assess constitutional conventions and elections worldwide. In the early 1980s, AEI scholars were commissioned by the U.S. government to monitor plebiscites in Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Marshall Islands. [130]

Another landmark in AEI's political studies is *After the People Vote*. [131] AEI's work on election reform continued into the 1990s and 2000s; Ornstein led a working group that drafted the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002. [132][133]

AEI published *Public Opinion* magazine from 1978-90 under the editorship of Seymour Martin Lipset and Ben Wattenberg,

assisted by Karlyn Bowman. The institute's work on polling continues with public opinion features in *The American Enterprise* and *The American* and Bowman's *AEI Studies in Public Opinion*.<sup>[134]</sup>

#### Social and cultural studies

AEI's social and cultural studies program dates to the 1970s, when William J. Baroody Sr., perceiving the importance of the philosophical and cultural underpinnings of modern economics and politics,<sup>[135]</sup> invited social and religious thinkers like Irving Kristol and Michael Novak to take up residence at AEI. Since then, AEI has sponsored research on a wide variety of issues, including education, religion, race and gender, and social welfare. AEI's previous president, Arthur C. Brooks, rose to prominence with survey analysis on philanthropy and happiness.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Supported by the Bradley Foundation, AEI has hosted since 1989 the Bradley Lecture Series, "which aims to enrich debate in the Washington policy community through exploration of the philosophical and historical underpinnings of current controversies". Notable speakers in the series have included Kristol, Novak, Allan Bloom, Robert Bork, David Brooks, Lynne Cheney, Ron Chernow, Tyler Cowen, Niall Ferguson, Francis Fukuyama, Eugene Genovese, Robert P. George, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Samuel P. Huntington (giving the first public presentation of his "clash of civilizations" theory in 1992), Paul Johnson, Leon Kass, Charles Krauthammer, Bernard Lewis, Seymour Martin Lipset, Harvey C. Mansfield, Michael Medved, Allan H. Meltzer, Edmund Morris, Charles Murray, Steven Pinker, Norman Podhoretz, Richard Posner, Jonathan Rauch, Andrew Sullivan, Cass Sunstein, Sam Tanenhaus, James Q. Wilson, John Yoo, and Fareed Zakaria.<sup>[136]</sup>

#### Education

Education policy studies at AEI are directed by Frederick M. Hess, who has authored, coauthored, or edited a number of volumes based on major conferences held at AEI on subjects like urban school reform,<sup>[137]</sup> school choice,<sup>[138]</sup> *No Child Left Behind*,<sup>[139]</sup> teacher qualification,<sup>[140]</sup> "educational entrepreneurship,"<sup>[141]</sup> student loans,<sup>[142]</sup> and education research.<sup>[143]</sup>

Hess co-directs AEI's Future of American Education Project, whose working group includes Washington, D.C. schools chancellor Michelle Rhee and Michael Feinberg, the cofounder of KIPP. Hess works closely with Rhee:<sup>[144]</sup> she has spoken at AEI on several occasions and appointed Hess to be one of two independent reform evaluators for the District of Columbia Public Schools. Hess coauthored *Diplomas and Dropouts*,<sup>[145]</sup> a report on university graduation rates that was widely publicized in 2009.<sup>[146]</sup> The report, along with other education-related projects, was supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.<sup>[147][148]</sup>

AEI is often identified as a supporter of vouchers,<sup>[149]</sup> but Hess has been critical of school vouchers: "[I]t is by now clear that aggressive reforms to bring market principles to American education have failed to live up to their billing. ... In the school choice debate, many reformers have gotten so invested in the language of 'choice' that they seem to forget choice is only half of the market equation. Markets are about both supply and demand—and, while 'choice' is concerned with emboldening consumer demand, the real action when it comes to prosperity, productivity, and progress is typically on the supply side."<sup>[150]</sup>

#### Funding

AEI's revenues for the fiscal year ending June 2015 were \$84,616,388 against expenses of \$38,611,315.<sup>[151]</sup> In 2014, the charity evaluating service American Institute of Philanthropy gave AEI an "A-" grade in its CharityWatch "Top-Rated Charities" listing.<sup>[152]</sup>

As of 2005 AEI had received \$960,000 from ExxonMobil.<sup>[153]</sup> In 2010, AEI received a US\$2.5 million grant from the Donors Capital Fund, a donor-advised fund.<sup>[154]</sup>

#### Controversies

##### Goldwater campaign

In 1964, William J. Baroody Sr., and several of his top staff at AEI, including Karl Hess, moonlighted as policy advisers and speechwriters for Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater. "Even though Baroody and his staff sought to support Goldwater on their own time—without using the institution's resources—AEI came under close scrutiny from the IRS in the years following the campaign," Andrew Rich writes.<sup>[11]</sup> Representative Wright Patman subpoenaed the institute's tax papers, and the IRS investigated for two years.<sup>[155]</sup> After this, AEI's officers scrupulously attempted to avoid even the appearance of political advocacy.<sup>[11]</sup>

##### Source of funding

A 2013 study by Drexel University Sociologist Robert J. Brulle noted that AEI received \$86.7 million dollars between 2003 and 2010, with the single largest source being Donors Trust, which has Charles Koch and David Koch as its largest contributors.<sup>[156]</sup>

##### Global warming

Some AEI staff and fellows have been critical of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the international scientific body tasked to evaluate the risk of climate change caused by human activity.<sup>[157][158]</sup>

In February 2007, a number of sources, including the British newspaper The Guardian, reported that the AEI had sent letters to scientists offering \$10,000 plus travel expenses and additional payments, asking them to critique the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report.[159] This offer was criticized as bribery.[160][161] The letters alleged that the IPCC was "resistant to reasonable criticism and dissent, and prone to summary conclusions that are poorly supported by the analytical work" and asked for essays that "thoughtfully explore the limitations of climate model outputs".[162][163]

The Guardian reported that the AEI received \$1.6 million in funding from ExxonMobil, and further notes that former ExxonMobil CEO Lee R. Raymond is the vice-chairman of AEI's board of trustees. This story was repeated by Newsweek, which drew criticism from its contributing editor Robert J. Samuelson because "this accusation was long ago discredited, and Newsweek shouldn't have lent it respectability." [164] The Guardian article was disputed both by AEI[165] and in an editorial in the Wall Street Journal.[166] The rebuttals claimed factual errors and distortions, noting the ExxonMobil funding was spread out over a ten-year period and totaled less than 1% of AEI's budget. The Wall Street Journal editorial stated: "AEI doesn't lobby, didn't offer money to scientists to question global warming, and the money it did pay for climate research didn't come from Exxon." [citation needed]

AEI denies that the organization is skeptical about global warming. Criticizing the story as part of a "climate inquisition" published in "the left-wing press", the AEI's Steven Hayward and Kenneth Green wrote in The Weekly Standard: [I]t has never been true that we ignore mainstream science; and anyone who reads AEI publications closely can see that we are not "skeptics" about warming. It is possible to accept the general consensus about the existence of global warming while having valid questions about the extent of warming, the consequences of warming, and the appropriate responses. In particular, one can remain a policy skeptic, which is where we are today, along with nearly all economists.[167]

#### Statements by affiliated people

Former scholar Steven Hayward has described efforts to reduce global warming as being "based on exaggerations and conjecture rather than science".[168] He has stated that "even though the leading scientific journals are thoroughly imbued with environmental correctness and reject out of hand many articles that don't conform to the party line, a study that confounds the conventional wisdom is published almost every week".[169]

Likewise, former AEI scholar Kenneth Green has referred to efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions as "the positively silly idea of establishing global-weather control by actively managing the atmosphere's greenhouse-gas emissions", and endorsed Michael Crichton's novel State of Fear for having "educated millions of readers about climate science".[170]

Christopher DeMuth, former AEI president, accepted that the earth has warmed in recent decades, but he stated that "it's not clear why this happened" and charged as well that the IPCC "has tended to ignore many distinguished physicists and meteorologists whose work casts doubt on the influence of greenhouse gases on global temperature trends".[171] Fellow James Glassman also disputes the prevailing scientific opinion on climate change, having written numerous articles criticizing the Kyoto accords and climate science more generally for Tech Central Station.[172] He supported the views of U.S. Senator Jim Inhofe (R-OK), who claims that "global warming is 'the greatest hoax ever perpetrated on the American people,'" [173] and, like Green, cites Crichton's novel State of Fear, which "casts serious doubt on global warming and extremists who espouse it".[174]

Joel Schwartz, an AEI visiting fellow, stated: "The Earth has indeed warmed during the last few decades and may warm further in the future. But the pattern of climate change is not consistent with the greenhouse effect being the main cause." [175]

After Energy Secretary Steven Chu recommended painting roofs and roads white in order to reflect sunlight back into space and therefore reduce global warming, AEI's magazine The American endorsed the idea. It also stated that "ultimately we need to look more broadly at creative ways of reducing the harmful effects of climate change in the long run." [176] The American's editor-in-chief and fellow Nick Schulz endorsed a carbon tax over a cap and trade program in the Christian Science Monitor on February 13, 2009. He stated that it "would create a market price for carbon emissions and lead to emissions reductions or new technologies that cut greenhouse gases." [177]

In October 2007, resident scholar and executive director of the AEI-Brookings Joint Center for Regulatory Studies Robert W. Hahn commented:

Fending off both sincere and sophistic opposition to cap-and-trade will no doubt require some uncomfortable compromises. Money will be wasted on unpromising R&D; grotesquely expensive renewable fuels may gain a permanent place at the subsidy trough. And, as noted above, there will always be a risk of cheating. But the first priority should be to seize the day, putting a domestic emissions regulation system in place. Without America's political leadership and economic muscle behind it, an effective global climate stabilization strategy isn't possible.[178]

AEI visiting scholar N. Gregory Mankiw wrote in The New York Times in support of a carbon tax on September 16, 2007. He remarked that "there is a broad consensus. The scientists tell us that world temperatures are rising because humans are emitting carbon into the atmosphere. Basic economics tells us that when you tax something, you normally get less of it." [179]

Termination of David Frum's residency

On March 25, 2010, AEI resident fellow David Frum announced that his position at the organization had been "terminated."<sup>[180]</sup><sup>[181]</sup> Following this announcement, media outlets speculated that Frum had been "forced out"<sup>[182]</sup><sup>[183]</sup><sup>[184]</sup> for writing a post to his FrumForum blog called "Waterloo", in which he criticized the Republican Party's unwillingness to bargain with Democrats on the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. In the editorial, Frum claimed that his party's failure to reach a deal "led us to abject and irreversible defeat."<sup>[185]</sup>

After his termination, Frum clarified that his article had been "welcomed and celebrated" by AEI President Arthur Brooks, and that he had been asked to leave because "these are hard times." Brooks had offered Frum the opportunity to write for AEI on a nonsalaried basis, but Frum declined.<sup>[182]</sup> The following day, journalist Mike Allen published a conversation with Frum, in which Frum expressed a belief that his termination was the result of pressure from donors. According to Frum, "AEI represents the best of the conservative world...But the elite isn't leading anymore...I think Arthur [Brooks] took no pleasure in this. I think he was embarrassed."<sup>[186]</sup>

See also

#### Donors Capital Fund

Donors Capital Fund

Type Nonprofit 501(c)(3)

Tax ID no.

54-1934032

Location

1800 Diagonal Rd., S-280

Alexandria, VA 22314

Coordinates 38.8056°N 77.0603°WCoordinates: 38.8056°N 77.0603°W

Services Donor-advised fund

Revenue (2014)

US\$49,063,464<sup>[1]</sup>

Expenses (2014) US\$49,229,176<sup>[1]</sup>

Website [www.donorscapitalfund.org](http://www.donorscapitalfund.org)

Donors Capital Fund is a nonprofit United States donor-advised charity that distributes grants to conservative and libertarian organizations. Donors Capital Fund is associated with Donors Trust, another donor-advised fund.

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#### Background

Donors Capital Fund is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization<sup>[1]</sup> established in 1999.<sup>[2]</sup> According to the organization, it was "formed to safeguard the charitable intent of donors who are dedicated to the ideals of limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise."<sup>[3]</sup> Donors Capital Fund assures contributors that their donations will only support "a class of public charities firmly committed to liberty."<sup>[4]</sup> Grants from Donors Capital Fund are based on the preferences of the original contributor.<sup>[5]</sup>

Donors Capital Fund is associated with Donors Trust. Donors Trust refers clients to Donors Capital Fund if the client plans to maintain a balance of US\$1 million or more.<sup>[3]</sup><sup>[6]</sup>

#### Board

As of 2016, the board of directors of Donors Capital Fund<sup>[7]</sup> includes:

Lawson Bader

Adam Meyerson of Philanthropy Roundtable

Arthur C. Brooks of the American Enterprise Institute

Kimberly Dennis of the Searle Freedom Trust

Steven F. Hayward of the Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs

Kris Mauren of the Acton Institute

Scott Bullock of the Institute for Justice

Roger Ream of The Fund for American Studies

#### Grant-making activities

According to The Guardian, Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund distributed nearly US\$120 million to more than 100 groups skeptical of global warming between 2002 and 2010.<sup>[8]</sup> According to a 2013 analysis by Drexel University environmental sociologist Robert Brulle, Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund combined were the largest funders of what he calls "the climate change countermovement" in the US between 2003 and 2013.<sup>[5]</sup><sup>[9]</sup> Brulle estimated that by 2009, approximately one-quarter of the funding of the "climate countermovement" came from Donors Trust and Donors

## Capital Fund.[6]

In 2008, Donors Capital Fund granted US\$17.7 million to the Clarion Fund, now the Clarion Project, a nonprofit organization which educates the U.S. public about the dangers of Islamic extremism.[10][11]

Donors Capital Fund granted US\$192,000 to the Alaska Policy Forum (APF) in the organization's first two years, 2009 and 2010. APF is free-market think tank and a member of the State Policy Network (SPN) of conservative and libertarian think tanks which focus on state-level policy. The grants from Donors Capital Fund were most of the funds raised by APF in that period.[12] In 2010, Donors Capital Fund granted US\$1.75 million to SPN, US\$2 million to Donors Trust, US\$2.5 million to the American Enterprise Institute, US\$2 million to Citizens Against Government Waste, US\$1.7 million to The Heartland Institute, and over 206 other grantees.[13]

## References

### Donors Trust

Donors Trust

Donors Trust logo.png

Formation1999

Type Nonprofit (IRC § 501(c)(3))[1]

Tax ID no.

52-2166327

Location

Alexandria, Virginia, US

Coordinates 38.8056°N 77.0603°WCoordinates: 38.8056°N 77.0603°W

Services Donor-advised fund

CEO

Lawson Bader[2]

Board of directors

Kimberly DennisJames PieresonLawson BaderThomas Beach[3]

Affiliations Donors Capital Fund

Revenue (2014)

\$67,869,616[1]

Expenses (2014) \$58,239,511[1]

Website [donorstrust.org](http://donorstrust.org) Edit this at Wikidata

Donors Trust is an American non-profit donor-advised fund. It was founded in 1999 with the goal of "safeguarding the intent of libertarian and conservative donors".[4] As a donor advised fund, Donors Trust is not legally required to disclose the identity of its donors, and most of its donors remain anonymous.[5][6] It distributes funds to various conservative and libertarian organizations. It is affiliated with Donors CapitalFund, another donor-advised fund. In September 2015, Lawson Bader was announced as the new president of both Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund. Bader was formerly president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute and Vice President at the Mercatus Center.[2]

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### Overview

Donors Trust is a 501(c)(3) organization.[1] As a public charity and a donor-advised fund, Donors Trust offers clients a variety of tax advantages compared to a private foundation.[7]

Donors Trust accepts donations from charitable foundations and individuals.[8] Grants from Donors Trust are based on the preferences of the original contributor, and the organization assures clients that their contributions will never be used to support politically liberal causes.[9][10] As a donor advised fund, Donors Trust can offer anonymity to individual donors, with respect to their donations to Donors Trust, as well as with respect to an individual donor's ultimate grantee.[9][11][12][13]

As a donor advised fund and public charity, Donors Trust accepts cash or assets from donors, and in turn creates a separate account for the donor, who may recommend disbursements from the fund to other public charities.[12] Donors

Trust requires an initial deposit of \$10,000 or more.[14][15] Donors Trust is associated with Donors Capital Fund. Donors Trust refers clients to Donors Capital Fund if the client plans to maintain a balance of \$1 million or more.[16][17] Donors Trust president Lawson Bader said the goal of the organization is to "safeguard the intent of libertarian and conservative donors," ensuring that funds are used only to promote "liberty through limited government, responsibility, and free enterprise".[4]

#### History

Donors Trust was established in 1999 by Whitney Lynn Ball.[18] According to Donors Trust, the organization was founded by a group of donors and nonprofit executives who were "actively engaged in supporting and promoting a free society as understood in America's founding documents." [10]

In early 2013, Donors Trust was the subject of investigative journalism reports by the British newspapers The Independent[19] and The Guardian,[8][9][20] and the United States entities Mother Jones[15][21] and the Center for Public Integrity.[7] Mother Jones described Donors Trust as having funded a conservative public policy agenda in the areas of labor unions, climate science, public schools, and economic regulations.[15]

#### Donors

As of 2013, Donors Trust had 193 contributors, mostly individuals, and some foundations.[7]

The Charles G. Koch Foundation and the Knowledge and Progress Fund, another of the Koch family foundations, contributed \$3.3 million to Donors Trust between 2007 and 2011.[19][22] The Knowledge and Progress Fund contributed \$4.5 million to Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund between 2006 and 2012.[23] Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund were the only grantees of the Knowledge and Progress Fund through 2013, according to The Independent.[19] The Koch brothers, Charles and David Koch, were the top contributors to Donors Trust in 2011, according to an analysis by the Columbia Journalism Review published by Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.[24] In 2010, Donors Trust received a US\$2 million grant from the Donors Capital Fund.[11]

Donors Trust account holders have included the John M. Olin Foundation, the Castle Rock Foundation, the Searle Freedom Trust, and the Bradley Foundation.[7][25] The Bradley family contributed \$650,000 between 2001 and 2010.[15] The DeVos family foundation contributed \$1 million in 2009 and \$1.5 million in 2010 to Donors Trust.[15]

#### Recipients

From its founding in 1999 through 2013, Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund distributed nearly \$400 million, and through 2015 \$740 million, to various nonprofit organizations, including numerous conservative and libertarian causes.[7][26][27] Donors Trust requires that recipients are registered with the US Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(3) public charity. Whitney Ball, the former president of Donors Trust, told The Guardian in 2013 that Donors Trust has about 1,600 grantees.[28] In 2014, Ball said that 70 to 75 percent of grants go to public policy organizations, with the rest going to more conventional charities such as social service and educational organizations.[29]

In 2010, the Americans for Prosperity Foundation[30] received a Donors Trust grant of \$7 million, nearly half of the Foundation's revenue that year.[7] Other Donors Trust recipients have included the Heritage Foundation, Americans for Tax Reform, the National Rifle Association Freedom Action Foundation, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, the Cato Institute, the Federalist Society, the FreedomWorks Foundation, the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, and the Center for Class Action Fairness.[15][21][31]

Donors Trust paid the legal fees of the Project on Fair Representation, a Washington, D.C.-based legal defense fund that assembled the plaintiff's legal team in *Fisher v. University of Texas*, a 2013 United States Supreme Court case concerning affirmative action college admissions policies.[32] In 2011, the Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity, an online news organization, received \$6.3 million in Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund grants, 95 percent of the center's revenue that year.

Other Donors Trust recipients have included the Foundation for Jewish Camp, Families Against Mandatory Minimums, the James Randi Educational Foundation, the Marijuana Policy Project,[29][33][34] and PragerU.[35]

#### Climate change related funding

Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund distributed nearly \$120 million to 102 think tanks and action groups skeptical of the science behind climate change between 2002 and 2010.[9] According to a 2013 analysis by Drexel University environmental sociologist Robert Brulle, between 2003 and 2013 Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund combined were the largest funders of organizations opposed to restrictions on carbon emissions, which Brulle calls the "climate change counter-movement." [15][36] According to Brulle, by 2009, approximately one-quarter of the funding of the "climate counter-movement" was from the Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund.[16]

As of 2010, Donors Trust grants to conservative and libertarian organizations active in climate change issues included more than \$17 million to the American Enterprise Institute, a think tank; \$13.5 million to the Heartland Institute, a public policy think tank; and \$11 million to Americans for Prosperity, a political advocacy group.[20] In 2011, the Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT), the conservative Washington, D.C.-based non-profit organization, received \$1.2 million



from Donors Trust, 40 percent of CFACT's revenue in that year.[11] Climate change writer Wei-Hock "Willie" Soon received hundreds of thousands of dollars from Donors Trust.[37][38] In 2015, The Guardian reported that Donors Trust gave \$4.3 million to the Competitive Enterprise Institute over three years.[39]

#### State-based policy funding

Between 2008 and 2013, Donors Trust granted \$10 million to the State Policy Network (SPN), a national network of conservative and libertarian think tanks focused on state-level policy. SPN used the grants to incubate new think tanks in Arkansas, Rhode Island and Florida. Donors Trust also issued grants to SPN's affiliates at the state level during the same period. The American Legislative Exchange Council, a nonprofit organization of conservative state legislators and private sector representatives that drafts and shares model state-level legislation, is a Donors Trust recipient.[7]

#### Project Veritas

Donors Trust donated \$1.7 million to Project Veritas, a group run by conservative activist James O'Keefe, which attempts through undercover video stings to demonstrate the biases of mainstream media organizations and liberal groups.[40] Donors Trust's relationship with Project Veritas came under scrutiny in 2017 after Project Veritas had one of its operative contact The Washington Post, falsely claiming to have been impregnated by Roy Moore while she was a teenager.[40]

#### Elections and the judiciary

In 2018, Donors Trust funded more than 99% of the Judicial Education Project, a legal alias for Honest Elections Project and The 85 Fund.[41][42][43]

#### Board of directors

The board of directors of Donors Trust includes:[3]

Kimberly Dennis, Chairman – President of the Searle Freedom Trust  
Lawson Bader, President and CEO – Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund  
James Piereson, Vice Chairman – conservative scholar and President of the William E. Simon Foundation  
Thomas E. Beach  
References

#### Alaska Policy Forum

Alaska Policy Forum

Alaska Policy Forum.png

Established 2009[1]

Mission "Our mission is to empower and educate Alaskans and policymakers by promoting policies that grow freedom for all."

Executive Director Bethany Marcum

Budget \$39,486 (2015)[2]

Slogan "Our vision is an Alaska that continuously grows prosperity by maximizing individual opportunities and freedom."

Location Anchorage, Alaska

Website alaskapolicyforum.org

The Alaska Policy Forum (APF) is a conservative, nonprofit think tank located in Anchorage, Alaska.[3][4][5] In 2009, the Internal Revenue Service granted APF its 501(c)(3) nonprofit status.[6] APF conducts and publishes research on education, taxes, health care, welfare, and regulations in Alaska. According to the organization's website, Alaska Policy Forum does not accept government funding or grants, but instead relies on donations from individuals and businesses.[7] The Alaska Policy Forum was started in 2009 with support from Donors Capital Fund and Donors Trust, two related donor-advised funds.[8] The Alaska Policy Forum received \$192,000 from Donors Trust in 2009 and 2010, representing the majority of the group's earnings in its first two years. In 2014, the group was entirely volunteer-run with no paid employees.[8]

The Alaska Policy Forum is a member of the State Policy Network[8]

APF is most well known for publishing public sector payroll data.[9] The organization also compiles and publishes the Performance Evaluation for Alaska's Schools (PEAKS) Assessment results.[10]

#### Institute for Justice

Institute for Justice

IJ Logo Square 12 2013.jpg

Formation 1991

Founders

Clint Bolick

William Mellor

Type Non-profit corporation

Purpose Economic liberty advocacy

Headquarters 901 N. Glebe Rd., S-900

Arlington, VA 22203

Coordinates 38.8814°N 77.1153°WCoordinates: 38.8814°N 77.1153°W

President & General Counsel

Scott Bullock

Revenue (2015)

\$34,123,923[1]

Staff

95 total (39 attorneys) (2016)[2]

Website [www.ij.org](http://www.ij.org) Edit this at Wikidata

The Institute for Justice (IJ) is a non-profit libertarian public interest law firm in the United States.[3][4][5] It has litigated eight cases considered by the United States Supreme Court dealing with topics that included eminent domain, interstate commerce, public financing for elections, school vouchers, tax credits for private school tuition, civil asset forfeiture, and residency requirements for liquor license. The organization was founded in 1991. As of June 2016, it employed a staff of 95 (including 39 attorneys) in Arlington, Virginia and seven offices across the United States. Its 2016 budget was \$20 million.

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## History

William H. "Chip" Mellor and Clint Bolick co-founded the organization in 1991 with seed money from libertarian philanthropist Charles Koch.[6] Mellor was the organization's President & General Counsel through 2015. Bolick was the Vice President and Director of Litigation from 1991 until he left the organization in 2004. In March 2015, the organization announced that Mellor will become the chairman of its board of directors in January 2016. Senior Attorney Scott Bullock replaced Mellor as President.[7]

The organization's methods were modeled in part on work Bolick had done as the director of the Landmark Center for Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. For example, in the late 1980s Bolick represented Washington shoeshine stand owner Ego Brown in his attempt to overturn a Jim Crow-era law against bootblack stands on public streets. The law was designed to restrict economic opportunities for African-Americans, but was still being enforced 85 years after its passage. Bolick sued the District of Columbia on Brown's behalf, and the law was overturned in 1989.[8][9] In 1991, Bolick joined former Department of Energy Deputy General Counsel Chip Mellor to found the Institute for Justice. Mellor had served as president of the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, a think tank in San Francisco.[10] According to the Institute for Justice, books commissioned and published by the Pacific Research Institute "formed the Institute for Justice's long-term, strategic litigation blueprint".[11]

As of 2012, the organization employed a staff of 65 (including 33 attorneys) in Arlington, Virginia and five regional offices across the United States.[2]

## Supreme Court cases

The organization has litigated eight cases that reached the Supreme Court, winning six, with one pending (the exception being *Kelo v. City of New London*):

*Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002)[12] The court ruled in favor of a Cleveland, Ohio school voucher program, allowing the use of public money to pay tuition at private and parochial schools.[13][14]

*Swedenburg v. Kelly* (2005) The court struck down laws in New York and Michigan that made it illegal for consumers to buy wine directly from out-of-state wineries. The institute represented small vintners in Virginia and California.[15][16] (This case was consolidated with *Granholtz v. Heald*[17] prior to consideration by the Supreme Court.[15])

*Kelo v. City of New London* (2005)[18][19] The court ruled that the state of Connecticut could use eminent domain to take property from the plaintiffs (a group of homeowners) and transfer it to a private business. The institute represented the home owners.[19][20]

*Garriott v. Winn* (2010) The court upheld an Arizona program that gave tax credits for private school tuition.[21][22] This case was consolidated with *Arizona Christian School Tuition Organization v. Winn* prior to consideration by the Supreme Court.[23]

*Arizona Free Enterprise Club's Freedom Club PAC v. Bennett* (2011) The court struck down part of a public campaign

financing law in Arizona that provided additional public funding to candidates based on the amount of spending by their opponents. The institute represented several challengers to the law.[24][25] This case was consolidated with McComish v. Bennett prior to consideration by the Supreme Court.[26][27]

Timbs v. Indiana (2019)[28] The court ruled that the Eighth Amendment's Excessive Fines Clause is an incorporated protection applicable to the States under the Fourteenth Amendment's Due Process Clause, thus grossly disproportionate asset forfeiture is unconstitutional.

Tennessee Wine & Spirits Retailers Association v. Thomas (2019)[29] The court ruled the residency requirement for retail liquor licenses violates the Commerce Clause and the 21st Amendment does not save it.

Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue (2019)[30] Currently pending until 22 January 2020.[31]

#### Activities

##### Litigation

The organization provides pro bono legal advice and representation to clients. According to the organization, it selects cases based on the client's ability to pay (giving preference to clients who do not have the means to obtain other representation).[32] and on the case's potential to publicize and educate the public on the issues involved.[33]

##### Commercial regulation

IJ opposes many kinds of business licensing.[34] The organization's first case began in 1991, defending Taalib-Din Uqdah, a Washington, DC businessman who owned a salon to braid hair. Local authorities informed Taalib-Din that he would need a cosmetology license in order to continue operating his business. The institute contended that the licensing requirements did not apply to Taalib-Din's business. Further, the organization claimed that the licensing rules in this case were designed to protect existing businesses from competition, with the effect of reducing choice and raising prices for consumers.[8][35] The case was dismissed in 1992, but later in that year the city council repealed the cosmetology regulations that prevented Taalib-Din from opening his business. While institute co-founders Clint Bolick and Chip Mellor have acknowledged the need for health, safety, and consumer protection regulations,[36] the organization continues to litigate against what it sees as abuse. It has defended a variety of small business owners across the United States in similar cases involving food cart and street vendors,[37] vendors and makers of caskets,[38][39] florists,[40] interior designers,[41] and independent taxi drivers.[42] In defending tour guide operators in Philadelphia and Washington D.C., the Institute for Justice argued that restrictions on these businesses abridged First Amendment rights.[43][44]

In 2005, the organization litigated on behalf of small wineries in California and Virginia.[20] The institute's case, Swedenburg v. Kelly, was consolidated with Granholm v. Heald[17] and considered by the Supreme Court. The court ruled that laws in Michigan and New York that prohibited consumers from buying wine directly from out-of-state wineries were unconstitutional.[16]

In 2009, the organization sued to allow donors to be compensated for giving bone marrow.[45] The National Organ Transplant Act of 1984 (NOTA) made it illegal to compensate organ donors, but did not prevent payment for other forms of donations (such as human plasma, sperm, and egg cells). Although bone marrow is not an organ or a component of an organ, the act made paying bone marrow donors punishable by up to 5 years in prison. At the time the act was passed, donating bone marrow involved a painful and risky medical procedure.[46] In the years after the act was passed, a new procedure (apheresis) made it possible to harvest bone marrow cells through a non-surgical procedure similar to the donation of blood components such as platelets or plasma. The Institute for Justice lawsuit argued that the development of apheresis meant that donors who gave bone marrow through blood donation should be allowed to receive compensation.[46] The organization predicted that allowing compensation would increase the pool of available donors, and claimed that 3,000 Americans die each year while waiting for compatible marrow donors.[2][46] Critics argued that allowing compensation could reduce donation, increase the risk of disease, and lead to exploitation of the poor.[45][46][47] In December 2011, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled unanimously that donors giving bone marrow via apheresis were eligible for compensation.[46] In November 2013, the federal government proposed a regulation that would change legal definitions to cover bone marrow regardless of how it is obtained. This would have the effect of keeping the ban on compensating donors in place.[47] As of July 2014, the proposal was still under review.[48]

##### Eminent domain and civil forfeiture

One of the few remaining houses in the Fort Trumbull neighborhood, September 1, 2006. Underneath the white paint can just barely be read the words "Thank you Gov. Rell for your support" and the web URLs of two organizations protesting over-use of eminent domain, the Castle Coalition and the Institute for Justice.

Eminent domain cases pursued by the organization involve instances where a government seeks to condemn a property and transfer it from one private owner to another (as opposed to using it for a road, building, park, or other publicly owned property). The organization gained national attention in 1996, defending a small business owner in a case involving Trump Casino (Casino Reinvestment Development Authority v. Coking), and again in 2005, arguing Kelo v. City of New London before the Supreme Court.[19][49] In the casino case, a New Jersey state agency (the Casino Reinvestment Development Authority) was attempting to condemn Vera Coking's boarding house, along with two other businesses in Atlantic City, in order to transfer the properties to a business owned by Donald Trump.[49] In 1998, a New Jersey Superior Court judge ruled that the state was not allowed to seize the properties.[50] However, the ruling did not contest the state's right to take property from one private owner for the purpose of giving it to another. The judge based the ruling on the fact that the state did not get a guarantee that the Trump organization would use the property for a new parking area (as promised), instead of using the property for other purposes such as expanding Trump's casino.[50] According to the Institute for

Justice, the organization received a "deluge" of requests to participate in other cases of eminent domain abuse after its win in the Coking case. In 2008, organization president Chip Mellor stated:

Frankly, we had not realized just how widespread this phenomenon was until [the Coking case] ... Once we became aware of it, though, we formed a strategic plan to escalate it to national attention and ultimately to the Supreme Court, which we did in the course of the next seven years.[33]

In 2005, the organization represented the plaintiffs in the Supreme Court case *Kelo v. City of New London*. In this case, the state of Connecticut was attempting to take properties owned by state residents and give them to a private company for use in a development. In a 5-to-4 decision the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the state, affirming the right of states to transfer properties from one private owner to another in this way.[19] The ruling prompted what was widely called a "backlash" against this kind of eminent domain activity.[51][52][53][54] In 2006 (on the first anniversary of the *Kelo* ruling), President George W. Bush issued an executive order limiting how federal agencies could use eminent domain.[55] Between the *Kelo* ruling and June 2008, 37 states passed laws to increase restrictions on the use of eminent domain.[51] In 2006, the organization won an eminent domain case in the Ohio Supreme Court, the first eminent domain decision by a state supreme court after *Kelo*. [56] In the years since, the institute has continued its efforts to reform eminent domain laws.[2][33]

The organization also works to publicize what it sees as abuse of civil forfeiture laws.[57] Civil forfeiture is the process by which law enforcement agencies in the United States can take property from citizens, based on the suspicion that the property was used in a crime of some kind, without a criminal charge or conviction. Depending on the state law, law enforcement agencies can keep some or all of the confiscated money and property, and apply it to their budgets. State agencies can also confiscate property under federal statutes, and through a program called "equitable sharing" keep up to 80% of the property.[58] The Institute for Justice and other critics argue that this direct financial reward gives law enforcement agencies a strong incentive to abuse civil asset forfeiture.[59] In these cases, the organization occasionally works with other advocacy groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), The Heritage Foundation, and the American Bankers Association.[57][58][60]

#### Campaign finance

In 2011, the organization challenged an Arizona law in the United States Supreme Court (*Arizona Free Enterprise Club's Freedom Club PAC v. Bennett*).[26][27] The law provided increased public campaign funding based on the amount spent by a candidate's opponent.[24] The institute argued that the law violated the First Amendment rights of independent groups and candidates who do not accept public financing. In a 5-4 ruling, the court struck down the part of the law that provided escalating matching funds. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice John Roberts wrote that the law forced independent groups to face a choice: "trigger matching funds, change your message, or do not speak." [25] Other Institute for Justice cases involve regulations on political activity related to elections.[33]

#### Education

The organization has litigated several cases related to education reform and school vouchers, including two successful cases that went to the Supreme Court: *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002) and *Garriott v. Winn* (2010).[12][23] In the *Zelman* case, the Supreme Court ruled that parents can use public money (in the form of school vouchers) to pay tuition at private schools, including parochial schools.[14] The institute represented parents in that case.[13] In the *Garriott* case, the court dismissed a challenge to a program in Arizona that gave state tax credits for payment of private school tuition.[21] The institute argued in favor of dismissal.[22]

#### Activism and coalitions

The institute maintains training programs, activism networks, and partnerships with other organizations.

The IJ Clinic on Entrepreneurship is a joint project of the Institute for Justice and The University of Chicago Law School. The clinic provides free legal services for startups and other entrepreneurs in economically disadvantaged communities in the Chicago area.[61][62]

The organization provides educational opportunities for law students, such as a yearly conference for law students at George Washington University. According to the Institute for Justice, participants in the conference, along with the organization's former law clerks and interns, can join the institute's "Human Action Network". The institute offers to match network members with volunteer and pro-bono opportunities in their local communities.[63] The organization also recruits volunteers for its "Liberty in Action" project, for support activism by non-lawyers.[64] The institute founded the Castle Coalition in 2002 to provide more specific tools for activists in the area of eminent domain abuse.

#### Finances

IJ operates as a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt nonprofit. Charity Navigator has given the institute a four-star rating (out of four) for financial transparency and efficiency in each year since it began evaluating charities in 2001.[65]

According to the institute, 85 percent of contributions in 2012 came from individuals, with 14 percent coming from foundations and 1 percent coming from businesses.[66] As of 2005, IJ did not actively solicit corporate donations.[6] According to information provided to the Internal Revenue Service, the organization spent about \$12.8 million in the fiscal

year ending June 2013.[67] In that year, 83.2% of money spent went to the programs and services the institute delivers, with the rest going to administrative expenses (9.4%) and fund raising expenses (7.2%).[65]

See also  
Dana Berliner, Litigation Director at the Institute for Justice  
Libertarian theories of law

#### 60 Plus Association

The 60 Plus Association is an American 501(c)(4) organization founded in 1992 and based in Alexandria, Virginia. Its stated purpose is to promote solutions to seniors' issues that are grounded in free markets, less government, and less taxes.[1] The organization is pro-Republican Party.[2] The organization is known for its advocacy for the privatization of Social Security and senior citizen health programs, as well as its opposition to the estate tax.[3] The organization is funded by Charles and David Koch (of Koch Industries).[3]

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#### Political advocacy

The organization is known for its advocacy for the privatization of Social Security and senior citizen health programs, as well as its opposition to the estate tax.[3][4] The organization bills itself as a conservative alternative to the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP).[5] In the 2012 election, the organization ran a \$3.5 million ad campaign which falsely claimed that President Obama had proposed rationing and denial of certain Medicare treatments, and that he would cut \$500 billion from Medicare.[6]

#### Funding

In 2002, the Washington Post reported that 60 Plus received an unrestricted educational grant (which can be used as most needed) from the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, also known as PhRMA.[7] Ken Johnson, senior vice president and spokesman for PhRMA said that as of 2009 the association had not provided any funding to 60 Plus for at least five years.[8] In 2009, Carl Forti, a political consultant and spokesman for 60 Plus said, "I don't believe PhRMA has ever given 60 Plus money." He added that 60 Plus is funded by donations from its 5.5 million members.

60 Plus also earns income from sponsoring life insurance and health screening for its members.[9]

In 2014, documents left behind by an attendee at an exclusive "donor seminar" put on by Charles and David Koch (of Koch Industries) revealed that the billionaire brothers count the 60 Plus Association as a part of their political network.[10][11][12]

In 2014, as a sign of the diversity within Koch-funded projects, the Freedom Partners supported 60 Plus Association ran TV ads that the Koch brothers did not agree with.[13]

#### Staff

60 Plus is led by its Chairman James L Martin, a 77-year-old veteran of the US Marines. Martin has previously led several conservative advocacy groups, and also was chief of staff for six years for former Republican congressman and senator, the late Edward Gurney of Florida.[1] Martin also served as a member of President George W. Bush's health and human services transition team.[14] In 2010, Amy Noone Frederick (b. 1978) was named president of the 60 Plus Association. Frederick, wife of former Virginia legislator Jeff Frederick, is a former lobbyist and political consultant. For eight years she served as a senior adviser to Virginia legislative candidates. Frederick graduated from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania with a degree in government.[15]

#### References

#### Make America Number 1

Make America Number 1 is a super PAC (political action committee) that supported the presidential campaigns of Ted Cruz and Donald Trump in the 2016 United States presidential election. During the primary campaign, the super PAC was known as Keep the Promise I.[1] In the general election, it informally termed itself Defeat Crooked Hillary PAC, but was not allowed to officially use this term and chose the name Make America Number 1.[2][3] The PAC is run by Rebekah Mercer, the second daughter of its largest donor Robert Mercer.[4]

Robert Mercer donated \$15.5 million to the PAC during the 2016 campaign; philanthropist Bernard Marcus donated \$2 million; and Cherna Moskowitz donated \$1 million.[5] As of November 2, it had received a total of \$19,586,131 in donations.[6] Robert Mercer is the fourth-largest contributor to Super PACs in the 2016 cycle.[7]

Rebekah Mercer has been chairperson of the PAC since 2015. Its operations were headed by Kellyanne Conway from August 2015 until she was tapped to serve as the Campaign Manager of the Donald Trump campaign in mid-August 2016.[8] The PAC also employed Stephen Bannon, who joined the campaign as CEO.[9] After Conway's departure, David Bossie took leadership. He left in September to become Trump's Deputy Campaign Manager, and Rebekah Mercer took over leadership of day-to-day operations.[9]

During the general election the PAC ran anti-Hillary Clinton ads in a \$350,000 campaign in Ohio and Pennsylvania.[4]

Make America Number 1 responded to the public release of Donald Trump's conversation with Billy Bush about his treatment of women by stating, "We are completely indifferent to Mr. Trump's locker room braggadocio." [10]

## Mercatus Center

Mercatus Center

Mercatus logo.png

Founder(s) Richard Fink

Established 1980

Director Tyler Cowen

Budget Revenue: \$29,566,224

Expenses: \$27,582,187

(FYE August 2017)[1]

Formerly called Center for the Study of Market Processes

Coordinates 38.8857°N 77.1018°WCoordinates: 38.8857°N 77.1018°W

Address 3434 Washington Blvd., 4th Floor Arlington, Virginia 22201

Website www.mercatus.org

The Mercatus Center at George Mason University is an American non-profit free-market-oriented research, education, and outreach think tank directed by Tyler Cowen. It works with policy experts, lobbyists, and government officials to connect academic learning and real-world practice. Taking its name from the Latin word for "market", the center advocates free-market approaches to public policy. During the George W. Bush administration's campaign to reduce government regulation, the Wall Street Journal reported, "14 of the 23 rules the White House chose for its 'hit list' to eliminate or modify were Mercatus entries". [2]

According to the 2017 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report (Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, University of Pennsylvania), Mercatus is number 39 in the "Top Think Tanks in the United States" and number 18 of the "Best University Affiliated Think Tanks". [3] The Koch family has supported the organization, and Charles Koch serves on the group's board of directors. [4][5]

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## History

The Mercatus Center was founded by Richard Fink as the Center for the Study of Market Processes at Rutgers University. After the Koch family gave more than \$30 million to George Mason University, [4] the Center moved there in the mid-1980s. It took its current name in 1999. [4]

The Mercatus Center is a 501(c)(3) non-profit and does not receive support from George Mason University or any federal, state, or local governments. The Koch family has been a major financial supporter of the organization since the mid-1980s. [5][6]

## Mission

The organization describes itself as "the world's premier university source for market-oriented ideas" and says it aims to bridge "the gap between academic ideas and real-world problems." [4] By advancing knowledge about how markets can work to improve lives and individual freedoms, by training graduate students, conducting research, and applying economic principles, they hope to offer solutions to society's most pressing problems.

Mercatus currently runs the following research programs: The Project for the Study of American Capitalism; Technology

Policy Project; State and Local Policy Project; Spending and Budget Initiative; Program on the American Economy and Globalization; Program on Monetary Policy; Program on Financial Regulation; and Program for Economic Research on Regulation.[7]

Rob Stein, a Democratic strategist, has called Mercatus "ground zero for deregulation policy in Washington." [4] The Wall Street Journal has called the Mercatus Center "the most important think tank you've never heard of". [4]

#### Activities

In 2018, Mercatus announced [8] that it "sponsored the development of a futures market based on [nominal gross domestic product] contracts with Hypermind, a UK-based prediction market." As explained in the announcement: "Mercatus Center's Scott Sumner and David Beckworth have made the case that an alternative monetary policy approach, nominal gross domestic product (NGDP) level targeting, is superior to inflation targeting. NGDP is essentially the nation's total income. According to Sumner and Beckworth, instead of targeting inflation (general prices), the Federal Reserve's monetary policy should target the rate at which the nation's total income is expected to grow. NGDP level targeting will ensure that the right amount of money supply is provided to meet the economy's needs." [9]

In 2016, Mercatus launched its Program on the American Economy and Globalization, [10] run by Daniel Griswold, which aims to help "the public and policymakers understand the benefits of an economy free from protectionist barriers against the international movement of goods, services, capital, ideas, and people." [7]

In 2015, Mercatus launched its annual Ranking of the 50 States by Fiscal Conditions. [11]

Also in 2015, Mercatus started its Program on Monetary Policy. [12]

In 2012, Mercatus scholar Charles Blahous released a study saying that the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) would worsen the federal deficit, contrary to the official Congressional Budget Office forecast. [13] The study was generally criticized by supporters of the PPACA. [14] [15] Jeanne Lambrew, deputy assistant to the president for health policy, wrote, "This new math fits the old pattern of mischaracterizations about the Affordable Care Act when official estimates show the health care law reduces the deficit." [16] Blahous defended the findings of his research. [17]

In 2010, the center collaborated with EconStories to produce a parody rap video about the conflict of ideas between F. A. Hayek and John Maynard Keynes. [18] A sequel, "Fight of the Century", was produced in 2011. [19]

In 2001, the Office of Management and Budget asked for public input on which regulations should be revised or killed. Mercatus submitted 44 of the 71 proposals the OMB received. [6]

#### Organizational structure

The Mercatus Center is located on George Mason University's Arlington Campus, and is affiliated with GMU's Economics department. The Provost of George Mason University has the power to appoint a faculty director to head the Mercatus Center.

#### Board of directors

Members of the Board of Directors include: [20]

Frank Atkinson, Partner at McGuireWoods

Donald J. Boudreaux, senior fellow with the F.A. Hayek Program for Advanced Study in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at the Mercatus Center

Emily Chamlee-Wright, president and CEO of the Institute for Humane Studies

Tyler Cowen, Professor of Economics at GMU

Richard Fink, Executive Vice President of Koch Industries

Brian Hooks, President of the Charles Koch Foundation

Manuel H. Johnson, economist

Charles G. Koch, co-owner, Chairman and CEO of Koch Industries

Edwin Meese, 75th United States Attorney General (1985–1988)

Vernon L. Smith, 2002 winner of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences

#### Publications

Scholars affiliated with the Mercatus Center have published hundreds of journal articles and research papers, with topics including government transparency, subsidies, taxation, regulation, corruption, and Austrian School economics. They have also provided more than 100 testimonies to Congress. [21] Notable studies performed and books published include:

"Tyranny Comes Home," published in 2018, assesses how, under certain conditions, U.S. policies, tactics, and technologies deployed abroad via military interventions "are re-imported to America, changing the national landscape and increasing the extent to which we live in a police state." [22] The authors "examine this pattern—which they dub 'the boomerang effect'—considering a variety of rich cases that include the rise of state surveillance, the militarization of domestic law enforcement, the expanding use of drones, and torture in U.S. prisons." [22]

"Permissionless Innovation," a book by scholar Adam Thierer, which argues that if "the precautionary principle," trumps

"permissionless innovation" with regards to government's approach to technological innovation, then "the result will be fewer services, lower-quality goods, higher prices, diminished economic growth, and a decline in the overall standard of living."<sup>[23]</sup>

"How Are Small Banks Faring under Dodd-Frank?," a 2015 survey of approximately 200 small U.S. banks serving mostly rural and small metropolitan markets. The survey "included questions about specific regulatory and compliance activities, interactions with regulators, effects of particular regulations, changes in fees and revenue, and business strategy decisions since the passage of Dodd-Frank."

"Annual Performance Report Scorecard" (2000–2009):<sup>[24]</sup> Produced by the Mercatus Center's Government Accountability Project, these publications assess the annual reports released by the 24 federal agencies covered by the Chief Financial Officers Act. The reports, required by the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 are rated for their demonstration of "transparency, public benefits, and leadership."<sup>[25]</sup> The most recent publication, covering the 2008 fiscal year, ranked the reports from Labor, Veterans Affairs, and Transportation departments as the best, and those from SBA, Defense, and HUD as the worst. Only 13 of the departments' reports received a "satisfactory" score in this 2009 publication, which notes that agencies "whose policy views were evaluated as more liberal ... seem to score slightly better."<sup>[25]</sup>

"Freedom in the 50 States: An Index of Personal and Economic Freedom" ranks states according to how well they meet the Center's ideals of personal and economic freedom. The 2011 rankings regarded New Hampshire, South Dakota, and Indiana as the freest, and New York, New Jersey, and California as the most restrictive.<sup>[26]</sup> The 2013 rankings regarded North Dakota, South Dakota, and Tennessee as the freest, and New York, California, and New Jersey as the most restrictive.<sup>[27]</sup> This index was later transferred to the Cato Institute.<sup>[28]</sup>

Scholars

Notable scholars at Mercatus include:<sup>[29]</sup>

Charles Blahous

Peter Boettke

Donald J. Boudreaux

Bryan Caplan

Tyler Cowen

Christopher Coyne

Veronique de Rugy

Steven Horwitz

Arnold Kling

Peter Leeson

Maurice McTigue

Russ Roberts

Scott Sumner

Alex Tabarrok

Lawrence H. White

Bruce Yandle

Todd Zywicki

Alumni

Notable former Mercatus scholars, students, and employees include:

Brian Blase<sup>[30]</sup>

Jerry Brito

Susan Dudley

Hester Peirce

See also

Good Government Organizations (United States)

References

Manhattan Institute for Policy research

Policy Research

Manhattan Institute logo as of 2017.jpg

Motto Turning Intellect into Influence

Formation1977; 43 years ago<sup>[1]</sup>

Founder Antony Fisher and William J. Casey

Type Public policy think tank

Headquarters 52 Vanderbilt Avenue

Location

New York City, NY

President

Reihan Salam<sup>[2]</sup>

Budget

Revenue: \$17,408,881

Expenses: \$15,638,756



(FYE September 2015)[3]

Website [manhattan-institute.org](http://manhattan-institute.org)

Formerly called

International Center for Economic Policy Studies

The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research (renamed in 1981 from the International Center for Economic Policy Studies) is a conservative 501(c)(3) non-profit American think tank focused on domestic policy and urban affairs, established in New York City in 1977 by Antony Fisher and William J. Casey.[1][4][5] The organization describes its mission as to "develop and disseminate new ideas that foster greater economic choice and individual responsibility". Its message is communicated through books, articles, interviews, speeches, op-eds, and through the institute's quarterly publication *City Journal*.

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## History

### Foundation years (1977–1980)

The International Center for Economic Policy Studies (ICEPS) was founded by Antony Fisher and William J. Casey in 1978.[4][5] ICEPS changed its name to the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research in 1981. The institute's first president was Jeffrey Bell, who was succeeded in 1980 by William H. Hammett, who served until 1995. In 1980, the institute (then ICEPS) began publishing its *Manhattan Report on Economic Policy*, a monthly periodical featuring briefs by leading market economists and analysts. David Asman was the first editor of the reports and continued the post until 1982.[6]

### Reagan-era activity (1981–1989)

The institute produced a number of highly acclaimed books during the early 1980s that introduced the concepts of supply-side economics and privatization of services to a wider audience. In 1981, Institute program director George Gilder published *Wealth and Poverty*, a best-selling book often referred to as the "Bible of the Reagan administration".[7] A *New York Times* reviewer called it "A Guide to Capitalism", arguing that it offered "a creed for capitalism worthy of intelligent people." [8] The book was a *New York Times* bestseller[9] and eventually sold over a million copies.[10]

Other books on supply-side economics published during this era include *The Economy in Mind* (1982), by Warren Brookes, and *The Supply-Side Solution* (1983), edited by Timothy Roth and Bruce Bartlett. The latter declares in its first sentence: "As accepted economic theory, orthodox Keynesian economics is dead".[11] The institute sponsored a documentary film, "Good Intentions", in 1983 based on the book, *The State Against Blacks*, by George Mason University professor Walter E. Williams. The film debuted on New York area public TV station WNET on June 27, and presented Williams's thesis that government policies have done more to impede than to encourage black economic progress.

In 1982, the institute paid \$30,000 to a then little-known social scientist named Charles Murray to write what became his landmark book, *Losing Ground*, published in 1984.[5] The book paved the way for federal welfare reform in 1996.

### The influence of *City Journal* (1990–2000)

In 1990, the institute founded its quarterly magazine, *City Journal*, in response to perceptions that New York City was in a downward spiral, and broader anxieties about the perceived decay of American cities generally. *City Journal* has been called "arguably America's best magazine" by economist Thomas Sowell,[12] and "the great Fool Killer in the arena of

urban policy" by novelist Tom Wolfe.[13] City Journal has articulated and promoted ideas that have been credited with driving the urban renaissance of recent decades. The magazine was edited by Peter Salins and then Fred Siegel in the early 1990s. Fortune editor Myron Magnet was hired by the institute as editor of the magazine in 1994, where he served until 2007. As of 2018, the magazine is edited by Brian C. Anderson.

Lawrence J. Mone was named president of the institute in 1995, taking over from William H. Hammett. He joined the institute in 1982, serving as a public policy specialist, program director and vice president before being named the institute's fourth president.

The institute established the Center for Education Innovation (CEI) in 1989, an organization devoted to transforming public education by shifting accountability from bureaucracies to schools as a means of creating public school choice. The CEI helped create a number of small, alternative public schools in New York and advised New York Governor George Pataki in crafting the state's landmark charter school law in 1998, which authorized the creation of autonomous public schools. The institute thereafter continued to work closely with school officials to promote the idea of school choice nationwide.

Senior fellow Peter W. Huber published his first book, *Liability: The Legal Revolution and Its Consequences*, in 1990. The book described the transformation of modern tort law since the 1960s, and shows how the dramatic increase in liability lawsuits has had an adverse effect on the safety, health, the cost of insurance, and individual rights. Later on, Walter Olson's work at the institute culminated with the hugely influential book, *The Litigation Explosion*, in 1992. The book was one of the most widely discussed general-audience books on law of its time, and led the Washington Post to dub him "intellectual guru of tort reform".[14]

The institute enjoyed close ties to the administration of New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, who had become a regular at Institute luncheons and lectures after his failed mayoral campaign in 1989. Violent crime in New York City had recently hit a peak of 2,245 homicides in 1990. The Spring 1992 Issue of City Journal was devoted to "The Quality of Urban Life", and featured articles on crime, education, housing, and the serious deterioration of the city's public spaces. The issue caught Giuliani's eye as he prepared to run for mayor again in 1993. The campaign contacted City Journal editor Fred Siegel to develop tutorial sessions for the candidate with experts on education, housing, and crime. Among the policies embraced by his administration was the "broken-windows" theory of policing, which had already begun to be adopted on some levels by leadership in the NYPD.

