

# THE INSIDIOUS POWER OF THE ANTI-CHOICE MOVEMENT

2018

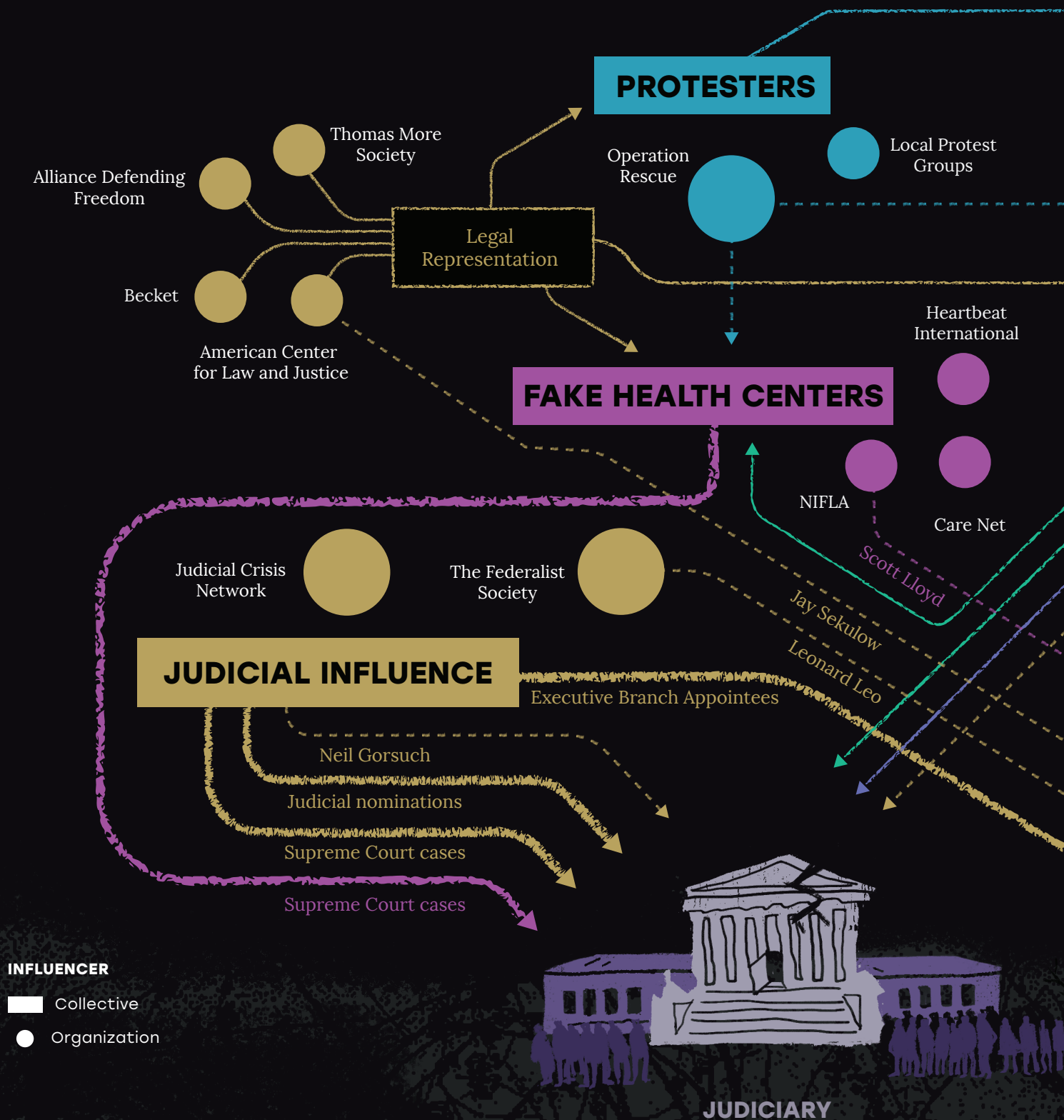




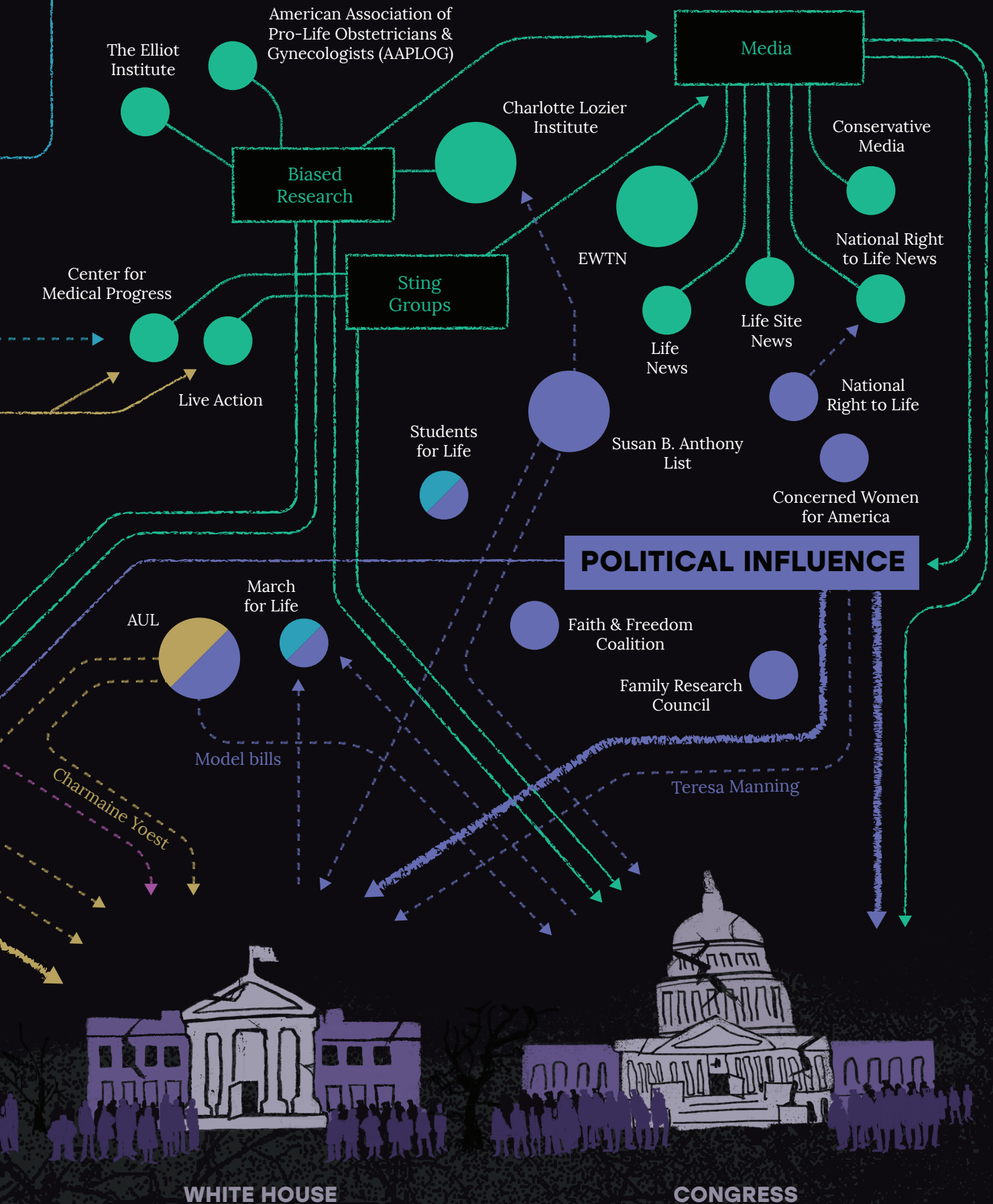




The anti-choice movement has spent decades building the political infrastructure they need to attack abortion access from all sides. In 2018, anti-choice activists sit in influential roles across the Trump administration, have unprecedented influence over judicial nominations and are introducing the most extreme anti-choice legislation ever seen in Congress.



# MISINFORMATION



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# LETTER FROM OUR PRESIDENT

The anti-choice movement has spent decades finding new ways to insinuate themselves into our government, our policies, and our politics. A top anti-choice leader, and now Trump administration official, once described her work as part of a "military strategy." In the effort to undermine abortion rights, she said, "We don't make frontal attacks. Never attack where the enemy is strongest...We pick our battles. What we do is very much under the radar screen and not very sexy."

Under such leadership, the anti-choice movement has worked to build political power and pursued small victories that help stack the deck in their favor. The movement — funded by secret foundations injecting millions into this work — is slowly chipping away at abortion access across the country, despite the fact that more than 7 in 10 Americans support legal abortion. These efforts, executed under the radar or behind closed doors, go against the mainstream.

In 2016, the anti-choice movement's top leaders joined their allies in the fringe, alt-right movement and decided to throw their support behind the then-Republican nominee, Donald Trump. They leveraged their influence to extract extensive promises, legitimize his candidacy and bolster his turnout. Trump has followed through on his commitments, boosting anti-choice priorities in dangerously meaningful ways.

2018 is a year in which anti-choice activists sit in influential roles across the Trump administration, have unprecedented influence over judicial nominations and are introducing the most extreme anti-choice legislation ever seen in Congress. They're using anti-choice fake health centers to stop women from accessing real reproductive care, and they're leaning on extreme anti-choice protesters — who harass, shame and intimidate women and clinicians — to undermine legitimate clinics.

These anti-choice activists have been working hard to set the stage for even more aggressive attacks on our reproductive freedom. With Trump in office and Neil Gorsuch in the Supreme Court, they believe they're closer than ever to their ultimate goal of overturning *Roe v. Wade*.

But as we've always said, reducing these players and this infrastructure to "anti-choice" is a misnomer as their ideology and their agenda exceeds well beyond ending legal abortion in our country. Even in areas of reproduction, they actively fight access to contraception, in vitro fertilization, and surrogacy. And if some of the names in this report look familiar, that's because many of these institutions are also on the front lines of trying to roll back the clock on LGBTQ protections. It's no coincidence that real damage has been done to the rights of gay, lesbian and trans people through this administration as well. The "anti-choice" ideology is about control – control over women and families. The organizations involved seek to define what family looks like for all of us.

But their agenda has also been met by real resistance. Grassroots activists around the country have come together to fight back against the misogynistic, bigoted vision that Donald Trump and his extreme allies have pushed. And we've made our voices heard. We fought down repeated attempts to repeal Obamacare, made our voices heard in opposition to Neil Gorsuch and Trump's other extreme nominees, and we've seen Democrats take back seat after seat in off-year elections.

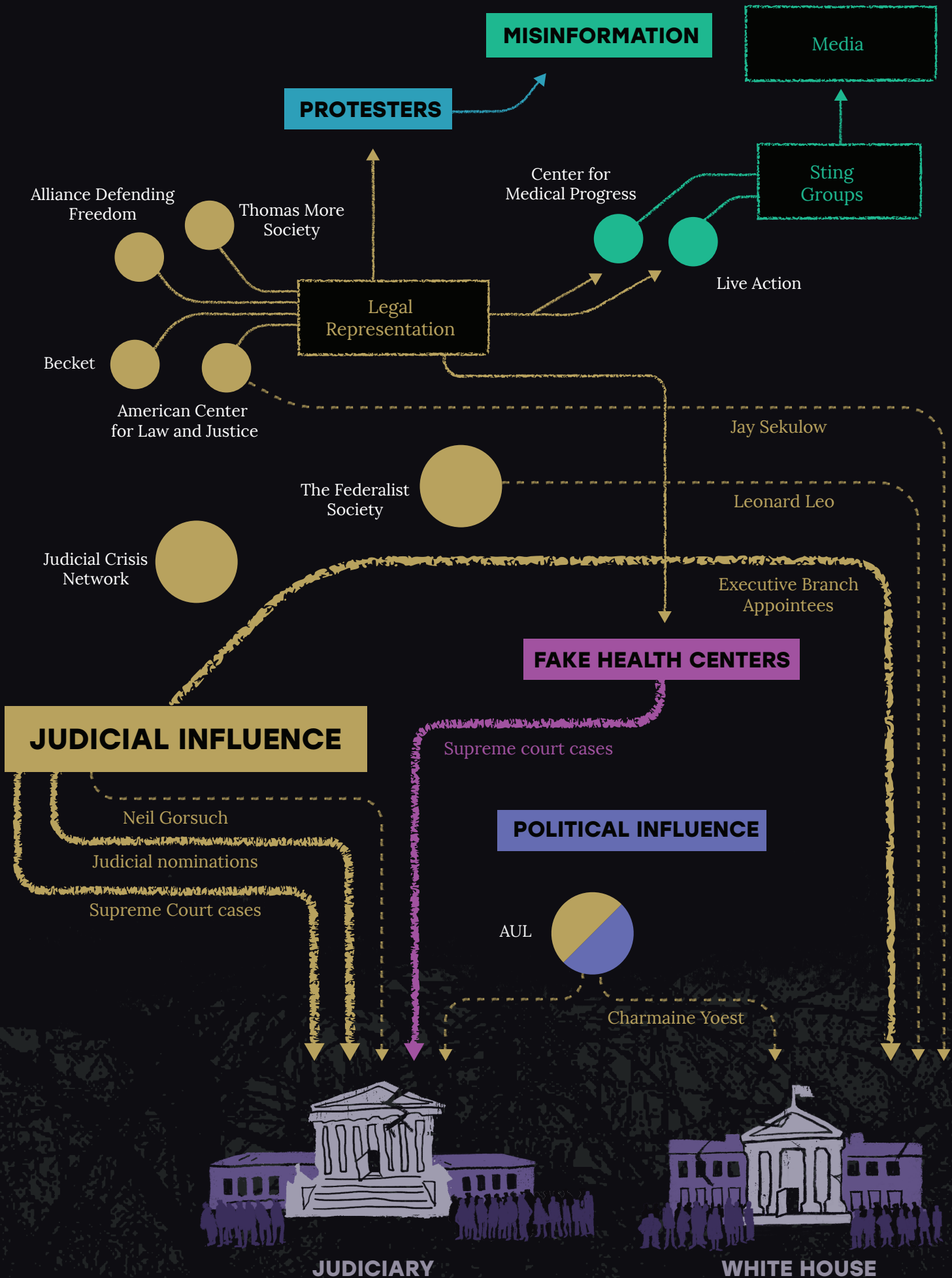
That is why it's more important than ever to make our voices heard this year. Seven in 10 Americans believe abortion should be legal and accessible. That's not just a majority— that's a consensus that stretches across state and party lines.

We know the anti-choice movement won't stop finding new ways to undermine our reproductive freedom, and with that, our ability to choose our own destinies. We wrote this report to help sound the alarm. Knowledge is power. With a clear view of the attacks they're preparing and the energy we've built over the past year, we have the strength we need to fight back and demand dignity for every person in this great nation.

In solidarity,

Ilyse G. Hogue

President, NARAL Pro-Choice America





# JUDICIAL INFLUENCE

1

Since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, the U.S. judicial system has been the ultimate bulwark against attempts to undermine abortion rights, as these attempts are in direct conflict with Americans' basic constitutional rights. Anti-choice and conservative activists are keenly aware of the power of the courts, and have been working to remake the legal system to give themselves a structural advantage — and an eventual chance of overturning *Roe*.

They're attacking this issue from all sides: training and elevating the next generation of anti-choice lawyers and judges; installing conservative ideologues in positions of influence within the federal judiciary; drafting model legislation designed to provoke specific legal challenges; and identifying, filing and arguing strategic anti-choice cases that they think can move the needle. This work dovetails with their broad investments in political campaigns. They invest heavily in anti-choice politicians who will commit nominating or confirming anti-choice judges.

The Federalist Society is a key power broker that has gained significant influence over the judiciary by creating a "pipeline for talent" for conservative legal minds and demanding their loyalty to Federalist Society priorities. The group's executive vice president, who is outspoken about his anti-choice views, played a central role in nominating at least one-third of sitting Supreme Court justices and has personally taken on a leadership role in selecting President Donald Trump's judicial nominees. Groups such as the Judicial Crisis Network and the Judicial Education Project have supported The Federalist Society's efforts to install conservative justices with millions of dollars spent on advertising in support of key nominees such as Neil Gorsuch and a long-term public education effort that has helped make

judicial nominations a top priority for conservative voters.

Meanwhile, a network of nonprofit conservative legal firms, including Alliance Defending Freedom, the Thomas More Society, the Becket Fund, and the American Center for Law and Justice, have worked to deliver strategically chosen anti-choice cases to the increasingly conservative judiciary. And the anti-choice organization Americans United for Life has crafted draft legislation designed to provoke legal challenges that will slowly erode *Roe*.

Anti-choice activists have spent decades building their influence over the federal judiciary through these well-funded, secretive networks, but with Donald Trump at the helm of a united GOP government, they have an unprecedented opportunity to capitalize on this work. They're building the Gorsuch court and have already begun to send key cases his way, starting with the upcoming *NIFLA v. Becerra*.

The *NIFLA* case is just the beginning. With the number of judicial vacancies predicted in Trump's first term, they have the opportunity to help install anti-choice activists in lasting roles covering half of the federal court system, despite the fact Americans are firmly against a partisan judiciary.

# JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS

## The Federalist Society

**The Federalist Society Says Its Mission Is To Combat “Liberal Ideology” In The Legal Profession.** Founded in 1982, The Federalist Society is “a group of conservatives and libertarians” who are “reordering priorities within the legal system to place a premium on individual liberty, traditional values, and the rule of law.” They do this by influencing law professors and their curricula, cultivating relationships with young lawyers and up-and-coming judges, and creating networking opportunities to help like-minded conservatives advance their legal careers. To date, the organization has chapters at every law school in the U.S. and boasts a network of approximately 60,000 law students, lawyers, faculty members, judges and other legal professionals. It claims to have influence that “extends to all levels of the legal community.” [The Federalist Society, accessed [11/1/17](#); The Federalist Society, accessed [11/1/17](#)]

**Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo Worked To Build A “Pipeline” To Judicial Influence.** Describing his organization’s programming, Federalist Society Executive Vice President Leonard Leo said, “The key was to figure out how to develop what I call a ‘pipeline’ – basically, where you recruit students in law school, you get them through law school, they come out of law school, and then you find ways of continuing to involve them in legal policy.” [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#)]

**60,000**  
law students,  
faculty members,  
judges and other  
legal professionals.

**Professor Amanda Hollis-Brusky: “The Idea Was To Train, Credential And Socialize A Generation Of Alternative Elites.”** Hollis-Brusky authored “Ideas with Consequences,” a study of The Federalist Society. As she noted, “The Federalist Society doesn’t exert its influence in ways that are familiar to observers of American politics. As a self-professed ‘society of ideas,’ the Federalist Society exerts its influence more subtly – by training, credentialing and socializing right-of-center lawyers through its conferences, events and educational programming. It then activates its vast and powerful network to place the best and bona fide among its ranks into prominent positions in the government or on the federal judiciary. Because judges have lifetime appointments, **the trick is to keep them ‘faithful’ to their Federalist Society training once on the bench** ... by responding vocally to decisions that seem out-of-step with Federalist Society principles. ... On the other hand, the Society applauds and reinforces the good behavior of its judges and justices, praising them in the media, in law review articles, and in-person at Federalist Society conferences. Anyone who studies psychology will tell you that this kind of feedback – negative or positive – can have an impact on behavior and decision-making.” [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#); The Washington Post, Monkey Cage, [5/17/17](#)]

**Judge Alex Kozinski: Seeing The Federalist Society On A Résumé “Tells Me You’re Of A Particular Philosophy, And I Tend To Give An Edge To People I Agree With Philosophically.”** According to The Nation, Kozinski screened potential clerks for Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy. [The Nation, [9/13/01](#)]

**Cato Institute’s Ilya Shapiro Commented On The Federalist Society’s Value:** “Republican elected officials have come to understand that it’s not enough simply to appoint judges who are committed Republicans or have punched their ticket somehow in a partisan manner. ... You need people who are committed ideologically and jurisprudentially.” [BuzzFeed, [11/20/17](#)]

**Justice Antonin Scalia Highlighted The Society’s Growing Influence:** “We thought we were just planting a wildflower among the weeds of academic liberalism, and it turned out to be an oak.” Scalia was a founding faculty adviser to The Federalist Society. [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#); The Washington Post, Monkey Cage, [5/17/17](#)]

**The Federalist Society’s “Smart Marketing And Intellectual Heft” Helped Conservatives Cultivate A “Friendlier Legal Environment.”** As the Center for Responsive Politics reported, “Conservative and business groups had been pouring money into state court elections through the early 2000s in order to produce a friendlier legal climate – one that curbed tort liability for corporations, for example. Smart marketing and intellectual heft provided by Leo’s Federalist Society helped them notch significant gains. From 2000 to 2009, business and conservative groups spent more than twice as much on state court elections as plaintiffs’ lawyers, unions, and liberal groups – \$26.3 million to \$11.9 million, according to Justice at Stake.” [Center for Responsive Politics, [3/23/15](#)]

**The Federalist Society Requires Chosen Judicial Nominees To Oppose Abortion Rights And Gun Safety Measures.** [The Washington Times, [6/18/17](#)]

**Leo Is Outspoken About His Anti-Choice Views.** As The New Yorker reported, Leo believes: “We can have a debate about abortion. ... It’s a very simple one for me. It’s an act of force. It’s a threat to human life. It’s just that simple.” [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#)]

**Conservative Legal Activist Edward Whelan: “No One Has Been More Dedicated To The Enterprise Of Building A Supreme Court That Will Overturn Roe V. Wade Than The Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo.”** [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#)]

**Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo “Is Now Responsible For A Third Of The Supreme Court.”** Leonard Leo worked with both the Bush and Trump administrations to forward the nominations of Supreme Court Justices Neil Gorsuch and Samuel Alito Jr. and Chief Justice John Roberts. He was personally responsible for helping install one-third of the current

**“No One Has Been More Dedicated To The Enterprise Of Building A Supreme Court That Will Overturn Roe V. Wade Than The Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo.”**

**Edward Whelan**  
[The New Yorker, 4/17/17]

Supreme Court, but The Federalist Society's influence over the court's makeup goes further. Justice Clarence Thomas and the late Justice Antonin Scalia also were Federalist Society members. As Leo has said, his organization is a "pipeline for talent." [The Washington Times, [6/18/17](#); The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#)]

**Leo Worked Directly With Trump To Help Nominate Justice Gorsuch And Is "Finding Candidates For Some Of The Hundred-Plus Vacancies On The Lower Courts, Deepening His Imprint On The Judiciary."** [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#); The Washington Times, [6/18/17](#)]

**Judicial Crisis Network's Carrie Severino: "When Leonard Walks In That Room, Everyone Knows Who He Is. ... If You Care About The Conservative Legal Movement, You Always Take Note Of Leonard."** [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#)]



THE FEDERALIST SOCIETY'S  
LEONARD LEO

**REALITY: Americans Support An Impartial Judiciary.** According to Justice at Stake, "94% of Americans agree with the statement, 'We need strong courts that are free from political influence.'" [Justice at Stake, accessed [1/4/18](#)]

*For more information, see page 8: Trump Had Unparalleled Opportunity To Shape The Courts Due To Unprecedented Obstruction By Senate Republicans.*

## Judicial Crisis Network

**The Judicial Crisis Network (JCN) Launched In 2005 With The Goal Of "Drumming Up Support For" GOP Judicial Nominees.** The group's early focus was on "drumming up support for Bush Supreme Court nominees John Roberts Jr. and Samuel Alito Jr." as conservative allies for the late Justice Antonin Scalia. Then known as the Judicial Confirmation Network, JCN was initially the product of a partnership between conservative lawyer Ann Corkery, who led the organization, and real estate magnate Robin Arkley II, the initial funder. The group worked "in tandem with a well-organized conservative coalition – in which [Leonard] Leo, the Federalist Society's executive vice president, was a key player." At the beginning, the group spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on advertising and grassroots organizing "to shape public opinion" in favor of Bush's judicial nominees. [Center for Responsive Politics, [3/23/15](#); Mother Jones, [3/19/16](#)]

**Leonard Leo and Trump Lawyer Jay Sekulow Were Early Supporters Of Judicial Crisis Network.** According to Mother Jones: "Other early JCN supporters included Jay Sekulow, a longtime culture warrior and chief counsel of the American Center for Law and Justice (which was created by televangelist Pat Robertson), and Leonard Leo, the executive vice president of the Federalist Society, a leading conservative legal group." Jay Sekulow later became President Trump's personal lawyer. [Mother Jones, [3/19/16](#); The Washington Post, [7/31/17](#)]

**JCN Financial Backer Robin Arkley Simultaneously Supported The Federalist Society.** According to Mother Jones, JCN “reportedly launched with startup money from California foreclosure king Robin Arkley II, a wealthy conservative who helped bankroll the effort to unseat former South Dakota Sen. Tom Daschle (D).” [Center for Responsive Politics, [3/24/17](#); Mother Jones, [3/19/16](#)]

**During The Obama Administration, The Group Changed Its Name To The Judicial Crisis Network And Turned Its Focus Toward Blocking Obama’s Judicial Nominees.** It funded ad campaigns opposing the 2009 Supreme Court nomination of Justice Sonia Sotomayor and pressured vulnerable Senate Democrats to vote against her confirmation. It also ran attack ads against Justice Elena Kagan when she was nominated in 2010. After the Citizens United decision, JCN began pouring more money into elections, and “spent millions to sway state judicial elections and attorneys general races, helping to uphold state laws backed by conservatives, nurture like-minded talent in the states, and advance pro-business, limited-government legal agendas aligned with its donors’ leanings.” [Center for Responsive Politics, [3/23/15](#); Mother Jones, [3/19/16](#)]

**JCN Is Aggressively Anti-Choice.** JCN has called TRAP laws “sensible abortion regulations” and warned against “liberal justices” who would protect abortion rights. TRAP laws “single out abortion providers and impose draconian regulations upon their operations in an attempt to shut them down.” The group has echoed attacks on “the increasingly predatory abortion industry” as well as criticisms of the Supreme Court case *Whole Woman’s Health v. Hellerstedt* as “a huge setback for pro-life movement,” while warning “things could get much worse.” [Twitter, [3/2/16](#); Twitter, [6/23/16](#); Twitter, [7/5/16](#); Slate, [6/27/16](#)]

**JCN Chief Counsel And Policy Director Carrie Severino Tied JCN’s Work On Judicial Nominations To Its Fight Against Abortion Rights.** As the National Catholic Register reported, “Severino warned that if a liberal jurist replaces Antonin Scalia, who died earlier this year, his or her vote will solidify the views of the majority and secure the status quo on legal abortion ‘for decades to come.’” [National Catholic Register, [7/6/16](#); Twitter, [6/30/16](#); Twitter, [7/14/16](#)]

**Severino Attacked The *Whole Woman’s Health* Decision As “Run-Of-The-Mill Abortion Distortion.”** She said, “By throwing out the regular legal rules in order to carry water for the abortion industry, the Court has further threatened its own legitimacy. It’s no wonder the Supreme Court is suffering record levels of disapproval with the American people.” She also suggested that the right to abortion is not part of the Constitution, but is a position “emanating from some penumbra” and an example of “bending the rules to shoehorn them into a right.” [Judicial Crisis Network, [6/27/16](#); USA Today, [3/27/13](#); Judicial Crisis Network, [6/27/16](#)]

**Under President Obama, JCN Was “The Biggest Player” In The Effort To Block Supreme Court Nominee Merrick Garland And, Under Trump, Later Spent \$10 Million Support Neil Gorsuch’s Nomination.** [The Daily Beast, [3/29/16](#); Mother Jones, [3/19/16](#); ConfirmGorsuch.com, accessed [1/31/17](#); Judicial Crisis Network, [1/9/17](#)]



**Center for Responsive Politics: “JCN Has Emerged As A Pipeline For Secret Money.”** The group reportedly helps direct money toward “better-known dark money groups like the Wisconsin Club for Growth and the American Future Fund which, in turn, have spent big bucks in state Supreme Court and AG races.” [Center for Responsive Politics, [3/23/15](#)]

## Judicial Education Project

**The Judicial Education Project Works Through The Media To Promote Conservative Values And Increase Voters’ Interest In The Judiciary.** The Judicial Education Project “educates citizens about ... constitutional principles and focuses on issues such as judges’ role in our democracy, how they construe the Constitution, and the impact of the judiciary on our nation.” The group says that its education efforts are “conducted through various outlets, including print, broadcast, and internet media.” [American Bar Association, accessed [11/6/17](#)]

**The Judicial Education Project Is Run By Carrie Severino And Receives Wellspring Committee Funding.** The Wellspring Committee is a Koch-affiliated group that funnels dark money into conservative organizations. “In 2010, Wellspring began sending money directly to JCN, giving it and a related organization, the Judicial Education Project, \$400,000; an additional \$306,000 came in 2011, then \$1.5 million in 2012 and \$1.4 million the next year,” the Center for Responsive Politics reported. [American Bar Association, accessed [11/6/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, [3/23/15](#)]

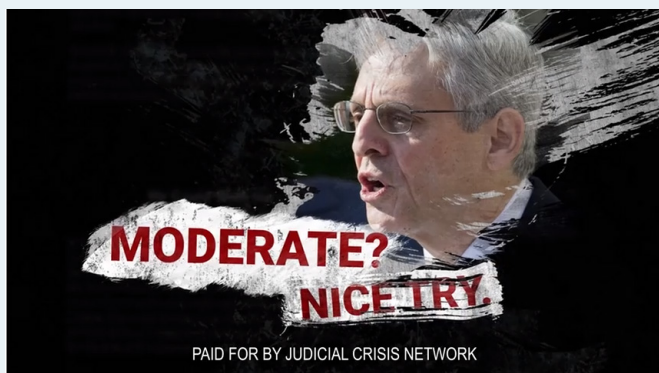
**Severino Worked On Amicus Briefs Arguing That President Trump Cannot Be Charged Under The Emoluments Clause.** In a post for The Washington Post’s Volokh Conspiracy blog, academics Josh Blackman and Seth Barrett Tillman described receiving support from the Judicial Education Project in writing multiple friend-of-the-court briefs defending Trump from accusations of improper foreign entanglements. They wrote, “We have submitted amicus briefs to the District Courts for the Southern District of New York and the District of Columbia, advancing a position that the Justice Department has not: that the president is not subject to the Foreign Emoluments Clause. We are grateful for assistance on the briefs from Carrie Severino of the Judicial Education Project and Robert W. Ray and Brittney Edwards of Thompson & Knight LLP.” [The Washington Post, The Volokh Conspiracy, [9/25/17](#); Seth Barrett Tillman amicus curiae brief in *CREW v. Trump*, accessed [11/6/17](#), via Scribd; Seth Barrett Tillman and the Judicial Education Project amici curiae brief in *Blumenthal v. Trump*, accessed [11/6/17](#), via Scribd; The New York Times, [9/25/17](#)]

**Severino Drafted An Amicus Brief On The Massachusetts Buffer Zone Case.** In summarizing the brief, she argued that Massachusetts buffer zone statute “violates the First Amendment by prohibiting communications within the buffer zone, while exempting abortion clinic employees and agents.” [National Review, [9/16/13](#)]

## CASE STUDY

# Trump Had Unparalleled Opportunity To Shape The Courts Due To Unprecedented Obstruction By Senate Republicans

**Led By Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, Senate Republicans Refused To Hold Hearings On Merrick Garland, Obama's Nominee For A Supreme Court Vacancy, Leaving The Seat Open For Trump To Fill.** The Washington Post wrote: "Almost exactly one year ago, Justice Antonin Scalia died on a hunting trip in a remote corner of Texas. Without consulting his colleagues, McConnell declared that no Supreme Court nominee from then-President Barack Obama would ever be considered. He stuck to his word: By the fall, Senate Republicans who had joined McConnell in stonewalling Obama's nominee, Judge Merrick Garland, were begging voters to side with them to provide a check against Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton's choice for the Scalia vacancy—and to consider voting for Trump, who most of them thought was headed to defeat." Conservative legal groups, such as the Judicial Crisis Network, supported Senate Republicans' blockage of Garland. [The Washington Post, [2/18/17](#); The Daily Beast, [3/29/16](#)]



**Judicial Crisis Network (JCN) Was "Perhaps The Biggest Player" In The Fight To Deny Merrick Garland A Congressional Hearing.** The week after Scalia's passing, JCN committed to running a \$1 million ad campaign opposing hearings for any Obama nominee, and after Garland's nomination, they pledged an additional \$2 million in ads opposing him. JCN Chief Counsel Carrie Severino said: "We cannot allow President Obama [to] turn the Supreme Court nomination process into another partisan game, where Obama's goal is to dominate the court with extremist liberal ideologues." Severino also said that Garland

"would be a solid liberal vote on the court." JCN hired a team of about 10 opposition researchers to gather information on Obama's potential Supreme Court nominees. [The Daily Beast, [3/29/16](#); Mother Jones, [3/19/16](#); ThinkProgress, [3/16/16](#); PBS, The Travis Smiley Show, [7/26/16](#)]

**Senate Inaction On Garland Allowed Trump To Run On The Promise Of Filling An "Actual Vacancy" On The Supreme Court, Which Won Over Skeptical Republican Voters.** According to the Washington Post: "As we all now know, Trump pulled off the upset. And according to bipartisan analyses, his victory was driven in part by doubtful Republicans who came home to an unconventional candidate with shaky conservative credentials

because they believed he would appoint reliable justices to the Supreme Court.” McConnell said: “The single biggest issue in bringing Republicans home in the end was the Supreme Court.” Senator Roy Blunt, who also ran for reelection in 2016, said having an “actual vacancy” on the Supreme Court instead of a hypothetical one was “incredibly focusing” for conservatives. Blunt also said: “Starting in August, the one thing I heard about over and over was how important the court was.” [The Washington Post, [2/18/17](#)]

**While Blocking Confirmation Hearings On Garland, McConnell Advised Presidential Candidate Trump On The Supreme Court And Suggested Trump Work With The Federalist Society To Create His Supreme Court Nominee List.** According to the Washington Post: “In the interview, McConnell revealed that he did more than just hold the line against Garland. He positioned himself as one of Trump’s key Supreme Court advisers. He suggested to candidate Trump that he come up with a list of contenders for the court—and importantly, he directed him to the conservative Federalist Society for advice. Trump took the advice and published a list of 21 names, including Gorsuch.” [The Washington Post, [2/18/17](#)]

**The Federalist Society Partnered With The Heritage Foundation To Draft Trump’s Initial List Of 21 Potential Supreme Court Nominees.** Trump released the list during the 2016 campaign and eventually selected three names for advancement. All three have since been installed in various federal courts, Gorsuch in the U.S. Supreme Court and Judge Amul Thapar and Colorado Supreme Court Justice Allison Eid in the U.S. Court of Appeals. The Heritage Foundation is a think tank founded in 1973 to promote conservative policy goals. [The Washington Times, [6/18/17](#); The Heritage Foundation, accessed [12/5/17](#)]

**Trump Repeatedly Flaunted His List Of Potential Judges As “Federalist Society-Approved.”** [The Washington Post, Monkey Cage, [5/17/17](#)]

**Senate Republicans Had Blocked Obama’s Lower Court Nominees In The Senate Judiciary Committee.** During the Obama administration, many Republican Senators refused to submit blue slips to the Senate Judiciary Committee, “which signal to the chairman that they’re ready for their nominees to get a hearing. The committee won’t hold a hearing for a nominee until both home-state senators turn their blue slips in.” In June 2016, the Huffington Post wrote, “Hardly any GOP members of the Senate Judiciary Committee showed up to a hearing this month to vote out a batch of Obama’s court picks. There were so many missing members the committee didn’t have the 11 people it needed to reach a quorum, which meant no one could do anything. That left the eight Democrats and two Republicans who *did* show up just sitting there, looking at each other.” [The Huffington Post, [6/28/16](#)]

**The Chicago Tribune: “Confirmation Of Obama’s Judicial Nominees Slowed To A Crawl After Republicans Took Control Of The Senate In 2015” Due To “An Unprecedented Level Of Obstruction” By Senate Republicans.** The Chicago Tribune wrote: “The result is a multitude of openings throughout the federal circuit and district courts that will allow the new Republican president to quickly make a wide array of lifetime appointments.” The Huffington Post wrote that Senate Republicans “refused to recommend judicial nominees, filibustered others, used procedural rules to drag out the confirmation process and, by Obama’s final year, blocked nominees they had recommended just to prevent him from filling more seats.” [The Chicago Tribune, [12/25/16](#); The Huffington Post, [6/22/17](#)]

**McConnell Refused To Take Up Obama Court Nominees For Full Senate Votes Even After Receiving Bipartisan Approval From The Senate Judiciary Committee.** The Chicago Tribune reported: “Twenty-five of Obama’s court



nominees were pending on the Senate floor, after having been approved out of the committee with bipartisan support, but did not get a vote before the Senate ended its two-year term before the holidays, according to White House spokesman Eric Schultz.” [The Chicago Tribune, [12/25/16](#)]

### **Republican Obstruction Of Obama Court Nominees Caused Judicial Emergencies Across The Country.**

According to the Chicago Tribune: “There are 38 so-called judicial emergencies, according to the nonpartisan Judicial Conference, including in Texas, where seven seats have sat empty for more than one year. The Obama administration and the state’s two conservative Republican senators could not come to an agreement on nominees for the many openings.” [The Chicago Tribune, [12/25/16](#)]

**Trump Inherited Over 100 Judicial Vacancies When He Took Office, Which Is “Double” The Number Of Seats Open When Obama First Took Office.** The Chicago Tribune wrote: “Donald Trump is set to inherit an uncommon number of vacancies in the federal courts in addition to the open Supreme Court seat, giving the president-elect a monumental opportunity to reshape the judiciary after taking office.” The Huffington Post wrote: “He inherited a whopping 108 court vacancies when he became president—double the number of vacancies President Barack Obama inherited when he took office.” [The Chicago Tribune, [12/25/16](#); NBC News, [12/21/17](#); The Huffington Post, [6/22/17](#)]

## **ONCE IN OFFICE, TRUMP WORKED WITH CONSERVATIVE LEGAL GROUPS TO RESHAPE THE JUDICIARY**

### **Trump Nominated Neil Gorsuch, An Anti-Choice, Federalist Society–Aligned Judge, To The Supreme Court**

**Trump Nominated Neil Gorsuch To The Supreme Court Soon After Taking Office.** [The Washington Post, [1/31/17](#)]

**Gorsuch Fit The Federalist Society Profile, Describing Himself As “A Committed Originalist And Textualist.”** The conservative legal movement wanted to fill the late Justice Antonin Scalia’s seat with someone of the same judicial ideology, and Trump had promised during the campaign to nominate someone “in the mold of Scalia.” According to the Washington Post: “Like Scalia, Gorsuch is a proponent of originalism—meaning that judges should attempt to interpret the words of the Constitution as they were understood at the time they were written—and a textualist who considers only the words of the law being reviewed, not legislators’ intent or the consequences of the decision.” The Washington Post also reported: “Perhaps the biggest reason Republicans love Neil Gorsuch’s selection as President Trump’s Supreme Court nominee—apart from his age—is the fact that he’s a demonstrated originalist.” The New Yorker called Gorsuch the “latest achievement” in Leonard Leo’s “generation of originalist elites.” [The Boston



Globe, [2/2/17](#); Politico, [11/16/17](#); The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#); The Washington Post, [2/1/17](#); The Washington Post, [1/31/17](#); Business Insider, [1/31/17](#)]

**Prior To His Nomination, The Federalist Society Listed Gorsuch As An “Expert” On Its Website.** [The Federalist Society, accessed 1/25/17]

**Gorsuch Has A Long Career Linked To Anti-Choice Politicians And Judges.** Gorsuch was a judge on the Tenth Circuit Court Of Appeals, appointed by anti-choice President George W. Bush in 2006 and worked for mixed-choice Associate Justice Anthony Kennedy. Gorsuch has also donated to anti-choice politicians: Bill Frist in 1999, John McCain in 2000, and George W. Bush in 2000 and 2003. Gorsuch contributed a total of \$2,250 to Bush. He also contributed to the Republican National Committee in 2004. [Federal Judicial Center, accessed [1/6/18](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [1/6/18](#)]

**Gorsuch Wrote That The ACA’s Contraceptive Policy Forced Hobby Lobby “To Violate Their Religious Faith” By Mandating Coverage Of “Drugs Or Devices That Can Have The Effect Of Destroying A Fertilized Human Egg.”** Gorsuch concurred with the Tenth Circuit’s anti-choice ruling in *Hobby Lobby Stores, Inc. v. Sebelius*. He wrote a concurring opinion that the ACA’s contraceptive-coverage policy required Hobby Lobby “to violate their religious faith by forcing them to lend an impermissible degree of assistance to conduct their religion teaches to be gravely wrong.” He continued, “the mandate compels Hobby Lobby and Mardel to underwrite payments for drugs or devices that can have the effect of destroying a fertilized human egg.” [American Bar Association, [7/7/13](#); The Huffington Post, [3/20/17](#); Vox, [3/20/17](#); Time, [1/30/17](#)]

**Gorsuch Joined A Dissenting Opinion Calling The ACA’s Contraceptive-Coverage Policy A Clear Burden.** When the Tenth Circuit decided against rehearing en banc a challenge to the ACA’s contraceptive-coverage policy (*Little Sisters of the Poor v. Burwell*), Gorsuch joined the dissenting opinion. Dissenters called the contraceptive-coverage policy a clear burden on the plaintiffs’ free exercise of religion and predicted that the policy would “not long survive.” [*Little Sisters of the Poor v. Burwell*, No. 13-1540, [2015](#)]

**Gorsuch Claimed That “The Courts Feel Free To Override The Conscience of Health Care Providers” When Requiring Public Hospitals To Provide Abortion Services.** He submitted an amicus brief on behalf of the American Hospital Association in a case about assisted suicide. He referenced *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* and wrote, in reference to public hospitals being required to provide elective abortions: “If the courts feel free to override the conscience of health care providers in that context, there is a danger they will do so here as well.” [Brief of Amici Curiae American Hospital Association, *State of Washington v. Glucksberg, et al*, WL 656278 (U.S.) (1996) (Nos. 96-220, 96-1858)]

**Former Students Of Gorsuch Claimed He Said That “Many” Women Misuse Their Maternity Leave And That Companies Should Question Women About Their Intentions To Have Children Before Hiring Them.** According to NBC News: “A former law student of President Donald Trump’s Supreme Court nominee alleges that Neil Gorsuch told a class that ‘many’ women manipulate their employers for maternity benefits and that law firms should ask female interviewees about their pregnancy plans in order to protect their companies.” The Center for American Progress wrote that Gorsuch “reportedly argued that women often manipulate maternity leave policies to take time off at the company’s expense before leaving the company.” [Center for American Progress, [3/23/17](#); NBC News, [3/20/17](#)]

**Gorsuch “Attempted To Legitimize” Utah’s Attempt To Defund Planned Parenthood Over Deceptively Edited Videos By Calling For A Rehearing Of A Relevant Case.** The Center for American Progress wrote: “During Gorsuch’s time on the 10th Circuit, the court upheld an injunction to stop Utah Gov. Gary Herbert (R) from defunding Planned Parenthood in response to misinformation from doctored videos that falsely accused the organization of selling fetal tissue. Gorsuch, however, took the unusual step of pushing for a rehearing by the full court, even though the governor did not ask for a rehearing. When his colleagues declined to rehear the case, Gorsuch dissented and attempted to legitimize the governor’s unsupported claims.” [Center for American Progress, [3/23/17](#)]

**Gorsuch Was The Youngest Supreme Court Nominee Since 1991 And Became The Youngest Member Of The Court.** Gorsuch was 49 when he was nominated and confirmed to the court. Justice Clarence Thomas was nominated in 1991 at the age of 43. CNBC reported that only 12 nominees since 1900 have been younger than 50 years old and wrote, “ the age of Trump’s nominee is significant because Supreme Court nominations are lifetime appointments, and a young conservative addition to the bench can determine the ideological balance of the court for decades. At the time of Scalia’s death, the court was on average older than it’s been since the late 1970s.” When announcing his nomination of Gorsuch, Trump emphasized his youth, saying: “Depending on their age, a justice can be active for 50 years, and his or her decisions can last a century or more and can often be permanent.” [CNBC, [2/1/17](#)]

**Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo Worked Directly With Trump To Install Justice Gorsuch.** He took a leave of absence from his work at The Federalist Society to serve as a Trump subcontractor focused on filling Scalia’s seat with another staunch conservative justice. He returned to The Federalist Society after Gorsuch’s confirmation. [The Washington Times, [6/18/17](#)]

**Gorsuch Spoke At The 2017 Federalist Society Annual Conference, Where He Thanked The Group For Supporting His Confirmation To The Supreme Court.** At the event, Gorsuch said: “Tonight I can report, a person can be both a committed originalist and textualist and be confirmed to the Supreme Court of the United States...Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your support and prayers through that process.” Federalist Society members gave Gorsuch standing ovations at the beginning and end of his speech. Politico reported: “The new justice portrayed the Federalist Society’s goals not only as benign, but as a welcome and much-needed corrective from an era in which federal judges felt increasingly empowered to issue sweeping rulings that had little to do with laws passed by Congress...Gorsuch vowed to continue to expound the group’s favored judicial philosophies from his new post. ‘Originalism has regained its place and textualism has triumphed and neither is going anywhere on my watch,’ the justice vowed.” Justice Samuel Alito also attended the event. Nan Aron, president of Alliance for Justice, said of Gorsuch’s speech: “Tonight’s speech is just the latest stop on Neil Gorsuch’s thank-you tour to honor the people who got him what should have been Merrick Garland’s job.” [Politico, [11/16/17](#); CNN, [11/17/17](#)]

**The Judicial Crisis Network Claimed It Launched A \$10 Million Campaign To Support Neil Gorsuch’s Nomination To The U.S. Supreme Court.** The organization was responsible for ConfirmGorsuch.com. [ConfirmGorsuch.com, accessed [1/31/17](#); Judicial Crisis Network, [1/9/17](#)]



**JCN's Severino: "Neil Gorsuch Is Exceptionally Qualified."** Severino wrote in a statement for JCN: "Neil Gorsuch is exceptionally qualified, a fair and independent judge who bases his decisions on the Constitution, and he is widely respected on both sides of the aisle. He was confirmed unanimously to one of our highest courts in 2006, and I am confident he will receive bipartisan support again this time. Some Democrats may be tempted to obstruct his nomination, but we have already launched a robust campaign in key states and we will ultimately force vulnerable Senators to choose between obstructing and keeping their Senate seats." [ConfirmGorsuch.com, accessed [1/31/17](#)]

**Anti-Choice Political Groups Worked To Support Gorsuch's Confirmation.** Concerned Women for America organized members to support Gorsuch's nomination, encouraging members to call their Senators about supporting Gorsuch's nomination and to attend Senators' town halls to express their support. CWA members also gathered outside of the Capitol and around D.C. to show their support for Gorsuch. Susan B. Anthony List led the Pro-Life Court Coalition, made up of 60 national and state anti-choice groups supporting Gorsuch's confirmation. The Pro-Life Court Coalition sent a letter to Senators expressing support for Gorsuch and organized events in states with key Democratic senators up for reelection in 2018 to pressure them into supporting Gorsuch. Many other groups, including National Right to Life, its state affiliates, and March for Life also organized supporters to contact their Senators about Gorsuch. AUL and Charlotte Lozier Institute released information about the Supreme Court relating to Gorsuch and abortion. [Concerned Women for America, [3/9/17](#); Twitter.com, [3/5/17](#); Twitter.com, [3/5/17](#); the Portland Press Herald, [3/6/17](#); Concerned Women for America press release, [2/16/17](#), via Public Now; the Missouri Times, [2/27/17](#); Sun Sentinel, [2/18/17](#); Concerned Women for America, [3/21/17](#); National Right to Life News, [March 2017](#); Americans United for Life, accessed [12/27/17](#); Twitter.com, [3/15/17](#); Twitter.com, [3/20/17](#); Life News, [3/20/17](#)]

**Following Gorsuch's Confirmation, Trump Sent Thank You Notes to Anti-Choice Leaders For "All Of Your Efforts To Help Confirm Our Supreme Court Nominee Neil Gorsuch."** Trump sent nearly identical letters to Susan B. Anthony List President Marjorie Dannenfelser and Concerned Women for America President Penny Nance. In the letters, Trump wrote: "Judge Gorsuch will make us all proud in filling the Antonin Scalia vacancy." [Susan B. Anthony List, [4/7/17](#); Concerned Women for America email, 5/3/17, via NARAL Research Department]

## **Trump Also Nominated Many Young, Conservative People To Lower Courts**

**By December 2017, Trump Had Made 59 Judicial Nominations, Far More Than Obama Made In His First Year As President.** In 2017, the Senate confirmed 18 of Trump's judicial nominees, 12 circuit court judges and 6 district court judges, along with one Supreme Court justice. Three of Trump's nominations were withdrawn from Senate consideration due to their lack of qualifications and extremist views. By October 2017, "Trump [had] nominated 17 circuit court judges and 39 district court judges. That's far more than former President Barack Obama's 10 circuit court nominees and eight district court nominees by [the same] point in his first year of office. Former President George W. Bush had nominated 14 circuit judges and 32 district judges by [the same] point." [NBC News, [12/21/17](#); The Chicago Tribune, [12/16/17](#); The Huffington Post, [10/7/17](#)]

**Trump Was "Proving Wildly Successful In One Respect: Naming Youthful Conservative Nominees To The Federal Bench In Record-Setting Numbers."** Ron Klain wrote in the Washington Post, "Moreover, Trump's picks are astoundingly young. Obama's early Court of Appeals nominees averaged age 55; Trump's nine picks average 48. That means, on average, Trump's appellate court nominees will sit through nearly two more presidential



terms than Obama's. Many of Trump's judicial nominees will be deciding the scope of our civil liberties and the shape of civil rights laws in the year 2050—and beyond." The Huffington Post described the "model judicial candidate for this White House" as "young, conservative, and opposed to abortion and LGBTQ rights." [The Washington Post, [7/19/17](#); The Huffington Post, [10/7/17](#)]

**Trump's Judicial Nominees Are Overwhelmingly White Men.** The Associated Press reported, "President Donald Trump is nominating white men to America's federal courts at a rate not seen in nearly 30 years, threatening to reverse a slow transformation toward a judiciary that reflects the nation's diversity. So far, 91 percent of Trump's nominees are white, and 81 percent are male, an Associated Press analysis has found. Three of every four are white men, with few African-Americans and Hispanics in the mix...So far, he has nominated the highest percentage of white judges in his first year since Ronald Reagan. If he continues on his trend through his first term, he will be the first Republican since Herbert Hoover to name fewer women and minorities to the court than his GOP predecessor." By October 2017, Trump had put forward only one Black nominee and one Hispanic nominee. [The Associated Press, [11/13/17](#)]

**The Federalist Society's Leonard Leo Is "Finding Candidates For Some Of The Hundred-Plus Vacancies On The Lower Courts, Deepening His Imprint On The Judiciary."** The Huffington Post reported that "Leo also gave Trump a list of names of potential judicial picks that conservatives would like to see on the federal bench. Trump has already nominated several of them." Ron Klain wrote: "The pace and conservatism of Trump's judicial nominees reflect his close alliance with a conservative group, the Federalist Society." [The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#); The Huffington Post, [6/22/17](#); The Washington Post, [7/19/17](#)]

**Many Of Trump's Other Judicial And Administration Nominees Have Federalist Society Ties.** As The Washington Times reported, "Yet another of Mr. Trump's June 7 picks, Stephanos Bibas, has been a regular panelist at Federalist Society conferences. Others with society ties include Noel Francisco, Mr. Trump's pick for solicitor general; Rachel Brand, the newly confirmed associate attorney general; and Steven Engel, Mr. Trump's pick to be head of the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel." [The Washington Times, [6/18/17](#)]

**White House Counsel Don McGahn Responded To Claims That The White House Outsourced Its Selection Of Judicial Nominees To The Federalist Society By Emphasizing That He Was A Member Of The Federalist Society Himself And That They Shared The "Same Vision" For The Judiciary.** The Washington Post wrote, "McGahn said it is 'completely false' that the White House has 'outsourced' the selection of federal judges to the organization. It's not even necessary, he said. 'I've been a member of the Federalist Society since law school—still am,' he said. 'So frankly, it seems like it's been in-sourced.'" McGahn continued: "But seeking advice from Leonard Leo and many members of the Federalist Society is not outsourcing the judicial selection process...The fact is we all share the same vision of the judicial role, and we welcome input from many sources." [The Washington Post, [11/18/17](#); Politico, [11/17/17](#)]

**Judicial Crisis Network Launched A \$500,000 Ad Campaign In Partnership With Susan B. Anthony List And Concerned Women For America Targeting Democratic Senators Who Oppose Trump's Judicial Nominees.** JCN partnered with anti-choice groups Concerned Women for America and Susan B. Anthony List and conservative groups Tea Party Patriots and Concerned Veterans for America on this campaign. These groups intended to "organize activists at town halls held by congressional Democrats, as well as push email and phone campaigns, and run digital video ads." JCN's first ad included images of Sens. Patty Murray, Elizabeth Warren, Dick Durbin and Dianne Feinstein. The group's digital ads also asked viewers to thank Trump for promising to nominate conservative jurists. [Washington Examiner, [8/21/17](#); The Washington Post, [11/25/16](#)]

## Trump Has Updated His List Of Supreme Court Contenders While In Office To Reward And Elevate Anti-Choice Judges

**Trump's SCOTUS Short List Was Updated In November 2017, And All Five Additions Had Federalist Society Ties.** On Nov. 17, the White House released five names to be added to Trump's Supreme Court short list. "All have Federalist Society ties," BuzzFeed reported, further noting that all but one of the 25 prospective nominees on the updated list had "a Federalist Society connection, either membership or at least involvement with events." The outlier was Judge Margaret Ryan of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces. BuzzFeed could not confirm whether she had ties to The Federalist Society, and a spokesperson for the group declined to comment. [BuzzFeed, [11/20/17](#)]

**Trump Added Amy Coney Barrett To His List Of Possible Supreme Court Nominees After The Senate Approved Her Confirmation To A Circuit Court Seat.** The Huffington Post described Barrett's opposition from Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee: "Every Democrat on the Judiciary Committee opposed her nomination. They scrutinized her past writings on abortion, which include her questioning the precedent of *Roe v. Wade* and condemning the birth control benefit under the Affordable Care Act as 'a grave infringement on religious liberty.' One Democrat, Al Franken (Minn.), called her out for taking a speaking fee from the Alliance Defending Freedom, a nonprofit that's defended forced sterilization for transgender people and has been dubbed a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center." Barrett was also a member of People of Praise, a religious group in which "men are referred to as 'heads' and women are 'handmaids'" and members are "taught that husbands are the heads of their wives and should exercise authority over the family." [The Huffington Post, [10/7/17](#); The Hill, [11/17/17](#); The Huffington Post, [10/31/17](#)]

**Trump Added Brett Kavanaugh To His List Of Possible Supreme Court Nominees After He Ruled In Support Of The Government Blocking An Undocumented Minor From Receiving An Abortion.** Kavanaugh supported the government's desire to block Jane Doe from receiving an abortion, ruling against Doe on an appeals court panel and dissenting from the majority ruling in her favor in the full court ruling. According to Slate, Kavanaugh "complained that 'the majority's decision represents a radical extension of the Supreme Court's abortion jurisprudence.' He wrote that the majority had shortchanged the government's interest in forcing Doe to continue carrying her unwanted pregnancy." Kavanaugh dissented from the Circuit Court's ruling against the government on October 24th, 2017, and Trump added him to his Supreme Court list on November 17th, 2017. [The Washington Post, [10/24/17](#); Slate, [10/24/17](#); Politico, [11/17/17](#)]

## LEGAL REPRESENTATION

The anti-choice movement has access to a number of legal groups that work to aggressively support conservative ideologies and roll back abortion rights through legal action. These groups develop litigation strategies to advance conservative goals, identify sympathetic plaintiffs, and offer free legal services or funding to try the case. At the same time, many of these groups engage in political advocacy and help young, conservative lawyers advance in their careers.

These groups are behind many recent attempts to undermine reproductive rights through the court system, including *Zubik v. Burwell*, *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* and upcoming case *NIFLA v. Becerra*, among many others. They often support each other's work or pursue complementary goals.

The upcoming Supreme Court case *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates (NIFLA) v. Becerra* is an effort to challenge California's Reproductive FACT Act. NIFLA is a network of over 110 fake health centers and worked through anti-choice legal group Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) to challenge the law on free speech grounds.

ADF's lawsuit was the challenge to make it to the Supreme Court, but other anti-choice organizations challenged the law on the same grounds. The similar case of *LivingWell Medical Clinic, Inc. v. Becerra*, which is still pending, was brought by another prominent anti-choice legal group, the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ). Meanwhile, other conservative groups such as the Cato Institute and anti-choice Charlotte Lozier Institute have offered support in the form of amicus briefs.

Groups such as these allow the anti-choice movement to influence the legal system from two sides. In addition to their efforts to make the judiciary friendlier to their goals, they carefully select the cases and the petitioners that will give conservative justices the best material to work with.

## Alliance Defending Freedom

**Alliance Defending Freedom Was Founded To Be The Extreme Right's Answer To The ACLU.**

ADF was founded in 1994 by some of the most prominent evangelical Christian ministries in the U.S. It aimed to be a counterweight to groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which it claimed "seek to immobilize Christians." [Rewire, [5/13/14](#); ThinkProgress, [5/1/14](#)]

**ADF Co-Founder Marlin Maddoux:** "[Alliance Defending Freedom] gives Christians a unique way to fight back against the radical attacks of groups like the ACLU, homosexual activists, and anti-family activists." [Alliance Defending Freedom, accessed [12/5/17](#)]

**ADF Co-Founder Dr. James C. Dobson Also Founded Focus On the Family.** Dobson said that ADF's lead founder Alan Sears "has developed one of the most effective and powerful Christian organizations in the nation." [Alliance Defending Freedom, accessed [12/5/17](#)]

**ADF Wants To Take The U.S. Legal System Back To The Third Century.** On its website, the group says it "seeks to recover the robust Christendomic theology of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th centuries." [ThinkProgress, [5/1/14](#)]

**ADF's Strategy Was To Help Fund Christian Lawsuits, Train Christian Lawyers And Elevate Them Within The Judicial System.** As ThinkProgress reported, "The group's ambitious plans included three things: strategic coordination for the Christian legal community, training an army of Christian lawyers, and funding goals of raising \$1 million in 1994, \$6 million in 1995, and \$25 million by 1997. It would distribute the money to those Christian lawyers around the country, in the form of grants, so they could counter the ACLU and its ilk." [ThinkProgress, [5/1/14](#)]

**Alliance Defending Freedom Is "One Of The Most Powerful And Best-Funded Organizations On The Christian Right."** The Nation: "But no organization has played a more pivotal role than ADF in shaping and testing 'religious freedom' as the Christian right's latest legal strategy in the culture wars. ... No other conservative Christian legal organization has propelled so many attorneys into state and federal government, where they are now in positions to oversee the restructuring of civil-rights and First Amendment law in ADF's mold." [The Nation, [11/28/17](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, [2/11/16](#)]

**Alliance Defending Freedom Is "Swiftly Emerging As A Major Behind-The-Scenes Player In Many Of The Nation's Most Controversial Legal Cases Involving Reproductive Rights."** ADF represented Conestoga Wood Specialties Corp. in its case against the contraception mandate, which the Supreme Court combined with the Hobby Lobby case and decided in the companies' favor. [Rewire, [5/13/14](#); BuzzFeed, [12/4/17](#)]

**ADF: "We Specifically Focus On Cases Involving Religious Liberty Issues, The Sanctity Of Human Life, And Marriage And Family."** ADF offers legal aid to far-right Christian litigants. It helped launch at least 18 legal challenges to the Affordable Care Act's contraceptive coverage provision, and ADF's Greg Scott noted that it has won 17 of those so far. In 2017, ADF's case backing anti-LGBTQ baker Jack Phillips, who sued for the right to discriminate, made it to the Supreme Court. [Alliance Defending Freedom, accessed [11/3/17](#); Alliance Defending Freedom, accessed [11/3/17](#); ThinkProgress, [5/1/14](#)]

**Alliance Defending Freedom Is "Staunchly Anti-Abortion."** The Southern Poverty Law Center called ADF "staunchly anti-abortion" and reported that ADF claims the constitutional right to abortion is "concocted." ADF also opposes gay adoption and foster parenting. According to The Nation, "ADF has also been an active litigant in the anti-choice movement, defending



protesters outside abortion clinics in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, including another Supreme Court victory in 2014. The organization has defended restrictions on abortion like Arizona's ban on the procedure after 20 weeks of pregnancy; an 'informed consent' law in South Dakota; a late-term abortion ban in Nebraska; and Texas's HB2, which was struck down by the Supreme Court last year." [Southern Poverty Law Center, [2/11/16](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, [10/21/15](#); The Nation, [11/28/17](#)]

**The Southern Poverty Law Center Identified Alliance Defending Freedom As A Hate Group Due To Its Anti-LGBTQ Activities.** The Southern Poverty Law Center included ADF in its report on "extreme religious-right groups" opposing LGBTQ equality by disguising "their bigotry in the cloak of religious freedom." ADF has "involved itself in litigation that would continue to criminalize sex between consenting gay or lesbian adults." [Southern Poverty Law Center, [2/11/16](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, [10/21/15](#)]

**The Southern Poverty Law Center Identified ADF President Michael Farris As An "Anti-LGBT Activist."** In 2017, Farris became president and CEO of Alliance Defending Freedom, which "says it fights against the 'concocted' constitutional right to abortion, laws that protect LGBT people, and the 'myth' of separation of church and state," according to the Southern Poverty Law Center. [Southern Poverty Law Center, [9/12/12](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, [2/11/16](#); Alliance Defending Freedom, accessed [7/14/17](#)]

**Alliance Defending Freedom Is A "Key Partner" Of The Anti-LGBTQ World Congress Of Families (WCF).** "The combined annual budget for WCF's partner network amounts to over \$200 million," according to the Southern Poverty Law Center. "Key partners" include Alliance Defending Freedom, Americans United for Life, the Center for Family and Human Rights, Concerned Women for America and Family Research Council. [Southern Poverty Law Center, [10/21/15](#)]

**ADF's Anti-Choice Case NIFLA V. Becerra Is Headed To The Supreme Court In 2018.**

**Anti-Choice Groups Are Challenging California's Reproductive FACT Act.** The FACT Act requires unlicensed health centers in California to post a notice disclosing if they don't have licensed medical professional on staff and requires licensed health centers to post a notice disclosing where women can access support from the state for pre-natal care, abortion care and family planning. National Institute of Family and Life Advocates (NIFLA), an organization of "over 110 nonprofit, pro-life pregnancy centers," is challenging the law, claiming it violates free speech protections because the disclosures represent "compelled speech." Two other anti-choice organizations, LivingWell Medical Clinic and A Woman's Friend Pregnancy Resource Center, are challenging the law on the same grounds. In 2016, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the law in all three cases, and three appeals are now pending before the Supreme Court. [Los Angeles Times, [10/27/17](#)]

**Poll: California Likely Voters Overwhelmingly Supported The Reproductive FACT Act's Provisions.** According to polling by Tulchin Research, more than 7 in 10 likely

California voters supported “requiring unlicensed facilities that advertise pregnancy-related services to clarify that they are not licensed medical facilities.” Eighty percent of voters supported “requiring state-licensed clinics to inform women of programs that provide financial assistance for contraception, prenatal care, abortion and family planning,” including 77 percent of Catholics and 60 percent of self-identified “conservatives.” Only 11 percent of likely voters in total opposed this requirement. [California State Assemblymember David Chiu, [9/3/15](#)]

**The Supreme Court Announced It Will Hear ADF’s Case *NIFLA V. Becerra*.** The case is being brought by attorneys from ADF and by the Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence’s John Eastman. [ThinkProgress, [11/13/17](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute, [9/19/17](#); Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, [4/16/17](#), via SCOTUSblog]

**ADF Received Support On The Case From Other Prominent Anti-Choice Groups.** Charlotte Lozier Institute submitted an amicus brief to the U.S. Supreme Court supporting the anti-choice fake health centers challenging the California Reproductive FACT Act in *NIFLA v. Becerra*. In the brief, the institute supports fake health centers using research from Family Research Council. Catherine Glenn Foster represented Charlotte Lozier Institute as an amicus curiae. The Cato Institute also filed a brief in support of *NIFLA* and the fake health centers. [Charlotte Lozier Institute, [5/15/17](#); Family Research Council, “A Passion to Serve,” accessed [11/6/17](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute amicus curiae brief in *NIFLA v. Becerra*, [4/20/17](#); SCOTUSblog, accessed [11/6/17](#); Cato Institute amicus curiae brief in *NIFLA v. Becerra*, [4/20/17](#); Supreme Court docket *NIFLA v. Becerra*, [3/21/17](#)]

**The Blackstone Legal Fellowship Is An ADF Program That Helps Conservative Christian Law Students Launch Their Careers.** According to Alliance Defending Freedom’s website, the fellowship has trained over 1,900 law students since it was founded in 2000. The fellowship is a nine-week program that involves educational lectures and seminars, a legal internship and career development training. After the fellowship, participants benefit from a well-connected conservative alumni network that offers networking events and further training, and helps launch their careers. According to ADF’s own tax documents, “The Blackstone Fellowship inspires a distinctly Christian worldview in every area of law, and particularly in the areas of public policy and religious liberty. ... With this ongoing program, it’s ADF’s goal to train a new generation of lawyers who will rise to positions of influence and leadership as legal scholars, litigators, judges – perhaps even Supreme Court Justices – who will work to ensure that justice is carried out in America’s courtrooms.” [Alliance Defending Freedom, accessed [11/3/17](#); Blackstone Legal Fellowship, accessed [11/3/17](#); Rewire, [5/13/14](#); ADF 2001 Form 990, accessed [11/3/17](#), via Rewire]

**ADF’s Network Extends Deep Into The Trump Administration.**

**Noel Francisco, Trump’s Solicitor General, Was An “ADF-Allied Attorney.”** Francisco is also a former partner at Jones Day. The Nation reported: “Kathleen Clark, a professor at Washington University Law School and an expert on government ethics, suggests that ‘if [Francisco] had a particularly close relationship’ with ADF, ‘a question would arise as

to whether he could provide independent, professional judgment to his new client; the federal government – in other words, whether he could be impartial in a case being argued by ADF. The Department of Justice declined to comment on whether Francisco's participation in the [*Masterpiece Cakeshop*] case had undergone an ethics review. While at Jones Day, Francisco gave a speech at The Heritage Foundation in which he called for lawyers representing religious groups to 'build powerful cases' with 'sympathetic plaintiffs' and to 'focus on the florist, on the baker, the sincere small businessmen under attack.' After The Nation reported on Francisco's ties to ADF, ADF removed him from its press releases, claiming he had been mistakenly identified as an "allied attorney." ADF gave one-third of its Supreme Court argument time in *Masterpiece Cakeshop* to Francisco, "even though the federal government isn't party to the case." ADF President Michael Farris said, "The solicitor general is considered to be the 10th justice, and having that kind of endorsement of your position is good." [The Nation, [11/28/17](#); BuzzFeed, [12/4/17](#)]



U.S. SOLICITOR GENERAL  
NOEL FRANCISCO

**At Least 18 ADF-Allied Attorneys Went On To Work In State Attorney General Offices, And Trump Nominated Four Of Them To Federal Judgeships In 2017.** According to The Nation, "At the state level, at least 18 ADF-affiliated lawyers now work in 10 attorney-general offices; all of them were appointed or elected in the past five years. And in just one year, Trump has nominated at least four federal judges who have ties to ADF – Amy Coney Barrett, recently confirmed to the Seventh Circuit; Kyle Duncan, nominated to the Fifth Circuit; and Jeff Mateer and Michael Joseph Juneau, both nominated to district courts." [The Nation, [11/28/17](#)]

**Attorney General Jeff Sessions Often Works With ADF At The Justice Department.** BuzzFeed reported, "Meanwhile, the Justice Department is supporting an ADF case for a Christian proselytizer on a college campus, Sessions personally joined ADF's annual private strategy event in California this summer, and federal lawyers have solicited advice from Farris's staff on at least three occasions." At the ADF Summit on Religious Liberty in July 2017, Sessions addressed ADF lawyers, telling them, "All of us benefit from your good work." According to The Nation, "Attorney General Jeff Sessions consulted with ADF when drafting Department of Justice guidance on religious-freedom issues." [The Nation, [11/28/17](#); BuzzFeed, [12/4/17](#)]

**ADF's Founding Board And Funders Included "Several Of The Nation's Most Prominent Conservative Christians."** ThinkProgress reported that the group included "James Dobson of Focus on the Family, Larry Burkett of Crown Financial Ministries, Bill Bright of the Campus Crusade for Christ, D. James Kennedy of the Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church, and radio host Marlin Maddoux. Alan Sears, ADF's president then and now, was a Reagan appointee and served as executive director of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography under Ed Meese." [ThinkProgress, [5/1/14](#)]

**SBA List's Marjorie Dannenfelser Serves On The Board Of Alliance Defending Freedom.** In 2015, ADF gave a \$30,000 grant to SBA List's research and education arm, the Charlotte Lozier

Institute, for a “life project.” [Alliance Defending Freedom, accessed [11/27/17](#); ADF 2015 Form 990, accessed [4/6/17](#)]

## Thomas More Society

**The Thomas More Society Is A Nonprofit Law Firm That Defends Christian Ideologues In Court And Promotes Christian Values In The Legal System.** According to its website, the group was founded in 1997 to work on the Supreme Court case *National Organization for Women (NOW) v. Scheidler*, a lawsuit that aimed to stop clinic violence. The Thomas More Society represented anti-choice defendants Joseph Scheidler, Pro-Life Action Network and, added later, Operation Rescue. Today, the Thomas More Society says it continues to offer “high quality pro bono legal services” on cases that focus on “protecting the First Amendment rights of those who pray and counsel outside our nation’s abortion facilities,” “defending laws that protect human life from conception to natural death,” “ensuring the free expression of religion in the public square,” and “restoring respect for marriage as the sacred union of one man and one woman.” [Thomas More Society, accessed [11/6/17](#); National Organization for Women, [8/8/12](#)]

**The Thomas More Society Has Represented Many Of The Anti-Choice Movement’s Most Extreme Activists, Including Troy Newman And David Daleiden.** The group lists the pro-life and religious leaders it has worked with: “David Daleiden, David Bereit, 40 Days for Life, Lila Rose and Live Action, Joe, Ann and Eric Scheidler and Pro-Life Action League, Sidewalk Advocates for Life, Created Equal, Pro-Life Action Ministries, Troy Newman and Operation Rescue, Former Kansas Attorney General Phill Kline, Catholic Bishops, Catholic Charities, Dioceses, Religious Orders, the Notre Dame Protestors (‘ND88’) and many more.” [Thomas More Society, accessed [11/6/17](#)]

**The Thomas More Society Fought For Years To Make It Legal To Incite Violence Against Abortion Doctors.** In the 1990s, anti-choice activists used “wanted” posters to target abortion doctors and encourage extremists to intimidate those doctors and even commit murder. Such posters precipitated the murders of Drs. David Gunn, George Patterson, John Britton and George Tiller. According to Rewire, the Thomas More Society provided the legal representation in a series of appeals that sought to undermine the protections of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act, which makes it illegal to incite violence against abortion doctors. [CBS, [10/26/10](#); Rewire, [5/1/06](#)]

**The National Abortion Federation Found That Incidents Of Intimidation, Harassment And Threats Of Violence Against Abortion Providers Increased In 2016.** NAF reported, “We did see an increase in a wide range of intimidation tactics meant to disrupt the provision of health care at facilities, including vandalism, picketing, obstruction, invasion, trespassing, burglary, stalking, assault and battery, and bomb threats. We also continued to see an escalation in hate speech and internet harassment, which intensified following the election in November.” NAF found that “incidents of obstructed access to health care facilities more than doubled in 2016.” Additionally, “The reported number of picketing incidents continued to increase in 2016, with 61,562 incidents

reported – which far exceeds any other year since we began tracking these statistics in 1977.” [National Abortion Federation, [4/19/17](#); National Abortion Federation 2016 Violence and Disruption Statistics, accessed [1/4/18](#)]

**The Thomas More Society Has Been “At The Center” Of Efforts To Block The ACA’s Contraception Coverage.** As Rewire reported, the *Hobby Lobby* ruling sparked a series of copycat lawsuits. The Thomas More Society was one of the key players behind those filings. [Rewire, [5/6/13](#); Rewire, [12/18/12](#); Rewire, [1/7/13](#)]

**The Thomas More Society Was A Key Champion Of Indiana’s 2014 Law Requiring Burial Of Fetal Remains.** Vice President Mike Pence, then governor of Indiana, signed the restriction. Rewire described the law: “Championed by the anti-choice Thomas More Society, the measure was part of an agenda to advance fetal ‘personhood’ that would come to full flower in Indiana in 2016, with the passage of a bill known as HB 1337. Among the most sweeping anti-choice measures ever passed in the United States, HB 1337 required burial or cremation of all fetal remains, regardless of whether the pregnancy ended in miscarriage or abortion. In addition to the fetal burial requirement, the law banned abortions sought because of fetal disability, race, or sex, and it required patients to undergo an ultrasound 18 hours before an abortion, among other medically unnecessary restrictions.” [Rewire, [11/2/17](#)]

## The Becket Fund

**The Becket Fund Is The Law Firm Behind The Hobby Lobby And Little Sisters Of The Poor Cases.** Becket is a nonprofit law firm that says its mission is to promote “religious liberty.” It was founded in 1994 by Catholic lawyer Kevin J. “Seamus” Hasson. According to Politico, the Knights of Columbus provided some seed money to get the organization off the ground. Becket was the law firm behind the *Little Sisters of the Poor* (in *Zubik v. Burwell*) and *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* cases. Politico described the law firm as “God’s Rottweilers” in a profile of its work. [Becket, accessed [11/6/17](#); Politico Magazine, [10/5/14](#)]

**Becket Coordinated At Least Six Lawsuits “Similar In Spirit To Hobby Lobby.”** According to Politico, Becket’s funding grew significantly after it began to focus more aggressively on fighting the Affordable Care Act’s contraception mandate. “The Becket Fund filed the first lawsuit against the provision on behalf of [Belmont] Abbey College, a liberal arts school founded by monks. Today, it is coordinating a half-dozen other lawsuits on behalf of religiously affiliated nonprofits, cases that are similar in spirit to *Hobby Lobby*. The Becket Fund’s operating budget has expanded substantially since taking a leading role in the fight over the contraception mandate.” According to polling by Reuters/Ipsos, “A majority of Americans oppose letting employers, based on their religious views, exclude certain contraceptives from workers’ insurance coverage,” with 53 percent of respondents opposing Hobby Lobby’s position on the contraception provision. [Politico Magazine, [10/5/14](#); Reuters, [6/30/14](#)]

**The Koch-Aligned DonorsTrust Became A Key Funder In The Fight Against ACA’s Contraception Provision.** As Politico reported, “In 2012, [the Becket Fund] received almost a quarter-million dollars in funding from DonorsTrust, a group used to funnel money to right-



wing groups from patrons like Charles and David Koch.” This effort was extremely unpopular. According to the National Women’s Law Center, “The birth control benefit is an extremely popular part of the ACA,” with 77 percent of women surveyed in a 2017 poll wanting it to continue. [Politico Magazine, [10/5/14](#); National Women’s Law Center, [5/3/17](#)]