During the 2000 election, candidate George W. Bush cited Myron Magnet's, *The Dream and the Nightmare: The Sixties' Legacy to the Underclass* (1993), as having a profound impact on how he conducted his approach to public policy. Bush went on to say "The Dream and the Nightmare by Myron Magnet crystallized for me the impact the failed culture of the '60s had on our values and society".[15]

Addressing the modern age of terrorism and social unrest (2001–2009)

The institute established the Center for Education Innovation (CEI) in 1990, an organization devoted to advancing meaningful reforms in public education to ensure the school is the center and driving force of public education reform and innovation. The CEI helped create a number of small, alternative public schools in New York and advised New York Governor George Pataki in crafting the state's landmark charter school law in 1998. To this day, the institute works closely with school officials to promote the idea of school choice nationwide. Senior fellow Peter W. Huber published his first book, *Liability: The Legal Revolution and Its Consequences*, in 1990. The book described the transformation of modern tort law since the 1960s, and shows how the dramatic increase in liability lawsuits has had an adverse effect on the safety, health, the cost of insurance, and individual rights. Later on, Walter Olson's work at the institute culminated in the highly influential book, *The Litigation Explosion*, in 1992. The book was one of the most widely discussed general-audience books on law of its time, and led the Washington Post to dub him "intellectual guru of tort reform".[14]

After the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, the institute formed the Center for Tactical Counterterrorism (CTCT), later renamed the Center for Policing Terrorism (CPT). The group was created at the request of the NYPD, to provide research into new policing techniques with the goal of retraining officers to become "first preventers" to future mass-casualty attacks. Led by executive director R.P. Eddy, the CTCT held a conference with highly regarded counterterrorism experts in the world and developed a strategy to transform the NYPD's approach to urban counterterrorism by blending intelligence gathering and analysis with traditional policing. One of the most visible components of this new approach was the overseas liaison program, which placed NYPD officers with police departments in foreign countries for the purposes of intelligence gathering, relationship building, and information sharing. Eddy brought on board Tim Connors, a West Point and Notre Dame Law School graduate, to oversee the day-to-day operations of the CTCT. The CTCT began publishing reports and white papers on intelligence fusion centers, local counterterrorism strategies, and intelligence-led policing. With the research assistance of institute staffers Mark Riebling and Pete Patton, the center produced rapid-response briefings on major terrorist attacks around the world and presented them at weekly meetings with the Counterterrorism Bureau. The institute's counterterrorism strategy also built upon Broken Windows and CompStat policing models by training police in problem-solving techniques, data analysis, and order maintenance. In January 2005, the CTCT cautioned against the construction of a new United Nations structure over the Queens Midtown Tunnel, which would have increased the value of the tunnel as a potential terrorist target.[16] CTCT, and later CPT, continued publishing research until 2008 when it was absorbed into National Consortium for Advanced Policing.

In other areas of policy concern, the institute's director of legal policy James R. Copland in 2003 began a long-running series of surveys on the civil litigation industry called Trial Lawyers, Inc. Building on previous work in civil litigation by fellows Olson and Huber, the series aims to survey civil litigation industry, highlight abuses by attorneys, and provide a readable source of information on current and trending practices. Since the 2000s, the institute has added a number of experts in infrastructure and municipal financing. Harvard professor Edward Glaeser and New York Post columnist Nicole Gelinas joined the institute in 2004 and 2005, respectively.

Advancing free-market thinking in modern politics (2009–present)

In 2010, Institute senior fellow Steve Malanga (a former Crain Communications executive editor) published *Shakedown: The Continuing Conspiracy Against the American Taxpayer*, warning that a self-interested coalition of public-sector unions and government-financed community activists would harm taxpayers. In 2013, former Florida Governor Jeb Bush called Malanga "the best thinker on state and local fiscal matters".<sup>[17]</sup>

After the financial crisis of 2007–2008, senior fellow Nicole Gelinas wrote her first book, *After the Fall: Saving Capitalism from Wall Street — and Washington* (Encounter, 2011). In the book, she argues that after over two decades of broken regulation and the federal government's adoption of a "too big to fail" policy for the largest or most complex financial companies eventually posed an untenable risk to the economy.<sup>[18]</sup> The institute has also worked closely with other experts in financial policy, including Professor Charles W. Calomiris at Columbia Business School. Calomiris has written critically of the Dodd–Frank financial regulations passed in response to the 2007–2008 financial crisis, arguing that the law doubles down on "too big to fail" and does not prevent the government from subsidizing mortgage risk, which fueled the crisis.<sup>[19][20]</sup>

In 2011, Edward Glaeser released *Triumph of the City*, in which he makes an urgent case for the importance and splendor of cities. Healthcare expert Avik Roy joined the institute as a senior fellow in 2011. In that year, Roy's highly acclaimed healthcare policy blog "The Apothecary", begun in 2009 in response to the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, was picked up by *Forbes* and integrated into their website in 2011. Roy's blog went on to become one of the most influential conservative voices on health care policy. In 2014, the institute published Roy's replacement proposal for the Affordable Care Act, in a report called *Transcending Obamacare*.

Paul Howard, the institute's director of health policy, has focused considerable attention on other medical issues including FDA reform and biopharmaceutical innovation. Howard is a member of the institute's Project FDA, which advocates for regulatory reform to allow private industry to advance innovation in medical devices and pharmaceuticals.<sup>[21][22][23]</sup>

In 2012, conservative social critical and Institute senior fellow Kay Hymowitz released *Manning Up: How the Rise of Women Has Turned Men into Boys*, arguing that too many American men in their 20s have started to prolong adolescence. *Governing* magazine columnist and urban-policy blogger Aaron Renn also joined the institute in 2012.

Programs

President Bush addresses a meeting of the Manhattan Institute at Federal Hall National Memorial on November 13, 2008. The institute founded its quarterly magazine on urban policy and culture called *City Journal* in 1990.<sup>[24]</sup> As of 2018, it is edited by Brian C. Anderson,<sup>[25]</sup> and notable contributors include Heather Mac Donald, Theodore Dalrymple, Nicole Gelinas, Steven Malanga, Edward L. Glaeser, Kay Hymowitz, Victor Davis Hanson, Judith Miller, and John Tierney. It has been described as "one of America's most successful journals of urban affairs".<sup>[26]</sup>

The Adam Smith Society was founded by the institute in 2011. The organization is a nationwide chapter-based association of business school students to promote discussion about the moral, social, and economic benefits of capitalism.<sup>[27]</sup> As of 2018, the organization had nine professional chapters, located in Austin, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Houston, London, New York City, San Francisco, and Washington D.C., and 33 student chapters at most of the top business schools across the country, including the Stanford Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago Booth School of Business, and the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>[28]</sup>

Created in 2006, the institute's Veritas Fund for Higher Education was a donor advised fund that invested in universities and professors who are committed to bringing intellectual pluralism to their institutions. The fund invested in courses related to western civilization, the American founding, and political economy.<sup>[29][30]</sup>

Carly Fiorina, Vanessa Mendoza, and Marilyn Fedak at the Adam Smith Society national meeting in New York City on February 21, 2014.

The institute formed its Project FDA in 2006 to focus on ways to improve FDA regulations and create a faster, safer drug and medical-device pipeline. Notable members of the committee include former FDA commissioner Andrew C. von Eschenbach and former Oklahoma senator (now Institute senior fellow) Tom Coburn.<sup>[31]</sup>

In 2007, the institute introduced its Young Leaders Circle, providing New York's young professionals with a forum to discuss policy ideas, cultural issues, and public affairs. The group hosts regular events with prominent speakers which have included Rupert Murdoch, Tom Wolfe, Ken Mehlman, William Bratton, and many others.<sup>[32]</sup>

Economics21 (E21) joined the institute in 2013 as the organization's Washington-based research center focused on economic issues and innovative policy solutions, led by the former chief economist of the U.S. Department of Labor during the Reagan administration, Diana Furchtgott-Roth. E21 has a partnership with the Shadow Open Market Committee, which was established in 2009, prior to its association with the institute. The independent group of economists meet twice a year to evaluate the policy choices and actions of the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee.[33] E21 partners with the Shadow Open Market Committee (SOMC), an independent group of economists, first organized in 1973 by Professors Karl Brunner, from the University of Rochester, and Allan Meltzer, from Carnegie Mellon University, to provide a monetarist alternative to the views on monetary policy and its inflation effects then prevailing at the Federal Reserve and within the economics profession. Its original objective was to evaluate the policy choices and actions of the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC), but has since broadened its scope to cover a wide range of macroeconomic policy issues. With members drawn from academic institutions and private organizations, the committee meets semi-annually and publishes position papers on its website.

In 2015, the institute launched SchoolGrades.org, claiming that it was the only grading system that uses a rigorous, common standard to compare schools across the U.S.—accounting for differences in academic standards across states and each school's unique economic profile to provide a comprehensive picture of school performance in core subjects.[34] The institute also launched The Beat in 2015. The Beat is an email that focuses on issues that matter most to New York, drawing on the work of Manhattan Institute scholars: transportation, education, quality of life, and the local goings-on at City Hall.[35][36]

The Alexander Hamilton Award Dinner was created in 2001 to honor those individuals helping to foster the revitalization of our nation's cities.[37] It is named after Alexander Hamilton because, like the institute, he was a fervent proponent of commerce and civic life. Throughout the years, the institute has expanded the scope of the prize to celebrate leaders on local, state, and national levels, working in public policy, culture, and philanthropy. Past honorees include: Daniel Patrick Moynihan, William F. Buckley Jr., Rudolph Giuliani, Tom Wolfe, Rupert Murdoch, Raymond Kelly, Henry Kissinger, Cardinal Timothy Dolan, Bobby Jindal, Paul Ryan, Jeb Bush, George Kelling, and Eva Moskowitz.

#### Policy positions and initiatives

The institute's research seeks to develop and promote free-market ideas and is focused generally on urban policy, education, public finance and pensions, energy and the environment, health policy, legal reform, and economics. In all these spheres, the institute's fellows approach their work from the perspective that economic choice and individual responsibility are critically important to successful public policy. The institute's research is presented at conferences and in reports, op-eds, and testimony before government committees and panels.

#### State and local policy

The institute addresses both national and local issues, with state and local policy research focused on municipal finance, public pensions, infrastructure, welfare, policing, and housing.[38] Helping municipalities and states manage their budgets and public-employee benefits systems have been a key part of the institute's research work.

The institute's work has been especially influential in its home city of New York. At the 2006 Alexander Hamilton Award dinner hosted by the institute, former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, who oversaw the city's massive crime drop in the late 1990s, said, "If there was a charge of plagiarism for political programs, I'd probably be in a lot of trouble, because I think we plagiarized most of them, if not all of them, from the pages of City Journal and analysis of the Manhattan Institute".[26]

The institute was one of the key institutions that pressed for reform of the welfare system in the mid-1990s.[39] Charles Murray, while an institute fellow from 1981 to 1990, wrote his groundbreaking book *Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950–1980* (1984) argued that the welfare state had fostered a culture and cycle of dependency that was to the detriment of both welfare recipients and the United States as a whole.[40] This launched a debate culminating in President Bill Clinton proposing to "end welfare as we know it" and the passage of landmark federal welfare reform in 1996. More recently, marking the 20th anniversary of federal welfare reform, the institute published a report by former senior fellow Scott Winship that evaluated the plight of the poor since 1996. He concluded that, contrary to popular opinion, reform was more successful than not, helping move many single mothers off the dole and into the workforce. Furthermore, he reported that children—in particular, those in single-mother families—were significantly less likely to be poor today than they were before welfare reform.[41]

The institute has long focused on the health of American cities, a theme of its 1997 book, *The Twenty-First Century City: Resurrecting Urban America*, authored by then-Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith, who later served as chairman of the institute's Center for Civic Innovation. More recently, the institute has begun an annual series of books featuring innovative ideas for urban policymakers. 2015's *The Next Urban Renaissance* featured proposals to expand affordable housing; improve urban transportation; implement entrepreneurship zones; rethink the economic anxiety around "brain drain"; and improve pre-K education. 2016's *Retooling Metropolis* featured proposals to use technology to improve the enforcement of public health regulations; to implement pricing mechanisms that could address urban parking shortages; to use microunits as a tool to promote affordable housing; and to improve procurement policies for municipal governments.

Howard Husock joined the Manhattan Institute in 2006 as vice president of policy research and director of the institute's Social Entrepreneurship Initiative, which focuses on recognizing the best of America's new generation of nonprofit leaders. Husock has also written widely on housing and urban policy, including his book *The Trillion-Dollar Housing Mistake: The Failure of American Housing Policy* (Ivan R. Dee, 2003). Before joining the institute, Husock served as director of case studies in public policy and management at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government from 1987 to 2006. A former broadcast journalist and documentary filmmaker whose work won three Emmy Awards with WGBH in Boston, Husock was appointed to the board of directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 2013 by President Barack Obama.[42][43]

Steve Malanga has written for years warning that public-sector unions and poor political leadership have bankrupted once-rich states, like California and New Jersey, with unsustainable pension and benefits systems for their public employees.[44][45] Malanga has also profiled cities facing budgetary problems, including Stockton, California;[46] Atlantic City, New Jersey;[47] Harrisburg, Pennsylvania;[48] Houston, Texas;[49] and Dallas, Texas.[50] In 2013, former Florida Governor Jeb Bush called Malanga "the best thinker on state and local fiscal matters".[51]

Josh McGee, vice president at the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, joined the Manhattan Institute as a senior fellow in 2015. A leading expert in retirement plan design, McGee was appointed as chairman of the Texas State Pension Review Board by Governor Greg Abbott in late 2015. His appointment was vigorously opposed by public union groups and labor organizers in Texas.[52][53]

Senior fellow Daniel DiSalvo's 2015 book, *Government Against Itself: Public Union Power and Its Consequences*, argues that the dominance of public sector unions in state and local government allows for costly compensation packages that crowd-out essential government services.[54]

In 2016, the institute commissioned a report by transportation privatization expert Robert Poole (of the Reason Foundation) on the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, the bi-state agency that oversees bridges, tunnels, and airports in the New York metropolitan area. The report argues that the bi-state agency is plagued by "politicized decision-making, money-losing facilities and declining financial viability", and recommends a total reinvention of the Port Authority's business model, including divesting from real estate assets and financing new projects with public-private partnerships.[55][56]

Community policing: the "broken windows" method

George Kelling stands with leaders of the Detroit Police Department and other local officials at a press conference in 2013. The Department partnered with Manhattan Institute for new ways to protect the neighborhoods in the area. The institute has pioneered reforms in policing, most notably the use of community policing methods and more specifically quality-of-life policing, also known as "broken windows theory" after the landmark 1982 *Atlantic Monthly* article "Broken Windows" by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling.[57] Broken Windows posits that dealing more effectively and comprehensively with low-level quality of life crime would reduce more high-profile violent crime. Broken Windows policing was put to its first major large-scale test in the mid-1990s after the election of Rudolph Giuliani as mayor of New York City. Giuliani was an outspoken advocate of community policing, frequently citing the influence "Broken Windows" had on his thinking as mayor.[58] Giuliani appointed Kelling's intellectual collaborator William J. Bratton as New York City Police Commissioner in 1994, saying, "I chose Bill Bratton because he agreed with the Broken Windows theory".[59] In 1998, George Kelling and Catherine Coles expanded on this idea in their book, *Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities*, arguing that control of disorderly behavior in public places generally will lead to a significant drop in serious crime. Police chiefs like William Bratton (in both New York and Los Angeles) have implemented "broken windows" and related policies, and have reported falling crime rates.

Former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani with New York City's former Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik, former Fire Commissioner Thomas Von Essen and former Director of the Office of Emergency Management Richard Sheirer at a press briefing in 2002.

Bratton took these methods to Los Angeles on being appointed Los Angeles Police Department chief of police.[60][61] Newark, New Jersey Mayor Cory Booker was lauded for his Broken Windows-based approach to crime after taking office in 2006.[62][63]

Senior fellow Heather Mac Donald argues that crime prevention statistics from the 2008–2009 recession improved as a result of efficient policing, high incarceration rates, more police officers working, data-driven approaches such as CompStat which helps commanders target high-crime areas, and a policy of holding precinct commanders accountable for results.[64] This research opposes the commonly-held notion that crime inevitably spikes when economic conditions worsen. She contends the decline of American cities, beginning during the 1960s, was a result of crime "spiraling out of control".[65] Most recently, Mac Donald has been notable for her argument that crime rates (or, in some instances, murder rates) have spiked in many urban areas as a result of the "Ferguson Effect": the tendency, in the aftermath of 2014's riots in Ferguson, Missouri, for police officers to engage in less proactive policing for fear of generating backlash from local populations or the media. Mac Donald has argued that the consequences of this trend adversely affect African-American communities, stating that "there is no government agency more dedicated to the idea that black lives matter than the

police".[66][67]

In the 2010s, Institute experts were embedded in the Detroit Police Department, helping the city implement Broken Windows policing in order to reduce a serious crime problem.[68] The institute funded an outreach team that shared its expertise in criminology and policy implementation with the Detroit Police Department, focusing on the "broken windows" approach. The institute is closely associated with CompStat, a data-driven police management approach that uses crime analysis, information sharing, and accountability to ensure that police departments focus on preventing crimes. George Kelling, the institute's loaned executive to the City of Detroit, and Michael Allegritti, the institute's director of state and local programs, implemented two pilot programs in the Northwest neighborhood of Grandmont-Rosedale and the Northeast neighborhood of East English Village. These programs, implemented in collaboration with the police and community groups, aimed to stem the rise of home invasions by increasing the felt presence of the police, engaging community members in problem solving, and focusing special attention on the neighborhoods' most at risk offenders. One source reported that in the first year following implementation, "home invasions dropped 26 percent".[69]

#### Education, charter schools and vouchers

In the higher education world, Institute senior fellow Beth Akers is a leading advocate for reform of the federal student loan and financial aid system. According to Akers, coauthor of *Game of Loans: The Rhetoric and Reality of Student Debt* (2016), the system is simply far too complex for the average student or parent borrower to navigate well. She argues that the department of education should simplify federal financial aid, adopt a single, income-driven repayment plan for federal student loans, and bring market discipline into student lending in innovative ways.

Former senior fellow Jay P. Greene's research on school choice was cited four times in the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, which affirmed the constitutionality of school vouchers.[70]

In March 1989, the institute employed Seymour "Sy" Fliegel as a senior fellow and launched the Center for Educational Innovation (CEI). A former deputy superintendent of East Harlem's Community School District 4, Fliegel had launched a program in September 1970 to transform failing schools in District 4 into thriving, small, community-based schools.[71] Fliegel and Institute senior fellow James Macguire wrote a book, *The Miracle of East Harlem: The Fight for Choice in Public Education*, to demonstrate how education reform can be achieved one school at a time.[72] The Manhattan Institute has since launched a website, [SchoolGrades.org](http://SchoolGrades.org), that ranks schools nationally based on a normed measure linked to the federal government's NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) exam.

Institute senior fellow Marcus Winters is a nationally recognized expert on charter schools, accountability, and teacher quality. His research in New York and Denver has found that students with special needs were less likely to switch schools if they were attending a charter elementary school than a traditional public school, contrary to accusations from critics that charter schools "cherry-pick" students.[73]

A 2017 study by Institute Senior Fellow Max Eden found that New York City students and teachers reported declining disciplinary environments on campus in the wake of reforms by Mayor Bill de Blasio that made it more difficult to suspend misbehaving students. A New York Post editorial described the findings as "disturbing — not least because trouble is rising disproportionately at schools that mainly serve minority children".[74]

#### Energy and environment

Institute fellows highlight how abundant and affordable power helps fuel growth and prosperity across the globe. The institute's energy policy research is focused on climate, geopolitics, regulations, and technology.

In 2005, Institute senior fellows Peter Huber and Mark Mills released the book *The Bottomless Well*, which disputes several popular beliefs about energy. Bill Gates described it as "the only book I've seen that really explains energy, its history, and what it will be like going forward".[75] Published amid concern about "peak oil", the book points out that expanding energy supplies mean higher productivity, more jobs, and a growing GDP. Mills has written extensively on the geopolitical opportunities presented by the American energy sector. In a 2016 report, he argued that there has "never been a more opportune time for America to capture the geopolitical 'soft power' benefits from greater oil production and exports". Further, Mills makes the case that the U.S. is poised for a boom in the shale oil industry, driven by technological advancements—specifically big-data analytics.

Institute senior fellow Oren Cass argues that the popular conception of climate change as posing an existential threat to modern civilization is not supported by climate science or economics. Cass states in *Foreign Affairs*:

The well-established scientific consensus that human activity is causing the climate to change does not extend to judgments about severity. Several factors may help to explain why catastrophists sometimes view extreme climate change as more likely than other worst cases. Catastrophists confuse expected and extreme forecasts and thus view climate catastrophe as something we know will happen". Based on this more measured view, the Institute advocates a common-sense approach to environmental regulation.[76]

In keeping with its commitment to free-market economic principles, the institute is opposed to high-cost, inefficient government mandates and subsidies. For example, Robert Bryce has written in favor of repealing both the Renewable

Fuel Standard and the tax credit for electric vehicles. Bryce has argued at length that, even with exorbitant government subsidies, renewable energy sources are simply inadequate to meet America's energy needs. He has also argued for the expansion of U.S. nuclear energy as a clean fuel source with unsurpassed power density.

The institute is a proponent of the hydraulic fracturing (fracking) method of extracting natural gas and oil from underground deposits. In response to calls to ban fracking in parts of New York, the institute released a report in 2011 projecting that allowing fracking could "inject over \$11 billion into the state economy".[77]

In a 2016 Institute report, Jonathan Lesser analyzed the cost-benefit analysis undertaken by the Environmental Protection Agency of the Clean Power Plan produced by the Obama Administration. Lesser wrote that "the EPA's cost-benefit analysis significantly overestimated the direct benefits of CO2 reductions and co-benefits of accompanying reductions in air-pollutant emissions; its analysis also significantly underestimated the specific costs of meeting future electricity demand".[78] Moreover, Lesser contended that "the CPP will have no physically measurable impact on world climate".[78]

#### Health policy

The institute's health policy team promotes policy reforms asserted to empower patients and consumers by encouraging competition, transparency, accountability, and innovation. The institute's research in this sphere is focused on Food and Drug Administration (FDA) reform, the Affordable Care Act, and Medicare/Medicaid.

Since 2006, the institute's Project FDA has advocated for FDA reform, asserting that with modern medicine "on the cusp of a radical transformation" due to breakthroughs in precision medicine, the FDA "has struggled to adapt its regulations to new scientific advances".[79] Senior fellows Paul Howard, Peter Huber, and Tom Coburn have all argued that the FDA can be a bridge for innovation, rather than a barrier, getting better medicines to patients, faster, without sacrificing safety. In October 2015, the institute ran a full-page advertisement in the New York Times, reading, "Everyone will be a patient someday".[79] The ad included the signatures of over a dozen industry leaders, all in support of the passage of the 21st Century Cures Act, which was signed into law by President Obama just over a year later, in December 2016.[80]

The institute has taken a critical view of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) since its inception. In 2013, to enable policymakers, researchers, and everyday Americans to understand more fully the effects of the ACA, the institute released its Obamacare Impact Map, a joint project of health policy fellows Paul Howard, Avik Roy, and Yevgeniy Feyman. In 2014, the institute published then senior fellow Avik Roy's proposal for its replacement, titled "Transcending Obamacare". According to Roy, while the ACA delivers on the goal of reducing the number of uninsured Americans, it does so by increasing the cost of U.S. health coverage. More recently, in 2017, the institute released a report by Yevgeniy Feyman advocating the use of 1332 "state innovation" waivers giving states the flexibility to increase choice, competition, and affordability under the ACA.

The institute's health care scholars[81] oppose allowing the federal government to negotiate prices in the Medicare Part D prescription drug program[82] and believe that drug price negotiating has adverse effects in the Veterans Administration.[83] Paul Howard argues that the first step in reforming Medicaid is for Congress to enact per-capita spending caps. In 2016, Howard argued that California's Proposition 61—a measure that would have imposed price controls on some prescription drugs in the state – was a flawed proposal that might have actually increased drug prices. Many of Howard's criticisms were echoed by newspaper editorial boards throughout the state and the measure, which had been favored by wide margins just a few months prior, ultimately failed by a 46–54 vote in the November 2016 election.

Institute Senior Fellow Oren Cass goes has argued that the American social safety net's overwhelming emphasis on health care is the unintentional result of skewed incentives. States should therefore be allowed to reroute Medicaid funding to other programs that would more effectively meet the needs of the poor at no extra cost. In a 2017 article for National Review, Cass responded to accusations that repealing the Affordable Care Act would lead to otherwise preventable deaths by writing "In reality, the best statistical estimate of the number of lives saved each year by the ACA is zero".[84]

#### Legal reform

The institute's legal scholars author policy papers on various aspects of legal reform.[85] The Center for Legal Policy regularly writes on overcriminalization, corporate governance, and civil litigation reform. Corporate governance reports usually focus on proxy voting records.[86] Overcriminalization[87] issue briefs typically study the growth of the criminal law in state penal codes. Proposed reforms to America's lawsuit practice are published under the center's ongoing publication of Trial Lawyers, Inc.[88] Institute legal policy fellows like James Copland contend that the rule of law in modern America is increasingly being eroded by trial lawyers, prosecutors, and socially oriented shareholder activists, who manipulate the law to achieve objectives outside normal legislative and administrative bounds.

#### Overcriminalization

Main article: Overcriminalization

In 2014, the institute began to study the issue of overcriminalization, the idea that state and federal criminal codes are overly expansive and growing too quickly. At the federal level alone, Institute fellows have identified over 300,000 laws and regulations whose violation can lead to prison time. The institute asserts that this puts even well-meaning citizens in danger of prosecution for seemingly innocuous conduct. From 2014 to 2016, the institute produced reports on the status

of overcriminalization in five states (North Carolina,[89] Michigan,[90] South Carolina,[91] Minnesota,[92] and Oklahoma[93]) and is continually adding more state-specific research.

#### Prisoner reentry in Newark

Cory Booker speaks about the City of Newark at a Manhattan Institute event in New York City on May 22, 2008. In Newark, New Jersey, the institute partnered with Mayor Cory Booker to implement a new approach to prisoner reentry, based on the principle of connecting ex-offenders with paid work immediately upon release.[94] As the mayor of Newark, Booker sought to remedy a problem familiar to those in the community: prisoner reentry. A study by William Eimicke, Maggie Gallagher, Stephen Goldsmith for the institute, *Moving Men into the Mainstream: Best Practices in Prisoner Reentry*, found that the most successful prisoner-reentry programs were those that employed the work-first model. Booker's staff, and Richard Greenwald, a specialist in the development of workforce, implemented Newark's Prisoner Reentry Initiative (NPRI). As of November 2011, the agencies that contracted with the city through NPRI had enrolled 1,436 program participants, exceeding the benchmark set by the Department of Labor. Provider organizations have placed more than 1,000 people in unsubsidized jobs, with an average hourly wage of \$9.32.[95]

Governor Chris Christie thereafter announced his plan to reform the state's prison system, and sought the institute's analysis of the current system. The final report included a set of recommendations on addressing drug offenses and recidivism, and better aligning New Jersey agencies around a successful reentry strategy.[96][97]

#### Economics

Given the concern about economic inequality among mainstream academics and commentators, especially since the Great Recession and the release of Thomas Piketty's bestselling *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, the institute has produced several pieces of research on this and the related issue of economic mobility in the U.S. In 2014, former senior fellow Scott Winship produced a report, "Inequality Does Not Reduce Prosperity", which examined evidence from across the globe. This report concluded that larger increases in inequality correspond with sharper rises in living standards for the middle class and poor alike, while greater inequality in developed nations tends to accompany stronger economic growth.[98] In a 2015 report, Winship examined the state of economic and residential mobility in the U.S., finding that people who move from their birth states fare better economically than those who stay put. He argues that the U.S. should focus on policies to improve mobility in order to expand opportunities among disadvantaged groups.[99]

Diana Furchtgott-Roth, a senior fellow and director of Economics21, has written extensively in support of tax reform. She argues specifically for a reduction in the corporate tax rate and a move to a territorial tax system, in order to make the U.S. more economically competitive on the world stage.[100] In 2015, Roth, together with former fellow Jared Meyer, published the book, *Disinherited: How America Is Betraying America's Young*, arguing that millennials' plight is the result of government policies that are systematically stacked against young Americans to the benefit of older generations. The book was praised by Elaine Chao: "This is the book you absolutely need to read if you are a millennial or if you care about one! Arm yourself with the numbers Washington would rather you didn't focus on".[101]

The institute is generally critical of the federal minimum wage. In 2015, it published a report by American Action Forum's Douglas Holtz-Eakin and Ben Gitis, which made the case that an increase of the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour by 2020 would cost 6.6 million jobs. According to a 2016 issue brief by Oren Cass, these deleterious effects are mainly due to the fact that increases in the federal minimum fail to account for differences in local conditions: not all labor markets are the same. Cass has also argued for the introduction of a federal wage subsidy—additional dollars per hour worked delivered via one's paycheck—as a better third way to help low-income workers. In 2015, he wrote that a wage subsidy is superior to both the minimum wage and Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) because it incentivizes workforce participation and delivers benefits directly to workers, without distorting the labor market.[102]

#### Funding sources

Foundations which have contributed over \$1 million to the Manhattan Institute include the John M. Olin Foundation, Bradley Foundation, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Searle Freedom Trust, Smith Richardson Foundation, William E. Simon Foundation, the Claude Lambe Foundation, the Gilder Foundation, the Curry Foundation, and the Jaquelin Hume Foundation.[citation needed]

In 2013, hedge fund managers Cliff Asness, Henry Kravis and Thomas McWilliams all cut ties with the Manhattan Institute due to the group's support of the abolition of defined benefit public pensions.[103]

#### Notable people

John Avlon (former senior fellow)  
Rick Baker, former mayor of St. Petersburg, FL  
Josh Barro (former senior fellow)  
Herman Badillo, senior fellow  
Lester Brickman, visiting scholar  
Robert Bryce, senior fellow  
Tom Coburn, senior fellow  
Richard Epstein, visiting scholar



Floyd Flake, fellow; religious leader and former U.S. Representative (D-NY)  
David Frum (former senior fellow)  
Diana Furchtgott-Roth, senior fellow  
David Gratz, senior fellow  
Regina Herzlinger, professor at Harvard Business School  
Peter W. Huber, senior fellow  
Howard Husock, vice president, research and publications  
John Leo (former senior fellow)  
George L. Kelling, adjunct fellow, Center for Civic Innovation  
Bill Kristol, board of trustees member  
James Manzi, senior fellow  
John McWhorter, senior fellow  
Mark P. Mills, senior fellow  
Charles Murray (former senior fellow)  
Walter Olson (former senior fellow)  
James Piereson, senior fellow  
Jason L. Riley, senior fellow  
Avik Roy (former senior fellow)  
Reihan Salam, president  
Paul Singer, board of trustees chair  
Abigail Thernstrom (former senior fellow)  
Stephan Thernstrom (former senior fellow)  
Notable City Journal people  
Brian C. Anderson, editor of City Journal  
Theodore Dalrymple, contributing editor  
Victor Davis Hanson, contributing editor  
Edward Glaeser, senior fellow and contributing editor to City Journal  
Kay Hymowitz, senior fellow and contributing editor to City Journal  
Andrew Klavan, contributing editor  
Heather Mac Donald, senior fellow and contributing editor  
Myron Magnet, editor-at-large  
Steven Malanga, senior fellow and senior editor  
Judith Miller, adjunct fellow and contributing editor  
Fred Siegel, senior fellow and contributing editor to City Journal  
Guy Sorman, contributing editor  
Harry Stein, contributing editor  
Sol Stern, adjunct fellow and contributing editor  
John Tierney, contributing editor  
Luigi Zingales, contributing editor  
See also

Conservatism portal  
flag United States portal  
City Journal  
Empire Center for Public Policy  
References

#### Mercer Family Foundation

ounder Robert Mercer  
Type Charitable foundation  
Headquarters New York, New York  
Director  
Rebekah Mercer[1]  
Disbursements \$13,492,358 (2013)[2]  
Website mercerfamilyfoundation.org

The Mercer Family Foundation is a private grant-making foundation in the United States. As of 2013, it had \$37 million in assets.[3] The foundation is run by Rebekah Mercer, the daughter of computer scientist and hedge fund manager Robert Mercer.[4][5]

Under Rebekah's leadership, the family foundation invested about \$70 million into conservative causes between 2009 and 2014.[6] The foundation has also donated to groups that reject the scientific consensus on climate change.[7]

#### Activities

The foundation's main interests are in the fields of public policy, higher education, and science.[8] The foundation has donated to organizations and institutions including the Heritage Foundation, Illinois Policy Institute, Heartland Institute, and SUNY Stony Brook.[9] Mercer provides funding to the Home Depot Foundation, whose mission is to "improve the homes and lives of U.S. military veterans and their families." [8]

## References

### Business Roundtable

The Business Roundtable (BRT) is a non-profit association based in Washington, D.C. whose members are chief executive officers of major U.S. companies. Unlike the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, whose members are entire businesses, BRT members are exclusively CEOs. BRT promotes public policy favorable to business interests such as NAFTA, while also promoting broader public policy initiatives such as No Child Left Behind and opposing others such as the Trump administration's family separation policy. In 2019, BRT redefined its definition of the purpose of a corporation, putting the interests of employees, customers, suppliers and communities on par with shareholders. BRT members include Jeff Bezos of Amazon, Tim Cook of Apple, and Mary Barra of General Motors.[1][2][3][4]

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- 2 Activities
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#### History

In 1972, the March Group, co-founded by Alcoa chairman John D. Harper (April 6, 1910 - 26 July, 1985)[5][6] [7] and General Electric CEO Fred Borch, the Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable, founded by retired U.S. Steel CEO Roger Blough, and the Labor Law Study Group (LLSG) merged to form the Business Roundtable.[8]

The March Group consisted of chief executive officers who met informally to consider public policy issues; the Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable was devoted to containing construction costs; and the Labor Law Study Committee was largely made up of labor relations executives of major companies.[9] Harper was the newly founded group's first president, followed by Thomas Murphy of General Motors, Irving Shapiro of DuPont, then Clifford Garvin of Exxon. [10]

In 2010, the Washington Post characterized the group as President Obama's "closest ally in the business community." [11]

On August 19, 2019, the group updated its decades-old definition of the purpose of a corporation, doing away with its bedrock principle that shareholder interests must be placed above all else. The statement, signed by nearly 200 chief executive officers from major U.S. corporations, makes a "fundamental commitment to all of our stakeholders," including customers, employees, suppliers and local communities.[12]

#### Activities

U.S. Secretary of Labor Alexander Acosta addressing the Business Roundtable in June 2017

The Business Roundtable played a key role in defeating an anti-trust bill in 1975 and a Ralph Nader plan for a consumer protection agency in 1977.[citation needed] It also helped dilute the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act. But the Roundtable's most significant victory was in blocking labor law reform that sought to strengthen labor law to make it more difficult for companies to intimidate workers who wanted to form unions. The AFL-CIO produced a bill in 1977 that passed the House. But the Roundtable voted to oppose the bill, and through its aggressive lobbying, it prevented the bill's Senate supporters from rounding up the 60 votes in the Senate necessary to withstand a filibuster.

In fiscal policy, the Roundtable was responsible for broadening the 1985 tax cuts signed into law by Ronald Reagan, lobbying successfully for sharp reductions in corporate taxes. In trade policy, it argued for opening foreign markets to American trade and investment. The Omnibus Trade Act of 1988 reflected the thinking of the Business Roundtable. In 1990, the Roundtable urged George Bush to initiate a free trade agreement with Mexico. In 1993, the Roundtable lobbied for NAFTA and against any strong side agreements on labor and the environment. It provided the money and leadership for the main pro-NAFTA lobby.

The Roundtable also successfully opposed changes in corporate governance that would have made boards of directors and CEOs more accountable to stockholders. In 1986, the Roundtable convinced the Securities and Exchange Commission to forgo new rules on merger and acquisitions, and in 1993 convinced President Clinton to water down his plan to impose penalties on excessive executive salaries. Citicorp CEO, John Reed, chairperson of the Roundtables Accounting Task Force, argued that Clinton's plan would have had negative effects on U.S. competitiveness. The Roundtable's Health, Welfare, and Retirement Income Task Force, chaired by Prudential Insurance CEO Robert C. Winters, cheered President Bush's plan, which consisted mainly of subsidies to the health care industry. The nation's health care system works well for the majority of Americans, the Roundtable announced in a June 1991 statement. "We

believe the solutions lie not in tearing down the present system, but in building upon it."

It has issued press releases, submitted editorials, given congressional testimony, and distributed position advertisements. After the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 was signed into law in January 2002, the Roundtable issued a press release stating that it had "strongly supported passage of the legislation" and was "actively working with states on implementation." [13]

The Business Roundtable also acts as a major lobby that aims to extend or maintain administrators' rights/power in large companies. For example, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission adopted the so-called "shareholders' access to proxy" rule, which aimed to empower shareholders in the proposition and nomination of administrators of big corporations. The Business Roundtable was strongly against that rule, as its president John Castellani reported to the Washington Post about removing this rule: "this is our highest priority [...] Literally all of our members have called about this". [14] And they got the upper hand: the SEC rule was finally dropped after intense lobbying and lawsuits.

In June 2018, Business Roundtable issued a statement urging the White House "Administration to end immediately the policy of separating accompanied minors from their parents," and condemned the practice as "cruel and contrary to American values." Authored by the organization's Immigration Committee chairman, Chuck Robbins, the statement also commended bipartisan lawmakers for working together to reform immigration policies, and was widely supported by the Business Roundtable chair and membership. [15][16]

#### Legislation

The Business Roundtable wrote a letter to members of the House strongly endorsing the Customer Protection and End User Relief Act (H.R. 4413; 113th Congress). [17] According to the Business Roundtable letter, a survey of chief financial officers and corporate treasurers "underscores the urgent need for the end-user provisions" in this bill because "eighty-six percent of respondents indicated the fully collateralizing over-the-counter (OTC) derivatives would adversely impact business investment, acquisitions, research and development, and job creation." [17] The letter concluded that the Business Roundtable "supports efforts to increase transparency in the derivatives markets and enhance financial stability for the U.S. economy through thoughtful new regulation while avoiding needless costs." [17]

#### Purpose of a Corporation

On August 19, 2019, the Business Roundtable released a new "Statement on the purpose of a Corporation." Signed by nearly 200 chief executive officers including Amazon's Jeff Bezos, Apple's Tim Cook, General Motors' Mary Barra and Oracle's Safra Catz, the group seeks to "move away from shareholder primacy," a concept that had existed in the group's principles since 1997, and move to "include commitment to all stakeholders." It notes that "business play a vital role in the economy" because of jobs, fostering innovation and providing essential services. But it places shareholder interests on the same level as those of customers, employees, suppliers and communities. "Each of our stakeholders is essential," the statement says. "We commit to deliver value to all of them, for the future success of our companies, our communities and our country." [18][19] [20]

#### Criticism

Former US secretary of labor and professor of public policy at Berkeley University, Robert Reich, accused both Corporate social responsibility, and the Business Roundtable's commitment to it, of being a "con". Citing Jeff Bezos, Mary Barra and Dennis Muilenburg (former Boeing CEO), all Business Roundtable's members, Reich criticized their respective companies' recent decisions: Whole Foods, an Amazon subsidiary, announced the intention to cut medical benefits for its entire part-time workforce; Mary Barra, despite GM's hefty profits and large tax breaks, rejected worker's demands that GM raise their wages and stop outsourcing their jobs; Muilenburg could walk away from Boeing with \$60m of severance pay, the 737 Max scandal notwithstanding. [21]

#### Board of Directors

Members of the board of directors include Jamie Dimon, Mary Barra, Michael S. Burke (AECOM), Safra Catz, Mark Costa (Eastman Chemical Company), Lynn Good, Alex Gorsky, Greg Hayes, Marillyn Hewson, Tom Linebarger, Kevin Lobo (Stryker Corporation), Doug McMillon, Larry Merlo, Dennis Muilenburg, Douglas L. Peterson, Chuck Robbins, Ginni Rometty, Arne Sorenson, Randall L. Stephenson, Mark Sutton (International Paper), and Mark Weinberger. [22]

#### President

John Engler, 2010–2017  
Joshua Bolten, 2017–[23]

#### References

#### American Family Association

American Family Association  
American Family Association logo.png  
Founded 1977  
Founder Donald Wildmon  
Type Public charity 501(c)(3)  
Tax ID no.

64-0607275 (EIN)

Focus Advocacy of Protestant fundamentalism in the U.S.

Location

Tupelo, Mississippi

Area served

United States

Method Boycotts

Key people

Tim Wildmon, President

Bryan Fischer, Director of Issues Analysis

Revenue

\$17,955,438 (2011)[1]

Website www.afa.net

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal

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The American Family Association (AFA) is a Christian fundamentalist 501(c)(3) organization based in the United States.[2][3][4][5][6] It opposes LGBT rights and expression, pornography, and abortion.[7][8] It also takes a position on a variety of other public policy goals. It was founded in 1977 by Donald Wildmon as the National Federation for Decency and is headquartered in Tupelo, Mississippi.

Part of the religious right,[9] the AFA defined itself as "a Christian organization promoting the biblical ethic of decency in American society with primary emphasis on television and other media," later switching their stated emphasis to "moral issues that impact the family." [10][11][12] It engages in activism efforts, including boycotts, buycotts, action alert emails, publications on the AFA's web sites or in the AFA Journal, broadcasts on American Family Radio, and lobbying.[13] The organization is accredited by the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability (ECFA) and posted a 2011 budget of over \$16 million.[14] AFA owns 200 American Family Radio stations in 33 states, seven affiliate stations in seven states, and one affiliate TV station (KAZQ) in New Mexico.[15][16]

AFA has been listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)[9] since November 2010 for the "propagation of known falsehoods" and the use of "demonizing propaganda" against LGBT people.[17]

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#### Operations

Reverend Donald Wildmon served as chairman of AFA until he announced his retirement on March 3, 2010. His son, Tim, is president of AFA. AFA is governed by an independent board of directors. AFA Journal is a monthly publication with a circulation of 180,000[18] containing news, features, columns, and interviews. In addition to the publication, AFA Journal articles are made available online. The journal reviews the content of prime-time television shows, categorizing them based on profanity, sex, violence, homosexuality, substance abuse, "anti-Christian" content, or "political correctness". The categorization is accompanied by short descriptions of the content of the episode under review. The review also lists the advertisers of each show and invites readers to contact the advertisers or television networks to express concern over program content.[19]

American Family Radio (AFR) is a network of approximately 200 AFA-owned radio stations broadcasting Christian-oriented programming.[6]

OneNewsNow.com (formerly AgapePress), the AFA news division, provides online audio newscasts and a daily digest of news articles, Associated Press stories, and opinion columns.[20]

Center for Law and Policy, the legal and political arm of the AFA, was shut down in 2007. It specialized in First Amendment cases. The Center for Law and Policy lobbied legislative bodies, drafted legislation, and filed religious-discrimination lawsuits on behalf of individuals.[16] Chief among its efforts were the recognition of Christmas in seasonal print advertisements; the criminalization of homosexuality;[21][22][23] lobbying against same-sex marriage, and in opposition of equal-rights and hate-crime legislation that would include sexual orientation and gender identity under categories already protected[24][25][26] and advocating censorship of print and electronic media.[27]

#### Campaigns and issues

The AFA has a history of activism by organizing its members in boycotts and letter-writing campaigns aimed at promoting socially conservative values in the United States. The AFA has promoted boycotts of television shows, movies, and businesses that the group considers to have promoted indecency, obscenity, or homosexuality. In addition to promoting activism via mail to AFA members, 3.4 million subscribers receive AFA "Action Alerts" via email.[6]

#### Boycotts

The AFA has boycotted companies for various reasons, most often relating to Christmas controversies, pornography, support of pro-choice activism, support of violent or sexual content in entertainment, and support of LGBT rights.[28][29][30] including same-sex partner employee benefits. These organizations include: 7-Eleven, Abercrombie & Fitch, American Airlines, American Girl, Blockbuster Video, Burger King, Calvin Klein, Carl's Jr., Chobani, Clorox, Comcast, Crest, Ford, Hallmark Cards, Hardee's, Kmart, Kraft Foods, S. C. Johnson & Son, Movie Gallery, Microsoft, MTV, Paramount Pictures, Time Warner, Universal Studios, DreamWorks, Mary Kay, NutriSystem, Old Navy, IKEA, Sears, Procter & Gamble,[31] Target, Walt Disney Company, and PepsiCo.

In 1986, 7-Eleven stopped selling Playboy and Penthouse magazines after a two-year boycott by the AFA.[32] In 1989 the AFA boycotted WaldenBooks in an attempt to persuade the company to stop selling those same magazines. WaldenBooks responded with an advertisement campaign against censorship, asserting First Amendment rights. WaldenBooks, American Booksellers Association, the Council for Periodical Distributors Association, the International Periodical Distributors Association, and Duval Bibb Services launched a lawsuit against the AFA in October 1989, under the Federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) and the Florida State RICO Acts, which protect an organization's right to conduct business without harassment or threats.[33] The case was settled by the parties without a court ruling.

AFA boycotted PepsiCo in 1989 for supporting Madonna, whose video for "Like a Prayer" Wildmon felt was sacrilegious.[34]

During the summer of 1993 the AFA purchased full-page ads in The New York Times, USA Today, and Los Angeles Times denouncing the sexual and violent content of the upcoming ABC police drama NYPD Blue.[35] It also urged ABC affiliates not to broadcast the program and citizens to boycott sponsors of Blue. About a quarter of the 225 existing ABC stations followed suit, but such affiliates were mostly in rural areas of the US. The AFA campaign increased hype for the show in larger American media markets, and Blue became one of the most popular shows of the 1993–1994 television season.[36] In 1996, the AFA launched a boycott against Walt Disney Company when the company began giving benefits to same-sex employees in domestic partnerships. The AFA has claimed that Michael Eisner, the CEO of The Disney Company, "was involved in a media group that actively promoted the homosexual agenda" and was pushing the "gay agenda". The AFA ended the boycott in the spring of 2005 after Eisner left the company.[37][38][39] Tim Wildmon stated "We feel after nine years of boycotting Disney we have made our point." [40]

In January 2002, the restaurant chain Taco Bell held a month-long promotion in which four Cardcaptor Sakura toys were available in their kids' meals, expecting to distribute up to 7 million of the toys during the month.[41] The AFA complained about the promotion as the organization felt the Clow Cards in the series were too similar to tarot cards and Eastern mythology. However, the organization's complaints begin on the day before the promotion's scheduled end date.[42]

In 2003, the AFA, with the American Decency Association, Focus on the Family, and Citizens for Community Values, lobbied and boycotted Abercrombie & Fitch, calling on "A&F to stop using blatant pornography in its quarterly catalog." [43] In December 2003, the company "recalled the holiday catalog from all its stores, saying it needed the space on the counter for a new perfume" and stated it would stop printing catalogs and start a new campaign.[44]

In 2005 the AFA boycotted the company American Girl, seller of dolls and accessories, because the company supported the charity Girls, Inc., which the AFA called "a pro-abortion, pro-lesbian advocacy group".[45]

In Spring 2005 the AFA launched a boycott of Ford for advertising in gay magazines, donating to gay rights organizations, and sponsoring gay pride celebrations.[37][46][47] After meeting with representatives of the group, Ford announced it was curtailing ads in a number of major gay-themed publications, due not by cultural but by "cost-cutting" factors. That statement was contradicted by the AFA, which claimed it had a "good faith agreement" that Ford would cease such ads. Soon afterwards, as a result of a strong outcry from the gay community, Ford backtracked and announced it would continue ads in gay publications, in response to which the AFA denounced Ford for "violating" the agreement, and renewed threats of a boycott.[48] The boycott ended in March 2008.[49]

On Independence Day 2008, the AFA announced a boycott of McDonald's,[50] which had a director on the board of the National Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce. In October 2008, AFA announced the end of its boycott following the declaration to be "neutral on same-sex marriage or any 'homosexual agenda' as defined by the American Family Association" by McDonald's in a memo to franchisees.[51]

In December 2008, the AFA issued an "Action Alert"[52] which called for members to protest about the Campbell Soup Company, which had purchased two two-page advertisements in the December 2008 and January 2009 issues of LGBT magazine The Advocate. The Action Alert said that Campbell's "sent a message that homosexual parents constitute a family and are worthy of support". The advertisements showed a married lesbian couple with their son. AFA spokesman Randy Sharp said "the Campbell Soup Company is saying 'we approve of homosexual marriage.'" [53]

In November 2009, the AFA called for a boycott against clothing retailer The Gap, Inc., claiming the retailer's holiday television advertising campaign failed to mention Christmas. "Christmas has historically been very good for commerce. But now Gap wants the commerce but no Christmas" wrote an AFA spokesperson. The Gap soon released an advertisement in response to the boycott, specifically referring to Christmas, albeit with a number of other holidays that take place at the same time of year and added the word "Christmas" to in-store decor.[54][55]

In 2012 the AFA led a boycott against Archie Comics when they published a comic book featuring a same-sex marriage.[56]

In July 2012, they considered boycotting Google due to Google's "Legalize Love" campaign which supports LGBT rights.[57]

In April 2016, AFA launched a boycott against Target Corporation[58] due to Target announcing they "welcome transgender team members and guests to use the restroom or fitting room facility that corresponds with their gender identity." [59]

#### Published media

On April 16, 2007, following the Virginia Tech Massacre, the AFA released a video titled The Day They Kicked God out of the Schools, in which God tells a student that students were killed in schools because God isn't allowed in schools anymore. The video claims that the shootings at Virginia Tech and Columbine, among others, are in part the result of: decreased discipline in schools; no prayer in schools; sex out of wedlock; rampant violence in TV, movies, and music; or abortions.[60][61]

Speechless: Silencing the Christians is a 2008 documentary series hosted by Janet Parshall. The series explains the AFA's position against the drive towards political correctness, and how various factors, such as hate crime laws and other discriminatory actions, are threatening the Christians' existence. In 2009, a one-hour special version of the program was produced and aired on commercial television stations, where AFA had purchased the air time.[62]

#### Sexual morality

The AFA has repeatedly lobbied Congress to eliminate funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.[63] For example, in 2000, the AFA issued a press release condemning the NEA's funding of One of the Guys, a book by Robert Clark Young described by a senior AFA official as "scatological". The complaint from the AFA was that the book included sexually explicit material, in particular, a description of a young woman extracting razor blades from her vagina during a performance in a sex club. In a Washington Post editorial in response to the complaint, Young stated, "I find it strange that

an organization that claims to uphold family values and to oppose the federal funding of obscenity is not protesting the part of the military budget that goes to support pederasty in the Far East." [64]

Speaking in defense of Mike Huckabee's statements that people with AIDS should be quarantined, the head of the AFA of Pennsylvania said Huckabee's recommendation was appropriate. [65]

#### View on media

Wildmon has been accused of saying that he believes Hollywood and the theater world are heavily influenced by Jewish people, and that television network executives and advertisers have a genuine hostility towards Christians. [66][67][68]

#### Opposition to other religions

On November 28, 2006, following the election of Keith Ellison, the first Muslim elected to the United States Congress, [69] the AFA released an "Action Alert." The Action Alert, entitled "A first for America...The Koran replaces the Bible at swearing-in oath: What book will America base its values on, the Bible or the Koran?", requested subscribers to write to their Congressional representatives and urge them to create a "law making the Bible the book used in the swearing-in ceremony of representatives and senators." [70][71][72]

On July 13, 2007, a Hindu prayer was conducted in the U.S. Senate. Rajan Zed, director of interfaith relations at a Hindu temple, read the prayer at the invitation of Senate majority leader Harry Reid, who defended his invitation based on the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. AFA sent out an "Action Alert" to its members to email, write letters, or call their senators to oppose the Hindu prayer, stating it is "seeking the invocation of a non-monotheistic god." [73][74][75] The "alert" stated that "since Hindus worship multiple gods, the prayer will be completely outside the American paradigm, flying in the face of the American motto One Nation Under God." [76] The convocation by Zed was disrupted by three protesters from a different Fundamentalist Christian activist group, Operation Save America, in the gallery; they reportedly shouted "this is an abomination", and called themselves "Christians and patriots". [73]

On August 10, 2010, Bryan Fischer, AFA's director of Issue Analysis for Government and Public Policy, posted on his blog on the AFA website [77] that "Permits should not be granted to build even one more mosque in the United States of America, let alone the monstrosity planned for Ground Zero. This is for one simple reason: each Islamic mosque is dedicated to the overthrow of the American government." Fischer continued: "Because of this subversive ideology, Muslims cannot claim religious freedom protections under the First Amendment." [78]

#### Homosexuality

The AFA expresses public concern over what it refers to as the "homosexual agenda". They state that the Bible "declares that homosexuality is unnatural and sinful" and that they have "sponsored several events reaching out to homosexuals and letting them know there is love and healing at the Cross of Christ." [79]

The AFA actively lobbies against the social acceptance of homosexual behavior ("We oppose the homosexual movement's efforts to convince our society that their behavior is normal"). [80] The AFA also actively promotes the idea that homosexuality is a choice and that sexual orientation can be changed through ex-gay ministries. [81]

In 1996, responding to a complaint from an AFA member who was participating in an AFA campaign targeting gay journalists, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram transferred a gay editor out of a job that occasionally required him to work with schoolchildren. The AFA targeted the editor due to cartoon strips he created, which were published in gay magazines. The paper apparently acted on the AFA's unsubstantiated statement that the editor was "preoccupied with the subjects of pedophilia and incest." [82]

In 2000, vice president Tim Wildmon spoke out against gay-straight alliance clubs in schools, stating, "We view these kinds of clubs as an advancement of the homosexual cause." [83] In 2003, the AFA filed an amicus curiae brief in *Lawrence vs Texas*, arguing against repeal of Texas sodomy laws. [84] In 2004, the AFA raised concerns about the movie *Shark Tale* because the group believed the movie was designed to promote the acceptance of gay rights by children. [6][85] On the October 11, 2005, AFA broadcast, Tim Wildmon agreed with a caller that cable networks like Animal Planet and HGTV featured "evidence of homosexuality and lesbian people" and added that "you have to watch out for children's programs today as well because they'll slip it in there as well." [86] In 2007, the AFA spoke out against IKEA for featuring gay families in their television ads. [87] In June 2008, the AFA protested a Heinz television advertisement, shown in the United Kingdom, which showed two men kissing, which Heinz then withdrew. [88] On January 28, 2015, the AFA wrote to the Southern Poverty Law Center that the AFA now rejected the policy that homosexual conduct should be illegal. [89]