**Trump Nominated The Becket Fund’s Kyle Duncan To Serve As A Circuit Judge On The 5th U.S. Circuit Court Of Appeals.** The White House press release highlighted Duncan’s time serving as general counsel for the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty. [WhiteHouse.gov, [9/28/17](#)]

**While Working For Becket, Duncan Represented Hobby Lobby.** His clients, Hobby Lobby and its owners, the Green family, objected to the requirement they offer their employees health insurance that included contraceptive coverage. Duncan equated emergency contraception with abortion and argued his clients should not “have to provide drugs they believe cause abortions.” Duncan said women would not lose access to contraception because “access to contraception is widespread” and “employees are free to do what they want with their doctors and to purchase whatever drugs they like.” In a separate statement, he claimed, “The only people who are being denied anything are Hobby Lobby and the Green Family, who are being denied the right to practice their religion or face millions of dollars in fines.” [CNN, 11/28/12, via Nexis; CNN, 12/27/12, via Nexis; 4 KFOR, [9/27/12](#)]



JUDICIAL NOMINEE  
KYLE DUNCAN

**Duncan Referred To The ACA’s Contraceptive Coverage Provision As “A Form Of Brute Coercion.”** Appearing at an event hosted by the Catholic Information Center, Duncan said, “First is the very basic idea that this mandate is a form of brute coercion for religious conscience. It’s really so obvious that it’s surprising to even articulate. The mandate says if you want to continue to practice your religion and abstain from offering services that your beliefs tell you are greatly immoral, even tantamount to the destruction of innocent human life, you must pay a fine.” Duncan went on to say organizations could pay the fines or “give up” their faith. [C-SPAN, [2/8/12](#)]

**At Becket, Duncan Also Represented EWTN Global Catholic Network In A Lawsuit Against The ACA Contraception Mandate.** As the National Catholic Register reported, EWTN and the Becket Fund sought to halt the Affordable Care Act’s contraceptive coverage provision and to “have the court declare the federal rule unconstitutional.” [EWTN Global Catholic Network, 2/9/12, via Nexis; National Catholic Register, [2/20/12](#)]

**Duncan Represented Wheaton College In A Lawsuit With Catholic University Against The Contraceptive Mandate.** Wheaton College missed the “safe harbor” period because “the college’s employee plan ‘mistakenly’ covered some forms of contraception after the cutoff date.” Duncan said the government claimed Wheaton was not “religious enough,” “so (Wheaton) can be forced to participate in abortions or face heavy fines.” Congressional Quarterly reported, “Kyle Duncan, a lawyer for Becket, said the one-year safe harbor is ‘illusory’ because private lawsuits can still be brought, schools are at a competitive disadvantage for hiring and retaining faculty and employees are worried they will lose their

health insurance entirely.” [Politico, 7/27/12, via Nexis; CitizenLink press release, 8/2/12, via Nexis; Congressional Quarterly, 10/5/12, via Nexis]

### **Anti-Choice Leaders Cheered Kyle Duncan’s Nomination.**

**The Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo Praised Trump’s Decision To Nominate Duncan.** Leo said, “Texas Justice Don Willett and Louisiana attorney and professor Kyle Duncan, in particular, embody President Trump’s commitment to picking judges who have a record of excellence and a commitment to a judicial role that is impartial rather than committed to a particular personal or legal agenda.” [CNN, [9/28/17](#)]

**Students For Life Issued A Statement Supporting Duncan.** Students for Life wrote, “Recently, President Trump announced his next set of judicial nominees for federal courts. The best part? They are solidly pro-life justices! ... Kyle Duncan: Duncan is the nominee for the 5th Circuit. While he does not have a record as a judge, he has shown his pro-life credentials, serving as a counsel on the *Hobby Lobby* Supreme Court case over religious liberty and birth control mandates. Thanks to Duncan’s counsel, *Hobby Lobby* won, and religious business owners are protected from having to pay for abortifacient drugs as part of their health insurance plans. ... We know that many in the Senate will push back against these nominees for being pro-life. It’s important we support pro-life nominees who will uphold pro-life legislation. You can contact your Senators here and tell them to support the pro-life judicial nominees.” [Students for Life, [10/2/17](#)]

**Susan B. Anthony List Issued A Statement Praising Duncan.** Marjorie Dannenfelser wrote, “Once again President Trump has brought forward an exceptionally strong group of judicial nominees, like Kyle Duncan, who will follow the rule of law and be faithful to the text of the Constitution. Kyle is a brilliant attorney and extremely well-qualified for a seat on the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. We thank President Trump for such a strong pick and urge the Senate to quickly confirm him to this seat.” [Susan B. Anthony List, [9/28/17](#)]

## **American Center For Law And Justice**

**The American Center For Law And Justice (ACLJ) Employs A Team Of Attorneys “Who Jump Into High-Profile Court Battles Over Such Hot-Button Conservative Issues As Religious Liberties And Abortion.”** ACLJ was founded in 1990 by Christian televangelist Pat Robertson and is led by chief attorney Jay Sekulow, who joined the group in 1991. ACLJ says it engages in a “strategy of advocacy, education and litigation” to promote religious freedom and the freedom of speech. Over the years, ACLJ has worked to create its own media platforms to push its arguments, including television show “ACLJ This Week,” multiple radio shows and several right-wing documentaries, including the anti-choice “Choosing Life.” [American Center for Law and Justice, accessed [12/6/17](#); The Washington Post, [6/27/17](#); The Washington Post, [6/19/17](#)]

**ACLJ Founder Pat Robertson Blamed Hurricane Katrina And Terrorism On Legalized Abortion, And Claimed That Planned Parenthood Supports “Black Genocide.”** Robertson has also argued that opening the Boy Scouts to LGBT members would welcome “predators” and “pedophiles.” [Right Wing Watch, [2/5/13](#); Media Matters, [9/13/05](#); Media Matters, [5/12/06](#)]

**ACLJ Chief Counsel Jay Sekulow Is Trump’s Personal Lawyer And A Fox News Legal Analyst.** According to Alliance for Justice President Nan Aron, Sekulow has “often been the public face of the Republican establishment” and has “been intimately involved in helping nominees like Samuel Alito and John Roberts get on the [Supreme Court].” He joined Trump’s legal team in mid-2017 and has repeatedly dismissed the administration’s Russia scandal, once calling it “a fraud on the American people.” Sekulow is also a common figure in right-wing media. As The Washington Post noted, “Along with his own widely syndicated daily radio talk show, Jay Sekulow Live! – broadcast on more than 850 radio stations, satellite radio and on his website – Sekulow is also a regular guest on the Fox News Channel, ‘The 700 Club’ and Sean Hannity’s radio show, as well as provides commentary on the Christian Broadcasting Network.” [The Washington Post, [6/19/17](#)]



ACLJ’S JAY SEKULOW

**ACLJ Strongly Opposes Abortion Rights And Has Worked To Redefine Life As Beginning At Conception.** On its website, the group argued: “Our government must implement policies that defend the rights of unborn babies. Life begins at conception.” [ACLJ.org, accessed [12/14/17](#)]

**ACLJ Is Challenging California’s Reproductive FACT Act.** Though the Supreme Court decided to hear ADF’s challenge, *NIFLA v. Becerra*, ACLJ was pushing a similar case on behalf of the LivingWell Medical Clinic and two others. Sekulow argued that the FACT Act violates “the principle that one cannot be conscripted into acting as a ventriloquist’s dummy for a government message.” [Los Angeles Times, [10/27/17](#)]

**ACLJ Helped Defend The Anti-Choice Group Behind The Smear Videos Of Planned Parenthood.** According to its website and court filings, the ACLJ is part of the legal team defending The Center for Medical Progress and David Daleiden, who are behind the deceptively edited smear videos targeting Planned Parenthood clinics. The group is in court because it may have illegally recorded the videos attempting to discredit abortion providers. [ACLJ, [August 2015](#); Emergency Application for Stay to the Supreme Court, [12/4/15](#), via Politico]

**ACLJ Defended Troy Newman, Who Has Stated That His Goal Is To Entirely “Abolish Abortion,” And Has “Claimed That The 9/11 Terrorist Attacks And AIDS Were Both Warnings From God About Legal Abortion In America.”** [ACLJ, [August 2015](#); WND TV, [1/30/15](#); Right Wing Watch, [11/20/15](#)]

**ACLJ Lobbied To Ban Abortion In Kenya Even When The Mother’s Life Is At Risk.** According to Mother Jones, an ACLJ office in Kenya “lobbied to eliminate an exemption allowing an



abortion when a [woman's] life is at risk." Jay Sekulow's organization has opened affiliated offices of the ACLJ throughout Africa, and his son Jordan "told Kenya's *Daily Nation* newspaper that ACLJ had spent 'tens of thousands of dollars' through its Nairobi office to defeat the proposed constitution," which allowed for abortion to save women's lives. [Mother Jones, [11/2/12](#)]

**ACLJ Has Invested In Major Anti-Choice Efforts In Europe.** Right Wing Watch reported, "The ACLJ's European branch led the signature drive for the 'One of Us' campaign – an anti-abortion effort that used a new European Citizens Initiative process. The initiative was rejected but the organizing that went into it has energized anti-choice activists – the Knights of Columbus called it 'the revitalization of Europe.'" [Right Wing Watch, [10/22/15](#)]

### **Sekulow Is Known For His Work On Anti-Choice Cases.**

**Jay Sekulow Is Currently Representing Troy Newman, President Of Operation Rescue.** Newman filed a petition to the Supreme Court "challenging the Constitutionality of a preliminary injunction that prohibits the release of undercover videos recorded at National Abortion Federation (NAF) meetings." Sekulow is leading Newman's legal team, made up of attorneys from the American Center for Law and Justice. [Operation Rescue, [8/4/17](#)]

**Sekulow Also Represented Operation Rescue In The 2003 Supreme Court Case *Scheidler V. National Organization For Women*.** The case accused Operation Rescue, among other organizations, of using racketeering to shut down abortion clinics. [Jay Sekulow, accessed [11/13/17](#); Oyez, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Sekulow Argued Against Abortion Clinic Buffer Zones.** Sekulow argued in front of the Supreme Court on behalf of the petitioner in a case that challenged the constitutionality of buffer zones prohibiting protest "within fifteen feet of entrances to abortion clinics, parking lots, or driveways." [Slate, [6/20/17](#); Oyez, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Sekulow Argued On Behalf Of Anti-Choice Protesters Approaching Women Seeking Abortions.** Sekulow lost the case, which was a challenge to a Colorado law that placed restrictions on anti-choice protesters. [Mother Jones, [8/31/17](#); Oyez, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Sekulow Has Submitted Amicus Curiae Briefs Supporting Abortion Bans.** According to Sekulow's biography, he has "submitted numerous amicus curiae briefs to the Supreme Court in some of the most groundbreaking litigation of the past quarter century," such as "pro-life legislation including the federal ban on partial birth abortion." [Jay Sekulow, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Sekulow Has Faced Scrutiny For The "Powerful Charity Empire" That Props Up ACLJ And Pays Out Millions To The Sekulow Family.** Sekulow has come under scrutiny in the past for the complex ties between the ACLJ and its key funder, Christian Advocates Serving Evangelism, which is run by the Sekulow family and has paid out millions to Jay Sekulow, his relatives and his for-profit legal firm, the Constitutional Litigation and Advocacy Group. The Associated Press reported in 2011: "Sekulow is the principal officer of Christian Advocates Serving Evangelism and the American Center for Law and Justice. Since 1998, the two legal charities have paid more

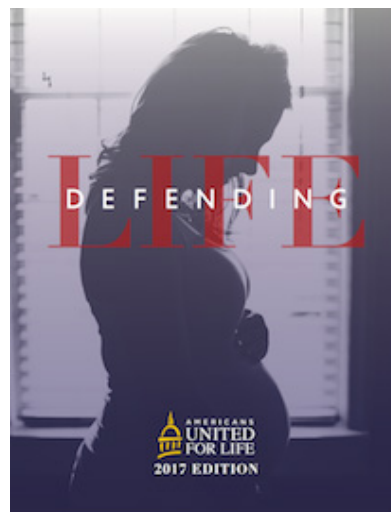
than \$33 million to members of Sekulow's family and businesses they own or co-own, according to the charities' federal tax returns. It's difficult to know how much Sekulow himself is earning. Even though he is the CEO, chief counsel and a board member at the ACLJ, the group reports that he has taken no salary since 2002. But in 2009, the last year for which tax forms were available, the ACLJ paid more than \$2.3 million to the Constitutional Litigation and Advocacy Group, a law firm 50 percent owned by Sekulow. The fact that the law firm is half-owned by Sekulow is not found in ACLJ's tax filings." [The Washington Post, [6/27/17](#); The Associated Press, [9/6/11](#)]

## MODEL LEGISLATION

Americans United for Life (AUL) stands slightly apart from other groups in the anti-choice movement. AUL does litigation but is better known for its work producing anti-choice model legislation. Its annual publication, *Defending Life*, offers anti-choice state and federal legislators strategic guidance on how to roll back reproductive rights, and includes draft bills that lawmakers can copy and propose with minimal effort. Its strategy is to get small pieces of anti-choice legislation passed in every legislature, while training new lawyers who can keep the cycle going, until legal abortion is eliminated.

## Americans United For Life

**AUL's Strategy Is To Use The Court And Legislatures To Slowly Erode *Roe V. Wade*.** AUL was founded in 1971 by a group of anti-choice activists led by Brent Bozell Jr. According to its website, AUL is a "nonprofit, public-interest law and policy organization." Its legal team "works through the law and legislative process to one end: Achieving comprehensive legal protection for human life from conception to natural death." The organization's strategy involves producing and promoting model legislation that lawmakers can easily adopt, advocating for its anti-choice proposals, and training the next generation of anti-choice activists and lawyers by engaging law students with its program Advocates for Life. AUL lawyers have been lobbying since the 1970s but started publishing their book of model legislation, *Defending Life*, annually in 2006. Mother Jones reported, "Understated rhetoric aside, AUL's mission is to end all abortions in the United States. ... Its team of lawyers has written dozens of model bills, which are collected in a playbook, *Defending Life*, and delivered to every state and federal legislator." [Mother Jones, [September/October 2012](#); AUL, accessed [12/6/17](#); AUL, accessed [12/8/17](#)]



**Former AUL President Charmaine Yoest On AUL's Strategy: "Never Attack Where The Enemy Is Strongest."** According to the National Catholic Register, "Americans United for Life focuses on eroding *Roe v. Wade* with smaller restrictions, which is controversial in the pro-life movement, where some believe that a more frontal assault is all that matters. 'For us, it's very much a military strategy,' says Yoest. 'We don't make frontal attacks. Never attack where the enemy is strongest. ...We pick our battles. What we do is very much under the radar screen and not very sexy.'" The New York Times Magazine reported, "Yoest's end goal isn't to make abortion safer. She wants to make the procedure illegal. She leaves no room for exceptions in the case of rape or incest or to preserve the health of the mother. She believes that embryos have legal rights and opposes birth control, like the IUD, that she thinks 'has life-ending properties.'" [National Catholic Register, [10/5/11](#); The New York Times Magazine, [11/2/12](#)]

**AUL Provided The Model Legislation For Many Anti-Choice Bills Across The Country In Order To Restrict Abortion And "Set Precedents With The Potential To Eventually Change Federal Abortion Law."** Mother Jones reported, "AUL's mission is to end all abortions in the United States," starting by creating a "body of state laws" restricting abortion through its model legislation. These include a vaginal ultrasound bill in Virginia and a bill "trying to shut down all the abortion clinics in Kansas." In 2015, Arizona and Arkansas both enacted laws, based on AUL model legislation, requiring that women be informed that medical abortions may be reversed – despite the fact the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology says "claims of 'reversal' are unsupported by medical evidence." In 2016, three laws and one resolution based on AUL model legislation were adopted in the states, and many more were considered. In 2015, AUL and AUL Action wrote or helped enact 11 new anti-choice laws in multiple states, according to their own report, and provided the language for three additional anti-choice resolutions. In 2013, AUL claimed to be involved with 13 enacted abortion-related measures. Since 1985, AUL says, 36 states have passed "fetal homicide laws ... as a result" of its work. As of December 2017, AUL had more than 40 pieces of model legislation on abortion on its website, including a "personhood" measure, which it delivers to the states as a blueprint. [Mother Jones, [September/October 2012](#); The Washington Post, [4/7/15](#); AUL, [October 2015](#); AUL, accessed [2/2/16](#); AUL, accessed [12/7/17](#); AUL, [August 2016](#)]

**AUL Helped Create Texas HB2, The Law In Question In *Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt*.** According to AUL's website, Texas HB2 was "based, in part, on AUL model language," and the legislation was enacted "with the help of AUL experts." According to U.S. News & World Report, "The law places specific requirements on abortion clinics and has forced many to shutter across the state. It requires doctors to have admitting privileges at a hospital no more than 30 miles away, and sets clinic standards that are similar to those of surgical centers." Former Texas Gov. Rick Perry thanked AUL in the introduction to its *Defending Life* book, saying the group was crucial to the passage of HB2 and similar legislation: "AUL plays a key role in developing and promoting legislation in all 50 states," such as HB2. Several states considered or enacted AUL laws in 2015 that are similar to Texas HB2, including Florida, Arkansas, Idaho and Colorado. Over 50 percent of Americans polled by Vox/PerryUndem opposed the restrictions in HB2, with 54 percent opposing admitting privilege laws and 58 percent opposing the ambulatory surgical center requirements. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down HB2 in *Whole Woman's Health v.*

Hellerstedt. [AUL, [January 2015](#); AUL, [6/9/15](#); U.S. News & World Report, [1/11/16](#); AUL, [March 2014](#); AUL, [October 2015](#); Slate, [6/27/16](#); Vox, [2/29/16](#)]

**AUL Promoted A Ban On Federal Funding To Abortion Providers Through Model Legislation And Lobbying.** AUL lobbied Congress to ban federal funding for Planned Parenthood. It also provided model legislation for states to implement their own bans on federal funding for abortion providers, which passed in nine states. However, support for Planned Parenthood is strong across the country: “Sixteen separate nationwide polls and an additional nine polls in key states show strong favorability for Planned Parenthood” following Congress’ 2015 attempt to eliminate Planned Parenthood funding, as well as “extraordinarily strong opposition to dogmatic policies targeting federal funding for care.” [The Washington Post, [2/2/12](#); Planned Parenthood Action Fund, [1/5/17](#)]

**In 1980, AUL Attorney Victor Rosenblum Argued In Favor Of The Hyde Amendment In *Harris V. McRae* Before The Supreme Court And Won.** The *Harris v. McRae* case before the U.S. Supreme Court effectively blocked abortion access for low-income women and women employed by the federal government. Focused on the Hyde Amendment, it held that it is constitutional for government to ban coverage for abortions. This affects anyone who receives health care coverage through the government, in addition to federal employees, Peace Corps volunteers, the military and others. AUL wrote, “Our victory set the first of many major blockades against Roe’s unrestricted ‘right’ to abortion.” AUL has been involved with many other Supreme Court cases and claimed to have filed “more amicus curiae ... briefs than any other pro-life organization – more than 100 and counting.” [Broadly, [1/22/16](#); AUL, [6/21/10](#); AUL, accessed [12/8/17](#); AUL, accessed [12/8/17](#)]

**In Early 2017, President Trump Tapped Former AUL President Charmaine Yoest To A Senior Position At The Department Of Health And Human Services.** Yoest had served as president of AUL from August 2008 to February 2016. She joined American Values in July 2016 as a senior fellow. Previously, Yoest was vice president for communication at the Family Research Council from June 2005 to August 2008, and worked as a policy analyst at Family Research Council from October 1989 to June 1993, according to her LinkedIn profile. [The Associated Press, [4/29/17](#); LinkedIn, accessed [4/28/17](#); The Washington Post, [2/2/12](#); American Values press release, [7/8/16](#)]

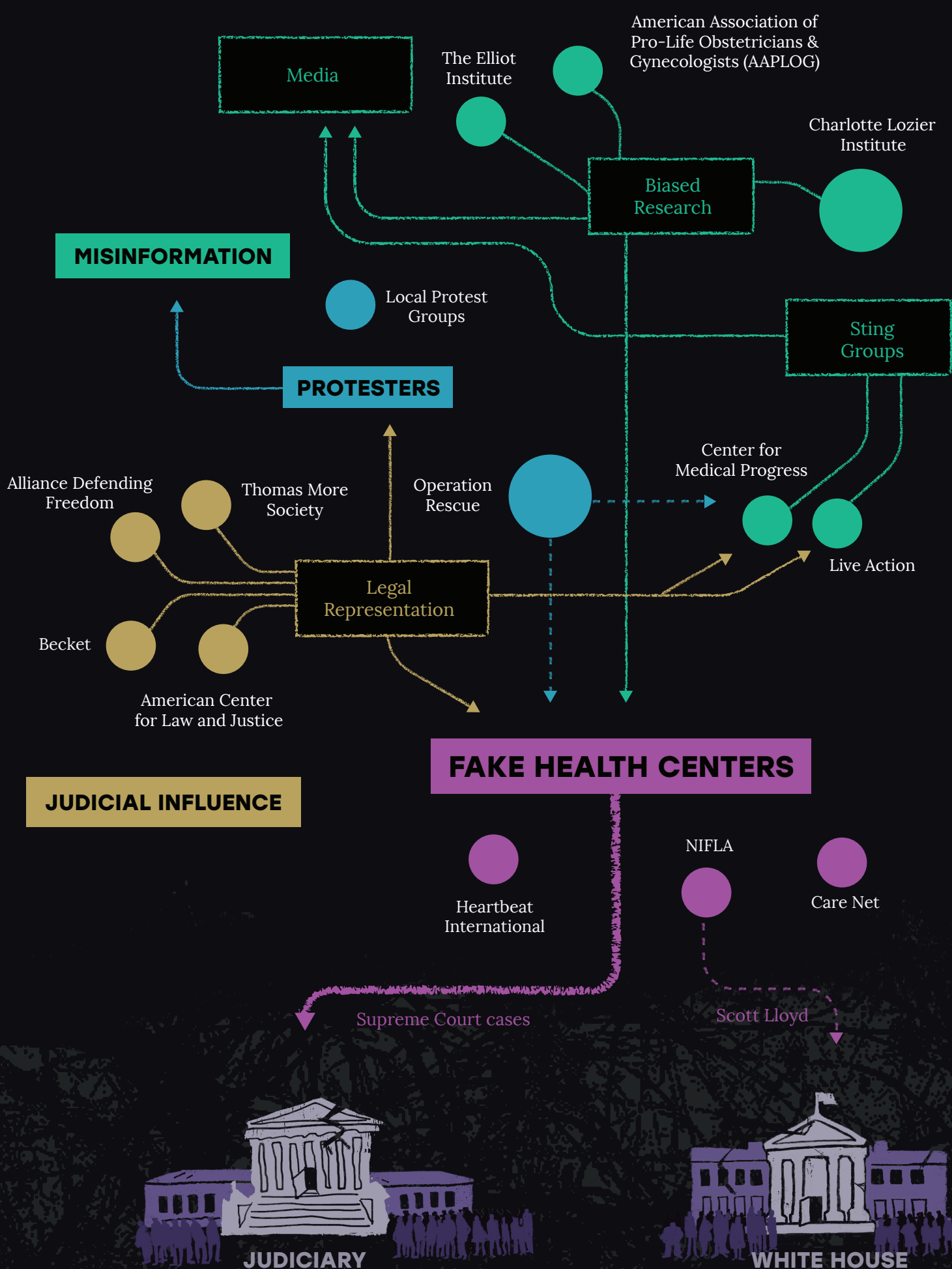


CHARMAINE YOEST, ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS, HHS

**Catherine Glenn Foster Became The President And CEO Of Americans United For Life In May 2017.** AUL reported that Foster also served as president of the board of directors of anti-choice Rockville Pregnancy Center, as a board member for anti-choice group And Then There Were None, as a board member for Christian Legal Society D.C. Metro Chapter, and as an advisory board member for Stanton Healthcare at the time of her hiring at AUL. Foster worked at Alliance Defending Freedom for seven years as a litigation counsel and was an associate scholar at the Charlotte Lozier Institute. [AUL, accessed [5/9/17](#); Euthanasia Prevention Coalition USA, accessed [5/9/17](#); Operation Rescue press release, [1/26/17](#); LinkedIn, accessed [5/9/17](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute, [4/20/16](#)]

**Catherine Glenn Foster Was Operation Rescue President Troy Newman's Attorney.** In January 2017, Foster accompanied Newman, specifically described as his attorney, on a visit to Senator Blumenthal's office, according to an Operation Rescue press release. [Operation Rescue Press Release, [1/26/17](#)]





# FAKE HEALTH CENTERS

2

Anti-choice fake health centers, sometimes called "crisis pregnancy centers" or CPCs, draw women in with misleading references to abortion care and then feed them anti-choice propaganda. They often masquerade as real clinics by taking on similar names and addresses, and they push medical misinformation to scare or shame women out of choosing abortion.

Past research has demonstrated the incredible lengths these centers go to in order to stop women from accessing abortion care. Though many of these centers lack medical staff, they often work to – in their own words – "look medical" to appear authoritative and gain trust. At the same time, they have been repeatedly shown to promote false or misleading information as medical fact in their attempts to manipulate women's decisions. Some anti-choice centers mislead women about the status of their pregnancies to delay their decisions until it is too late to access abortion. Some convince women to sign documents that block them from later deciding on abortion.

Though these centers claim to offer women valuable medical services at no cost, their actual offerings are often deliberately limited in scope so that the centers can avoid scrutiny or legal liability. Because they are not medical clinics, many of these fake health centers do not have to comply with HIPAA patient privacy regulations.

These fake health centers also serve as the physical infrastructure for the anti-choice movement's broader misinformation and intimidation campaigns and often partner with anti-choice protesters who harass women outside of clinics. Clinic protesters work to redirect women away from legitimate, full-service clinics and toward nearby fake health centers or to their own fake health center buses parked outside legitimate clinics. Protest groups and fake health centers often share personnel or funding sources, and protesters sometimes use allied centers as organizing or meeting space.

Despite their deceptive practices, many of these anti-choice centers are taxpayer-funded. Fake health center leaders have increasingly gained stature within the conservative movement, influencing policy and giving their centers new opportunities to foist misinformation on women.

# FAKE HEALTH CENTERS

**Fake Health Centers Often Use False And Misleading Advertising And The Offer Of Free Pregnancy Tests To Lure Women Into Their Offices.** Their goal is to stop women from accessing abortion care. To do that, many fake health centers intentionally misinform and mislead women seeking pregnancy-related information. Some of these centers force women to watch anti-choice films, view slideshows and photographs, and hear biased lectures. The centers will not refer women to an abortion provider – and some may refuse even to provide information about or referrals for birth control. These practices block women from making fully informed choices about their reproductive health and may endanger women's health by delaying access to legitimate health care services. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**Anti-Choice Pioneer Robert Pearson Argued That Fake Health Centers Have No Responsibility To Disclose That They Are Not Full-Service Women's Health Clinics.** Catholic homebuilder Robert Pearson opened the first fake health center in Hawaii in 1967 and then founded the Missouri-based Pearson Foundation to train others to open their own centers based on his model. Pearson contended it wasn't his job to tell women that these centers don't offer medical care: "We're just not saying what we don't do. ... A car dealer, when he's advertising, does not list the things his auto won't do. So why should we say we don't do abortions?" [The New York Times, [1/23/87](#); Crisis Pregnancy Center Watch, accessed [11/27/17](#), via Mother Jones]

**Pearson's Original Fake Health Center Manual "Has Been Described By Law-Enforcement Officials Around The Country As A 93-Page Guidebook Of Ways To Mislead Consumers."**

According to The New York Times, Pearson's foundation offered "training sessions, slide shows, pamphlets, discounted video equipment and kits to perform urine tests and a manual entitled 'How to Start and Operate Your Own Pro-Life Outreach Crisis Pregnancy Center.'" From The Times:

"The manual urges local operators to use 'neutral advertising,' to seek listings in the Yellow Pages telephone directory alongside abortion clinics and to adopt 'dual names,' one to 'draw abortion-bound women' and one to attract donations from people against abortion.

Referring to the centers' pregnancy tests, the same sort available at a drugstore, the manual suggests: "Tell her it's a refined form of the old rabbit test. This usually satisfies them. At no time do you need to tell them what you're doing."

Of telephone calls from people asking for abortion services, the manual says, "Remember there is nothing wrong or dishonest if you don't want to answer a question that may reveal your pro-life position by changing the caller's train of thought by asking a question in return." [The New York Times, [1/23/87](#)]

**Today, Most Fake Health Centers Are Supported By One Of Three Major Umbrella Organizations: National Institute Of Family And Life Advocates (NIFLA), Care Net And Heartbeat International.**

Founded in 1971, **Heartbeat International** was the first large fake health center network, offering resources to Christians who seek to establish their own local fake health centers. The group was originally known as Alternatives to Abortion. Heartbeat International says it has helped found or support about 2,000 centers worldwide. According to its website, “Heartbeat International does not promote birth control (devices or medications) for family planning, population control, or health issues, including disease prevention.” [Heartbeat International, accessed [11/27/17](#)]

**Care Net** is a sister organization of Heartbeat International. Originally known as the Christian Action Council, it was founded in 1975 by evangelical leaders who were aligned with Heartbeat International but wanted to require their centers to make a stronger statement of evangelical faith. [Heartbeat International, accessed [11/27/17](#); Care Net, accessed [12/29/17](#)]

**National Institute of Family and Life Advocates (NIFLA)** was founded in 1993 by attorney Thomas Glessner with support from pro-life leaders. It says it operates more than 1,430 centers across the country. [National Institute of Family and Life Advocates, accessed [1/4/18](#)]

## Fake Health Centers Are A Core Organizing Force Within The Anti-Choice Movement

**Americans United For Life’s Jeanneane Maxon On Fake Health Centers: “They’re Really The Darlings Of The Pro-Life Movement.”** She specifically highlighted their approach, which she described as “ground level, one-on-one, reaching-the-woman-where-she’s-at.” [The New York Times, [1/4/13](#)]

**National Anti-Choice Leaders Serve On Fake Health Center Boards.** Penny Nance, president of Concerned Women for America, has served on the Virginia board of Bethany Christian Services, a national fake health center umbrella organization. Americans United for Life President Catherine Glenn Foster serves on the board of directors of Rockville Pregnancy Center. Foster is also on the advisory board for Stanton Healthcare, a “life-affirming” organization that says it provides health care services to women but does not offer contraception or abortion care. [Politico, accessed [10/30/17](#); NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia Foundation, [2013](#); Americans United for Life, accessed [5/9/17](#); Cosmopolitan, [6/15/16](#)]

# Fake Health Centers Masquerade As Real Abortion Clinics To Target Women Considering Abortion

**Anti-Choice Activist Abby Johnson In A Fake Health Center Training: “The Best Client You Ever Get Is One That Thinks They’re Walking Into An Abortion Clinic.”** In a recording released by Vice News, Johnson counseled: “Women that are seeking abortions, women that are pregnant, that are vulnerable, they are going into Google and they are typing ‘pregnancy symptoms.’ There’s a way in Google where you can basically set that search to your website. ... We want to look professional, ... businesslike. And, yeah, we do kind of want to look medical. The best client you ever get is one that thinks they’re walking into an abortion clinic.” [Vice News, [9/17/14](#), via YouTube]

**Fake Health Centers Use Misleading Names To Sound Like Abortion Clinics.** NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia “identified [fake health centers] with the names ‘AAA Women for Choice’, ‘A Woman’s Choice’, ‘Emergency Pregnancy Services’, and ‘First Choice’, all misleading to an individual seeking abortion services.” [NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia Foundation, [2013](#)]

**Centers Choose Locations Near Abortion Clinics In Order To Deceive Women Into Coming To Their Clinics Instead.** Fake health centers locate nearby full-service women’s health clinics and assume similar names to trick women seeking abortion care into walking through their doors instead. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

“We want to look professional, ... businesslike. And, yeah, we do kind of want to look medical. The best client you ever get is one that thinks they’re walking into an abortion clinic.”