The AFA's founder, Don Wildmon, was "instrumental" in initially setting up the Arlington Group, a networking vehicle for social conservatives focusing on gay marriage. [16]

#### One Million Moms/One Million Dads project

AFA created One Million Moms and One Million Dads, two websites with the stated goal of mobilizing parents to "stop the exploitation of children" by the media. It uses these websites to organize boycotts and urge activists to send emails to mainstream companies employing advertising, selling products, or advertising on television shows they find offensive. [90]

In 2012, the group started and then backed off from a failed campaign against the hiring of talk show host Ellen DeGeneres as a spokesperson for department store chain J. C. Penney.[91] They opposed her employment on the grounds that DeGeneres is "an open homosexual".[92] At a taping of her show, DeGeneres informed her audience of the fizzled effort: "They wanted to get me fired and I am proud and happy to say J. C. Penney stuck by their decision to make me their spokesperson." [93]

The One Million Moms campaign expressed opposition to Marvel and DC Comics issues which featured gay characters, describing the storylines as a "brainwashing and desensitizing experience" for children, written to "influence them in thinking that a gay lifestyle choice is normal and desirable." [94]

The organization has also criticized GEICO for a commercial showing Maxwell the Pig in a car with a human girl, saying it suggests bestiality.[95]

In 2015, the organization criticized a Campbell's ad that depicted two dads taking care of their child by feeding him Campbell's Star Wars soup. The organization claimed the ad "normaliz[ed] sin." [96]

In 2019, the organization complained about ads airing on The Hallmark Channel for wedding planning site Zola, which featured two brides kissing at the altar. In response, Hallmark's parent company Crown Media pulled the ads. After protests from the public, including celebrities Ellen DeGeneres and William Shatner, Crown Media reversed their decision and stated they would reinstate the ads.[97] In 2020 Burger King was their target for using the word "damn" in a television commercial.[98]

The actual number involved in One Million Moms has been questioned. After a complaint about Burger King ads using the word "damn", a CNN article stated that "Despite its name, it is not clear that the group has a million members. According to its website, more than 8,000 people have taken action on the Burger King issue, and its Facebook group has just shy of 100,000 likes." [99]

#### In God We Trust

After the September 11 attacks in 2001, many public schools across the United States posted "In God We Trust" framed posters in their "libraries, cafeterias and classrooms". The American Family Association supplied several 11-by-14-inch posters to school systems and vowed to defend any legal challenges to the displaying of the posters.[100]

#### Criticism and controversy

In 2015, the organisation officially repudiated views of former director of issues analysis Bryan Fischer, including the claim that black people "rut like rabbits"; that the First Amendment applies only to Christians; that Hispanics are "socialists by nature" and come to the U.S. to "plunder" the country; that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian, and that "Homosexuality gave us Adolf Hitler, and homosexuals in the military gave us the Brown Shirts, the Nazi war machine and six million dead Jews." [101][102]

#### Religious exercise

Sandy Rios, the Family Association's director of governmental affairs, has criticised "powerful Jewish forces behind the ACLU" [103] and stated that secular Jews often "turn out to be the worst enemies of the country" while the AFA's president Tim Wildmon stated "Most of the Jews in this country, unfortunately, are far-left." [104]

Bryan Fischer, former director of issues analysis, has described Muslims as "Parasites Who Must Convert or Die" [105] and stated that the First Amendment to the United States Constitution protects only the religious practice of Christianity, writing in a blog post "The real object of the amendment was, not to countenance, much less to advance Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity; but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects... So the purpose of the First Amendment was most decidedly NOT to "approve, support, (or) accept" any "religion" other than Christianity." [106] Fischer has suggested Jews and Muslims are not included in religious freedom protections in the US, saying: "I have contended for years that the First Amendment, as given by the Founders, provides religious liberty protections for Christianity only." He later wrote: "We are a Christian nation and not a Jewish or Muslim one." [107]

In a 2015 press release denouncing Fischer's views, the AFA stated "AFA rejects the idea expressed by Bryan Fischer that "Free exercise of religion" only applies to Christians. Consequently, AFA rejects Bryan's assertions that Muslims should not be granted permits to build mosques in the United States." [101]

#### Stance on homosexuality

The AFA has been criticized by a number of organizations for their stance against gay rights. [22][108][109]

#### Homosexuality and Nazism

Former AFA California leader Scott Lively [22][110] is a co-author of The Pink Swastika (1995), [111] in which he claims that all of the major leaders in the Nazi regime were homosexual, a claim which is widely rejected by most historians. [112] He has since co-founded Watchmen on the Walls. In 2007, Bryan Fischer, former Director of Issues Analysis for the AFA, [113] hosted Scott Lively at an event promoting the message that "homosexuality was at the heart of Nazism". [114]



In May 2010, Fischer wrote a blog post on the AFA website[115] and RenewAmerica[116][117] detailing purported allegations that Adolf Hitler was a homosexual, that "the Nazi Party began in a gay bar in Munich,"[118] and concluded by claiming that the Holocaust (which actually included gay victims of Nazi persecution) was caused by homosexuals in the Nazi German military: "Nazi Germany became the horror that it was because it rejected both Christianity and its clear teaching about human sexuality." [115] On American Family Talk radio, Fischer repeated the claim that Hitler was a homosexual, and stated that Hitler recruited homosexuals to be stormtroopers, because "homosexual soldiers basically had no limits and the savagery and brutality they were willing to inflict." [119]

In 2013 Fischer claimed that "Homofascists" will treat Christians like Jews in the Holocaust[120] and later that year he repeated on American Family Talk that Hitler started the Nazi party "in a gay bar in Munich"[118] and that "[Adolf Hitler] couldn't get straights to be vicious enough in being his enforcers." [121]

The Southern Poverty Law Center, through its Teaching Tolerance program, has encouraged schools across the U.S. to hold a "Mix It Up at Lunch" day in order to encourage students to break up cliques and prevent bullying. In late 2012, the AFA called the project – begun 11 years earlier and held in more than 2,500 schools – "a nationwide push to promote the homosexual lifestyle in public schools", urging parents to keep their children home from school on October 30, 2012, and to call the schools to protest the event. "I was surprised that they completely lied about what Mix It Up Day is", Maureen Costello, the director of the center's Teaching Tolerance project, which organizes the program, told The New York Times. "It was a cynical, fear-mongering tactic." [122] In October, Bryan Fischer was taken off air during a CNN interview with Carol Costello for repeating his belief that "Hitler recruited homosexuals around him to make up his Stormtroopers." [123][124]

In 2012, as jury selection was to begin in a trial on charges of kidnapping of a lesbian couple's daughter, Fischer wrote on Twitter in support of kidnapping of children from same-sex households and smuggling them to what he calls "normal" homes. [125][126][127][128][129][130] Fischer also reiterated his views on his radio show, and on video. [127][128][131] In January 2013, he compared consensual sex between people of the same gender to pedophilia, incest and bestiality. [132] In January 2013, Fischer compared the Boy Scouts of America's change in views on gay scouts and scoutmasters to Jerry Sandusky, saying allowing gay scoutmasters was inviting pedophiles into the tents of children. [133] In March 2013, Fischer compared homosexuality to bank robbery when Senator Portman announced his views on same-sex marriage had changed due to having a gay son. [134] Fischer also stated that homosexuality should be banned like trans fats for being "a hazard to human health" [135][136][137] and likened homosexuals to thieves, murderers and child molesters. [138]

On January 28, 2015, Tim Wildmon, president of the American Family Association, demoted Fischer from being a spokesperson. [139][140][141][142] Fischer went on to state that he will still be hosting the AFA's American Family Talk radio. [143] In order to avoid being categorised as a hate group by Israel, the AFA issued a press release denouncing some of Fischer's views, rejecting his claim that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian, and stating: "AFA rejects the statement by Bryan Fischer that, 'Homosexuality gave us Adolf Hitler, and homosexuals in the military gave us the Brown Shirts, the Nazi war machine and six million dead Jews.' AFA rejects the policy advocated by Bryan Fischer that homosexual conduct should be illegal. AFA rejects the notion advocated by Bryan Fischer that, 'We need an underground railroad to protect innocent children from same-sex households.'" [101][144]

#### Criticism of homosexuality

In 1998, the Internet filtering software CyberPatrol blocked the AFA's web site, classifying it under the category "intolerance", defined as "pictures or text advocating prejudice or discrimination against any race, color, national origin, religion, disability or handicap, gender or sexual orientation..." AFA spokesman Steve Ensley told reporters, "Basically we're being blocked for free speech." CyberPatrol cited quotes from the AFA for meeting its intolerance criteria, which included: "Indifference or neutrality toward the homosexual rights movement will result in society's destruction by allowing civil order to be redefined and by plummeting ourselves, our children, and grandchildren into an age of godlessness"; "A national 'Coming Out of Homosexuality' provides us a means whereby to dispel the lies of the homosexual rights crowd who say they are born that way and cannot change"; and "We want to outlaw public homosexuality... We believe homosexuality is immoral and leads ultimately to personal and social decay." [5][23][109][145]

On October 19, 1998, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, led by Leslie Katz, wrote a letter to the AFA in response to an advertisement placed in the San Francisco Chronicle by the AFA regarding homosexuality and Christianity. The letter stated: [146]

Supervisor Leslie Katz denounces your rhetoric against gays, lesbians and transgendered people. What happened to Matthew Shepard is in part due to the message being espoused by your groups that gays and lesbians are not worthy of the most basic equal rights and treatment. It is not an exaggeration to say that there is a direct correlation between these acts of discrimination, such as when gays and lesbians are called sinful and when major religious organizations say they can change if they tried, and the horrible crimes committed against gays and lesbians.

During the same time, the City and County of San Francisco passed two resolutions. Resolution No. 234-99 "calls for the Religious Right to take accountability for the impact of their long-standing rhetoric denouncing gays and lesbians, which leads to a climate of mistrust and discrimination that can open the door to horrible crimes such as those committed

against Mr. Gaither"[147] and Resolution No. 873-98 was specifically directed at "anti-gay" television advertisements. AFA unsuccessfully challenged these actions as violating the Free Speech and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment in *American Family Association v. City and County of San Francisco*. [146]

In 1998, multiple organizations voiced criticism of a series of AFA-sponsored full-page newspaper advertisements that promoted religious ministries involved in the ex-gay movement. In response to the advertisements, the Religious Leadership Roundtable said the ads employed "language of violence and hatred to denounce other people". IntegrityUSA criticized the ads, calling them "evil" disregarding Christian teachings about the "dignity of every human being". DignityUSA also criticized the advertisements, which they said were "misleading and destructive". [148]

In July 2000, the AFA sent out emails and letters calling for openly gay Arizona Republican United States House of Representatives member Jim Kolbe to be barred from speaking at the Republican National Convention. [149] The AFA also said that Kolbe should be arrested when he returned to his home state, as because Kolbe is gay, he was violating an Arizona law that banned sodomy. [150] Equality Mississippi, a statewide LGBT civil rights organization which has voiced opposition and criticism towards the AFA's activism regarding homosexuality, felt that AFA's action was constituting and encouraging violence towards the gay community. [151]

In 2005, Equality Mississippi publicly spoke out against the AFA for the use of copyrighted images on the AFA web site in its boycott against Kraft Foods for being a sponsor of the 2006 Gay Games in Chicago. The photographs, which were used without permission, were owned by and retrieved from ChrisGeary.com. Equality Mississippi encouraged ChrisGeary.com to file suit against the AFA and offered to support the suit. [152] As of March 2009, the images were still on AFA's web site. [153]

In June 2008, AFA's news website, OneNewsNow – which had begun replacing all instances of "gay" with "homosexual" in re-posted Associated Press articles [154] – changed an AP profile of Olympic sprinter Tyson Gay, rendering his name as "Tyson Homosexual". [155][156][157] OneNewsNow similarly altered the name of basketball player Rudy Gay, naming him "Rudy Homosexual". [158] The gay rights website GoodAsYou.org, which "has long chronicled the AFA's practice of changing AP copy to suit its conservative agenda", spotted the errors. Tyson Gay was upset with the mistake. [159][160]

#### Intellectual freedom

Individuals in the media industry have criticized Donald Wildmon, the founder of AFA. Gene Mater, senior vice president of CBS Television, has stated, "We look upon Wildmon's efforts as the greatest frontal assault on intellectual freedom this country has ever faced" and Brandon Tartikoff, then NBC Entertainment President, stated that Wildmon's boycott campaign was "the first step toward a police state." [161]

#### Marilyn Manson

Further information: Dead to the World Tour

Paul Cambria, lawyer for rock band Marilyn Manson, sent a cease and desist letter to AFA on April 25, 1997, in response to allegations published in the AFA Journal that Manson encouraged audience members to engage in sexual and violent acts in its concerts. AFA Journal relied on testimony by two anonymous claimed teenage concertgoers. [162] The allegations were independently proven to be false. [163] Wildmon responded that his organization as a whole was not responsible, but rather the AFA's Gulf Coast chapter in Biloxi, Mississippi. [164]

#### Hate group listing

The Southern Poverty Law Center, in a 2005 report, stated that the AFA, along with other groups, engaged in hate speech to "help drive the religious right's anti-gay crusade." [165] Mark Potok of the SPLC determined that the turning point was 2003's *Lawrence v. Texas*, in which the Supreme Court struck down Texas's anti-sodomy laws. After that, the Christian right spent millions on advertisements, [165] and on pastor briefings organized by activists such as "born-again" Christian David Lane. [166] Lane helped AFA put constitutional opposite-sex marriage amendments on the ballots of 13 states. [165]

In November 2010, the SPLC changed their listing of AFA from a group that used hate speech to the more serious one of being designated a hate group. [167][168][169][170][171][172] Potok said that the AFA's "propagation of known falsehoods and demonizing propaganda" was the basis for the change. [173][174]

The AFA was greatly displeased with the designation as a hate group, [175] calling the list "slanderous". [176] In response to the SPLC's announcement, some members of the Christian right "called on Congress to cut off their funding." [177] J. Matt Barber of The Washington Times said that the SPLC was "marginalizing" themselves by giving the AFA the same hate group designation shared by the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis. [178] Tony Perkins, the president of Family Research Council (FRC) – an organization also named a hate group – asked the SPLC to strike the new designation, but they held their position. [citation needed] Ken Williams commented that in reaction, the FRC and the AFA joined with other "pro-family" organizations targeted by the SPLC to establish a new website, an online petition [179] called "Start Debating/Stop Hating" to counter the SPLC, [180] and they took out full page ads in two Washington D.C. newspapers, defending their work "to protect and promote natural marriage and the family." [181] The advertisement stated the "undersigned stand in solidarity" with the organizations designated as hate groups, and that they "support the vigorous but responsible exercise of the First Amendment rights of free speech and religious liberty that are the birthright of all Americans." [180] House Speaker–Designate John Boehner and the governors of Louisiana, Minnesota and Virginia were

among those signing the statement.[181] The SPLC addressed the new website statement; Potok was quoted by David Weigel of Slate magazine as saying, "the SPLC's listings of these groups is based on their propagation of known falsehoods – claims about LGBT people that have been thoroughly discredited by scientific authorities – and repeated, groundless name-calling." [182] The American Independent News Network (AINN) noted that the AFA had recently denounced Supreme Court justice Elena Kagan as a lesbian unfit for office – AINN stated that "she's not" a lesbian – and that Fischer said Hitler's savage and brutal methods were only possible because he and most of his stormtroopers were gay.[183] Jillian Rayfield of Talking Points Memo noted the irony in the website calling the SPLC a "radical Left" group "spreading hateful rhetoric" yet elsewhere declaring that the debates of the Christian right "can and must remain civil – but they must never be suppressed through personal assaults that aim only to malign an opponent's character." [176]

See also

- Conservatism portal
- Abiding Truth Ministries
- Christian fundamentalism
- Christian right
- Culture War
- List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as anti-gay hate groups
- New Right
- Radical right (United States)
- Religion and homosexuality

Mission: America

Mission: America  
Mission America Logo.jpg  
Founded September 27, 1995[1]  
Founder Linda P. Harvey  
Type Nonprofit 501(c)(3)  
Tax ID no.  
31-1597212 (EIN)  
Location  
Columbus, Ohio  
Key people  
Linda Harvey, President  
Revenue  
\$23,047 (2011)[2][3]  
Website missionamerica.com

Mission: America is an American Christian right organization based in Columbus, Ohio and founded in 1995 that seeks to "cover the latest cultural and social trends in our country and what they might mean for Christians." [4] The organization publishes articles on its web site about its views on homosexuality and paganism.[5] Mission: America's founder and president, Linda Harvey, is an outspoken critic of LGBT rights, including same-sex marriage.[4]

The Southern Poverty Law Center designated Mission: America as an active anti-gay hate group in March 2012 based on its particular anti-LGBT rights stances.[6]

Contents

- 1 History
- 2 Positions
- 2.1 Literary views
- 2.2 LGBT rights
- 3 See also
- 4 References
- 5 External links

History

According to founder Linda Harvey, Mission:America was founded with the objective of equipping "Christians with current, accurate information about cultural issues such as feminism, homosexuality, education and New Age influences." [7]

Harvey is a radio talk show host on WRFD in Columbus, and also writes commentary for WorldNetDaily. In January 2008, she authored *Not My Child: Contemporary Paganism & New Spirituality*. The book discusses the author's view that "casual occultism permeates youth culture" and suggests tips for parents as well as classroom lessons.[citation needed]

The group's "School Risk Audit" program was conducted jointly by Mission America, the American Family Association, Concerned Women for America, the Family Research Council, and other groups. It was launched in April 2006.[8] Its stated purpose is to assess what it sees as schools' promotion of homosexuality such as anti-bullying programs that include acceptance of different sexual orientations, and non-discrimination policies that include sexual orientation. The plan has received support from Exodus Mandate, an evangelical Christian group supporting home-schooling.

In March 2012, the Southern Poverty Law Center designated Mission America as an active anti-gay hate group.[9] The group has denied this characterization.[10] Mission America had previously launched a campaign to get the website "Prop 8 Maps" listed by the SPLC as a hate group.[11]

#### Positions

Question book-new.svg

This section relies too much on references to primary sources. Please improve this section by adding secondary or tertiary sources. (September 2012) (Learn how and when to remove this template message)

According to Mission America, the organization promotes "Biblical morality", through e-mail, videos and its website, seeking to reach American Christians.[12] A major issue for the organization is what they refer to as the "burgeoning and increasingly fascist 'gay rights' movement".[12]

#### Literary views

Harvey criticized author Alex Sanchez' novel Rainbow Boys in her 2002 essay "The World According to PFLAG: Why PFLAG and Children Don't Mix Unless You Happen to Like Child Abuse".[13]

After JK Rowling, author of the Harry Potter series, revealed that she always thought of the character Albus Dumbledore as being homosexual,[14][15][16]

#### LGBT rights

In March 2018, Harvey says homosexuality is God's punishment for abortion.[17]

In speaking against the Equality Act in December 2015, Harvey said that endorsing LGBT equality measures is "the least compassionate, the meanest and most hateful thing you can do" because it will cause more people to think it's okay to be LGBT.[18]

In 2011, Harvey said that gay rights advocates were "masters of demonic manipulation"[19] while speaking as a guest on Peter LaBarbera's radio program. She has also referred to the It Gets Better video project as "wrong, it's evil, it's dark".[20] In that same broadcast, she referred to LaBarbera as her "good friend". LaBarbera heads the organization Americans for Truth about Homosexuality. Harvey opposes efforts to decriminalize homosexuality in Jamaica, promoting a petition that declares Caribbean societies are "under attack" from gay rights supporters. She describes LGBT anti-discrimination orders as "anti-Christian gag orders" whose goal is to "criminalize speech and Christian faith".[21]

In August 2011, Harvey stated on her weekend radio show that "There is no proof that there's ever anything like a gay, lesbian or bisexual or transgendered child, or teen or human,"[22] and that openly gay people should not be allowed to teach in public schools.[23]

#### See also

flag United States portal

LGBT portal

icon Christianity portal

List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as anti-LGBT hate groups

#### References

### Young America's Foundation

YoungAmericasFoundationLogo.png

Abbreviation YAF

Formation1969

Type 501(c)(3)

Purpose Conservative Youth Organization

Headquarters 11480 Commerce Park Drive, Sixth Floor, Reston, VA 20191

Region served

United States of America

President

Ron Robinson

Affiliations Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), National Journalism Center, The Reagan Ranch

Budget

Revenue: \$36,193,437

Expenses: \$21,482,145

(FYE December 2015)[1]

Endowment Richard and Helen DeVos[2]

Website www.yaf.org

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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Young America's Foundation (YAF) is a conservative youth organization, founded in 1969, whose stated mission is "ensuring that increasing numbers of young Americans understand and are inspired by the ideas of individual freedom, a strong national defense, free enterprise, and traditional values."<sup>[3]</sup> In 2018, the Los Angeles Times called YAF "one of the most preeminent, influential and controversial forces in the nation's conservative youth movement."<sup>[4]</sup> Notable alumni members include Jeff Sessions and Stephen Miller.<sup>[2]</sup>

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## History

Young America's Foundation was founded in 1969 at Vanderbilt University<sup>[5]</sup> when students formed an organization called University Information Services (UIS). UIS was established to provide students with a familial atmosphere to express their conservative beliefs. When UIS became a national organization in the early 1970s, it changed its name to Young America's Foundation. Young America's Foundation held the first National Conservative Student Conference in 1979.<sup>[6]</sup><sup>[7]</sup> It is a co-founder of the annual Conservative Political Action Conference and has been a prominent supporter of the event since then.<sup>[8]</sup>

In 1998 it purchased the Reagan Ranch, "Rancho del Cielo", near Santa Barbara, California, with the help of a \$10 million endowment from Amway billionaires Richard and Helen DeVos.<sup>[2]</sup><sup>[9]</sup> The Ruhes helped YAF "retire the Reagan Ranch note early".<sup>[10]</sup> YAF president Ron Robinson commented that YAF's goal was "preserving and protecting" both Reagan's legacy and the ranch itself and that it would maintain the facilities as they existed when the Reagans lived there.<sup>[9]</sup><sup>[11]</sup>

According to an article in Time by John Cloud, by 2004, there were no left-wing youth organizations as powerful as The Young America's Foundation (YAF), The Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) and The Leadership Institute.<sup>[12]</sup> The same author stated, a "majority of 2003 freshmen — 53% — wanted affirmative action abolished, compared with only 43% of all adults. Two-thirds of frosh favored abortion rights in 1992; only 55% did so in last year's survey. Support for gun control has slipped in recent years among the young, and last year 53% of students believed that "wealthy people should pay a larger share of taxes than they do now," compared with 72% 11 years earlier".<sup>[12]</sup>

According to The New York Times, by 2005, there was a "renewed shift pronouncedly to the right on many defining issues".<sup>[13]</sup> Young Americans for Freedom, Young America's Foundation, the Leadership Institute, the Collegiate Network, and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute college organizations that were "fueled and often financed by an array of conservative interest groups".<sup>[13]</sup> By 2005, "51 percent of freshmen were for [casual sex] in 1987; [by 2005] 42 percent are. In 1989, 66 percent of freshmen believed abortion should be legal; [by 2005], only 54 percent do. In 1995, 66 percent of kids agreed that wealthy people should pay a larger share of taxes; [by 2005] it [was] down to 50 percent. Even on the issue of firearms, where students have traditionally favored stiffer controls, there has been a weakening in support for gun laws".<sup>[13]</sup>

By 2017, YAF had 250 high school and college affiliated known as Young Americans for Freedom, which was originally a separate organization.<sup>[2]</sup>

In July 2019, it was announced that former Governor of Wisconsin Scott Walker would become YAF's president in

2021.[14]

In November 2019, YAF cut ties with one of their long-time featured speakers, Michelle Malkin, who voiced her support for alt-right journalist, Nick Fuentes.[15]

#### Programs

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in  
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Young America's Foundation is a tax-exempt educational foundation. The Foundation's programs include lectures on college and high school campuses, conferences throughout the United States, and campus activism initiatives. These programs are broadcast on C-SPAN. Young America's Foundation also preserves the Ronald Reagan Ranch, runs the National Journalism Center (NJC), and oversees Young Americans for Freedom.

#### The National Journalism Center

The National Journalism Center which was founded in 1977 by M. Stanton Evans,[16]:489–98 is currently a project of Young America's Foundation that places college students and recent graduates at media organizations in the Washington, D.C. area.[17] Notable alumni include Ann Coulter, Tim Carney, and Malcolm Gladwell.[18][19]

#### Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)

On March 16, 2011, Young Americans for Freedom passed a National Board Resolution which resulted in the merger of two organizations into the Young America's Foundation on April 1, 2011.[20] Young Americans for Freedom (YAF),[21] was founded on September 11, 1960 at the family home of William F. Buckley in Sharon, Connecticut.[22] The charter for the Young Americans for Freedom, written by M. Stanton Evans, the Sharon Statement,[23]:21 was described by K.E.Grubbs in 2010 as "the late 20th century's single most elegant distillation of conservative principles".[24] The Heritage Foundation described the Sharon Statement as "statement is a succinct summary of the central ideas of modern American conservatism".[25][26]

#### Funding

Donors include Pat Sajak, the Koch brothers, and Amway billionaires Richard and Helen DeVos.[2] Robert Ruhe (1929 - 2013), an orthodontist in California, was the single largest donor of the YAF, with his legacy estate gift of \$16 million. This resulted in a doubling of YAF's programming, which includes campus speeches.[10] During his lifetime he and his wife donated generously to YAF, particularly in terms of paying off the mortgage of the Reagan Ranch.[10]

#### See also

State Policy Network: a U.S. national network of free-market oriented think tanks of which Young America's is an associate member

#### Further reading

Tower, Wells. 2006. "The Kids are Far Right." Harper's Magazine 313, no. 1878: 41-53. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed November 24, 2008).

Jacobson, J. (2006, January 6). "Conservative Group Cites Colleges of Like Mind". Chronicle of Higher Education, 52(18), A48-A48. Retrieved November 24, 2008, from Academic Search Premier database.

#### United States Chamber of Commerce

Founded April 22, 1912; 108 years ago

Founder Charles Nagel

Type Advocacy group

Tax ID no.

53-0045720[1]

Legal status 501(c)(6)[1]

Focus Business advocacy

## Location

Washington, D.C.[1]

Coordinates 38.900606°N 77.037671°WCoordinates: 38.900606°N 77.037671°W

Area served

United States industry

Method Political lobbying, public relations

President

Suzanne P. Clark

Subsidiaries  US Chamber of Commerce Foundation 501(c)(3),

National Chamber Foundation 501(c)(3),

Center for International Private Enterprise 501(c)(3)[1]

Revenue (2015)

\$174,119,090[1]

Expenses (2015)  \$175,893,100[1]

Employees (2015)

470[1]

Website  www.uschamber.com

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The United States Chamber of Commerce (USCC) is a business-oriented American lobbying group.

Politically, the Chamber usually supports Republican political candidates, though it has occasionally supported conservative Democrats.[2][3] The Chamber is the largest lobbying group in the U.S., spending more money than any other lobbying organization on a yearly basis.[4][5]

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## History

Charles Nagel, United States Secretary of Commerce and Labor and founder of the United States Chamber of Commerce The U.S. Chamber of Commerce's own history of itself describes it as originating from an April 22, 1912, meeting of delegates.[6] An important catalyst for the creation of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce were two prior business engagements between the U.S. and Japan - In 1908, Eiichi Shibusawa invited the first official, modern day U.S. business

delegation to visit Japan. This delegation was led by the prominent banker/economist Frank A. Vanderlip accompanied by sixty business representatives from the West coast states of California, Oregon, and Washington - The goal was to bridge their nations diplomatically and to promote increased business and commerce.[7] In 1909, in appreciation for the fine cordiality shown to the 1908 Vanderlip business delegation during their visit to Japan, an invitation was now sent to Japanese business leaders to tour the U.S. This invitation came from the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Pacific Coast, whose membership included eight principle cities from western coastal states of California, Oregon and Washington - Their gracious invitation was accepted by the Japanese, and in 1909, Shibusawa, accompanied by his delegation of over fifty of Japan's most prominent business leaders and notables spent three months visiting 53 cities across America – Their travels were highlighted in many newspapers as they journeyed in a specially outfitted 'Million Dollar Train,' provided by the American industrial community. The U.S. government recognized the significance of their visit and sent U.S. representatives to accompany and assist them during their trip. Six representatives of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Pacific Coast also accompanied them, to help facilitate the events along the way.[8] Their meetings included many chambers of commerce, tours of factories, power plants, fire departments, port facilities, mines, farms, schools, universities, libraries, theaters, churches, hospitals, and many other facilities. Their main goals to develop friendship and familiarity between the two nations while encouraging bilateral trade and commerce. An important influence of their visit was that it connected chambers of commerce across U.S., which likely motivated them to recognize the benefits of becoming a national organization. President Taft was one of the U.S. leaders that Shibusawa and his delegates met with during their visit.[9][10]

The Chamber was created by President Taft as a counterbalance to the labor movement of the time.[3] John H. Fahey was the first chairman,[11] and Henry A. Wheeler was the first president[12] and Elliot Hersey Goodwin was the first secretary.[13] It opened its first office in the Evans Building.[11] In 1913, President Taft spoke at its first banquet at the Willard Hotel, where he called for the organization to lobby for comprehensive currency legislation and to support the Commission on Economy and Efficiency.[14] During its first year in existence, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's membership consisted of 297 commercial organizations and 165,000 firms and individuals.[15] The U.S. Chamber's staff grew drastically in just ten years of being created. In 1912, there were only four employees. However, by the time 1921 came along, the number of employees had risen to three hundred[16]

During the 1919 U.S. Chamber board meeting, Henry A. Wheeler proposed an idea that surprised many in the Chamber itself. The idea was to create a national headquarters. Wheeler stated during this proposal that the Board of Directors should take this vote very seriously in deciding whether or not to make a national headquarters due to having to pay for it with their own money. Nevertheless, the Board of Directors didn't hesitate with their answer and they began the process to create the headquarters. Wheeler and Edson already had a planned location for where they believed the headquarters should be. The location was facing the White House on the corner of Lafayette Square. The only thing that was stopping them from building were two 19th-century mansions: the Corcoran House and the Slidell house. Nevertheless, the mansions were purchased for \$775,000. [17]

The Washington, D.C., headquarters of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce occupies land that was formerly the home of Daniel Webster.[18]

Throughout its history, the United States Chamber of Commerce promoted the nation's business and economy. The Chamber's first referendum in January 1913 called for the planning of a National Budget. This calling for a National Budget created The Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. From there, the Chamber worked to aid the U.S. Government during both World Wars and through the Great Depression. During the 1960s, the Chamber thought of the business community in a different way. They didn't have a World War to fight, however, a war against crime and poverty. During the oil crisis of 1973, the Chamber pushed for expanding domestic production. This entailed oil and gas exploration, as well as coal mining, and the Trans Alaska Pipeline. In 1981, the Chamber launched the Let's Rebuild America campaign to help support President Reagan's Economic Recovery and Tax Act. With increased globalization in the 1990s, the Chamber promoted expanding opportunities for the export of American goods and services in hopes of creating jobs for Americans.[19]

Although various chambers of commerce can work with all levels of government, they tend to concentrate their efforts on specific levels: Local chambers of commerce tend to focus on local issues, state chambers on state issues, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce focuses on national issues at the federal government level.[20] They also work closely with a number of youth organizations in the country about the value and role of business in our society today.[21][failed verification]

In 1993, the Chamber lost several members over its support for Clinton's healthcare reform efforts. The Chamber had chosen to support healthcare reform at that time due to the spiraling healthcare costs experienced by its members. However, House Republicans retaliated by urging boycotts of the organization. The Chamber operated its own cable television station, Biz-Net until 1997 in order to promote its policies. The Chamber shifted somewhat more to the right when Tom Donohue became head of the organization in 1997. By the time health care reform became a major issue again in 2010–2012, the organization opposed such efforts.[3]

United States Chamber of Commerce building at 1615 H Street, NW, in Washington, D.C. The building is listed on the



National Register of Historic Places.

In late 2011 it was revealed that the Chamber's computer system was breached from November 2009 to May 2010 by Chinese hackers. The purpose of the breach appeared to be gain information related to the Chamber's lobbying regarding Asian trade policy.[22]

Since a 1971 internal memo by Lewis Powell advocating a more active role in cases before United States Supreme Court, the Chamber has found increasing success in litigation. Under the Burger and Rehnquist Courts the Chamber was on the prevailing side 43% and 56% of the time, respectively, but under the Roberts Court, the Chamber's success rate rose to 68% as of June 21, 2012.[23]

#### Positions taken

Politically, the US Chamber of Commerce is considered to be on the political right, sometimes described as far right, but is known to take positions that many Republicans, particularly populists, do not support.[24]

#### Legislation

Campaigned against portions of the Sarbanes–Oxley Act.[25] (Introduced 02/14/2002) (07/30/2002 Became Public Law)[26]

Supported the SAFETY Act.[27] (Passed 2002)

Supported the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009.[28] (Introduced 01/26/2009) (02/17/2009 Became Public Law)[29]

Supported the Food Safety Modernization Act.[30] (Introduced 03/03/2009)

Opposed the American Clean Energy and Security Act climate change bill.[31] (Introduced 05/15/2009)[32] "[H]elped kill several attempts to pass climate-change legislation" between 1997 and 2010, but did not oppose efforts by Senators Kerry, Graham, and Lieberman in 2010.[33]

The Chamber views some reform as necessary, but opposed the Dodd/Frank legislation that was passed, asserting that it would damage loan availability.[28] (Introduced 12/02/2009) (07/21/2010 Became Public Law) [34]

Supported the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA).[35] (Introduced in House (10/26/2011)[36]

Supported the Jobs Act of 2012.[37] (Introduced 12/08/2011) (04/05/2012 Became Public Law)

Supported the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act.[38] (Introduced 02/25/2013) (07/22/2014 Became Public Law)

Supported the Electronic Communications Privacy Act.[39] (Introduced 02/04/2015)

Actively lobbies against anti-tobacco policies implemented in other countries.[40][41] In particular, it opposes attempts to carve out tobacco from the Investor-state dispute settlement mechanism negotiated under the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement.[42] (Signed 4 February 2016)

Supported the Ozone Implementation Act of 2017[43] (Introduced 02/01/2017)

Supported the Furthering Asbestos Claim Transparency Act.[44] (Introduced 02/07/2017)

Supported the Fairness in Class Action Litigation Act.[45] (Introduced 02/09/2017)

Supported the SAFE Act.[46] (Introduced 03/16/2017)

Opposed the Affordable Health Care for America Act.[28] (Introduced 03/20/2017)[47]

Opposed the Clean Power Plan.[48] (added new bullet point) (On March 28, 2017)[49]

Supported the Reauthorization Act.[50] (Introduced 04/25/2017)

Supported the Self Drive Act.[51] (Introduced 07/25/2017)

Supported the Tribal Tax and Investment Reform Act of 2017.[52] (Introduced 10/05/2017)

Opposes the DISCLOSE Act, which aims to limit foreign influence on U.S. elections.[53] (House - 06/27/2018)[54]

Opposed to using the government shutdown and debt ceiling limit as negotiating tactics.[55]

Support for business globalization, free trade, and offshoring.

Qualified opposition to financial regulation.[28]

#### Court cases

Argued against mandatory immigration status checks by employers in Arizona including in a Supreme Court case.[56]

Filed an amicus brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in Citizens United v FEC to urge the court to overrule Austin and restore "free corporate speech." [57] Its position is opposed by some advocates for independent businesses.[58]

#### Lobbying expenditures

The Chamber has emerged as the largest lobbying organization in America. The Chamber's lobbying expenditures in 2018 were nearly 30 percent larger than those of the second-biggest spender, the National Association of Realtors at \$72.8 million.

#### US Chamber Lobbying 2002-2018[59] [60]

Year	US Cham. Rank	US Cham. Spending	Next Highest Spender	Next Highest Amount
2018	1	\$94,800,000	National Assn of Realtors	\$72,808,648
2017	1	\$82,260,000	National Assn of Realtors	\$54,530,861
2016	1	\$103,950,000	National Assn of Realtors	\$64,821,111
2015	1	\$64,190,000	American Medical Assn	\$23,910,000
2014	1	\$124,080,000	National Assn of Realtors	\$55,057,053
2013	1	\$74,470,000	National Assn of Realtors	\$38,584,580
2012	1	\$136,300,000	National Assn of Realtors	\$41,464,580
2011	1	\$66,370,000	General Electric	\$26,340,000
2010	1	\$157,187,500	PG&E Corp	\$45,510,000

2009	1	\$144,606,000	Exxon Mobil	\$27,430,000
2008	1	\$91,955,000	Exxon Mobil	\$29,000,000
2007	1	\$53,082,500	Pharmaceutical Rsrch & Mfrs of America	\$22,733,400
2006	1	\$72,995,000	AT&T Inc	\$27,445,497
2005	1	\$39,805,000	AARP	\$36,302,064
2004	1	\$53,380,000	American Medical Assn	\$18,820,000
2003	1	\$34,602,640	AARP	\$20,880,000
2002	1	\$41,560,000	Philip Morris	\$15,200,000

#### International network

As of October 2010, the Chamber had a worldwide network of 115 American Chamber of Commerce affiliates located in 108 countries.[61] The US Chamber says that a relative handful of the Chamber's 300,000 members are "non-U.S.-based (foreign) companies." It claims that, "No foreign money is used to fund political activities." A US Chamber executive has said that the organization has had "foreign multinationals" (foreign companies) as members for "over a century, many for decades." [62] The US Chamber states that it receives approximately \$100,000 annually in membership dues from its foreign affiliates, out of an annual budget of \$200 million.[62][63]

#### Electoral activities

In the 2008 election cycle, aggressive ads paid for by the USCC attacked a number of Democratic congressional candidates (such as Minnesota's DFL Senate candidate Al Franken) and supported a number of Republican candidates including John Sununu, Gordon Smith, Roger Wicker, Saxby Chambliss and Elizabeth Dole.

During the 2010 campaign cycle, the Chamber spent \$32 million, 93 percent of which was to help Republican candidates.[64] The Chamber's spending out of its general funds was criticized as illegal under campaign finance laws.[65][66][67][68] In a front-page article titled "Large Donations Aid U.S. Chamber in Election Drive", The New York Times reported that the Chamber used contributions in campaigns without separating foreign and domestic contributions, which if true would appear to contravene prohibitions on lobbying by foreign nations and groups. In question was the Chamber's international branches, "AmChams", whose funds are unaccounted for and perhaps mix into the general collection.[66][69][70][71] All branches, corporations, and members of the Chamber pay dues; the question is how they divide the money for expenses in national campaigns.

The truth of these allegations is unknown, as neither the Chamber nor its detractors can provide any concrete evidence to support or refute the allegations.[72] In reference to the matter, Tom Donohue wrote his council and members on October 12, 2010. He stated, "Let me be clear. The Chamber does not use any foreign money to fund voter education activities—period. We have strict financial controls in place to ensure this. The funds we receive from American Chambers of Commerce abroad, bilateral business councils, and non-U.S.-based global companies represent a small fraction of our more than \$200 million annual revenues. Under our accounting system, these revenues are never used to support any political activities. We are in full compliance with all laws and regulations." [73][74][75] Organizations Moveon.org, Think Progress, and People for the American Way rallied against the Chamber at the Justice Department to start an injunction for a criminal investigation.[76][77] The Chamber is not required to produce fundraising records.[78]

President Barack Obama and other legislators asked the IRS and Federal Elections Commission to ensure that the foreign funds that the Chamber receives are not used for political activities.[79][80] Obama criticized the Chamber for not disclosing its contributors.[81] The Chamber has responded that "No foreign money is used to fund political activities." [62] After the election, the Chamber reiterated the nature of Obama's policy dictated action from the Chamber, however the conflict would not be made "personal".[82][83]

In addition to the expenditures from the Chamber's own funds, in 2010 its political action committee gave \$29,000 (89 percent) to Republican candidates and \$3,500 (11 percent) to Democratic candidates.[84] The Chamber's PAC received a total of 76 donations from individual donors (\$200 or more donation) totaling \$79,852 in 2007-2008, or an average of \$1050 per donation, and three donations per month.[85]

Despite more than \$33 million spent supporting candidates in the 2012 Congressional races, Chamber-backed candidates lost 36 out of the 50 elections in which the Chamber participated.[86]

In late 2013 the Chamber announced it would distribute campaign contributions in "10s" of Republican primary elections to oppose the Tea Party movement and create a "more governable Republican party." [87] In early 2014 Tom Donohue clarified that the push would be to elect "pro-business" members of Congress "who favor trade, energy development and immigration reform".[88]

#### Leadership

As of the organization's website in 2019, executive leadership of the U.S. Chamber includes:[89]

Thomas J. Donohue – CEO  
 Suzanne Clark - President  
 Neil Bradley – Chief Policy Officer and Executive Vice President  
 Myron Brilliant – Executive Vice President and Head of International Affairs

Carolyn Cawley – President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation and Senior Vice President, U.S. Chamber  
Chris Contakes – Senior Vice President and Chief Information Officer  
Stan Harrell – Senior Vice President and Chief Financial Officer  
David Hirschmann – President and CEO, Center for Capital Markets Competitiveness (CCMC); President and CEO, Global Innovation Policy Center (GIPC); President and CEO, Chamber Technology Engagement Center (C\_TEC); and Executive Vice President, U.S. Chamber  
Lisa Rickard – Executive Vice President and Counselor to the President, U.S. Chamber  
Christopher Roberti - Chief of Staff, U.S. Chamber and Senior Vice President, Cyber, Intelligence, and Security Division  
Michelle Russo - Chief Communications Officer  
Justin Waller - Chief Marketing Officer and Senior Vice President, Operations  
Agnes Warfield-Blanc - Executive Vice President, Development  
John Wood - Senior Vice President, Chief Legal Officer, and General Counsel, U.S. Chamber; Executive Vice President, U.S. Chamber Litigation Center

#### Controversies

In April 2009, the Chamber began an ad campaign against the proposed Employee Free Choice Act.[90] Critics such as the National Association of Manufacturers have contended that additional use of card check elections will lead to overt coercion on the part of union organizers. Opponents of the Employee Free Choice Act also claim, referring to perceived lack of access to a secret ballot, that the measure would not protect employee privacy. For this reason the Chamber argued the act would reduce workers' rights.[91]

In November 2009, the Chamber was reported to be seeking to spend \$50,000 to hire a "respected economist" to produce a study that could be used to portray health-care legislation as a job killer and threat to the nation's economy.[92]

In December 2009, activist group Velvet Revolution, under the name StopTheChamber, posted a \$200,000 reward for "information leading to the arrest and conviction of Chamber of Commerce CEO Tom Donahue." [93]

Some in the business community have criticized the Chamber's approach to public issues as overly aggressive. Hilary Rosen, former CEO of the Recording Industry Association of America, added that "Their aggressive ways are out of step with a new generation of business leadership who are looking for more cooperative relationship with Washington." [94]

#### Climate change

The climate campaign organization 350.org estimates that 94% of US Chamber of Commerce electoral contributions went to candidates denying the scientific consensus on climate change.[95]

The Chamber's senior vice president for environment, technology, and regulatory affairs William L. Kovacs threatened to sue the Environmental Protection Agency in order to have what he termed "the Scopes monkey trial of the 21st century" on climate science before any federal climate regulation was passed in October 2009.[96] Chamber CEO Tom Donohue disavowed the comment, but the Chamber strongly opposed the American Clean Energy and Security Act.[97] In response to this position, several companies quit the Chamber, including Exelon Corp, PG&E Corp, PNM Resources, and Apple Inc.[98] Nike, Inc resigned from their board of directors position, but continued their membership. Nike stated that they believe they can better influence the policy by being part of the conversation.[99] Peter Darbee, CEO of former chamber member PG&E (a natural gas and electric utility company in California), said, "We find it dismaying that the Chamber neglects the indisputable fact that a decisive majority of experts have said the data on global warming are compelling... In our view, an intellectually honest argument over the best policy response to the challenges of climate change is one thing; disingenuous attempts to diminish or distort the reality of these challenges are quite another." [100] In response to an online campaign of Prius owners organized by Moveon.org, Toyota stated that it would not leave the Chamber.[101] The Aspen Chamber Resort Association of Aspen, Colorado left the U.S. Chamber because of its views on climate change, in light of how climate change could hurt Aspen's winter tourism industry.[102]

In 2010, U.S. Chamber president Tom Donohue agreed to work with Senators John Kerry, Lindsey Graham, and Joe Lieberman as they crafted legislation to address climate change; the effort fell apart and failed to produce a bill.[103]

In October 2017, Karen Harbert, CEO of the U.S. Chamber's Global Energy Institute, published an op-ed in USA Today criticizing the EPA's Clean Power Plan, saying, "The plan's fundamental flaw was that it would have intentionally raised the cost of energy without regard to the impact on families and businesses." Harbert added, "To be clear, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce believes that the climate is changing, and that man is contributing to these changes. We also believe that technology and innovation, rather than sweeping federal mandates, offer the best approach for reducing greenhouse gas emissions and mitigating the impacts of climate change." [104]

In 2019 the U.S. Chamber adopted the following policy addressing climate change: "The climate is changing and humans are contributing to these changes. We believe that there is much common ground on which all sides of this discussion could come together to address climate change with policies that are practical, flexible, predictable, and durable. We believe in a policy approach that acknowledges the costs of action and inaction and the competitiveness of the U.S. economy.[105]" They summarized that an effective climate policy should:

Leverage the power of business (rely primarily on private sector)

Maintain U.S. leadership in climate science  
Embrace technology and innovation  
Aggressively pursue greater energy efficiency  
Promote climate resilient infrastructure  
Support trade in U.S. technologies and products  
Encourage international cooperation

The Chamber concluded with this important admonition: "Inaction is not an option. We call on policymakers to seize on an approach that rises to the challenge of climate change, leveraging business leadership and expertise, America's energy edge and our ability to innovate." [106]

#### Immigration reform

The U.S. Chamber opposed President Donald Trump's executive order ending the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. The U.S. Chamber's Chief Policy Officer Neil Bradley said, "With approximately 700,000 DACA recipients working for all sorts of businesses across the country, terminating their employment eligibility runs contrary to the president's goal of growing the U.S. economy." [107]

The Chamber of Commerce has come under attack by populist conservatives and others for its support of "amnesty" for illegal immigrants. [108][109] In 2014, Tom Donohue stated the Chamber will "pull out all stops" for the passage of immigration reform in Congress. [110] According to The Washington Post, Donohue did not offer specifics with regard to provisions or bills on the matter, speaking generally about the impact immigration would have on the U.S. economy. [citation needed]

#### Opposition

Several organizations have attacked the Chamber for its advocacy, including Chamber Watch (a campaign of Public Citizen). Advocates for independent business, like the American Independent Business Alliance (AMIBA) and "green businesses," like the American Sustainable Business Council, have fought the Chamber on multiple issues. Among major divisions between the Chamber and these business advocates is allowing corporations to engage in electioneering. [111] Oliver E. Diaz says one example of this was when the Chamber spent \$1,000,000+ to fund negative campaign ads against him and have judicial candidate Keith Starrett elected instead. [112]

#### Affiliate organizations

Americans for Transportation Mobility  
Center for Capital Markets Competitiveness  
Center for International Private Enterprise  
Global Energy Institute  
Institute for Legal Reform  
U.S. Chamber Litigation Center  
U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation (previously the National Chamber Foundation)  
See also

Political science portal

Advocacy group  
American Green Chamber of Commerce  
Global Intellectual Property Center  
Lobbying in the United States  
National Federation of Independent Business  
U.S. Women's Chamber of Commerce  
United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce  
Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry  
British Chambers of Commerce  
Anthony D. Salzman  
References

#### American Family Association

ounded 1977  
Founder Donald Wildmon  
Type Public charity 501(c)(3)  
Tax ID no.  
64-0607275 (EIN)  
Focus Advocacy of Protestant fundamentalism in the U.S.  
Location  
Tupelo, Mississippi  
Area served  
United States  
Method Boycotts  
Key people  
Tim Wildmon, President

Bryan Fischer, Director of Issues Analysis

Revenue

\$17,955,438 (2011)[1]

Website [www.afa.net](http://www.afa.net)

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal

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The American Family Association (AFA) is a Christian fundamentalist 501(c)(3) organization based in the United States.[2][3][4][5][6] It opposes LGBT rights and expression, pornography, and abortion.[7][8] It also takes a position on a variety of other public policy goals. It was founded in 1977 by Donald Wildmon as the National Federation for Decency and is headquartered in Tupelo, Mississippi.

Part of the religious right,[9] the AFA defined itself as "a Christian organization promoting the biblical ethic of decency in American society with primary emphasis on television and other media," later switching their stated emphasis to "moral issues that impact the family." [10][11][12] It engages in activism efforts, including boycotts, buycotts, action alert emails, publications on the AFA's web sites or in the AFA Journal, broadcasts on American Family Radio, and lobbying.[13] The organization is accredited by the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability (ECFA) and posted a 2011 budget of over \$16 million.[14] AFA owns 200 American Family Radio stations in 33 states, seven affiliate stations in seven states, and one affiliate TV station (KAZQ) in New Mexico.[15][16]

AFA has been listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)[9] since November 2010 for the "propagation of known falsehoods" and the use of "demonizing propaganda" against LGBT people.[17]

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## Operations

Reverend Donald Wildmon served as chairman of AFA until he announced his retirement on March 3, 2010. His son, Tim, is president of AFA. AFA is governed by an independent board of directors. AFA Journal is a monthly publication with a circulation of 180,000[18] containing news, features, columns, and interviews. In addition to the publication, AFA Journal

articles are made available online. The journal reviews the content of prime-time television shows, categorizing them based on profanity, sex, violence, homosexuality, substance abuse, "anti-Christian" content, or "political correctness". The categorization is accompanied by short descriptions of the content of the episode under review. The review also lists the advertisers of each show and invites readers to contact the advertisers or television networks to express concern over program content.[19]

American Family Radio (AFR) is a network of approximately 200 AFA-owned radio stations broadcasting Christian-oriented programming.[6]

OneNewsNow.com (formerly AgapePress), the AFA news division, provides online audio newscasts and a daily digest of news articles, Associated Press stories, and opinion columns.[20]

Center for Law and Policy, the legal and political arm of the AFA, was shut down in 2007. It specialized in First Amendment cases. The Center for Law and Policy lobbied legislative bodies, drafted legislation, and filed religious-discrimination lawsuits on behalf of individuals.[16] Chief among its efforts were the recognition of Christmas in seasonal print advertisements; the criminalization of homosexuality;[21][22][23] lobbying against same-sex marriage, and in opposition of equal-rights and hate-crime legislation that would include sexual orientation and gender identity under categories already protected[24][25][26] and advocating censorship of print and electronic media.[27]

#### Campaigns and issues

The AFA has a history of activism by organizing its members in boycotts and letter-writing campaigns aimed at promoting socially conservative values in the United States. The AFA has promoted boycotts of television shows, movies, and businesses that the group considers to have promoted indecency, obscenity, or homosexuality. In addition to promoting activism via mail to AFA members, 3.4 million subscribers receive AFA "Action Alerts" via email.[6]

#### Boycotts

The AFA has boycotted companies for various reasons, most often relating to Christmas controversies, pornography, support of pro-choice activism, support of violent or sexual content in entertainment, and support of LGBT rights,[28][29][30] including same-sex partner employee benefits. These organizations include: 7-Eleven, Abercrombie & Fitch, American Airlines, American Girl, Blockbuster Video, Burger King, Calvin Klein, Carl's Jr., Chobani, Clorox, Comcast, Crest, Ford, Hallmark Cards, Hardee's, Kmart, Kraft Foods, S. C. Johnson & Son, Movie Gallery, Microsoft, MTV, Paramount Pictures, Time Warner, Universal Studios, DreamWorks, Mary Kay, NutriSystem, Old Navy, IKEA, Sears, Procter & Gamble,[31] Target, Walt Disney Company, and PepsiCo.

In 1986, 7-Eleven stopped selling Playboy and Penthouse magazines after a two-year boycott by the AFA.[32] In 1989 the AFA boycotted WaldenBooks in an attempt to persuade the company to stop selling those same magazines. WaldenBooks responded with an advertisement campaign against censorship, asserting First Amendment rights. WaldenBooks, American Booksellers Association, the Council for Periodical Distributors Association, the International Periodical Distributors Association, and Duval Bibb Services launched a lawsuit against the AFA in October 1989, under the Federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) and the Florida State RICO Acts, which protect an organization's right to conduct business without harassment or threats.[33] The case was settled by the parties without a court ruling.

AFA boycotted PepsiCo in 1989 for supporting Madonna, whose video for "Like a Prayer" Wildmon felt was sacrilegious.[34]

During the summer of 1993 the AFA purchased full-page ads in The New York Times, USA Today, and Los Angeles Times denouncing the sexual and violent content of the upcoming ABC police drama NYPD Blue.[35] It also urged ABC affiliates not to broadcast the program and citizens to boycott sponsors of Blue. About a quarter of the 225 existing ABC stations followed suit, but such affiliates were mostly in rural areas of the US. The AFA campaign increased hype for the show in larger American media markets, and Blue became one of the most popular shows of the 1993–1994 television season.[36] In 1996, the AFA launched a boycott against Walt Disney Company when the company began giving benefits to same-sex employees in domestic partnerships. The AFA has claimed that Michael Eisner, the CEO of The Disney Company, "was involved in a media group that actively promoted the homosexual agenda" and was pushing the "gay agenda". The AFA ended the boycott in the spring of 2005 after Eisner left the company.[37][38][39] Tim Wildmon stated "We feel after nine years of boycotting Disney we have made our point." [40]

In January 2002, the restaurant chain Taco Bell held a month-long promotion in which four Cardcaptor Sakura toys were available in their kids' meals, expecting to distribute up to 7 million of the toys during the month.[41] The AFA complained about the promotion as the organization felt the Clow Cards in the series were too similar to tarot cards and Eastern mythology. However, the organization's complaints begin on the day before the promotion's scheduled end date.[42]

In 2003, the AFA, with the American Decency Association, Focus on the Family, and Citizens for Community Values, lobbied and boycotted Abercrombie & Fitch, calling on "A&F to stop using blatant pornography in its quarterly catalog." [43] In December 2003, the company "recalled the holiday catalog from all its stores, saying it needed the space on the counter for a new perfume" and stated it would stop printing catalogs and start a new campaign.[44]

In 2005 the AFA boycotted the company American Girl, seller of dolls and accessories, because the company supported the charity Girls, Inc., which the AFA called "a pro-abortion, pro-lesbian advocacy group".[45]

In Spring 2005 the AFA launched a boycott of Ford for advertising in gay magazines, donating to gay rights organizations, and sponsoring gay pride celebrations.[37][46][47] After meeting with representatives of the group, Ford announced it was curtailing ads in a number of major gay-themed publications, due not by cultural but by "cost-cutting" factors. That statement was contradicted by the AFA, which claimed it had a "good faith agreement" that Ford would cease such ads. Soon afterwards, as a result of a strong outcry from the gay community, Ford backtracked and announced it would continue ads in gay publications, in response to which the AFA denounced Ford for "violating" the agreement, and renewed threats of a boycott.[48] The boycott ended in March 2008.[49]

On Independence Day 2008, the AFA announced a boycott of McDonald's,[50] which had a director on the board of the National Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce. In October 2008, AFA announced the end of its boycott following the declaration to be "neutral on same-sex marriage or any 'homosexual agenda' as defined by the American Family Association" by McDonald's in a memo to franchisees.[51]

In December 2008, the AFA issued an "Action Alert"[52] which called for members to protest about the Campbell Soup Company, which had purchased two two-page advertisements in the December 2008 and January 2009 issues of LGBT magazine The Advocate. The Action Alert said that Campbell's "sent a message that homosexual parents constitute a family and are worthy of support". The advertisements showed a married lesbian couple with their son. AFA spokesman Randy Sharp said "the Campbell Soup Company is saying 'we approve of homosexual marriage.'"[53]

In November 2009, the AFA called for a boycott against clothing retailer The Gap, Inc., claiming the retailer's holiday television advertising campaign failed to mention Christmas. "Christmas has historically been very good for commerce. But now Gap wants the commerce but no Christmas" wrote an AFA spokesperson. The Gap soon released an advertisement in response to the boycott, specifically referring to Christmas, albeit with a number of other holidays that take place at the same time of year and added the word "Christmas" to in-store decor.[54][55]

In 2012 the AFA led a boycott against Archie Comics when they published a comic book featuring a same-sex marriage.[56]

In July 2012, they considered boycotting Google due to Google's "Legalize Love" campaign which supports LGBT rights.[57]

In April 2016, AFA launched a boycott against Target Corporation[58] due to Target announcing they "welcome transgender team members and guests to use the restroom or fitting room facility that corresponds with their gender identity."[59]

#### Published media

On April 16, 2007, following the Virginia Tech Massacre, the AFA released a video titled The Day They Kicked God out of the Schools, in which God tells a student that students were killed in schools because God isn't allowed in schools anymore. The video claims that the shootings at Virginia Tech and Columbine, among others, are in part the result of: decreased discipline in schools; no prayer in schools; sex out of wedlock; rampant violence in TV, movies, and music; or abortions.[60][61]

Speechless: Silencing the Christians is a 2008 documentary series hosted by Janet Parshall. The series explains the AFA's position against the drive towards political correctness, and how various factors, such as hate crime laws and other discriminatory actions, are threatening the Christians' existence. In 2009, a one-hour special version of the program was produced and aired on commercial television stations, where AFA had purchased the air time.[62]

#### Sexual morality

The AFA has repeatedly lobbied Congress to eliminate funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.[63] For example, in 2000, the AFA issued a press release condemning the NEA's funding of One of the Guys, a book by Robert Clark Young described by a senior AFA official as "scatological". The complaint from the AFA was that the book included sexually explicit material, in particular, a description of a young woman extracting razor blades from her vagina during a performance in a sex club. In a Washington Post editorial in response to the complaint, Young stated, "I find it strange that an organization that claims to uphold family values and to oppose the federal funding of obscenity is not protesting the part of the military budget that goes to support pederasty in the Far East."[64]

Speaking in defense of Mike Huckabee's statements that people with AIDS should be quarantined, the head of the AFA of Pennsylvania said Huckabee's recommendation was appropriate.[65]

#### View on media

Wildmon has been accused of saying that he believes Hollywood and the theater world are heavily influenced by Jewish people, and that television network executives and advertisers have a genuine hostility towards Christians.[66][67][68]

#### Opposition to other religions

On November 28, 2006, following the election of Keith Ellison, the first Muslim elected to the United States Congress,[69] the AFA released an "Action Alert." The Action Alert, entitled "A first for America...The Koran replaces the Bible at swearing-in oath: What book will America base its values on, the Bible or the Koran?", requested subscribers to write to their Congressional representatives and urge them to create a "law making the Bible the book used in the swearing-in ceremony of representatives and senators." [70][71][72]

On July 13, 2007, a Hindu prayer was conducted in the U.S. Senate. Rajan Zed, director of interfaith relations at a Hindu temple, read the prayer at the invitation of Senate majority leader Harry Reid, who defended his invitation based on the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. AFA sent out an "Action Alert" to its members to email, write letters, or call their senators to oppose the Hindu prayer, stating it is "seeking the invocation of a non-monotheistic god." [73][74][75] The "alert" stated that "since Hindus worship multiple gods, the prayer will be completely outside the American paradigm, flying in the face of the American motto One Nation Under God." [76] The convocation by Zed was disrupted by three protesters from a different Fundamentalist Christian activist group, Operation Save America, in the gallery; they reportedly shouted "this is an abomination", and called themselves "Christians and patriots". [73]

On August 10, 2010, Bryan Fischer, AFA's director of Issue Analysis for Government and Public Policy, posted on his blog on the AFA website [77] that "Permits should not be granted to build even one more mosque in the United States of America, let alone the monstrosity planned for Ground Zero. This is for one simple reason: each Islamic mosque is dedicated to the overthrow of the American government." Fischer continued: "Because of this subversive ideology, Muslims cannot claim religious freedom protections under the First Amendment." [78]

#### Homosexuality

The AFA expresses public concern over what it refers to as the "homosexual agenda". They state that the Bible "declares that homosexuality is unnatural and sinful" and that they have "sponsored several events reaching out to homosexuals and letting them know there is love and healing at the Cross of Christ." [79]

The AFA actively lobbies against the social acceptance of homosexual behavior ("We oppose the homosexual movement's efforts to convince our society that their behavior is normal"). [80] The AFA also actively promotes the idea that homosexuality is a choice and that sexual orientation can be changed through ex-gay ministries. [81]

In 1996, responding to a complaint from an AFA member who was participating in an AFA campaign targeting gay journalists, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram transferred a gay editor out of a job that occasionally required him to work with schoolchildren. The AFA targeted the editor due to cartoon strips he created, which were published in gay magazines. The paper apparently acted on the AFA's unsubstantiated statement that the editor was "preoccupied with the subjects of pedophilia and incest." [82]

In 2000, vice president Tim Wildmon spoke out against gay-straight alliance clubs in schools, stating, "We view these kinds of clubs as an advancement of the homosexual cause." [83] In 2003, the AFA filed an amicus curiae brief in *Lawrence vs Texas*, arguing against repeal of Texas sodomy laws. [84] In 2004, the AFA raised concerns about the movie *Shark Tale* because the group believed the movie was designed to promote the acceptance of gay rights by children. [6][85] On the October 11, 2005, AFA broadcast, Tim Wildmon agreed with a caller that cable networks like Animal Planet and HGTV featured "evidence of homosexuality and lesbian people" and added that "you have to watch out for children's programs today as well because they'll slip it in there as well." [86] In 2007, the AFA spoke out against IKEA for featuring gay families in their television ads. [87] In June 2008, the AFA protested a Heinz television advertisement, shown in the United Kingdom, which showed two men kissing, which Heinz then withdrew. [88] On January 28, 2015, the AFA wrote to the Southern Poverty Law Center that the AFA now rejected the policy that homosexual conduct should be illegal. [89]

The AFA's founder, Don Wildmon, was "instrumental" in initially setting up the Arlington Group, a networking vehicle for social conservatives focusing on gay marriage. [16]

#### One Million Moms/One Million Dads project

AFA created One Million Moms and One Million Dads, two websites with the stated goal of mobilizing parents to "stop the exploitation of children" by the media. It uses these websites to organize boycotts and urge activists to send emails to mainstream companies employing advertising, selling products, or advertising on television shows they find offensive. [90] In 2012, the group started and then backed off from a failed campaign against the hiring of talk show host Ellen DeGeneres as a spokesperson for department store chain J. C. Penney. [91] They opposed her employment on the grounds that DeGeneres is "an open homosexual". [92] At a taping of her show, DeGeneres informed her audience of the fizzled effort: "They wanted to get me fired and I am proud and happy to say J. C. Penney stuck by their decision to make me their spokesperson." [93]

The One Million Moms campaign expressed opposition to Marvel and DC Comics issues which featured gay characters, describing the storylines as a "brainwashing and desensitizing experience" for children, written to "influence them in thinking that a gay lifestyle choice is normal and desirable." [94]



The organization has also criticized GEICO for a commercial showing Maxwell the Pig in a car with a human girl, saying it suggests bestiality.[95]

In 2015, the organization criticized a Campbell's ad that depicted two dads taking care of their child by feeding him Campbell's Star Wars soup. The organization claimed the ad "normaliz[ed] sin."[96]

In 2019, the organization complained about ads airing on The Hallmark Channel for wedding planning site Zola, which featured two brides kissing at the altar. In response, Hallmark's parent company Crown Media pulled the ads. After protests from the public, including celebrities Ellen DeGeneres and William Shatner, Crown Media reversed their decision and stated they would reinstate the ads.[97] In 2020 Burger King was their target for using the word "damn" in a television commercial.[98]

The actual number involved in One Million Moms has been questioned. After a complaint about Burger King ads using the word "damn", a CNN article stated that "Despite its name, it is not clear that the group has a million members. According to its website, more than 8,000 people have taken action on the Burger King issue, and its Facebook group has just shy of 100,000 likes."[99]

#### In God We Trust

After the September 11 attacks in 2001, many public schools across the United States posted "In God We Trust" framed posters in their "libraries, cafeterias and classrooms". The American Family Association supplied several 11-by-14-inch posters to school systems and vowed to defend any legal challenges to the displaying of the posters.[100]

#### Criticism and controversy

In 2015, the organisation officially repudiated views of former director of issues analysis Bryan Fischer, including the claim that black people "rut like rabbits"; that the First Amendment applies only to Christians; that Hispanics are "socialists by nature" and come to the U.S. to "plunder" the country; that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian, and that "Homosexuality gave us Adolf Hitler, and homosexuals in the military gave us the Brown Shirts, the Nazi war machine and six million dead Jews." [101][102]

#### Religious exercise

Sandy Rios, the Family Association's director of governmental affairs, has criticised "powerful Jewish forces behind the ACLU"[103] and stated that secular Jews often "turn out to be the worst enemies of the country" while the AFA's president Tim Wildmon stated "Most of the Jews in this country, unfortunately, are far-left." [104]

Bryan Fischer, former director of issues analysis, has described Muslims as "Parasites Who Must Convert or Die"[105] and stated that the First Amendment to the United States Constitution protects only the religious practice of Christianity, writing in a blog post "The real object of the amendment was, not to countenance, much less to advance Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity; but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects... So the purpose of the First Amendment was most decidedly NOT to "approve, support, (or) accept" any "religion" other than Christianity." [106] Fischer has suggested Jews and Muslims are not included in religious freedom protections in the US, saying: "I have contended for years that the First Amendment, as given by the Founders, provides religious liberty protections for Christianity only." He later wrote: "We are a Christian nation and not a Jewish or Muslim one." [107]

In a 2015 press release denouncing Fischer's views, the AFA stated "AFA rejects the idea expressed by Bryan Fischer that "Free exercise of religion" only applies to Christians. Consequently, AFA rejects Bryan's assertions that Muslims should not be granted permits to build mosques in the United States." [101]

#### Stance on homosexuality

The AFA has been criticized by a number of organizations for their stance against gay rights.[22][108][109]

#### Homosexuality and Nazism

Former AFA California leader Scott Lively[22][110] is a co-author of *The Pink Swastika* (1995), [111] in which he claims that all of the major leaders in the Nazi regime were homosexual, a claim which is widely rejected by most historians.[112] He has since co-founded *Watchmen on the Walls*. In 2007, Bryan Fischer, former Director of Issues Analysis for the AFA, [113] hosted Scott Lively at an event promoting the message that "homosexuality was at the heart of Nazism". [114]

In May 2010, Fischer wrote a blog post on the AFA website [115] and *RenewAmerica* [116][117] detailing purported allegations that Adolf Hitler was a homosexual, that "the Nazi Party began in a gay bar in Munich," [118] and concluded by claiming that the Holocaust (which actually included gay victims of Nazi persecution) was caused by homosexuals in the Nazi German military: "Nazi Germany became the horror that it was because it rejected both Christianity and its clear teaching about human sexuality." [115] On *American Family Talk* radio, Fischer repeated the claim that Hitler was a homosexual, and stated that Hitler recruited homosexuals to be stormtroopers, because "homosexual soldiers basically had no limits and the savagery and brutality they were willing to inflict." [119]

In 2013 Fischer claimed that "Homofascists" will treat Christians like Jews in the Holocaust [120] and later that year he

repeated on American Family Talk that Hitler started the Nazi party "in a gay bar in Munich"[118] and that "[Adolf Hitler] couldn't get straights to be vicious enough in being his enforcers." [121]

The Southern Poverty Law Center, through its Teaching Tolerance program, has encouraged schools across the U.S. to hold a "Mix It Up at Lunch" day in order to encourage students to break up cliques and prevent bullying. In late 2012, the AFA called the project – begun 11 years earlier and held in more than 2,500 schools – "a nationwide push to promote the homosexual lifestyle in public schools", urging parents to keep their children home from school on October 30, 2012, and to call the schools to protest the event. "I was surprised that they completely lied about what Mix It Up Day is", Maureen Costello, the director of the center's Teaching Tolerance project, which organizes the program, told The New York Times. "It was a cynical, fear-mongering tactic." [122] In October, Bryan Fischer was taken off air during a CNN interview with Carol Costello for repeating his belief that "Hitler recruited homosexuals around him to make up his Stormtroopers." [123][124]

In 2012, as jury selection was to begin in a trial on charges of kidnapping of a lesbian couple's daughter, Fischer wrote on Twitter in support of kidnapping of children from same-sex households and smuggling them to what he calls "normal" homes. [125][126][127][128][129][130] Fischer also reiterated his views on his radio show, and on video. [127][128][131] In January 2013, he compared consensual sex between people of the same gender to pedophilia, incest and bestiality. [132] In January 2013, Fischer compared the Boy Scouts of America's change in views on gay scouts and scoutmasters to Jerry Sandusky, saying allowing gay scoutmasters was inviting pedophiles into the tents of children. [133] In March 2013, Fischer compared homosexuality to bank robbery when Senator Portman announced his views on same-sex marriage had changed due to having a gay son. [134] Fischer also stated that homosexuality should be banned like trans fats for being "a hazard to human health" [135][136][137] and likened homosexuals to thieves, murderers and child molesters. [138]

On January 28, 2015, Tim Wildmon, president of the American Family Association, demoted Fischer from being a spokesperson. [139][140][141][142] Fischer went on to state that he will still be hosting the AFA's American Family Talk radio. [143] In order to avoid being categorised as a hate group by Israel, the AFA issued a press release denouncing some of Fischer's views, rejecting his claim that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian, and stating: "AFA rejects the statement by Bryan Fischer that, 'Homosexuality gave us Adolf Hitler, and homosexuals in the military gave us the Brown Shirts, the Nazi war machine and six million dead Jews.' AFA rejects the policy advocated by Bryan Fischer that homosexual conduct should be illegal. AFA rejects the notion advocated by Bryan Fischer that, 'We need an underground railroad to protect innocent children from same-sex households.'" [101][144]

#### Criticism of homosexuality

In 1998, the Internet filtering software CyberPatrol blocked the AFA's web site, classifying it under the category "intolerance", defined as "pictures or text advocating prejudice or discrimination against any race, color, national origin, religion, disability or handicap, gender or sexual orientation..." AFA spokesman Steve Ensley told reporters, "Basically we're being blocked for free speech." CyberPatrol cited quotes from the AFA for meeting its intolerance criteria, which included: "Indifference or neutrality toward the homosexual rights movement will result in society's destruction by allowing civil order to be redefined and by plummeting ourselves, our children, and grandchildren into an age of godlessness"; "A national 'Coming Out of Homosexuality' provides us a means whereby to dispel the lies of the homosexual rights crowd who say they are born that way and cannot change"; and "We want to outlaw public homosexuality...We believe homosexuality is immoral and leads ultimately to personal and social decay." [5][23][109][145]

On October 19, 1998, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, led by Leslie Katz, wrote a letter to the AFA in response to an advertisement placed in the San Francisco Chronicle by the AFA regarding homosexuality and Christianity. The letter stated: [146]

Supervisor Leslie Katz denounces your rhetoric against gays, lesbians and transgendered people. What happened to Matthew Shepard is in part due to the message being espoused by your groups that gays and lesbians are not worthy of the most basic equal rights and treatment. It is not an exaggeration to say that there is a direct correlation between these acts of discrimination, such as when gays and lesbians are called sinful and when major religious organizations say they can change if they tried, and the horrible crimes committed against gays and lesbians.

During the same time, the City and County of San Francisco passed two resolutions. Resolution No. 234-99 "calls for the Religious Right to take accountability for the impact of their long-standing rhetoric denouncing gays and lesbians, which leads to a climate of mistrust and discrimination that can open the door to horrible crimes such as those committed against Mr. Gaither" [147] and Resolution No. 873-98 was specifically directed at "anti-gay" television advertisements. AFA unsuccessfully challenged these actions as violating the Free Speech and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment in American Family Association v. City and County of San Francisco. [146]

In 1998, multiple organizations voiced criticism of a series of AFA-sponsored full-page newspaper advertisements that promoted religious ministries involved in the ex-gay movement. In response to the advertisements, the Religious Leadership Roundtable said the ads employed "language of violence and hatred to denounce other people". IntegrityUSA criticized the ads, calling them "evil" disregarding Christian teachings about the "dignity of every human being". DignityUSA also criticized the advertisements, which they said were "misleading and destructive". [148]

In July 2000, the AFA sent out emails and letters calling for openly gay Arizona Republican United States House of Representatives member Jim Kolbe to be barred from speaking at the Republican National Convention.[149] The AFA also said that Kolbe should be arrested when he returned to his home state, as because Kolbe is gay, he was violating an Arizona law that banned sodomy.[150] Equality Mississippi, a statewide LGBT civil rights organization which has voiced opposition and criticism towards the AFA's activism regarding homosexuality, felt that AFA's action was constituting and encouraging violence towards the gay community.[151]

In 2005, Equality Mississippi publicly spoke out against the AFA for the use of copyrighted images on the AFA web site in its boycott against Kraft Foods for being a sponsor of the 2006 Gay Games in Chicago. The photographs, which were used without permission, were owned by and retrieved from ChrisGeary.com. Equality Mississippi encouraged ChrisGeary.com to file suit against the AFA and offered to support the suit.[152] As of March 2009, the images were still on AFA's web site.[153]

In June 2008, AFA's news website, OneNewsNow – which had begun replacing all instances of "gay" with "homosexual" in re-posted Associated Press articles[154] – changed an AP profile of Olympic sprinter Tyson Gay, rendering his name as "Tyson Homosexual".[155][156][157] OneNewsNow similarly altered the name of basketball player Rudy Gay, naming him "Rudy Homosexual".[158] The gay rights website GoodAsYou.org, which "has long chronicled the AFA's practice of changing AP copy to suit its conservative agenda", spotted the errors. Tyson Gay was upset with the mistake.[159][160]

#### Intellectual freedom

Individuals in the media industry have criticized Donald Wildmon, the founder of AFA. Gene Mater, senior vice president of CBS Television, has stated, "We look upon Wildmon's efforts as the greatest frontal assault on intellectual freedom this country has ever faced" and Brandon Tartikoff, then NBC Entertainment President, stated that Wildmon's boycott campaign was "the first step toward a police state." [161]

#### Marilyn Manson

Further information: Dead to the World Tour

Paul Cambria, lawyer for rock band Marilyn Manson, sent a cease and desist letter to AFA on April 25, 1997, in response to allegations published in the AFA Journal that Manson encouraged audience members to engage in sexual and violent acts in its concerts. AFA Journal relied on testimony by two anonymous claimed teenage concertgoers.[162] The allegations were independently proven to be false.[163] Wildmon responded that his organization as a whole was not responsible, but rather the AFA's Gulf Coast chapter in Biloxi, Mississippi.[164]

#### Hate group listing

The Southern Poverty Law Center, in a 2005 report, stated that the AFA, along with other groups, engaged in hate speech to "help drive the religious right's anti-gay crusade." [165] Mark Potok of the SPLC determined that the turning point was 2003's Lawrence v. Texas, in which the Supreme Court struck down Texas's anti-sodomy laws. After that, the Christian right spent millions on advertisements,[165] and on pastor briefings organized by activists such as "born-again" Christian David Lane.[166] Lane helped AFA put constitutional opposite-sex marriage amendments on the ballots of 13 states.[165]

In November 2010, the SPLC changed their listing of AFA from a group that used hate speech to the more serious one of being designated a hate group.[167][168][169][170][171][172] Potok said that the AFA's "propagation of known falsehoods and demonizing propaganda" was the basis for the change.[173][174]

The AFA was greatly displeased with the designation as a hate group,[175] calling the list "slanderous".[176] In response to the SPLC's announcement, some members of the Christian right "called on Congress to cut off their funding." [177] J. Matt Barber of The Washington Times said that the SPLC was "marginalizing" themselves by giving the AFA the same hate group designation shared by the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis.[178] Tony Perkins, the president of Family Research Council (FRC) – an organization also named a hate group – asked the SPLC to strike the new designation, but they held their position.[citation needed] Ken Williams commented that in reaction, the FRC and the AFA joined with other "pro-family" organizations targeted by the SPLC to establish a new website, an online petition[179] called "Start Debating/Stop Hating" to counter the SPLC.[180] and they took out full page ads in two Washington D.C. newspapers, defending their work "to protect and promote natural marriage and the family." [181] The advertisement stated the "undersigned stand in solidarity" with the organizations designated as hate groups, and that they "support the vigorous but responsible exercise of the First Amendment rights of free speech and religious liberty that are the birthright of all Americans." [180] House Speaker–Designate John Boehner and the governors of Louisiana, Minnesota and Virginia were among those signing the statement.[181] The SPLC addressed the new website statement; Potok was quoted by David Weigel of Slate magazine as saying, "the SPLC's listings of these groups is based on their propagation of known falsehoods – claims about LGBT people that have been thoroughly discredited by scientific authorities – and repeated, groundless name-calling." [182] The American Independent News Network (AINN) noted that the AFA had recently denounced Supreme Court justice Elena Kagan as a lesbian unfit for office – AINN stated that "she's not" a lesbian – and that Fischer said Hitler's savage and brutal methods were only possible because he and most of his stormtroopers were gay.[183] Jillian Rayfield of Talking Points Memo noted the irony in the website calling the SPLC a "radical Left" group "spreading hateful rhetoric" yet elsewhere declaring that the debates of the Christian right "can and must remain civil – but they must never be suppressed through personal assaults that aim only to malign an opponent's character." [176]

See also

- Conservatism portal
- Abiding Truth Ministries
- Christian fundamentalism
- Christian right
- Culture War
- List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as anti-gay hate groups
- New Right
- Radical right (United States)
- Religion and homosexuality
- References

## American Future Fund

American Future Fund  
American Future Fund Logo.png  
American Future Fund logo  
Founded 2007[1]  
Type 501(c)(4) Nonprofit  
Tax ID no.  
26-0620554 (EIN)  
Location  
4225 Fleur Drive Ste 142  
Des Moines, Iowa 50312  
Coordinates 41.5463°N 93.6449°WCoordinates: 41.5463°N 93.6449°W  
Area served  
United States  
Members  
3  
Key people  
Sandra Greiner, President[1]  
Revenue  
\$23,304,826 (2010)[2]  
Employees  
0  
Volunteers  
32,340[1]  
Website americanfuturefund.com  
The American Future Fund is a 501(c)(4) tax-exempt organization based in Iowa.[3]

## Contents

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- 2 Activities
- 3 See also
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### Organization

Nick Ryan, an adviser to U.S. Representative Jim Nussle, founded the organization in 2007.[4] Its current president is another Iowa state Senator Sandra Greiner.[5] All are Republicans who served on Mitt Romney's campaign for the Republican U.S. Presidential nomination in 2008.[6]

The fund describes itself as providing Americans with "a conservative and free market viewpoint" with the means to communicate and advocate on behalf of those beliefs.[7] In 2010, the fund reported over 9 million dollars of independent campaign expenditures to the Federal Election Commission, and all of its expenditures benefited Republicans.[8] According to the Center for Responsive Politics, the American Future Fund ranked fourth in spending by nonprofits during the 2012 federal elections.[9]

The organization does not disclose the names of those who provide its funding.[10] The Koch brothers have acknowledged funding the American Freedom Fund in some years. Others identified as providing funding include Iowa businessman Bruce Rastetter, a founder of US ethanol-producer Hawkeye Energy Holdings, and the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, a lobbying group.[9]

It is affiliated with the Center to Protect Patient Rights.[11][12]

### Activities

The Fund's first communications effort was a positive ad in support of a candidate. Much of its communications work since then have involved negative advertising against Democrats.[13] but also includes advocacy for a Libertarian candidate designed to hurt a Democrat's chance of winning an election and television ads against Donald Trump during his campaign for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination.

In March 2008, the Fund produced a television advertisement in support of U.S. Senator Norm Coleman, who was running for re-election in Minnesota.[13]

In 2012 the organization funded ads supporting Mitt Romney's bid for the U.S. presidency.[14] Its spending during that election cycle exceeded \$21 million, with half of that amount spent in support of Romney.[9]

In 2012, it funded ads attacking Missouri Attorney General Chris Koster[15]

In 2012 it funded ads in support of California's Proposition 32, which would prevent unions from collecting political contributions as paycheck deductions.[16]

In 2012, it funded attack against U.S. Representative Martin Heinrich who was running for the U.S. Senate from New Mexico.[17]

In 2014 the fund sponsored ads in support of the Libertarian candidate in the North Carolina U.S. Senate election, Sean Haugh. The ads portrayed Haugh as an anti-war candidate and supporter of the legalization of cannabis. They told voters who supported these positions to avoid voting for Senator Kay Hagan, the incumbent and a Democrat. Haugh, who believed the American Future Fund is financed by Charles and David Koch, said the ads gave him "a whole new reason to despise Koch brothers and their dark money".[18]

In 2014 in the Wisconsin gubernatorial election the Fund sponsored a series of nine advertisements promoting Libertarian candidate Robert Burke, a former Republican, on the basis of his advocacy for legalizing marijuana. The campaign of Democratic candidate Mary Burke, as well as by some journalists and commentators, believed they represented an attempt to divide or confuse progressive and liberal voters. Burke said: "While I endorse the full legalization of cannabis, I do not endorse in any way the message of this ad." The incumbent Governor Scott Walker, a Republican, denied any connection to the ads. The ads include a statement that they are not sponsored or approved by any candidate, but rather by the American Future Fund alone.[19]

In 2016, the Fund spent more than \$100,000 on television advertising in New Hampshire that called Ohio Governor John Kasich an "Obama Republican".[9]

In 2016, the Fund ran television advertisements in which former clients of Trump University described how they were taken in by the Trump brand name and manipulated into spending increasing amounts of money.[20]

See also

Political activities of the Koch brothers

#### Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

[Jump to navigation](#)[Jump to search](#)

The Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation is an American conservative non-profit organization and grant-making body formed in 1970.[1] Based in Grand Rapids, Michigan,[2] the organization was founded by Richard DeVos Sr., co-founder of the multi-level marketing company Amway and former finance chair of the Republican National Committee,[3] and his wife Helen. As of 2014, the foundation had \$54.9 million in assets.[4] It is one of five non-profit organizations established and operated by the DeVos family; the others, all founded by siblings of Richard DeVos Jr., include the Dick and Betsy DeVos Foundation; the Daniel and Pamella DeVos Foundation; Cheri DeVos' CDV5 Foundation; and the Douglas and Maria DeVos Foundation.[5]

#### Donations

In 2013, the DeVos family donated a total of \$90.9 million, with 48 percent going to education, 27 percent to health and community services, 13 percent to churches or faith-based organizations, and 12 percent to arts and culture. Two-thirds of the family's donations were made to organizations based in Michigan. In 2014, the family donated \$94 million across education (45 percent); health and community services (35 percent); arts and culture (15 percent); and churches or faith-based organizations (5 percent). A total of 58 percent of the foundation's 2014 giving was to Michigan-based organizations.[2]

In 2011, the foundation provided \$3 million to Americans for Prosperity, a conservative political advocacy group. From 2009 to 2010, the foundation donated \$2.5 million to the donor-advised fund DonorsTrust.[6] Other recipients of funding from the DeVos Foundation have included the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, State Policy Network, FreedomWorks, Federalist Society, Mackinac Center for Public Policy, Media Research Center, Free Congress Foundation, and Young America's Foundation.[7][8]

The foundation is a major patron of churches, ministries, Christian schools, and Christian advocacy groups.[9] The foundation has provided substantial funding to various conservative, evangelical Christian organizations including Alliance for Children Everywhere (\$1.2 million); Prison Fellowship Ministries, founded by Charles Colson; the Haggai Institute (\$1 million) and the Luis Palau Evangelistic Association (\$6 million); Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church (more than \$1 million); Focus on the Family (\$1.3 million), founded by James Dobson; Foundation for Traditional Values; Family Research Council; and the Grand Rapids-based Acton Institute.[6][7][10] The DeVos Foundation has also donated to Bethany Christian Services[7] and in 2006 the foundation donated \$540,000 to Focus on the Family.[11][12] The foundation has also provided \$5 million in support to the ministry of D. James Kennedy.[8]

The foundation also provides funding to various local social service agencies in West Michigan, including ICCF, the Literacy Center of West Michigan, and Home Repair Services.[7] Other organizations that have received donations from the foundation include the Scripps Research Institute,[13] the OneOrlando Fund[14] and the National Constitution Center.[15]

## References

### Bradley Foundation

The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, based in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is an American charitable foundation with more than \$800 million U.S. dollars in assets. It promotes American exceptionalism.[1][2]

The Foundation provides between \$35 million and \$45 million annually to a variety of causes, including cultural institutions, community-based nonprofit organisations in Milwaukee, and conservative groups. It has been particularly active in supporting education reform efforts, including school choice. Approximately 70% of the Foundation's giving is directed to national groups while 30% of the Foundation's giving is Wisconsin-based.[1]

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#### History

The Foundation was established in 1942, shortly after the death of Lynde Bradley. The organization was founded in an attempt to preserve and extend the principles and philosophy of the Bradley brothers. According to the organization, "the good society is a free society." [3]

Twenty years after the death of his brother Harry Lynde Bradley, in 1965, the Foundation expanded in size and began to concentrate on public policy.[4] The 1985 acquisition of Allen-Bradley by Rockwell International Corporation resulted in a portion of the proceeds going into the expansion of the foundation, which saw its assets rise from \$14 million to over \$290 million.[5] In 1986, the Foundation gave away \$23 million, more than it had in the previous four decades.[4]

The Bradley Foundation's former president, Michael S. Joyce, helped to create the Philanthropy Roundtable, a group of American philanthropists that, as of 2018, has 660 members (consisting of both individuals and organizations).[6]

#### Funding areas

The foundation describes itself as supporting limited government.[7]

In a 2018 interview, the Foundation's CEO Richard Graber described the Foundation's four major areas of funding as "constitutional order," education (in particular school choice), civil society, and arts and culture.[1] In the same interview, Richard Graber said that the foundation would deemphasize some topic areas on which it had previously made grants, including national security and foreign policy.[1] Between 2008 and 2011, the Bradley Foundation donated millions of dollars to three anti-Muslim groups: the David Horowitz Freedom Center (which received \$4.2 million), Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy (which received \$815,000) and Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum (which received \$305,000).[8] The foundation's funding was criticized by the Council on American-Islamic Relations, which described the grant recipients as an "Islamophobic network." [8]

Organizations awarded grants by the Foundation have included FreedomWorks,[9] Americans for Prosperity,[9] The Heritage Foundation,[10] the Hoover Institution,[10] the Black Alliance for Educational Options[10] and the SEED Foundation.[10]

A 2013 Smithsonian Magazine article listed the Foundation as among the largest contributors to the climate change denial movement from 2003 to 2010.[11]

#### Bradley Prize

The Bradley Prize is a grant to individuals who are "innovative thinkers". According to the foundation the Bradley Prize is to "formally recognize individuals of extraordinary talent and dedication who have made contributions of excellence in areas consistent with The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation's mission." As many as four prizes of \$250,000 each are awarded annually. Winners have included Leonard Leo (2009), Jeb Bush (2011),[12] Roger Ailes (2013),[13] Paul Clement (2013), Mitch Daniels (2013), Yuval Levin (2013),[14] Kimberly Strassel (2014),[15] and Gary Sinise (2016),[16]

#### See also

Argosy Foundation

Bader Philanthropies  
Charter School Growth Fund  
Donors Trust  
Zilber Family Foundation  
References

## Salem Media Group

Logo of Salem Communications.

Type

Public

Traded asNASDAQ: SALM (Class A)

Russell Microcap Index component

ISIN US7940931048 [Edit this on Wikidata](#)

Industry Mass media

Commercial radio broadcasting

Genre Radio broadcasting, publishing, internet content provider

Founders Stuart Epperson

Edward Atsinger III

Headquarters 4880 Santa Rosa Road

Camarillo, California, United States

Revenue \$262.78 million (2018)<sup>[1]</sup>

Number of employees

1,173 (2019)

Website [salemmedia.com](http://salemmedia.com)

Salem Media Group, Inc. (NASDAQ: SALM; formerly Salem Communications Corporation) is an American radio broadcaster, Internet content provider, and magazine and book publisher based in Camarillo, California, targeting audiences interested in Christian values and what it describes as "family-themed content and conservative values."<sup>[2]</sup> In addition to its radio properties, the company owns Salem Radio Network, which syndicates talk, news and music programming to approximately 2,400 affiliates; Salem Media Representatives, a radio advertising company; Salem Web Network, an Internet provider of Christian content and online streaming with over 100 Christian content and conservative opinion websites; and Salem Publishing, a publisher of Christian themed magazines. Salem owns 117 radio stations in 38 markets, including 60 stations in the top 25 markets and 29 in the top 10, making it tied with CBS Radio for fifth-largest radio broadcaster.<sup>[2]</sup> FamilyTalk is a Christian-themed talk format on Sirius XM Radio Channel 131. Additionally, Salem owns conservative websites Townhall.com, RedState, Hot Air, and PJ Media, as well as Twitter aggregator Twitchy.

The company was founded by brothers-in-law Stuart Epperson and Edward G. Atsinger III and, unlike many Christian broadcasters, is a for-profit corporation. This allows it to buy stations in the commercial radio band which are often higher-powered than those of the FM non-commercial band, and to accept commercial advertising.

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## History

Former logo of Salem Communications.

In the early 1980s Atsinger (chief executive officer) and Epperson (chairman of the board) combined their radio assets to create Salem Communications. Beginning with stations in North Carolina and California, Atsinger and Epperson purchased station properties in Boston, San Antonio, New York, San Francisco, Portland, Los Angeles and other markets, converting them to Christian talk stations. In the 1990s, they expanded formats to include contemporary Christian music (with most stations under this format branded as "The Fish"),<sup>[3]</sup> news talk (branded as "The Answer"), Spanish-language Christian content and most recently<sup>[when?]</sup>, business programming.<sup>[4]</sup>

Many of Salem's stations are licensed to subsidiaries, organized by geographical area and media cluster as the company has acquired new stations and their previous licensees.

Salem Communications Corp acquired Twitter curation site, Twitchy.com. In January 2014, the Company announced the acquisition of the assets of Eagle Publishing, including Regnery Publishing, Human Events, and RedState, as well as sister companies Eagle Financial Publications and Eagle Wellness.<sup>[5]</sup>

On February 23, 2015, Salem Communications changed its name to Salem Media Group.[6][7]

In 2015, Salem Media Group expanded their digital platform with acquisitions of several businesses and assets, including DividendYieldHunter.com,[8] Stockinvestor.com,[9] DividendInvestor.com,[10] a Spanish Bible mobile app, along with its related website and Facebook properties; the DailyBible mobile app; the Daily Bible Devotion mobile app; and also Bryan Perry's Newsletters.

In 2016, Salem Media Group continued to expand by acquiring the websites ChristianConcertAlerts.com, Historyonthenet.com and Authenticistory.com; as well as Mike Turner's line of investment products, including TurnerTrends.com,[11] the Retirement Watch newsletter and website, Retirementwatch.com,[12] and the King James Bible mobile application. Salem Media Group also acquired Mill City Press from Hillcrest Publishing Group, Inc.

In July 2017, Salem Media Group merged DividendYieldHunter.com and transferred all content into DividendInvestor.com.[13]

In March 2019, political writer Raheem Kassam and lawyer Will Chamberlain purchased Human Events from Salem Media Group for \$300,000.[14]

#### Radio stations and licensees

Salem's radio stations are organized into six categories:

Christian talk and teaching, which consists of programs produced and paid for by local and national ministries, with some stations branded as The Mission or The Word. These stations do not accept commercial advertising;  
Conservative talk, a variant on the News/Talk format, focused around Salem Radio Network's Talk programs (see below). These stations utilize the branding names The Answer or The Patriot and accept commercial advertising;  
Contemporary Christian Music, an advertiser-supported format with such stations branded as The Fish;  
Spanish-language Christian talk and/or music, utilizing the branding Radio Luz;  
Business talk, with these stations collectively branded as The Wall Street Business Network;  
and a grouping of other stations not in one of those five categories.

As of 2020, Salem's radio stations and licensees (with stations arranged by state and market served) are:[15]

AM Stations      FM Stations  
Bison Media

Market	Station	Current Format
Colorado Springs	KZNT-1460	Conservative talk
	KBIQ-102.7	Christian adult contemporary
	KGFT-100.7	Christian talk and teaching
Dallas - Fort Worth	KSKY-660	Conservative talk

Inspiration Media, Inc.

Market	Station	Current Format
Seattle - Tacoma	KGW-820	Christian talk and teaching
	KLFE-1590	Conservative Talk
	KNTS-1680	Spanish Christian Contemporary Music

New Inspiration Broadcasting Co., Inc.

Market	Station	Current Format
Los Angeles	KRLA-870	Conservative talk
	KFSH-FM-95.9	Contemporary Christian Music
	KKLA-FM-99.5	Christian talk and teaching
Oxnard - Ventura	KDAR-98.3	Christian talk and teaching
Sacramento	KFIA-710	Christian talk and teaching
	KTKZ-1380	Conservative talk
	KKFS-103.9	Contemporary Christian Music
San Diego	KCBQ-1170	Conservative talk
	KPRZ-1210	Christian talk and teaching
San Francisco - Oakland	KTRB-860	Conservative talk
	KFAX-1100	Christian talk and teaching

Salem Communications Holding Corporation

Market	Station	Current Format
Phoenix	KKNT-960	Conservative talk
	KXXT-1010	Christian talk and teaching
	KPXQ-1360	Christian talk and teaching



Little Rock KKSP-93.3 Contemporary Christian Music  
 KDIS-FM-99.5 Christian talk and teaching  
 KDXE-101.1 Conservative talk  
 Riverside - San Bernardino KTIE-590 Conservative talk  
 Sacramento KSAC-FM-105.5 Business talk  
 Washington, D.C. WWRC-1260 Conservative talk  
 Miami - Fort Lauderdale WKAT-1450 Spanish Variety  
 Orlando WORL-950 Conservative talk  
 WTLN-990 Christian talk and teaching  
 WBZW-1520 Business talk  
 Sarasota - Bradenton WLSS-930 Conservative talk  
 Tampa - St. Petersburg WTBN-570 Christian talk and teaching  
 WGUL-860 Conservative talk  
 WTWD-910 Christian talk and teaching  
 (simulcasts WTBN)  
 Atlanta WDWD-590 Christian talk and teaching  
 WGKA-920 Conservative talk  
 WNIV-970 Christian talk and teaching  
 WLTA-1400 Christian talk and teaching  
 (simulcasts WNIV)  
 WFSH-FM-104.7 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Boston WEZE-590 Christian talk and teaching  
 Detroit WDTK-1400 Conservative talk  
 WLQV-1500 Christian talk and teaching  
 Minneapolis - Saint Paul KKMS-980 Christian talk and teaching  
 KYCR-1440 Business talk  
 KDIZ-1570 Conservative talk  
 Cleveland WHKW-1220 Christian talk and teaching  
 WHK-1420 Conservative talk  
 Portland, Oregon KFIS-104.1 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Philadelphia WFIL-560 Christian talk and teaching  
 WNTP-990 Conservative talk  
 Pittsburgh WPIT-730 Christian talk and teaching  
 WPGP-1250 Conservative talk  
 WORD-FM-101.5 Christian talk and teaching  
 Greenville, South Carolina WGTK-FM-94.5 Conservative talk  
 WLTE-95.9 Classic Hits  
 (simulcasts WRTH)  
 WRTH-103.3 Classic Hits  
 Nashville WFFI-93.7 Contemporary Christian Music  
 WFFH-94.1 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Houston - Galveston KNTH-1070 Conservative talk  
 San Antonio KLUP-930 Conservative talk  
 Inspiration Media of Texas, LLC.

Market Station Current Format  
 Dallas - Fort Worth KTNO-620 Spanish Christian  
 KLTU-94.9 Contemporary Christian Music  
 KWRD-FM-100.7 Christian talk and teaching  
 Reach Satellite Network, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
 Nashville WBOZ-104.9 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Salem Media of Massachusetts, LLC.

Market Station Current Format  
 Chicago WYLL-1160 Christian talk and teaching  
 Louisville WFIA-900 Christian talk and teaching  
 (sale pending to Word Media Group)  
 Boston WROL-950 Christian talk and teaching  
 Minneapolis - Saint Paul WWTC-1280 Conservative talk  
 Cleveland WFHM-FM-95.5 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Salem Media of Colorado, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
 Denver - Boulder KNUS-710 Conservative talk

KRKS-990 Christian talk and teaching  
KBJD-1650 Spanish Christian  
KRKS-FM-100.7 Christian talk and teaching  
Salem Media of Hawaii, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
Honolulu KHNR-690 Conservative talk  
KGU-760 Classic Country  
KHCM-880 Chinese  
KAIM-FM-95.5 Contemporary Christian Music  
KHCM-FM-97.5 Country  
KGU-FM-99.5 Christian talk and teaching  
KKOL-FM-107.9 Classic Hits  
Salem Media of Illinois, LLC.

Market Station Current Format  
Chicago WIND-560 Conservative talk  
Houston - Galveston KKHT-FM-100.7 Christian talk and teaching  
Salem Media of Kentucky, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
Louisville WGTK-970 Conservative talk  
(sale pending to Word Media Group)  
WFIA-FM-94.7 Christian talk and teaching  
(sale pending to Word Media Group)  
Salem Media of New York, LLC.

Market Station Current Format  
New York City WMCA-570 Christian talk and teaching  
WNYM-970 Conservative talk  
Salem Media of Ohio, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
Columbus, Ohio WRFD-880 Christian talk and teaching  
WTOH-98.9 Conservative talk  
Salem Media of Oregon, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
Portland, Oregon KPDQ-800 Christian talk and teaching  
KPAM-860 Conservative talk  
KDZR-1640 Conservative talk  
KRYP-93.1 Regional Mexican  
KPDQ-FM-93.9 Christian talk and teaching  
Salem Media of Texas, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
San Antonio KSLR-630 Christian talk and teaching  
Salem Media of Virginia, Inc.

Market Station Current Format  
Washington, D.C.  
(Northern Virginia) WAVA-780 Christian talk and teaching  
WRCW-1250 Conservative talk  
(simulcasts WWRC)  
WAVA-FM-100.7 Christian talk and teaching  
SCA-Palo Alto, LLC.

Market Station Current Format  
San Francisco - Oakland KDOW-1220 Business talk  
Salem Radio Network

Main article: Salem Radio Network  
Salem Radio Network is a satellite radio network serving general market News/Talk stations and Christian-formatted stations through affiliate partnerships serving more than 2,700 radio stations. The five major divisions are SRN Talk, SRN News, Salem Music Network, Salem Media Reps and Vista Media Reps and SRN Satellite Services.

SRN Talk produces general market News/Talk shows featuring nationally syndicated hosts Hugh Hewitt, Mike Gallagher,

Dennis Prager, Sebastian Gorka, Larry Elder, and Dan Profit. It also produces Christian market programming featuring The Eric Metaxas Show.

SRN News is a news source for conservative and Christian radio serving over 2,000 affiliates.[16]

The Salem Music Network has three satellite offerings – Contemporary Christian, Praise and Southern Gospel.

Salem Media Reps specializes in Christian, family-themed and conservative media, radio, online, print and mobile.

SRN Satellite Services provides satellite distribution and production services to over 70 organizations and ministries.

The satellite feed for Salem's general market programming can be heard on the CRN Digital Talk Radio Networks, on CRN3.[17]

#### Salem Publishing

Salem's flagship publication, CCM Magazine, was in the Christian music industry for more than 25 years. Salem no longer prints CCM Magazine, but it still exists in an online-only format. Other magazine publications include Singing News Magazine, which discusses happenings involving the Southern gospel community.[18]

#### Salem Author Services

Under the umbrella of Salem Author Service are Xulon Press, Mill City Press and the websites Bookprinting.com, Bookediting.com, Publishgreen.com and Libertyhill.com.

Xulon Press is a self-publishing digital publisher of books targeting a Christian audience.[19] They use print on demand technologies that store books electronically and print them only as they are ordered. Xulon was founded by Christian author and publisher Tom Freiling and was acquired by Salem in 2006.[20]

#### Salem Español Online

Salem owns a collection of Spanish language sites that provide a variety of Christian and family-friendly resources online. A few of those sites are CristoTarjetas.com; ElsitioCristiano.com; BibliaVida.com and LuzMundial.com.[citation needed]

#### Political activities

The founders of Salem Communications supports various religious causes. In 2005, Epperson was reported in Time magazine as one of the "25 Most Influential Evangelicals in America".[21] In 2004 he co-chaired "Americans of Faith", a religiously based Republican electoral campaign. Both founders have served on the Council for National Policy. They gave \$100,000 to the Bush presidential reelection campaign and \$780,000 to the 2000 "California Defense of Marriage Act" (Proposition 22) ballot measure.[22]

#### References

#### Texas Public Policy Foundation

Texas Public Policy Foundation.jpg

Exterior of building, December 2019

Founder(s) James R. Leininger

Established 1989

Focus Texas government

Executive Vice President Kevin Roberts

Staff 80

Budget Revenue: \$12,107,649

Expenses: \$11,303,061

(FYE December 2017)[1]

Coordinates 30.2709°N 97.7413°WCoordinates: 30.2709°N 97.7413°W

Address 901 Congress Avenue

Austin, TX 78701

Website www.texaspolicy.com

The Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF) is a conservative think tank based in Austin, Texas.[2] The organization was founded in 1989 by James R. Leininger, who sought intellectual support for his education reform ideas, including public school vouchers.[3] Projects of the organization include Right on Crime, which is focused on criminal justice reform,[4] and Fueling Freedom, which seeks to "explain the forgotten moral case for fossil fuels"[5] by rejecting the scientific consensus on climate change.[6]

In 2015, TPPF had total revenue of \$10.8 million.[7] Donors to the organization include energy companies Chevron, ExxonMobil, and other fossil fuel interests.[8] The stated mission of TPPF is "to promote and defend liberty, personal responsibility, and free enterprise in Texas and the nation by educating and affecting policymakers and the Texas public policy debate with academically sound research and outreach." [9]

In 2018, TPPF opened an office in Washington, D.C.

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#### History

TPPF was initially founded and funded in 1989 by James R. Leininger, a physician, businessman and conservative activist from San Antonio, Texas. Leininger is notable for school voucher and privatization activism.[10] The organization's board of directors includes thirteen individuals.[11] Originally based in San Antonio, the organization was relocated in 2003 to Austin, Texas to be near the state capitol. In February 2015, TPPF moved into a new \$20-million building two blocks from the Texas Capitol.[12]

From an accidentally released 2010 tax document, the Foundation received funding from Koch Industries as well as Geo Prison Group, a GEO Group company, whose website touts the company as a "complete electronic monitoring solutions provider." [13]

In January 2018, the organization announced that it had opened a new office in Washington, D.C. At the time, TPPF had more than 75 employees based in Texas; it announced plans to increase its D.C.-based staff from 5 to as many as 15 employees in 2018 in order to expand the group's work in the areas of environmental and health care policy and criminal justice reform.[14]

In February 2019, the organization hired former U.S. Representative John Hostettler, a Republican from Indiana, to lead its state-based policy efforts. The Texas Public Policy Foundation States Trust initiative promotes policy ideas aimed at increasing state's rights and decreasing the role of the federal government in areas including energy regulation, spending, and health care.[15][16]

#### Organization and activities

TPPF is organized into nine issue-area centers and a litigation arm.

During the year, TPPF hosts monthly policy events ("Policy Primers") covering a range of issues, and an annual conference ("Policy Orientation for the Texas Legislature"). The 2015 policy orientation included Steve Forbes, Newt Gingrich, and Phil Gramm.[12]

In 2013, TPPF published *The Texas Model: Prosperity in the Lone Star State and Lessons for America*. [17] TPPF also publishes a quarterly journal titled *Veritas*. [18]

Current U.S. Senator Ted Cruz formerly headed TPPF's Center for Tenth Amendment Studies.[19]

The organization sponsors the Right on Crime initiative, an effort to reduce crime, restore victims, and replace mass incarceration with more cost-effective and humane sentencing and criminal punishment.[20][21]

In October 2017, the White House announced that President Donald Trump had selected Kathleen Hartnett White to serve as chair of the Council on Environmental Quality. White is a fellow at TPPF. A climate change denier, White has said that climate change does not exist and that United Nations findings on climate change are "not validated and politically corrupt." [22][23] She has argued that carbon dioxide levels are good for life on Earth, that carbon dioxide is not a pollutant, and that "fossil fuels dissolved the economic justification for slavery." [24] In February 2018, the White House confirmed their intention to withdraw their nomination of Hartnett White as a senior advisor on environmental policy. [25][26]

#### Staff

Brooke Rollins, President

Kevin Roberts, Executive Vice President

Former State Assemblyman Chuck DeVore, Vice President of National Initiatives

Former State Representative Talmadge L. Heflin, Director of the Center for Fiscal Policy

Thomas Lindsay, Ph.D., Director, Center for Higher Education

Kathleen Hartnett White, Director, Armstrong Center for Energy and the Environment

Marc A. Levin, J.D., Director, Center for Effective Justice and Director, Right on Crime initiative

See also

Political activities of the Koch brothers

State Policy Network affiliate

#### Freedom Partners

Freedom Partners.png

Freedom Partners Logo

Founded November 2011

Dissolved 2019

Type Chamber of commerce 501(c)(6)

Tax ID no.