**Abey Johnson**  
[Vice News, 9/17/14]

**An Anti-Choice Group Purchased A Closed Abortion Clinic In Virginia And Used It To Deceive Women Into Coming To Its Fake Health Center.** AAA Women for Choice, a fake health center, was located next to Amethyst Health Center for Women for decades – “same brick building, same sign, same generic office decor” – in order to trick women seeking abortions at the clinic to enter the fake health center instead. When Amethyst closed, the fake health center’s owner purchased the former abortion clinic. The Washington Post wrote, “Nothing indicates that the abortion clinic is closed except a locked door. The clinic’s Google ads still pop up, and the phone number still works. When women dial the closed abortion clinic, the call is forwarded straight to the pregnancy center. Everything remains in place to lure women to the clinic and hope they try the door, figure they made a mistake, then go right next door to the carefully named AAA Women for Choice.” NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia told The Washington Post that this was the first time it had seen a fake health center buy an abortion clinic. In 2017, another fake health center in Maryland planned to buy a closed abortion clinic. [The Washington Post, [2/4/16](#); The Washington Post, [8/25/17](#)]

Rewire: “In Duluth, Minnesota, a [fake health center] called Women’s Care Center



built a new clinic directly across the street from Women's Health Center, the sole abortion provider in northern Minnesota. The center's director, who also runs the '40 Days for Life' campaign, whose participants picket the Women's Health Center every year, said **the [fake health center] needed to be 'immediately proximate to the Women's Health Center' to be effective at giving 'previously abortion-minded young women [the opportunity to] choose life** for their precious babies.” [Rewire, [5/20/13](#)]

Broadly: “Hartford Women's Center, which opened its doors for the first time this month, is the newest St. Gerard's location. **It's a mere 30 feet from Hartford GYN Center, in the same office complex, with nearly identical signage.** This is very confusing, and intentionally so.” [Broadly, [5/30/17](#)]

**Heartbeat International Runs Option Line, A Phone Line That Counsels Women Against Abortion And Steers Them To Fake Health Centers.** One of the most potent tools fake health centers have at their disposal is Option Line, a Heartbeat International program that operates as a 24-hour call center and web tool referring women to the nearest fake health center. During its first month in operation, Option Line received approximately 2,000 calls and since then has added instant messaging and email capabilities to its arsenal. Its operators boast that the service answers more than 600 contacts a day, and Option Line claims more than 2 million contacts since 2003. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#); Heartbeat International, accessed [1/4/18](#)]

**The Option Line Handbook Tells Volunteers That “While [They] Are On The Phone, [Their] Objective Is To Schedule An Appointment” So That Women Will Come To The Center.** Misled by fake health center ads, some women call these centers to inquire about available reproductive health services and prices. When presented with such inquiries, the centers' staffers often evade the question or lie outright in order to convince woman to come to their center. Advocates for these centers have been very explicit that the goal of these phone conversations is not to answer questions but rather to lure women to their centers. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**An Anti-Choice Hotline Training Advised Fake Health Center Volunteers On Ways To “Hook Her Right Away.”** In a documentary about fake health centers called “12th & Delaware,” a fake health center director trains volunteers in the telephone script she uses to deflect questions from potential clients and lure them to the center: “If you don't hook her right away, she hangs up on you. When she calls and she says, ‘Do you do abortions?’ I say, ‘Are you calling for yourself or are you calling for your friend?’ ... and we engage in conversation. Because if she calls and says, ‘Do you do abortions?’ and I say, ‘No,’ click. [Pantomimes hanging up the phone.] I'm trying to get her in the door. Take control of the conversation. ... I don't mind the criticisms of taking control. ‘That doesn't sound fair.’ Well, too bad!” [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**Fake Health Centers Advertise Under Headings That Falsely Imply They Provide Full Reproductive Health Services, Including Abortion.** NARAL Pro-Choice America found that “a web search revealed that many [fake health centers] listed by Option Line advertised under headings that could lead women to believe that they provide the full range of reproductive-health services, including abortion care and contraception.” NARAL also found, “Some [fake health centers] list themselves in phone books or online directories under the headings ‘abortion,’ ‘abortion alternatives,’ ‘abortion services,’ ‘family planning information centers,’ or ‘women’s organizations’ to appear as though they offer abortion care or counseling, even though the only ‘abortion service’ they provide is anti-abortion coercion.” [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**Fake Health Center Group Human Coalition Uses Search Engine Optimization And Online Advertising To Direct Women Seeking Abortions To Its Centers Instead Of Full-Service Women’s Health Clinics.** Human Coalition uses search engine optimization to ensure that women searching for legal abortion services on sites such as Google found Human Coalition instead, which directed the women to anti-choice centers where the women could not receive abortions. [Live Action News, [4/12/16](#); The Washington Times, [3/22/17](#)]

**Human Coalition Founder Brian Fisher Admitted That Women Seeking Abortions Do Not “Voluntarily” Go To Its Centers.** Fisher said, “The abortion-determined woman will not walk into the pregnancy center voluntarily. They must be outreached to and found and brought into a system of care. The reason is they don’t want to go to a place that won’t offer them an abortion. They want to go to a place that is going to offer them an abortion.” [The Washington Times, [3/22/17](#)]

**Heartbeat International Helps Fake Health Centers Draw Women In Through Deceptive Online Advertising.** Heartbeat International promotes a program called Extend Web Services, which it says “was formed with the goal of giving your pregnancy help organization the most effective, professional Web presence to reach the woman who’s looking for help.” The group promises fake health centers that the program “allows centers to compete online with abortion providers” through “search-friendly optimizations,” geographically targeted ads and other strategies. For Extend Web Services, the ability to help fake health centers mislead women seeking abortion is a key selling point. Its website says, “We are experts at making sure your website is attracting the abortion-minded client and representing your center in a way that will make your clients feel comfortable with the service they will receive.” [Heartbeat International, accessed [11/27/17](#); Extend Web Services, accessed [12/19/17](#); Extend Web Services, accessed [12/19/17](#); NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#); Extend Web Services, accessed [12/19/17](#)]

# Centers Employ Scare Tactics And Peddle Medical Misinformation To Stop Women From Choosing Abortion

**Centers Provide “False And Misleading Information About A Link Between Abortion And Breast Cancer.”** In 2006, Rep. Henry Waxman commissioned a report investigating fake health centers receiving federal funding. An investigator talked to 23 centers on the phone, posing as a 17-year-old trying to decide if she should get an abortion. Despite the medical consensus that there is no connection between abortion and breast cancer, many centers told women calling for information that having an abortion increased their risk of breast cancer. One clinic even claimed abortion could increase the risk of breast cancer by up to 80%. Other centers falsely claimed abortions influenced the development of breast tissue and could “affect the milk forming in your breasts.” [False and Misleading Health Information Provided by Federally Funded Pregnancy Resource Centers, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, [July 2006](#)]

**NARAL Pro-Choice Montana Found That Fake Health Center ZoeCare Lied About Abortion To Patients And Only Provided Information On The Risks Of Abortion.**

After visiting ZoeCare undercover, a NARAL Pro-Choice Montana “secret shopper” stated, “The only information given was on the risks of abortion. The nurse ... talked about abortion potentially causing breast cancer due to the increase in HCG [human chorionic gonadotropin]. The other risk focused on was cervix incompetence. She ... illustrated on the diagram how it [the cervix] could become ‘too stretched out’ and that could lead to later miscarriages and potentially lead to not being able to have children in the future.” [NARAL Pro-Choice Montana Foundation, [2013](#)]

**REALITY: The National Cancer Institute (NCI) Has Clearly Stated That “Induced Abortion Is Not Associated With An Increase In Breast Cancer Risk.”** NCI noted that this determination is “well established,” the institute’s highest rating. [Guttmacher Institute, [10/23/06](#)]

**Centers Falsely Claim That Abortion Causes Future Infertility.** Centers contacted through the 2006 congressional investigation claimed that “a lot of women” were unable to have children after having an abortion. Centers told callers it was “common” for women to become infertile, have “many miscarriages” or be unable to carry a pregnancy to term because of “permanent damage” caused by abortions. Centers claimed abortion could make it so a woman’s cervix “won’t stay closed in future pregnancies.” However, first trimester abortions “do not pose an increased risk for future fertility.” [False and Misleading Health Information Provided by Federally Funded Pregnancy Resource Centers, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, [July 2006](#)]

**REALITY: “Abortions Performed In The First Trimester Pose Virtually No Long-Term Risk Of Problems Such As Infertility, Ectopic Pregnancy, Spontaneous Abortion (Miscarriage) Or Birth Defect.”** [Guttmacher Institute, accessed [12/19/17](#)]

**Centers Tell Women That Abortion Leads To “Severe, Long-Lasting, And Common”**

**Psychological Effects, Including Increased Suicide Rates.** Despite the “considerable scientific consensus that having an abortion rarely causes significant psychological harm,” centers contacted through the 2006 congressional investigation promoted the claim that abortions “frequently” lead to “severe long-term emotional harm” called “post-abortion syndrome.” One center falsely said that, after having abortions, women experience symptoms “much like” those seen in soldiers returning from Vietnam and that they are “something that anyone who’s had an abortion is sure to suffer from.” Another center claimed abortions lead to “guilt, numbness, dreams and nightmares, changes in relationships, ... difficulty with making friends, sexual problems, preoccupation with abortion date or due date, ... sadness, anxiety, suicidal ideas, sedatives, alcohol, drug use, eating disorders, sense of loss, inability to relax, fear of failure, crying spells, regret, anger, helplessness, headaches, loneliness, panic, ... signs of marital stress.” One center claimed women face emotional distress after abortions because a woman having an abortion “is doing something totally contrary to what her role is,” while giving birth “is fulfilling one of the roles that she has.” [False and Misleading Health Information Provided by Federally Funded Pregnancy Resource Centers, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, [July 2006](#)]

**REALITY: “Leading Experts Have Concluded That Among Women Who Have An Unplanned Pregnancy, The Risk Of Mental Health Problems Is No Greater If They Have A Single First-Trimester Abortion Than If They Carry The Pregnancy To Term.”** [Guttmacher Institute, accessed [12/19/17](#)]

**Centers Provide False Information About Birth Control And Condoms.** Montana fake health center Echoz claims that “all morning-after pills, including ella, can cause abortions.” NARAL Pro-Choice Montana reported that Echoz also made false claims about condoms, spermicides, birth control pills and abortion risks. NARAL Pro-Choice Montana cited brochures from Echoz claiming birth control pills and the NuvaRing caused abortions. One stated, “Birth control pills can and do kill little human beings,” and the other said the NuvaRing “has the potential to abort your baby – without you ever knowing it.” Echoz also falsely claimed condoms and spermicides “could be harmful to you,” and counseled, “Chastity is the best choice for single people.” [Echoz Pregnancy Care Center, accessed [4/10/17](#); Echoz Pregnancy Care Center, accessed [4/10/17](#); NARAL Pro-Choice Montana Foundation, [2013](#)]

**REALITY: “The Weight Of The Evidence Clearly Shows That Emergency Contraceptives And IUDs Are Not Abortifacients.”** As Guttmacher Institute notes, “The campaign to conflate contraception with abortion is based on the assertion that certain methods of contraception actually end – rather than prevent – pregnancy. That assertion, however, contradicts what science says about how pregnancies are established and how contraceptives work.” According to “the most up-to-date evidence about how hormonal and copper IUDs and the emergency contraceptives Plan B and ella work ... none have been shown to disrupt an existing pregnancy – meaning that none can accurately be called an abortifacient.” [Guttmacher Institute, [12/9/14](#)]

**Centers Offer “Abortion Pill Reversal,” A Procedure With No Scientific Backing.** Despite a complete lack of scientific evidence supporting the procedure, fake health centers advertise

abortion reversal on their websites and Facebook pages. A 2017 investigation by Rewire identified “about 25 physicians and about 20 so-called [fake health centers] that claim to offer this service.” In describing medication abortions, Montana fake health center Echoz says on its website, “If you change your mind after the first visit, please contact us and we will connect you with a network of doctors who can reverse the effects of Mifepristone in some cases.” [Rewire, [3/21/17](#); Facebook, [8/9/14](#); Echoz Pregnancy Care Center, accessed [4/10/17](#)]

**The Pioneer Of “Abortion Reversal,” George Delgado, Is On The Medical Advisory Council Of Heartbeat International.** [Heartbeat International Annual Report 2016, accessed [11/27/17](#)]

**REALITY: Guttmacher Institute Says There Is No Evidence Supporting The Possibility Of Abortion Reversal.** Salon has also reported that abortion reversal is a “lie” and “impossible.” [Guttmacher Institute, [January 2017](#); Salon, [2/23/17](#)]

**NARAL Pro-Choice Montana Found That Centers Provided “Graphic And Extreme And Anecdotal” Information About Abortion.** After an undercover visit to St. Catherine’s Pregnancy Resource Center, a fake health center, a NARAL Pro-Choice Montana “secret shopper” reported, “[When I asked about abortion], their responses were graphic and extreme and anecdotal. The younger volunteer shared horror stories from women she knew who took RU486, the ‘abortion pill.’ One of the stories ended with a blood clot and death. They explained the risks of surgical abortion to be cervix incompetence and breast cancer. They said that people are getting misinformation ... and are not being told the extreme risks involved. I asked if they had studies on this information, and their response was, ‘Oh, somewhere around here, yes.’ They didn’t pull out these studies, but instead dug out plenty of information on adoption services and went digging for graphic abortion videos.” [NARAL Pro-Choice Montana Foundation, [2013](#)]

**REALITY: “A First-Trimester Abortion Is One Of The Safest Medical Procedures,” According To Guttmacher.** In fact, abortion is much safer than carrying a pregnancy to term. Reuters has reported, “Researchers found that women were about 14 times more likely to die during or after giving birth to a live baby than to die from complications of an abortion.” [Guttmacher Institute, [October 2017](#); Reuters, [1/23/12](#)]

## Centers Often Lack Medical Staff Or Deliberately Limit Their Medical Offerings To Escape Scrutiny And Liability

**Anti-Choice Activist Abby Johnson At A Fake Health Center Training Session: “We Want To Look Professional, ... Businesslike. And, Yeah, We Do Kind Of Want To Look Medical.”** [Vice News, [9/17/14](#), via YouTube]

**But Many Centers “Have No Trained Medical Professionals” And Provide Inaccurate Information To Convince Women Not To Receive Abortions.** For example, a center staffer



told a woman that her IUD was “your baby” when it appeared on her ultrasound. [Salon, [3/18/15](#)]

**A Fake Health Center In Virginia Failed To Report A Sexually Active 11-Year-Old To Authorities: “Oh No, We Don’t Do That. We’re Not Doctors, So We Don’t Have To.”**

Fake health center operator Pat Lohman said this about an 11-year-old who came into the center with her parents, who thought she was pregnant. [The Washington Post, [2/4/16](#)]

**Fake Health Centers Increasingly Claim To Offer Medical Services.** Although fake health centers are still largely unlicensed, many have developed in sophistication to such a degree that they now offer limited medical services. As of 2018, at least 1,100 of NIFLA-affiliated centers operated as medical clinics. In an effort to speed this process, other key organizations, including Heartbeat International and Focus on the Family, have offered guidelines and other resources to help fake health centers medicalize. Focus on the Family has donated ultrasound machines, books and funding to Care Net and to individual centers across the country. [Heartbeat International, accessed [12/20/17](#); Focus on the Family, Standards of Care, [2009](#); NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#); Focus on the Family 2014 Form 990, [4/15/16](#); Focus on the Family 2015 Form 990, [10/26/17](#); National Institute of Family and Life Advocates, [1/4/18](#)]

**Volunteers Dishonestly Convince Women That A Sonogram At A Fake Health Center Will Help Them Get An Abortion.** In a training video for fake health center phone volunteers offered by Heartbeat International, Pegi Deeter, director of operations at PDHC, a fake health center, says that the promise of a free sonogram is her primary tool for getting women in the door. She describes how she tells women that sonograms are necessary before an abortion. “I want to get into offering them our services,” she says. “If the conversation is still on abortion, then I want to offer them a free ultrasound: ‘One of the things you’re going to need before your abortion, you need to know exactly how far along you are. ... Different abortion procedures are done at different stages in your pregnancy. We would like to offer you a free ultrasound. This will help you make the best decision for you.’” [Heartbeat International, Abortion Minded Caller, accessed [12/20/17](#)]

**Fake Health Center Training Materials: “Typically, When [A Sonogram Is] Free, And They Believe They’re Going To Need That Information, Then They’re Open To Hearing More About Our Services.”** The training continues, “We don’t, of course, tell them where they can get an abortion, but we tell them we have information that will help them make the best decision for them. And we do! [Laughs.]” [Heartbeat International, Abortion Minded Caller, accessed [12/20/17](#)]

**Meanwhile, Focus On The Family Advises Centers Not To Waste Resources On Women Who Plan To Continue Their Pregnancy: Sonograms Are For “Abortion-Minded” Women, “To Help Them In The Decision-Making Phase.”** Focus on the Family’s medical guidelines note that for most small clinics, the purpose of offering sonogram services is to affect “decision-making” about abortion. It does not recommend that centers expend resources offering free sonograms to women who already plan to continue their pregnancies if resources are limited:

“Services will be provided for abortion-minded and abortion-vulnerable women to help them in the decision-making phase of their pregnancy. The provision of ultrasound services to women who are not abortion-minded or abortion-vulnerable is at the discretion of the medical director.” [Focus on the Family, Standards of Care, [2009](#)]

**Focus On The Family Recommends Clinics Avoid Liability By Avoiding Most Medical Services: “Women Who Go To These Clinics Should Be Referred To Other Physicians For Regular Prenatal Care.”** It notes that “legal liability issues exist” if clinics offer “more comprehensive” sonogram services but fail to diagnose medical issues. To avoid this liability, it recommends offering “limited ultrasound scans,” which do not attempt to diagnose medical issues, and notes that women seeking real prenatal care “should be referred to other physicians.” From Focus on the Family:

“There is some discussion among those involved in Clinics as to the extent of sonographic services that should be offered to pregnant women. Some suggest that pregnancy medical clinics should offer only a limited sonogram (a term which itself is not well defined) and should not perform scans of adnexa (the tissues and organs surrounding the uterus) routinely. Their rationale is that women being scanned are generally asymptomatic, and therefore Clinic resources would be expended unnecessarily. **More importantly, legal liability issues exist if the scan or interpretation of the scan of the fetus and pelvic anatomy does not detect an existing medical problem. Women who go to these Clinics should be referred to other physicians for regular prenatal care, and should be referred immediately if they present with symptoms.**

On the other hand, some Clinics are striving to expand their medical care. Their objective is not only to diagnose a viable intrauterine pregnancy and educate women who may be considering abortion, but also to provide a more comprehensive medical clinic, possibly involving complete prenatal care or help with adverse fetal diagnosis. In this case, the possibility of legal liability (and its implications for the Clinic) may not be as large as it might be with smaller Clinics, and comprehensive sonograms may be performed more routinely, provided personnel are well qualified and the medical director has provided orders to do so.

The level of sonographic services offered by a Clinic should be determined by the mission of the Clinic, and at the discretion and direction of the Clinic’s board and medical director. If the Clinic’s mission is to provide medically accurate information to at-risk women regarding their pregnancy, the best sonographic option might be to perform limited scans while referring to other physicians and clinics for prenatal care. If the Clinic’s mission is medically broader, the Clinic’s board and medical director might deem it appropriate for that Clinic to offer more comprehensive scanning, as medically indicated.” [Focus on the Family, Standards of Care, [2009](#)]

**One Fake Health Center Intake Form Includes A Liability Waiver For “Any Errors In Diagnosis Based On The Pregnancy Test Or Ultrasound.”** From an intake form from Crossroads Pregnancy Resource Center, a NIFLA center in Louisiana:

I have read and understand the statements above. I request services related to pregnancy provided by Crossroads Pregnancy Resource Center at no charge. Because I intentionally seek these services for my own benefit, I release Crossroads and its paid and volunteer staff from any and all liability arising out of or connected with this pregnancy, particularly with regard to any errors in diagnosis based on the pregnancy test or ultrasound.

|                              |            |
|------------------------------|------------|
| Client's Signature _____     | Date _____ |
| Consultant's Signature _____ |            |
| Date _____                   |            |

[Crossroads Pregnancy Resource Center, accessed [11/29/17](#); Crossroads Pregnancy Resource Center, accessed [11/30/17](#)]

**Heartbeat International Advises Fake Health Center Volunteers To Artificially Delay Appointments Until The Point A Sonogram Would Have More Visual Impact.** In the Heartbeat International training video, Deeter advises phone volunteers speaking to women who may be very early in their pregnancy on tactics to delay scheduling a free sonogram until they are at least seven or eight weeks along, when a heartbeat might be detected. Deeter describes how she would navigate a conversation with a woman who is very early in her pregnancy: “In our centers, we typically like the client to be seven or eight weeks before we offer the ultrasound. So I might say, ‘Would you like to schedule an appointment with the nurse at our center? Then she will be able to let you know when we can schedule your ultrasound.’” Another presenter replied, “That’s good, because you’re inviting her in to get information. ... And in a couple of weeks, you can offer that ultrasound, there’s still plenty of time, and that gives you the opportunity to build up a rapport with her, and trust.” [Heartbeat International, An Abortion Minded Caller, accessed [12/20/17](#); American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, accessed [11/30/17](#)]

**Fake Health Center Leader: “Let’s Look For A Heartbeat To Influence Her Decision.”**

In the fake health center documentary “12th & Delaware,” a center director advises volunteers on ways to sway women. The film shows an ultrasound she performed for a young couple, during which she typed “Hi Daddy” across the screen. [HuffPost, [8/2/10](#)]

**Since They Are Not Medical Clinics, Fake Health Centers Do Not Have To Comply With HIPAA Patient Privacy Regulations, Putting Patients’ Information At Risk.** NARAL Pro-Choice North Carolina wrote, “Most [fake health centers] do not disclose that they are not beholden to HIPAA. Some create their own privacy statements,” such as Hope Pregnancy Center, which states, “Since Hope offers all services free of charge, we have no need to communicate with any insurers, and HIPAA is inapplicable.” [NARAL Pro-Choice North Carolina Foundation, [July 2017](#)]

## Fake Health Centers Push Women To Sign A Form That Blocks Them From Later Choosing Abortion

### **Fake Health Centers Fill Out Forms For Women Stating They Do Not Want An Abortion, Forcing Abortion Doctors To Refuse Care If The Woman Later Decides On Abortion.**

ExposeFakeClinics.com says, “Many [fake health centers] convince women to sign a contract that they will carry their pregnancy to term, and then send it – with all of their personal information, including Social Security number – to every abortion provider nearby to try to scare both patients and real health care providers into refusing women care.”

[ExposeFakeClinics.com, accessed [11/29/17](#)]

### **Life Dynamics Offers A Free “Force Form” For Fake Health Centers Or Clinic Protesters To Fill Out For Women Stating That Any Abortion She Could Receive Would Be Legally Against Her Will.**

Life Dynamics provides many resources for fake health centers and anti-choice protesters. On its website, it says that protesters or staff at fake health centers “can help a woman who is being forced to have an abortion with the Life Dynamics Force Form. This FREE form, when used correctly, legally documents that any abortion done on the client, regardless of what she says at the clinic, would be against her will. Clinics know that if they receive this signed document and decide to do an abortion anyway, they could be faced with civil suits – and sometimes criminal charges. This form makes a client almost ‘radioactive’ to clinics in the area.” Life Dynamics asks users to agree to the following terms of use before downloading the form: “The form will not be given to the client for her to fill out but will, instead, be filled out by a counselor at the center. The client will be given a copy of the completed document after she has signed it. The counselor agrees to immediately begin making the notifications called for in the document.” [ForceForm.info, accessed [11/29/17](#); Life Dynamics, accessed [11/29/17](#)]

### **Mark Crutcher Of Life Dynamics Described Fake Health Centers And Anti-Choice Protesters Using “Force Forms” To Put Abortion Clinics At Legal Risk To Stop Them From Performing Abortions.**

In a Life Dynamics video, Crutcher says that fake health centers and anti-choice protesters “take this form, they fill it out, they get all the pertinent information on this girl and her statement. She signs the statement saying, ‘I’m not wanting this abortion, ... and here are all the legal ramifications for doing that.’ In some states you can even be charged with sexual assault for doing that. And so sometimes it’s criminal; usually it exposes them to a civil suit. And you send these to all the area abortion clinics, and they get ... either a fax or an email. And you follow up, make sure they got it. You talk [to] somebody at the abortion clinic, make sure they got the form. They’ve been put on notice now. They are taking an enormous risk if ... this girl is brought to the facility and they do an abortion on her. Their legal exposure here is through the roof, and they know it, and their attorney’s going to tell them that. So what we’re doing is we’re making this child more trouble than she’s worth. They’re going to get rid of her. That’s going to be the way they’re going to handle that.” The description of the video on YouTube targets fake health centers and protesters. [Life Dynamics, [12/11/13](#), via YouTube]

**Operation Rescue's Troy Newman Discussed Using A Force Form To Try To Stop An Abortion.** In the same video, Newman says, "I just used that last week with a little girl up in Iowa that her parents were wanting to force her to get an abortion. We got those forms, we got it in her hands. And I've yet to find out the outcome." Newman has appeared in many Life Dynamics videos, along with Janet Morana of Priests for Life and Kristan Hawkins of Students for Life. [Life Dynamics, [12/11/13](#), via YouTube; Life Dynamics, [2/23/12](#), via YouTube; Life Dynamics, [3/29/12](#), via YouTube; Life Dynamics, [6/11/12](#), via YouTube]

## Centers Deliberately Mislead Women To Delay Their Decisions Until It's Too Late For Abortion

### **Centers Lie About Gestational Age To Delay Women Until Abortion Becomes Unavailable.**

Some fake health centers tell women they are earlier in their pregnancy than they actually are. By lying about the gestational age, the centers can cause women seeking abortion care to miss the window of opportunity when it is available. "12th & Delaware" documents one center's use of the tactic: Upon visiting the legitimate reproductive health provider across the street from the center, a woman learns she is several weeks farther along in her pregnancy than the center's ultrasound operator had told her. The health clinic director says it is not unusual for the fake health center to misinform women about the dates of their pregnancies in an effort to cause them to delay seeking care until it is too late to obtain an abortion.

[NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

### **Centers Discourage Women From Accessing Abortion By Claiming Pregnancies Are Likely To End Naturally.**

The website for ZoeCare states, "One out of every four or five pregnancies ends in a natural miscarriage." St. Catherine Family Health Care Clinic & Pregnancy Resource Center says on its website, "Statistics show that approximately 1 in 5 pregnancies end in miscarriage. That's important to know before you go through a procedure like abortion." According to NARAL Pro-Choice Montana, fake health centers use such language "to insinuate that [a pregnant woman] might not have to consider abortion at all" in order to "get women through the doors." [ZoeCare, accessed [1/4/18](#); NARAL Pro-Choice Montana Foundation, [2013](#); St. Catherine Health Care, accessed [4/4/17](#)]



# Fake Health Centers Work With Anti-Choice Protesters To Trick Women Into Missing Their Appointments At Legitimate Clinics And Delay Their Procedures

**Anti-Choice Activists Use Mobile Fake Health Centers To Mislead Women About Care Options And Promote Unsubstantiated Treatments Not Recommended By Experts.**

Protesters at North Carolina's busiest abortion clinic, A Preferred Women's Health Center (APWHC), typically park RVs that serve as mobile fake health centers along the road leading to the clinic entrance, a move designed to confuse patients. These RVs try to pull patients away from the clinic by advertising services such as free ultrasounds and pregnancy testing. Cities4Life, one of the key organizations behind the protests, operates a bus that claims to offer "abortion pill reversal" services, a medically unsubstantiated procedure that the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists says is "not supported by the body of scientific evidence" and is "not recommended."



[Instagram, [7/12/17](#); HuffPost, [12/4/16](#); American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, [2015](#); Guttmacher Institute, [May 2017](#)]

**Mobile Fake Health Centers Lie To Women About Their Health And Pregnancies To Stop Them From Seeking Care.** HuffPost reported that the mobile centers at APWHC have gone so far as to lie to women about their likely health outcomes: "Patients have been told that their pregnancy wasn't "attached properly" and that they would miscarry, so they should cancel their [abortion] appointment; one volunteer clinic escort, who asked to remain anonymous, told HuffPost. 'Another was told that her pregnancy was too far along for an abortion, and that she should cancel, too, even though it wasn't.'" [HuffPost, [12/4/16](#)]

**Mobile Fake Health Center Workers Trick Women Into Missing Appointments.** According to HuffPost, “Some clinic escorts have also said that [mobile fake health center] staff members have falsely offered to check women into their APWHC appointments – which causes the women to miss their appointments altogether and have to wait a week or so to reschedule.” In North Carolina, women have to receive an ultrasound and wait 72 hours before they can get an abortion, which is banned after 20 weeks except for the life or health of the woman. These prohibitions mean getting an abortion is time-sensitive and any delays to appointments threaten a woman’s ability to receive care. [HuffPost, [12/4/16](#); Guttmacher Institute, [July 2017](#); Motto, [12/6/16](#)]

**Activists Have Delayed Women’s Abortions By Giving Them Food Or Water As They Enter A Clinic, Which Can Require Some Procedures To Be Postponed.** The New York Times wrote of clinic protesters, “Others have caused women to unknowingly violate preoperative procedures by handing them water or food; if the woman eats or drinks shortly before the abortion, it must often be postponed.” [The New York Times, [7/30/14](#)]

**Fake Health Centers Use Mobile Units To Go To Strategic Locations And Meet Target Demographics “Where They Are.”** NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia reported that fake health centers “are beginning to explore the use of ‘mobile units’, portable vans that are able to travel to strategic locations and more directly target key demographics. In Virginia, [fake health center] mobile units are open about this strategy. As ‘A Best Choice Mobile Ultrasound and Pregnancy Resource Center’ explains: ‘We are the only mobile ultrasound and pregnancy resource center in the D.C. area. We hope to service approximately 15 colleges and universities in the Northern Virginia and D.C. areas by offering free pregnancy tests, limited ultrasound, and eventually, sexually transmitted disease testing within a 50-mile radius. If only 10% of women are walking into traditional [fake health centers,] we need to go where they are.’” [NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia Foundation, [2013](#)]

**An Anti-Choice Protester Discussed The Value Of The Mobile Fake Health Center Unit In Providing A Private Place For Anti-Choice Activists To Convince Women Not To Seek Care At An Abortion Clinic.** Cities4Life protester Jessica M. says, “God has been able to take [protesters] with Cities4Life and Monroe HELP unit, and he’s been able to just give us a place where we can share the Gospel. ... It’s a place for us to be with these women in private. We’re not standing on the sidewalks where they can’t open their hearts to us worrying about who’s hearing, and they’re able to just spend as much time as they need with us. It may be 30 minutes or it may be a couple hours, and it’s just a wonderful relationship that we have.” [Cities4Life, [2/23/16](#), via Vimeo]

**A Protester Discussed The “Camaraderie” Between The Mobile Fake Health Center Staff And The Cities4Life Protesters, Referring To Them As “One Body, Working In Unison Together.”** In a Cities4Life video about HELP mobile fake health center unit, protester Celia J. identifies Patrick and Sherry as staffers at the center and says, “When I have Patrick there, when I have Sherry there, and the rest of our Cities4Life team, it is just this camaraderie that we share because we’re standing in unity against the gates of hell. ... I love that it is not two ministries, but it’s just one body. We might be two different members, but we are one body,

working in unison together.” The video shows Patrick driving the mobile center to the clinic and then protesting outside of the clinic. [Cities4Life, [2/23/16](#), via Vimeo]

**A Protester Discussed How Using The Mobile Fake Health Center To Show Women Ultrasounds Made Anti-Choice Activists More Effective In Preventing Women From Getting Abortions.** Cities4Life protester Celia J. says, “What I love about the ultrasound unit is that picture can do what I could never do. I could sit and talk till I’m blue in the face, I could give all the Scripture points, I could stand there and rehearse the Gospel to them, but when they see that image of the baby, they’re instantly bonded and united with that child. That is their child that is growing inside of them. And I can try and conjure that up, and I can try and talk about that, but that image speaks a thousand words. So when that mommy sees that baby on that screen, it almost always causes them to just stop what they’re doing and to rethink and to feel that bond as a mom with that child in their womb.” In the same video, another woman describes her experience watching an abortion film at the fake health center with her pregnant daughter and how that helped steer her daughter away from getting an abortion. The video also shows a woman receiving an ultrasound at a fake health center and telling the story of how she ended up there while seeking an abortion. [Cities4Life, [2/23/16](#), via Vimeo]

*For more on mobile fake health centers, see the case study later in this section, [At One North Carolina Clinic, A Constant Barrage Of Protesters Seeks To Block Women From Accessing Abortion.](#)*

## Fake Health Centers Particularly Target Young Women And Minority Communities With Their Deceptive Advertising

**Colorlines: Fake Health Center Leaders Have Been Driving A “Massive Marketing Campaign In Black Communities.”** A report from Colorlines exposed a plan by fake health centers to deliberately set up shop in predominantly black communities to target vulnerable women and deny them the reproductive care and honest information to which they have a right. From the report:

“Over the past four years, national anti-abortion strategists have designated ‘urban’ and ‘underserved’ women and babies as a priority for saving. In practice, these terms tend to be euphemisms for ‘black’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘Latina.’ ... Care Net and its allies have used this kind of material to drive a massive marketing campaign in black communities over the past three years. The campaign’s most prominent platform has been a series of billboards that label black children as endangered species and declare black women’s wombs “the most dangerous place” for their children. The first round appeared in Atlanta, to dovetail with Black History Month in 2010.” [Colorlines, [5/2/13](#); NARAL Pro-Choice America, [3/9/15](#)]

**NARAL Pro-Choice North Carolina Found That Fake Health Centers “Overwhelmingly” Are Located In “Lower-Income Neighborhoods, Neighborhoods Of Color, Urban Centers, And Counties With Higher Than Average Rates Of Segregation.”** [NARAL Pro-Choice North Carolina Foundation, [July 2017](#)]

**Fake Health Centers Use “Strategic Location Placements” To Target Women From Specific Demographics.** According to NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia, fake health centers “increasingly target groups that are the most underserved by the current health-care system and are therefore most vulnerable to the misinformation [fake health centers] provide. These groups include women of color, young women, women living in rural locations, and low-income women. Through a variety of methods, including the offering of free services, strategic location placements and market-specific advertising, [fake health centers] work to attract women from specific demographics.” [NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia Foundation, [2013](#)]

**Fake Health Centers Also Target College Students Through Location, Affiliations And Advertising.** ZoeCare targets college students by associating itself with Montana State University. Both are in Bozeman, Montana, four minutes apart by car. ZoeCare sponsors the T-shirt cannon used by the mascot at MSU sports games and posts the results of MSU games on its Facebook page. According to Facebook posts, ZoeCare closed for “spring break” in 2017 and “Christmas break” in 2016, indicating that its schedule is based around an academic calendar. A mobile fake health center in Virginia said it aimed to serve “15 colleges and universities in the Northern Virginia and D.C. areas” by offering its services near the schools. Advertisements in Virginia specifically reached out to college students, with one advertisement for Lifechoices Resource Center stating, “helping [George Mason University] students since 2005” and another fake health center offering coupons for free pregnancy tests to University of Virginia students. [Google Maps, accessed [4/4/17](#); Facebook, [12/21/16](#); Facebook, [3/9/17](#); Facebook, [9/15/16](#); Facebook, [9/19/16](#); NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia, [2013](#)]

## Fake Health Centers’ Practices Have Serious Consequences For Women

**A Clinic Investigator Recounted Her Experience At Fake Health Centers: “I Left Each [Fake Health Center] Feeling Humiliated, Terrified And Panicked.”** Caitlin Bancroft described her experience visiting several fake health centers as part of a NARAL investigation into their tactics. One visit began with a series of “personal and invasive” questions designed to help the center find the most effective persuasion tactics. The conversation was interspersed with “subtle judgments of my life decisions.” For example: “So you do have some scruples about you,” [the interviewer] said at one point, referring to my low number of sexual partners.” Bancroft concluded: “The way that these women treated me made one thing very clear: they didn’t care about me, my future, my happiness, or my relationships. I was simply a shell that needed to be distracted and kept questioning until it was too late for me to make my own choices, and too late for me to decide if this is what I wanted – or not. I truly can’t imagine the pain that [fake health centers] inflict on

**“The way that these women treated me made one thing very clear: they didn’t care about me, my future, my happiness, or my relationships.”**

**Caitlin Bancroft**  
[HuffPost, 8/15/13]

women who are actually struggling with an unintended pregnancy.” [HuffPost, [8/15/13](#)]

**A Man Described His Teenage Daughter’s Experience At A Fake Health Center: “They Had An Ax To Grind And Just Terrorized Her.”** An Arizona man whose 16-year-old daughter had been raped took her to a fake health center, not realizing it was an anti-choice fake clinic. Center volunteers showed her “brutal footage,” including pictures of dismembered fetuses, and “just emotionally raped her,” the man said. “They are advocates for the unborn, and to hell with the troubled person. They had an ax to grind and just terrorized her.” [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**After Hearing A Fake Health Center’s False Claims Of The “Risks” Of Abortion, One Woman Resorted To Dangerous Measures To Induce Miscarriage.** “12th & Delaware” tells the story of a young woman named Widline, who seeks care and ends up at a fake health center. After hearing a volunteer detail the supposed “risks” of abortion, Widline is frightened and decides against abortion. Instead, she attempts to self-induce an abortion, trying “everything in [her] powers,” from drinking vinegar to lifting heavy objects. As NARAL has noted, these measures are not as extreme or as dangerous as some to which she might have resorted, but Widline was driven away from safe medical care because of the lies and coercive tactics of the fake health center. Later in the documentary, Widline is shown at seven months pregnant, regretfully preparing for motherhood. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**A Woman Was Told She “Had The Devil Inside Her.”** In Milwaukee, a woman went to a fake health center to talk about her options. Instead, she was told she “had the devil inside her” and was “bombarded with graphic images of disfigured babies and aborted fetuses.” [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**One Fake Health Center Pressured A Woman To Consider Continuing An Abusive Relationship, Saying, “For All You Know, The Baby Changes Him.”** In “12th & Delaware,” a young mother of two tells a fake health center staffer she is considering abortion because her boyfriend is abusive and she needs to do what is best for her children. The staffer protests, arguing, “For all you know, the baby changes him.” [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**REALITY: 95 Percent Of Women Who Have Had Abortions Say They Made The Right Decision.** A 2015 study by researchers from the Bixby Center for Global Reproductive Health at the University of California, San Francisco’s School of Medicine tracked 667 women for a three-year period after their abortions. The study concluded, “The overwhelming majority of women felt that termination was the right decision for them over three years. Emotional support may be beneficial for women having abortions who report intended pregnancies or difficulty deciding.” [PLOS ONE, [7/8/15](#)]



# Many Fake Health Centers Are Taxpayer-Funded

## **Government Funding Of Fake Health Centers Exploded Under The Bush Administration.**

According to a 2006 congressional investigation prepared for then-Rep. Henry Waxman, “Prior to the Bush Administration, only a few [fake health] centers received federal funding. Beginning in 2001, however, federal funding of [such] centers increased sharply. In total, over \$30 million in federal funds went to more than 50 [fake health] centers between 2001 through 2005.” [False and Misleading Health Information Provided by Federally Funded Pregnancy Resource Centers, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, [July 2006](#)]

**Many States Are Directly Funding Fake Health Centers.** Many anti-choice politicians have successfully introduced and passed bills that fund fake health centers directly with taxpayer dollars, either by allocating state funds or by redirecting federal funds for the state to the centers, and/or through favorable tax benefits. By directly funding these centers, the state not only is complicit in the deception of its own residents, but also bestows a level of legitimacy on these anti-choice clinics, creating the false impression the centers are part of the mainstream medical community. At least 14 states – Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin – fund fake health centers directly. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**14 States Have “Choose Life” License-Plate Programs That Directly Fund Fake Health Centers.** State legislatures also lend support to fake health centers by enacting legislation to fund them through the sale of anti-choice license plates. Some states funnel money from the sale of “Choose Life” license plates to fake health centers through specific anti-choice organizations, such as Arkansas Right to Life or Choose Life of Georgia Inc. Other states ensure fake health centers receive the money by allocating it to organizations that provide pregnancy services while prohibiting it from going to organizations that provide, refer or even counsel about abortion care. There are 14 states with anti-choice license-plate programs whose proceeds fund fake health centers. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**21 States Require Health Care Providers To Refer Women To Fake Health Centers.** In addition to pushing forced-ultrasound laws to give fake health centers a more convincing argument to bring women through their doors, anti-choice politicians are requiring legitimate health care providers to refer women to the centers. Provisions in many forced-ultrasound and biased-counseling laws require that states create and maintain registries of fake health centers and compel providers to present or offer such lists to women seeking abortion care. These laws clearly are designed as another way to direct women to a fake health center without their knowledge of its ideologically driven agenda. Twenty-one states have passed laws that force providers to refer women to the centers. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

**South Dakota Is Trying To Force Women To Go To Fake Health Centers For “Counseling.”**

In an especially alarming example of fake health centers making inroads with anti-choice lawmakers, in March 2011, South Dakota’s anti-choice Gov. Dennis Daugaard signed into law a first-of-its-kind mandate that a woman seeking abortion care first submit to an in-person lecture at a fake health center. In addition to “counseling,” the law also requires a 72-hour waiting period before care, forcing women to make three separate trips, which in a rural state such as South Dakota can be nearly impossible. The law has been challenged and is not in force, but this aggressive new tactic is another indicator that fake health center activists are on offense. [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [1/1/17](#)]

## CASE STUDY

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# Texas' Experiment Replacing Real Clinics With Anti-Choice Pregnancy Centers Was A Public Disaster

**Texas Recently Slashed Family Planning Grants And Redirected Funding Away From Real Clinics Toward Fake Health Centers.** Though state funding was already barred from covering abortion, clinics that offered family planning services such as contraception, cancer screenings, breast exams and other health services had previously received some help covering those costs. That changed with Texas' Healthy Texas Women program, which shifted funding away from full-service clinics that also offered abortion services toward anti-choice organizations that claimed they could cover the loss in health care services. The program included a \$1.6 million grant to anti-choice organization The Heidi Group, which had no experience providing medical services. The group claimed it could redirect the 50,000 patients who would lose health care access at the full-service clinics to fake health centers. [Dallas News, [3/17/17](#)]

**Heidi Group President Carol Everett: "I Founded The Heidi Group To Follow My Heart For The Hurting By Supporting Pregnancy Resource Centers."** Everett also said, "I now use my experiences and faith to help set girls and women free from abortion by connecting them with positive, life-affirming options. The Heidi Group partners with these women and their families to meet the needs of a crisis pregnancy with practical and scriptural solutions." [The Heidi Group, accessed [11/28/17](#)]

**Despite Rebranding Her Fake Health Center Network As Offering "Minimum Health Services," Everett Told The Austin Chronicle That State Health Care Funds Would Flow To Fake Health Centers.** [The Austin Chronicle, [8/23/17](#)]

**The Associated Press: "Eight Months Later, The Heidi Group Has Little To Show For Its Work."** An Associated Press report "found the nonprofit has done little of the outreach it promised, such as helping clinics promote their services on Facebook, or airing public service announcements. It hasn't made good on plans to establish a 1-800 number to help women find providers or ensure that all clinics have updated websites." [The Associated Press, [3/14/17](#)]

**30,000 Women Lost Health Care After Texas' Decision To Cut Off Family Planning Funding For Full-Service Abortion Clinics.** As The Associated Press reported, "After Texas state funding was cut off to abortion providers in 2011, 82 family planning clinics closed in the state, a third of which were Planned Parenthood affiliates. A state report later found that 30,000 fewer women were served through a Texas women's health program after the changes." [The Associated Press, [3/14/17](#)]

**After The Funding Cuts To Legitimate Clinics, Texas Saw An Increase In The Teen Birth Rate And The Abortion Rate.** A study by Miami University's Analisa Packham found that "the 67 percent decrease in funding [to family planning clinics] has resulted in an increase in the teen birth rate by 3.4 percent, or nearly 2,200 more teens giving birth," ThinkProgress reported. The year after the cuts went into effect, the state's abortion rate also increased 15 percent. [ThinkProgress, [7/17/17](#)]

## CASE STUDY

# Scott Lloyd's Campaign To Block Jane Doe's Abortion Shows The Trump Administration's Close Ties To Fake Health Centers

**For Weeks, Trump Appointee Scott Lloyd Was Instrumental In Blocking Jane Doe From Accessing Constitutionally Protected Abortion Care, And She Is Not The Only One.** Seventeen-year-old “Jane Doe” fought for weeks to access abortion care, but was blocked by restrictions from Health and Human Services’ Office of Refugee Resettlement. As Slate reported, “In March, ORR announced that federally funded shelters could not take ‘any action that facilitates’ abortion for unaccompanied minors, including ‘scheduling appointments, transportation, or other arrangement,’ without ‘direction and approval’ from Scott Lloyd, the agency’s director. A Trump appointee and longtime anti-choice activist, Lloyd has refused to allow minors to access abortion services. Instead, **he has directed shelters to take these women to [fake health centers] which ‘counsel’ them not to get abortions. At least once, Lloyd himself called a pregnant minor to talk her out of terminating her pregnancy.** If a minor still wants to get an abortion after navigating these obstacles, ORR instructs its shelters to block her from attending her appointment.” [Slate, [10/19/17](#)]

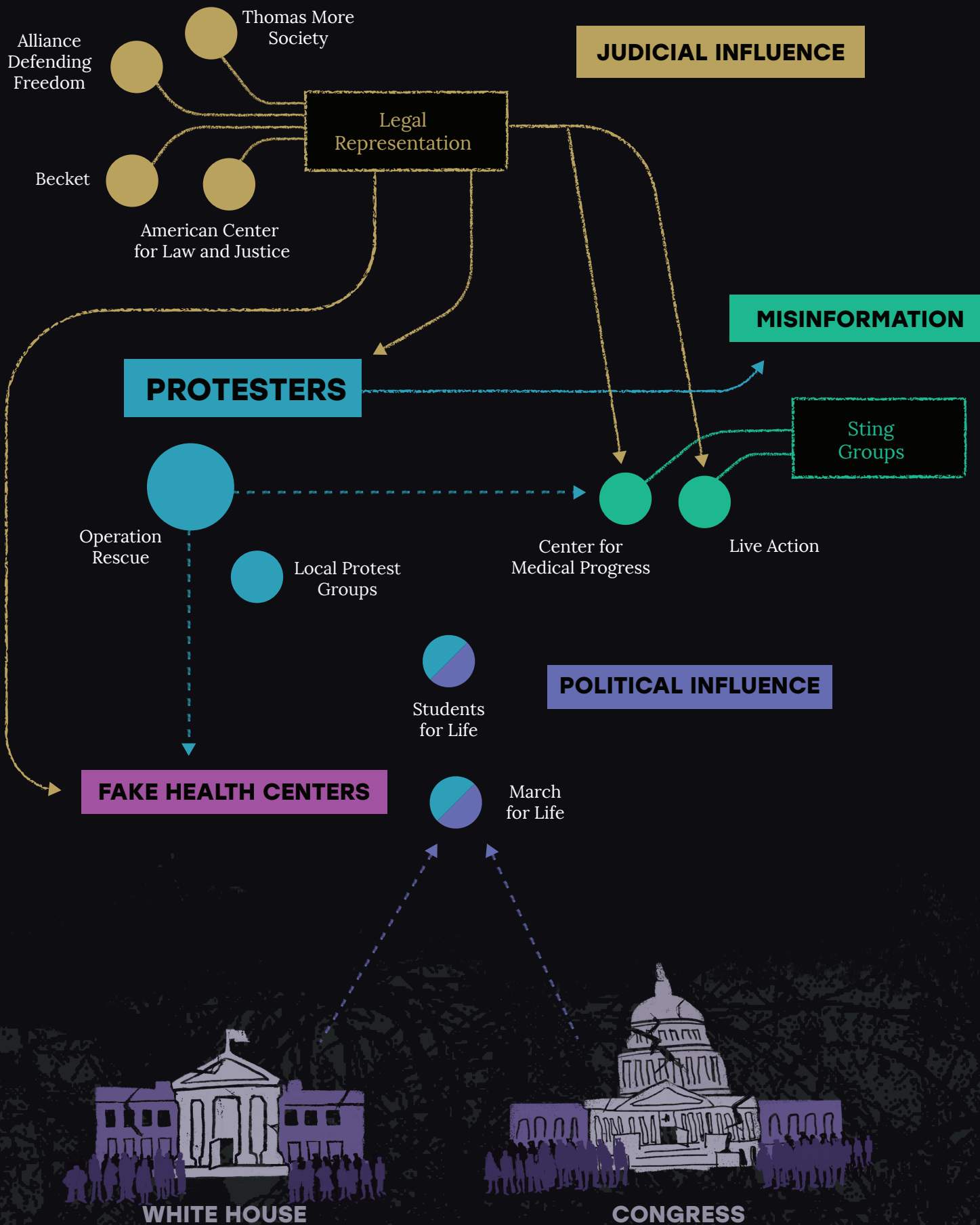


OFFICE OF REFUGEE  
RESETTLEMENT DIRECTOR  
SCOTT LLOYD

**Lloyd Served On The Board Of Directors Of Front Royal Pregnancy Center, A Fake Health Center.** Front Royal Pregnancy Center is part of the National Institute of Family and Life Advocates network. NIFLA provides the centers “with legal counsel, education, and training.” [This Week In Immigration, [3/28/17](#); Breitbart, [4/4/17](#); NIFLA, accessed [10/18/17](#); NIFLA, accessed [10/18/17](#)]

**NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia Found That Front Royal Pregnancy Center Provided A Pamphlet With Inaccurate, “Repeatedly Debunked” Information About Breast Cancer And Abortion.** The pamphlet said, “New scientific evidence shows that the increase in abortions worldwide has caused a sharp increase in breast cancer. Over thirty-four studies indicate that women who abort their first pregnancy have a much higher risk of developing cancer. ... Dr. H. Olsson found, if she had aborted her first pregnancy, that the cancer was more aggressive, metastasized earlier and was lethal more quickly as compared to women who had completed their first pregnancy.” [NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia Foundation, [2013](#)]

**Front Royal Pregnancy Center Promotes “Abortion Pill Reversal,” A Procedure With No Scientific Backing.** Guttmacher Institute says there is no evidence supporting the possibility of abortion reversal. Salon has also reported that abortion reversal is a “lie” and “impossible.” [Front Royal Pregnancy Center, accessed [10/18/17](#); Guttmacher Institute, [January 2017](#); Salon, [2/23/17](#)]



# CLINIC PROTESTERS

3

Anti-choice protesters routinely stalk, harass and intimidate women who seek care at full-service abortion clinics, and have been tied to acts of extreme violence, including assault and battery, bomb threats and murder. Operation Rescue is a key organizing group within the anti-choice protest movement that has played a key role over the years in stoking the aggression of the anti-choice movement's most extreme actors. There are many other local protest groups across the country that engage in similar behaviors.

These protesters aim to stop abortions from occurring on the individual level by blocking patients and doctors from entering abortion clinics and by forcing clinics to close in response to their protests. Operation Rescue President Troy Newman described working "one step at a time" to reach his group's ultimate goal of ending all abortions: "You close this abortion clinic in this community and this abortion clinic in this community. All of a sudden you have regions of the country that are abortion-free. ...it's just going to be a logical next step to completely abolish abortion."

Though many leaders in the anti-choice movement condemn the violence that some anti-choice protesters have perpetrated, others have tacitly or explicitly endorsed such actions. Operation Rescue President Troy Newman has gone so far as to call for the "execution" of abortion providers.

These extremists are difficult to separate from the broader anti-choice movement. They partner closely with fake health centers, often sharing personnel or funding and utilizing similar tactics to pursue complementary goals. And their leaders have deep ties to fake health centers and influential groups across the anti-choice and conservative movements.



# CLINIC PROTESTERS

## **In 2016, Clinic Violence And Harassment Of Abortion Providers Was At An All-Time**

**High.** Data from the National Abortion Federation (NAF) shows that protests and targeted harassment at abortion clinics rose in 2016 to the highest level since NAF began tracking them in 1977. There was an increase in “a wide range of intimidation tactics meant to disrupt the provision of health care at facilities, including vandalism, picketing, obstruction, invasion, trespassing, burglary, stalking, assault and battery, and bomb threats.” While data from 2017 is not yet available, NAF explained, “In the first five months of 2017 ... there have been four times as many online threats and death wishes directed at abortion providers compared with the same period in 2016.” [The Cut, [4/20/17](#); National Abortion Federation, accessed [8/1/17](#); Slate, [7/21/17](#)]

## **Clinic Protesters Have Lasting Influence Over Women Visiting Abortion Clinics, With One Woman Reporting A PTSD Diagnosis Due To Protesters.**

One woman told Cosmopolitan, “Images of that day are still ingrained in my head. I was 19, so this was before the buffer zone law passed in 2007, and I went to a clinic in Brookline notorious for protesters. The day I went in, they were in front of the door. My then-boyfriend had to use his elbows to get us to the door. There was one particularly eerie, expressionless protester wearing aviator glasses and holding a sign of a baby in utero on a black background. It gave me a bad feeling in my stomach and still haunts me. That’s the image I strongly associate with that day. It embodied all the fears and judgment I felt from society.” [Cosmopolitan, [2/21/14](#)]

# Operation Rescue Protesters Confront And Intimidate Women To Block Abortion Access

**Operation Rescue Is A Militant Anti-Choice Group Founded Under The Slogan, “If You Believe Abortion Is Murder, Act Like It’s Murder.”** The group was founded by extremist Randall Terry in 1986. In the 1980s and early 1990s, Operation Rescue led the movement to physically block women from accessing abortion clinics through sit-ins that created physical obstructions and a protest style that emphasized intimidation. The 1991 “Summer of Mercy” protest, which Operation Rescue organized in Wichita, Kansas, is the group’s most notorious protest. It brought thousands of anti-choice activists to block the entrances of three clinics in the city and particularly targeted Dr. George Tiller, who was later murdered by an anti-choice activist with ties to Operation Rescue. The protests resulted in more than 1,600 arrests, and all three targeted clinics closed for over a week. [Political Research Associates, [9/30/13](#); The New York Times, [8/4/91](#)]

The New York Times described the scene of the “Summer of Mercy” protests in Wichita: “For nearly three weeks now, this city has become the most vivid symbol of an emboldened anti-abortion movement as members of Operation Rescue focus on the city’s three abortion clinics, **flinging themselves under cars, sitting by the**

hundreds at clinic doorways and blocking women from entering as they read them Scripture.” [The New York Times, [8/4/91](#)]

**Reporter Mary Mapes After Witnessing Operation Rescue Protests: “This Is Terrorism.”** Mapes described the scene outside Dr. Tiller’s clinic in Wichita: “Tiller’s clients often included couples who had been hoping to become parents but had their hearts broken late in pregnancy when they received horrifying medical news about their much-wanted babies. ... They were hounded and harassed, shoved and shouted at on the most heart-breaking day of their lives. In order for patients to make it to their appointments, clinic supporters had to coordinate each woman’s arrival with walkie-talkies. They shielded the patient by forming a flying wedge of bodies that rushed through the crowd to escort her into the building. I watched one woman sobbing as she and her husband were helped into the clinic. Her tears went unnoticed by the hundreds of protestors surrounding her who shrieked and wailed and tried to trip the people escorting her to the door.” [HuffPost, [7/1/09](#)]

**“This is terrorism...They were hounded and harassed, shoved and shouted at on the most heart-breaking day of their lives.”**

**Reporter Mary Mapes**  
[HuffPost, 7/1/09]

The Los Angeles Times described other Operation Rescue tactics: **“Abortion opponents photograph women entering clinics and post the pictures online.** Warning of the ‘baby butchers’ nearby, they send gruesome postcards to neighbors of clinic workers. They boycott construction firms building clinics. Activists have even trailed doctors through grocery stores, hissing, ‘How can you live with yourself?’” [Los Angeles Times, [2/17/04](#)]

## Operation Rescue Singled Out And Harassed Doctors Who Were Later Murdered By Anti-Choice Extremists

**Operation Rescue’s 1988 DNC Protests Brought Together Founders Of Murderous Anti-Choice Group Army Of God.** According to the National Abortion Federation, militant anti-choice activists arrested at the protests “spent several weeks in jail together and it is believed that many of them formed the Army of God. They gave themselves aliases and began writing the Army of God Manual. Among those jailed with [James] Kopp were Lambs of Christ leader Norman Weslin; [Shelley] Shannon, who later shot Dr. George Tiller; and John Arena, who was later arrested for committing butyric acid attacks against abortion clinics.” [National Abortion Federation, accessed [11/22/17](#)]

**Operation Rescue Targeted Dr. David Gunn With “Wanted” Posters Before His 1993 Murder.** Gunn was shot by Michael Frederick Griffin outside his clinic in 1993. Griffin was open about his lack of remorse over the shooting, saying in 2010, “We’re all commanded to protect the innocent children. I just accepted that responsibility, I guess.” In the months leading up to the shooting, Operation Rescue worked aggressively to stoke anger toward

Gunn, printing his photo and phone number on a “wanted” poster that was widely distributed and even displayed at the school his daughter attended. [Slate, [10/31/17](#)]

**Convicted Anti-Choice Arsonist And Attempted Murderer Shelley Shannon Told Griffin: “I Know You Did The Right Thing.”** [Slate, [10/31/17](#)]

**Gunn’s Murder “Ignited A War On Abortion Providers.”** Slate noted that the murder “established the battle lines in an ever more violent and nihilistic war against abortion providers, one that has led to the murders of nearly a dozen more people in the decades since.” [Slate, [10/31/17](#)]

**Operation Rescue Singled Out Drs. George Patterson, John Britton And George Tiller With Similar “Wanted” Posters Before Their Murders.** Patterson was killed in 1993, Britton in 1994 and Tiller in 2009. All had appeared on “wanted” posters. [CBS News, [11/9/10](#); Salon, [9/10/13](#)]

**Operation Rescue Activist James Kopp Murdered Dr. Barnett Slepian In 1998.** Kopp had strong ties to Operation Rescue. In 1988, he became a volunteer under Randall Terry at the Binghamton, New York, Operation Rescue office and later that year was arrested at the Operation Rescue protests at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta. He spent years traveling anti-choice protests for Operation Rescue and other anti-choice extremist groups. After Slepian’s murder, anti-choice activists signed petitions in support of Kopp, arguing the killing was “justifiable homicide.” Operation Rescue West (now Operation Rescue) founder Jeff White said he had known Kopp for 10 years. [National Abortion Federation, accessed [11/22/17](#)]

**Before Tiller’s Murder, Newman Launched A “Deliberately Invasive” Campaign Targeting Tiller And Other Clinic Workers.** In 2004, the Los Angeles Times described his plan: “Over the next 12 months, Newman and his followers will point their arrows at everyone who works for Women’s Health Care Services, from the chief physician to the armed security guards. ... Photos of the mangled heads of fetuses will greet the receptionist at her favorite restaurant. Protesters will point out the nurse as she walks into the mall, the office manager as she heads into church. Every clinic employee can expect pickets at home, yellow arrows pointed at their front doors.” Newman said, “This is a personal campaign. It’s letting people know abortion is not abstract. ... There’s a real person who holds the scalpel, and he lives next door to you.” [Los Angeles Times, [2/17/04](#)]

**MSNBC’s Maddow: “Allies Of Dr. Tiller In Kansas Say That Until Recently, Operation Rescue Also Posted Online The Doctor’s Real Home Address And The Address Of His Church.”** MSNBC host Rachel Maddow reported in 2009, “Operation Rescue maintained and still maintains something that they call ‘Tiller Watch’ on their website. Allies of Dr. Tiller in Kansas say that until recently, Operation Rescue also posted online the doctor’s real home address and the address of his church – which, of course, is where Dr. Tiller was ultimately murdered this weekend, allegedly by Scott Roeder. [MSNBC, The Rachel Maddow Show, [6/3/09](#)]

# The 1994 FACE Act Attempted To Stop The Violence And Intimidation

**In 1994, President Bill Clinton Signed The Freedom Of Access To Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act To Push Back Against “The Attacks, The Incidents Of Arson, The Campaigns Of Intimidation.”** The act imposed new restrictions on the types of clinic blockades and harassment Operation Rescue had become known for. Violent offenders could be fined as much as \$250,000 for a repeat offense and be sentenced to as much as three years in prison. As The New York Times reported, the law was a response to “more than 1,000 violent incidents at clinics since 1977. Among those incidents were at least **36 bombings, 81 cases of arson, 131 death threats, 84 assaults, two kidnappings and the shooting of two doctors,** including Dr. Gunn.” [The New York Times, [5/27/94](#)]

## Facing Controversy, Operation Rescue Splintered

**After Internal Debates About Whether To Condemn Murder, Operation Rescue Splintered, Producing Groups Operation Save America And Life Coalition International.** In the early 1990s, former Operation Rescue tactical director Jeff White severed ties between his branch of Operation Rescue, Operation Rescue of California (or Operation Rescue West), and the national organization. Operation Rescue West borrowed Operation Rescue's confrontational tactics but eventually plotted an even more extremist course. The splinter group gained prominence in the '90s and sparked controversy when its leaders refused to denounce anti-choice violence. The group was taken over by Troy Newman in 1999. Under Newman's leadership, Operation Rescue West eventually won a name dispute with its parent organization and took over the name Operation Rescue, relocating its headquarters to Wichita, Kansas, in 2002. Meanwhile, Operation Rescue's founder handed over his original group to Keith Tucci, and when Tucci left the organization in 1994, the group splintered again. Tucci passed Operation Rescue National to Flip Benham. He continued to be involved with Operation Rescue International, soon renamed Life Coalition International, alongside Pat McEwen. After losing the name dispute with Troy Newman, Operation Rescue National took the name Operation Save America, which is now led by Rusty Thomas. [Political Research Associates, [9/30/13](#); Los Angeles Times, [10/24/94](#); Rewire, [10/12/16](#); LA Weekly, [4/3/02](#); Operation Rescue, accessed [1/4/18](#); Right Wing Watch, [September 2015](#); Operation Save America, [6/1/08](#); The Associated Press, [2/10/94](#); Rewire, [9/16/09](#)]

**Operation Rescue Leaders Jeff White, Ken Reed, Joe Slovenec, Cheryl Conrad and Cheryl Sullenger Refused To Condemn The Murders Of Abortion Doctors.**

Sullenger, who serves as the organization's senior vice president, was convicted of conspiring to bomb an abortion clinic in 1987. Operation Rescue later claimed she had a change of heart. [Operation Save America, [6/1/08](#); Right Wing Watch, [11/20/15](#); Operation Rescue, accessed [11/22/17](#)]

**Current Operation Rescue President Troy Newman: The Biblical Duty Of Government “Rightly Involves Executing Convicted Murderers, Including Abortionists.”** Newman says he opposes violence but persists in using inflammatory rhetoric. He has blamed abortion for everything from the 9/11 terrorist attacks to AIDS. [Right Wing Watch, [9/14/15](#); WND TV, [1/30/15](#), via YouTube]

**Current Operation Save America Director Rusty Thomas Said Activists Feel “Betrayed” By Anti-Choice Movement’s Lack Of Aggression.** In 2016, he told supporters, “God does not want us to regulate baby murder. He wants us to end it.” [Rewire, [10/12/16](#)]



OPERATION RESCUE'S  
TROY NEWMAN

**In 2006, Operation Rescue Lost Nonprofit Status For Illegal Electioneering.** Newman responded, “Whatever structure we have, we are going to speak out, we’re not going to be intimidated, we’re not going to be muzzled and we’re not going to be gagged.” [The New York Times, [9/15/06](#)]

## Operation Rescue Continues Its Intimidation And Harassment Campaigns Today

**Troy Newman Says His Goal Is To Entirely “Abolish Abortion” By Shutting Down One Clinic At A Time.** In an appearance on conspiracy theory site WND’s TV program, Newman explained that Operation Rescue’s current strategy focuses on targeting one clinic at a time: “I want to end abortion right now, completely, all babies saved. But practically speaking, that doesn’t work. It hasn’t worked in 42 years. I believe in swinging for the fences every single time, but I also believe in getting a base hit. And that’s how we’re winning, one step at a time. You close this abortion clinic in this community and this abortion clinic in this community. All of a sudden you have regions of the country that are abortion-free. ... And once people start accepting the fact that there are regions and counties and states that are abortion-free, it’s just going to be a logical next step to completely abolish abortion.” [WND TV, [1/30/15](#), via YouTube]

**Operation Rescue Leaders Published A Playbook Of Tactics To Help Protesters Take Down Clinics.** The book is called “Abortion Free: Your Manual for Building a Pro-Life America One Community at a Time.” It was written by Newman and Sullenger and published by extreme right-wing outlet WND. According to Right Wing Watch, “Newman and Sullenger review various tactics for anti-choice activists looking to gather information on abortion providers, including public records requests, sting operations like the one behind the recent Planned Parenthood videos, and collecting information on vendors who work with abortion providers in order to harass them into ending their association.” In the book, Newman and Sullenger write, “Photos that show the victim



on a gurney being taken from the abortion clinic are useful and dramatic. ... Submit a [Freedom of Information Act] request for the 911 audio file and ... transcript of the call as soon as possible.” [Right Wing Watch, [8/26/15](#)]

**ProPublica: Anti-Choice Protesters “Appear To Be Drawing From An Unofficial Playbook” In Targeting Patients And Clinic Staff.** A ProPublica investigation found that anti-choice protesters have become increasingly aggressive over the past few years in seeking private information about patients and doctors that can be taken out of context and used against clinics. According to ProPublica:

“Coast to coast, they appear to be drawing from an unofficial playbook: Some wait outside clinics, tracking or taking photos of patients’ and staffers’ license plates and ambulances, if called. They not only mine public records but also collect information leaked by sympathetic health-care workers – for example, emergency-room doctors and ambulance drivers – who are required to keep patient information confidential under HIPAA. The law, however, doesn’t apply to advocacy groups. ... The leaked information is used by activists to bolster complaints they submit to health agencies against abortion providers, sometimes without patients’ knowledge. Operation Rescue estimates that it has 100 complaints pending in different states.” [ProPublica, [8/25/15](#)]

**A Patient Described How Operation Rescue Misused Her Private Information.** She said, “All this happened because I was in the clinic having a legal abortion. ... **All they cared about was judging me ... and building evidence for their case.**” [ProPublica, [8/25/15](#)]

**Since Enactment Of The FACE Act, Operation Rescue Has Increasingly Focused On “Systematically Harassing [Clinic] Employees Into Quitting.”** From a 2004 Rolling Stone profile:

“Banned by law from blockading clinics as it did in its early days, Operation Rescue has taken its offensive to the front lawns and mailboxes of clinic workers. In Wichita, members of the group rummage through employees’ garbage in search of incriminating information. They tail them around town as they run errands. They picket clinic staffers at restaurants while they’re inside having dinner and castigate them while they’re standing in line at Starbucks. Operation Rescue is also visiting companies that do business with the clinic and threatening them with a boycott if they don’t sever their ties with the facility. This is America’s new abortion war, and the objective, in military terms, is to cut off the supply lines to abortion clinics and demoralize their troops. ...

When I arrive, Newman and his small staff of zealous pro-lifers are buzzing with the news that the clinic’s office manager has quit – a result, they believe, of their name-and-shame campaign. The manager had been accosted by a neighbor in a grocery store who recognized her from an Operation Rescue flier that featured her photo. ‘You’re that baby killer!’ the neighbor screamed at her. Then Newman, through investigative methods he’d rather not reveal, discovered



where the woman's husband works. 'We think that's what clinched it,' he says. 'He probably realized we were going to picket his workplace. I imagine he's the major breadwinner in the family, and he didn't want to risk his job.'" [Rolling Stone, [8/19/04](#), via Internet Archive]

**Operation Save America Stalked Local Abortion Doctors, "Singling [Them] Out" For Possible "Lone-Wolf" Attacks.** In 2010, Operation Save America operatives, including national director Flip Benham, targeted doctors who performed abortions by posting "wanted" posters around Charlotte, North Carolina, that included their photos, names and addresses. Benham was found guilty of stalking and of violating a residential picketing law designed to protect residents from threats of violence. Local detective Milton Harris explained, "The purpose of the law is to protect that person's identity against basically a lone-wolf assailant coming in there and possibly doing harm to that individual or that family." He added that by "handing out the flyers with doctors' photos on it, it was an indication to us that they were actually singling those doctors out within that residential neighborhood." [NPR, [11/8/10](#); CBS News, [11/9/10](#)]

## TIES TO FAKE HEALTH CENTERS

**Ms. Magazine: Clinic Protesters Are The “Unofficial Foot Soldiers” Of The Fake Health Center Movement.** In a story about Scott Roeder, the anti-choice terrorist who murdered abortion doctor George Tiller in 2009, Ms. Magazine noted that Roeder’s “violent vigilantism...bared the troubling intersection of some of these seemingly innocuous centers with a number of the anti-abortion movement’s most notorious members.” Protesters outside of abortion clinics often refer women to nearby fake health centers or bring them there. [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#); Broadly, [5/20/17](#)]

**Protesters Often Spend Time At Fake Health Centers And Use Their Premises For Demonstrations.** Abortion provider LeRoy Carhart and his wife and colleague Mary Carhart noticed the “connection between [fake health centers] and anti-abortion protesters – something they’ve believed for years as they’ve watched their chief antagonists go in and out of the [center], sometimes through the backdoor. Many routinely park their cars at A Woman’s Touch and seem to use it as base camp for demonstrations.” In Wichita, Carhart “noticed that those participating in demonstrations went in and out of the Wichita [fake health center] next door to Dr. Tiller’s clinic. ‘In fact, [protesters] would stand on the porch of [the center] and use a megaphone to yell at patients over the fence,’ he says. ‘And when we worked in Ohio, the protesters we had in Dayton bought the old gas station next to the clinic and converted it into a [fake health center]. It’s just an extension of their ways to try to deny women access to the services that are available.’” Rescue the Heartland founder Larry Donlan referred to a fake health center “in terms of ‘we,’ ‘us’ and ‘our,’” Ms. Magazine reported. Though he denied any official affiliation between the groups, he admitted he would bring women to the fake health center: “I’m one of those people who will talk to a gal, and if I can bring her over here [to the center], ... I’ll do that, but that’s as far as my affiliation goes.” [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#)]

**Operation Rescue Encouraged People To Volunteer At Fake Health Centers And To Participate In Protests And Clinic Blockades In Order To “Stop Abortion.”** Ms. Magazine wrote, “The zealous anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, which doggedly pursued Dr. Tiller, has long urged its supporters to get involved with [fake health centers] and sidewalk counseling. In its 1990s guide ‘How to Stop Abortion in Your Community,’ Operation Rescue of California (which later moved to Wichita and changed its name to simply Operation Rescue) recommended volunteering at the local [fake health center] and sidewalk counseling ‘right at the doors of the abortion mill’ – along with picketing at abortion doctors’ homes, filing lawsuits and conducting clinic blockades (called ‘rescues’ in anti-abortion parlance). The latter, they wrote, ‘helps buy time’ for the [protesters].” [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#)]

**Protesters Opened A Fake Health Center Across The Street From A Maryland Abortion Clinic And Later Bought The Clinic.** The group behind these activities, Maryland Coalition for Life, planned to purchase Germantown Reproductive Health Services after it closed in 2017. [The Washington Post, [8/25/17](#)]

**Cheryl Sullenger, Operation Rescue's Senior Policy Director, Started At A Fake Health Center Before Serving Two Years In Prison For Trying To Blow Up An Abortion Clinic.**

Sullenger told people at an Operation Rescue training in August 2009 about how working at a fake health center led her to protest at abortion clinics: "Very soon I realized that there were so many women that fell through the [fake health center] safety net and never approached those places; they went straight to the abortion clinics. And I thought, 'Who is gonna go to the abortion clinic to help them?'" [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#)]

**Scott Roeder Planned His Murder Of Abortion Provider Dr. George Tiller While Protesting Outside Of Tiller's Clinic And Directing Women To Fake Health Centers.**

As a protester, Scott Roeder talked to women on their way to the abortion clinic and tried to convince them to go to the fake health center next door, Choices Medical Clinic, instead. Roeder said it was a "success" if he could redirect a woman to the center. [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#)]

**Violent Abortion Extremists Founded Fake Health Centers.** Michael Bray co-founded the Bowie Crofton Pregnancy Clinic in 1982 in Bowie, Maryland. He is "a convicted abortion-clinic bomber and author of the 'justifiable homicide' tome A Time to Kill" and "'lifetime chaplain' of the extremist group Army of God, whose adherents have been responsible for the murders of abortion doctors and for clinic bombings, including a fatal 1998 bombing in Birmingham, Ala." James Kopp founded a fake health center in California. He is "the convicted murderer of abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian in 1998," as well as "the prime suspect in the attempted murders of four other doctors in Canada and New York." Kopp is affiliated with Operation Rescue, the Lambs of Christ and likely the Army of God. "Stalwart anti-abortion protester Liz Miller" founded a fake health center in Bellevue, Nebraska. [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#)]

**Violent Abortion Extremists Had Personal Connections To Fake Health Center Owners.**

Ms. Magazine wrote that Christine Wilson, who ran the fake health center Gabriel's Corner in Iowa, "draws no lines" between anti-choice protesters and fake health centers, noting that the centers "exist as a resource to bolster the effectiveness of the counselors, who can intercept abortion-bound women and then take them across the street to close the sale." Her brother, Chet Gallagher, has been arrested many times for trespassing and blockading abortion clinics and helped fundraise for Gabriel's Corner. Eugene Frye, the former owner of Your Choice Pregnancy Resource Center, the fake health center across from the abortion clinic where Scott Roeder first began protesting, was "one of Roeder's most frequent visitors in prison." Frye said Roeder "used to come over here with us. He was here two weeks before he shot Dr. Tiller." [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#)]

**Operation Rescue Coordinated A Publicity Story About Clinic Protests And Fake Health Centers With Fake Clinic A Woman's Touch Pregnancy Counseling Center.**

Ms. Magazine wrote, "In August 2009, Operation Rescue and Nebraska anti-choice group Rescue the Heartland staged a well-publicized 'Keep It Closed' demonstration at Carhart's Abortion and Contraception Clinic of Nebraska (ACCON) to protest Carhart's plans to keep Tiller's clinic open. The neighboring [fake health center], A Woman's Touch Pregnancy Counseling Center, played a leading role in an Operation Rescue salvation story that has reached the level of anti-abortion mythology. In the story, which I heard five versions of between Kansas City and Bellevue, a woman coming for her abortion appointment at Carhart's clinic was

frightened off by clinic defenders shouting her name through a bullhorn. She was gently diverted by [protesters] to the [fake health center], where she viewed an ultrasound picture and fell in love with her unborn child. (Free ultrasounds are one of [fake health centers'] main lures these days.) The woman then requested that dozens of copies of the ultrasound be printed and distributed to the media and pro-choice clinic defenders. When Operation Rescue president Troy Newman waved the photos, pro-choicers shrunk from the picture like vampires from a cross, claimed Rescue the Heartland founder Larry Donlan. In some versions of the story, the woman has twins. 'It was a total set up,' says Mary Carhart, Dr. Carhart's wife and colleague, of the tale. She says the woman didn't even have an appointment at the abortion clinic that day, and clinic defenders weren't carrying bullhorns. Reporters on the scene also expressed skepticism at the tale when they were denied an interview with the woman, or even her name." [Ms. Magazine, [Fall 2010](#)]

## CASE STUDY

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# At One North Carolina Clinic, A Constant Barrage Of Protesters Seeks To Block Women From Accessing Abortion

**A Preferred Women's Health Center Is North Carolina's Busiest Abortion Clinic And Has Been Targeted By Aggressive Anti-Choice Protesters.** The protests outside A Preferred Women's Health Center (APWHC) are "among the most intense in the country," Cosmopolitan reported. And according to Rewire, "Over the last year, Calla Hales, the director of APWHC, has seen the number of abortion opponents increase day by day, as Rewire documented in its film 'Care in Chaos.' According to Hales, as of the beginning of November, the clinic had already seen 12,000 protesters this year – with at least two events drawing more than 1,000 protesters each." 2017 culminated with particularly aggressive protests. Local anti-choice group Love Life Charlotte (LLC) spent 39 weeks organizing weekly protests outside the clinic; on week 40, LLC claimed, nearly 4,000 protesters attended. [Rewire, [12/2/17](#); Cosmopolitan, [6/26/17](#)]

**The Protesters Intimidate Patients With Slurs And Slander Doctors.** APWHC's office manager told Cosmopolitan that patients frequently report that protesters target them with slurs. "We see it a lot on patients' surveys, about how mad the protesters are, about how they yell slurs. ... We just had a patient get called a 'filthy whore.' The protesters say things about doctors too and that gets the patients scared." Creative Loafing Charlotte described a scene in which a protester "continued yelling at an APWHC patient even as the patient broke down crying and fell to her knees in the parking lot. The police stood nearby and watched passively." [Creative Loafing Charlotte, [8/23/17](#); Cosmopolitan, [6/26/17](#)]

**They Use Loudspeakers To Berate Women And Disrupt Appointments.** Rewire reports, "Up to six days a week, a coalition of activists from various anti-choice groups including Cities4Life and Operation Save America obtain an amplified sound permit from the city. They then use a powerful public address system to yell at patients and blast the clinic with sermons and gospel music that are audible throughout the building, creating a siege-like atmosphere inside the clinic and a circus-like atmosphere outside." [Rewire, [8/16/17](#)]

**They Shout Threats On The Street.** Hales says, "I've even seen a man pace the sidewalk with rope while screaming about sinners hanging like strange fruit. ... A friend compared it once to constantly feeling like you're under siege – I'm finding that comparison to be scarily accurate." [HuffPost, [12/4/16](#)]

**They Use Guns To Intimidate Patients, Workers And Volunteers.** According to Rewire, one protester brandished a gun to deliberately intimidate clinic volunteers: "In an incident last fall, an anti-abortion protester made sure APWHC clinic escorts saw he carried a holstered gun though he did not pull it out; North Carolina allows licensed people to carry concealed weapons, but not the brandishing of those weapons. He fled from clinic security when

confronted, only to circle the block slowly in his vehicle and park across the street.” [Rewire, [8/16/17](#)]

**They Stop Cars And Attempt To Turn Patients Away From The Clinic Entrance.** Using force, threatening force or creating physical barriers to block people from accessing reproductive health care is illegal, but it hasn’t stopped the protesters from attempting to block the street outside the clinic. According to Hales, “They’re in the street, they’re stopping cars, they’re saying hostile and inappropriate things on the loudspeakers.” [Rewire, [8/16/17](#); Cosmopolitan, [6/26/17](#)]

**They Lure Patients To An Unsecured Wi-Fi Network And Gather Personal Information.** An open-access Wi-Fi network named “Abortion Info” is accessible at the clinic’s premises, though it is not run by the clinic. Hales says the network’s login page is designed to mimic the clinic’s logo and design, and patients often assume it is run by the clinic. The network requires users to watch “a series of anti-abortion propaganda videos” to log in and appears to be collecting their personal contact information. According to Rewire, “Some who have logged onto the network reported to clinic staff that they later received calls, emails, and social media messages from people asking them if they need ‘guidance for abortion care.’” Hales suspects the network is run from one of the RVs that anti-choice protesters routinely park outside the clinic. [Rewire, [8/16/17](#)]

**They Have Launched Cyberattacks Against The Clinic.** Rewire reported that the clinic’s network firewalls failed in March after being targeted by “delay-of-service” cyberattacks, which overwhelm networks by “flooding a system with thousands of false requests” and have been used in the recent wave of ransomware attacks against health care organizations. According to Rewire, “The delay-of-service attacks crashed APWHC’s phone and internet service and cost thousands of dollars in repairs.” Hales says the clinic updated its firewall after the attack and has since blocked 10 similar hacking attempts. [Rewire, [8/16/17](#)]

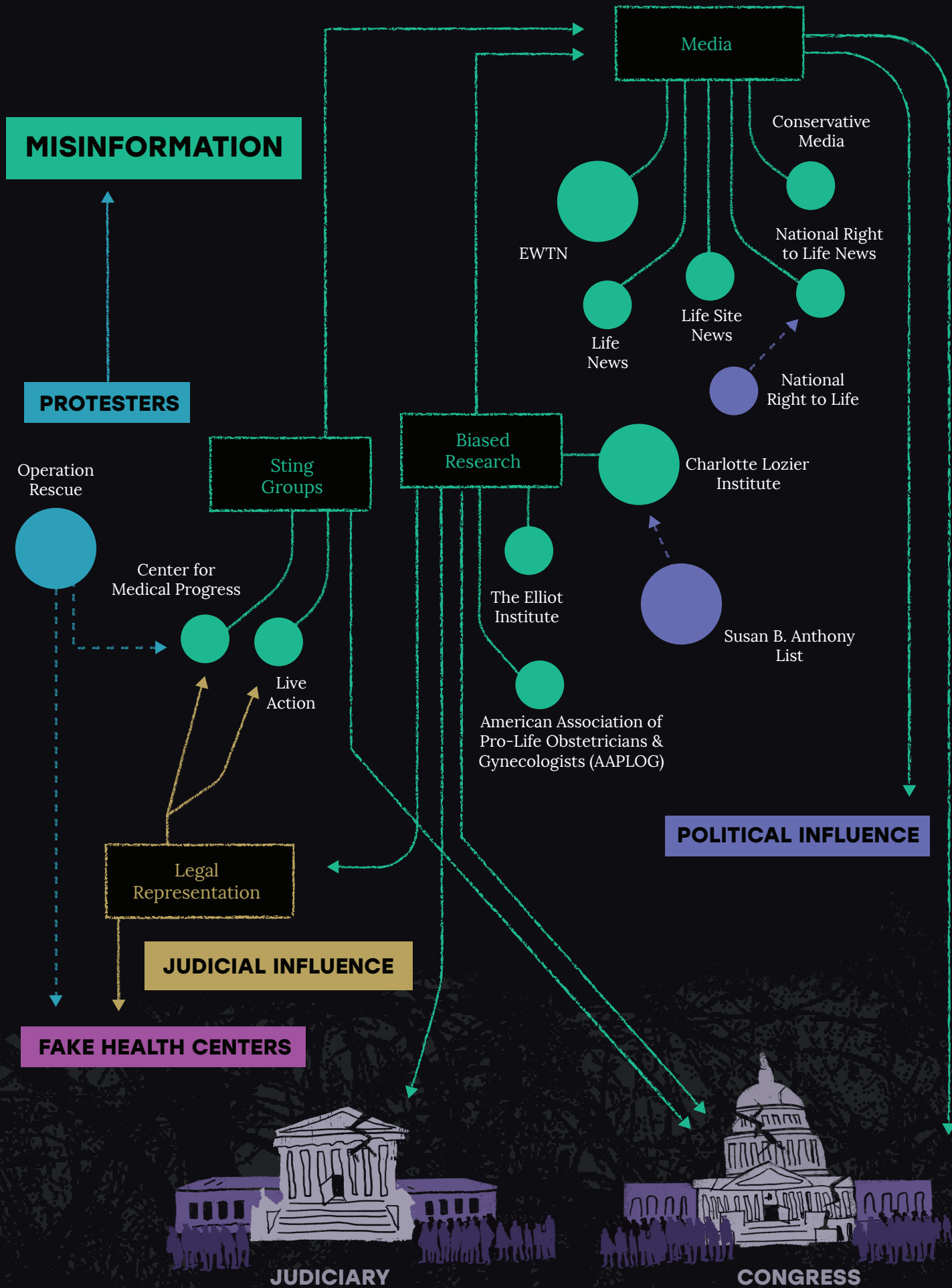
**They Publicized The Clinic Director’s Home Address.** Clinic director Calla Hales moved to Charlotte after she was sexually assaulted by an anti-choice protester in Raleigh. After her move, Hales’ new address was posted online by protesters. Hales says she worries protesters may harm her pets and “changes her appearance (sweats one day, a dress another; contacts one day, glasses another), so she is not easily recognizable.” [Cosmopolitan, [6/26/17](#)]

**They Issued A Death Threat Against Clinic Director Calla Hales.** At a protest on May 21, 2017, Operation Save America regional director Ante Pavkovic told Hales “she wouldn’t be alive” by the time they shut her clinic down. Pavkovic’s organization is an offshoot of radical anti-choice group Operation Rescue, which has been linked to the murders of clinic workers in the past. Hales says the threat left her “terrified,” but though she filed a police report, no action was taken. A week later, police removed Pavkovic from a protest for an unrelated infraction, but he returned to harassing patients the next week. [Anti-Defamation League, [3/25/11](#); HuffPost, [6/12/17](#)]

**They Perpetuate A Culture Of Violence.** In other places, anti-choice activists have inspired like-minded individuals to murder clinic staff or commit acts of domestic terrorism against clinics. Charlotte’s protesters may be having a similar effect. Creative Loafing Charlotte reports, “On Aug. 8, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Charlotte notified police that someone had left a voicemail at its charity offices seeking guidance ‘after having thoughts of doing physical harm to an abortionist.’” [Anti-Defamation League, [3/25/11](#); Creative Loafing Charlotte, [8/23/17](#)]

*For more on the protests at APWHC, see the earlier section, [Fake Health Centers Work With Anti-Choice Protesters To Trick Women Into Missing Their Appointments At Legitimate Clinics And Delay Their Procedures](#).*





# MISINFORMATION

4

The anti-choice movement has recognized that research plays a critical role in framing the national conversation about abortion and has thus invested heavily in giving pseudoscience and other intentionally misleading content the veneer of respectability.