45-3732750 (EIN)

Location

Arlington, Virginia

Members

200

Key people

Alan Cobb, vice president

Nick Dunn, vice president, communications

Peter Lipsett, vice president, special projects

Daniel Jorjani, general counsel

Revenue

\$255,674,218 (FY 2011)

Website [freedompartners.org](http://freedompartners.org)

Formerly called

Association for American Innovation

[1][2]

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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vte

Freedom Partners was a nonprofit 501(c)(6) organization headquartered in Arlington, Virginia. The organization, which was founded in 2011 under the name Association for American Innovation, was purposed to promote "the benefits of free markets and a free society."<sup>[3]</sup> It was partially funded by the Koch brothers,<sup>[4]</sup> and sponsored various Republican politicians and conservative groups. The group was dissolved in 2019 amidst a restructuring of the Koch family's giving.<sup>[5]</sup>

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- 1 Membership
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### Membership

Freedom Partners was structured as a chamber of commerce and was composed of around 200 members who each paid a minimum US\$100,000 in annual dues. In 2012, the organization raised \$256 million.<sup>[6]</sup>

The organization was partially funded by the Koch brothers,<sup>[4]</sup> although it operated independently of Koch Industries.<sup>[7]</sup> A majority of Freedom Partners board was made up of long-time employees of Koch entities.<sup>[8][9][10]</sup>

### Activities

Freedom Partners gave grants worth a total of \$236 million to conservative organizations including Tea Party groups like the Tea Party Patriots and organizations which opposed the Affordable Care Act prior to the 2012 election. In 2012, Freedom Partners made a grant of \$115 million to the Center to Protect Patient Rights.<sup>[1]</sup> Ahead of the 2012 presidential election, Freedom Partners donated \$8.1 million to the Concerned Women for America Legislative Action Committee.<sup>[11]</sup>

During the first weekend of August 2015, it held an audition featuring Jeb Bush, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, Scott Walker, and Carly Fiorina to see who would gets the organization's support in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign.<sup>[12]</sup>

It also awarded grants to advocacy organizations with the goal of raising public awareness about "important societal and economic issues".<sup>[3]</sup>

See also  
Americans for Prosperity  
KochPAC

## Tea Party Patriots

[Jump to navigation](#)[Jump to search](#)

Tea Party Patriots

Tea Party Patriots Logo.png

Motto Fiscal Responsibility, Limited Government, Free Markets

Formation2009

Type 501(c)(4) non-profit

Headquarters Atlanta, Georgia

Co-founders

Jenny Beth Martin and Mark Meckler

Website [TeaPartyPatriots.org](http://TeaPartyPatriots.org)

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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Tea Party Patriots is a far right-wing[1] conservative American political organization that promotes fiscally responsible activism as part of the Tea Party movement. Its mission is "to attract, educate, organize, and mobilize our fellow citizens to secure public policy consistent with our three core values of Fiscal Responsibility, Constitutionally Limited Government and Free Markets." [2] The group is a strong opponent of "excess" government spending and debt.[3]

In 2010, the group reportedly included over 2,200 local chapters,[4] as well as an online community of 115,311 members (estimated at 63% male, 31% female, 6% unspecified).[5]

### Contents

- History
- Controversies
- See also
- References
- External links

### History

Rick Santelli, editor for the CNBC Business News network calls for Tea party[6] on Floor of Chicago Board of Trade on February 19, 2009[7] The Tea Party remark was credited by some as "igniting" the Tea Party movement as a national phenomenon[8]

The organization was founded by Jenny Beth Martin, Mark Meckler, and Amy Kremer in March 2009.[9]

Tea Party Patriots was a co-sponsor of the 9/12 March on Washington,[10] but refused to participate in the National Tea Party Convention.[11] Tea Party Patriots is most notable for organizing citizen opposition at the healthcare town hall meetings of 2009,[12] as well as various other anti-government run health care protests.[13]

In February 2010, Tea Party Patriots was among the twelve most influential groups in the Tea Party movement, according to the National Journal.[14] In September 2010, the group announced it had received a \$1,000,000 donation from an anonymous donor.[15] The money was distributed to its affiliated groups and must be spent by Election Day, though it could not be used to directly support any candidate.[15] Tea Party Patriots was one of the top five most influential organizations in the Tea Party movement, according to the Washington Post.[16]

In 2012, the group along with the Southern Republican Leadership Conference organized a presidential debate that aired on CNN.[17]

Along with various other conservative and libertarian organizations the Tea Party Patriots have developed a Contract from America that echoes the Republican Contract with America of 1994 stating some of the core principles and several specific goals shared by organizations and individuals involved with the tea parties.[18][failed verification]

In July 2012 the group's Atlanta chapter partnered with the Sierra Club and the NAACP to defeat a proposed transit tax in Atlanta. The referendum was defeated by a margin of 63 percent.[19]

#### Controversies

Rolling Stone and Talking Points Memo have alleged that the organization is run with the help of FreedomWorks, a conservative nonprofit.[20][21]

A 2011 investigation by the magazine Mother Jones alleged that the Tea Party Patriots organization was using its 501(c)(4) status to avoid disclosing its expenditures both to the IRS and to local contributors. The magazine reported that when local Tea Party groups pressed for more details on the group's expenses, they were removed from the umbrella organization and threatened with legal action.[22] The magazine reported that Tea Party Patriots "has started to resemble the Beltway lobbying operations its members have denounced." [23]

In 2014, The Washington Post reported that Tea Party Patriots president Jenny Beth Martin was receiving two salaries, partially funded by Russian sources, from the organization: a \$15,000 per month fee for strategic consulting and a \$272,000 salary as president, with total annual compensation over \$450,000.[24]

#### See also

United States elections, 2010  
Tea Party Patriots Citizens Fund  
Contract from America  
DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal

#### References

### Liberty Fund

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Liberty Fund

Cuneiform amagi.png

"Ama-gi"[1]

Founded 1960; 60 years ago

Founder Pierre F. Goodrich

Purpose Educational

Location

11301 N. Meridian Street, Carmel, IN 46032

Method Publishing, conferences

Website www.libertyfund.org

Liberty Fund, Inc. is an American libertarian-leaning nonprofit foundation headquartered in Indianapolis, founded by Pierre F. Goodrich. Through publishing, conferences, and educational resources, the operating mandate of the Liberty Fund was set forth in an unpublished memo written by Goodrich "to encourage the study of the ideal of a society of free and responsible individuals".[2][3][4][5]

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#### History

Liberty Fund was founded by Pierre F. Goodrich in 1960. In 1997 it received an \$80 million donation from Goodrich's wife, Enid, increasing its assets to over \$300 million.[4][6]

In November 2015, it was announced that the Liberty Fund was building a \$22 million headquarters in Carmel,

Indiana.[7][8]

#### Projects

The foundation has published several books covering history, politics, philosophy, law, education, and economics. These include:

#### Liberty Fund's Natural Law and Enlightenment Series

Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (Historical-Critical Edition) ISBN 9780865978409[9][10]

*The Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* (Glasgow Edition) ISBN 9780865973695

David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, 2010. ISBN 9780865979659[10]

*The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo* (Edited by Piero Sraffa and Maurice Dobb, 2005) ISBN 9780865979765

#### Organizations

The Library of Economics and Liberty (EconLib) – publishes the Concise Encyclopedia of Economics (CEE).[11][12][13]

Articles are written by economists from different schools of thought, and include four Nobel laureates in economics as authors in the 2nd edition (2008).[14][15] It also includes short biographies of noted economists and a comprehensive index.[16] The original version of the CEE was first published in 1993 as the *Fortune Encyclopedia of Economics* with economist David R. Henderson as the editor.[17] Notable contributors to the first edition included Nobel Prize laureates Gary Becker, Paul Krugman, Thomas Schelling, George Stigler, and James Tobin.[18]

#### Websites

Besides its main website, the Liberty Fund also sponsors the following websites:[19]

The Online Library of Liberty

Library of Economics and Liberty

Online Library of Law & Liberty

#### Criticism

In his book *The Assault on Reason*, former U.S. Vice President and presidential candidate Al Gore wrote that between 2002 and 2004, 97% of the attendees at Liberty Fund training seminars for judges were Republican administration appointees. Gore suggests that such conferences and seminars are one of the reasons that judges who regularly attend such conferences "are generally responsible for writing the most radical pro-corporate, antienvironmental, and activist decisions". Referring to what he calls the "Big Three"—the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment, George Mason University's Law & Economics Center, and the Liberty Fund—Gore adds, "These groups are not providing unbiased judicial education. They are giving multithousand-dollar vacations to federal judges to promote their radical right-wing agenda at the expense of the public interest." [20]

Liberty Fund has been cited by historian Donald T. Critchlow as one of the endowed conservative foundations which laid the way for the election of U.S. President Ronald Reagan in 1980.[21]

#### See also

Libertarianism portal

Economic liberalism

Libertarian conservatism

Libertarianism in the United States

Right-libertarianism

References

#### Family Research Council

Family Research Council

Family Research Council logo.png

Logo of Family Research Council

Motto Advancing Faith, Family and Freedom

Founded 1983

Founder James Dobson

Type 501(c)(3) non-profit organization

Tax ID no.

52-1792772 (EIN)

Location

801 G St NW

Washington, D.C.

Area served

United States

Key people

Tony Perkins, President

Thomas R. Anderson, Chairman

Revenue

\$12,065,844 (2016 FY)[1]



Employees

85

Website [www.frc.org](http://www.frc.org)

2016 FY Tax Return

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Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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Family Research Council (FRC) is an American fundamentalist Protestant<sup>[2][3][4]</sup> activist group, with an affiliated lobbying organization. Its stated mission is "to advance faith, family and freedom in public policy and the culture from a Christian worldview".<sup>[5]</sup> FRC promotes what it considers to be family values by advocating and lobbying for policies in government.<sup>[2]</sup>

FRC was formed in the United States in 1981 by James Dobson and incorporated in 1983.<sup>[6]</sup> In the late 1980s, FRC officially became a division of Dobson's main organization, Focus on the Family; however, after an administrative separation, FRC became an independent entity in 1992. Tony Perkins is its current president. It opposes and lobbies against: access to pornography, embryonic stem-cell research, abortion, divorce, and LGBT rights (such as anti-discrimination laws, same-sex marriage, same-sex civil unions, and LGBT adoption). FRC is affiliated with a 501(c)(4) lobbying PAC known as FRC Action.<sup>[7]</sup>

In 2010, the Southern Poverty Law Center classified FRC as an anti-gay hate group due to what it says are the group's "false claims about the LGBT community based on discredited research and junk science" in an effort to block LGBT civil rights.<sup>[8][9]</sup> In 2012, a gunman showed up to FRC's headquarters with the intent to kill FRC staff, citing the SPLC's hate group designation. The SPLC issued a statement condemning the attack later that day.<sup>[10]</sup> FRC and its employees have blamed the SPLC for the attack.<sup>[11][12]</sup>

## Contents

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## History

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This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (January 2018)

Tony Perkins and James Dobson at the Values Voters conference in Washington, D.C., 2007

The Council was incorporated as a nonprofit organization in 1983. James Dobson, Armand Nicholi Jr., and George

Rekers were some of its founding board members.[6] In 1988, following financial difficulties, FRC was incorporated into Focus on the Family, and Gary Bauer joined the organization as president.[13] FRC remained under the Focus on the Family umbrella until 1992,[13] when it separated out of concern for Focus' tax-exempt status.[14] Tony Perkins joined FRC as its president in 2003.[15] On June 18, 2013, Josh Duggar was named executive director of FRC Action, the non-profit and tax-exempt legislative action arm of Family Research Council.[16] Duggar resigned his position on May 21, 2015, after his history of sexual misconduct as a minor became public.[17][18]

#### 2012 domestic terrorist attack

See also: Terrorism in the United States § Left-wing and anti-government extremism

On August 15, 2012, Floyd Lee Corkins II, wielding a 9mm pistol along with two magazines and 50 rounds of ammunition, entered the lobby of the FRC's Washington, D.C. headquarters.[19] Corkins shot an unarmed security guard, 46-year-old Leonardo Johnson, in the left arm.[20][21][22][23] Although injured, Johnson assisted others who wrestled the gunman to the ground until police arrived and placed the gunman under arrest.[24][25] Johnson was taken to a hospital to treat his wound.[26]

The gunman was interviewed by the FBI.[26] Law enforcement officials said that the suspect, 28-year-old Floyd Corkins II, a resident of nearby Herndon, Virginia, had served as a volunteer at a LGBT community center.[24][27] The FBI and the Metropolitan Police Department investigated jointly "to determine motive/intent and whether a hate crime/terrorism nexus exists." During his FBI interview, Corkins was asked how he chose his target. His response was "Southern Poverty Law lists anti-gay groups. I found them online".[28][29] Corkins appeared in court the following day and was charged with assault with intent to kill while armed and interstate transportation of a firearm and ammunition.[30] An affidavit filed in the case stated that Corkins had told the guard "words to the effect of 'I don't like your politics.'"[31][32]

On August 22, 2012, Corkins was indicted on three charges: two charges in the District of Columbia, possession of a handgun during a violent crime and assault with intent to kill, and interstate transportation of a firearm and ammunition, a federal charge.[33]

In January 2013, Corkins pleaded guilty to all charges.[34] Corkins was sentenced to 25 years in prison on September 19, 2013.[35]

On the day of the shooting, the SPLC, along with a joint statement of 25 LGBT groups, condemned Corkins' action.[26][27] The National Organization for Marriage, an active campaigner against same-sex marriage,[32] issued a statement saying "Today's attack is the clearest sign we've seen that labeling pro-marriage groups as 'hateful' must end".[36]

FRC president Tony Perkins issued a public statement calling the shooting "an act of domestic terrorism" and criticizing the Southern Poverty Law Center for being "reckless in labeling organizations as hate groups because they disagree with them on public policy".[37] SPLC spokesman Mark Potok called Perkins' accusation "outrageous", and in a statement said: "The FRC and its allies on the religious right are saying, in effect, that offering legitimate and fact-based criticism in a democratic society is tantamount to suggesting that the objects of criticism should be the targets of criminal violence." [38][39] The SPLC responded by saying the group was listed as a hate group because "it has knowingly spread false and denigrating propaganda" about lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people.[39]

#### Politics, policies and positions

Tony Perkins has blamed the constitutional separation of church and state for encouraging the rise of ISIS and similar Islamic extremist groups.[40]

It also opposes efforts to make the human papilloma virus (HPV) vaccine mandatory for school attendance. HPV is a virus that can be transmitted by sexual contact, that can cause cervical cancer. FRC defends its position on the basis of the rights of parents and because of its support for abstinence prior to marriage.[41]

It supports a federal conscience clause, allowing medical workers to refuse to provide certain treatments to their patients, such as abortion, blood transfusion or birth control. It also advocates for abstinence-only sex education, intelligent design, prayer in public schools and the regulation of pornography and other "obscene, indecent, or profane programming" on broadcast and cable television. It opposed, but failed to prevent, the introduction of a .xxx domain name, and it lobbied for an increase in indecency fines from the Federal Communications Commission.[42][43]

FRC also holds that hotel pornography may be prosecutable under federal and state obscenity laws.[42][44] It opposed the expansion of civil rights laws to include sexual orientation and gender identity as illegal bases for discrimination.[45]

Family Research Council is also fiscally conservative[46] and wants to increase the child tax credit.[47] FRC supports the requirement of a one-year waiting period before a married couple with children can legally get a divorce so that they can receive marital counseling, unless the marriage involves domestic violence. FRC also supports permanently eliminating the marriage penalty and estate taxes.[48]

The Council opposes legalized abortion, stem-cell research which involves the destruction of human embryos and funding

thereof (instead advocating research using adult stem cells) and legal recognition of same-sex domestic partnerships in the form of marriage or civil unions.[49] It formerly[citation needed] opposed all forms of gambling.[50] The Council has questioned whether humans are mainly or completely responsible for climate change, and has opposed other evangelicals who have affirmed their belief in global warming.[51][52][53][54]

#### Statements on homosexuality

The Family Research Council holds the belief that "homosexual conduct is harmful to the persons who engage in it and to society at large, and can never be affirmed", and asserts that it is "by definition unnatural, and as such is associated with negative physical and psychological health effects." [55][56] The Council also asserts that "there is no convincing evidence that a homosexual identity is ever something genetic or inborn". [55] These positions are in opposition to the consensus of mainstream psychological and medical experts that homosexuality is a normal, healthy variation of human behavior, and that sexual orientation is generally not chosen. [57][58][59][60]

FRC's statements and positions have been further criticized as being based upon pseudoscience or junk science; [61][62][63][64] according to Wired, the group has misrepresented data and mis-designed sociological studies in order to negatively depict LGBT people. [65]

FRC also states that "[s]ympathy must be extended to those who struggle with unwanted same-sex attractions, and every effort should be made to assist such persons to overcome those attractions, as many already have". [56] Evidence on the effectiveness of sexual orientation change efforts is limited; [58][66] according to a 2009 publication from the American Psychological Association, "[there] are no studies of adequate scientific rigor to conclude whether or not recent [sexual orientation change efforts] do or do not work to change a person's sexual orientation." [58]

In 2012, Rob Schwartzwalder, then a Senior Vice President at FRC, wrote: "To love people who identify as gays or lesbians means to extend grace to them: to welcome them as friends, to care for them when ill, and to respect them as persons whose creation was ordained by the God of the universe and for whom the Son of God died. Such love will oppose attempts to legalize homosexual marriage, as to do so would vindicate a corruption of that which God intended... To love homosexuals means that believing churches cannot accept those practicing or advocating homosexuality as members, ministers, or leaders any more than persons living in any other kind of sexual sin." [67]

Jointly with Focus on the Family, the Council submitted an amicus brief in *Lawrence v. Texas*, [68] the U.S. Supreme Court case in which anti-sodomy laws were ruled unconstitutional on privacy grounds. [69] The summary of the amicus curiae brief declares that "[states] may discourage the 'evils' ... of sexual acts outside of marriage by means up to and including criminal prohibition" and that it is constitutionally permissible for Texas to "choose to protect marital intimacy by prohibiting same-sex 'deviate'a acts". [68]

Similar positions have been advocated by representatives of the organization since *Lawrence* was decided in 2003. In February 2010, Family Research Council's Senior Researcher for Policy Studies, Peter Sprigg, stated on NBC's *Hardball* that same-sex behavior should be outlawed and that "criminal sanctions against homosexual behavior" should be enforced. [70] In May that same year, Sprigg publicly suggested that repealing the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy would encourage molestation of heterosexual service members. [71]

In November 2010, Perkins was asked about Sprigg's comments regarding the criminalization of same-sex behavior: he responded that criminalizing homosexuality is not a goal of Family Research Council. [72][73] Perkins repeated FRC's association of homosexuals with pedophilia, stating: "If you look at the American College of Pediatricians, they say the research is overwhelming that homosexuality poses a danger to children." [72][73] Perkins' statements have been contradicted by mainstream social science research, [74] and the likelihood of child molestation by homosexuals and bisexuals has been found to be no higher than child molestation by heterosexuals; [65][75][76][63] as *Newsweek* put it, "[f]or decades, the [FRC] has smeared homosexuals in its publications, insinuating that gay people are more likely to sexually abuse children" and an analysis by John Aravosis concluded that FRC "cherry-picks and distorts evidence as part of a deliberate campaign to smear the LGBT community." [77] Some scientists whose work is cited by the socially conservative advocacy group the American College of Pediatricians — which was created following the American Academy of Pediatrics' endorsement of adoption by same-sex couples and to which FRC points for evidence supporting its positions — have said the organization has distorted or misrepresented their work [78] and the organization has been criticized by *Psychology Today* for making "false statements...that have the potential to harm LGBT youth". [76] As a response to FRC's promotion of such widely rejected [65] claims about LGBT people, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) designated FRC as a hate group in the Winter 2010 issue of its *Intelligence Report*. [79] Mother Jones reported that "The Southern Poverty Law Center's classification of FRC as a hate group stems from FRC's more than decade-long insistence that gay people are more likely to molest children ... Research from non-ideological outfits is actually firm in concluding the opposite." [63]

In 2017, at the Council-sponsored Values Voter Summit, a tote bag was distributed to all attendees that included a copy of a flyer entitled "The Health Hazards of Homosexuality" written by MassResistance; the Southern Poverty Law Center has designated MassResistance as a hate group. [80]

An amicus brief submitted in relation to *United States v. Windsor* (which struck down part of the Defense of Marriage Act)

argued that DOMA did not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation,[81] and their amicus brief in *Obergefell v. Hodges* argued against same-sex marriage.[82] An article written by Travis Weber, the Director of the Council's Center for Religious Liberty, was highly critical of both Supreme Court decisions.[83]

#### Same-sex marriage cases

Family Research Council on January 28, 2013 issued an amicus brief in support of Proposition 8 case and the Defense of Marriage Act cases before the Supreme Court,[81] arguing for the court to uphold DOMA banning federal recognition of same-sex unions and Proposition 8 banning gay marriage in California.[84] On June 26, 2013, the Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. Windsor* that the Defense of Marriage Act unconstitutionally discriminated against gay and lesbian couples, and in *Hollingsworth v. Perry* that Proposition 8's proponents had no standing to defend the law, leaving in place a lower-court ruling overturning the ban.[citation needed]

#### Publishing and lobbying activities

Family Research Council is a member of ProtectMarriage.com, a coalition formed to sponsor California Proposition 8 to restrict marriage to opposite-sex couples only, which passed in 2008 (but was struck down as unconstitutional by a federal court in California).[85]

#### Justice Sunday

Main article: Justice Sunday (conservative Christian event)

Justice Sunday was the name for three religious conferences organized by FRC and Focus on the Family in 2005 and 2006. According to FRC, the purpose of the events was to "request an end to filibusters of judicial nominees that were based, at least in part, on the nominees' religious views or imputed inability to decide cases on the basis of the law regardless of their beliefs." [86]

#### Values Voter Summit

Main article: Values Voter Summit

Every fall, FRC Action (the political action group affiliated with FRC) holds an annual summit composed for conservative Christian activists and evangelical voters in Washington, D.C. The summit has been a place for social conservatives across the nation to hear Republican presidential hopefuls' platforms. Since 2007 a straw poll has been taken as a means of providing an early prediction of which candidate will win the endorsement of Christian conservatives.[87]

#### Ugandan Resolution

In 2010, FRC paid \$25,000 to congressional lobbyists for what they described as "Res.1064 Ugandan Resolution Pro-homosexual promotion" in a lobbying disclosure report.[88] The US House of Representatives resolution condemned the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Bill,[89] a bill which, among other things, would have imposed either the death penalty or life imprisonment for sexual relations between persons of the same sex.[90][91][92][93]

Following exposure of the lobbying contribution in June 2010, FRC issued a statement denying that they were trying to kill the bill, but rather that they wanted to change the language of the bill "to remove sweeping and inaccurate assertions that homosexual conduct is internationally recognized as a fundamental human right." They further stated, "FRC does not support the Uganda bill, and does not support the death penalty for homosexuality—nor any other penalty which would have the effect of inhibiting compassionate pastoral, psychological, and medical care and treatment for those who experience same-sex attractions or who engage in homosexual conduct".[94] The Ugandan Resolution was revived by Uganda's President Museveni in 2012.[95]

FRC used one of Museveni's speeches in an e-mail to its supporters praising Uganda's commitment to Christian faith and "national repentance" around the time that he reintroduced the Anti-Homosexuality Bill. The speech did not refer to homosexuality specifically, but did mention "sexual immorality" among the sins for which Ugandans must repent.[96]

#### Controversies and criticism

2010 listing as a hate group by SPLC

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) designated FRC as a hate group in the Winter 2010 issue of its magazine, *Intelligence Report*. Aside from statements made earlier in the year by Sprigg and Perkins (see Statements on homosexuality), the SPLC described FRC as a "font of anti-gay propaganda throughout its history".[97][98]

As evidence, the SPLC cited a 1999 publication by FRC, *Homosexual Activists Work to Normalize Sex With Boys*, which stated: "one of the primary goals of the homosexual rights movement is to abolish all age of consent laws and to eventually recognize pedophiles as the 'prophets' of a new sexual order." [98][99] The report said FRC senior research fellows Tim Dailey and Peter Sprigg (2001) had "pushed false accusations linking gay men to pedophilia". [98][79]

FRC President Tony Perkins called the "hate" designation a political attack on FRC by a "liberal organization". [100] On December 15, 2010, FRC ran an open letter advertisement in two Washington, D.C., newspapers disputing the SPLC's action; in a press release, FRC called the allegation "intolerance pure and simple" and said it was dedicated to upholding "Judeo-Christian moral views, including marriage as the union of a man and a woman". [101] In response, Mark Potok (SPLC spokesman) emphasized the factual evidence upon which the SPLC had taken the step of making the designation.[102]

A shooting incident in the lobby of FRC headquarters in 2012 (see above) prompted further comments on the SPLC's 'hate group' listing. Dana Milbank, columnist for the Washington Post, referred to the incident as "a madman's act" for which the SPLC should not be blamed, but called its classification of FRC as a hate group "reckless" and said that "it's absurd to put the group, as the law center does, in the same category as Aryan Nations, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Stormfront and the Westboro Baptist Church."<sup>[103]</sup><sup>[104]</sup> David Sessions, writing for The Daily Beast, noted that FRC's hostile, false depiction of LGBT people invited strong pushback; "the FRC cannot wage an all-out rhetorical war against the 'gay agenda' and then accuse its critics of being too harsh."<sup>[105]</sup>

Tufts University political science professor Jeffrey Berry described himself as "not comfortable" with the designation: "There's probably some things that have been said by one or two individuals that qualify as hate speech. But overall, it's not seen as a hate group."<sup>[106]</sup> Journalist Adam Serwer of Mother Jones argued that the description, while subjective, was justified by the "FRC's record of purveying stereotypes, prejudice, and junk science as a justification for public policy that would deny gays and lesbians equal rights and criminalize their conduct."<sup>[63]</sup>

#### George Alan Rekers

George Rekers was a founding board member in 1983. In May 2010 Rekers employed a male prostitute as a travel companion for a two-week vacation in Europe.<sup>[107]</sup><sup>[108]</sup><sup>[109]</sup>

Rekers denied any inappropriate conduct and suggestions that he was gay. The male escort told CNN he had given Rekers "sexual massages" while traveling together in Europe.<sup>[110]</sup><sup>[111]</sup> Rekers subsequently resigned from the board of NARTH.<sup>[112]</sup><sup>[better source needed]</sup>

#### Josh Duggar

On June 18, 2013, it was announced that Josh Duggar of the television show 19 Kids and Counting would serve as the executive director of FRC Action, the non-profit and tax-exempt legislative action arm of Family Research Council.<sup>[16]</sup>

Duggar resigned on May 21, 2015, when a scandal involving his past molestation of five underage girls—including some of his sisters—became public knowledge. In reference to Duggar's resignation, FRC president Tony Perkins said: "Josh believes that the situation will make it difficult for him to be effective in his current work."<sup>[113]</sup><sup>[114]</sup><sup>[115]</sup>

#### List of Presidents

Gerald P. Regier (1984-1988)<sup>[116]</sup>

Gary Bauer (1988-1999)

Kenneth L. Connor (2000-2003)<sup>[117]</sup>

Tony Perkins (2003-)

See also

[Conservatism portal](#)

[Christian Coalition](#)

[Christian Voice](#)

[Christian right](#)

[Radical right \(United States\)](#)

[LGBT rights opposition](#)

[Moral Majority Coalition](#)

[Values Voter Summit](#)

[List of organizations designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as anti-gay hate groups](#)

[Notes](#)

<sup>^</sup>a The terms "deviate" and "deviant" sex were used historically in laws such as the one struck down by *Lawrence v. Texas*.<sup>[69]</sup>

[References](#)

#### Hoover Institution

Hoover Institution

on War, Revolution, and Peace

Hoover Institution Logo.svg

Motto Ideas defining a free society

Formation1919; 101 years ago

Founder Herbert Hoover

Type Public policy think tank

Location

434 Galvez Mall

Stanford University

Stanford, California, U.S. 94305

The Johnson Center

1399 New York Ave. NW, S-500  
Washington, D.C., U.S. 20005

Director

Thomas W. Gilligan

Condoleezza Rice (pending)

Revenue (2018)

\$70.5 million[1]

Expenses (2018) \$70.5 million[1]

Website [www.hoover.org](http://www.hoover.org) Edit this at Wikidata

The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace is an American public policy think tank and research institution located at Stanford University in California. It began as a library founded in 1919 by Stanford alumnus Herbert Hoover, before he became President of the United States. The library, known as the Hoover Institution Library and Archives, houses multiple archives related to Hoover, World War I, World War II, and other world history. According to the 2016 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report (Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, University of Pennsylvania), Hoover is No. 18 (of 90) in the "Top Think Tanks in the United States".[2]

The Hoover Institution is a unit of Stanford University[3] but has its own board of overseers.[4] It is located on the campus. Its mission statement outlines its basic tenets: representative government, private enterprise, peace, personal freedom, and the safeguards of the American system.[5] The institution is generally described as conservative.[6][7][8]

The institution has been a place of scholarship for individuals who previously held high-profile positions in government, such as George Shultz, Condoleezza Rice, Michael Boskin, Edward Lazear, John B. Taylor, Edwin Meese, and Amy Zegart—all Hoover Institution fellows. In 2007, retired U.S. Army General John P. Abizaid, former commander of the U.S. Central Command, was named the Institution's first annual Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow.[9] Former Secretary of Defense General James Mattis served as a research fellow at Hoover before being appointed by the Trump administration.[10]

The institution is housed in four buildings on the Stanford campus. The most prominent facility is the landmark Hoover Tower, which is a popular visitor attraction. The tower features an observation deck on the top level that provides visitors with a panoramic view of the Stanford campus and surrounding area. Additionally, the institution has a branch office in the Johnson Center in Washington, DC.

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## History

Hoover Institution Library and Archives, Stanford University.

The Institution was set up by Hoover, a wealthy engineer who was one of Stanford's first graduates. In 1928 he was elected President of the United States. He had been in charge of major relief efforts in Europe in 1914–1917 in Belgium and again after the world war in central and eastern Europe, especially Russia. Hoover's plan was to collect and permanently preserve the documents of major events for open research. Hoover's search team obtained rare printed and unpublished material. They included the papers of activists on the far left and far right, including the files of the Okhrana (the Tsarist secret police).[11] In 1960, W. Glenn Campbell became director. He specialized in fund raising, setting up research operations and building collections regarding China and the Soviet Union. Relations improved with the host university.[12]

In 1919, Hoover donated \$50,000 to Stanford University to support the collection of primary materials related to World

War I, a project that became known as the Hoover War Collection. Supported primarily by gifts from private donors, the Hoover War Collection flourished in its early years. In 1922, the Collection became known as the Hoover War Library. The Hoover War Library was housed in the Stanford Library, separate from the general stacks. By 1926, the Hoover War Library was known as the largest library in the world devoted to the Great War. By 1929, it contained 1.4 million items and was becoming too large to house in the Stanford Library. In 1938, the War Library revealed building plans for Hoover Tower, which was to be its permanent home independent of the Stanford Library system. The 285-foot tall<sup>[13]</sup> tower was completed in 1941, Stanford University's fiftieth anniversary.<sup>[14]</sup> Since then, the tower has been a key landmark for campus.<sup>[15]</sup> On its 14th floor, the tower has an observation deck which holds a carillon of 48 bells that were donated to former president Hoover in 1940.<sup>[16]</sup>

By 1946, the agenda of the Hoover War Library had expanded to include research activities; thus the organization was renamed the Hoover Institution and Library on War, Revolution and Peace. At this time, Herbert Hoover was living in New York City but remained integrally involved in the Hoover Institution and Library as a benefactor, fundraiser, and consultant.

In 1956 former President Hoover, under the auspices of the Institution and Library, launched a major fundraising campaign that allowed the Institution to realize its current form as a think tank and archive. In 1957, the Hoover Institution and Library was renamed the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace—the name it holds today.<sup>[17]</sup>

In 1960, W. Glenn Campbell was appointed director and substantial budget increases soon led to corresponding increases in acquisitions and related research projects. In particular, the Chinese and Russian collections grew considerably. Despite student unrest in the 1960s, the institution continued to thrive and develop closer relations with Stanford.<sup>[18]</sup>

In 1975 Ronald Reagan, who was Governor of California at that time, was designated as Hoover's first honorary fellow. He donated his gubernatorial papers to the Hoover library.<sup>[19]</sup> During that time the Hoover Institution held a general budget of \$3.5 million a year. In 1976, one third of Stanford University's book holdings were housed at the Hoover library. At that time, it was the largest private archive collection in the United States.<sup>[15]</sup>

Until 1979, Hoover's annual budget was about \$5.7 million, of which about forty percent was used to fund research (more than four times as much as twenty years ago).<sup>[15]</sup> For his presidential campaign in 1980, Reagan engaged at least thirteen Hoover scholars to support the campaign in multiple capacities.<sup>[20]</sup> After Reagan won the election campaign, more than thirty current or former Hoover Institution fellows worked for the Reagan administration in 1981.<sup>[15]</sup>

In 1989, Campbell resigned as director of Hoover. He was replaced by John Raisian. This change of personnel was seen as the end of an era.<sup>[21]</sup>

John Raisian served as director from 1989 to 2015. Thomas W. Gilligan succeeded him in 2015.

In August 2017 the David and Joan Traitel Building was inaugurated. The ground floor is a large conference center with a 400-seat auditorium and the top floor houses the Hoover Institution's headquarters.<sup>[22]</sup> The auditorium is now a symbolic bridge between Hoover and Stanford Campus. In the future, Traitel will be joined by the George Shultz Building.<sup>[13]</sup>

In 2019 the Hoover Institution celebrates its centenary. Hoover has 65 Senior Fellows, 45 Research Fellows, 26 Senior Guest Fellows, 6 National Fellows and 8 National Security Fellows. They are an interdisciplinary group of humanists, political scientists studying education, economics, foreign policy, energy, history, law, national security, health and politics.<sup>[13]</sup>

The Institution is famous for its library and archives. The libraries extensive holdings include materials from both the First World War and Second World War, including the collection of documents of President Hoover, which he began to collect at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919.<sup>[23]</sup> Thousands of Persian books, official documents, letters, multimedia pieces and other materials on Iran's history, politics and culture can also be found at the Stanford University library and the Hoover Institution library.<sup>[24]</sup>

Condoleezza Rice will succeed Thomas W. Gilligan as Hoover's director in September 2020.<sup>[25]</sup>

#### Members

In May 2018 the website of the Hoover Institution listed 198 fellows.

Below is a list of directors and some of the more prominent fellows, former and current.

This list is incomplete; you can help by expanding it.

#### Directors

Ephraim D. Adams, 1920–25

Ralph H. Lutz, 1925–44

Harold H. Fisher, 1944–52

C. Easton Rothwell, 1952–59<sup>[26]</sup>

W. Glenn Campbell, 1960–89[27]  
John Raisian, 1989–2015  
Thomas W. Gilligan, 2015–September 2020  
Honorary Fellows  
The Baroness Thatcher, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom[28] (deceased)  
Distinguished Fellows  
George P. Shultz, former U.S. Secretary of State[29]  
Senior Fellows  
Fouad Ajami, political scientist, former director of the Middle East Studies Program at Johns Hopkins University (deceased)[30]  
Scott W. Atlas, health care policy scholar and physician, former professor and Chief of Neuroradiology at Stanford University School of Medicine  
Richard V. Allen, former U.S. National Security Advisor  
Martin Anderson, former advisor to Richard Nixon and author of *The Federal Bulldozer* (deceased)  
Robert Barro, economist  
Gary S. Becker, 1992 Nobel laureate in economics (deceased)  
Joseph Berger, theoretical sociologist  
Peter Berkowitz, political scientist  
Russell Berman, professor of German Studies and Comparative Literature  
Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President George H. W. Bush  
David W. Brady, political scientist[31]  
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, political scientist, professor at New York University  
Elizabeth Cobbs, historian, novelist, and documentary filmmaker  
John H. Cochrane, economist  
William Damon, professor of education  
Larry Diamond, political scientist, professor at Stanford University  
Frank Dikötter, chair professor of humanities at the University of Hong Kong  
Sidney Drell, theoretical physicist  
Darrell Duffie, Dean Witter Distinguished Professor of Finance at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business  
John B. Dunlop, expert on Soviet and Russian politics  
Richard A. Epstein, legal scholar  
Martin Feldstein, senior fellow at the George F. Baker Professor of Economics at Harvard University  
Niall Ferguson, historian, professor at Harvard University  
Chester E. Finn, Jr., professor of education  
Morris P. Fiorina, political scientist  
Milton Friedman, 1976 Nobel laureate in economics (deceased)  
Timothy Garton Ash, historian, columnist for *The Guardian*  
Jack Goldsmith, legal scholar  
Stephen Haber, economic historian and political scientist  
Robert Hall, economist  
Victor Davis Hanson, classicist, military historian, columnist  
Eric Hanushek, economist  
David R. Henderson, economist  
Caroline Hoxby, economist  
Bobby Ray Inman, retired admiral  
Shanto Iyengar, professor of political science, and director of the Political Communication Laboratory at Stanford University  
Ken Jowitt, historian  
Kenneth L. Judd, economist  
Daniel P. Kessler, scholar of health policy and health care finance  
Stephen D. Krasner, international relations professor  
Edward Lazear, economist  
Gary D. Libecap, Bren Professor of Corporate Environmental Policy and of Donald R. Bren School of Environmental Science  
Seymour Martin Lipset, political sociologist (deceased)  
Harvey Mansfield, political scientist  
Michael W. McConnell, legal scholar, former judge, professor at Stanford University  
Michael McFaul, political scientist, United States Ambassador to Russia  
H.R. McMaster, former National Security Advisor  
Thomas Metzger, sinologist  
James C. Miller III, economist  
Terry M. Moe, professor of political science at Stanford University  
Kevin M. Murphy, economist  
Norman Naimark, historian  
Douglass North, 1993 Nobel laureate in economics (deceased)  
William J. Perry, former U.S. Secretary of Defense



Paul E. Peterson, scholar on education reform  
 Alvin Rabushka, political scientist  
 Raghuram Rajan, Katherine Dusak Miller Distinguished Service Professor of Finance at the University of Chicago's Booth School  
 Condoleezza Rice, former U.S. Secretary of State  
 Henry Rowen, economist (deceased)  
 Thomas J. Sargent, 2011 Nobel laureate in economics, professor at New York University  
 Robert Service, historian  
 John Shoven, economist  
 Abraham David Sofaer, scholar, former legal advisor to the U.S. Secretary of State  
 Thomas Sowell, economist, author, columnist  
 Michael Spence, 2001 Nobel laureate in economics  
 Richard F. Staar, political scientist, historian  
 Shelby Steele, author, columnist  
 John B. Taylor, former U.S. Undersecretary of the Treasury for international affairs  
 Barry R. Weingast, political scientist  
 Bertram Wolfe, author, scholar, former communist, (deceased; 1896–1977)  
 Amy Zegart, political scientist  
 Research Fellows  
 Ayaan Hirsi Ali, activist, feminist, author, scholar and former politician  
 Clint Bolick, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona  
 Lanhee Chen, political scientist, health policy expert, former policy director for Mitt Romney[32]  
 Robert Conquest, historian (deceased)  
 David Davenport, former president of Pepperdine University  
 Williamson Evers, education researcher  
 Paul R. Gregory, Cullen Professor Emeritus in the Department of Economics at the University of Houston  
 Alice Hill, former federal prosecutor, judge, special assistant to the president, and senior director for the National Security Council  
 Charles Hill, lecturer in International Studies  
 Tim Kane, economist  
 Herbert S. Klein, historian  
 Tod Lindberg, foreign policy expert  
 Alice L. Miller, political scientist  
 Shavit Matias, former deputy attorney general of Israel  
 Abbas Milani, political scientist  
 Henry I. Miller, physician  
 Russell Roberts, economist, author  
 Kori Schake, foreign policy expert, author  
 Kiron Skinner, associate professor of international relations and political science, author  
 Peter Schweizer, author (former fellow)  
 Antony C. Sutton, author of Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development (3 vol), fellow from 1968 to 1973  
 Bruce Thornton, American classicist  
 Tunku Varadarajan, writer and journalist  
 Distinguished Visiting Fellows  
 John Abizaid, former commander of the U.S. Central Command[9] (former fellow)  
 Spencer Abraham, former U.S. Senator and Secretary of Energy (former fellow)  
 Pedro Aspe, Mexican economist, former secretary of finance  
 Michael R. Auslin, American writer, policy analyst, historian, and Asia expert  
 Michael D. Bordo, Canadian economist, Professor of Economics and Professor of Economics at Rutgers University  
 Charles Calomiris, financial policy expert, author, and professor at Columbia Business School  
 Arye Carmon, Founding President and Senior Fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI)  
 Elizabeth Economy, C. V. Starr senior fellow and director for Asia studies at the Council on Foreign Relations  
 James O. Ellis, former commander, United States Strategic Command[33]  
 James Goodby, author and former American diplomat  
 Jim Hoagland, American journalist and two-time recipient of the Pulitzer Prize  
 Toomas Hendrik Ilves, former President of Estonia  
 Raymond Jeanloz, professor of earth and planetary science and of astronomy  
 Josef Joffe, publisher-editor of the German newspaper Die Zeit  
 Henry Kissinger, former United States Secretary of State in the administrations of presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford  
 James Mattis, former commander, U.S. Central Command and former Secretary of Defense  
 Allan H. Meltzer, American economist  
 Edwin Meese, former U.S. Attorney General  
 David C. Mulford, former United States Ambassador to India, former Vice-Chairman International of Credit Suisse  
 Joseph Nye, American political scientist, co-founder of the international relations theory of neoliberalism  
 Sam Nunn, former United States Senator from Georgia

George Osborne, British Conservative Party politician, former Chancellor of the Exchequer and former Member of Parliament (MP) for Tatton  
Andrew Roberts, British historian and journalist, Visiting Professor at the Department of War Studies, King's College London  
Peter M. Robinson, American author, research fellow television host, former speechwriter for then-Vice President George H.W. Bush and President Ronald Reagan  
Gary Roughead, former Chief of Naval Operations  
Donald Rumsfeld, former Secretary of Defense (former fellow)  
Christopher Stubbs, an experimental physicist  
William Suter, former Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States  
Kevin Warsh, former governor of the Federal Reserve System  
Pete Wilson, former Governor of California

#### Visiting Fellows

Alexander Benard, American businessman, lawyer, and commentator on U.S. public policy  
Charles Blahous, U.S. public trustee for the Social Security and Medicare programs  
Robert J. Hodrick, U.S. economist specialized in International Finance  
Markos Kounalakis, Greek-American journalist, author, scholar and the Second Gentleman of California  
Bjorn Lomborg, Danish author, President of his think tank, Copenhagen Consensus Center  
Ellen R. McGrattan, Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota  
Afshin Molavi, Iranian-American author and expert on global geo-political risk and geo-economics  
Charles I. Plosser, former president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia  
Raj Shah, former White House Deputy Press Secretary, former Deputy Assistant to the President  
Alex Stamos, computer scientist, former chief security officer at Facebook  
John Yoo, Korean-American attorney, law professor, former government official, author

#### Media Fellows

Tom Bethell, journalist[34]  
Sam Dealey, journalist, editor-in-chief of Washington Times  
Christopher Hitchens, journalist (deceased)[35]  
Derooy Murdock, journalist[35][36]  
Mike Pride, editor emeritus of the Concord Monitor and former administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes  
Christopher Ruddy, CEO of Newsmax Media

#### National Fellows

Mark Bils, macroeconomist, National Fellow 1989–90[37]  
Stephen Kotkin, historian, National Fellow 2010–11[38]

#### Senior Research Fellows

John H. Bunzel, expert in the field of civil rights, race relations, higher education, US politics, and elections (deceased)[39]  
Robert Hessen, historian[40]  
Charles Wolf, Jr, economist (deceased)[41]  
Edward Teller, physicist (deceased)[42]

#### Publications

The Hoover Institution's in-house publisher, Hoover Institution Press, produces multiple publications on public policy topics, including the quarterly periodicals Hoover Digest, Education Next, China Leadership Monitor, and Defining Ideas. The Hoover Institution Press previously published the bimonthly periodical Policy Review, which it acquired from The Heritage Foundation in 2001.[43] Policy Review ceased publication with its February–March 2013 issue.

In addition to these periodicals, the Hoover Institution Press publishes books and essays by Hoover Institution fellows and other Hoover-affiliated scholars.

#### Funding

The Hoover Institution receives nearly half of its funding from private gifts, primarily from individual contributions, and the other half from its endowment.[44]

Funders of the organization include the Taube Family Foundation, the Koret Foundation, the Howard Charitable Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, the Walton Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and the William E. Simon Foundation.[45]

#### Details

Funding sources and expenditures, FY 2018:[46]

Funding Sources, FY 2018: \$70,500,000

Expendable Gifts (50%)  
Endowment Payout (40%)  
Misc. Income and Stanford Support (4%)  
Revenue from Prior Periods (6%)  
Expenditures, FY 2018: \$70,500,000

Research (51%)  
Library & Archives (13%)  
Outreach and Education (17%)  
Development (11%)  
Administration and Operations (8%)  
See also  
List of Stanford University Centers and Institutes  
Footnotes

## Intercollegiate Studies Institute

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

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Intercollegiate Studies Institute

ISI Logo FullColor Vertical WIKIPEDIA.png

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute logo is an open book in the colors of the American flag

Abbreviation ISI

Motto Think. Live free.

Formation22 June 1953

Type Nonprofit educational organization

Headquarters Wilmington, Delaware

President

Charles L. Copeland

Board Chairman

Alfred S. Regnery

Website [home.isi.org](http://home.isi.org)

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) is a nonprofit educational organization that promotes conservative thought on college campuses.[1][2] It lists the following six as its core beliefs: limited government, individual liberty, personal responsibility, the rule of law, free-market economics, and traditional Judeo-Christian values.[3]

ISI was founded in 1953 by Frank Chodorov with William F. Buckley Jr. as its first president.[3] The organization sponsors lectures and debates on college campuses, publishes books and journals, provides funding and editorial assistance to a network of conservative and libertarian college newspapers, and finances graduate fellowships.[4]

## Contents

- History
- Programs and activities
- ISI Books
- See also
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## History

In 1953, Frank Chodorov founded ISI as the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, with a young Yale University graduate William F. Buckley Jr. as president.[5][6] E. Victor Milione, ISI's next and longest-serving president, established publications, a membership network, a lecture and conference program, and a graduate fellowship program.

ISI has been teaching various forms of intellectual conservatism on college campuses ever since.[7]

Past ISI president and former Reagan administration official T. Kenneth Cribb led the institute from 1989 until 2011, when current president Christopher G. Long took over. Cribb is credited with expanding ISI's revenue from one million dollars that year to \$13,636,005 in 2005.[citation needed]

## Programs and activities

ISI runs a number of programs on college campuses, including student societies and student papers. The organization also hosts academic-style conferences for undergraduates at various locations across the U.S.

In providing what ISI calls a classically liberal education to its member students, ISI runs other programs as well. It publishes a number of "Student's Guide to..." books, for example *A Student's Guide to Liberal Learning*, providing a classical introduction into several disciplines.[8][third-party source needed] It also holds other events, such as conferences, that feature prominent conservative speakers and academics, and provides funding for students to attend these conferences. In this funding capacity ISI is affiliated with the Liberty Fund.

In the summer of 2005, ISI Books, the imprint of ISI, published *It Takes a Family: Conservatism and the Common Good*, by Pennsylvania Republican Senator Rick Santorum, which premiered at #13 on the New York Times Best Seller list. Passages from the book generated controversy during Santorum's 2006 reelection campaign, as well as during his 2012

presidential campaign.[9]

ISI administers the Collegiate Network, which provides editorial and financial outreach to conservative and libertarian student journalists.[10]

In the fall of 2006, ISI published the findings of its survey of the teaching of America's history and institutions in higher education. The Institute reported, as the title suggests, that there is a "coming crisis in citizenship." [11][12][verification needed]

#### ISI Books

Intercollegiate Studies Institute operates ISI Books, which publishes books on conservative issues and distributes a number of books from other publishers.[13] Focus is largely on the humanities and the foundations of Western culture and its challenge by left-wing progressivism.

See also

- Conservatism portal
- Collegiate Network
- Traditionalist conservatism
- Students for Academic Freedom

#### The Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center

The Asian Studies Center is The Heritage Foundation's oldest research center. It was established in 1983 in recognition of the dynamic Asia-Pacific region's growing importance to U.S. interests. Today, the Center is internationally recognized as one of the world's preeminent policy think tanks working on Asian issues. Its Scholars consistently advocate policies that promote liberty and democracy, economic freedom, the rule of law, and a robust system of security alliances. Highlights include hosting the annual B.C. Lee Lecture, which has featured remarks by such notables as Henry Kissinger and Condoleezza Rice; Key Asian Indicators: A 2009 Book of Charts which provides a snapshot in time of how countries in the region fare economically and more. The Asian Studies Center is heavily engaged with the Asian-Pacific press corps in Washington, D.C., through its one-of-a-kind Washington Roundtable for the Asia Pacific Press.(WRAPP)

#### B.C. Lee Lecture

These lectures focus on U.S. Relations with the Asia-Pacific region. They are funded by an endowment from the Samsung group in honor of the late B.C. Lee, the corporation's founder.

Year	Lecturer
1995	Henry Kissinger
1996	Jesse Helms
1997	Benjamin Gilman
1998	Donald Rumsfeld
1999	Edwin Meese III
2000	Paul Wolfowitz
2001	Doug Bereuter
2002	Henry Hyde
2003	Richard Lugar
2004	Colin Powell
2006	Condoleezza Rice
2007	Henry Paulson
2008	Richard V. Allen
2010	Stephen J. Hadley
2011	Joseph I. Lieberman

The Washington Roundtable for the Asia-Pacific Press (WRAPP)

The Washington Roundtable for the Asia-Pacific Press (WRAPP) is the largest organization of Asian media in the United States. It is currently affiliated with The Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center. WRAPP's purpose is to provide Asian journalists greater access to "Inside the Beltway" policy-makers.

Since its inception in 1994, WRAPP has sponsored monthly news briefings tailored to the needs of Asian journalists. Roundtable sessions have included speakers such as Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), Chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Rep. Doug Bereuter (R-NB), Chairman of the House Asia-Pacific Subcommittee, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Dr. Kurt Campbell. Personalities such as Washington Post syndicated columnist David Broder have also been featured in the Roundtable's "on-the-record" briefings.

WRAPP membership includes nearly all Washington correspondents from Japan, Taiwan, Korea, China, and other countries in the region. Also among the Roundtable's 400 members are U.S.-based print and broadcast media - as well as international wire services and news agencies whose Washington bureaus cover Asia-Pacific diplomacy, trade, and security

## Heritage Action

Heritage Action

Heritage Action logo.svg

Formation2010

Type 501(c)4 organization

Purpose Lobbying and advocacy

Headquarters Washington, DC

Executive director

Tim Chapman

Vice president

Jessica Anderson

Affiliations The Heritage Foundation

Revenue

Decrease \$10,239,032 (2017)

Increase \$11,987,038 (2016) [1]

Website heritageaction.com

Heritage Action for America, more commonly known simply as Heritage Action, is a conservative policy advocacy organization founded in 2010.[2] Heritage Action, which has affiliates throughout the United States,[3][4] is a sister organization of the conservative think tank The Heritage Foundation.[4][5] Heritage Action has been called a "powerhouse in a new generation of conservative groups"[6] and "perhaps now the most influential lobby group among Congressional Republicans." [7] The organization has been led by executive director Tim Chapman since May 2018.[8]

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### Background and history

Heritage Action was first announced in April 2010 by Ed Feulner, president of The Heritage Foundation. He stated the purpose of the organization was to harness "grassroots energy to increase the pressure on Members of Congress to embrace The Heritage Foundation's policy recommendations." He also said it would not be involved in election campaigns.[9] Heritage Action's goal was to expand the political reach of The Heritage Foundation and advance the policies recommended by its researchers.[10]

The organization was launched primarily as a response to The Heritage Foundation's growing membership, and the fact that The Heritage Foundation is not allowed to back legislation due to its 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status. Heritage Action fulfills this role and provides a link between the think tank and grassroots conservative activists.[11]

Officials at The Heritage Foundation began engaging in political advocacy following the March 2010 passage of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.[10][12] As a 501(c)3 organization, the think tank cannot engage in direct lobbying, so it created Heritage Action to serve as its lobbying and advocacy arm.[13]

Heritage Action began with a staff of ten, including original chief executive officer Michael A. Needham and Timothy Chapman.[14][15] Chapman became executive director in May 2018[16] following Needham's taking a chief of staff position for Senator Marco Rubio[17] in April. Chapman had previously served as Heritage Action's chief operating officer and as chief of staff to Heritage Foundation President Ed J. Feulner. Jessica Anderson, formerly employed at the Office of Management and Budget, took over the Vice President roll from Dan Holler in June, 2018.[18]

### Activities

Heritage Action launched its first advocacy campaign in July 2010, targeting Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA), President Barack Obama's health care reform law.[11] By August 2010 the organization had helped to secure 170 Republican co-sponsors for a petition by Rep. Steve King to force a vote on repealing the healthcare reform.[19] Following this, in September 2010, the group began a 10-day television and web campaign to persuade Democrats to sign onto a repeal of the law.[20] The group opened its state operations in North Carolina and Pennsylvania in January 2011, specifically to focus on mobilizing voters against the health care law.[21]

Heritage Action for America previously produced the radio show *Istook Live!*, hosted by former Oklahoma congressman Ernest Istook.[22][23]

Heritage Action launched a campaign in August 2013 to link the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, also known as the ACA or "Obamacare", with laws to keep the federal government open or to increase the federal debt limit.[24] The organization played an instrumental role in the government shutdown of October 2013.[25][26] While the shutdown was ongoing Heritage Action continued to urge lawmakers not to negotiate a measure to fully fund the government without

dismantling the ACA.[24] The strategy of Heritage Action in tying the ACA to the shutdown, according to then-CEO Michael Needham, was to make President Obama "feel pain" because of the shutdown.[27] Senator Orrin Hatch criticized Heritage for warning legislators not to vote for the Senate budget compromise during the government shutdown.[28]

#### Relationship with Donald Trump

This section contains information of unclear or questionable importance or relevance to the article's subject matter. Please help improve this section by clarifying or removing indiscriminate details. If importance cannot be established, the section is likely to be moved to another article, pseudo-redirected, or removed.

Find sources: "Heritage Action" – news · newspapers · books · scholar · JSTOR (January 2019) (Learn how and when to remove this template message)

On September 18, 2015, Trump cancelled his scheduled appearance at Heritage Action's candidate forum in Greenville, South Carolina, citing a "significant business transaction." [29] Then on November 22, 2015, Needham publicly praised Trump. "I think that part of Donald Trump's attraction is that he's provided bold leadership," Needham said on Fox News Sunday. "I think Trump is driven by people who want bold leadership." [30] Trump publicly thanked Needham the following day, tweeting "Thank you for your nice words @MikeNeedham..." [31] According to a March 8, 2016, article in The Washington Post, Needham said "A Trump election or nomination is a complete vindication that Washington needs to change." [32]

Heritage Action committed to spending \$2.5 million on election advertising to support Republican Congressional candidates in the 2018 House of Representatives elections. [33]

#### Funding

Heritage Action is supported by individual and corporate donors, with its 2012 tax return indicating that 44 percent of its overall contributions came from donations of \$5,000 or less that year. [34] At a Christian Science Monitor breakfast in October 2013, Needham stated that Heritage Action was "not being transparent" with their donors. They have generally declined to disclose who their donors are. [35] One exception to this was a donation from conservative billionaires Charles and David Koch; the Koch brothers donated half a million dollars in October 2013. [35]

#### The Heritage Foundation

The Heritage Foundation

The Heritage Foundation.svg

Abbreviation Heritage[1][2]

Motto Leadership for America

Formation February 16, 1973; 47 years ago

Type Think tank

Headquarters 214 Massachusetts Avenue NE

Washington, D.C., U.S.

Location

Washington, D.C., U.S.

President

Kay Coles James

Chairman

Thomas A. Saunders III

Affiliations Republican Party

Thatcherism (Margaret Thatcher)

Reaganomics (Ronald Reagan)

Budget

Revenue: \$86,808,369

Expenses: \$75,065,736

(FYE December 2018)[3]

Website heritage.org

The Heritage Foundation (abbreviated to Heritage)[1][2] is an American conservative think tank based in Washington, D.C., primarily geared towards public policy. The foundation took a leading role in the conservative movement during the presidency of Ronald Reagan, whose policies were taken from Heritage's policy study *Mandate for Leadership*. [4] Since then, The Heritage Foundation has continued to have a significant influence in U.S. public policy making, and is considered to be one of the most influential conservative public policy organizations in the United States. [citation needed]

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#### History and major initiatives

##### Early years

The Heritage Foundation's headquarters building, on Massachusetts Avenue on Capitol Hill.