Anti-choice groups fund their own research organizations to create content to support their agenda. Because 7 in 10 Americans support access to abortion, the anti-choice movement has had to create its own set of "statistics" to fuel its narrative. For example, Susan B. Anthony (SBA) List has its own research arm, the Charlotte Lozier Institute, which publishes "research" that anti-choice leaders and politicians can cite, giving their biased, anti-choice ideas an air of credibility. Charlotte Lozier Institute experts and scholars also testify in legislatures, helping to promote and legitimize anti-choice policies and ideas.

Anti-choice "sting" groups work to undermine legitimate clinics and pro-choice groups by producing misleading videos and other forms of misinformation. In 2015, The Center for Medical Progress released heavily edited videos, which it claimed proved that Planned Parenthood had profited from the sale of fetal tissues derived from abortions. Though these videos have been widely debunked, anti-choice politicians and groups frequently cite them to support their attempts to defund Planned Parenthood.

The anti-choice movement promotes its agenda through the media. Some websites, such as LifeNews.com and LifeSiteNews.com, are entirely devoted to covering abortion and other relevant anti-choice issues. These organizations use their authority as "news" sources to spread factually incorrect and intentionally-misleading information about abortion and to promote anti-choice groups and their agenda.

Anti-choice groups also operate their own "news" outlets. National Right to Life sends daily and monthly National Right to Life News reports, and Live Action runs Live Action News. SBA List sponsors a show, "EWTN Pro-Life Weekly," on Eternal Word Television Network (EWTN), which serves as a platform for SBA List staffers and allies to promote the organization's priorities. "EWTN Pro-Life Weekly" frequently features interviews with anti-choice elected officials and other members of the government, demonstrating its influence and integration into the movement.

The anti-choice movement has deep ties to the broader right-wing media. Many right-wing media outlets, such as Fox News, promote anti-choice narratives, giving them a significantly wider reach and a broader audience.

# ANTI-CHOICE RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS

## Charlotte Lozier Institute

**The Charlotte Lozier Institute (CLI) Is The Research Arm Of The Susan B. Anthony List.** SBA List is “an organization dedicated to electing candidates and pursuing policies that will reduce and ultimately end abortion.” CLI’s president is Charles “Chuck” Donovan, who has previously worked at The Heritage Foundation, Family Research Council and National Right to Life. [Des Moines Register, [1/14/16](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute, accessed [12/14/17](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute, accessed [11/6/17](#)]

**The Charlotte Lozier Institute Wants To Eliminate Abortion Entirely.** From CLI’s website: “We desire and seek that the benefits of modern medicine and the wealth of nations be put to the service of human life and that the scourges of abortion, physical disease, euthanasia and human exploitation will be diminished and ultimately overcome.” [Charlotte Lozier Institute, accessed [12/14/17](#)]

**Despite Claiming A Commitment To “Science,” CLI Spends More Time Pushing Anti-Choice Opinion Pieces Than Citing Real Data.** As Rewire observed, “Though it masquerades as a research institute, the Charlotte Lozier Institute has so far produced little in the way of original research and data-gathering and has instead published more commentaries and analysis of others’ research that support its agenda on abortion and end-of-life issues.” [Charlotte Lozier Institute, accessed [12/15/17](#); Rewire, [11/13/14](#)]

**Charlotte Lozier Institute’s Rare Attempts To Cite “Research” Have Been Plagued By Methodological Errors Or Revealed To Be Fabrications.** As a Rewire investigation found, CLI and other anti-choice research groups rely on a relatively small set of “experts” who systematically promote “unproven or discredited theories” or “have been publicly discredited in episodes ranging from lying to the public, presenting false data in scientific journals, and being forced to retract articles that proved to be works of fiction presented as fact.” [Rewire, [11/13/14](#)]

**A Charlotte Lozier Institute Associate Scholar Was Caught Fabricating Statistics In An Attempt To Discredit An Abortion-Related Study.** Jacqueline C. Harvey, an associate scholar at CLI, attempted to discredit a study that showed how far women had to travel to access abortion services. Harvey’s critique, however, was full of errors, and when the errors were called out, she admitted she hadn’t read the entire study “and had actually speculated on how the researchers likely conducted their research.” Once she was given a copy of the full study for free, her errors persisted, and it was revealed that she was confusing medians and averages. Her critique was ultimately scrubbed from its original host, but copies remain. [Rewire, accessed [1/30/16](#)]

**Research By A Charlotte Lozier Scholar “Contained Critical Data, Measurement, Methodological And Estimation Errors.”** Michael J. New serves as an adjunct scholar

at CLI. As Rewire reported, New is best known for his claim that state-level anti-choice laws “result in statistically significant declines in both the abortion rate and the abortion ratio.” He has testified before Congress in favor of such laws. However, New’s analysis has been examined by scholars at California State University, Long Beach, who found that it “contained critical data, measurement, methodological and estimation errors.” New himself acknowledged some of the deficiencies of his work. As Rewire noted, “Overwhelming evidence shows that abortion remains widespread regardless of whether it is illegal or highly restricted, but that women in those jurisdictions suffer more complications and higher rates of death, accounting for millions of injuries and tens of thousands of avoidable deaths each year.” [Rewire, accessed [12/14/17](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute, [11/16/17](#)]

**The Group Spends Its Research Dollars Analyzing Marketing Techniques To Redirect More Women To Fake Health Centers.** According to Rewire, “Charlotte Lozier also reported spending more than \$46,000 collecting data on abortion and on collecting state and county-level data ‘to evaluate the effectiveness of marketing and other communications strategies to increase patient traffic to care centers,’ referring to so-called [fake health centers] designed to dissuade women from having abortions.” [Rewire, [11/13/14](#)]

## Other Groups

**WECARE Is An Anti-Choice Misinformation Group Founded By Discredited Researcher Priscilla K. Coleman.** As Rewire reported, Coleman has “dedicated her career to establishing a causal relationship between abortion and mental illness” – despite the fact her claims were “thoroughly and embarrassingly debunked” in 2009. Coleman’s signature piece of research is a discredited article she co-authored with Martha W. Shuping and Vincent M. Rue for the Journal of Psychiatric Research. The article claimed that abortion increases women’s risk of mental health disorders. According to Rewire, “Other researchers quickly pounced on major problems with Coleman’s article, and even Alan F. Schatzberg, a Stanford University psychiatry professor who edits the journal, along with Harvard Medical School professor Ronald C. Kessler, determined that Coleman’s analysis did not support her ‘assertions that abortion led to psychopathology in the [National Comorbidity Survey] data.’” Nevertheless, Coleman continued to promote the claim that abortion leads to mental health issues and founded WECARE in 2011 to amplify her arguments. The group works to give Coleman and other anti-choice activists a broader platform, helping them testify in the courts or during legislative hearings. [Rewire, [11/13/14](#); WECARE, accessed [12/15/17](#)]

**WECARE Works With A Number Of Discredited Or Dubiously Qualified Anti-Choice Researchers.** Rewire: “WECARE affiliates include: Dr. Byron C. Calhoun, who has lied about the rates of abortion-related injuries in West Virginia; Dr. Elard S. Koch, whose attempts to disprove well-established links between lack of access to safe abortion care and higher rates of maternal death and illness have been challenged by a federal judge; Dr. Monique Chireau, an assistant professor of obstetrics-gynecology at Duke University, who promotes abstinence-only sex education; Dr. Martha Shuping, who has co-authored discredited research with Priscilla Coleman; and Dr. Angela Lanfranchi,

who promotes the unfounded theory that abortion causes breast cancer.” [Rewire, [11/13/14](#); WECARE, accessed [12/15/17](#)]

**The American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists (AAPLOG) Is A Group Of Anti-Choice Obstetricians And Gynecologists That Promotes Misinformation About Abortion.** The organization was founded in 1972 and has just 2,500 members – compared with the 57,000 obstetricians and gynecologists who make up the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG). In its mission statement, AAPLOG argues that “elective disruption/abortion of human life at any time from fertilization onward constitutes the willful destruction of an innocent human being.” AAPLOG is known for pushing false claims that Plan B emergency contraception causes abortion (though the medical community has overwhelmingly disproven that myth), that abortion is more dangerous than childbirth (despite research showing the risk of death from childbirth is 14 times higher than from abortion) and that abortion may cause breast cancer (a claim repeatedly debunked by both ACOG and the National Cancer Institute). These are just some of the myths AAPLOG has been criticized for promoting. [Rewire, [11/13/14](#); Ms. Magazine, [5/11/15](#)]

**Anti-Choice AAPLOG Has Used ACOG’s Name To Legitimize Its Work – Even Though ACOG Denies Any Association And Has Repeatedly Debunked Its Misinformation.** According to Ms. Magazine, “The anti-choice group repeatedly uses ACOG’s name throughout its literature to bolster its legitimacy. Right in the first line of its About Us section, it’s proud to say that AAPLOG held the designation of ‘special interest group’ under ACOG for 40 years. ... When we reached out to ACOG about this ‘special interest group’ designation and the meaning behind it, a representative from the group told us that the title does not mean AAPLOG was ever a division under ACOG – as the deceptive wording on AAPLOG’s website would lead one to believe – but only that the group was allowed to use some of ACOG’s conference space for their own events. ACOG discontinued the ‘special interest group’ designation in 2013 to avoid this kind of confusion.” [Ms. Magazine, [5/11/15](#)]

**The Elliot Institute Is A “Research” Group Led By “Longtime Anti-Abortion Activist” David C. Reardon.** Reardon founded the group in 1988 and has since been the primary purveyor of the myth that abortion causes long-term mental health issues. These claims have been widely discredited. An extensive medical review by the American Psychological Association found no evidence for this claim, and a deep analysis of Reardon’s work published by The Washington Post identified significant “logical flaws” in his analysis. According to Rewire, Reardon received his doctorate from Pacific Western University (Hawaii), a school that was “shut down in 2006 following federal and state investigations into whether the school was essentially a diploma mill.” [The Washington Post, [11/7/10](#); Rewire, accessed [12/15/17](#); Rewire, accessed [12/15/17](#)]

**Rewire: “[Fake Health Centers] Frequently Use Research Crafted By Reardon And His Colleagues.”** [Rewire, accessed [12/15/17](#)]

**Reardon’s Misinformation Has Filtered Into Mainstream Media And The Supreme Court, And Has Influenced Legislation.** His debunked claims helped lead to the passage of multiple anti-choice laws in South Dakota and were referenced by Justice



Anthony Kennedy in his 2007 opinion in *Gonzales v. Carhart*. [Rewire, accessed [12/15/17](#); Rewire, accessed [12/15/17](#)]

**Anti-Choice Group Reproductive Research Audit (RRA) Promotes The Same Discredited “Experts” As The Charlotte Lozier Institute.** As Rewire reported, RRA is another group that produces and promotes anti-choice misinformation. RRA was founded in 2010 and is tied to the Center for Morality in Public Life, which says it works “to integrate good ethics with daily living.” According to Rewire, “Two of RRA’s regular contributors are [Jacqueline] Harvey and [Michael] New, who are also affiliated with the Charlotte Lozier Institute.” [Rewire, [11/13/14](#)]

**Abortion Pill Reversal Is A Program Run By “Abortion Reversal” Creators George Delgado and Matthew Harrison To Spread Misinformation About This Unscientific Procedure.** Abortion Pill Reversal is a program out of the Culture of Life Family Services, which also operates a fake health center and a family medical practice in San Diego. Delgado is the medical director of Culture of Life Family Services, Harrison is the associate medical director, and Mary Davenport, co-author with Delgado of the original study on the progesterone procedure, is the research director. In 2012, Delgado created a website and a hotline “for women to call for information about reversal.” Seventeen nurses operate the hotline, connecting patients with one of over 300 local doctors who perform “abortion reversals” or calling nearby doctors to convince one to perform the procedure. Delgado’s abortion reversal hotline received 600 calls in 2016. APR also provides resources on “abortion reversal” to its networks of fake health centers. [Abortion Pill Reversal, accessed [12/15/17](#); The New York Times Magazine, [7/18/17](#)]

**Anti-Choice Doctors Created The Concept Of “Abortion Reversal” At The Request Of Fake Health Centers And Anti-Choice Protesters.** Proponents claim “abortion reversal” is possible by using progesterone to undo the effects of mifepristone, the first pill taken in a medication abortion. Matthew Harrison first used progesterone to attempt to reverse an abortion in 2006 after receiving a request from a fake health center. George Delgado, “the most prominent name” behind the procedure, first tried using progesterone for a “reversal” in 2009 after receiving a request from “an anti-abortion ministry focused on counseling women outside abortion clinics.” In 2012, Delgado and Mary Davenport published an article in the *Annals of Pharmacotherapy* that claimed to back the process of using progesterone to undo an abortion. The article was four pages long and described the results of only six women who received the progesterone treatment. ThinkProgress reported that the article was “immediately critiqued by the medical community.” The New York Times Magazine reported, “For all of reversal’s anecdotal power, however, the science itself is still disputed. While Delgado claims that flooding a woman’s body with progesterone saves the fetus, other doctors say that in many cases the fetus would have survived if the woman simply declined to take the second pill, misoprostol, after the initial dose of mifepristone. The American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists issued a strongly worded statement against reversal in 2015 that said the fetus would survive 30 to 50 percent of the time.” [The New York Times Magazine, [7/18/17](#); ThinkProgress, [7/14/15](#)]



# ANTI-CHOICE STING GROUPS

## Live Action

**Live Action Has A Long History Of Producing Deceptively Edited Videos Targeting Abortion Providers In Pursuit Of Its Goal Of “Ending Abortion.”** ThinkProgress wrote that Live Action “has become infamous for conducting undercover ‘stings’ designed to discredit Planned Parenthood. Live Action typically releases videos that have been heavily edited to cast abortion providers in an unflattering light; however, upon further scrutiny, their claims that Planned Parenthood is breaking the law don’t hold up.” Live Action’s video campaigns include videos released in January 2017 showing Live Action members calling and visiting Planned Parenthood clinics to show that they do not all offer prenatal care. Planned Parenthood responded by saying it had never claimed all of its clinics offered prenatal care and that the videos “were obviously part of a continued campaign to try to discredit us even though investigation after investigation found no wrongdoing in any of our health centers.” Live Action released heavily edited videos in 2012 purporting to show Planned Parenthood staffers supporting sex-selective abortion, and in 2011 of actors posing as a pimp and a prostitute seeking services from Planned Parenthood. Live Action has also claimed “Planned Parenthood employees cover up sex trafficking, lie about providing mammograms, and profit off of abortions – allegations that cannot be backed up with evidence,” according to ThinkProgress. [ThinkProgress, [7/21/15](#); Media Matters for America, [4/24/12](#); HuffPost, [1/26/17](#); Los Angeles Times, [4/26/09](#); HuffPost, [6/1/12](#)]

**Live Action Founder Lila Rose Started Conducting “Undercover ‘Stings’ At Planned Parenthood Clinics” In 2006 Along With Anti-Choice Activist James O’Keefe.** The Los Angeles Times reported of Rose, “In fall 2006, when she was a UCLA freshman, she and fellow conservative activist James O’Keefe came up with the idea to infiltrate clinics. ... O’Keefe, 24, said he and Rose have received criticism from some of their associates for using deception. ‘It’s a pretty complicated ethical issue,’ he said, ‘but we believe there is a genocide and nobody cares, and you can use these tactics and it’s justified.’ Rose and O’Keefe visited their first clinic – UCLA’s Arthur Ashe Student Health and Wellness Center – in 2006. They videotaped an employee telling them ‘some pretty bad things,’ said O’Keefe, including that the fetus is a collection of cells. ‘That’s what set us in motion.’ ‘The videos,’ O’Keefe added, ‘are not supposed to necessarily show people breaking laws. They are supposed to change hearts and minds.’” [Los Angeles Times, [4/26/09](#)]

**“The videos...are not supposed to necessarily show people breaking laws. They are supposed to change hearts and minds.”**

**James O’Keefe**

[Los Angeles Times, [4/26/09](#)]

**Rose Has Said She Was Inspired By Mark Crutcher, Who Made A Documentary Finding “Connections Among Slavery, Nazi-Style Eugenics, Birth Control And Abortion.”** Rose told a Los Angeles Times reporter that she was inspired by Crutcher’s tactics. The Los Angeles Times reported, “Rose, by e-mail, and O’Keefe, in a phone interview, said they were inspired by the work of Mark Crutcher, a Texas antiabortion activist who in 2002 taped fake calls to hundreds of Planned Parenthood clinics around the country featuring women posing as pregnant minors.” Crutcher’s organization is Life Dynamics, which advertises on its website the documentary “Maafa 21: Black Genocide in 21st Century America.” The trailer for the film begins with text saying, “The end of slavery was the beginning of their bondage.” For more on Life

Dynamics, see the Fake Health Centers section of this document. [Los Angeles Times, [4/26/09](#); Slate, [3/12/10](#); Life Dynamics, accessed [2/8/17](#); “Maafa 21” trailer, [7/1/09](#), via YouTube]

## The Center For Medical Progress

**The Center For Medical Progress (CMP) Was Founded By Anti-Choice Activist David Daleiden, Who Previously Worked For Discredited “Sting” Organization Live Action.** His group describes itself as “a group of citizen journalists dedicated to monitoring and reporting on medical ethics.” [Slate, [7/15/15](#); Center for Medical Progress, accessed [12/28/17](#)]

**Troy Newman Helped Daleiden Found The Center For Medical Progress And Sat On Its Board.** As The Washington Post reported, Daleiden turned to Newman for advice on targeting Planned Parenthood. “We will have to deeply embed ourselves – and by we, I mean you,” Newman advised. Newman helped found CMP and sat on the board alongside Daleiden and Albin Rhomberg, another anti-choice activist “who made headlines in the 1980s when he broke into the Los Angeles County coroner’s office to photograph aborted fetuses.” Daleiden also sought help from Mark Crutcher of Life Dynamics, who had previously targeted a Kansas Planned Parenthood clinic in an attempt to prove it was selling fetal tissue – claims later debunked by a congressional inquiry and separate “20/20” investigation. Crutcher advised Daleiden to create an elaborate cover story, saying, “You can’t just put on a lab coat and walk in the front door.” [The Washington Post, [10/14/15](#)]

**The Center For Medical Progress Sparked Political Debate And A Court Battle With Deceptively Edited “Sting” Videos Targeting Planned Parenthood.** As The New York Times explained in July 2015, The Center for Medical Progress misrepresented footage of a Planned Parenthood doctor discussing reimbursements for clinic expenses; CMP claimed the doctor was offering to sell fetal tissue. Despite immediately being debunked, the video sparked an ongoing battle in Congress to block Planned Parenthood from receiving government funding for nonabortion procedures. In response to the videos, House Republicans led the creation of the House Select Investigative Panel on Infant Lives to investigate Planned Parenthood. Charlotte Lozier Institute associate scholar Catherine Glenn Foster testified at one hearing, referring to “Big Abortion” and claiming there were “those in the abortion and tissue procurement industry who scheme to trade in baby body parts for their own financial enrichment.” Foster later became the president of American United for Life. [The New York Times, [7/15/15](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute, [4/20/16](#); Testimony of Catherine Glenn Foster, [4/20/16](#), via Charlotte Lozier Institute; Broadly, [5/31/16](#)]

**A Legal Injunction Blocked Distribution Of The Deceptively Edited Videos, And Daleiden Was Later Fined \$200,000 For Violating The Order.** Daleiden faced 15 felony charges in California for filming people without their consent and for criminal conspiracy to invade privacy. He and his attorneys were fined when the videos, then under injunction, were released on his attorneys’ website. [Glamour, [7/18/17](#); The Associated Press, [9/1/17](#)]

**The American Center For Law And Justice (ACLJ) Is Defending Daleiden.** Prominent anti-choice legal group ACLJ is part of the team defending CMP and Daleiden. [ACLJ, [7/31/15](#); Emergency Application for Stay to the Supreme Court, [12/4/15](#)]

# ANTI-CHOICE MEDIA

## EWTN Pro-Life Weekly

**Eternal Word Television Network “Airs Family And Religious Programming From A Catholic Point Of View” On Television And Online.** Founded in 1981, EWTN’s mission “is to bring the Eternal Word of Jesus Christ to all.” In addition to its broadcast programming, EWTN publishes news articles at EWTN News online and produces radio shows. [EWTN, accessed [12/8/17](#); Facebook, accessed [12/8/17](#); EWTN News, accessed [12/8/17](#)]

**Susan B. Anthony List Partnered With EWTN To Create The Show “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly” In January 2017.** EWTN: “Every week, Catherine Szeltner and a team of pro-life experts shine the light of truth on abortion, euthanasia, assisted suicide and the culture of death. EWTN Pro-Life Weekly. More than a show. A call to action.” According to the show’s end credits, “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly is made possible, in part, by a grant from the Susan B. Anthony List. A special thank you to Marjorie Dannenfelser and Mallory Quigley,” SBA List’s president and communications director, respectively. [Susan B. Anthony List, [1/17/17](#); “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” [7/14/17](#), via YouTube; EWTN, accessed [11/7/17](#)]

**“EWTN Pro-Life Weekly” Features Regular Interviews With Elected Officials Working To Promote Anti-Choice Policies, Followed By Interviews With SBA List Officials To Reinforce Their Narratives And Promote SBA List.** In September 2017, House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy discussed the House’s 20-week abortion ban on “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” stating he “would like to make [the ban] earlier.” Marjorie Dannenfelser appeared immediately after to reinforce McCarthy’s perspective and promote SBA List’s work on the ban. In November 2017, Rep. Martha Roby appeared to discuss how The Center for Medical Progress’ deceptively edited Planned Parenthood videos continued to influence her policy positions. The show then immediately brought on misinformation peddler Chuck Donovan, president of Charlotte Lozier Institute, to reinforce her views. Other elected and government officials appearing on “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly” in 2017 include Rep. Chris Smith in June, Sen. Thom Tillis in August, and Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton and Office of Refugee Resettlement Director Scott Lloyd, both in October. [“EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” [9/28/17](#), via YouTube; “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” [11/2/17](#), via YouTube; “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” [6/9/17](#), via YouTube; “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” [8/11/17](#), via YouTube; “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” [10/26/17](#), via YouTube; “EWTN Pro-Life Weekly,” [10/27/17](#), via YouTube]

## National Right To Life News

**National Right To Life Releases Its Own “News” Publications.** Some of NRTL’s publications include National Right to Life News Today, which it describes as “a daily source of in-depth news on the life issues from the trusted source on pro-life issues, National Right to Life,” and the monthly National Right to Life News, the “pro-life newspaper of record.” NRTL also publishes Choose Life, a “pro-life newspaper for the religious community,” every two months in English and Spanish as a “great resource for churches.” [National Right to Life News Today, accessed

[11/27/17](#); National Right to Life News Today, [11/22/17](#); National Right to Life, accessed [11/27/17](#)]

## Live Action News

**Live Action News “Is The Publishing Arm Of Live Action.”** Misinformation group Live Action publishes “news” stories online through Live Action News. Live Action News publishes pieces on current events and “human interest” stories relating to abortion, Planned Parenthood, politics and other “pro-life” issues, as well as “opinion” pieces. [Facebook, accessed [12/8/17](#); Live Action News, accessed [12/8/17](#)]

## LifeNews.com

**LifeNews.com Is A Website Dedicated To Covering “News That Affects The Pro-Life Community” And Provides Anti-Choice Groups A Platform To Promote Their Ideas.** LifeNews.com claims to be an “independent news agency” covering issues such as “assisted suicide and euthanasia, bioethics issues such as human cloning and stem cell research, campaigns and elections, and cultural legal and legislative issues.” Founded in 1992, LifeNews claims to reach 750,000 people weekly through its website, emails, social media and radio show. Steven Ertelt, founder and editor of LifeNews, is the president of Colorado Citizens for Life and on the board of directors for National Right to Life. Colorado Citizens for Life is the Colorado state affiliate of National Right to Life. According to Ertelt’s biography on LifeNews.com, he was previously president of Right to Life of Wyoming, executive director of Montana Right to Life, public affairs director of Indiana Right to Life and president of Students for Life. Many other LifeNews staff members also work for National Right to Life state affiliates. In December 2017, LifeNews promoted its “contributing bloggers” on its home page, including Students for Life President Kristan Hawkins, Susan B. Anthony List Communications Director Mallory Quigley and Human Coalition President Brian Fisher. [LifeNews.com, accessed [12/7/17](#)]

## LifeSiteNews.com

**LifeSiteNews.com Is A Website Aimed At Providing Its Readers Information On The “International Conflict” Threatening “Christian Morality And Natural Law Principles.”** LifeSiteNews.com was founded in 1997 by Campaign Life Coalition, a Canadian anti-choice group. LifeSiteNews states that its U.S. and Canadian branches are “now separate incorporated non-profit organizations, are not involved in direct political action and do not support or oppose political candidates or parties.” LifeSiteNews has five guiding principles, including that “LifeSiteNews.com emphasizes the social worth of traditional Judeo-Christian principles but is also respectful of all authentic religions and cultures that esteem life, family and universal norms of morality.” Other principles state, “LifeSiteNews.com’s writers and its founders, have come to understand that respect for life and family are endangered by an international conflict. That conflict is between radically opposed views of the worth and dignity of every human life and of family life and community. It has been caused by secularists attempting to eliminate Christian morality and natural law principles which are seen as the primary obstacles to implementing their new world order. LifeSiteNews.com understands that abortion, euthanasia,

cloning, homosexuality and all other moral, life and family issues are all interconnected in an international conflict affecting all nations, even at the most local levels. LifeSiteNews attempts to provide its readers with the big picture and the most useful and up-to-date information on this conflict.” [LifeSiteNews, accessed [12/7/17](#)]

**LifeSiteNews.com Also Operates A Site Called LifeFacts, Promoting False “Facts” About Abortion.** These “facts” include information about abortion “reversal,” the “abortion-breast cancer link” and “post-abortion syndrome.” [LifeSiteNews, accessed [12/7/17](#); LifeSiteNews, accessed [12/7/17](#); LifeSiteNews, accessed [12/7/17](#)]

## American Values

**American Values Is An Organization That Aggregates “Pro-Life News,” “Traditional Marriage News” And “Pro-Israel News.”** American Values describes itself as “committed to defending life, traditional marriage” and the “vision of the founding fathers.” American Values also publishes an “End of Day” report of news from its founder, Gary Bauer. Right Wing Watch called Bauer a “zealot” and outlined Bauer’s anti-gay bigotry in the Reagan White House, where he served as undersecretary of education and chief domestic policy adviser. The Southern Poverty Law Center identified Bauer as one of the “anti-LGBT activists” speaking at the 2012 Values Voter Summit. Bauer has served as president of Family Research Council and senior vice president of Focus on the Family and now runs the Campaign for Working Families political action committee. When Bauer ran in the Republican presidential primary in 2000, he “made the importance of the Supreme Court the centerpiece of his run.” American Values is an anti-choice organization. In one daily report, American Values stated that through abortion, “we are committing a 9/11 almost every day.” [Southern Poverty Law Center, [9/12/12](#); Right Wing Watch, [11/25/14](#); American Values, accessed [2/6/17](#); American Values, accessed [2/8/17](#); American Values, [12/15/16](#); American Values, [7/8/16](#)]

## Anti-Choice News Outlets Have Broad Reach

**Anti-Choice “News” Sites Have A Wide Reach On Facebook.** According to an opinion piece by Rossalyn Warren in The New York Times: “LifeNews, which has just under one million followers on Facebook, is one of several large anti-abortion sites that can command hundreds of thousands of views on a single post. These sites produce vast amounts of misinformation; the Facebook page for the organization Live Action, for instance, has two million Facebook followers and posts videos claiming there’s a correlation between abortion and breast cancer. And their stories often generate more engagement than the content produced by mainstream news organizations, said Sharon Kann, the program director for abortion rights and reproductive health at Media Matters, a watchdog group. People on Facebook engage with anti-abortion content more than abortion-rights content at a ‘disproportionate rate,’ she said, which, as a result of the company’s algorithms, means more people see it.” [The New York Times, [11/10/17](#)]



## Other Right-Wing Media

**Fox News Promotes Anti-Choice Arguments And Misinformation To A Broader Base.** Media Matters for America found that “misinformation about [The Center for Medical Progress] was almost entirely spread by Fox News,” as Fox News aired all but one of the statements made about CMP on cable news from March 2016 to March 2017 “and 90 percent of them were inaccurate.” Media Matters also reported on Fox News host Tucker Carlson “hosting anti-abortion extremists and giving them a platform to cry ‘censorship’ while simultaneously spreading misinformation about abortion.” For example, Live Action’s Lila Rose appeared on Carlson’s show to argue that Twitter censored Live Action ads. Media Matters also noted that Fox News ran an inaccurate segment about the Supreme Court taking up the NIFLA case, which “demonstrates that right-wing media are already gearing up to push misinformation about the case and support [fake health centers] efforts to block abortion access.” [Media Matters, [4/18/17](#); Media Matters, [7/10/17](#); Media Matters, [11/20/17](#)]

**Conservative And Right-Wing News Outlets Often Feature Anti-Choice Figures.** Judicial Crisis Network’s Carrie Severino frequently writes for National Review, including a regular “Judicial Nominations Update” column. The Heritage Foundation created The Daily Signal, a right-wing news site that frequently features anti-choice stories and pieces by anti-choice figures. According to its website, The Daily Signal “is supported by the resources and intellectual firepower of the Heritage Foundation.” In fall 2017, The Daily Signal published many pieces by anti-choice leaders, including one by National Institute of Family and Life Advocates (NIFLA) President Thomas Glessner and attorney Anne O’Connor about the NIFLA Supreme Court case, another by Susan B. Anthony List Vice President of Public Policy Billy Valentine and Charlotte Lozier Institute President Chuck Donovan about Scott Lloyd, and another by Marjorie Dannenfelser about Planned Parenthood. [National Review, [11/10/17](#); National Review, [10/10/17](#); The Daily Signal, [11/27/17](#); The Daily Signal, [10/29/17](#); The Daily Signal, [10/25/17](#); The Daily Signal, [11/27/17](#); The Daily Signal, accessed [12/8/17](#)]

**Council For National Policy Is Tied To Conservative Media Figures.** As discussed above in the Political Influence section, many right-wing media figures are members of CNP. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “The directory includes officials from 14 different conservative media outlets, including the opinion editor for The Washington Times; the publisher of the Daily Caller website; the editor-in-chief of CNSNews.com; and Thomas Lifson, editor and publisher of American Thinker.” [Southern Poverty Law Center, [5/17/16](#)]



## MISINFORMATION

Biased  
Research

Charlotte Lozier  
Institute

Media

National Right  
to Life News

National  
Right to Life

Concerned Women  
for America

Faith & Freedom  
Coalition

Family Research  
Council

## PROTESTERS

Students  
for Life

Susan B. Anthony  
List

## POLITICAL INFLUENCE

AUL

Teresa Manning

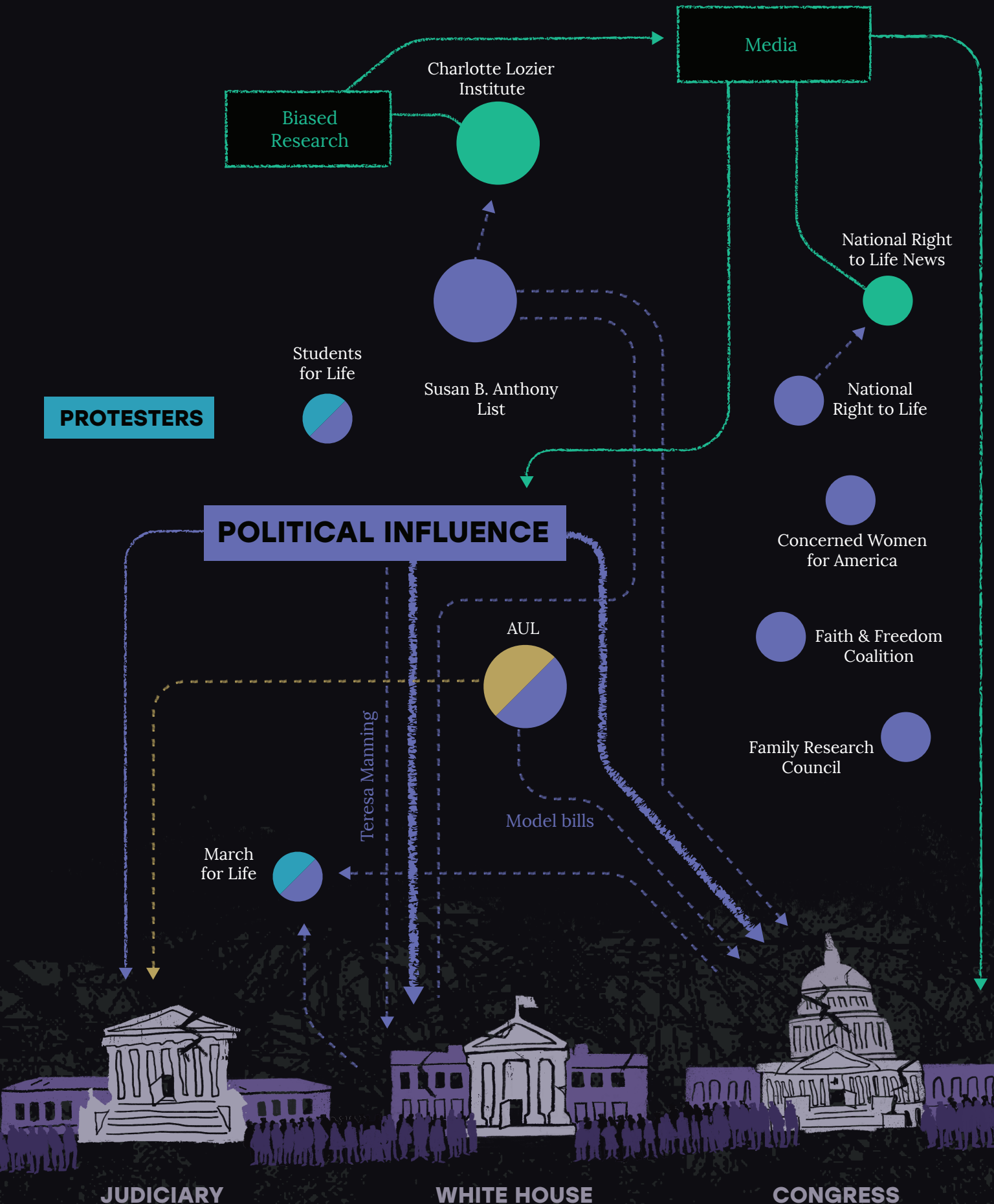
Model bills

March  
for Life

JUDICIARY

WHITE HOUSE

CONGRESS



# POLITICAL INFLUENCE

5

Anti-choice political groups are gaining influence through funding elections, lobbying for legislation, setting priorities and making decisions that influence the entire GOP — positioning themselves to push more dangerous anti-choice legislation.