The Heritage Foundation was founded on February 16, 1973 by Paul Weyrich, Edwin Feulner, and Joseph Coors.[5][6] Growing out of the new business activist movement inspired by the Powell Memorandum,[7][8] discontent with Richard Nixon's embrace of the "liberal consensus" and the nonpolemical, cautious nature of existing think tanks,[9] Weyrich and Feulner sought to create a version of the Brookings Institution that advanced conservative activism.[5] Coors was the primary funder of the Heritage Foundation in its early years.[5] Weyrich was its first president. Later, under president Frank J. Walton, the Heritage Foundation began using direct mail fundraising and Heritage's annual income grew to \$1 million per year in 1976.[10] By 1981, the annual budget grew to \$5.3 million.[5]

Heritage advocated for pro-business policies, anti-communism and neoconservatism in its early years, but distinguished itself from the conservative American Enterprise Institute (AEI) by also advocating for the Christian Right .[5] Through the 1970s, Heritage would remain small relative to Brookings and the AEI.[5]

##### Reagan administration

In January 1981, Heritage published the Mandate for Leadership, a comprehensive report aimed at reducing the size of the federal government, providing public policy guidance to the incoming Reagan administration, including more than 2,000 specific suggestions to move the federal government in a conservative direction. The report was well received by the White House, and several of its authors went on to take positions in the Reagan administration.[11] Reagan liked the ideas so much that he gave a copy to each member of his cabinet to review.[12] Approximately 60% of the 2,000 proposals were implemented or initiated by the end of Reagan's first year in office.[11][13] Ronald Reagan later said that the Heritage Foundation played a "vital force" in the successes during his presidency.[12]

Heritage was influential in developing and advancing of the so-called "Reagan Doctrine," a Reagan administration foreign policy initiative in which the U.S. provided military and other support to anti-communist resistance movements fighting Soviet-aligned governments in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Nicaragua and other nations during the final years of the Cold War.[14]

Heritage also advocated the development of new ballistic missile defense systems for the United States. Reagan adopted this as his top defense priority in 1983, calling it the Strategic Defense Initiative.[11] By mid-decade, The Heritage Foundation had emerged as a key organization in the national conservative movement, publishing influential reports on domestic and defense issues, as well as pieces by prominent conservative figures, such as Bob Dole and Pat Robertson.[15] In 1986, Time Magazine called Heritage "the foremost of the new breed of advocacy tanks".[16] During the Reagan and Bush administrations, The Heritage Foundation served as the President's brain trust on foreign policy.[17]

##### George H. W. Bush administration

The Heritage Foundation remained an influential voice on domestic and foreign policy issues during President George H. W. Bush's administration. It was a leading proponent of Operation Desert Storm against Iraq, and – according to Frank Starr, head of the Baltimore Sun's Washington bureau – the foundation's studies "laid much of the groundwork for Bush administration thinking" about post-Soviet foreign policy.[18] In domestic policy, the Bush administration agreed with six of the ten budget reforms contained in Mandate for Leadership III and included them in their 1990 budget proposal. Heritage also became involved in the culture wars of the 1990s with the publication of "The Index of Leading Cultural Indicators" by William Bennett. The Index documented how crime, illegitimacy, divorce, teenage suicide, drug use and fourteen other social indicators had become measurably worse since the 1960s.[19]

##### Clinton administration

Heritage continued to grow throughout the 1990s and its journal, Policy Review, hit an all-time-high circulation of 23,000. Heritage was an opponent of the Clinton health care plan of 1993. President Clinton's welfare reforms were analogous with Heritage's recommendations and were adopted in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996. In 1995, Heritage published the first Index of Economic Freedom, co-authored by policy analyst Bryan T. Johnson and Thomas P. Sheehy. In 1997, the Index became a joint project between the Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal.[19]

In 1994, Heritage advised Newt Gingrich and other conservatives on the development of the "Contract with America", which was credited with helping to produce a Republican majority in Congress. The "Contract" was a pact of principles

that directly challenged both the political status-quo in Washington and many of the ideas at the heart of the Clinton administration.

#### George W. Bush administration

The Heritage Foundation supported the War in Afghanistan and the War in Iraq.[20][21] According to a 2004 study in the journal *International Security*, the Heritage Foundation confused public debate by challenging widespread opposition to the Iraq War by international relations scholars and experts by contradicting them "with experts of apparently equal authority... this undermined the possibility that any criticisms [of the war] might be seen as authoritative or have much persuasive effect." [20] The organization defended the Bush administration's Guantanamo Bay practices.[20]

In 2005, *The Washington Post* criticized the Heritage Foundation for softening its criticism of Malaysia following a business relationship between Heritage's president and Malaysia's prime minister Mahathir Mohamad. The Heritage Foundation denied any conflict of interest, stating its views on Malaysia changed following the country's cooperation with the U.S. after the September 11 attacks in 2001.[22] and changes by Malaysia "moving in the right economic and political direction." [23][24]

#### Obama administration

The health insurance mandate in the 2010 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, also known as Obamacare, is an idea hatched in 1989 by Stuart Butler at Heritage in a publication titled "Assuring Affordable Health Care for All Americans".[25] This was also the model for Mitt Romney's health care plan in Massachusetts.[26]

In December 2012, an announcement was made that Senator Jim DeMint would resign from the Senate to head the Heritage Foundation.[27] Pundits predicted his tenure would bring a sharper, more politicized edge to the Foundation.[28] DeMint's eventual ouster in 2017 led some, such as Mickey Edwards (R-Okla.), to believe Heritage sought to pare back its partisan edge and restore its reputation as a pioneering think tank.[29]

On May 10, 2013, Jason Richwine, who co-authored the think tank's controversial report on the costs of amnesty, resigned his position following intensive media attention on his Harvard PhD thesis from 2009 and comments he made at a 2008 American Enterprise Institute forum. Richwine argued that Hispanics and blacks are intellectually inferior to whites and have trouble assimilating because of a supposed genetic predisposition to lower IQ.[30][31]

A 2011 study on poverty in America[32] was criticized for what critics called an overly narrow definition of poverty. Criticism was published in opinion editorials in *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, the Center for American Progress, and *The Washington Post*. [33][34][35][36]

A 2013 study by Heritage senior fellow Robert Rector on the 2013 Senate Immigration Bill (Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013) was criticized for its methodology by critics from across the political spectrum.[37] Notably, outlets like *Reason* magazine and the Cato Institute criticized the report for failing to employ dynamic scoring despite Heritage's support for such methodology in analyzing other policy proposals.[38] The study was also criticized because its co-author, Jason Richwine, said in his 2009 doctoral dissertation that immigrants' IQs should be considered when crafting public policy.[39]

In July 2013, following disputes over the farm bill, the Republican Study Committee of 172 conservative U.S. House members reversed a decades-old tradition of access by barring Heritage Foundation employees from attending its weekly meeting in the Capitol, but continues cooperation through "regular joint events and briefings".[40]

In September 2015, the Foundation stated publicly that it had been targeted by hackers and had experienced a breach in which donors' information was taken. The *Hill* publication compared the attack to another notable data breach at the Office of Personnel Management a few months before. The identity of those that attacked the Foundation and their motivations are unknown.[41]

#### Trump administration

The Heritage Foundation has been described as a major influence on the presidential transition of Donald Trump and the Trump administration.[42][43][44] The foundation had a powerful say in the staffing of the administration, with CNN noting during the transition that "no other Washington institution has that kind of footprint in the transition." [42] One reason for the Heritage Foundation's disproportionate influence relative to other conservative think tanks is that other conservative think tanks had members who identified as "never-Trumpers" during the 2016 election whereas the Heritage Foundation signaled early on to Trump that it would be supportive of him.[42][43] At least 66 foundation employees and alumni were given positions in the administration.[43]

In 2014, the Heritage Foundation began building a database of approximately 3,000 conservatives who they trusted to serve in a hypothetical Republican administration for the upcoming 2016 election.[43] According to individuals involved in crafting the database, several hundred people from the Heritage database ultimately received jobs in government agencies, including Scott Pruitt, Betsy DeVos, Mick Mulvaney, Rick Perry, Jeff Sessions and others who became members of Trump's cabinet.[43] Jim DeMint, president of the Heritage Foundation from 2013 to 2017, personally intervened on behalf of Mulvaney who would go on to head the Office of Management and Budget, the Consumer



Financial Protection Bureau, and later become acting White House Chief of Staff.[43]

Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) Admiral Gary Roughead speaks at The Heritage Foundation.  
Activities

The Heritage Foundation has regularly ranked as one of the world's most influential think tanks. The 2016 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report published by the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania ranks Heritage 12th among "Top Think Tanks Worldwide" and seventh among "Top Think Tanks in the United States".[45]

Heritage published a 1981 book of policy analysis, *Mandate for Leadership*, which offered specific recommendations on policy, budget and administrative action for all Cabinet departments. The Heritage Foundation also publishes *The Insider*, a quarterly magazine about public policy. Until 2001, the Heritage Foundation published *Policy Review*, a public policy journal, which was then acquired by the Hoover Institution. From 1995 to 2005, the Heritage Foundation ran *Townhall.com*, a conservative website that was subsequently acquired by Camarillo, California-based Salem Communications.[46] In 2005, the Foundation published *The Heritage Guide to the Constitution*, a clause-by-clause analysis of the United States Constitution. Once per year Heritage publishes its *Budget Chart Book* using visual graphs and charts to demonstrate the growth of federal spending, revenue, debt and deficits, and entitlement programs.[47][48]

Under Jim DeMint's leadership, the process involved in publishing policy papers changed at the Heritage Foundation.[43] Whereas previous senior staff reviewed policy papers by staff, DeMint and his team heavily edited policy papers or shelved them.[43] In response to this, several scholars at the foundation quit.[43]

Internationally, Heritage publishes the annual *Index of Economic Freedom*, which measures a country's freedom in terms of property rights and freedom from government regulation. The factors used to calculate the Index score are corruption in government, barriers to international trade, income tax and corporate tax rates, government expenditures, rule of law and the ability to enforce contracts, regulatory burdens, banking restrictions, labor regulations, and black market activities. A British-born academic, Charles W. L. Hill, after discussing the international shift toward a market-based economic system and Heritage Foundation's *Index of Economic Freedom*, said "given that the Heritage Foundation has a political agenda, its work should be viewed with caution." [49]

In 2002, Heritage began publishing its annual *Index of Dependence* report on the growth of federal government programs that constrain private sector or local government alternatives and impact the dependence of individuals on the federal government. It examines programs in five broad categories: housing; health care and welfare; retirement; higher education; and rural and agricultural services.[50] The report has found that each year the number of Americans who pay nothing in federal personal income taxes continues to increase, while there is a simultaneous increase in the number who rely on government services.[51] The 2010 report found that Americans' dependence on government grew by 13.6% in 2009 during the worst U.S. economic crisis since the Great Depression. According to Heritage, this is the biggest increase since 1976 and the fifth largest going back to 1962, when the foundation began tracking dependence.[50] The report stated that in the previous eight years, the index of government dependence has grown by almost 33 percent.[52]

Until 2014, the Heritage Foundation published a blog, *The Foundry*. In 2014, *The Foundry* was phased out and replaced with *The Daily Signal*. [53][54] Since 2006, the Foundation has hosted "The Bloggers Briefing", a meeting of conservative and independent bloggers organized by Robert Bluey.[55]

In 2009, Heritage Foundation produced *33 Minutes*, a one-hour documentary film about the foreign policy challenges facing the United States.[56][57]

In 2005, Heritage established the Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom in honor of the former British Prime Minister.[58] Thatcher herself maintained a long relationship with The Heritage Foundation. Shortly after leaving office, Thatcher was honored by Heritage at a September 1991 dinner.[59] Seven years later, Thatcher delivered the keynote address during Heritage's 25th anniversary celebration.[60] In 2002, Thatcher was again honored by Heritage as the recipient of its annual Clare Boothe Luce Award.[61] Thatcher was later named Patron of the Heritage Foundation, her only official association with any U.S.-based group.[62]

The Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) co-hosted one of the 2012 Republican Party presidential debates on foreign policy and national defense on November 22, 2011.[63] It was the first presidential debate to be sponsored by either Heritage or AEI.[64] During the debate, Heritage fellows Edwin Meese and David Addington were among those who questioned candidates on policy.[65] The debate was praised by *The New York Times* for putting "pressure on candidates to show their policy expertise".[65] According to conservative commentator Michael Barone, the debate was "probably the most substantive and serious presidential debate of this election cycle." [66]

The Heritage Foundation is an associate member of the State Policy Network.[67][68]

Climate change denial

The Heritage Foundation rejects the scientific consensus on climate change.[69][70] The Heritage Foundation is one of many climate change denial organizations that have been funded by ExxonMobil.[69][71] The Heritage Foundation

strongly criticized the Kyoto Agreement, which was intended to curb climate change, saying American participation in the treaty would "result in lower economic growth in every state and nearly every sector of the economy."<sup>[72]</sup> The Heritage Foundation projected that the 2009 cap-and-trade bill, the American Clean Energy and Security Act, would result in a cost of \$1,870 per family in 2025 and \$6,800 by 2035; on the other hand, the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office projected that it would only cost the average family \$175 in 2020.<sup>[73]</sup>

#### Funding

In 1973, businessman Joseph Coors contributed \$250,000 to establish The Heritage Foundation and continued to fund it through the Adolph Coors Foundation.<sup>[74][75]</sup> In 1973, it had trustees from Chase Manhattan Bank, Dow Chemical, General Motors, Pfizer, Sears and Mobil.<sup>[76]</sup>

Heritage is a tax-exempt 501(c)(3) organization as well as a BBB Wise Giving Alliance accredited charity funded by donations from private individuals, corporations and charitable foundations.<sup>[77][78][79]</sup> As a 501(c)(3), Heritage is not required to disclose its donors and donations to the foundation are tax-deductible.<sup>[78]</sup> According to a MediaTransparency report in 2006, donors have included John M. Olin Foundation, the Castle Rock Foundation, the Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation and the Bradley Foundation.<sup>[80]</sup><sup>[unreliable source?]</sup><sup>[importance?]</sup> Other financing as of 2016 includes \$28.129 million from the combined Scaife Foundations of the late billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife.<sup>[81][82]</sup> Heritage is a grantee of the Donors Trust, a nonprofit donor-advised fund.<sup>[83][84]</sup><sup>[importance?]</sup><sup>[85]</sup> As of 2010, Heritage reported 710,000 supporters.<sup>[86]</sup>

For the fiscal year ending December 31, 2011, Charity Watch reported that Edwin Feulner, past president of The Heritage Foundation, received the highest compensation in its top 25 list of compensation received by charity members. According to Charity Watch, Feulner received \$2,702,687 in 2013. This sum includes investment earnings of \$1,656,230 accrued over a period of 33 years.<sup>[87]</sup>

Heritage's total revenue for 2011 was \$72,170,983 and its expenses were \$80,033,828.<sup>[88][89]</sup>

#### In popular culture

The Heritage Foundation was mentioned periodically in the NBC fictional television series *The West Wing*. The character Patricia Calhoun, a former member of the Office of Management and Budget and a Republican appointee to the Federal Election Commission in the fictional Bartlet administration, is identified as the former Director of the Roe Institute for Economic Policy at The Heritage Foundation. Calhoun is depicted in the series as an aggressive advocate of campaign finance reform.<sup>[90]</sup>

#### Notable board of trustees members

Thomas A. Saunders III, Trustee since 2005 and current Chairman; founder of Saunders Karp & Megrue.<sup>[91]</sup>

Larry P. Arn, Trustee since 2002; President of Hillsdale College.<sup>[91]</sup>

Jim DeMint, Former President and board member; former United States Senator from South Carolina.<sup>[91]</sup>

Edwin J. Feulner, Trustee since 1973; President of the Heritage Foundation, the Mont Pelerin Society, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute and the Philadelphia Society.<sup>[91]</sup>

Steve Forbes, Trustee since 2001; President and CEO of Forbes.<sup>[91]</sup>

Jerry Hume, Trustee since 1993; Chairman of Basic American Foods.<sup>[91]</sup>

Kay Coles James, Trustee since 2005; former Director of the United States Office of Personnel Management.<sup>[91]</sup>

Edwin Meese, III, former Attorney General of the United States

Rebekah Mercer, Trustee since 2014; Director of the Mercer Family Foundation.<sup>[91]</sup>

J. William Middendorf, Trustee since 1989; former Secretary of the Navy and Ambassador to the European Communities, the Organization of American States, and the Netherlands.<sup>[91]</sup>

Anthony Saliba, Trustee since 2012; trader, entrepreneur, and author.<sup>[91]</sup>

Brian Tracy, Trustee since 2003; motivational public speaker and self-development author.<sup>[91]</sup>

#### Honorary and emeritus board members

Midge Decter, Trustee from 1981 to 2015 and Society of Emeritus Trustees since 2015; journalist.<sup>[91]</sup>

Frank Shakespeare, Honorary Trustee since 1979; United States Ambassador to the Vatican (1986–1989).<sup>[91]</sup>

William E. Simon, Jr., Trustee from 2008 to 2015 and Member of the Society of Emeritus Trustees since 2015; Politician and banker.<sup>[91]</sup>

Conservatism portal

#### References

#### FreedomWorks

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FreedomWorks

Freedomworks.png

Motto Lower Taxes. Less Government. More Freedom.<sup>[1]</sup>

Formation2004<sup>[2]</sup>

Legal status 501(c)(4)

Headquarters Washington, D.C.  
Membership  
over 1 million in 2010<sup>[3]</sup><sup>[unreliable source?]</sup>  
President & CEO  
Adam Brandon<sup>[4]</sup>  
Parent organization  
Citizens for a Sound Economy  
Affiliations FreedomWorks for America,  
FreedomWorks Foundation  
Volunteers  
600,000 online activists<sup>[3]</sup><sup>[unreliable source?]</sup>  
Website Freedomworks.org  
This article is part of a series on  
Conservatism in  
the United States  
Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack  
Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito  
About this image  
Schools<sup>[show]</sup>  
Principles<sup>[show]</sup>  
History<sup>[show]</sup>  
People<sup>[show]</sup>  
Parties<sup>[show]</sup>  
Think tanks<sup>[show]</sup>  
Other organizations<sup>[show]</sup>  
Media<sup>[show]</sup>  
Variants and movements<sup>[show]</sup>  
See also<sup>[show]</sup>  
DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal  
vte

FreedomWorks is a conservative and libertarian advocacy group based in Washington D.C., United States. FreedomWorks trains volunteers, assists in campaigns, and encourages them to mobilize, interacting with both fellow citizens and their political representatives. It is widely associated with the Tea Party movement.<sup>[5]</sup><sup>[6]</sup>

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#### History

FreedomWorks originated from a conservative political group founded by the brothers David H. Koch and Charles Koch, and called Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE). In 2004 CSE split into Americans for Prosperity, led by President Nancy Pfotenhauer, and a remainder group which merged with Empower America<sup>[failed verification]</sup> and was renamed FreedomWorks, led by President and CEO Matt Kibbe.<sup>[7]</sup> Dick Arme, Jack Kemp, and C. Boyden Gray served as co-chairmen of the new organization with Bill Bennett focusing on school choice as a Senior Fellow.<sup>[8]</sup><sup>[9]</sup><sup>[needs update]</sup> Empower America had been founded in 1993 by Bennett, former Secretary of HUD Kemp, former Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, and former Representative Vin Weber.<sup>[10]</sup> In December 2006, Steve Forbes joined the FreedomWorks board of directors.<sup>[11]</sup>

The "FreedomWorks" name was derived from a common Arme saying: "Freedom works. Freedom is good policy and good politics."<sup>[12]</sup>

On August 14, 2009, after Arme's leadership of FreedomWorks became a problem to his employer, the lobbying and legal firm of DLA Piper, Arme was forced to resign from his job at DLA Piper. DLA Piper chairman Francis Burch responded that the firm serves clients "... who support enactment of effective health care reform this year and encourages responsible national debate."<sup>[13]</sup>

Arme disagreed with FreedomWorks president Matt Kibbe's use of FreedomWorks staff for the research and promotion of Kibbe's book, *Hostile Takeover*, which according to Arme put FreedomWorks's tax-exempt status in jeopardy. Arme has stated, "what bothered me most ... was that [Kibbe] was asking me to lie, and it was a lie that I thought brought the organization in harm's way."<sup>[14]</sup>

On November 30, 2012, Arney resigned as chairman of FreedomWorks. Arney told Mother Jones, "The top management team of FreedomWorks was taking a direction I thought was unproductive, and I thought it was time to move on with my life." Arney stipulated that FreedomWorks was to immediately remove his name, image, or signature "from all its letters, print media, postings, web sites, videos, testimonials, endorsements, fundraising materials, and social media."<sup>[15]</sup> Arney claimed that the split was caused by President and CEO Matt Kibbe's use of FreedomWorks' resources to write a book, *Hostile Takeover*, which he personally profited from and which he asked Arney and the board to later acknowledge was written without significant resources from FreedomWorks; Kibbe alleged that the split was a result of competing visions for the direction of the organization.<sup>[16]</sup> The Associated Press reported that in September 2012, Arney agreed to resign by November 2012 in exchange for \$8 million in consulting fees paid in annual \$400,000 installments, funded by board member Richard J. Stephenson.<sup>[17][18]</sup>

Shortly following the split between FreedomWorks and Dick Arney, FreedomWorks again faced public controversy over its creation of a video featuring a giant panda-costumed intern pretending to perform cunnilingus upon another person wearing a Hillary Clinton mask.<sup>[19]</sup> The intent was said for it to be shown at a conservative conference featuring Glenn Beck. A former FreedomWorks' staffer reportedly told reporter David Corn, "And there were going to be thousands of Christian conservatives at this thing. This was a terrible lack of judgment."<sup>[19]</sup>

FreedomWorks is an associate member of the Koch brothers-founded State Policy Network, a U.S. national network of free-market oriented think tanks.<sup>[20][21]</sup>

#### Views

Question book-new.svg

This section may rely excessively on sources too closely associated with the subject, potentially preventing the article from being verifiable and neutral. Please help improve it by replacing them with more appropriate citations to reliable, independent, third-party sources. (June 2015) (Learn how and when to remove this template message)

FreedomWorks seeks to identify itself with two schools of thought in terms of effective advertising and marketing: the Austrian School<sup>[failed verification]</sup> of economics and public choice theory. Through public choice theory, FreedomWorks believes it legitimizes its mission and models itself after the Austrian School.<sup>[22]</sup>

Kibbe, a former aide to Republican Representative Dan Miller and a former staffer at the Republican National Committee, said that the group "will encourage Republicans – and Democrats – to take positions on issues of individual freedom". Arney said, "Ronald Reagan launched a political and intellectual revolution, and the Contract with America expanded it. Today, it's time for the next wave. We have a rare window to make the big ideas of individual ownership and economic opportunity a political reality for all Americans. That's the purpose of FreedomWorks."<sup>[23]</sup>

FreedomWorks views itself as having eight key issues: Budget and Spending; Health Care Reform; Fundamental Tax Reform, Energy and the Environment; Workplace Freedom; School Choice;<sup>[24]</sup> RedTape, Hidden Taxes, and Regulation, and Medicare, Social Security and Entitlement Reform.<sup>[24]</sup> According to the FreedomWorks website, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"), is a "multi-trillion-dollar takeover of health care".<sup>[25]</sup>

#### Actions

FreedomWorks helped to astroturf the Tea Party movement, although the latter is generally perceived as grassroots.<sup>[26][27]</sup> In 2009, FreedomWorks responded to the growing number of Tea party protests across the United States, and became one of several groups active in the "Tea Party" tax protests.<sup>[6]</sup> Three national conservative groups, FreedomWorks, Americans for Prosperity, and DontGo led the tea party movement in April 2009, according to *The Atlantic* magazine.<sup>[6]</sup> FreedomWorks was a lead organizer of the September 12, 2009, Taxpayer March on Washington, also known as the 9/12 Tea Party.<sup>[7][28][29][30]</sup> In February 2010, FreedomWorks, the FreedomWorks Foundation, and the FreedomWorks Political Action Committee were among the twelve most influential groups in the Tea Party movement, according to the *National Journal*.<sup>[31]</sup> In September 2010, FreedomWorks was one of the top five most influential organizations in the Tea Party movement, according to *The Washington Post*.<sup>[32]</sup> FreedomWorks and Americans for Prosperity were especially important in creating the Tea Party Movement and in encouraging the movement to focus on climate change, according to the *Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*.<sup>[33]</sup> In 2009, FreedomWorks advocated for the defeat of Democratic-sponsored climate change legislation.<sup>[34]</sup> In 2009, senior reporter Josh Harkinson, writing in *Mother Jones* magazine, listed FreedomWorks as a significant climate change denier.<sup>[35]</sup><sup>[neutrality is disputed][relevant? – discuss]</sup> In 2010, FreedomWorks helped organize Tea Party protests and passed fliers opposing national climate policy.<sup>[36]</sup> FreedomWorks promoted the *Contract from America*, a Tea Party manifesto, which included planks in opposition to the Obama administration's initiatives on health care reform and cap and trade.<sup>[37]</sup> FreedomWorks sponsored campaigns to block climate legislation as well as Obama's broader agenda.<sup>[38]</sup>

Among other activities, FreedomWorks runs boot camps for supporters of Republican candidates. FreedomWorks spent over \$10 million on the 2010 elections on campaign paraphernalia alone. The required reading list for new employees includes Saul Alinsky,<sup>[39]</sup> Frédéric Bastiat and Ayn Rand.<sup>[5]</sup> *Rolling Stone* and *Talking Points Memo* allege that FreedomWorks helps run the Tea Party Patriots.<sup>[40][41]</sup> Tea Party Patriots denies this claim.<sup>[42]</sup> According to a 2010 article in *The New York Times*, FreedomWorks "has done more than any other organization to build the Tea Party movement".<sup>[5]</sup>

In the 2010 congressional elections, FreedomWorks endorsed a number of candidates, including Marco Rubio, Pat Toomey, Mike Lee, and Rand Paul.[43] In addition to the aforementioned United States Senate candidates, FreedomWorks endorsed 114 candidates for federal office, of whom seventy won election.[44] an independent study performed by Brigham Young University showed that only FreedomWorks's endorsement had a statistically significant impact on the success of a candidate in the General Election (U.S.).[clarification needed][45]

In 2011, FreedomWorks ran a number of campaigns targeted at corporate rent-seeking behavior. FreedomWorks ran a campaign with the goal of getting Duke Energy to fire their CEO Jim Rodgers, accusing Duke Energy of lobbying for a "progressive agenda" to ensure that the company would receive green energy subsidies.[46]

In addition to their anti-rent seeking campaigns, FreedomWorks has also been active in a number of issue campaigns at the state and national levels. One of these campaigns is the school choice SB1 campaign in Pennsylvania.[47] Additionally, FreedomWorks ran an active grassroots campaign in support of Ohio Governor John Kasich's union reforms. FreedomWorks delivered thousands of yard signs, door-hangers, handouts, and registered conservative voters.[48]

In 2011, FreedomWorks launched a Super PAC called FreedomWorks for America.[49] The stated purpose of this PAC is to "empower the leaderless, decentralized community of the tea party movement as it continues its hostile takeover of the GOP establishment".[49] Its endorsed candidates included Don Stenberg, Ted Cruz, Jeff Flake, and Richard Mourdock.[50]

In February 2013, FreedomWorks signed onto a memo which said, "Conservatives should not approve a CR unless it defunds Obamacare." [51] On August 14, 2013, Joshua Withrow of FreedomWorks mentioned the continuing resolution set to expire September 30 which "must be renewed in order for the doors to stay open in Washington. The CR is the best chance we will get to withdraw funds from ObamaCare. This can be done by attaching bills by Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX) or Congressman Tom Graves (R-GA) to the CR, which will totally defund ObamaCare." [52] Withrow also wrote "Senator Mike Lee (R-UT) and Congressman Mark Meadows (R-NC) are leading the charge to get their colleagues to commit to this approach, by putting their signatures to a letter affirming that they will refuse to vote for a CR that contains ObamaCare funding." [52] Withrow wrote, "Support for the Cruz/Graves bills is absolutely meaningless without also signing the Lee/Meadows letter." [52]

In September 2013, FreedomWorks opposed the legislation called Authorization for the Use of Military Force Against the Government of Syria to Respond to Use of Chemical Weapons.[53] This was the first time FreedomWorks took an official stance on foreign policy.[54]

On February 12, 2014, FreedomWorks joined with Rand Paul as co-plaintiffs in a lawsuit against the Obama Administration concerning reports of NSA domestic wiretapping. The lawsuit names President Obama, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and National Security Agency Director Gen. Keith Alexander. Former Virginia Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli is representing Paul and FreedomWorks in the case.[55]

Some of FreedomWorks' campaigns have been called "astroturfing", and some claim that they project a false impression of grassroots organizing.[56][57][58]

#### Legislation supported

FreedomWorks supported the Electricity Security and Affordability Act (H.R. 3826; 113th Congress), which was into the House on January 9, 2014.[59][60] The bill would repeal a pending rule published by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) on January 8, 2014.[61] The proposed rule would establish uniform national limits on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from new electricity-generating facilities that use coal or natural gas.[61][62] The rule also sets new standards of performance for those power plants, including the requirement to install carbon capture and sequestration technology.[61] In a blog post, then FreedomWorks president Matt Kibbe said that the bill would go a "long way in curbing the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) radical war on affordable and reliable energy from fossil fuels".[60] Kibbe argued that the EPA's proposed rule was "an obvious backdoor attempt to effectively outlaw coal" because the standards were set "well below the emissions levels achieved by even the most advanced coal facilities". [60]

FreedomWorks supports the Smarter Sentencing Act of 2015, REDEEM Act,[63] and Email Privacy Act.[64] FreedomWorks opposes Net neutrality regulation.[65]

#### Funding

According to John Broder of The New York Times, FreedomWorks has been supported by the oil industry.[36] According to the liberal advocacy group Common Cause, FreedomWorks has also received funding from Verizon and SBC (now AT&T).[66] Other FreedomWorks donors have included Philip Morris and foundations controlled by the Scaife family, according to tax filings and other records.[67][68] FreedomWorks also receives funding through the sale of insurance policies through which policyholders automatically become members of FreedomWorks.[69] In 2012, FreedomWorks had revenue of \$15 million, with nearly 60% coming from four donors.[70] In 2012, \$12 million in donations from William S. Rose (via two of his companies) were scrutinized by some members of the media. Watchdog groups asked for investigations of the donations, alleging that the companies were created merely to hide the identity of contributors.[71][72]

## References

### John Birch Society

John Birch Society

John Birch Society logo.svg

FormationDecember 9, 1958; 61 years ago

Founder Robert W. Welch Jr.

Founded at Indianapolis, Indiana

Type Political advocacy group

Legal status Active

Purpose

Anti-communism

Paleoconservatism

Far-right politics

Headquarters Grand Chute, Wisconsin[1]

CEO

Arthur Thompson

Website jbs.org

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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See also[show]

DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal

vte

The John Birch Society (JBS) is an advocacy group supporting anti-communism and limited government.[2][3][4] It has been described as a radical right and far-right organization.[5][6][7][8]

Businessman and founder Robert W. Welch Jr. (1899–1985) developed an organizational infrastructure in 1958 of chapters nationwide. After an early rise in membership and influence, efforts by those such as conservative William F. Buckley Jr. and National Review led the JBS to be identified as a fringe element of the conservative movement, mostly in fear of the radicalization of the American right.[9][10] More recently Jeet Heer has argued in *The New Republic* that while the organization's influence peaked in the 1970s, "Bircherism" and its legacy of conspiracy theories has become the dominant strain in the conservative movement.[11] Politico has asserted that the JBS began making a resurgence in the mid-2010s,[12] and many political analysts from across the spectrum have argued that it shaped the modern conservative movement and especially the Trump administration.[13] Writing in *The Huffington Post*, Andrew Reinbach called the JBS "the intellectual seed bank of the right." [14]

Originally based in Belmont, Massachusetts, it is now headquartered in Grand Chute, Wisconsin a suburb of Appleton, Wisconsin,[15] with local chapters throughout the United States. The organization owns American Opinion Publishing, which publishes the magazine *The New American*. [16]

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#### Values

The organization supports limited government and opposes wealth redistribution and economic interventionism. It opposes collectivism, totalitarianism, anarchism and communism. It opposes socialism as well, which it asserts is infiltrating U.S. governmental administration. In a 1983 edition of the political-debate television program *Crossfire*, Congressman Larry McDonald (a conservative Democrat from Georgia), then the society's newly appointed president, characterized it as belonging to the Old Right rather than the New Right.[citation needed]

The society opposed the 1960s civil rights movement and claimed the movement had Communists in important positions. In the latter half of 1965, the JBS produced a flyer titled "What's Wrong With Civil Rights?" and used the flyer as a newspaper advertisement.[17][18] In the piece, one of the answers was: "For the civil rights movement in the United States, with all of its growing agitation and riots and bitterness, and insidious steps towards the appearance of a civil war, has not been infiltrated by the Communists, as you now frequently hear. It has been deliberately and almost wholly created by the Communists patiently building up to this present stage for more than forty years." [19] The society opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, claiming it violated the Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and overstepped individual states' rights to enact laws regarding civil rights. The John Birch Society, along with other conservative groups such as the Eagle Forum and the Christian right, successfully opposed the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970s.[20][21] Like other extreme-right organizations, JBS accused the ERA's supporters of subversion, asserting that the ERA was part of a "Communist" plot "to reduce human beings to living at the same level as animals." [21] The society opposes "one world government", and it has an immigration reduction view on immigration reform. It opposes the United Nations, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and other free trade agreements. It argues the U.S. Constitution has been devalued in favor of political and economic globalization, and that this alleged trend is not accidental. It cited the existence of the former Security and Prosperity Partnership as evidence of a push towards a North American Union.[22]

#### Characterizations

The society has been described as "ultraconservative", [23] "far right", [24] and "extremist". [25] Other sources consider the society part of the patriot movement. [26][27] The Southern Poverty Law Center, for example, lists the society as a 'Patriot' group, a group that "advocate[s] or adhere[s] to extreme antigovernment doctrines". [28]

#### History

##### Origins

The society was established in Indianapolis, Indiana, on December 9, 1958, by a group of twelve led by Robert W. Welch Jr., a retired candy manufacturer from Belmont, Massachusetts. Welch named the new organization after John Birch, an American Baptist missionary and military intelligence officer who was killed by communist forces in China in August 1945, shortly after the conclusion of World War II. Welch claimed that Birch was an unknown but dedicated anti-communist, and the first American casualty of the Cold War. [29] Jimmy Doolittle, who met Birch after bailing out over China following the Tokyo Raid, said in his autobiography that he was certain that Birch "would not have approved" of that particular use of his name. [30] One of the first members of the John Birch Society was Fred C. Koch, who became one of its primary financial supporters. According to investigative journalist Jane Mayer, Koch's sons, David and Charles Koch were also members of the John Birch Society. However, they left before the 1970s. [31]

Harry Lynde Bradley, co-founder of the Allen Bradley Company and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, [32][33] Fred C. Koch, founder of Koch Industries [34][35][36][37] and Robert Waring Stoddard, President of Wyman-Gordon, a major industrial enterprise, were among the founding members. [38] Another was Revilo P. Oliver, a University of Illinois professor who was later expelled from the Society and helped found the National Alliance. A transcript of Welch's two-day presentation at the founding meeting was published as *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, and became a cornerstone of its beliefs, with each new member receiving a copy. [citation needed] According to Welch, "both the U.S. and Soviet governments are controlled by the same furtive conspiratorial cabal of internationalists, greedy bankers, and corrupt politicians. If left unexposed, the traitors inside the U.S. government would betray the country's sovereignty to the United Nations for a collectivist New World Order, managed by a 'one-world socialist government.'" [39][40] Welch saw collectivism as the main threat to western culture, and American liberals as "secret communist traitors" who provided cover for the gradual process of collectivism, with the ultimate goal of replacing the nations of western civilization with a one-world socialist government. "There are many stages of welfarism, socialism, and collectivism in general," he wrote, "but Communism is the ultimate state of them all, and they all lead inevitably in that direction." [40]

The society's activities include distributing literature, pamphlets, magazines, videos and other material; the society also

sponsors a Speaker's Bureau, which invites "speakers who are keenly aware of the motivations that drive political policy".[41] One of the first public activities of the society was a "Get US Out!" (of membership in the UN) campaign, which claimed in 1959 that the "Real nature of [the] UN is to build a One World Government".[42] In 1960, Welch advised JBS members to: "Join your local P.T.A. at the beginning of the school year, get your conservative friends to do likewise, and go to work to take it over." [43] One Man's Opinion,[44] a magazine launched by Welch in 1956, was renamed American Opinion,[45] and became the society's official publication. The society publishes The New American, a biweekly magazine.[16][46]

#### 1960s

By March 1961 the society had 60,000 to 100,000 members and, according to Welch, "a staff of 28 people in the Home Office; about 30 Coordinators (or Major Coordinators) in the field, who are fully paid as to salary and expenses; and about 100 Coordinators (or Section Leaders as they are called in some areas), who work on a volunteer basis as to all or part of their salary, or expenses, or both". According to Political Research Associates (a non-profit research group that investigates the far right), the society "pioneered grassroots lobbying, combining educational meetings, petition drives and letter-writing campaigns.[40] Rick Perlstein described its main activity in the 1960s as "monthly meetings to watch a film by Welch, followed by writing postcards or letters to government officials linking specific policies to the Communist menace".[47] One early campaign against the second summit between the United States and the Soviet Union generated over 600,000 postcards and letters, according to the society. In 1961 Welch offered \$2,300 in prizes to college students for the best essays on "grounds of impeachment" of Chief Justice Warren, a prime target of ultra-conservatives.[48] A June 1964 society campaign to oppose Xerox corporate sponsorship of TV programs favorable to the UN produced 51,279 letters from 12,785 individuals."[40]

In 1962, William F. Buckley Jr., editor of the influential conservative magazine, the National Review, denounced Welch and the John Birch Society as "far removed from common sense" and urged the GOP to purge itself of Welch's influence.[49]

In the late 1960s Welch insisted that the Johnson administration's fight against communism in Vietnam was part of a communist plot aimed at taking over the United States. Welch demanded that the United States get out of Vietnam, thus aligning the Society with the left.[50] The society opposed water fluoridation, which it called "mass medicine".[51][52][53] The JBS was moderately active in the 1960s with numerous chapters, but rarely engaged in coalition building with other conservatives. It was rejected by most conservatives because of Welch's conspiracy theories. The philosopher Ayn Rand said in a 1964 Playboy interview, "I consider the Birch Society futile, because they are not for capitalism but merely against communism ... I gather they believe that the disastrous state of today's world is caused by a communist conspiracy. This is childish naïve and superficial. No country can be destroyed by a mere conspiracy, it can be destroyed only by ideas."[54][55]

Former Eisenhower cabinet member Ezra Taft Benson—a leading Mormon—spoke in favor of the John Birch Society, but in January 1963 the LDS church issued a statement distancing itself from the Society.[56] Antisemitic, racist, anti-Mormon, anti-Masonic groups criticized the organization's acceptance of Jews, non-whites, Masons, and Mormons as members. These opponents accused Welch of harboring feminist, ecumenical, and evolutionary ideas.[57][58][59] Welch rejected these accusations by his detractors: "All we are interested in here is opposing the advance of the Communists, and eventually destroying the whole Communist conspiracy, so that Jews and Christians alike, and Mohammedans and Buddhists, can again have a decent world in which to live."[60]

In 1964 Welch favored Barry Goldwater for the Republican presidential nomination, but the membership split, with two-thirds supporting Goldwater and one-third supporting Richard Nixon, who did not run. A number of Birch members and their allies were Goldwater supporters in 1964[49] and some were delegates at the 1964 Republican National Convention.

In April 1966, a New York Times article on New Jersey and the society voiced—in part—a concern for "the increasing tempo of radical right attacks on local government, libraries, school boards, parent-teacher associations, mental health programs, the Republican Party and, most recently, the ecumenical movement." [61] It then characterized the society as "by far the most successful and 'respectable' radical right organization in the country. It operates alone or in support of other extremist organizations whose major preoccupation, like that of the Birchers, is the internal Communist conspiracy in the United States."

The JBS also opposed the creation of the first sex education curricula in the US, through a division called the Movement to Restore Decency (MOTOREDE).[62] Surviving MOTOREDE pamphlets date from 1967 to 1971.[63]

#### Eisenhower issue

Welch wrote in a widely circulated statement, "The Politician", "Could Eisenhower really be simply a smart politician, entirely without principles and hungry for glory, who is only the tool of the Communists? The answer is yes." He went on. "With regard to ... Eisenhower, it is difficult to avoid raising the question of deliberate treason." [64]

The controversial paragraph was removed before final publication of The Politician.[65]



The sensationalism of Welch's charges against Eisenhower prompted several conservatives and Republicans, most prominently Goldwater and the intellectuals of William F. Buckley's circle, to renounce outright or quietly shun the group. Buckley, an early friend and admirer of Welch, regarded his accusations against Eisenhower as "paranoid and idiotic libels" and attempted unsuccessfully to purge Welch from the Birch Society.[66] From then on Buckley, who was editor of National Review, became the leading intellectual spokesman and organizer of the anti-Bircher conservatives.[67] Buckley's biographer John B. Judis wrote that "Buckley was beginning to worry that with the John Birch Society growing so rapidly, the right-wing upsurge in the country would take an ugly, even Fascist turn rather than leading toward the kind of conservatism National Review had promoted." [67]

The booklet found support from Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture who later became the 13th President of the LDS Church. In a letter to his friend FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, Benson asked "how can a man [Eisenhower] who seems to be so strong for Christian principles and base American concepts be so effectively used as a tool to serve the communist conspiracy?" Benson privately fought to prevent the bureau from condemning the JBS, which prompted Hoover to distance himself from Benson. At one point in 1971 Hoover directed his staff to lie to Benson to avoid having to meet with him about the issue.[68]

#### 1970s

The society was at the center of a free-speech law case in the 1970s, after American Opinion accused a Chicago lawyer, Elmer Gertz, who was representing the family of a young man killed by a police officer, of being part of a Communist conspiracy to merge all police agencies in the country into one large force. The resulting libel suit, Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc., reached the United States Supreme Court, which held that a state may allow a private figure such as Gertz to recover actual damages from a media defendant without proving malice, but that a public figure does have to prove actual malice, according to the standard laid out in New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, in order to recover presumed damages or punitive damages.[69] The court ordered a retrial in which Gertz prevailed.

Key society causes of the 1970s included opposition to both the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and to the establishment of diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China. The society claimed in 1973 that the regime of Mao Zedong had murdered 64 million Chinese as of that year and that it was the primary supplier of illicit heroin into the United States. This led to bumper stickers showing a pair of scissors cutting a hypodermic needle in half accompanied by the slogan "Cut The Red China Connection". The society also was opposed to transferring control of the Panama Canal from American to Panamanian sovereignty.[70]

In the 1970s, the John Birch Society played a prominent role in promoting the false claim that laetrile was a cancer cure, and in advocating for the legalization of the compound as a drug.[71][72] A New York Times review in 1977 found identified JBS and other far-right groups were involved in pro-laetrile campaigns in at least nine states.[71] "Virtually all" of the officers of the "Committee for Freedom of Choice in Cancer Therapy," the leading pro-laetrile group, were John Birch Society members.[72] Congressman and Birch Society leader Lawrence P. McDonald was involved in the campaign as a member of the Committee.[71][73]

The society was organized into local chapters during this period. Ernest Brosang, a New Jersey regional coordinator, claimed that it was virtually impossible for opponents of the society to penetrate its policy-making levels, thereby protecting it from "anti-American" takeover attempts. Its activities included the distribution of literature critical of civil rights legislation, warnings over the influence of the United Nations, and the release of petitions to impeach United States Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren. To spread their message, members held showings of documentary films and operated initiatives such as "Let Freedom Ring", a nationwide network of recorded telephone messages.[74][75]

#### After Welch

Political sign in white background advocating for removal of United States from the United Nations

A sign advocating America's withdrawal produced by the John Birch Society

Since the Vietnam War, the John Birch Society's membership and influence declined in stature; this decline continued through the 1980s and 1990s due to Welch's death in 1985 and the end of the Cold War.[76]

The society continues to press for an end to United States membership in the United Nations. As evidence of the effectiveness of JBS efforts, the society points to the Utah State Legislature's failed resolution calling for United States withdrawal, as well as the actions of several other states where the Society's membership has been active. Since its founding, the society has repeatedly opposed United States military intervention overseas, although it strongly supports the American military. It has issued calls to "Bring Our Troops Home" in every conflict since its founding, including Vietnam. The society also has a national speakers' committee called American Opinion Speakers Bureau (AOSB) and an anti-tax committee called TRIM (Tax Reform IMMEDIATELY).[77]

The second head of the Society was Congressman Larry McDonald (D) from Georgia. McDonald's first wife "estimated that, over the years, he had hosted 10,000 people in his living room for Bircher-inspired lectures and documentaries." [73] In 1982, McDonald was appointed as national chairman of the Society.[73] McDonald was killed in 1983, when airliner KAL 007 was shot down by a Soviet interceptor.[73]

William P. Hoar has been active as a writer for the Society. He is noted for very strong attacks on mainstream politicians

from Franklin D. Roosevelt to George W. Bush. He publishes regularly in *The New American* and its predecessor *American Opinion*. He coauthored *The Clinton Clique* with Larry Abraham alleging that Clinton was part of the Anglo-American conspiracy supposedly ruled through the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission. The Birch Society publications arm, "Western Islands" published his *Architects of Conspiracy: An Intriguing History* (1984) and Huntington House Publishers published his *Handouts and Pickpockets: Our Government Gone Berserk* (1996).[78]

2009–present

The Society has been active in supporting the auditing of, and aims to eventually dismantle, the Federal Reserve System.[79] The JBS holds that the United States Constitution gives only Congress the ability to coin money, and does not permit it to delegate this power, or to transform the dollar into a fiat currency not backed by gold or silver.[80]

The JBS was a co-sponsor of the 2010 Conservative Political Action Conference, ending its decades-long split with the mainstream conservative movement.[81][82]

JBS is opposed to modern-day efforts to call a convention to propose amendments to the United States Constitution.[83]

Although membership numbers are kept private, the JBS has reported a resurgence of members during the Trump administration, specifically in Texas. The organization's goals in Texas include opposition to the UN's Agenda 21 based on a conspiracy theory that it will "establish control over all human activity", and opposition to a bill that would allow undocumented migrants to pay in-state tuition for Texas state colleges.[84]

The John Birch Society has increasingly been linked to the presidency of Donald Trump by political commentators such as Jeet Heer of *The New Republic*, arguing that "Trumpism" is essentially Bircherism.[11] Trump confidante and longtime advisor Roger Stone said that Trump's father Fred Trump was a financier of the Society and a personal friend of founder Robert Welch.[85] Trump's Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney was the speaker at the John Birch Society's National Council dinner shortly before joining the Trump administration.[86] U.S. Senator Rand Paul (R-Kentucky), widely reported to be one of Trump's top advisors on foreign policy, is also tied to the John Birch Society.[87] The senator's father, former Congressman Ron Paul (R-Texas), has had a long and very close relationship with the Society, celebrating its work in his 2008 keynote speech at the John Birch Society 50th anniversary event and saying that it was leading the fight to restore freedom.[88] The keynote speaker at the group's 60th anniversary celebration was Congressman Thomas Massie (R-Kentucky.), who maintains a near-perfect score on the Society's "Freedom Index" ranking of members of Congress.[89] Right-wing conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, who hosted Trump on his Infowars radio show and claims to have a personal relationship with the president, called Trump a "John Birch Society president"[90] and previously claimed Trump was "more John Birch Society than the John Birch Society." [91]

Officers

This section needs additional citations for verification. Please help improve this article by adding citations to reliable sources. Unsourced material may be challenged and removed.

Find sources: "John Birch Society" – news · newspapers · books · scholar · JSTOR (December 2019) (Learn how and when to remove this template message)

Presidents

Robert W. Welch Jr. (1958–1983)

Larry McDonald (1983), a U.S. Representative who was killed in the KAL-007 shootdown incident

Robert W. Welch Jr. (1983–1985)

Charles R. Armour (1985–1991)

John F. McManus (1991–2004)

G. Vance Smith (2004–2005)

John F. McManus (2005–2016)

Ray Clark (2016–)[92]

CEOs

G. Allen Bubolz (1988–1991)

G. Vance Smith (1991–2005)

Arthur R. Thompson (2005–present)

In popular culture

In 1962, Bob Dylan recorded "Talkin' John Birch Paranoid Blues", which poked fun at the society and its tendency to see Communist conspiracies in many situations. When he attempted to perform it on the Ed Sullivan Show in 1963, however, CBS's Standards and Practices department forbade it, fearing that lyrics equating the Society's views with those of Adolf Hitler might trigger a defamation lawsuit. Dylan was offered the opportunity to perform a different song, but he responded that if he could not sing the number of his choice he would rather not appear at all. The story generated widespread media attention in the days that followed; Sullivan denounced the network's decision in published interviews.[93]

In 1962 The Chad Mitchell Trio recorded a satirical song *The John Birch Society* which made its way to no. 99 in the *Billboard* Hot 100.

See also

Conservatism portal

Radical right (United States)

Granville Knight  
Rousas Russhoony  
W. Cleon Skousen  
Edmund Burke Society  
References

#### Foundation for Defense of Democracies

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia  
Jump to navigationJump to search  
Foundation for Defense of Democracies  
Foundation for Defense of Democracies.svg  
Abbreviation FDD  
Formation2001; 19 years ago  
Type 501(c)(3) organization  
Tax ID no.  
13-4174402  
Location  
Washington, D.C., U.S.  
President  
Clifford May  
CEO  
Mark Dubowitz  
Website www.fdd.org

The Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD) is 501(c)(3) non-profit[1] think tank and policy institute[2] and registered lobbying organization[3] based in Washington, D.C., United States.

Its political leanings have been described variously as nonpartisan,[4][5][6][7][8] hawkish,[9][10][11][12] and neoconservative.[13][14][15] FDD holds events throughout the year, including its annual Washington Forum, briefings on Capitol Hill, expert roundtables for public officials, diplomats, and military officers, book releases, and panel discussions and debates within the policy community.

FDD publishes research on foreign policy and security issues, focusing on subjects such as nuclear-non proliferation, cyber threats, sanctions, illicit finance, and policy surrounding North Korea, Iran, Russia, the war in Afghanistan, and other areas of study.[16][17]

FDD has been identified as part of the Israel lobby in the United States by several scholarly sources.[18] Sima Vaknin-Gil, Director General of Israel's Ministry of Strategic Affairs, had stated that the FDD works in conjunction with Israeli government, in particular the ministry she works for. FDD did not elaborate on this.[19]

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#### History and mission

FDD was founded in 2001, just after the September 11 attacks.[20] In the initial documents filed for tax-exempt status in Internal Revenue Service, its stated mission "was to provide education to enhance Israel's image in North America and the public's understanding of issues affecting Israeli-Arab relations".[21] Later documents described the mission as "to conduct research and provide education on international terrorism and related issues".[22]

On its website, FDD describes itself as a "a non-profit, non-partisan 501(c)3 policy institute", with focus "on foreign policy and national security that combines policy research, democracy and counterterrorism education, strategic communications and investigative journalism in support of its mission to promote pluralism, defend democratic values and fight the ideologies that drive terrorism".[20]

On 15 November 2019, FDD was officially registered as a lobby under Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.[3]

#### Funding

According to Dennis Jett, FDD "offers hardly any information on where its money comes from and where it goes".[20]

#### 2001–2004

Money funneled to the FDD during first decade of its activity, based on calculations made by Christopher Bail, expanded by 442%. [23]

In 2011, news website ThinkProgress published FDD's Form 990 documents[24] that revealed where FDD funding came from, from 2001 to 2004. Top donors included:

Roland Arnall: \$1,802,000[25]

Edgar M. and Charles Bronfman: \$1,050,000[25]

Michael Steinhardt: \$850,000[25]

Abramson Family Foundation (of Leonard Abramson): \$822,523[25]

Bernard Marcus: \$600,000[25]

Lewis Ranieri: \$350,000[25]

Other notable donors who gave lesser money during the same period were:

Haim Saban[25]

Jennifer Laszlo Mizrahi[25]

Douglas J. Feith[25]

#### 2008–2011

FDD's Schedule A documents filed by the end of the 2011 tax year, indicates that the organization from 2008 to 2011 was funded more than \$20,000,000,[26] and the top three donors were:

Bernard Marcus: \$10,745,000[26]

Paul Singer: \$3,600,000[26]

Sheldon Adelson: \$1,510,059[26]

#### 2017

In 2018, AP reported that the United Arab Emirates has wired \$2,500,000 to the FDD through Elliott Broidy and George Nader, to host a conference amidst Qatar diplomatic crisis about the country's role as a state-sponsor of terrorism.[27]

FDD stated that it does not accept money from foreign governments, adding that "[a]s is our funding policy, we asked if his funding was connected to any foreign governments or if he had business contracts in the Gulf. He assured us that he did not".[27]

Adam Hanieh states that the FDD high-profile conference of 23 May 2017 was in line with UAE's policy at the time, which officially alleged that Qatar finances Islamist groups, adding that emails leaked shortly after show that UAE's Ambassador Yousef Al Otaiba had a "cosy relationship" with the FDD, and had reviewed the remarks made by Robert Gates at the convention.[28]

#### Others

Additionally, it is known that as of 2016, FDD has received donations from the following institutions:

Abstraction Fund[29]:24

Hertog Foundation[29]:24

Jacobson Family Foundation[29]:30

Klarman Family Foundation[29]:30

Koret Foundation[29]:30

Milstein Family Foundation[29]:30

Nathan Seter Foundation[29]:30

Newton and Rochelle Becker Charitable Trust[29]:31

Snider Foundation[29]:31

Hochberg Family Foundation[29]:39

Marcus Foundation[29]:39

Bodman Foundation[29]:39

Emerson Family Foundation[29]:41

Eris & Larry Field Family Foundation[29]:41

Rita & Irwin Hochberg Family Foundation[29]:42

Anchorage Charitable Fund[30]

William Rosenwald Family Fund[31]  
Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation[32]  
Activities

#### The Iran Project

Iran's government officially threatened FDD and its CEO Mark Dubowitz, enacting sanctions against the CEO, and implicitly threatening the think tank with force from the Iranian state's "security apparatus," as implied in Tehran's own official announcement.[33][34]

Led by CEO[35][third-party source needed] Mark Dubowitz, FDD's Iran Program[36][third-party source needed] seeks to "address the threat posed by the Islamic Republic of Iran to America and its allies, FDD conducts detailed research, develops actionable and comprehensive policy options, and appears regularly in media." [36][third-party source needed] FDD says it does this through attacking Iran's "most vulnerable points: its worldwide media operations, its standing in the United States and Europe, its finances, and its efforts to support terrorist activities abroad".[37][third-party source needed] Specifically, FDD concerns itself with Iran's nuclear ambitions through its Iran Energy Project[38][third-party source needed] and Iran's human rights abuses through its Iran Human Rights Project.[39][third-party source needed]

In 2008, FDD founded the Iran Energy Project which "conducts extensive research on ways to deny the Iranian regime the profits of its energy sector".[40][third-party source needed] The Wall Street Journal credited FDD with bringing "the idea of gasoline sanctions to political attention." [41] FDD's bi-partisan approach to advocating sanctions legislation has earned praise from Congressmen in both parties. Congressman Howard Berman (D-CA) thanked the organization saying "FDD has been one the most committed and creative voices in Washington regarding the Iran nuclear issue and specifically Iran sanctions". [42][third-party source needed] FDD's efforts to target the Iranian regime's finances has gone beyond energy sanctions. The organization pushed for sanctions against the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its use of Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT) to perform transactions. According to The Wall Street Journal, FDD "has done most of the spadework on the issue".[43]

#### The Syria Project

For years, Syria has been a focus of FDD's research because of its alignment with Iran and support for organizations such as Hezbollah.[44] In 2012, as the Arab Spring spread to Syria, FDD launched "The Syria Project" to support dissident efforts in removing the Assad regime.[45][third-party source needed] In that effort, FDD facilitated a Skype call between dissidents and U.S. journalists in 2012[46] and produced multiple studies and memos urging U.S. officials to act.[47][third-party source needed]

#### Long War Journal

Main article: Long War Journal

Long War Journal is a FDD project dedicated to reporting the Global War on Terror launched by the United States and its allies following the attacks of September 11, 2001. Under the direction of FDD senior fellows Bill Roggio and Thomas Joscelyn, this website covers stories about countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, and Iraq and follows the actions of al Qaeda and its affiliates.[48][third-party source needed] According to the Columbia Journalism Review, "Roggio's greatest service, then, may be the way he picks up where the mainstream press leaves off, giving readers a simultaneously more specific and holistic understanding of the battlefield".[49]

#### European Foundation for Democracy

Main article: European Foundation for Democracy § Ties to the Foundation for Defense of Democracies  
Personnel

Clifford May, FDD's founder and current president

#### Executives

Clifford May, President[21]

Mark Dubowitz, CEO[3]

Toby Dershowitz, Senior Vice President for Government Relations and Strategy[21]

Tyler Stapleton, Deputy for Congressional Relations[3]

John Hannah, Senior Counselor

Bill McCarthy, COO

Lawrence Muscant, Senior Vice President

Jonathan Schanzer, Vice President for Research[21]

Former staff include:

Nir Boms (President)[21]

Board of directors

As of 2005, members of FDD's board of directors were:

Steve Forbes[50]

Jack Kemp[50]

Jeane Kirkpatrick[50]

Advisors

The following people served as advisors to FDD as of 2005:

Newt Gingrich[50]  
James Woolsey[50]  
Bill Kristol[50]  
Richard Perle[50]  
Fellows  
Walid Phares  
Michael Ledeen  
Emanuele Ottolenghi  
Olli Heinonen  
Orde Kittrie  
Criticism

The International Relations Center features a report on the foundation on its "Right Web" website, a program of the think tank Institute for Policy Studies[51] which, according to its mission statement, seeks to "check the militaristic drift of the country". The report states that "although the FDD is an ardent critic of terrorism, it has not criticized actions taken by Israel against Palestinians that arguably fall into this category".[52]

The left-leaning political blog ThinkProgress has criticized FDD for "alarmist rhetoric and fear mongering",[25][unreliable source?] for example in April 2002 when they aired a 30-second television ad campaign called "Suicide Strategy" that was described by critics as "conflating" Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat with the likes of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. As FDD explained it: "a militant Islamic terrorist who 'martyrs' himself by hijacking a plane and flying it into the World Trade Center"—i.e., the September 11 attacks—"is no different from a militant Islamic terrorist who 'martyrs' himself by strapping explosives to his body and walking into a hotel"—i.e., Palestinian suicide attacks.