Susan B. Anthony List is the leading anti-choice group in electoral activity. Founded to counter EMILY's List, SBA List supports anti-choice candidates for office and promotes anti-choice legislation, all with the goal to "ultimately end abortion." SBA List and its political action committee, Women Speak Out, spent at least \$2 million on election activities during the 2016 cycle and plan to spend \$12 million in 2018. The group also works with anti-choice elected officials to promote legislation designed to limit abortion.

In addition to campaign support, anti-choice politicians receive grassroots support from organized activists on the ground. Groups such as Students for Life, March for Life and Concerned Women for America focus on organizing anti-choice activists in different arenas. Students for Life organizes anti-choice groups at schools, and March for Life hosts an annual protest in Washington, D.C., bringing together groups and activists across the movement to call for anti-choice policies.

Restricting and eliminating abortion is a priority issue for many of the conservative movement's most influential leaders, and they have partnered closely with key anti-choice activists to exert significant influence at the highest levels of conservative politics. Working through groups such as the shadowy Council for National Policy (CNP), they have been able to make anti-choice restrictions a key focus in the Trump administration and the GOP-led Congress.

# ANTI-CHOICE ADVOCACY GROUPS

## Susan B. Anthony List

**Susan B. Anthony (SBA) List Aims To “Reduce And Ultimately End Abortion.”** The bottom of every SBA List press release states: “SBA List is dedicated to pursuing policies and electing candidates who will reduce and ultimately end abortion. To that end, the SBA List emphasizes the education, promotion, mobilization, and election of pro-life women.” [SBA List press release, [11/1/17](#)]

**SBA List Was Founded In 1992 To Elect Anti-Choice Women And Later Expanded To Include Men.** SBA List was founded to counter EMILY’s List by supporting female anti-choice candidates from either party. In 1994, SBA List launched its first campaign endorsements, supporting both Republicans and Democrats. In the late 1990s, SBA List expanded its endorsement criteria to include anti-choice men running against pro-choice women. SBA List also shifted to the right and stopped supporting many Democrats. In 2010, SBA List first actively ran against candidates, targeting 20 “pro-life Democrats who had voted for the health care reform law.” [SBA List, accessed [11/6/17](#); SBA List, accessed [4/30/13](#), via Internet Archive; Mother Jones, [2/22/12](#)]

**SBA List “Combines Politics With Policy, Investing Heavily In Voter Education” To Support Anti-Choice Politicians And In “Issue Advocacy,” Promoting Its Agenda “Through Direct Lobbying And Grassroots Campaigns.”** SBA List claimed support from “a network of more than 600,000 pro-life Americans nationwide” as of November 2017. [SBA List, accessed [11/6/17](#); SBA List press release, [11/1/17](#)]

**Marjorie Dannenfelser Is The President Of Susan B. Anthony List.** Dannenfelser has said she became anti-choice while interning for The Heritage Foundation in 1986 and living in the “Right House” with 10 other young Republicans in Georgetown. She got a job with Heritage in 1988. Dannenfelser also worked as staff director for the Congressional Pro-Life Caucus and for Rep. Alan Mollohan, an anti-choice Democrat from West Virginia. Dannenfelser describes herself as “an original organizer of Susan B. Anthony List.” Dannenfelser aimed to put SBA List in the same category as the National Rifle Association, stating, “When we started about 20 years ago, you would not put the pro-life movement and the NRA in the same category. You just wouldn’t. ... For us, it’s the issue that deserves a political machine more than any other. That’s been my goal – to make this issue, which is so fundamental, have the strongest political arm they could possibly have. That’s the direction I see this heading in.” [The Washington Post, [5/14/10](#); SBA List, accessed [11/6/17](#); Mother Jones, [2/22/12](#)]



SBA LIST'S MARJORIE  
DANNENFELSER

### **The Susan B. Anthony List Network Comprises Five Groups: SBA List, The Candidate Fund, Women Speak Out PAC, The National Pro-Life Women's Caucus And The Charlotte Lozier Institute.**

**The Candidate Fund** endorses candidates and provides them with financial support through direct donations, bundled donations and independent expenditures. [SBA List, accessed [11/6/17](#)]

**The Women Speak Out PAC** also supports candidates through independent spending and campaign activities. [SBA List, accessed [12/28/17](#)]

**The National Pro-Life Women's Caucus** supports female lawmakers “who are dedicated to ending abortion in America by passing laws that save lives” and is led by former U.S. Rep. and SBA List Vice President of Government Affairs Marilyn Musgrave. [SBA List, accessed [11/6/17](#)]

**The Charlotte Lozier Institute (CLI)** is the research arm of SBA List, founded in 2011 to “promote effective arguments and ideas for pro-life policies.” CLI is a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization with a “network of over three dozen Associate Scholars.” [Charlotte Lozier Institute, accessed [11/6/17](#)]

## **Priests For Life**

### **Priests For Life Created And Disseminated Election-Related Materials For Churches.**

Priests for Life is a “non-partisan” organization “committed to proclaiming and applying the teachings of the Church on political responsibility.” As a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization, Priests for Life cannot endorse candidates, but says, “We urge all citizens (including those who lead organizations) to speak up and work for the candidates of their choice.” Given “the Church’s teaching on the primacy of the right to life,” the group says, people “will draw the practical conclusion that they should vote for a pro-life candidate.” [Priests for Life, accessed [11/14/17](#)]

## **National Right To Life**

**National Right To Life Identifies As The “Nation’s Oldest And Largest Pro-Life Organization” And Is Made Up Of “50 State Affiliates And Approximately 3,000 Local Affiliates Nationwide.”** National Right to Life, founded in 1968, “works through legislation, education and political action to protect those threatened by abortion, infanticide, euthanasia, and assisted suicide.” National Right to Life has two political entities, the National Right to Life PAC, formed in 1980, and the National Right to Life Victory Fund, an independent expenditure organization formed in 2012. The PAC’s purpose is “to actively support electable candidates for federal office who will work to further the goals of the right-to-life movement.” James Bopp was general counsel for National Right to Life Committee for 35 years. [National Right to Life PAC, accessed [11/27/17](#); National Right to Life Victory Fund, accessed [11/27/17](#); National Right to Life PAC, accessed [11/27/17](#); National Right to Life News Today, [6/27/13](#)]

## Faith & Freedom Coalition

**Faith & Freedom Coalition (FFC) Is A Member-Based Advocacy And Organizing Group Focused On Right-Wing Issues.** Faith & Freedom Coalition focuses on a variety of conservative issues, including “respect for the sanctity and dignity of life, family, and marriage as the foundations of a free society,” “limited government, lower taxes and fiscal responsibility,” and “education reform.” FFC’s mission is to “Mobilize and train people of faith to be effective citizens. Speak out in the public arena and in the media on behalf of Christian values. Influence legislation and enact sound public policy at every level of government. Train citizens for effective civic action. Protest bigotry and discrimination against people of faith.” FFC has state affiliates and county chapters, and reached 1 million members in 2014. [Faith & Freedom Coalition, accessed [12/14/17](#)]



FAITH & FREEDOM COALITION'S  
RALPH REED

**Ralph Reed Founded Faith & Freedom Coalition In 2009 To Organize The Christian Right In Response To The 2008 Election.** Reed was executive director of the Christian Coalition from 1989 to 1997. In addition to leading FFC, he is the CEO of the public affairs firm Century Strategies. Reed was close friends with Jack Abramoff and worked with him to receive lucrative consulting gigs; Reed wrote to Abramoff after he founded Century Strategies in 1998, “I need to start humping in corporate accounts! I’m counting on you to help me with some contacts.” According to the New Republic, “In 2006, [Reed’s] campaign for Georgia’s lieutenant governorship imploded after investigators revealed his work with con man Jack Abramoff. Reed, the choirboy-faced moralist, had been secretly lobbying on behalf of an Indian casino.” GQ reported, “Reed favorably compared his work to guerrilla warfare. ‘I paint my face and travel at night,’ he told The Virginian-Pilot in 1991. ‘You don’t know it’s over until you’re in a body bag.’” [U.S. News & World Report, [6/23/09](#); Politico, accessed [12/14/17](#); New Republic, [9/30/10](#); GQ, [7/11/06](#)]

## Family Research Council

**Family Research Council (FRC) Is A Policy, Research And Public Education Organization That Focuses On Anti-LGBTQ And Anti-Choice Topics, Along With Other Conservative Issues.** Family Research Council was founded in 1983 by James Dobson, Gerald P. Regier and other Christian leaders. Regier was its first president. FRC “merged with and became a division of Focus on the Family” in 1987 but became an independent organization again in 1992. Gary Bauer took over leadership of FRC in 1988, and Tony Perkins became its president in 2003. Family Research Council, along with other anti-choice and conservative organizations, sponsors an annual event of conservative speakers called the Values Voter Summit. [Family Research Council, accessed [12/1/17](#); Family Research Council, accessed [12/6/17](#); Values Voter Summit, accessed [12/6/17](#)]



FAMILY RESEARCH  
COUNCIL'S TONY PERKINS



### **Family Research Council Is Considered A Hate Group By The Southern Poverty Law Center For Its Anti-LGBTQ Work.**

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “The Family Research Council (FRC) bills itself as ‘the leading voice for the family in our nation’s halls of power,’ but its real specialty is defaming gays and lesbians. The FRC often makes false claims about the LGBT community based on discredited research and junk science. The intention is to denigrate LGBT people in its battles against same-sex marriage, hate crimes laws, anti-bullying programs and the repeal of the military’s ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ policy.” Family Research Council is also a “key partner” of the anti-LGBTQ World Congress of Families. [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [2/8/17](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, [10/21/15](#)]

### **Family Research Council Opposes Abortion, Believes “Personhood Begins At Conception” And Considers *Roe v. Wade* “Wrongly Decided.”**

On its website, FRC states, “The *Roe v. Wade* decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, declaring abortion to be a constitutional ‘right,’ was without foundation in the text of the Constitution and thus was wrongly decided, and we look forward to the day when this grave error will be corrected.” FRC opposes access to Plan B or any emergency contraception without a prescription and believes “Motherhood in the context of marriage promotes positive health outcomes for women.” [Family Research Council, accessed [2/8/17](#); Family Research Council, accessed [2/8/17](#); Family Research Council, [1/15/14](#)]

### **FRC Works Closely With Other Conservative Groups And Leaders Of The “Religious Right.”**

In the FAQ section on its website, FRC states, “Organizations such as Family Research Council, Focus on the Family, Concerned Women for America, Eagle Forum, etc. do keep in close contact with each other, perhaps even more so than our opposition. Each organization fits a niche and fits it well. When we have an opportunity to get together and discuss strategies, we do. Conservative ‘summits’ do occur. Meanwhile, rest assured that the leaders of ‘the religious right’ do converse frequently.” [Family Research Council, accessed [12/1/17](#)]

**“Each organization fits a niche and fits it well...rest assured that the leaders of ‘the religious right’ do converse frequently.”**

**Family Research Council**

[Family Research Council, accessed [12/1/17](#)]

## **Concerned Women For America**

### **Concerned Women For America (CWA) Is An Advocacy And Policy Organization That**

**“Protects And Promotes Biblical Values And Constitutional Principles Through Prayer, Education, And Advocacy.”** Concerned Women for America was founded in 1979 by Beverly LaHaye and claims to be “the nation’s largest public policy women’s organization.” CWA is made up of state chapters, “a youth division called Young Women for America (YWA)” and around 500 Prayer/Action chapters across the country. Throughout its history, CWA has sided against issues of women’s rights and health. CWA fought against the Equal Rights Amendment, opposed efforts to allow women to serve in combat and has worked to limit abortion access. CWA runs advocacy campaigns, lobbies on legislation and other government activities, and gets involved in electoral campaigns. [Concerned Women for America, accessed [7/14/17](#); Concerned Women for America, accessed [7/14/17](#); Washington Examiner, [8/21/17](#)]



**Concerned Women For America Is Anti-Choice And Against Contraception.** CWA states on its website, “We believe life begins at conception and is to be protected from conception to natural death,” and it considers the “sanctity of life” one of its major issue areas. Among its “concerns” in this area are “the protection of innocent human life” – specifically from “abortion, fetal tissue experimentation, and embryonic research,” as well as “euthanasia, cloning, population control and human genetic engineering” – and “the physical, emotional and spiritual harm to women, men and their families resulting from abortion.” Its “sanctity of life” goals include “laws passed to protect our society from practices and policies that endanger and debase innocent human life” and “public awareness of the harm of abortion to women, men, and their families; and the promotion of pregnancy care centers and post-abortion counseling services.” The group also works to “encourage sexual abstinence” and has actively opposed the Affordable Care Act’s expansion of contraceptive coverage. [Concerned Women for America, accessed [7/14/17](#); Concerned Women for America, accessed [7/14/17](#); Concerned Women for America, accessed [1/2/18](#); Concerned Women for America, accessed [1/2/18](#)]

**Penny Nance Is President And CEO Of Concerned Women For America.** Nance became CEO of CWA in 2010. In October 2017, it was reported that President Trump was considering nominating Nance to be U.S. ambassador-at-large for global women’s issues. Nance believes abortion in cases of rape, incest and the life of the mother are “a red herring” and said, “It’s not enough for abortion to be illegal. We should make it unthinkable.” According to her CWA biography, Nance previously worked as an adviser to the Federal Communications Commission; was founder and president of Kids First Coalition, a nonprofit focused on children’s issues; and worked as the CWA legislative director. She graduated from Liberty University. [Concerned Women for America, accessed [7/14/17](#); Liberty News, [1/22/10](#); National Review, [3/24/15](#); U.S. News & World Report, [1/22/13](#); Politico, [10/27/17](#)]



CONCERNED WOMEN FOR  
AMERICA'S PENNY NANCE

## Students For Life

**Students For Life Of America Claims To Be “The Only National Pro-Life Organization Dedicated To Training And Equipping College, High School, Medical, And Law Students” To Form Anti-Choice Groups At Schools.** Students for Life claims it has helped “to establish and build over 1,100 student pro-life organizations” since 2006. Students for Life stated its mission on its website: “Simply put, Students for Life of America wants to abolish abortion in our lifetime, and we plan to do that by identifying, educating, and activating this generation of young people.” The group started in the 1970s under the name C.A.M.P.U.S., and became American Collegians for Life in 1988 and Students for Life of America in 2006. Students for Life organizes the National Pro-Life Chalk Day and operates Rock for Life, which sets up anti-choice tables at concerts. Students for Life is a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization. [Students for Life, accessed [7/17/17](#);

Students for Life, accessed [7/17/17](#); Rock for Life, accessed [7/17/17](#); Students for Life, accessed [7/17/17](#); Students for Life, accessed [12/28/17](#)]

**Students For Life Reported That Its Organizing Work “Leads Us One Step Closer To Our Ultimate Goal Of Making Abortion Illegal And Unthinkable.”** In an email to supporters, Students for Life wrote, “On-the-ground, person-to-person organization is how every major social movement in American history has been won. There’s no substitute for it. Going student-by-student, conversation by conversation, is changing hearts and minds. It’s changing our culture, creating a generation who is rejecting the lies of Planned Parenthood and their allies, which leads us one step closer to our ultimate goal of making abortion illegal and unthinkable.” [Students for Life email, 11/23/17, via NARAL Research Department]

**Kristan Hawkins Is President Of Students For Life.** When asked during an MSNBC appearance whether birth control pills and IUDs should be illegal, Hawkins answered, “In my ideal world, yes.” [MSNBC, [1/28/17](#), via Raw Story]



STUDENTS FOR LIFE'S  
KRISTAN HAWKINS

**Leonard Leo Is The Co-Chairman Of The Students For Life Board Of Directors.** [Students for Life, accessed [11/27/17](#)]

## March For Life

**March For Life Organizes A March On The National Mall In Washington On Or Around The Anniversary Of The Roe V. Wade Ruling Every Year.** The first March for Life was on Jan. 22, 1974, the year after Roe. March for Life also does “education and legislative work” all year through the March for Life Education and Defense Fund and political work through March for Life Action. The March for Life is “a witness to the truth concerning the greatest human rights violation of our time, legalized abortion on demand.” [March for Life, accessed [12/4/17](#); March for Life Action, [12/28/17](#)]

**The March For Life And Its Surrounding Events Serve As An Opportunity For Anti-Choice Activists To Connect, Network, Share Information And Protest Together At “The World’s Largest Pro-Life Event.”** March for Life hosts a conference prior to the march and an expo before and after the march. The expo provides the opportunity for marchers to network, to sign up to volunteer, and to “connect with pro-life organizations to be able to stay involved in the pro-life movement all year.” Exhibitors at the March for Life Expo in 2018 include Operation Rescue, Care Net, Human Coalition, Family Research Council, Students for Life, The Heritage Foundation, National Review Institute, EWTN, Thomas More Society, church groups and religious universities. The 2018 Rose Dinner after the March for Life will feature Pam Tebow as the keynote speaker. March for Life has a page on its website to connect people from across the country with transportation to the march, with “many buses ... sponsored by local parishes or Knights of Columbus councils.” March for Life also provides a list of marches in the states around the same time as the D.C. march and of other anti-choice events in the D.C. area, such as a protest outside the D.C. Planned Parenthood clinic, the Evangelicals for Life conference and the FRC “ProLifeCon Digital Action Summit.” [March

for Life 2018, accessed [12/4/17](#); March for Life 2018, accessed [12/4/17](#); March for Life 2018, accessed [12/4/17](#); March for Life 2018 Trip Finder, accessed [12/14/17](#); March for Life 2018, accessed [12/14/17](#); March for Life 2018, accessed [12/4/17](#)]

**Members Of Congress, Leaders Of Other Anti-Choice Groups And Religious Leaders Often Speak At The March For Life.** Sen. Joni Ernst, Reps. Mia Love and Chris Smith, Cardinal Timothy Dolan, and Abby Johnson of And Then There Were None spoke at the 2017 March for Life. 2015 speakers included Sen. Tim Scott; Reps. Cathy McMorris Rodgers, Chris Smith and Dan Lipinski; Students for Life President Kristan Hawkins; Carl Anderson, supreme knight of the Knights of Columbus; and the Rev. Joseph Kurtz, president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. [March for Life, [1/17/15](#); WUSA 9, [1/27/17](#)]

## Anti-Choice Leaders And Activists Exert Disproportionate Influence Over The Priorities Of The Conservative Movement

The Council for National Policy (CNP) is a shady network of power brokers from across the right wing that reinforces the power of the Republican Party. Members of this expansive, secretive group of conservative leaders combine forces to reach their mutual goals — with installing conservative justices across the judiciary and undermining abortion rights at the top of their list of priorities.

**CNP Is A “Powerful Organizing Force” Bringing Together Conservative Leaders And Politicians To Share Ideas And “Collaborate On Achieving Their Shared Goals.”** CNP was founded in 1981 by the Rev. Tim LaHaye, head of the Moral Majority, and Paul Weyrich, co-founder of The Heritage Foundation and the American Legislative Exchange Council, among other founders. CNN wrote, “Uniting social, fiscal and religious conservatives, the CNP, nicknamed ‘The Group,’ has prided itself for years on promoting conservative values and helping grassroots conservatives outside the GOP structure to coordinate and share ideas and information. Its membership is a powerful organizing force behind conservative candidates and has helped to cement the movement’s aspirations deep in Republican Party ideology.” The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) called CNP “a highly secretive group” and “a key venue where mainstream conservatives and extremists mix.” According to the SPLC, CNP “can only be joined by invitation, at a cost of thousands of dollars.” SPLC wrote, “The 2014 CNP members are paragons of the conservative establishment. There are business titans, Christian college presidents, owners and editors of right-wing media outlets, GOP mega-donors, government staffers and leading members of conservative think tanks. ... The CNP directory is a remarkable roster of significant figures on the political and religious right.” According to the CNP website, its members “meet to share the best information available on national and world problems, know one another on a personal basis, and collaborate on achieving their shared goals.”

**“[CNP’s] membership is a powerful organizing force behind conservative candidates and has helped to cement the movement’s aspirations deep in Republican Party ideology.”**

**CNN**

[CNN, 5/17/16]

[Southern Poverty Law Center, [5/17/16](#); Council for National Policy, accessed [11/21/17](#); CNN, [5/17/16](#); The New York Times, [8/28/04](#)]

**The Top Priority Issues for Council for National Policy Members Are Judicial Activism and Abortion.** According to Southern Poverty Law Center analysis of the CNP 2014 Membership Directory, which listed its 413 members and their top issues, 121 members listed “judicial activism nominations” as one of their primary issues, 115 selected “abortion/euthanasia” and 114 chose “religious freedom.” [Southern Poverty Law Center, [5/17/16](#)]

**CNN: “The CNP’s Influence Is Beyond Dispute.”** In 2004, Barry W. Lynn, the executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, said, “The CNP members are not going to be visible next week [at the Republican National Convention]. But they are very much on the minds of George W. Bush and Karl Rove every week of the year, because these are the real powers in the party.” [CNN, [5/17/16](#); The New York Times, [8/28/04](#)]

#### **As Of 2014, CNP Members Included:**

**Anti-Choice Leaders:** Marjorie Dannenfelser (Gold Circle, board of governors); Ralph Reed; Penny Nance; the Rev. Frank Pavone; Kristan Hawkins (William F. Buckley Jr. Council); Operation Rescue President Troy Newman; Americans United for Life President Charmaine Yoest (board of governors); Live Action founder Lila Rose (William F. Buckley Jr. Council); American Values’ Gary Bauer (Gold Circle, board of governors); Focus on the Family founder James Dobson; Priests for Life’s Alveda King; Knights of Columbus field agent Daniel Diaz (William F. Buckley Jr. Council); Family Foundation of Virginia President Victoria Cobb; former 40 Days for Life CEO David Bereit; NIFLA President Thomas Glessner; AUL general counsel Ovide Lamontagne; Life Issues Institute CEO Bradley Mattes; AUL Vice President Jeanneane Maxon; Priests for Life Executive Director Janet Morana; National Right to Life Co-Executive Director Darla St. Martin; former Focus on the Family Senior Vice President Tom Minnery; and Focus on the Family Vice President of External Relations Tim Goeglein.

**Conservative Leaders:** Tony Perkins (CNP vice president); Citizens United President David Bossie; Heritage Foundation President Edwin J. Feulner; former Heritage Foundation President Jim DeMint; Tea Party Express Chairman Amy Kremer; NRA CEO Wayne LaPierre; Club for Growth President David McIntosh; Americans for Tax Reform President Grover Norquist; Tea Party Patriots co-founder Jenny Beth Martin (executive committee, Gold Circle, board of governors); Center for Security Policy’s Frank Gaffney; former Heritage Foundation Vice President Becky Norton Dunlop (CNP president, 2007-11); American for Prosperity President Timothy Phillips; State Policy Network’s Tracie Sharp; former FRC Action Executive Director Joshua Duggar (William F. Buckley Jr. Council); American Family Association President Tim Wildmon; and former U.S. Attorney General Ed Meese.

**Legal Leaders:** The Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo (board of governors); Judicial Watch President Thomas Fitton (board of directors, board of governors); Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) founder Alan Sears (board of governors); First Liberty

Institute President Kelly Shackelford (board of governors); Becket Fund for Religious Liberty founder K. Seamus Hasson; Federalist Society President Eugene Meyer; Liberty Counsel founder Mathew D. Staver; and ADF President Michael Farris, among many lawyers, law firms and law clerks.

**Media Figures:** WND CEO Joseph Farah; Newsmax CEO Christopher Ruddy (board of governors); The Daily Caller founder Neil Patel; ConservativeHQ.com Chairman Richard Viguerie (senior executive committee member); The Washington Times Opinion Editor David Keene; Forbes Chairman and Editor-in-Chief Steve Forbes (board of governors); The American Conservative Publisher Jon Basil Utley; American Thinker Editor and Publisher Thomas Lifson; Bott Radio Network Chairman Richard P. Bott Sr. (board of governors) and CEO Rich P. Bott (executive committee, Gold Circle, board of governors); CNSNews.com Editor-in-Chief Terry P. Jeffrey; National Religious Broadcasters President and CEO Jerry Johnson; Salem Media Group CEO Edward G. Atsinger (board of governors) and Board Chairman Stuart Epperson (CNP president); World Magazine Associate Publisher Warren C. Smith; Western Center for Journalism President Floyd G. Brown; The Patriot Post Executive Editor Mark Alexander; and Truth Network President Stu Epperson Jr.

**Politicians:** Rick Santorum, Herman Cain, Jim Gilmore and state representatives.

**Trump Administration Figures:** Kellyanne Conway (executive committee); Jay Sekulow (board of governors); and Stephen Bannon, representing Breitbart.

**Major Donors:** Foster Friess (CNP president, 1997-98, and board of governors); former Bradley Foundation CEO Michael Grebe; and Rich DeVos (CNP president, 1990-93).

Members also included **religious leaders** and **business people**. [Council for National Policy Membership Directory, [2014](#), via Southern Poverty Law Center; CNN, [5/17/16](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, [5/17/16](#)]



## CASE STUDY

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# Anti-Choice Leaders Secured Valuable Commitments From Trump In Exchange For Their Political Support

Despite some initial hesitation to come out in support of Trump, anti-choice leaders ultimately became convinced that investing in Trump was the best way to further their agenda of enforcing and expanding anti-choice policies. The Trump administration has made good on many promises made to anti-choice leaders, and now enjoys their full-fledged support.

## TRUMP COURTED ANTI-CHOICE LEADERS FOR THEIR SUPPORT

**CNN: Council For National Policy Members Were “Crucial” In Determining Whether Trump’s Campaign Got Support From Social And Evangelical Conservatives.** [CNN, [5/17/16](#)]

**Trump’s 2015 Overtures Toward Council For National Policy Leaders Were Well-Received.** In 2015, 12 of the Republican presidential candidates had the chance to speak at CNP candidate forums. According to National Review, “Trump was the star attraction. ... He succeeded in cozying up to ‘movement’ leaders and cooling their hostility toward his candidacy. ... His step toward neutralizing a potential bloc of opposition could prove significant down the road.” Trump emphasized his support from evangelicals and tea partyers by reading results “from a stack of annotated polling data.” One attendee told National Review, “His message was, ‘Your people are for me, and all you leaders ought to be for me too. You guys need to realize where your followers are, and get in line with them.’” Another attendee said, “Coming out of this weekend, I see a conservative movement that would be more comfortable with Donald Trump as the nominee than Jeb Bush.” [National Review, [10/23/15](#)]

**Anti-Choice Groups Initially Opposed Trump During The Republican Primary.** In January and February 2016, members of anti-choice groups, including Susan B. Anthony List, Concerned Women for America and CURE, sent a letter to voters in Iowa and South Carolina asking them to “support anyone but Donald Trump.” [SBA List, [1/26/16](#); SBA List, [2/12/16](#); HuffPost, [4/5/16](#); HuffPost, [5/10/16](#)]

**During The Cycle, Early Supporters Ralph Reed And Jerry Falwell Jr. Both Provided Trump With Opportunities To Gain Evangelical Support And Defended Him From Criticism.** Reed and Falwell both introduced Trump at events during the general election, exposing him to conservative influences and voters: Falwell at a private meeting between Trump and conservatives, and Reed at the Faith & Freedom Coalition gala. Both also served on his religious advisory board. Reed and Falwell defended Trump after the “Access Hollywood” video release. Falwell said no one would care about these past statements of Trump’s in five years when “we see the Constitution being ripped apart by justices.” Reed stated his continued support for Trump because he “will protect the unborn, defend religious freedom, appoint conservative judges,” among other issues. [Facebook,



[10/8/16](#); The Washington Post, [10/8/16](#); Atlanta Journal-Constitution, [10/10/16](#); The Washington Post, [6/10/16](#); National Review, [6/21/16](#); Politico, [6/21/16](#)]

**Faith & Freedom Coalition's Ralph Reed Befriended Trump In 2011 And Wanted To Activate The Evangelical Base In Support Of Trump During The 2016 Campaign.** BuzzFeed reported that Trump and Reed became friends in 2011 and that "Reed privately agreed to run Trump's campaign if he decided to enter the 2012 race." Reed told NPR, "We became friends because I saw him on TV talking about the abortion issue in a way that I thought was compelling and transparent and based on his deep moral conviction." Reed said he thought Trump was "very committed" to opposition to abortion. Reed: "On the sanctity of life, traditional marriage, religious freedom, support for Israel, the appointment of judicial conservatives to the Supreme Court and other federal courts, and opposition to the Iran nuclear deal, Donald Trump shares the public policy views of evangelical voters, and they believe his commitment to these issues is genuine." The Washington Post wrote, "Having gotten to know the candidate, Reed was confident that he believed what he said – and that Christians would vote for him. The stubborn bloc of a few million non-voting evangelicals, the people both Reed and Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Tex.) dreamed of activating, could finally be activated. 'It does not become larger or smaller based on who the nominee is,' said Reed." [NPR, [6/22/16](#); BuzzFeed, [8/1/16](#); The Washington Post, [6/10/16](#)]

**Liberty University President Jerry Falwell Jr. Endorsed Trump In January 2016 Prior To The Iowa Caucuses.** Falwell is the president of conservative "evangelical mega-university" Liberty University and the son of televangelist Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority movement. Trump and Falwell spoke on the phone over several months leading up to the endorsement, according to The Washington Post. On Jan. 18, 2016, Trump spoke at Liberty, where he received an "effusive" introduction from Falwell that the Trump campaign cut into a radio ad. Politicians often give speeches at Liberty University in order to discuss their commitment to conservative issues and to work on "courting evangelical voters." Jeb Bush, Ben Carson and Ted Cruz also spoke at Liberty during the Republican primaries. [The Washington Post, [1/26/16](#); The Washington Post, [2/6/17](#); The Washington Post, [3/4/13](#)]

**As Soon As Trump Became The Presumptive Republican Nominee, The Heads Of Susan B. Anthony List And Priests For Life Said They Would Support Him.** The Rev. Frank Pavone of Priests for Life tweeted, "Trump May Be Only Viable Pro-life Option Left." Dannenfelser wrote a piece in Townhall called "The Pro-Life Case for Trump," highlighting the importance of the White House to achieving the pro-life movement's goals and thus the need to support Trump. In it, she pointed out that "presumptive nominee" Donald Trump "has made very specific pro-life commitments on the campaign trail," including support for the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act and for defunding Planned Parenthood. Dannenfelser also cited Trump's commitment to "appointing constitutionalist judges." Dannenfelser wrote, "With pro-life majorities in both chambers, our movement has never been closer to achieving such important policy goals. The White House is the missing piece. And if Donald Trump is elected president, we expect fidelity to the commitments he has made during the campaign." SBA List Communications Director Mallory Quigley verbalized the anti-choice movement's influence over Trump: "We're very quick to correct Donald Trump when he's misrepresented the movement with what he's said." [The Washington Times, [5/4/16](#); CNN, [5/4/16](#); Twitter, [5/5/16](#); Townhall, [5/9/16](#)]

**On June 10, 2016, Trump Spoke At The Faith & Freedom Coalition's Road To Majority Conference To Address Hesitant Conservatives.** Ralph Reed introduced Trump, praising his "support from 'men and women of faith' and his list of possible pro-life Supreme Court nominees," according to The Washington Post. The Rev. Frank Pavone

of Priests for Life thanked Trump for his speech at the conference both in a statement and an in-person greeting. Pavone said, “Mr. Trump was crystal clear about the need to defend and promote the sanctity of life, to preserve the institution of marriage, to appoint pro-life judges, and to protect religious liberty. In fact, he mentioned explicitly the efforts of some to ‘restrict religious liberty with government mandates.’” [The Washington Post, [6/10/16](#); BuzzFeed, [8/1/16](#); Priests for Life, [6/13/16](#)]

**On June 21, 2016, Trump Held A Private, Invite-Only Meeting With Over 1,000 Conservative And Pro-Life Leaders To Address Their Concerns.** The event, called “A Conversation About America’s Future With Donald Trump,” was intended as “a closed-door interaction forum for attendees to ask questions” of Trump. The organizing committee included Lila Rose, Gary Bauer, James Dobson, Bob Vander Plaats, Tony Perkins, Ralph Reed, Pat Robertson, Richard Viguerie and Ken Cuccinelli. Concerned Women for America reported that it was “both a convener and a co-sponsor of the event.” Attendees included Marjorie Dannenfelser of SBA List, Lila Rose of Live Action, Kristan Hawkins of Students for Life, Ohio Right to Life President Mike Gonidakis, Ralph Reed of Faith & Freedom Coalition, and Troy Newman of Operation Rescue. Before the meeting, Dannenfelser told Time she planned to ask Trump “about his policy commitments regarding abortion.” CWA’s Penny Nance said she wanted to “take a measure of the man” because “he needs to win our hearts.” Hawkins told The Washington Post she “was waiting for Trump to give a more hopeful and detailed description of how he came to call himself anti-abortion,” saying, “Yes, we know he’s definitely better than Clinton [on abortion issues], but are we going to work for a candidate who has said these things? How will pro-life millennials hear the things he said? How hard will they work for him?” Perkins described it as “a historic event” and tweeted, “There is a gap between evangelicals and Trump. Today was simply the beginning of a process to attempt to close it.” Perkins also said, “We are looking for a way forward. ... It is just to have an honest conversation so that these leaders know what they need to do.” [LifeSiteNews, [6/22/16](#); The Washington Post, [6/22/16](#); Time, [5/20/16](#); National Review, [6/21/16](#); Cleveland.com, [6/17/16](#); Twitter, [6/21/16](#); Concerned Women for America, [6/23/16](#); Operation Rescue, [9/13/16](#); The Daily Beast, [6/6/16](#); Twitter, [6/21/16](#); Time, [6/21/16](#)]

**In A Private Discussion With Around 50 Leaders At The Meeting, Trump “Spent A Few Minutes Talking About The Need For Evangelical Leaders To Speak Up On The Election.”** Penny Nance wrote that Trump discussed this in a private backstage meeting with “a select number of leaders,” including herself. Nance also wrote that Trump “assured the group that he understood the cultural shift that now has gone from post-Christian to anti-Christian and vowed to work to support our rights. He lapsed at one point into the glib pol that gets him into trouble by flippantly suggesting we shouldn’t pray for the president.” She said the room “was warm and receptive after some brief eye rolling; with the exception of that one stumble, he did a great job overall.” National Review reported, “Trump teased the VIP group by telling them of Christianity, ‘I owe so much to it in so many ways.’ In a video posted to Twitter by [E.W.] Jackson, he proceeded to say that he wouldn’t be standing before them without it – not because of how it shaped his life or informed his worldview, but ‘because the Evangelical vote was mostly gotten by me.’” [Concerned Women for America, [6/23/16](#); National Review, [6/21/16](#); Twitter, [6/21/16](#)]

**After The Event, Many Attendees Continued To Express Concern About Endorsing Trump And Mobilizing Their Groups To Support Him.** According to National Review, “Some activists reluctantly acknowledged afterward that they personally plan to vote for him. But many of these individuals were present Tuesday due to their leadership roles in large, grassroots-oriented organizations; strikingly, none of them are yet willing to extend Trump an endorsement that could mobilize their constituents on his behalf. ... Dannenfelser – like Perkins, Nance, and many other attendees – declined to endorse Trump on Tuesday.” Nance wrote that she

needed more information on whom Trump would select as his running mate and on his positions on abortion and Planned Parenthood funding. [National Review, [6/21/16](#); Concerned Women for America, [6/23/16](#)]

**After His Meeting With Conservatives, Trump Announced An Evangelical Advisory Board With Prominent Anti-Choice Members.** Members of the evangelical advisory board included Ralph Reed; Jerry Falwell Jr.; James Dobson, founder of Focus on the Family; and former Rep. Michele Bachmann. Later in the campaign, Trump announced a Catholic advisory board, which included SBA List's Marjorie Dannenfelser, Priests for Life's the Rev. Frank Pavone and Janet Morana, Sean Fieler, and Rick Santorum. [Politico, [6/21/16](#); National Catholic Register, [9/22/16](#)]