#### First Liberty Institute

First Liberty  
First Liberty Institute.jpg  
Formation1997  
Type Non-profit organization  
Purpose litigation in religious freedom disputes  
Headquarters 2001 West Plano Parkway, Suite 1600  
Plano, Texas 75075  
President, CEO  
Kelly Shackelford  
General Counsel  
Hiram Sasser  
Revenue  
Increase \$10,099,518 (2017)  
Increase \$8,392,977 (2016)[1]  
Website firstliberty.org

First Liberty Institute is a nonprofit legal organization based in Plano, Texas, near the Dallas-Fort Worth metro area.[2][3] Supporters describe the organization as focused on providing assistance to individuals and organizations "in legal battles over religious freedom and first-amendment issues".[4] Critics generally describe it as a Christian-right and/or Religious-right advocacy organization with a strong anti-LGBT agenda.[5][6][7] Because First Liberty handles court litigation and other similar legal matters, it is often referred to as a law firm.[8][9]

First Liberty Institute is headed by Kelly Shackelford[10] who founded the organization in 1997 under the name Liberty Legal Institute.[11] The organization changed its name to Liberty Institute in 2009 and then, in 2016, to First Liberty Institute.[12]

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#### Prominent cases

First Liberty Institute represented Dr. Eric Walsh in a lawsuit against the Georgia Department of Health (DPH) which had hired Dr. Walsh in 2014 as a district health director. Dr. Walsh, however, was also a lay minister at a Seventh-Day Adventist church, where he frequently gave sermons and religious speeches, and one week after his hiring, DPH officials reviewed Dr. Walsh's sermons and subsequently fired Dr. Walsh from his position.[13][14] In April 2016, First Liberty filed a lawsuit claiming that Dr. Walsh had been terminated from his job due to his religious beliefs.[15][16]

Among First Liberty Institute's most prominent cases are the "Candy Cane Case"; legal actions taken to stop a report on an investigation into Sarah Palin being published; and numerous legal cases filed in Texas courts concerning First Amendment and religious freedom issues.[17][18]

First Liberty Institute is also known to litigate veterans memorial cross cases. Among these cases was the Bladensburg WWI Veterans Memorial case, which has been litigation since 2014, after the American Humanist Association sued to remove the memorial claiming it was in violation of the U.S. Constitution.[19][20][21] In June 2019, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in American Legion v. American Humanist Association upholding the cross memorial, citing that it did not violate the Establishment Clause.[22] In previous years, the Freedom From Religion Foundation, the ACLU, and the American Humanist Association have challenged other similar veterans memorial cross cases.[23][24]

The "Candy Cane Case" began in 2004 after a student in Plano, Texas was prohibited by school officials from distributing candy canes with a religious story attached at his school's Christmas party.[17] In 2011, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit granted two school principals immunity in the case against the Plano Independent School District.[25] The Liberty Institute appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court,[26] which refused to hear the case in 2012, upholding the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.[27]

In 2011 it filed a lawsuit against the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs alleging that the department had censored prayers and the use of the words "God" or "Jesus". The Department's response was that its regulations stated that there is no censorship but that the religious preferences of the families of the deceased are respected and that at times families have complained about volunteers and the Veterans of Foreign Wars had included religious references in services even though the families had requested that there be none. The Department's response said, "Defendants believe that it should be the family's choice and decision what to have read in accordance with their faith tradition, if any, because it would be improper for others to impose their own religious preferences on a Veteran's family, especially during this meaningful event".[28] The case was settled in September 2012 after mediation by former Texas Supreme Court Chief Justice Thomas R. Phillips.[29]

First Liberty Institute represents high school football coach Joseph A. Kennedy in a lawsuit against the Bremerton School District in the state of Washington.[30] The dispute centers around the dismissal of the coach after a school policy conflict pertaining to his practice of a prayer after each game.[31][32] The Supreme Court declined to hear the case in January 2019.[33][34] In March 2020, a federal district court ruled against Coach Kennedy.[35]

#### Prominent individuals

In November 2016, Ken Klukowski, First Liberty's senior counsel and director of strategic affairs was appointed to head the issue area of "Protecting Americans' Constitutional Rights" in the Donald Trump presidential transition team.[36]

Matthew J. Kacsmark, who served as Deputy General Counsel to First Liberty Institute, and Jeff Mateer, who previously served as general counsel, were nominated in 2017 by President Trump for District Court positions. Mateer subsequently withdrew after a May 2015 speech where he referred to transgender children as "Satan's plan" became public.[37][38] The Senate confirmed Kacsmark on June 19, 2019.[39][40]

See also

Alliance Defending Freedom  
Liberty Counsel

#### Judicial Watch

Judicial Watch (JW) is an American conservative activist group[1] that files Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) lawsuits to investigate claimed misconduct by government officials.

Founded in 1994, JW has primarily targeted Democrats, in particular the Presidency of Bill Clinton, the Presidency of Barack Obama, and Hillary Clinton. The organization has described climate science as "fraud science" and has filed lawsuits against government climate scientists. JW has made numerous false and unsubstantiated claims that have been picked up by right-wing news outlets. Courts have dismissed the vast majority of its lawsuits.[1]

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#### History

Judicial Watch was founded in 1994 by attorney and right-wing activist Larry Klayman. Before leaving the organization in 2003, Klayman hired Tom Fitton, who became president of the organization. In October 2016, The New York Times wrote: "Judicial Watch's strategy is simple: Carpet-bomb the federal courts with Freedom of Information Act lawsuits." As of 2016, the organization had nearly fifty employees. Judicial Watch calls itself a nonpartisan educational foundation as well as a media organization. According to the Times, "the group has forced the release of government records that would otherwise have been kept from the public." Critics accuse JW of "weaponizing the Freedom of Information Act for political purposes."<sup>[1]</sup>

#### Clinton Administration

Judicial Watch came to public attention after filing eighteen lawsuits against the administration of Democratic U.S. President Bill Clinton and other figures in the Clinton administration. An early lawsuit was filed by Judicial Watch on behalf of the Western Center for Journalism (WCJ) in 1998. The lawsuit alleged a retaliatory audit by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). The WCJ was investigating the death of Clinton deputy White House counsel Vince Foster at the time.<sup>[2]</sup>

The organization received considerable financial support from prominent Clinton critics, including \$7.74 million from conservative billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife.<sup>[3]</sup> This led Clinton administration officials to accuse Judicial Watch of "abusing the judicial system for partisan ends".<sup>[4]</sup>

#### Bush administration

In July 2003 Judicial Watch joined the environmental organization Sierra Club in suing the George W. Bush administration for access to minutes of Vice President Dick Cheney's Energy Task Force.<sup>[5]</sup> Judicial Watch was involved in a similar legal dispute with Vice President Dick Cheney in 2002 when the group filed a shareholder lawsuit against Halliburton. The lawsuit, which accused Halliburton of accounting fraud, alleged that "when Mr. Cheney was chief executive of Halliburton, he and other directors inflated revenue reports, boosting Halliburton's share price."<sup>[6]</sup> As reported by the Wall Street Journal the court filing claims the oil-field-services concern overstated revenue by a total of \$445 million from 1999 through the end of 2001.<sup>[7][8]</sup>

#### Obama administration

Judicial Watch filed over twenty FOIA lawsuits involving the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's emails.<sup>[9]</sup>

A federal judge ruled on February 23, 2016 that top aides to Hillary Clinton could be questioned under oath by Judicial Watch about her use of a private email server as secretary of state. District Court Judge Emmet G. Sullivan granted Judicial Watch's motion for discovery into whether the State Department and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton deliberately thwarted the Freedom of Information Act by using a private email server to obscure her communications from public records requests.<sup>[10]</sup>

#### Activities and controversies

Judicial Watch's main targets have been Democrats, particularly Bill and Hillary Clinton and the Obama administration.<sup>[11]</sup>

#### Commerce Department trade mission scandal

Main article: Commerce Department trade mission controversy

In 1995, Judicial Watch, Inc. filed an action in the District Court under the FOIA, seeking information from the Department of Commerce (DOC) regarding DOC's selection of participants for foreign trade missions. In May 1995, following a search in response to Judicial Watch's FOIA requests, DOC produced approximately 28,000 pages of nonexempt information and withheld about 1,000 documents as exempt. Disputes arose between the parties over the adequacy of DOC's search, and Judicial Watch charged that some DOC officials had destroyed or removed responsive documents. In December 1998,



following discovery, the District Court granted partial summary judgment to Judicial Watch and ordered DOC to perform a new search.[12] During the investigation, Nolanda B. Hill, a business partner of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown testified that Brown had told her that first lady Hillary Clinton was the driving force behind the efforts to raise as much money as possible for President Clinton's reelection and the DNC. And further that, "...companies were being solicited to donate large sums of money in exchange for their selection to participate on trade missions of the Commerce Department." [13]

#### Vince Foster conspiracy

Judicial Watch helped promote the conspiracy theory that Vince Foster was murdered by the Clintons.[14][11]

#### White House visitor logs

August 10, 2009 Judicial Watch sent a FOIA request to the US Secret Service asking that official White House visitor logs be made public. In August 2011, U.S. District Judge Beryl Howell ordered the agency to process the group's data request.[15] The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia partially affirmed the decision, holding that the Secret Service did not have to produce records of visitors to the president's office.[15]

#### False Nancy Pelosi claims

In 2010, Judicial Watch made inaccurate claims about air travel spending by Nancy Pelosi's congressional delegation; Judicial Watch's claims were picked up by the conservative conspiracy site WorldNetDaily.[16] Judicial Watch also made false claims about Pelosi's air travel in 2008.[17]

#### Operation Neptune Spear

Osama bin Laden, leader of the terror group al-Qaeda, was killed in Pakistan on May 1, 2011 in a joint operation by the United States Navy SEALs and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This operation was code-named Operation Neptune Spear.[18] On May 2, 2011 Judicial Watch filed a FOIA request with the Department of Defense and the CIA for photographs and videos of bin Laden taken during or after the operation.[19]

The government failed to produce any records within the required twenty days. In order to force compliance, Judicial Watch filed a FOIA lawsuit against the DOD and CIA on June 8, 2011. On January 31, 2014, after legal wrangling, the Pentagon released Operation Neptune Spear documents to Judicial Watch. One email had the subject line OPSEC Guidance / Neptune Spear and is proof that days after the original FOIA request U.S. Special Operations Commander, Admiral William McRaven ordered his subordinates to immediately destroy any Osama bin Laden photos they may have had.[20]

#### Kennedy assassination records

Judicial Watch filed a FOIA lawsuit against the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) to obtain the records from Robert F. Kennedy's time as the Attorney General. The records covered sensitive intelligence operations conducted during the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations.[21]

#### Hillary Clinton email lawsuits

Judicial Watch has currently filed twenty FOIA lawsuits involving the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's emails.[9]

On February 8, 2016, the FBI confirmed it was investigating Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server during her time as Secretary of State. The Bureau was forced to formally acknowledge the investigation due to an ongoing FOIA lawsuit brought by Judicial Watch. FBI director James Comey had previously referenced the investigation, although the FBI had declined to confirm or deny it in court filings.[22]

A federal judge ruled on February 23, 2016 that top aides to Hillary Clinton could be questioned under oath by Judicial Watch about her use of a private email server as secretary of state. District Court Judge Emmet G. Sullivan granted Judicial Watch's motion for discovery into whether the State Department and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton deliberately thwarted the Freedom of Information Act by using a private email server to obscure her communications from public records requests.[10]

In May 2016 U.S. District Court Judge Emmet G. Sullivan granted "discovery" to Judicial Watch into former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's email system. This ruling allowed Judicial Watch to question two close Clinton aides, Huma Abedin and Cheryl Mills, under oath. In a separate FOIA lawsuit concerning Hillary Clinton and the Benghazi terrorist attack, U.S. District Court Judge Royce Lamberth ruled Judicial Watch can conduct discovery into the email practices of Clinton and her top aides.[23]

In a separate case, on March 29, 2016 U.S. District Court Judge Royce Lamberth granted Judicial Watch limited discovery, citing potential bad faith by the government in responding to requests for documents related to talking points provided to Susan Rice in response to the Benghazi attack.[24]

A FOIA lawsuit by Judicial Watch led to the release of 2,800 e-mails from Clinton aide Huma Abedin that were found on the laptop computer of Anthony Weiner, Abedin's estranged husband. Five of the e-mails were classified.[25]

#### False claims about George Zimmermann protests

In 2013, Judicial Watch claimed that the Department of Justice under the Obama administration organized protests against George Zimmermann after the Trayvon Martin shooting; PolitiFact said that this was "mostly false" and that while Justice Department employees were sent to Florida, they "were sent with the idea of keeping the situation peaceful and calm, not to instigate or condone protests or violence." [26]

#### ISIS in Mexico scares

In 2014 and 2015, Judicial Watch falsely claimed that ISIS had set up camp in Mexico; Judicial Watch's claims were picked up by several right-wing news outlets. [27][28][29][14][30]

#### Collaboration with Steve Bannon and Breitbart News

In 2013, Judicial Watch collaborated with Steve Bannon, executive chairman of the alt-right website Breitbart, on the film "District of Corruption", which critiqued the Obama administration. [31] Judicial Watch paid Bannon's group Victory Film Project \$382,143 for the film. [31] Politico described the film as an "infomercial for the work of Judicial Watch". [32]

Judicial Watch has for a number of years advertised on Breitbart News, the alt-right website run by Steve Bannon. [33] Judicial Watch's president Tom Fitton said "Liberal activists want to destroy Breitbart, but we won't be cowed". [33]

#### Murder of Seth Rich conspiracy theory

In 2017, Judicial Watch requested documents related to the death of DNC staffer Seth Rich; Seth Rich's death led to debunked rightwing conspiracy theories which alleged that Hillary Clinton or the Democratic Party had him killed. [34]

#### False voter fraud claims

In August 2017, Judicial Watch falsely alleged that 11 California counties had more registered voters than their estimated populations of citizens eligible to vote; the claims were picked up by outlets such as Breitbart News and Russian propaganda network RT (Russia Today). [35] Judicial Watch counted "inactive voters" in its tally, which is a list of people that California maintains of people who have been removed from active rolls after a mail ballot, voter guide or other official document was returned as undeliverable; California keeps such a list as a fail-safe in case eligible voters have been erroneously categorized as "inactive". [35] California Secretary of State Alex Padilla said Judicial Watch's claims were "baseless", and "bad math and dubious methodology". [35][36] When the Los Angeles Times asked Judicial Watch to share its analysis of voter registration in California, Judicial Watch declined. [36] Judicial Watch's voter fraud claims came in the wake of President Donald Trump's false claims of extensive voter fraud in California during the 2016 presidential election. [36]

On 3 February 2020, the day of the Iowa caucuses in the Democratic presidential primary, JW president Tom Fitton suggested that voter fraud was afoot in Iowa by falsely claiming that "eight Iowa counties have more voter registrations than citizens old enough to register." The false assertion went viral on social media. [37][38] Iowa's Secretary of State, Paul Pate, a member of the Republican Party, debunked Fitton's claim by linking to official voter registration data. [39][40]

Fitton has made alarmist claims about voter fraud, saying "We have all heard about voter fraud and the attempts by liberal media organs like the New York Times and Ivory Tower academics to dismiss it as a nonexistent problem. But is it real, widespread, and substantial to the point that it can decide elections." [41]

#### False claims about Trump Nazi billboard

In 2017, Judicial Watch falsely claimed that taxpayer money went into a billboard which depicted President Donald Trump as a Nazi. [42]

#### Lawsuits against climate scientists

Judicial Watch, which has claimed that climate science is "fraud science", has filed lawsuits seeking to force the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to release the correspondence of climate scientists who published a 2015 study in the journal Science. [43] The study had debunked one of the common claims made by those who reject the scientific consensus on climate change, namely that there existed global warming "hiatus" between 1998-2012. The Climate Science Legal Defense Fund (CSLDF), American Meteorological Society and Union of Concerned Scientists condemned Judicial Watch, saying that the disclosure of private communications between scientists "would harm (or halt altogether) government scientists' ability to collaborate with colleagues, damage the government's ability to recruit or retain top scientists, and deter critically important research into politically charged fields like climate change". The Judicial Watch lawsuit was inspired by Rep. Lamar Smith, a climate change denier [44] who had accused the authors of the study of "alter[ing] data" to "get the politically correct results they want." [45]

#### Mueller and FBI investigations into Russian interference

In 2017, Judicial Watch helped to stoke Republican attacks against Special Counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election. [46] Judicial Watch President Tom Fitton has called for the Special Counsel investigation to be shut down, arguing that prosecutors in the probe were too biased against President Trump to conduct a credible investigation, a claim rejected by Republican Senators Tom Tillis and Bob Corker. [47] Fitton furthermore called for shutting down the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) based on the false claim that the Obama administration had turned it into a "KGB-type operation." [48]

#### Accusations against the Clinton Foundation

In January 2018, Judicial Watch president Tom Fitton repeated accusations against the Clinton Foundation that it had funneled money intended for charity work in Haiti to pay for Chelsea Clinton's wedding.[49] The Washington Post fact-checked the claim a year earlier and found that it was "lacking any evidence".[49]

#### George Soros smears

In October 2018, Chris Farrell of Judicial Watch stirred controversy when he appeared on Lou Dobbs' Fox Business show and used what many described as an anti-Semitic trope to suggest that the State Department was "Soros-occupied" territory. The remark echoed the anti-Semitic trope of a "Zionist-occupied government" to refer to Jewish control of the U.S. government.[50][51] After widespread condemnation, Fox stated that Farrell would no longer be booked.[52][51]

Farrell promoted the unsubstantiated conspiracy theory that a migrant caravan traveling through Central America towards the United States was being directed or funded by the "Soros-occupied State Department".[53] Judicial Watch had been engaged in what NPR described as a "full-throated campaign against Soros". Among other things, Judicial Watch raised money by running ads with a call to action: "Expose Soros!"[53][54]

#### Statue removal

Judicial Watch has sought to remove a statue of Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa from downtown Tucson.[55] Judicial Watch said the statue "needs to go" because "Pancho Villa did great harm to people." [55]

#### Larry Klayman lawsuits

In September 2003, Judicial Watch founder Larry Klayman left the organization to run for the United States Senate from Florida.[56] In 2006, Klayman sued Judicial Watch and its president, Tom Fitton. Judicial Watch asserted several claims against Klayman as well.[citation needed] In 2019, Judicial Watch obtained a \$2.8 million verdict against Klayman on its claims of breaches of the severance agreement and trademark infringement.[57]

In 2012, a Judicial Watch employee falsely told Orly Taitz that Klayman had been convicted of not paying child support (Klayman had been indicted, but the charges were later dismissed). Taitz then published the employee's comment on her website. Klayman sued Judicial Watch for defamation, and in 2014, a federal jury awarded Klayman \$156,000 in compensatory damages and \$25,000 in punitive damages.[58]

In 2014, Klayman agreed to be publicly censured by the D.C. Bar. Klayman represented three individuals who had sued Judicial Watch, his former employer and client, but he failed to obtain Judicial Watch's consent to waive his conflict of interest. Klayman maintained that the bar "recognized there was no evidence of dishonesty or personal gain".[59] In June 2017, the discipline committee recommended that Klayman be suspended from practicing law for 90 days.[60][61]

In July 2017, Freedom Watch (Klayman's successor organization to Judicial Watch) unsuccessfully sued Judicial Watch and the American Conservative Union (ACU), alleging they violated the Sherman Act by colluding to prevent Freedom Watch from participating at the ACU's Conservative Political Action Conference.[62]

#### Peter Paul lawsuit

In 2007 former donor Peter F. Paul sued Judicial Watch, accusing it of using his name to raise more than \$15 million to support his lawsuit against Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton while doing little to advance his case.[63][64][65] All of Paul's claims were dismissed.[66][better source needed]

#### Funding

As of 2016, Judicial Watch has an annual budget of about \$35 million.[1] Between 1997 and 2002 Judicial Watch received \$7,069,500 in 19 grants from a handful of foundations. The bulk of this funding came from three foundations: the Sarah Scaife Foundation, a funder of politically conservative causes;[67] The Carthage Foundation, which merged into the Sarah Scaife Foundation in 2014;[68][better source needed] and the John M. Olin Foundation, Inc.[69] As of 2010, the Sarah Scaife Foundation was the group's largest contributor.[70]

#### Notes

#### Federation for American Immigration Reform

For the similarly named pro-immigration project, see Fair Immigration Reform Movement. For the similarly named non-profit media advocacy group, see Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting.

Federation for American Immigration Reform

Formation1979; 41 years ago[1]

Founder John Tanton

Otis L. Graham Jr.

Sidney Swensrud

Founded at Washington, DC

Legal status Non-profit tax exempt

Headquarters Washington, D.C.

Region

United States

Key people

Daniel A. Stein, President (1988-)

Affiliations Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI) (est. 1987)[2] FAIR Congressional Task Force (FCTF) (est. 2004)[3]

Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) (est. 1985)[4]

Budget

Revenue: \$11,157,713

Expenses: \$11,246,727

(FYE December 2016)[1]

Website FAIRUS.org

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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Variants and movements[show]

See also[show]

DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal

vte

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) is an anti-immigration organization in the United States.[6] The group publishes position papers, organizes events, and runs campaigns in order to influence US immigration policies. The Southern Poverty Law Center classifies FAIR as a hate group with close ties to white supremacist groups.[7]

FAIR was founded in 1979 by the pro-eugenics ophthalmologist John Tanton, former historian of labor movements and director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions Otis L. Graham Jr. and Sidney Swensrud, a former chairman of Gulf Oil and former governing board member of Planned Parenthood.[8][9][10]

Tanton became leader of several anti-immigration groups and held white supremacist beliefs while he led the organization.[11][12]

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Mission

According to their website, FAIR seeks a moratorium on net immigration by anyone other than refugees and the spouses and minor children of U.S. citizens.[13] FAIR also believes that the economic and social growth in the United States are no longer sustainable at the current rate of the influx of immigrants into the country.[13]

In 1994, Fair supported California Proposition 187.[14]

In 2004, the Federation for American Immigration Reform cooperated with the group called Protect Arizona Now in order to support the passage of Proposition 200, which shares similarities with California's Proposition 187 as to which undocumented immigrants are restricted from public benefits and voting because they are most likely unable to provide the required proof of citizenship. It also made the crime of a public official not reporting illegal status a class 2 misdemeanor.[15]

History

The "founder of the modern immigration reform movement"—John Tanton—an ophthalmologist in Petoskey, Michigan—"saw a threat coming in the soaring rates of immigration" and that the "environment was threatened by overpopulation".[16]:174 Frustrated by the lack of interest of his "liberal colleagues in groups such as Planned Parenthood and the Sierra Club where he was actively engaged, he helped establish "three major national groups"—FAIR, Numbers

USA and the Center for Immigration Studies—to fight to reduce [legal and illegal] immigration.”[17][18]

Tanton—along with University of North Carolina professor Otis Graham and former Gulf Oil CEO, Sydney Swensrud—established FAIR in 1979.[19][8][9] In 1982 Tanton also established U.S. Inc, a foundation chaired by Tanton with financial support from Cordelia Scaife May which would over the years, serve as a funding conduit for FAIR, Numbers USA, the Center for Immigration Studies, and many other groups.[20][21][22]

FAIR's first executive director was environmental lawyer Roger Conner. Other co-founders included feminist Sharon Barnes,[10] philanthropists Jay Harris and Stewart Mott (of the Stewart R. Mott Foundation) and William Paddock, dean of Zamorano the Pan American School of Agriculture[8][23] Dan Stein has been president of FAIR since 1988.

In *American Immigration: An Encyclopedia of Political, Social, and Cultural Change*, Brian N. Fry described Tanton as the "leader of the drive to restrict immigration" starting in the mid-1970s. Fry described those who favored maintaining or increasing immigration numbers as "expansionists" and those who sought to reduce them as "restrictionists." Fry traced "restrictions roots" to a surprising surge in illegal and legal immigration—the "new immigration"—following the 1964 termination of the Bracero Program and the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.[24]:281–84

Tanton as President of Zero Population Growth from 1975–77 attempted to get members to "support immigration restrictions." When they were unwilling, he launched FAIR with seed money in 1979.[24]

Throughout the 1980s FAIR's lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill met with more success as did their direct mail campaigns. FAIR received funds from donors such as Cordelia Scaife May (1928–2005) through her Laurel Foundation[25]:283(1928–2005)[26] and the Pioneer Fund which contributed \$1.2 million to FAIR in the 1980s and early 1990s.[19]:195[25]:291[24]

Following negative publicity about FAIR receiving funds from Pioneer Fund when they were revealed in a Los Angeles Times article,[24]:282[27] FAIR stopped "receiving grants" from Pioneer that required "public disclosure." The SPLC claimed FAIR continued to "receive private financial support from Pioneer's leaders for several years." [27]

Tanton had wanted FAIR to focus on issues related to Hispanics in the United States, such as "cultural division" and bilingualism. He was unable to convince FAIR's board of directors to shift their focus. However FAIR helped Tanton establish U.S. English as the umbrella organization for "projects pertaining to overpopulation, immigration, and the environment.[24]:281 Through the work of Senator Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa (R-CA) (1906–1992)[28] and Tanton, U.S. English became a well-organized and well-funded official movement resulting in twenty-two states enacting official language laws to protect English between 1981–97.[24] From 2007–15, Julie Kirchner was FAIR's executive director.[29]

In 1991 historian Eric Hobsbawm explained the rise of FAIR, US English and English first in the United States in the 1980s as part of a larger political phenomenon of xenophobia that "feeds on hostility towards the new mass migrations".[30]:556 He quoted a Czech historian, "Where old social relations become unstable, amid the rise of general insecurity, belonging to a common language and culture may become the only certainty in society, the only value beyond ambiguity and doubt." [30]:537, 555–56[31]:168

FAIR became "the stuff of lore in 2007, with their successful campaign against Bush's proposed Immigration Reform which represented "a systemic overhaul including a path to citizenship for most illegal immigrants." [18] "FAIR rallied talk show hosts...The Center for Immigration Studies published "studies of the bill's perceived flaws" and "Numbers USA jammed the Capitol's phones." FAIR had become the "most important organization [in the United States] fueling the backlash against immigration"[18][32] and Tanton was perceived as the leader. As a result, liberal groups who opposed FAIR focused on Tanton who was at that time "in his 32nd year on the board." Tanton was concerned that US birthrates had dropped "below replacement level.[16]:174 In 1986 Tanton wrote memos to FAIR colleagues—which became known as the WITAN memos—predicting a "Latin onslaught" and worried that high Latino birth rates and low US birthrates would lead "the present majority to hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile". He was concerned Latinos would "bring with them the tradition of the mordida ['bribe]', the lack of involvement in public affairs." He asked, "What are the differences in educability between Hispanics (with their 50% dropout rate) and Asiatics (with their excellent school records and long tradition of scholarship)?" The memos—which became known as the WITAN memos—were leaked to the press in 1988.[33]:23

He warned that unless Latino immigration was restricted it would ultimately "lead to linguistic, economic, racial and religious "apartheid" in the United States." [34][16]:174 He cautioned, "I've come to the point of view that for European-American society and culture to persist requires a European-American majority, and a clear one at that." [33][35]:203 When the WITAN memos were leaked to the press in 1988,[33] Tanton eventually had to resign from U.S. English.[36] although he denied the accusations.[37]

FAIR has created several affiliated groups, including the Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI)[2] and the FAIR Congressional Task Force (FCTF) as a 501(c)(4).[3] The Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) was spun off from FAIR in 1985.[38]

FAIR has held an annual "Hold Their Feet to the Fire"[39] (F2F) event since 2007 in Washington, D.C.[40] In 2008, Lou Dobbs, a regular (F2F) attendee, broadcast on live television from the event's rally, commended FAIR. He was fired from CNN in 2009 and hired at Fox the next year, to run a similar show.[41][42]

In September 2009 two divisive issues—immigration and health care—became "politically linked" when partisan health reform opponents challenged what they perceived as subsidized health care for illegal immigrants.[43] By early September the bipartisan Gang of Six negotiations on a compromise for the health care reform bill,[44] had fallen apart. Senators who had previously "embraced the framework" were convinced by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell that they were being politically unwise. Their rhetoric turned "shrill" and "anti-reform" with one Senator talking about "death panels that would kill grandma." [45] The furor on immigration "escalated" into what The Washington Post called a "proxy war." FAIR's annual "Hold their Feet to the Fire" event" in Washington on September 14 and 15, was described by The Post as a "Capitol Hill lobbying push..[with] 47 conservative radio hosts holding a 'town hall of the airwaves'... [highlighting] the costs of illegal immigration." [43]

America's Voice's Director Frank Sharry said, "conservative activists" had attempted to "intimidate" Congress by "tapping into a thin but vocal vein of populist anger... We didn't call them out last time, we thought we were in a political debate. Now we realize it's part political debate and... part culture war. These talk-show guys and FAIR, this isn't about immigration policy, as much as they think there are way too many Latinos in this country and they want to get rid of a couple of million of them." [43] The SPLC strongly denounced FAIR and its founder. FAIR president Dan Stein stated in The Post article that the SPLC had "decided to engage in unsubstantiated, invidious name-calling, smearing millions of people in this movement who simply want to see the law enforced and, frankly, lower levels of immigration" and that "America's Voice and allied groups were 'juvenile mud throwers who seem unprepared to engage in serious public debate'." [43]

In a 2011 article in The New York Times, a former aide to President Ronald Reagan, Linda Chavez, was cited as saying that 77-year-old Tanton was "the most influential unknown man in America." [17][18] In a 2011 interview published in The New York Times and The Houston Chronicle, FAIR's President Dan Stein said, "Is FAIR responsible for everything [John Tanton] said in his private correspondence? No, I love John, but he's had no significant control over FAIR for years." [18]

By the end of 2016, FAIR's annual budget reached \$11.2 million.[46]

In May 2017, Julie Kirchner, FAIR's executive director since 2005, was named as ombudsman of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services Ombudsman reporting to the Department of Homeland Security.[29]

A 2017 FAIR report claimed that undocumented immigrants in the United States cost taxpayers approximately \$134.9 billion. This report included the children of undocumented immigrants, even those who were U.S. citizens, in the cost calculation. According to the Associated Press, "the estimate was criticized for making broad generalizations and other major methodological flaws." [47]

#### Controversy

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) currently classifies FAIR as a hate group, citing among other things the organization's anti-Latino and anti-Catholic attitudes, its acceptance of \$1.2 million from a racist foundation, the Pioneer Fund, its hiring as key officials men who also joined white supremacist groups, having board members who also write regularly for hate publications, its promotion of racist conspiracy theories, and the white supremacist beliefs of its founder. In 1982, John Tanton wrote "As Whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night? Or will there be an explosion." [7][48] The SPLC issued an intelligence report in 2007, after which they added FAIR to its list of hate groups.[48]

FAIR responded to this charge by stating that there is no factual basis for the accusation; that FAIR has compiled a long record of mainstream credibility and respect on immigration issues and has always opposed discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, or religion; and that the accusation is an "act of desperation, resulting from the SPLC's failure to convince the American people of their viewpoint." [49][50]

In August 2018, FAIR's former press secretary, Joe Gomez, filed a complaint with the Washington, D.C. Office of Human Rights, alleging racist, xenophobic, and ableist harassment at FAIR.[51] Gomez's Attorney Chris Bell, accused FAIR of misrepresenting the settlement to media outlets by wrongly saying the D.C. Office of Human Rights dismissed the complaint because it had no merit. Instead, the office dismissed the complaint because a settlement was reached, according to Bell. "If they continue to misrepresent the truth, I'm going to set the record straight," Bell said. "There was never an agreement [FAIR] could go out and misrepresent the truth." [52]

See also

[flag](#) [United States portal](#)

[icon](#) [Politics portal](#)

[Center for Immigration Studies](#)

[NumbersUSA](#)

[References](#)

## PragerU

PragerU, short for Prager University, is an American non-profit organization that creates videos on various political, economic and philosophical topics from an American conservative or right-wing perspective. The organization was co-founded by talk show host and writer Dennis Prager and Allen Estrin.[1][2] The videos are posted on YouTube and usually feature a speaker who lectures for about five minutes.[3][4] The organization relies on donations, and much of its early funding came from fracking billionaires Dan and Farris Wilks.[2][4]

PragerU is not a university or academic institution.[5][4] It does not hold classes, does not grant certifications or diplomas, and is not accredited by any recognized body.[6]

### Contents

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### History

PragerU was founded in 2009 by conservative radio talk show host Dennis Prager and radio producer and screenwriter Allen Estrin,[7] in order to present conservative views and to offset what Prager regards as the undermining of college education by the left.[3][8] The two originally considered making it a brick-and-mortar university, but the idea was revised into a digital product to save money.[4] PragerU is based in the San Fernando Valley,[2] and it had around 50 employees as of January 2020.[4]

Since a lawsuit over the use of a photograph in 2013, PragerU has used animation in its videos.[9] According to its CEO, Marissa Streit, a group of approximately 500 students called "PragerFORCE" promotes its videos.[8] PragerU reached a billion views in 2018.[2]

### Dennis Prager, co-founder of PragerU

In July 2019, PragerU representative Allen Estrin attended President Donald Trump's Social Media Summit, along with other conservative organizations and people such as Charlie Kirk and James O'Keefe.[10][11]

### Conflicts with YouTube, Google, and Facebook

In October 2016, PragerU published a petition which said that YouTube (which is owned by Google) had unjustly put 21 of PragerU's videos in YouTube's "restricted mode" setting, which limits views based on factors such as the viewer's age. The petition requested that YouTube remove the videos from restricted mode.[12][13] YouTube responded, saying: "We aim to apply the same standards to everyone and we don't censor anyone. Often it's not the right approach to say that videos with the same topic should get the same rating. We'll need to take into consideration what the intent of the video is, what the focus of the video is, what the surrounding metadata of the video explains." [3]

In October 2017, PragerU filed a federal lawsuit against Google, claiming that 37 of its videos on YouTube were unfairly demonetized or flagged so that they could only be viewed with "restricted mode filtering" (which limits views based on certain characteristics, including the age of the viewer).[14] PragerU claimed that Google's actions violated the First Amendment and asserted YouTube was a public forum. In March 2018, the case was dismissed by U.S. District Judge Lucy Koh, who ruled that because Google was a private company, PragerU had failed to show that it had infringed its free speech rights.[15][16][17] In February 2020, this ruling was upheld by the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals.[18][19]

In August 2018, PragerU criticized YouTube for adding fact-checks to YouTube videos which cover climate change.[20]

In August 2018, Facebook removed two PragerU videos from its platform, later restoring the videos, saying that they "were mistakenly removed." [1][21] According to Francesca Tripodi, professor of sociology at James Madison University, there are plausible non-ideological explanations for Facebook's removal of several of the videos.[22] PragerU contended that Facebook had engaged in deliberate censorship of their videos.[1][21]

### Funding

The organization depends on donations to produce its content.[6] Much of the early funding for PragerU came from hydraulic fracturing (fracking) billionaires Dan and Farris Wilks.[2][4] Two members of the Wilks family are on PragerU's board.[2] The next-largest donor is the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation.[7][23] Other donors include the Morgan Family Foundation, Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund, Donors Trust, and the Minnesota-based Sid and Carol Verdoorn Foundation, led by former C.H. Robinson CEO Sid Verdoorn.[23]

As of 2018, the organization reportedly had a \$10 million annual budget, of which it spent more than 40% on marketing.[2] In 2019, PragerU raised \$22 million and expects to receive \$25 million in 2020.[4][24] PragerU consistently spends more on Facebook advertising than major political campaigns and national advocacy groups.[25] It ranks among the 10 biggest political spenders on the platform.[25]

#### Content

PragerU releases one video per week on various topics from a conservative viewpoint.[4][6] As of May 2020, its YouTube channel included 968 videos.[26] PragerU largely avoids mentioning President Donald Trump. Each video costs between \$25,000 and \$30,000 to create.[2]

Videos on PragerU have defended capitalism, argued against a \$15 minimum wage, argued that gun ownership is a constitutional right, and argued that the media cannot be trusted. In one video, Dave Rubin argues: "racism, bigotry, xenophobia, homophobia, and Islamophobia" are "meaningless buzzwords". In a video on the topic of the alt-right, Michael Knowles argues that it is similar to the American Left, saying: "the alt-Right has nothing in common with conservatism, and is in fact much closer to leftism... Except of course, the left is much, much larger." [2]

Other PragerU videos defend the Electoral College, arguing that "pure democracies do not work" and that the Electoral College thwarts voter fraud.[7] In more than a dozen videos, PragerU promotes fossil fuels and disputes the scientific consensus on climate change; in one of the organization's videos, viewed over 1.5 million times, fossil fuel proponent Alex Epstein promotes misinformation about climate change, including false and misleading claims.[27] According to Mother Jones, still other videos argue there is no police discrimination toward African-Americans and that the gender pay gap does not exist.[7]

PragerU has developed two partnership programs to help cultivate relationships with educators.[28] PragerU's Educator Program supplies teachers with lesson plans and study guides that accompany their videos. Additionally, secondary school teachers and college professors can register their classes through PragerU's Academic Partnership program, which lets students sign up and allows teachers to monitor their students' progress.[28]

#### Reception

As of August 2019, PragerU videos have been watched more than 2 billion times and are becoming a staple on college campuses.[25] In its 2019 annual report, PragerU stated that its videos have received over 2.5 billion lifetime views.[24] PragerU has ranked highly in influence compared to other free-market organizations, such as Reason and National Review.[29]

Vanity Fair said PragerU "packages right-wing social concepts into slick videos" and that PragerU was "one of the most effective conversion tools for young conservatives." [30]

Sociologist Francesca Tripodi described the effect of PragerU's videos in a report for the Data & Society Research Institute.[31] In a 2018 study, Tripodi used Candace Owens and James Damore as case studies in order to demonstrate that there is a YouTube algorithmic connections between Fox News, PragerU, and alt-right YouTube personalities.[31][32] Tripodi wrote that PragerU relies on "search engine optimization and suggested content to elevate their messaging," and that PragerU's content "allows for those who identify as mainline conservatives to gain easy access to white supremacist logic." [32] On page 36 of her report, Tripodi observed that PragerU was very popular among the respondents who participated in her study. She noted that regardless of age, all participants in her study confirmed either having liked or shared PragerU videos on Facebook. Tripodi also observed: "Sites like PragerU create an opportunity to dabble in content that seems extremely innocuous, yet makes connections to the same kinds of 'revelations' pushed out by the alt-right." [2]

A BuzzFeed News article published in 2018 attributed PragerU's success to the quality of its production values compared to similar outlets and to its use of popular presenters with established audiences. The article also noted that it had received comparatively little attention from news and media analysts due to PragerU's lack of coverage of topical issues, such as Donald Trump.[2]

The libertarian magazine Reason has criticized PragerU's claims of being censored by big tech companies for being false (the company hasn't been taken down on any social media platforms) and misunderstanding the First Amendment as protecting a party from any kind of censorship, not just from the government.[33]

#### Critiques of videos

In a video entitled, "Why Did the Democratic South Become Republican?", host Carol M. Swain, a professor at Vanderbilt University, argued that the Southern strategy—a historical narrative alleging that the Republican Party purposely exploited racial tensions to appeal to racist white Southerners—was false revisionism. Kevin M. Kruse, a professor of history at Princeton University, said that the video presented a "distortion" of history, "cherry-picked" its evidence, and was an "exercise in attacking a straw man". [32]

In an article for The American Conservative, historian and philosopher Paul Gottfried, who has written extensively on the subject of fascism, harshly criticized a PragerU video hosted by Dinesh D'Souza which maintained that fascism was a leftist ideology. D'Souza maintained that Italian philosopher Giovanni Gentile, who influenced Italian fascism, was a leftist,



to which Gottfried noted that this contradicted the research by, "almost all scholars of Gentile's work, from across the political spectrum, who view him, as I do in my study of fascism, as the most distinguished intellectual of the revolutionary right." [34][35]

Alex Nowrasteh of the Cato Institute criticized a 2018 PragerU video by Michelle Malkin as being anti-immigration. Nowrasteh wrote that the video was, "rife with errors and half-truths, leaves out a lot of relevant information, and comes to an anti-legal immigration conclusion that is unsupported by the evidence presented in the rest of the video." [36]

Anti-Defamation League fellow Mark Pitcavage criticized the PragerU video "The Suicide of Europe" by Douglas Murray, as prejudiced, saying it contained anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric. [23]

## References

### Hudson institute

Hudson Institute

Hudson Institute logo.svg

Founded July 20, 1961; 58 years ago [1]

Founder Herman Kahn, Max Singer, Oscar M. Ruebhausen

Type Think tank

Tax ID no.

13-1945157 [2]

Legal status 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization [3]

Location

1201 Pennsylvania Avenue NW

Washington, D.C., United States

Coordinates 38.895672°N 77.028900°W

Origins RAND Corporation

Area served

United States of America

Services To promote the discussion and exchange of ideas on issues related to national security, human rights, foreign policy, economics, and domestic policy. [2]

President and Chief Executive Officer

Kenneth R. Weinstein [4]

Chief Operating Officer

John P. Walters [4]

Chairman of the Board of Trustees

Sarah May Stern [4]

Vice Chair and Senior Fellow

Marie-Josée Kravis [4]

Subsidiaries Hudson Analytical Services Inc [2]

Revenue (2018)

\$17,520,213 [5]

Expenses (2018) \$16,575,421 [5]

Endowment (2017) \$39,989,000 [6]

Employees (2016)

60 [7]

Volunteers (2016)

237 [7]

Website hudson.org

The Hudson Institute is a politically conservative, [8] 501(c)(3) non-profit American think tank based in Washington, D.C. It was founded in 1961 [1] in Croton-on-Hudson, New York, by futurist, military strategist, and systems theorist Herman Kahn and his colleagues at the RAND Corporation.

According to its website, the Institute promotes "American leadership and global engagement for a secure, free, and prosperous future." [9] It promotes public policy change in accordance with its stated belief that "America's unique and central role in the global system offers the best foundation for security, the defense of liberty, and assuring economic growth." [10]

In March 2011, Kenneth R. Weinstein was appointed president and chief executive officer of the Hudson Institute. [11]

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Founder Herman Kahn

Founding to 1982

Hudson Institute was founded in 1961<sup>[12]</sup> by Herman Kahn, Max Singer, and Oscar M. Ruebhausen. In 1960, while employed at the RAND Corporation, Kahn had given a series of lectures at Princeton University on scenarios related to nuclear war. In 1960, Princeton University Press published *On Thermonuclear War*, a book-length expansion of Kahn's lecture notes.<sup>[13]</sup> Major controversies ensued,<sup>[14]</sup> and in the end, Kahn and RAND had a parting of ways. Kahn moved to Croton-on-Hudson, New York, intending to establish a new think tank, less hierarchical and bureaucratic in its organization.<sup>[15]</sup> Along with Max Singer, a young government lawyer who had been a RAND colleague of Kahn's, and New York attorney Oscar Ruebhausen, Kahn founded the Hudson Institute on 20 July 1961.<sup>[16]</sup> Kahn was the Hudson's driving intellect and Singer built up the institute's organization.<sup>[17]</sup> Ruebhausen was an advisor to New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller.<sup>[18]</sup>

Hudson's initial research projects largely reflected Kahn's personal interests, which included the domestic and military use of nuclear power and scenario planning exercises about present policy options and their possible future outcomes.<sup>[19]</sup> Kahn and his colleagues made pioneering contributions to nuclear deterrence theory and strategy during this period.<sup>[20]</sup>

Hudson's detailed analyses of "ladders of escalation"<sup>[21]</sup> and reports on the likely consequences of limited and unlimited nuclear exchanges, eventually published as *Thinking About the Unthinkable* (1962)<sup>[17]</sup> and *On Escalation: Metaphors and Scenarios* (1965),<sup>[22]</sup> were influential within the Kennedy administration,<sup>[23]</sup> and helped the Institute win its first major research contract from the Office of Civil Defense at the Pentagon.<sup>[24]</sup>

Kahn did not want Hudson to restrict itself to defense-related research,<sup>[25]</sup> and along with Singer recruited a full-time professional staff with widely different academic backgrounds. Hudson Institute regularly involved a broad range of outside notables in their analytic projects and policy deliberations. These included French philosopher Raymond Aron,<sup>[26]</sup> African-American novelist Ralph Ellison,<sup>[13]</sup> political scientist Henry Kissinger, conceptual artist James Lee Byars,<sup>[27]</sup> and social scientist Daniel Bell.<sup>[26]</sup> Hudson's focus expanded to include geopolitics,<sup>[28]</sup> economics,<sup>[29]</sup> demography, anthropology, science and technology,<sup>[28]</sup> education,<sup>[30]</sup> and urban planning.<sup>[31]</sup>

Kahn eventually expanded the use of scenario planning from defense policy work to economics,<sup>[32]</sup> and in 1962 became the first analyst to predict the rise of Japan as the world's second-largest economy.<sup>[8]</sup> Hudson Institute's publications soon became popular in Japan<sup>[33]</sup> and Kahn developed close ties to numerous politicians and corporate leaders there.<sup>[8]</sup>

Hudson Institute used scenario-planning techniques to forecast long-term developments and became renowned for its future studies.<sup>[34]</sup> In 1967, Hudson published *The Year 2000*, a bestselling book, commissioned by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.<sup>[33]</sup> Many of the predictions came to pass, including technological developments like portable telephones and network-linked home and office computers.<sup>[35]</sup>

In 1970, *The Emerging Japanese Superstate*, elaborating Kahn's predictions on the rise of Japan, was published.<sup>[8]</sup> After the Club of Rome's controversial 1972 report *The Limits to Growth* produced widespread alarm about the possibility that population growth and resource depletion might result in a 21st-century global "collapse", Hudson responded with an analysis of its own, *The Next 200 Years*, which concluded, instead, that scientific and practical innovations were likely to produce significantly better worldwide living standards.<sup>[31]</sup> Maintaining this optimism about the future in his 1982 book *The Coming Boom*, Kahn argued that pro-growth tax and fiscal policies, an emerging information technology revolution, and breakthrough developments in the energy industry would make possible a period of unprecedented prosperity in the Western world by the early 21st century.<sup>[36][37]</sup> Kahn was among the first to foresee unconventional extraction

techniques like hydraulic fracturing.[31][38]

Within 20 years, Hudson had become an international think tank with offices in Bonn,[39] Paris,[40] Brussels, Montreal[41] and Tokyo.[42] Other research projects were related to South Korea, Singapore, Australia[43] and Latin America.[44]

1983 to present

Shinzō Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, at the opening of Hudson's new headquarters, March 2016

Senator Marco Rubio at a panel discussion on the Middle East crisis

Dan Coats, Director of National Intelligence, at Hudson, July 2018

Following Kahn's sudden death on July 7, 1983,[45] Hudson was restructured. Actively recruited by the City of Indianapolis and the Lilly Endowment, Hudson relocated its headquarters to Indiana in 1984.[46] In 1987, Mitch Daniels, a former aide to Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) and President Ronald Reagan, was appointed CEO of Hudson Institute.[47]

Daniels recruited new scholars and experts to the Institute.[48] William Eldridge Odom,[49] former Director of the National Security Agency, became Hudson's director of national security studies;[50] economist Alan Reynolds became director of economic research.[51] Technologist George Gilder led a project on the implications of the digital era[52][53] for American society.[48]

In 1990, Daniels left Hudson Institute to become Vice President of Corporate Affairs at Eli Lilly and Company.[54] He was succeeded as CEO by Leslie Lenkowsky, a social scientist,[55] and former consultant to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.[56] Under Lenkowsky, Hudson put an emphasis on domestic and social policy. In the early 1990s, the Institute did work on education reform[57] and applied research on charter school and school choice.[58]

At the initiative of Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson,[55] Hudson designed the "Wisconsin Works" welfare-to-work program[59] that was adopted nationwide in the 1996 federal welfare-reform legislation signed by President Bill Clinton.[60] In 2001, President George W. Bush's initiative on charitable choice was based[61] on Hudson's research[62] into social-service programs administered by faith-based organizations.[63]

Other Hudson research from this period included 1987's "Workforce 2000", the best-selling think tank study of its day, which predicted the transformation of the American labor market and workplace arising from diversification and computerization,[64] the "Blue Ribbon Commission on Hungary" (1990)[65] and "International Baltic Economic Commission" (1991–93), which made major contributions to the adoption of market-oriented reforms in the newly independent states of Eastern Europe,[66] and the 1997 follow-up study "Workforce 2020".[64]

After the September 11 attacks, Hudson focused its efforts on international issues such as the Middle East, Latin America and Islam. On 1 July 2004, Hudson relocated its headquarters to Washington, DC,[67] and focused its research on national security and foreign policy issues.

In 2016, Hudson moved from its McPherson Square headquarters[68] to a custom-built office space on Pennsylvania Avenue, near the U.S. Capitol and the White House.[69] The new LEED-certified[70] offices were designed by FOX Architects.[71] The Prime Minister of Japan Shinzō Abe presided over the opening of the new offices.[72]

Vice President Michael Pence used the think tank as his venue for a major policy speech on China[73][74] on 4 October 2018, noting that "Beijing is employing a whole-of-government approach, using political, economic, and military tools, as well as propaganda, to advance its influence and benefit its interests in the United States".

Hudson offers two annual awards, the Herman Kahn Award[8] and the Global Leadership Awards.[75][76] Past Hudson Institute honorees include United Nations Ambassador Nikki Haley,[77] House Speaker Paul Ryan,[78] Vice President Mike Pence,[79] Ronald Reagan, Henry Kissinger, Rupert Murdoch,[80] Dick Cheney,[8] Joseph Lieberman,[81] Benjamin Netanyahu,[82] David Petraeus, and Shinzo Abe.[83]

Policy centers

Center for the Economics of the Internet

Based on the conviction that the internet must also follow the core requirements for a functioning market, the Center for the Economics of the Internet focuses its program on research and debate intended to show the importance and use of property and contract rights throughout the digital world. The center rejects "internet exceptionalism", [84] where property rights, contract rights, and competition are not important, where "ordinary principles of economics do not apply", and where the government has a responsibility to regulate with unusual intensity and without limitations. The center is directed by Harold Furchtgott-Roth,[85] joined by senior fellow Robert M. McDowell.[86][87]

Center on Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World

James Franklin Jeffrey at a panel discussion on Turkey, the Kurds, and the Middle East

Led by Director Hillel Fradkin, the Center on Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World conducts a variety of research programs and convenes public conferences covering a wide range of topics such as religious culture and intellectual developments affecting Islamic countries and Muslim-minority populations worldwide. The center's goal is to identify and encourage moderate and democratic alternatives to sectarian radicalism.[88] One of the center's core projects is "Current Trends in Islamist Ideology", published since 2005.[89] It is edited by Hillel Fradkin and Hudson senior fellows Husain Haqqani[90] and Eric Brown,[91] along with Hassan Mneimneh, Senior Transatlantic Fellow for MENA and the Islamic World at the German Marshall Fund.[92]

#### Center for Religious Freedom

Founded in 1986[93] and housed at Hudson Institute since January 2007,[94] the Center for Religious Freedom works with a broad range of experts in order to promote religious freedom as an integral element of U.S. foreign policy. When U.S. foreign policy is lagging behind in that regard, the center strives to defend persecuted believers and to promote religious freedom worldwide. From its inception in 1986, the center has sponsored investigative field missions, published reports on the religious persecution of various individuals and groups, and taken action on their behalf in the media and with relevant officials in Congress and the executive branch.[95] During the Cold War, the Center's efforts were focused on helping religious believers that were persecuted under communism. Today, the center has broadened its efforts to promote religious freedom for citizens in autocratic regimes of any sort, especially in the Muslim world. The center is directed by Nina Shea[96] and includes among its scholars senior fellows Paul Marshal and Samuel Tadros, and adjunct fellow Lela Gilbert.[97]

#### Center for Global Prosperity

The Center for Global Prosperity is focused on creating awareness among opinion leaders and the general public about the crucial role of the private sector (both for-profit and not-for-profit) as a main source of countries' economic growth and prosperity. The center's signature product is the annual Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances, which details the sources and amounts of private giving to the developing world.[98][99] The center's work is rooted in support for free societies—functioning capital markets, private property, free trade and press, the rule of law, good governance, and human rights—as the principal basis for economic prosperity and well-being. Its pilot study, Philanthropic Freedom,[100] was the first comprehensive analysis of global philanthropic freedom, examining barriers and incentives for individuals and organizations to spend resources on social causes. The center is headed by Carol Adelman,[101] and its staff includes senior fellow Jeremiah Norris.[102][103]

#### Initiative on Future Innovation

Dedicated to sustaining America's ability to develop welfare-increasing technological innovations, Hudson Institute's Initiative on Future Innovation sponsors original, problem-solving research to improve the basis for productive scientific inquiry and for the rapid implementation of new discoveries and inventions.[104] The initiative is directed by Christopher DeMuth,[105] a distinguished fellow at Hudson and former president of the American Enterprise Institute.[106]

#### Obesity Solutions Initiative

Directed by senior fellow Hank Cardello, the Obesity Solutions Initiative focuses on improving policies and developing solutions to address the global obesity epidemic. The initiative's main focal point is the development of market-based solutions taking into consideration the interests of the public health community, consumers, regulators, and the private sector.[107][108] It criticizes current obesity approaches as having a one-sided perspective, suffering from a lack of pragmatism, and being ineffective and costly.[109] The initiative's overall objective is to build the business case for healthier, lower-calorie foods by illustrating the financial and marketing benefits of such products.[110] The center is developing policies that are based on tax incentives to lower the number of calories being sold, and the balancing of marketing budgets in order to educate consumers about portion control and nutrition.[111]

#### Bradley Center for Philanthropy & Civic Renewal

The center values small, local and often faith-based grassroots associations as core elements of a vital civil society and aims to encourage foundations and charitable donors to put more emphasis on supporting these organizations.[112] Through research, publications, and seminars, the center examines the current giving practices of American foundations. According to the center, U.S. foundations tend to support larger, expert-driven[113] projects while largely ignoring smaller civic associations. The center conducts discussions[114] about these issues throughout the non-profit sector and also advises donors on creating grant-making programs that support a renewal of civil society. Hudson senior fellow William A. Schambra has directed the Center since its launch in 2003. The Center was named after its longtime principal donor, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and also for the National Commission on Philanthropy and Civic Renewal[115] of 1996–97.[116]

#### Center for American Seapower

The Center for American Seapower works for the promotion of public dialogue on America's shrinking maritime power and provides arguments and strategies in order to strengthen the U.S. Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard as well as the American shipbuilding industries. Directed by senior fellow Seth Cropsey and adjunct fellow Bryan McGrath, the center works on developing alternative maritime strategies, makes detailed evaluation of the threats[117] posed by the rise of local and potential global maritime competitors, and takes into account both historical and current events in order to assess the longer-term impact of diminishing U.S. sea power[118] on the country's national security.[119]

#### Center for Substance Abuse Policy Research

The Center for Substance Abuse Policy Research is searching for ways to build sustained public awareness of the dangers of substance abuse, and supports new strategies verified by science, medicine, and actual practice. In the center's view, U.S. federal drug policy is in disarray, challenged by budgetary constraints and unclear goals.[120] Currently, U.S. drug abuse is on the rise, as are the associated secondary consequences, and core policy principles are being threatened. As a result, the center aims to correct misinformation,[121] document the harm done by drug abuse, present scientific countermeasures, and present necessary and relevant information to key federal, state, and local policymakers.[122] The center is directed by John P. Walters, Hudson Institute's COO, and senior fellow David W. Murray.[123]

#### Kleptocracy Initiative

The Kleptocracy Initiative (KI) investigates the increasing threats posed to Western democracies by autocratic regimes. KI analyses the financial practices of autocratic governments and their leaders, and focuses on designing new and effective policies in order to prevent hostile foreign actors from secretly stealing their nations' assets and using those assets against their own citizens, the U.S. and its allies. The initiative is led by Executive Director Charles Davidson and Media Director Julie Davidson.[124]

#### Funding

2018 Finances:[5]

2018 Revenue: \$17,520,216

Individuals (40%)  
Distributions from Endowment (11%)  
Corporations (12%)  
Government (7%)  
Foundations (30%)

2018 Expenses: \$16,575,421

National Security and Foreign Policy (52%)  
Economic and Domestic Policy (17%)  
Development (7%)  
Public Affairs and Government Relations (5%)  
Management and Administration (19%)

#### Notable Hudson personnel

##### Leadership

Kenneth R. Weinstein, President and CEO[125]

John P. Walters, Chief Operating Officer[126]

Lewis Libby, Senior Vice President

##### Board of Trustees

Sarah May Stern, Chairman

Marie-Josée Kravis, Vice Chair and Senior Fellow

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Allan R. Tessler, Chairman Emeritus

Linden Blue

Rajeev Chandrasekhar

Kenneth R. Weinstein

Other notable trustees, fellows and advisors, past and present

Politicians who have been affiliated with Hudson include former U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and Governor of Indiana Mitch Daniels, who served as Hudson's President and CEO from 1987 to 1990.[127]

Raymond Aron[13]

Daniel Bell[128]

Robert Bork[129]

Rudy Boschwitz[130]

Elaine Chao[131]

Michael Doran[132]

Pierre S. du Pont, IV[133]

Ralph Ellison[13]

Alexander Haig[134]

Arthur L. Herman [135]

Donald Kagan[136]

Amy A. Kass[137]

Henry Kissinger[138]

Walter Russell Mead[139]

Andrew Natsios [140]

William Odom[141]  
John O'Sullivan[142]  
Marcello Pera[143]  
Michael Pillsbury[144]  
Andrey Piontkovsky[145]  
Ron Prossor[146]  
Ronald Radosh[147]  
David Satter[148]  
Abram Shulsky[149]  
Irwin Stelzer[150]  
David Tell[151]  
Richard Weitz[152]  
Curtin Winsor, Jr.[153]

#### Criticism

Critics question the institute's negative campaigning against organic farming, since it receives large sums of money from conventional food companies. The New York Times commented on Dennis Avery's attacks on organic farming: "The attack on organic food by a well-financed research organization suggests that, though organic food accounts for only 1 percent of food sales in the United States, the conventional food industry is worried."<sup>[154]</sup>

After it was revealed that Michael Fumento received funding from Monsanto for his 1999 book *Bio-Evolution*, company spokesman Chris Horner confirmed that it continues to fund the think tank. "It's our practice, that if we're dealing with an organization like this, that any funds we're giving should be unrestricted," Horner told *BusinessWeek*. Hudson's CEO and President Kenneth R. Weinstein told *BusinessWeek* that he was uncertain if the payment should have been disclosed. "That's a good question, period," he said.<sup>[155]</sup>

The New York Times accused Huntington Ingalls Industries of using the Hudson Institute to enhance the company's argument for more nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, at a cost of US\$11 billion each. The Times alleged that a former naval officer was paid by Hudson to publish an analysis calling for more funding. The report was delivered to the House Armed Services subcommittee without disclosing that Huntington Ingalls had paid for part of the report. Hudson acknowledged the mistake.<sup>[156]</sup>

#### Federalist Society

Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies

A black cameo

The society logo is a silhouette of Founding Father and 4th President James Madison

Formation1982

Type Legal

Legal status 501(c)(3) nonprofit

Purpose "It is founded on the principles that the state exists to preserve freedom, that the separation of governmental powers is central to our Constitution, and that it is emphatically the province and duty of the judiciary to say what the law is, not what it should be."<sup>[1]</sup>

Location

1776 I Street, NW

Washington, D.C. 20066, United States

Coordinates 38.901°N 77.0412°W

Membership

70,000<sup>[2]</sup>

President

Eugene B. Meyer<sup>[1]</sup>

Budget

Revenue: \$20,415,064

Expenses: \$18,233,577

(FYE September 2017)<sup>[3]</sup>

Website FedSoc.org

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

About this image

Schools<sup>[show]</sup>

Principles<sup>[show]</sup>

History<sup>[show]</sup>

People<sup>[show]</sup>

Parties<sup>[show]</sup>

Think tanks<sup>[show]</sup>

Other organizations[show]  
Media[show]  
Variants and movements[show]  
See also[show]  
DodgerBlue flag waving.svg Conservatism portal  
vte

The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies, most frequently called the Federalist Society, is an organization of conservatives and libertarians that advocates for a textualist and originalist interpretation of the United States Constitution. Founded in 1982, it is one of the nation's most influential legal organizations.[4][5]

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- 4 Methods and influence
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## Overview

In January 2019, The Washington Post Magazine wrote that the Federalist Society had reached an "unprecedented peak of power and influence." Of the nine members of the Supreme Court of the United States, five (Brett Kavanaugh, Neil Gorsuch, Clarence Thomas, John Roberts, and Samuel Alito) are current or former members of the organization.[2] Politico Magazine wrote that the Federalist Society "has become one of the most influential legal organizations in history—not only shaping law students' thinking but changing American society itself by deliberately, diligently shifting the country's judiciary to the right." [6]

The organization, whose ideals include "checking federal power, protecting individual liberty and interpreting the Constitution according to its original meaning", [2] plays a central role in networking and mentoring young conservative lawyers.[7] According to Amanda Hollis-Brusky, the author of *Ideas with Consequences: The Federalist Society and the Conservative Counterrevolution*, the Federalist Society "has evolved into the de facto gatekeeper for right-of-center lawyers aspiring to government jobs and federal judgeships under Republican presidents." [4] According to William & Mary Law School professor Neil Devins and Ohio State University professor Lawrence Baum, the administrations of Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush "aimed to nominate conservative judges, and membership in the Federalist Society was a proxy for adherence to conservative ideology." [8] The Federalist Society has played a key role in suggesting judicial nominees to President Donald Trump; it vetted President Trump's list of potential U.S. Supreme Court nominees and, as of January 2019, 25 out of 30 of President Trump's appellate court nominees were current or former members of the society.[2]

The society is a membership organization that features a student division, a lawyers division, and a faculty division. The society currently has chapters at more than 200 United States law schools. The lawyers division comprises more than 70,000 practicing attorneys (organized as "lawyers chapters" and "practice groups" within the division) in ninety cities.[2] The society is headquartered in Washington, D.C. Through speaking events, lectures, and other activities, it provides a forum for legal experts of opposing views to interact with members of the legal profession, the judiciary, and the legal academy.[9]

## Founding

The society was started in 1982 by students at Yale Law School, Harvard Law School, and the University of Chicago Law School. The Federalist Society began as a student organization that challenged what its founding members perceived as the orthodox American liberal ideology found in most law schools. The group's first activity was a three-day symposium titled "A Symposium on Federalism: Legal and Political Ramifications" held at Yale in April 1982. The symposium, which was attended by 200 people, was organized by Steven G. Calabresi, Lee Liberman Otis, and David M. McIntosh. Speakers included Antonin Scalia, Robert Bork, and Theodore Olson. In 2018, Politico Magazine wrote that "it is no exaggeration to suggest that it was perhaps the most effective student conference ever—a blueprint, in retrospect, for how to marry youthful enthusiasm with intellectual oomph to achieve far-reaching results." [6] The society states that it "is founded on the principles that the state exists to preserve freedom, that the separation of governmental powers is central to our constitution, and that it is emphatically the province and duty of the judiciary to say what the law is, not what it should be." [1]

## Background

The society looks to Federalist Paper Number 78 for an articulation of the virtue of judicial restraint, as written by Alexander Hamilton: "It can be of no weight to say that the courts, on the pretense of a repugnancy, may substitute their own pleasure to the constitutional intentions of the legislature... The courts must declare the sense of the law; and if they should be disposed to exercise WILL instead of JUDGMENT, the consequence would equally be the substitution of their pleasure to that of the legislative body."

Its logo is a silhouette of former president and constitution author, James Madison, who co-wrote The Federalist Papers. Commissioner Paul S. Atkins of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission considered society members "the heirs of James Madison's legacy" in a speech he gave in January 2008 to its lawyers chapter in Dallas, Texas. Madison is generally credited as the father of the constitution and became the fourth president of the United States.[10]

The society's name is said to have been based on the eighteenth-century Federalist Party:[11] however, James Madison associated with Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican Party in opposition to Federalist Party policies borne from a loose interpretation of the Commerce Clause. The society's views are more closely associated with the general meaning of Federalism (particularly the New Federalism) and the content of the Federalist Papers than with the later Federalist Party.

The society's initial 1982 conference was funded, at a cost of \$25,000, by the Institute for Educational Affairs.[6] Later funding of \$5.5 million came from the Olin Foundation. Other early donors included the Scaife Foundation and the Koch family foundations. Donors to the Federalist Society have included Google, Chevron, Charles G. and David H. Koch; the family foundation of Richard Mellon Scaife; and the Mercer family.[12] By 2017, the Federalist Society had \$20 million in annual revenue.[2]

The society holds a national lawyers convention each year in Washington, D.C. It is one of the highest profile conservative legal events of the year.[13][14] Speakers have included former ACLU head Nadine Strossen, business executive and 2016 Republican presidential candidate Carly Fiorina, former BB&T chairman John Allison, former Attorney General Michael Mukasey, U.S. Senator Mike Lee, and White House Counsel under President Barack Obama Neil Eggleston.[15] The Federalist Society invites to its events "capable liberal advocates to try to rebut conservative perspectives." [2]

The Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy is the Federalist Society's official journal, and a subscription is provided to members.[6]

The Federalist Society is a client of the public relations firm Creative Response Concepts.[16]

## Methods and influence

The Federalist Society has 200 student chapters at law schools across the United States as well as lawyers chapters in 90 U.S. cities. The Federalist Society provides its 70,000 members with "intellectual sparring and professional grooming." [2] David Montgomery, writing in The Washington Post Magazine, said that each individual member of the group is "akin to an excited synapse in a sprawling hive mind with no one actually in charge." Montgomery called the Federalist Society "a remarkably successful example of what political scientists call a 'political epistemic community,'" echoing Amanda Hollis-Brusky, who described the Federalist Society as "an interconnected network of experts with policy-relevant knowledge who share certain beliefs and work to actively transmit and translate those beliefs into policy." [7]:10–11 Former Federalist Society executive vice president Leonard Leo has said "he endorses the network theory of the society," saying, "It's less about who gets what job and more about building a community that can be self-perpetuating and self-sustaining and self-driving." [2]

Steven Teles, a professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University and the author of *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law*, wrote that the Federalist Society's influence on the judicial selection process may not be the group's most important impact. Instead, the "supply-and-demand relationship between the judges and the network" may be paramount, with judges needing "scholarship and arguments extending Federalist principles into new areas. Where new legal theories depart from the status quo, they need them to be vetted and legitimized through public debate. They require targeted cases raising questions that provide an opening to move the law. Without professors and lawyers in the network filling that demand, you're not going to maximize what you got through the electoral process." [2]

The Washington Post Magazine wrote that the Federalist Society "provides the enduring climate within which storms on the right come and go" and that "Much of the Federalist Society's influence comes not from its very public Washington victories but from its behind-the-scenes, grass-roots ability to shift the law at the idea level, even the cultural level." [2] The Federalist Society lobbies for no particular policies, it does not sign amicus briefs, and it does not represent clients in cases. [2] Amanda Hollis-Brusky, political science associate professor at Pomona College, and Calvin TerBeek, Ph.D. candidate in political science at the University of Chicago, dispute that the Federalist Society is non-partisan, pointing to documents written by the Federalist Society to donors in 1984 where the organization states that one of its missions is pushing conservative positions. [17] In rebuttal to Hollis-Brusky and TerBeek, former Solicitor General Ted Olson also wrote in *Politico Magazine* pointing out that in 37 years of its existence never "has the Federalist Society filed a lawsuit or brief in any litigation, and never once during that period has it passed any resolution advocating for or against any legal



issue."[18]

In 2018, Politico Magazine wrote that "the organization had markedly and undeniably changed the nature of the judiciary." [6] The Federalist Society has been described as influential during the presidencies of George H.W. Bush, George W. Bush, and Donald Trump. [9][8]

The American Constitution Society, founded in 2001, was explicitly started as a liberal analogue to the Federalist Society. [2]

In January 2020, the Committee on Codes of Conduct of the Judicial Conference of the United States circulated a proposed advisory opinion that would bar membership in the Federalist Society or the American Constitution Society for members of the judiciary. The proposed opinion would continue to allow membership in the American Bar Association (ABA). [19][20] The proposed restriction is limited to membership, and judges would still be allowed to participate in events hosted by organizations such as the Federalist Society and the American Constitution Society through speaking engagements, panel discussions, and event attendance. [20] The proposed advisory opinion will have a 120-day comment stage, which will end on May 20, 2020. [21]

#### Judicial philosophy

According to The Washington Post Magazine, "Many individual Federalists are political and ideological warriors, though never in the name of the Federalist Society. Rather, society events provide the proving ground where they hone their arguments, seize a chance to shine and come to the attention of mentors higher up in the political-legal hierarchy. In that sense, the Federalist Society is a talent network and placement agency as well." [2]

A 2008 study found that Federalist Society members appointed by Republican administrations to the U.S. Courts of Appeals had more conservative voting records than non-members. [22] Critics say the organization favors judicial activism, in particular on social issues. [23] Many members of the Federalist Society favor overturning *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court ruling that permits abortion. [23] The organization tends to favor judges who take conservative stances on abortion rights and other social issues. [23] Members of the Federalist Society have presented oral arguments in every single abortion case that has been before the Supreme Court since 1992. [24]:141

According to the authors of *Building Coalitions, Making Policy: The Politics of the Clinton, Bush, and Obama Presidencies* (2012), "Federalist Society members declaim the notion that they are united around a particular philosophy," although many members have been associated with textualist or originalist methods of constitutional interpretation. Judicial restraint tends to align with conservative views on abortion and LGBT rights, while "Critics point out that conservatives are typically not so intent on following 'original meaning' in areas such as affirmative action, executive powers, free speech and federalism." [25] Liberals have questioned "how suspiciously convenient it is that the jurisprudence advocated by society members so often yields conservative results." [2] Leonard Leo, former executive vice president of the Federalist Society, "disputes the notion that the Constitution contains either conservative or progressive values, and he denies that originalism is rigged to reach conservative and libertarian results." Leonard has said "You're practicing originalism appropriately when you're doing so without looking behind the curtain and trying to predetermine results" and that "There are liberals who work really hard at trying to develop a neutral, originalist approach to interpretation... The fact that people may come out differently occasionally — that's okay. Half the battle is just agreeing that it is essential." [2] Increasingly, "A number of liberal scholars have applied themselves to the task of showing how, in fact, originalist approaches can yield progressive results. As this train of thought has flowed out of the academy, liberal originalist logic is, more and more, showing up in legal briefs and even in Supreme Court dissents." [2]

#### Legal activities of members

Members of the Federalist Society have opposed regulation of private property and private businesses, and have argued that specific regulations must be enacted by legislatures rather than courts or executives that interpret existing statutes and powers. [24]:75 [23]

Members of the Federalist Society have argued that courts should not take race into account when making decisions. [24]:99 For example, members of the group have argued that civil rights cases involving racially discriminatory policies should not consider race, but rather the individuals involved. [24]:99 Federalist Society members were extensively involved with the *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* ruling where the Supreme Court struck down voluntary desegregation plans in several jurisdictions. [24]:99 The authors of *The Federalist Society: How Conservatives Took the Law Back from Liberals* write that "Conservatives believe, however, that it is not appropriate for the government to promote racial balance. The essence of the conservative position is that there is no legal difference between considering race or gender for purposes of exclusion and considering race or gender for purposes of inclusion. They argue that both are harmful and make racial problems worse. On the other hand, many civil rights advocates believe that because our history has been one of the systematic exclusion of racial minorities and women from social, political, and economic institutions and from positions of power and influence, the conservative view leads to the continuation of exclusion and retards society's ability to move toward inclusion." [24]:100

Members of the Federalist Society have forcefully argued against regulations on guns. Members hold that the Second Amendment protects the rights of individuals to guns, as opposed to being a collective right to arms. At the time of the

Federalist Society's creation and since the 19th century, the Supreme Court and academics had held a more restrictive view of gun rights. The Federalist Society was influential in shifting legal views on gun rights, culminating in the Supreme Court ruling *District of Columbia v. Heller* which struck down gun regulations in the District of Columbia that required guns to be kept "unloaded and disassembled or bound by a trigger lock".[7]:48

The Federalist Society had a significant influence on the *Citizens United* Supreme Court ruling which weakened regulations on campaign finance by finding that the free speech clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution prohibits the government from restricting independent expenditures for communications by nonprofit corporations, for-profit corporations, labor unions, and other associations.[7]:82–87

#### King v. Burwell

The ideas of the Federalist Society were "at the intellectual heart" of *King v. Burwell*, which challenged the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), with members of the group playing a "mostly behind-the-scenes part in *King* — and in many of the most significant conservative legal victories of the last 30 years." [26] In her book on the history of the Federalist Society, political scientist Amanda Hollis-Brusky writes that "Federalist Society members had been invested in the litigation efforts against the ACA well before the Act was signed into law—before there was even anything concrete to litigate against." [7]:135

Libertarian law professor Randy Barnett attended his first Federalist Society event in 1986. He was reluctant to attend the event, worried the group would be a "closed conservative sect". Instead, he found the group "open to testing a diversity of ideas". He switched from contracts to constitutional law and became an expert in the Ninth Amendment to the United States Constitution. By the time the ACA was passed in 2010, Barnett had "an arsenal of commerce-based arguments ready" to argue against the legality of the ACA. Barnett became a "leading voice of the growing libertarian wing of the Federalist Society, and he became one of the architects of constitutional claims at the core of lawsuits against the health-care plan." [2] His participation in the legal challenge to the ACA was initiated at the Federalist Society's 2009 national convention. He co-authored a 16-page legal memorandum "that outlined a constitutional case against the health-care measure." The memorandum "became a source of talking points during congressional debate and laid the framework for subsequent court challenges; Barnett represented one of the plaintiffs." [2] Barnett said the Federalist Society "involves people, gets them interested, and they oftentimes will do something about that." [2]

#### George W. Bush administration

Legal positions in the Bush administration were also overwhelmingly staffed with Federalist Society members. [27] Approximately half of Bush's nominees for appellate court judgeships were Federalist Society members. [27][22] The Bush administration was harshly criticized for the decision to nominate Harriet Miers to the Supreme Court, with conservative critics arguing that she lacked a consistently conservative track record, did not have Federalist Society "credentials" and for her purported ties to the American Bar Association (which conservatives considered to be liberal). After conservative outcry, Miers withdrew the nomination. [27] The Bush administration went on to nominate Samuel Alito, a Federalist Society member with a consistent conservative track record who was active in Federalist Society circles, to the Supreme Court. [27]

Members of the society helped to encourage President George W. Bush's decision to terminate a nearly half-century-old practice of giving the American Bar Association confidential early access to judicial nominees, allowing the ABA to rate nominee's qualifications for office before the nominations were announced. Since the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the American Bar Association provided the service to presidents of both parties and the nation by vetting the qualifications of those under consideration for lifetime appointment to the federal judiciary before any other group. The society alleged that the bar association showed a liberal bias in its recommendations. [28][29][30] Examples given included that while former Supreme Court clerks nominated to the Court of Appeals by Democrats had an average rating of slightly below "well qualified", similar Republican nominees were rated on average as only "qualified/well qualified." In addition the bar association gave Ronald Reagan's judicial nominees Richard Posner and Frank H. Easterbrook its lowest possible ratings of "qualified/not qualified", [31] and Judges Posner and Easterbrook have gone on to become the two most highly cited judges in the federal appellate judiciary. [32]

#### Donald Trump administration

According to *Politico Magazine*, "Trump is president for a long list of reasons, of course, but near the top of that list is the imprimatur the Federalist Society granted him. He almost certainly couldn't have gotten what he wanted without the Federalists. And they almost certainly couldn't have gotten what they wanted without him." [6]

The Federalist Society has been influential in the Trump administration, hand-selecting Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch and recruiting a slate of conservative judges to fill vacancies throughout the federal judiciary. [33][34][8][27] The society helped to assemble the list of 21 people from which Donald Trump said he would choose a nominee to replace Antonin Scalia on the U.S. Supreme Court. Nine of the 21 individuals spoke at the society's annual convention in late November 2016, while nearly all of the others were in attendance. [35][36] Federalist Society members have generally chosen not to criticize President Donald Trump and *Politico* described the Federalist Society membership as "elite, conservative lawyers who have generally chosen to give Trump a pass on his breaches of long-cherished legal norms and traditions in exchange for the gift of Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch." [34] Former Federalist Society executive vice president Leonard Leo said: "What President Trump has done with judicial selection and appointments is probably at the

very center of his legacy, and may well be his greatest accomplishments thus far." [37]

In May 2018, the Federalist Society hosted a phone call entitled "examining the legality of the Mueller Investigation", where one of the featured speakers has argued that Special Counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election is unconstitutional. [34]

Notable members

Notable members of the society have included:

Chief Justice of the United States John Roberts (disputed) [note 1]  
Former United States Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia (who served as the original faculty advisor to the organization) [40]  
Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito [9]  
Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas [9]  
Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch [41]  
Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh [42] [43]  
United States Court of Appeals Judge (D.C. Cir.) Thomas Griffith [44]  
Alex Kozinski, former Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit [45]  
United States Court of Appeals Judge (5th Cir.) Edith Brown Clement [46]  
Former United States Court of Appeals Judge (D.C. Cir.) Robert Bork [47]  
Professor Michael W. McConnell at Stanford Law School and former United States Court of Appeals Judge (10th Cir.) [48]  
Former United States Attorney General Edwin Meese [45]  
Former U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft [45]  
Former United States Assistant Attorney General Peter Keisler, a co-founder of the Federalist Society [7]  
Former United States Solicitor General Theodore Olson [45]  
Former United States Solicitor General Paul Clement [7]  
Former President Pro Tempore of the U.S. Senate Orrin Hatch [40]  
Senator Ted Cruz, Republican Senator of Texas [49]  
Senator Josh Hawley, Republican Senator of Missouri [50]  
Senator Todd Young, Republican Senator of Indiana  
Former U.S. Senator and Secretary of Energy Spencer Abraham [45]  
Former United States Ambassador to the European Union C. Boyden Gray [45]  
Former United States Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton [45]  
Michael Chertoff, former United States Secretary of Homeland Security [51]  
Former general counsel of the Office of Management and Budget and of the Department of Homeland Security Philip Perry [51]  
Former Texas State Representative and Dallas lawyer Bill Keffer [52]  
Former President of Baylor University and former independent counsel Kenneth Starr [40]  
Former Columbia Law School Dean David Schizer [53]  
Professor Richard Epstein of the New York University School of Law [54]  
Professor Randy Barnett of Georgetown University Law Center [7]  
Roger Pilon, Director of Constitutional Studies at the Cato Institute [55]  
28th United States Secretary of Labor Eugene Scalia (son of Justice Antonin Scalia) [56]  
Roberts was at one point reported to have been a member of the society, but Roberts's membership status was never definitively established. Deputy White House press secretary Dana Perino said Roberts "has no recollection of ever being a member." [38] Following the report, the Washington Post located the Federalist Society Lawyers Division Leadership Directory, 1997–1998, which listed Roberts as a member of the Washington chapter steering committee; [39] however, membership in the society is not a necessary condition for being listed in its leadership directory. [39]  
See also

Conservatism portal  
Libertarianism portal

Alliance for Justice  
American Constitution Society  
Brennan Center for Justice  
National Lawyers Guild  
John M. Olin Foundation

Focus on the Family

Focus on the Family  
FOTF logo.svg  
Motto Helping Families Thrive  
Founded 1977; 43 years ago  
California, United States  
Founder James Dobson  
Tax ID no.  
95-3188150 (EIN)

Location

8605 Explorer Dr  
Colorado Springs, Colorado, U.S. 80920

Area served

International

Key people

Jim Daly, President and CEO

John Fuller, VP Audio division

Paul Batura, VP Communications

Tim Goeglein, VP External and Government Relations

Robyn Chambers, Executive Director, Advocacy for Children

Revenue

\$95,209,896 (2011 FY)[1]

Employees

640 (as of 2013)[2]

Volunteers

112

Website [focusonthefamily.com](http://focusonthefamily.com)

This article is part of a series on

Conservatism in

the United States

Collage of nine American conservatives: Ronald Reagan, Calvin Coolidge, Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., Jack Kemp, Milton Friedman, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Samuel Alito

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Focus on the Family (FOTF or FotF) is an American fundamentalist Christian organization founded in 1977 in Southern California by James Dobson, based in Colorado Springs, Colorado.[3] It promotes social conservative views on public policy. The group is one of a number of evangelical parachurch organizations that rose to prominence in the 1980s. As of the 2017 tax filing year, Focus on the Family declared itself to be a church, "primarily to protect the confidentiality of our donors." [4]

Focus on the Family promotes creationism,[5] abstinence-only sex education,[6] adoption only by heterosexuals,[7] school prayer, and traditional gender roles. It opposes pre-marital sex, pornography, drugs, gambling, divorce, and abortion. It lobbies against LGBT rights, including LGBT adoption, LGBT parenting, and same-sex marriage.[8] Focus on the Family has been criticized by psychiatrists, psychologists, and social scientists for misrepresenting their research in order to bolster its religious ideology and political agenda.

The core promotional activities of the organization include the flagship daily radio broadcast hosted by its president Jim Daly together with co-host Focus VP John Fuller. Focus also provides free resources in line with the group's views, and publishes magazines, videos, and audio recordings.

The organization also produces programs for targeted audiences, such as Adventures in Odyssey for children, and dramas.

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	History and organization

Focus on the Family's former logo.

Focus on the Family's Visitor's Welcome Center in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

From 1977 to 2003, James Dobson served as the sole leader of the organization. In 2003, Donald P. Hodel became president and chief executive officer, tasked with the day-to-day operations.[9] Dobson remained chairman of the board of directors, with chiefly creative and speaking duties. In March 2005, Hodel retired and Jim Daly, formerly the Vice President in charge of Focus on the Family's International Division, assumed the role of president and chief executive officer.[10]

In November 2008, the organization announced that it was eliminating 202 jobs, representing 18 percent of its workforce. The organization also cut its budget from \$160 million in fiscal 2008 to \$138 million for fiscal 2009.[11]

In February 2009, Dobson resigned his chairmanship.[12] He left Focus on the Family in early 2010, and subsequently founded Iik as a non-profit organization and launched a new broadcast that began airing nationally on May 3, 2010. He is no longer affiliated with Focus on the Family.

On June 23, 2017, Vice President Mike Pence attended the organization's 40th anniversary celebration; at the event, he praised founder James Dobson, stated that President Donald Trump is an ally of the organization, and added that the Trump administration supports its goals (including the abolition of Planned Parenthood).[13][14][15] Pence's attendance at the event, along with Focus on the Family's stances on LGBT rights, were criticized by the Human Rights Campaign.[16]

In its IRS Form 990 for Tax Year 2015, dated October 26, 2017, Focus on the Family for the first time declared itself a "church, convention of churches or association of churches", claiming that it was no longer required to file the IRS disclosure form and that the sources and disposition of its \$89 million budget were "Not for public inspection." Tax Attorney Gail Harmon, who advises nonprofit organisations on tax law, said she found the declaration "shocking", noting that "There's nothing about them that meets the traditional definition of what a church is. They don't have a congregation, they don't have the rites of various parts of a person's life." [17] A spokesperson for the organization stated that it changed its status "primarily to protect the confidentiality of our donors." [4]

#### Ministries

##### Marriage and family

Focus on the Family strongly opposes same-sex marriage, civil unions, and domestic partnerships.[18]

##### Love Won Out

###### Main article: Love Won Out

Focus on the Family formed Love Won Out, an ex-gay ministry, in 1998 and in 2009, it was sold to Exodus International. In June 2013, however, Exodus ceased activities, and it issued a statement which repudiated its aims and apologized for the harm their pursuit caused to LGBT people; see Exodus International § Closure.

##### Wait No More

Focus on the Family's Wait No More ministry works with adoption agencies, church leaders and ministry partners to recruit families to adopt children from foster care.[19] In Colorado, the number of children waiting for adoption dropped from about 800 to 350, due in-part to the efforts of Wait No More.[20] Focus on the Family's efforts to encourage adoption among Christian families is part of a larger effort by Evangelicals to, in their perception, live out what they see as the "biblical mandate" to help children.[21]

##### Option Ultrasound Program

Focus on the Family's Option Ultrasound Program (OUP) provides grants to crisis pregnancy centers to pay the cost of ultrasound machines or sonography training. Focus on the Family began OUP in 2004 with the goal of convincing women not to have abortions. FOTF officials said that ultrasound services help a woman better understand her pregnancy and baby's development, creating an important "bonding opportunity" between "mother and unborn child".[22]

A study released in February 2012 shows that ultrasounds do not have a direct impact on an abortion decision.[23] In 2011, FOTF announced that they would like to talk with pro-choice groups like Planned Parenthood to work towards the shared goal of making abortion less common.[24] Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.) introduced a sonogram bill in 2011 and – citing Focus on the Family – told Congress that "78 percent of women who see and hear the fetal heartbeat choose life." She was later corrected by Focus on the Family, which released a statement saying they did not release such data.[25][23]:1

#### Boundless.org

Boundless.org is Focus on the Family's website for young adults[26] featuring articles, a blog, a podcast, and a conference. The website covers topics such as singleness, dating, relationships, popular culture, career and sex.[27]

#### Day of Dialogue

Main article: Day of Dialogue

The Day of Dialogue was a student event which took place April 16. Since 2018 the event is no longer marked on a single date, or organized nationally.[28] Founders described the goal of the event, created in opposition to the anti-bullying and anti-homophobic Day of Silence, as "encouraging honest and respectful conversation among students about God's design for sexuality." It was previously known as the Day of Truth and was founded by the Alliance Defense Fund in 2005.[29] In 2007, Exodus International began supporting the Day of Truth, an event created by Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) in 2005 that challenges homosexuality.[30] In 2009, the ADF announced they had passed on their leadership role for the event to Exodus. In October 2010, Exodus announced they would no longer support the event. President Alan Chambers stated they realised they needed to "equip kids to live out biblical tolerance and grace while treating their neighbors as they'd like to be treated, whether they agree with them or not", adding that the Day of Truth was becoming too divisive. Chambers said that Exodus had not changed its position on homosexuality, rather they were reevaluating how to best communicate their message.[31][32] Focus on the Family subsequently took leadership of the event, and renamed it the Day of Dialogue.[33]

#### National Day of Prayer

Main article: National Day of Prayer Task Force

The National Day of Prayer Task Force is an American evangelical conservative Christian non-profit organization which organizes, coordinates, and presides over Evangelical Christian religious observances each year on the National Day of Prayer. The website of the NDP Task Force states that "its business affairs are separate" from those of Focus on the Family, but also that "between 1990 and 1993, Focus on the Family did provide grants in support of the NDP Task Force" and that "Focus on the Family is compensated for services rendered." [34] Shirley Dobson, wife of James Dobson, was chairwoman of the NDP Task Force from 1991 until 2016, when Anne Graham Lotz, daughter of evangelist Billy Graham, assumed the post.[35]

#### Political positions and activities

Focus on the Family's 501(c)(3) status prevents them from advocating any individual political candidate.[36] FOTF also has an affiliated group, Family Policy Alliance, though the two groups are legally separate. As a 501(c)(4) social welfare group, Family Policy Alliance has fewer political lobbying restrictions. FOTF's revenue in 2012 was USD \$90.5 million, and that of Family Policy Alliance (formerly CitizenLink) was USD \$8 million.[37][38]

Focus on the Family maintains a strong stand against abortion, and provides grant funding and medical training to assist crisis pregnancy centers (CPCs; also known as pregnancy resource centers) in obtaining ultrasound machines. According to the organization, this funding, which has allowed CPCs to provide pregnant women with live sonogram images of the developing fetus, has led directly to the birth of over 1500 babies who would have otherwise been aborted.[39][40] The organization has been staunchly opposed to public funding for elective abortions.

FOTF's bookstore at their headquarters contains a variety of material on Christian living, Bibles, etc.

Focus on the Family has been a prominent supporter of the pseudoscience[41][42] of intelligent design, publishing pro-intelligent design articles in its Citizen magazine and selling intelligent design videos on its website.[43][44] Focus on the Family co-published the intelligent design videotape *Unlocking the Mystery of Life* with the Discovery Institute, hub of the intelligent design movement.[45]

#### 2008 presidential campaign

In the 2008 United States presidential election, Focus on the Family shifted from supporting Mike Huckabee, to not supporting any candidate, to finally accepting the Republican ticket once Sarah Palin was added to the ticket. Prior to the election, a television and letter campaign was launched predicting terrorist attacks in four U.S. cities and equating the U.S. with Nazi Germany. This publicity was condemned by the Anti Defamation League.[46] Within a month before the general election, Focus on the Family began distributing a 16-page letter titled *Letter from 2012 in Obama's America*, which describes an imagined American future in which "many of our freedoms have been taken away by a liberal Supreme Court of the United States and a majority of Democrats in both the House of Representatives and the Senate." [47] According to USA Today, the letter "is part of an escalation in rhetoric from Christian right activists" trying to paint Democratic Party presidential nominee Senator Barack Obama in a negative light.[48]

Focus on the Family Action supported Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-Ga.) in his successful December 2, 2008, runoff election win. The organization, according to the Colorado Independent, donated \$35,310 in radio ads to the Chambliss runoff campaign effort. As the Independent reports, the Focus-sponsored ads were aired in about a dozen Georgia markets. The commercials were produced in the weeks after Focus laid off 202 employees – some 20 percent of its workforce – because of the national economic crisis.[49]

#### Opposition to same-sex marriage

Dobson spoke at the 2004 rally against gay marriage called Mayday for Marriage. It was here for the first time that he endorsed a presidential candidate, George W. Bush. Here he denounced the Supreme Court rulings in favor of gay rights, and he urged rally participants to get out and vote so that the battle against gay rights could be won in the Senate.[50]

In an interview with Christianity Today, Dobson also explained that he was not in favor of civil unions. He stated that civil unions are just same-sex marriage under a different name. The main priority of the opposing same-sex marriage movement is to define marriage on the federal level as between a man and a woman and combat the passage of civil unions later.[51]

Civil rights advocacy groups identify Focus on the Family as a major opponent of gay rights. The Southern Poverty Law Center, a civil rights and hate group monitoring organization,[52] described Focus on the Family as one of a "dozen major groups [which] help drive the religious right's anti-gay crusade".[53] The SPLC does not list Focus on the Family as a hate group, however, since it opposes homosexuality "on strictly Biblical grounds".[54]

Focus on the Family is a member of ProtectMarriage.com, a coalition formed to sponsor California Proposition 8, a ballot initiative to restrict marriage to opposite-sex couples, which passed in 2008,[55] but was subsequently struck down as being unconstitutional by a federal court in *Perry v. Schwarzenegger*.

#### Misrepresentation of research

Social scientists have criticized Focus on the Family for misrepresenting their research in order to bolster its own perspective.[56] Researcher Judith Stacey, whose work was used by Focus on the Family to claim that gays and lesbians do not make good parents, said that the claim was "a direct misrepresentation of the research." [57] She elaborated, "Whenever you hear Focus on the Family, legislators or lawyers say, 'Studies prove that children do better in families with a mother and a father,' they are referring to studies which compare two-parent heterosexual households to single-parent households. The studies they are talking about do not cite research on families headed by gay and lesbian couples." [58] FOTF claimed that Stacey's allegation was without merit and that their position is that the best interests of children are served when there is a father and a mother. "We haven't said anything about sexual orientation," said Glenn Stanton.[57]

James Dobson cited the research of Kyle Pruett and Carol Gilligan in a Time Magazine guest article in the service of a claim that two women cannot raise a child; upon finding out that her work had been used in this way, Gilligan wrote a letter to Dobson asking him to apologize and to cease and desist from citing her work, describing herself as "mortified to learn that you had distorted my work...Not only did you take my research out of context, you did so without my knowledge to support discriminatory goals that I do not agree with...there is nothing in my research that would lead you to draw the stated conclusions you did in the Time article." [59][60][61] Pruett wrote a similar letter, in which he said that Dobson "cherry-picked a phrase to shore up highly (in my view) discriminatory purposes. This practice is condemned in real science, common though it may be in pseudo-science circles. There is nothing in my longitudinal research or any of my writings to support such conclusions," and asked that FOTF not cite him again without permission.[62]

After Elizabeth Saewyc's research on teen suicide was used by Focus on the Family to promote conversion therapy she said that "the research has been hijacked for somebody's political purposes or ideological purposes and that's worrisome", and that research in fact linked the suicide rate among LGBT teens to harassment, discrimination, and closeting.[63] Other scientists who have criticized Focus on the Family for misrepresenting their findings include Robert Spitzer,[64] Gary Remafedi,[62] and Angela Phillips.[64]

#### Football advertisements

In 2010, Focus on the Family bought ad time during Super Bowl XLIV to air a commercial featuring Heisman Trophy winning Florida Gators quarterback Tim Tebow and his mother, Pam. In the ad, Pam described Tim as a "miracle baby" who "almost didn't make it into this world", and further elaborated that "with all our family's been through, we have to be tough" (after which Pam was promptly tackled by Tim). The ad directed viewers to the organization's website.[65][66]

Women's rights groups asked CBS not to air the then-unseen ad, arguing that it was divisive. Planned Parenthood released a video response of its own featuring fellow NFL player Sean James.[67][68] The claim that Tebow's family chose not to perform an abortion was also widely criticized; critics felt that the claim was implausible because it would be unlikely for doctors to recommend the procedure because abortion is illegal in the Philippines.[66][69] CBS's decision to run the ad was also criticized for deviating from its past policy to reject advocacy-type ads during the Super Bowl, including ads by left-leaning groups such as PETA, MoveOn.org and the United Church of Christ (which wanted to run an ad that was pro-same-sex marriage). However, CBS stated that "we have for some time moderated our approach to advocacy submissions after it became apparent that our stance did not reflect public sentiment or industry norms on the

issue."[70]

Focus on the Family produced another commercial which ran during the second quarter of the January 14, 2012 Denver Broncos-New England Patriots AFC Divisional Playoff broadcast on CBS,[71] featuring children reciting the Bible verse John 3:16.[72] The game, given the months of preceding hype and media exposure for Tim Tebow (who now played for the Broncos), was seen by more than 30 million viewers, making it the most-watched AFC Divisional Playoff in more than a decade.[73] The ad did not generate nearly the amount of controversy that surrounded the Super Bowl commercial. It did gain some national media attention, and president Jim Daly stated in a press release that its purpose was to "help everyone understand some numbers are more important than the ones on the scoreboard." [74]

#### Recognitions and awards

In 2008, Dobson's Focus on the Family program was nominated for induction into the National Radio Hall of Fame.[75] Nominations were made by the 157 members of the Hall of Fame and voting on inductees was handed over to the public using online voting.[76] The nomination drew the ire of gay rights activists, who launched efforts to have the program removed from the nominee list and to vote for other nominees to prevent Focus from winning.[77][78] However, on July 18, 2008, it was announced that the program had won and would be inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in a ceremony on November 8, 2008.[79] Truth Wins Out, a gay rights group, protested the ceremony with over 300 protesters.[80]

#### International associates and regional offices

##### New Zealand

See also: Christianity in New Zealand and Politics of New Zealand

Focus on the Family New Zealand is an organisation promoting a conservative Christian ideology. It has a similar agenda to the Focus on the Family organisation in the United States. Focus on the Family supported a Citizens Initiated Referendum on the repeal of section 59 of the Crimes Act 1961.[81]

##### Other countries

Canada – Focus on the Family Canada

Singapore: Focus on the Family Singapore[82]

##### Controversy

The Singapore branch of FotF came under criticism in October 2014 over allegations of sexism and promoting gender stereotypes during their workshops on managing relationships for junior college students. The workshop received a complaint from both a Hwa Chong Junior College student, as well as negative feedback from the college management as being 'ineffective' and will stop by the end of the year.[83]

#### Headquarters

The Administration Building is one of four on the headquarters campus

The Focus on the Family headquarters is a four building, 47-acre (19 ha)[84] complex located off of Interstate 25 in northern Colorado Springs, Colorado, with its own ZIP code (80995).[85][86] The buildings consist of the Administration building, International building, Welcome Center and Operations building (currently unused), and totals 526,070 square feet.[87]

Focus on the Family moved to its current headquarters from Pomona, California, in 1991,[88] with 1,200 employees. In 2002, the number of employees peaked at 1,400. By September 2011, after years of layoffs, they had 650 employees remaining.[89] Christopher Ott of Salon said in 1998 that the FOTF campus has "handsome new brick buildings, professional landscaping and even its own traffic signs" and that "The buildings and grounds are well-maintained and comfortable. If there is any ostentatious or corrupt influence here, it is nowhere in sight." [85]

While visiting the Focus on the Family complex, a couple had asked the staff if handling the sightseers in the main building was a distraction. The staff told the couple that it was a distraction; afterwards the couple donated \$4 million to have a welcome center built. A visiting family donated 7 miles (11 km) of wood trim from the family's Pennsylvania lumber business so FOTF could build its administration building. As of 1998, James Dobson, in his welcome center film, compares his decision to build the headquarters in Colorado Springs to the founding of the temple in Jerusalem.[85]

#### References

##### Students for Trump

Students for Trump (S4T) is an American youth group whose mission is to reelect President Donald Trump. The group was founded in 2015 by two college students, Ryan Fournier and John Lambert. In July 2019, Charlie Kirk, CEO of Turning Point USA, became chairman of Students for Trump, with the goal of recruiting one million students at colleges across the US.[1] Kirk sees Florida, Iowa, North Carolina, Ohio and Arizona as places for targeted student engagement, and added that it is important to have "'aggressive, conservative Republican political outreach' to students." He added that Students for Trump "has a budget of \$15 million, 150 staffers and a presence on more than 1,400 college campuses due to its affiliation with Turning Point Action" an unregistered political action committee formed in May 2019.[2] According to its own literature "Students for Trump sets out to build the largest candidate-focused chapter program in the nation with a primary goal of reaching Division I universities." [3]



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## History

Charlie Kirk, the group's chairman since July 2019

Students for Trump was founded in 2015 by Ryan Fournier and John Lambert, students at Campbell University in North Carolina, United States, who started tweeting positive information about Donald Trump.[4] The Houston Chronicle reported that George Lombardi,[5] a New York City real estate developer and friend of Donald Trump acted as an advisor. On August 6, 2015, Fournier and Lambert were impressed by then high schooler Alexander Chalgren, who appeared as a questioner on the first Fox News Republican primary debate.[6] Alexander asked a question of the candidates concerning ISIL, which was cited as the "most important" question of the evening. The question sparred an intense debate between then Mr. Donald Trump and Senator Ted Cruz. Students for Trump founders reached out to Mr. Chalgren via Instagram inquiring as to his political affiliation, and found him to be an early supporter of Donald Trump. After a brief interview and screening process, Chalgren was offered an integral early position within the organization as South Carolina Director, but eventually rose to the post of National Director. Mr. Chalgren is South Carolina Governor Henry McMaster's adopted cousin.[7] Alexander made his second debut onto the national scene in his This American Life interview with Zoe Chace in 2016.[8] According to the New York Times, Chalgren was the most famous young Trump supporter in America.[9]

Fournier's first television appearance for the organization was on TBS.[10] Students for Trump activities were highlighted in a BBC documentary, "Trump's Unlikely Superfans,"[11] and an NBC News exclusive titled "Students for Trump: Meet the Millennials Who Want Him to Win." [12] In 2016, the organization switched from a traditional campaign model with Regional, State, and Chapter coordinators, to a model with Campus Ambassadors that perform roles similar to that of a campaign field intern. In August 2016, The Chronicle of Higher Education reported that the organization "had nearly 300 campus chapters and a bevy of social-media followers — 29,000 on Twitter, 59,000 on Instagram, thousands more on Facebook." [13]

The campaign however, had numerous problems before and after the election. In April 2016, a Students for Trump Florida chapter placed a "Make America Great Again" ball cap on a statue of Martin Luther King Jr. just days after the anniversary of his death, prompting widespread outrage.[14] The same month, John Lambert was arrested in Tennessee on federal charges of wire fraud,[15][16] posing online as a high-powered New York lawyer.[17] Lambert invented a law firm Pope and Dunn online, listing the fake Eric Pope as a lawyer who attended the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania as an undergraduate and New York University's law school. According to court documents, Lambert bilked tens of thousands of dollars "from unwitting clients seeking legal services." [15] Lambert has not been involved with Students for Trump since leaving in early 2016,[18] and faces prison time and the forfeiture of over \$46,000 after pleading guilty in federal court.[19][20]

James Allsup on air

Salon magazine reported that Ryan Fournier worked with white nationalists when he was head of Students for Trump.[21] Media Matters said that Fournier hired white nationalist James Allsup as director of the Campus Ambassador Program. Allsup was a member of the American Identity Movement and marched at the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville.[22][23]

By March 2017, The College Fix reported that the organization's chapters had "largely disbanded or halted meetings." [24] In February 2018, The Daily Beast reported that Students for Trump had never correctly complied with making reports to the Federal Election Commission as a political action committee.[25] However, founder Ryan Fournier was invited to the White House in July 2019 to discuss liberal bias in social media.[26]

By February 2018, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) had written nine letters to Students for Trump requesting information about donors, but the organization declined to respond. However, the FEC has taken no action other than to warn the political action committee.[27]

On July 2, 2019 Charlie Kirk reported that Turning Point Action, a newly formed 501(c)(4) organization had acquired Students for Trump along with "all associated media assets." [28] Kirk is the founder and CEO of Turning Point USA and Turning Point Action, and the creator of the Professor Watchlist. Turning Point Action is a political action committee created in May 2019 to target Democrats, including Congresswoman Ilhan Omar.[29] Right Wing Watch has alleged that Turning Point USA used staff and resources for political action against Omar that would be considered a violation of US tax codes;[30] this was not the first time that Turning Point USA, a 501(c)(3) organization, was accused of tax code violations.[31] TPUSA has also been accused of using illegal means to influence student body elections.[32][33][34]

Ryan Fournier, co-founder

The group's founder, Ryan Fournier

The organization's co-founder, Ryan Fournier, is from Long Branch, NJ.[35] Fournier became politically active following his volunteer work for the Mitt Romney 2012 presidential campaign.[35] Prior to launching Students for Trump, Fournier was involved in various local and state political campaigns within North Carolina.[35] Along with being the Co-Chairman of Students for Trump, Fournier also serves as the President of OpenPoll and xStrategies.[36]

In 2015, Fournier and John Lambert launched Students for Trump as a Twitter account while they were studying at Campbell University in Buies Creek, NC.[37] Fournier graduated from Campbell University in May 2019 with a degree in Political Science.[38] He is also a member of the Kappa Alpha Order fraternity, Zeta Psi chapter.[39][40]

Fournier was awarded Newsmax's 30 Under 30 Award in 2017 [41] and 2018.[42] He is also a recipient of the Red Alert Politics 30 Under 30 Award.[40]

In July 2018, Fournier launched a boycott against Walmart for selling shirts labeled "Impeach 45," which resulted in the hashtag #BoycottWalmart trending on Twitter.[43] Walmart pulled the items from its online store, issuing the following statement: "These items were sold by third-party sellers on our open marketplace, and were not offered directly by Walmart. We're removing these types of items pending review of our marketplace policies." [43]

In April 2019, John Lambert, the co-founder of Students for Trump and friend of Fournier's was arrested and charged with wire fraud and conspiracy for allegedly taking upward of \$16,000 under false pretenses, while pretending to be an attorney.[44]

In July 2019, Fournier was labeled 'Creep of the Week' by Between the Lines after he attacked Elizabeth Warren for her usage of gender pronouns within her Twitter biography.[45]

Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, Fournier suggested defunding the World Health Organization @ryanafournier (6 April 2020). "Fournier asks for WHO to be defunded" (Tweet) – via Twitter.

#### Projects

##### "Trump Wall" events

On May 9, 2016, a group of students at the University of Washington constructed an 8'x10' "Trump Wall" out of plywood and lumber in the center of the Red Square courtyard. The event, led by UW College Republicans president Jessie Gamble, UW Students for Trump president Chevy Swanson, and S4T senior advisor James Allsup, lasted for an approximately an hour and a half, and was met with ten Trump supporters and over 100 protestors.[46] The wall was painted with a brick design, with "Trump Wall" written on it. At one point, a student attempted to scale the wall. Shortly after this, the organizers were asked by the University Police to take the wall down, which they did.[47] Portland State University Students for Trump, a group unaffiliated with the S4T national organization, hosted a similar event on June 10, 2016.[48] The wall was smaller at this event, and beforehand organizers announced on Facebook that "Mexico and Black Lives Matter are going to need help paying for the wall so we'll be holding a collection." [49]

#### References