## TRUMP MADE UNPRECEDENTED COMMITMENTS TO THE ANTI-CHOICE MOVEMENT IN ORDER TO GAIN ITS SUPPORT

**SBA List Vice President Marilyn Musgrave: "The Commitments That Donald Trump Has Made To The Pro-Life Community Are Extraordinary. ... We Have Never Gotten These Commitments From Any Other Candidate, Including The Last Two Candidates Who Were Pro-Life."** Musgrave continued, "While Clinton and the Democratic Party have talked about doing away with the Hyde Amendment, Trump has pledged to make the Hyde Amendment permanent." Musgrave said of the Trump campaign's Pro-Life Coalition, "The whole plan is to rally pro-life voters around the nation, especially in battleground states, and let them know where the Trump ticket is on life issues." Musgrave said SBA List promised to "hold Trump to his pledge" once in office. Musgrave said, "These commitments have been made public and we have distributed them far and wide." [National Catholic Register, [9/27/16](#)]

**Anti-Choice Lawyer Matt Bowman: "The Movement Has Convinced Trump To Accede To More Of Their Demands Than Ever Before."** Matt Bowman, an Alliance Defending Freedom lawyer who represented Conestoga Wood Specialties and March for Life in cases against the contraception mandate, explained why the pro-life movement supported Trump. Bowman wrote, "Donald Trump has actually raised the bar for what pro-lifers can expect from Republican candidates. ... Future Republican candidates will have much to explain if they are going to be less pro-life than Donald Trump." [The National Pulse, [11/6/16](#); Alliance Defending Freedom, [7/8/14](#); The Federalist, accessed [11/7/17](#)]

**"Donald Trump has actually raised the bar for what pro-lifers can expect from Republican candidates."**

**In Endorsing Trump, Operation Rescue's Troy Newman Said, "No Other GOP Ticket In History Has Made Such Commitments To The Pro-Life Movement."** Newman endorsed Trump on Sept. 13, 2016, and released a statement that read: "After examining Trump's position on life issues and his assurances that he will appoint conservative, pro-life justices to the U.S. Supreme Court, I am convinced that Trump offers our best hope of pushing back the Culture of Death in America. ... Trump has promised to stand strongly for life and appoint pro-life justices to the Supreme Court. His Vice-Presidential running mate, Gov. Mike Pence, is a pro-life warrior who has promised to work toward ending abortion. No other GOP ticket in history has made such commitments to the Pro-Life Movement. While no political candidate is a perfect person, we must engage the political system as it stands today for the sake of protecting innocent life. We cannot leave the results of this critical election for others to decide. Please join me in casting a

**Matt Bowman**

[The National Pulse, 11/6/16]

vote this November for the pro-life Trump/Pence ticket.” [Operation Rescue, [9/13/16](#)]

**Ralph Reed: “Donald Trump Made The Most Full-Throated, Aggressive And Unapologetic Appeal To Evangelical Voters That We Have Arguably Seen In A General Election Environment Since Ronald Reagan Spoke To The Religious Roundtable In August Of 1980.”** Reed continued, “He made these voters of faith a centerpiece of his campaign and his strategy for victory from the beginning.” Reed pointed to actions Trump took during the general election to appeal to conservative Christian voters, such as his speeches at Regent University with Pat Robertson, at the Faith & Freedom Coalition’s own Road to Majority Conference, and at the Values Voter Summit, as well as his interviews with the Christian Broadcasting Network and EWTN. Reed also highlighted Trump’s positions that appealed to evangelical voters: “If you look at the issues that he took positions on, whether it was his pro-life position, saying that he would defund Planned Parenthood as president, ... his support for traditional marriage, his foursquare stance on appointing strict constructionists and respecters of the original intent of the Founders when it came to constitutional jurisprudence, his release of 20 names from which he ultimately said he would choose a replacement for Antonin Scalia, his description in the third debate of why he was pro-life and why he believed that partial-birth abortion and late-term abortions constituted a grave evil.” [Faith & Freedom Coalition, [12/6/16](#), via YouTube]

## **Commitment #1: Anti-Choice Federal Judges**

**On May 18, 2016, Trump Released A List Of 11 Possible Supreme Court Nominees Put Together By The Federalist Society And The Heritage Foundation.** According to NPR, “The move was seen as an effort to assuage Republican suspicions that he would not choose genuine conservatives to fill Supreme Court vacancies, one of which exists right now.” Trump said he was releasing the list “because people are worried that, ‘Oh, maybe he’ll put the wrong judge in.’” Reuters noted, “Some of the judges on Trump’s list have ruled against abortion and birth control rights.” National Review wrote that “the timing of the list’s release smacks of desperate pandering to conservatives.” Trump expanded the list in September 2016. [NPR, [5/18/16](#); The Washington Post, [4/2/16](#); National Review, [5/18/16](#); Reuters, [5/19/16](#); CNN, [9/23/16](#)]

**SBA List And Judicial Crisis Network Praised The List Of Prospective Supreme Court Nominees, With SBA List Using It To Point Out “This Is Not An Election For Pro-Lifers To Sit Out.”** Carrie Severino of Judicial Crisis Network said that the judges on the list “share in common a record of putting the law and the Constitution ahead of their political preferences.” SBA List: “This is an exceptionally strong list of jurists with immense respect for our founding documents. We are encouraged by Mr. Trump’s repeated pledges to appoint constitutionalists, which stands in sharp contrast to Hillary Clinton’s position. There is no question Clinton would only nominate judges who stand in lock-step with the abortion lobby and would strike down even the most modest abortion limits. ... The battle lines have been drawn and the two sides are now clear. SBA List is already working to make the case to pro-life voters that the Court matters and must be protected. This is not an election for pro-lifers to sit out.” [NPR, [5/18/16](#); LifeNews.com, [5/18/16](#); SBA List, [5/18/16](#)]

**Trump Often Said He Would Appoint Anti-Choice Justices.** In May 2016, Trump pledged to nominate “pro-life” judges, a promise that was “immediately circulated by anti-abortion groups” and “viewed as an olive branch to anti-abortion voters,” according to Politico. When Chris Wallace later asked Trump if he wanted the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, Trump responded, “Well, if we put another two or perhaps three justices on, that’s really what’s going to be, that’s what will happen, and that will happen automatically, in my opinion, because I am



putting pro-life justices on the court.” Trump also told Wallace, “I am pro-life, and I will be appointing pro-life judges.” In another instance, Trump said, “I’m pro-life. The judges will be pro-life.” When asked how he would “protect the sanctity of human life,” Trump answered, “I will protect it. And the biggest way you can protect it is through the Supreme Court and putting people on the court. I mean, actually the biggest way you can protect it, I guess, is by electing me president. ... I will appoint judges that will be pro-life.” David Brody of CBN News asked Trump, “Do you believe *Roe v. Wade* was wrongly decided back in the day, back in 1973?” Trump responded, “Well, I do. It’s been very strongly decided, but it can be changed. Things are put there and they’re passed but they can be unpassed with time, but it’s going to take time because you have a lot of judges to go.” Trump responded “yes” to all questions in the National Pro-Life Alliance 2016 Federal Candidates survey, including whether he would “support nominees to the United States Supreme Court and the lower federal courts who will uphold the constitutional right to life of every human person, born and unborn?” On this survey, Trump also indicated he would support legislation to “remove from the federal courts jurisdiction over the question of abortion.” [Politico, [5/11/16](#); Bloomberg Politics, [10/19/16](#), via YouTube; CBS News, [11/13/16](#); USA Today, [5/11/16](#); Fox News, [5/10/16](#), via YouTube; LifeNews.com, [2/18/16](#); National Pro-Life Alliance 2016 Federal Candidates survey, [2016](#), via Right Wing Watch, [12/7/16](#)]

**Throughout The Campaign, The Anti-Choice Movement Emphasized The Importance Of Judges Leading To Its Support For Trump.** In May 2016, LifeNews.com wrote, “When it comes to abortion, for pro-life voters there is no more important issue in the presidential election than who will control the appointment process for one or more Supreme Court judges who will determine the fate of abortion for decades.” Marjorie Dannenfelser said, “If nobody voted on any other issues apart from the direction of the Supreme Court, that would be enough.” ADF’s Matt Bowman also highlighted the importance of Trump’s explicit promises on judicial nominees, writing, “Take the ever-important Supreme Court. Past Republican nominees have actually refused to say they would appoint pro-life justices. Unlike Democrats, the GOP establishment has considered ‘litmus tests’ taboo. Trump has blasted through this judicial glass ceiling. He has not only specified his justices will be pro-life; he has named a list of them from whom he will pick. ... And Trump’s list is stellar.” In a piece called “I Am Voting for Donald Trump and Pro-Life Voters Should Too. Here’s Why,” Kristan Hawkins wrote, “I think his public promises are the best guarantee we will get that he will fulfill them. He can’t walk back his promise to appoint pro-life Supreme Court Justices – those people who will literally decide if the laws on abortion go back to the states in our lifetime – on live TV.” [National Catholic Register, [9/27/16](#); The National Pulse, [11/6/16](#); The Washington Post, [10/21/16](#); LifeNews.com, [5/18/16](#); The Telegraph, [9/26/16](#); LifeNews.com, [10/27/16](#)]

### **Anti-Choice Leaders Also Pointed Out The Impact Trump Could Have On The Makeup Of Lower Courts.**

Penny Nance said in reference to Trump that voters “understand his tendency to clumsily state facts or issues or his opinions, so I’m not really concerned about that. I’m much more concerned about the fact that we have between one and four Supreme Court justices in play, we have 500 lower-court judges and 5,000 governmental appointees.” In a piece called “The Pro-Life Case for Donald Trump,” Gary Bauer wrote, “On a narrowly divided court, the next president will have an unprecedented opportunity to shape the Supreme Court for decades. Either Trump or Clinton will nominate one justice at the outset of his or her term. And, with two justices in their 80s, Trump or Clinton will likely get at least two more picks, and as many as four total. ... Trump, meanwhile, has produced a list of 21 conservative jurists, all of whom have been vetted by the conservative Federalist Society. But don’t forget the other federal courts. President Obama has appointed 329 federal judges (including two Supreme Court justices), about one-third of the total. We can expect Hillary to appoint at least as many. Think the lower courts don’t matter? The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals recently ruled that pro-life pregnancy centers must promote abortion.” [The Washington Post, [10/21/16](#); The Christian Post, [11/6/16](#)]

**Dannenfelser Emphasized That Trump Made Promises On “Pro-Life Judges” Beyond What Other Republican Politicians Had.** According to The Washington Post, Dannenfelser “said she couldn’t recall a candidate explicitly stating they would pursue ‘pro-life’ justices. ‘They usually couch it in other words, like “constitutional,” she said.” According to The Daily Beast, “When [Trump] promised he would only nominate ‘pro-life judges,’ Dannenfelser’s ears perked up. She said she’s never heard another Republican politician use that phrase. ‘I think they think that it doesn’t sound sophisticated, that it’s too frank for them,’ Dannenfelser said, of Republicans who are more euphemistic about their judicial philosophies. ‘What has been jarring on the one hand is refreshing on the other, which is that he calls it like he sees it.” [The Daily Beast, [6/6/16](#); The Washington Post, [6/22/16](#); Twitter, [6/21/16](#)]

## **Commitment #2: Anti-Choice Policies**

**Susan B. Anthony List Took Credit For Trump Coming Out In Support Of A 20-Week Abortion Ban.** In its 2016 voter guide, SBA List stated, “SBA List asked Donald Trump to go on-record in support of the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act. He gave the following exclusive statement in support of the legislation to CBN’s David Brody: ‘I support the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act and urge Congress to pass this bill. A ban on elective abortions after 20 weeks will protect unborn children. We should not be one of seven countries that allows elective abortions after 20 weeks. It goes against our core values.” [SBA List Election 2016 voter guide, accessed [11/14/17](#); CBN News, [7/22/15](#)]

**In A Letter Announcing His Campaign’s Pro-Life Coalition, Trump Made Several Promises To The Anti-Choice Movement, Including Pledges To Support Restrictive Anti-Choice Legislation And Nominate Pro-Life Supreme Court Justices.** In a letter to anti-choice activists during the 2016 campaign, Trump wrote: “I am committed to: Nominating pro-life justices to the U.S. Supreme Court. Signing into law the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act, which would end painful late-term abortions nationwide. Defunding Planned Parenthood as long as they continue to perform abortions, and reallocating their funding to community health centers that provide comprehensive health care for women. Making the Hyde Amendment permanent law to protect taxpayers from having to pay for abortions. ... Together we can form this vital coalition so that Mike Pence and I can be advocates for the unborn and their mothers every day we are in the White House.” Trump also wrote, “Hillary Clinton not only supports abortion on-demand for any reason, but she’d take it a step further: she wants to force the taxpayers to pay for abortions by repealing the bi-partisan Hyde Amendment. Hillary Clinton also supports abortion until an hour before birth. And she will only appoint Supreme Court justices who share this view. ... Hillary Clinton’s unwavering commitment to advancing taxpayer-funded abortion on-demand stands in stark contrast to the commitments I’ve made to advance the rights of unborn children and their mothers when elected president.” [Trump campaign letter, [September 2016](#), via SBA List]

**In Outlining His Policy Pledges, Trump Emphasized That Support From Pro-Life Leaders Was “Essential” For His Campaign To Gain Support From Pro-Life Voters, “Especially Those In Battleground States.”** In a letter inviting pro-life leaders to join his campaign’s Pro-Life Coalition, Trump wrote, “As we head into the final stretch of the campaign, the help of leaders like you is essential to ensure that pro-life voters know where I stand, and also know where my opponent, Hillary Clinton, stands. ... Your help is crucial to make this contrast clear in the minds of pro-life voters, especially those in battleground states.” [Trump campaign letter, [September 2016](#), via SBA List]

**Marjorie Dannenfelser Led Trump’s Pro-Life Coalition From Its Inception.** In a statement, Dannenfelser said, “Not only has Mr. Trump doubled down on his three existing commitments to the pro-life movement,



he has gone a step further in pledging to protect the Hyde Amendment and the conscience rights of millions of pro-life taxpayers. For a candidate to make additional commitments during a general election is almost unheard of. The contrast could not be clearer between the two tickets, and I am proud to serve as National Chairwoman for Donald Trump's Pro-Life Coalition." SBA List Communications Director Mallory Quigley said that Dannenfelser would mobilize "national and statewide anti-abortion leaders, with a particular emphasis on people in battleground states" to use their "spheres of influence" to support Trump. [USA Today, [9/16/16](#); Politico, [9/16/16](#)]

**At The End Of September 2016, Many National Anti-Choice Leaders Joined The Pro-Life Coalition As Co-Chairs.** Co-chairs included Gary Bauer of American Values, Kristan Hawkins of Students for Life, Penny Nance of Concerned Women for America, the Rev. Frank Pavone of Priests for Life, Tony Perkins of Family Research Council, Ralph Reed of Faith & Freedom Coalition, Jill Stanek of Susan B. Anthony List, and Charmaine Yoest of American Values, formerly of Americans United for Life. The coalition also included many anti-choice members of Congress, including Sens. Steve Daines and David Perdue; Reps. Diane Black, Marsha Blackburn, Vicky Hartzler, Jeff Fortenberry, Virginia Foxx, Trent Franks, Kristi Noem, Joe Pitts, Mike Pompeo, Robert Aderholt and Chris Smith; as well as Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback. The role of the Pro-Life Coalition co-chairs was to "counsel" Trump on abortion and recruit other pro-life leaders and voters to support Trump. Dannenfelser said the co-chairs "will communicate Mr. Trump's pro-life commitments to people in their sphere of influence, speak out in support of the Trump-Pence ticket and, most importantly, recruit state co-chairs for the coalition who will in turn drive the campaign's pro-life message out to each individual voter." Blackburn said the co-chairs were "available for advice and counsel if and as needed," including on "live child, or some of the other legislation that we work on." She said, "I just appreciate that there is a desire to understand what the template is for how we move forward to address it." [Donald J. Trump for President Pro-Life Coalition, accessed [11/7/17](#); LifeSiteNews, [9/29/16](#); Rewire, [10/4/16](#)]

**Anti-Choice Leaders Cited Trump's Pledges Made In The Pro-Life Coalition Letter As A Reason Why Anti-Choice Voters Should Support Him.** In an op-ed called "Dear Pro-Lifers: Trump Is Absolutely Worth Your Vote," Dannenfelser and Pavone wrote, "Most importantly, Trump has been unwavering in his commitment to four specific pro-life policies: the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act to protect babies more than halfway through pregnancy, appointment of pro-life justices to the Supreme Court, defunding Planned Parenthood as long as they perform abortions and making the Hyde Amendment permanent to prevent taxpayer funding of abortion-on-demand. These are not pie-in-the-sky hopes – many pro-life advances that have long been stalled under a pro-abortion president would get a realistic shot with Trump in the White House and a pro-life Senate. ... There is also no question Clinton would stack the Supreme Court with pro-abortion justices who would not only block new pro-life legislation, but roll back the gains we've already made." In a piece called "I Am Voting for Donald Trump and Pro-Life Voters Should Too. Here's Why," Kristan Hawkins wrote, "Is Donald Trump the pro-life candidate? For my definition of 'pro-life,' no he is not. I don't think he fits that label. However, his unprecedented, public pledges that no other 'pro-life' candidate has ever made so clearly to defund Planned Parenthood if they continue to commit abortions, ensure the Hyde Amendment becomes law of the land, ban painful 20-week plus abortions, and only appoint justices who promise to overturn Roe and Doe, make him anti-abortion. It's a huge victory in and of itself that Donald Trump proudly states that he is anti-abortion." [Washington Examiner, [11/5/16](#); LifeNews.com, [10/27/16](#)]

**Susan B. Anthony List Sought Similar Written Promises From The 2012 Presidential Candidates But Was Not Successful In Getting The GOP Nominee To Sign Its Pledge That Year.** During the 2012 election cycle, SBA List

asked presidential candidates to sign a “Pro-Life Leadership Presidential Pledge” to nominate pro-life judges and executive branch officials, defund Planned Parenthood, and sign a 20-week abortion ban. Republican candidates Michele Bachmann, Newt Gingrich, Ron Paul, Tim Pawlenty and Rick Santorum signed the pledge, while Mitt Romney, Jon Huntsman, Herman Cain and Gary Johnson did not. Romney called the pledge “well-meaning” but said it “would have unintended consequences.” The pledge specifically asked candidates to commit to “only nominate to the U.S. Supreme Court and federal bench judges who are committed to restraint and applying the original meaning of the Constitution, not legislating from the bench; select pro-life appointees for relevant Cabinet and Executive Branch positions, in particular the head of National Institutes of Health, the Department of Health & Human Services, and the Department of Justice; advance pro-life legislation to permanently end all taxpayer funding of abortion in all domestic and international spending programs, and defund Planned Parenthood and all other contractors and recipients of federal funds with affiliates that perform or fund abortions; advance and sign into law a Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act to protect unborn children who are capable of feeling pain from abortion.” SBA List also had a “Citizen’s Pledge” for “voters who vow to only vote for a presidential candidate who has signed the Presidential Pledge,” which SBA List claimed received 10,000 signatures in its first week. [The Washington Times, [7/1/11](#), via SBA List; SBA List press release, [6/30/11](#); SBA List press release, [6/17/11](#); National Review, [6/18/11](#)]

### Commitment #3: Vice President Mike Pence

#### **Anti-Choice Leaders Discussed The Importance Of Whom Trump Chose As His Running Mate To Gaining Their Support.**

LifeSiteNews.com reported, “Family Research Council President Tony Perkins – who describes himself as ‘agnostic on Donald Trump’ – said the only way Trump can deal with attempts to ‘suppress evangelical support and turnout’ in November is by demonstrating his pro-life credentials in selecting a ‘running mate, how he vets judicial nominees and what does he do with the party platform.’” CNN reported, “Perkins suggests that the presumptive nominee could make some tangible moves to bring values voters along with him. One visible step would be to pick a vice presidential nominee who is trusted by evangelical and social conservatives. ‘Is there someone that we will have a confidence in that has a track record because past performance in the best indicator of future performance,’ said Perkins.” Penny Nance also weighed in on what kind of person Trump should select as his vice presidential candidate:

“A pro-life, social conservative with solid knowledge of both Washington and foreign policy would be a great help to him and a unifying force for the base.” Nance wrote, “I would have liked to have heard some of his guiding principles in choosing a vice-presidential running mate” at his meeting with conservative leaders. She also emphasized the importance of the selection: “This appointment sets the tone for all of his other appointments and is, of course as they say, one heartbeat away from the presidency.” [LifeSiteNews, [5/12/16](#); CNN, [5/17/16](#); Concerned Women for America, [6/23/16](#)]



VICE PRESIDENT MIKE PENCE

**Dannenfelser Made It Known She Opposed Gen. Mike Flynn As A Possible Vice President Because Of His Position On Abortion.** While Trump was considering Gen. Mike Flynn as his vice presidential candidate, Marjorie Dannenfelser said, “General Flynn has disqualified himself from consideration as vice president. His pro-abortion position is unacceptable and would undermine the pro-life policy commitments that Mr. Trump has made throughout the campaign.” Flynn had previously said, “I think women have to be able to choose.” [Fox News, [7/11/16](#); NBC News, [7/10/16](#)]

**Kristan Hawkins Said She Likely Would Vote For Trump If He Chose Pence As His Running Mate: “Pence Is Our Guy.”** Before Pence officially joined the ticket, Hawkins said, “If [Trump] does select Pence, I probably will vote for him. This gives me something to vote for. ... When it comes to my mission in life and the mission of our organization, Pence is our guy.” [NBC News, [7/15/16](#)]

**Anti-Choice Leaders Celebrated Trump’s Selection Of Pence As His Running Mate.** The Rev. Frank Pavone of Priests for Life tweeted, “Congratulations to our long-time prolife friend and ally @GovPenceIN for being selected to run for VP! #VoteProLife.” Ralph Reed of Faith & Freedom Coalition tweeted, “Gov Mike Pence is an outstanding pick for VP, solid conservative & a man of faith. A serious, unifying, governing pick by Trump.” Carol Tobias of National Right to Life called Pence an “excellent choice” and said, “With a solid pro-life voting record on abortion during his time in Congress, and through his pro-life actions as Indiana governor, Mike Pence has proven himself to be a strong leader for the right to life. ... Mike Pence brings a strong pro-life background to the Republican ticket, which contrasts with the extreme pro-abortion position of Hillary Clinton and the Democrats.” Kristan Hawkins of Students for Life said Pence was “a tested pro-life conservative” who fought “in the trenches with us on several important fights. The pro-life movement should be thrilled with this pick.” She called selecting Pence “the best decision Donald Trump has made in his campaign so far.” [LifeSiteNews, [7/14/16](#); Students for Life, [7/14/16](#); Twitter, [7/15/16](#); Twitter, [7/15/16](#); National Right to Life, [7/15/16](#)]

**Marjorie Dannenfelser On Learning That Trump Added Pence To His Ticket: “Honestly, I Began To Breathe An Exhale And Start To Think, Okay, We Can Accomplish This. ... It’s Really Hard To Run An Election On Reluctant [Assent]. If You Can’t Win Your Base, You Can’t Win. ... It’s A Whole New Ballgame Now.”** Time reported, “Marjorie Dannenfelser was traveling to a Council for National Policy meeting last week with a longtime Mike Pence advisor when she heard the news that Donald Trump had picked the Indiana governor as his running mate.” On SBA List’s support for Trump, Dannenfelser said, “Gov. Pence had a lot to do with it.” She said, “Mr. Trump’s selection of Gov. Mike Pence is an affirmation of the pro-life commitments he’s made and will rally the pro-life grassroots. ... Mike Pence is a pro-life trailblazer and Mr. Trump could not have made a better choice.” Dannenfelser said Pence joining the ticket “made my work frankly really possible and even better than it ever was before” and tweeted, “@mike\_pence makes door to door in FL, NC and OH exciting. Most women with Pence not Hillary on #abortion.” In August 2016, Dannenfelser introduced Pence at a Trump-Pence campaign rally at Patrick Henry College, where she called Pence “my friend” and said he “has ignited the ticket.” Pence in turn told the audience, “I just have to tell you how proud I am to be able to call Marjorie Dannenfelser a friend” and called her “my friend of so many years.” [Time, [7/20/16](#); The Washington Post, [10/1/16](#); Twitter, [7/15/16](#); SBA List, [8/29/16](#), via YouTube; LifeSiteNews, [7/14/16](#); LifeNews.com, [7/14/16](#); Twitter, [7/14/16](#)]

**“Mr. Trump’s selection of Gov. Mike Pence is an affirmation of the pro-life commitments he’s made and will rally the pro-life grassroots. ... Mike Pence is a pro-life trailblazer and Mr. Trump could not have made a better choice.”**

**Marjorie Dannenfelser**  
[Time, 7/20/16]

**Penny Nance: The Selection Of Pence Shows That “Trump Is Moving In The Right Direction And Is Showing That He’s Taking The Evangelical Christian Voting Bloc Seriously.”** Nance continued, “During his time in the House, Pence made a name for himself as a pro-life champion, leading the fight to defund Planned Parenthood of taxpayer dollars. Additionally, he co-sponsored and voted for numerous pieces of pro-marriage legislation and had a reputation as a respected, policy-oriented member.” Nance also said, “I really do feel much more

comfortable with Donald Trump as the candidate with Mike Pence as his running mate. ... He's just rock-solid on the issue of life, and no one will ever doubt his integrity on the issue or his willingness to lead on the issue." Nance tweeted: "@govpencein has a 0% NARAL rating and a 100% CWA rating from his Congressional days. @CWforA" [LifeSiteNews, [7/15/16](#); The Washington Post, [10/1/16](#); Twitter, [7/14/16](#)]

**Other Conservative Leaders Also Celebrated Pence's Selection Based On His Pro-Life Credentials.** At an SBA List and FRC luncheon at the Republican National Convention, Sam Brownback highlighted the importance of voting for Trump because the Supreme Court "is worth it all" and said, "Mike Pence is a good friend of mine, ... a solid pro-life guy. This should really give you some heart." Time reported, "At a lunch honoring longtime conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly in Cleveland on Tuesday, Rebecca Hagelin, former vice president of the Heritage Foundation, glowed over the Pence news. Unlike Trump's promises to appoint certain judges and enact certain tax plans, she says, choosing Pence is a 'solid action,' a sign he will follow through on his prolife commitments. 'This gives me hope that maybe Donald Trump is becoming more conservative,' she says. 'How could I not do everything possible to get someone like Mike Pence elected vice-president?'" [Time, [7/20/16](#)]

## Commitment #4: Anti-Choice Campaign Staff

**Anti-Choice Leaders Celebrated Trump Hiring "Pro-Life Leaders Of The Highest Degree" In His Campaign, Pointing To Kellyanne Conway, David Bossie, John Mashburn And Mike Pence.** Marjorie Dannenfelser and the Rev. Frank Pavone wrote, "Over time, Trump's commitments to life have gotten stronger. His inner circle includes pro-life leaders of the highest degree: Kellyanne Conway, David Bossie and John Mashburn. Trump's running mate, Gov. Mike Pence, is a pro-life trailblazer who has spent his entire career fighting to defund the abortion industry and helped make Indiana one of the friendliest states in the country for unborn babies and their mothers." [Washington Examiner, [11/5/16](#)]

**ADF's Matt Bowman: "Pro-Lifers Aren't 'Trusting' Trump; They Are Relying On His Actual Pro-Life Hires, Which Have Been Great, And The Assurances They Have Gotten Out Of Trump, Which Are Better Than Those From Any Previous Nominee."** ADF's Matt Bowman wrote, "Trump has also hired and given authority to very pro-life people – the one thing a candidate can do besides making promises. Mike Pence, Kellyanne Conway, and little-known staffers such as David Bossie and John Mashburn are staunch pro-lifers. Trump let the Federalist Society and Heritage Foundation pick his Supreme Court nominees. Trump will hire thousands in the federal government if he wins, and many of them are likely to be solid pro-lifers." [The National Pulse, [11/6/16](#)]

**Anti-Choice Groups Celebrated When Kellyanne Conway Took Over As Campaign Manager On The Trump Campaign.** Trump hired Kellyanne Conway as a senior adviser on July 1, 2016. She became his campaign manager on Aug. 17, 2016. Marjorie Dannenfelser said, "I have known and trusted Kellyanne Conway my entire professional life. ... She and Steve [Bannon] both understand the importance of effectively communicating the pro-life position and leveraging the passion of the pro-life grassroots in winning elections. No two could be better positioned to help Donald Trump to take on and expose Hillary Clinton's extremism in this general election." Marilyn Musgrave called Conway "a committed pro-life" Republican. National Right to Life Executive Director David N. O'Steen said, "Kellyanne is very, very smart and without question more knowledgeable about public opinion on abortion than any other pollster. ... In choosing pro-life



WHITE HOUSE COUNSELOR  
KELLYANNE CONWAY



Kellyanne Conway as his campaign manager, Donald Trump has not only availed himself of one of the most talented advisors possible, he has also sent a strong signal to the entire Pro-Life Movement about his own commitment to the pro-life issue.” Dave Andrusko wrote in National Right to Life News Today, “What did not go unnoticed by pro-lifers is that a movement pro-lifer, someone who has labored in the trenches for decades on behalf of unborn babies, someone who in the past has polled for National Right to Life, is now in charge of Mr. Trump’s campaign.” Andrusko highlighted that Conway spoke at the 2006 National Right to Life Convention, addressed the National Right to Life board of directors, and provided polling for many anti-choice groups and politicians. The National Catholic Register noted that Conway focused on “activating the Republican base.” [National Catholic Register, [9/27/16](#); The Washington Post, [7/1/16](#); Time, [8/23/16](#); LifeNews.com, [8/17/16](#); National Right to Life News Today, [8/24/16](#)]

**Anti-Choicers Praised Trump For Hiring John Mashburn As His Policy Director.** In May 2016, SBA List’s Marjorie Dannenfelser wrote that Trump hiring Mashburn was “an excellent hire, especially for the pro-life movement and our legislative priorities.” Dannenfelser wrote that Mashburn was “a smart strategist with deep pro-life roots. ... For him, the life issue is foundational.” Dannenfelser emphasized that Mashburn was previously chief of staff to Sen. Thom Tillis, “who Susan B. Anthony List and our allies worked hard to elect in 2014.” Dannenfelser continued, “If I were running for president, I would want John Mashburn as a top advisor, too. Congratulations on your new hire, Mr. Trump. If elected, no doubt John Mashburn will serve you well as you fulfill your campaign promises to defund Planned Parenthood, advance and sign into law the popular Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act, and appoint Justices to the bench who will protect and defend the Constitution.” CWA’s Penny Nance said of Mashburn, “Yes he is a rock solid pro-lifer and former [Jesse] Helms staffer. Someone we can work with.” Charmaine Yoest said, “John Mashburn comes from the pro-life community. He’s definitely committed. ... When you put someone in the policy director spot who is a movement conservative, that speaks volumes.” Live Action writer Calvin Freiburger praised Trump for “bringing in a principled and knowledgeable advisor, John Mashburn, to further guide him on pro-life policies.” [The National Pulse, [5/3/16](#); Washington Examiner, [5/5/16](#); Politico, [5/11/16](#); Live Action, [5/17/16](#)]

## Commitment #5: Discussion Of Late-Term Abortion During Debate

**In The Final Presidential Debate In October 2016, Trump Graphically And Incorrectly Described A Late-Term Abortion.** Trump said, “In the ninth month, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. Now, you can say that that’s OK, and Hillary can say that that’s OK. But it’s not OK with me, because based on what she’s saying and based on where she’s going and where she’s been, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month, on the final day. And that’s not acceptable.” [The Washington Post, [10/19/16](#)]

**Dannenfelser Celebrated Trump’s Debate Comments In An Op-Ed Called “Donald Trump’s Abortion Stance Preserves The Sanctity Of Life.”** Dannenfelser wrote, “The third presidential debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton exposed the deep chasm that exists between them on the issue of abortion. ... Trump has made clear his commitment to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, sign a ban on late-term abortion, defund Planned Parenthood and uphold the Hyde Amendment. Trump’s strong and compassionate defense of the unborn in last week’s debate forced Clinton to drop her mask. The choice for those who want to uphold the sanctity of human life and the Constitution’s guarantee of the right to life to all citizens could not be clearer.” Dannenfelser repeated Trump’s description of “ripping a baby out of the womb.” After the election, Dannenfelser called Trump’s comments in the last debate “a historic moment.” [Time, [10/24/16](#); SBA List, [11/9/16](#), via YouTube]

**Dannenfelser And Pavone Highlighted That Trump's Debate Comments Went Beyond What They Could Have Imagined Hearing From Past Republican Nominees.** In "Dear Pro-Lifers: Trump Absolutely Worth Your Vote," Marjorie Dannenfelser and the Rev. Frank Pavone wrote, "In the most recent presidential debate, Trump described the horror of partial-birth abortion. He did a service to all voters in forcing Hillary Clinton to own up to her extreme positions in support of this procedure and expanded abortion-on-demand. Could one imagine Mitt Romney or other past Republican nominees boldly describing late-term abortion and unapologetically proclaiming pro-life beliefs just weeks from the election?" [Washington Examiner, [11/5/16](#)]

## ANTI-CHOICE LEADERS MOBILIZED THEIR BASE TO HELP ELECT TRUMP

**Anti-Choice Leaders Wrote Op-Eds Supporting Trump And Encouraging Others To Vote For Him In The Last Weeks Of The Election.** On Oct. 27, LifeNews.com published an op-ed by Kristan Hawkins called "I Am Voting for Donald Trump and Pro-Life Voters Should Too. Here's Why." On Nov. 6, The Christian Post published an op-ed by Gary Bauer called "The Pro-Life Case for Donald Trump." On Nov. 5, the Washington Examiner published a piece by Marjorie Dannenfelser and the Rev. Frank Pavone called "Dear Pro-Lifers: Trump Absolutely Worth Your Vote," in which they wrote, "That's precisely what we, the heads of Susan B. Anthony List and Priests for Life, have done throughout the election: make the case that Trump is the best choice for pro-lifers in this election. ... As Election Day draws near, we keep before us the thought of those 312,000 precious children who will perish if Clinton implements her extreme agenda. Each child is unique, unrepeatable and created with a purpose. How would they want us to vote on Nov. 8? The answer is not complicated. It is absolutely worth voting for Donald Trump." [LifeNews.com, [10/27/16](#); Washington Examiner, [11/5/16](#); The Christian Post, [11/6/16](#)]

**Anti-Choice Groups Also Worked In 2016 To Get Trump A Supportive, Pro-Life Congress.** In an op-ed, Marjorie Dannenfelser and the Rev. Frank Pavone wrote, "Under Trump, a divided Congress could indeed be challenging. That's why we are sparing no effort to protect the Senate's pro-life majority. SBA List's ground team has been active since October 2015 and just surpassed its goal of knocking on 1 million doors in key battleground states prior to Election Day. We are reaching out to infrequent pro-life voters, including Hispanics and persuadable Democrats, to expose Clinton and pro-abortion Senate candidates for the extremists they are." [Washington Examiner, [11/5/16](#)]

### Susan B. Anthony List

**SBA List 2016 Campaign Plan: "Winning The 2016 Presidential Election Is The Top Priority Of Susan B. Anthony List"; Keeping The Senate Was Also "Crucial" For Policy Success.** SBA List believed the "main impediment to progress" was not having "a pro-life president who will sign legislation into law to protect unborn lives." SBA List also wrote in its 2016 campaign plan that "keeping the U.S. Senate in pro-life hands is also crucial. Senate approval will be needed to pass pro-life laws and place pro-life judges on the federal benches, including the Supreme Court." After the election, SBA List wrote, "We won the White House. ... Pro-life Donald Trump wins." [SBA List, accessed [11/14/17](#); SBA List, [11/8/16](#); SBA List 2016 Campaign Plan, accessed [11/6/17](#)]

**SBA List And Women Speak Out PAC "Built A Massive Ground Operation To Elect Trump" And Reportedly "Spent More Than \$18 Million In The 2016 Election Cycle."** SBA List reported that it knocked on 1,140,642 doors in 2016 with 756 total canvassers. It also claimed to have reached 550,000 voters online with 20 million



ad impressions. SBA List's PAC, Women Speak Out, spent \$1,913,794 during the 2016 cycle, including \$540,397.69 in independent expenditures against Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign over the 2016 cycle. SBA List set its "previous record of half a million homes visited" during the 2014 campaign. [SBA List press release, [11/1/17](#); SBA List, accessed [10/10/17](#); Federal Election Commission, accessed [11/12/17](#); SBA List, [4/7/17](#); SBA List, [10/31/16](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

**SBA List Laid The Groundwork For "Pro-Life Victories" In 2016 Through Its "Unprecedented Door-To-Door Campaign, Backed By Hard-Hitting Mail & Digital Ads" Aimed At "Electing Donald Trump And Pro-Life Senators In Battleground States."** In a statement on election night, Marjorie Dannenfelser said, "SBA List has spent the last year talking to voters in battleground states – directly at their doors and through hard-hitting mail and digital ads – and laying the groundwork for pro-life victories tonight. Not only did we work to turn out inconsistent pro-life voters, we identified and contacted persuadable Democrats, including Hispanics, who were horrified to learn about Hillary Clinton's support for forcing taxpayers to fund late-term abortion up until the moment of birth. Clinton's position – which is shared by her allied Senate candidates – is profoundly unpopular. The abortion issue has consistently been on voters' minds this election. According to Google trends, abortion was the second most searched for term during the first general election debate. In the days leading up to the election, abortion has been the top issue voters are searching for related to both candidates. Our team communicated each candidate's position on the life issue directly to low-propensity pro-life voters who otherwise may not vote, and also to persuadable Democrats and Hispanics who otherwise may vote for pro-abortion candidates." [SBA List, [11/8/16](#)]

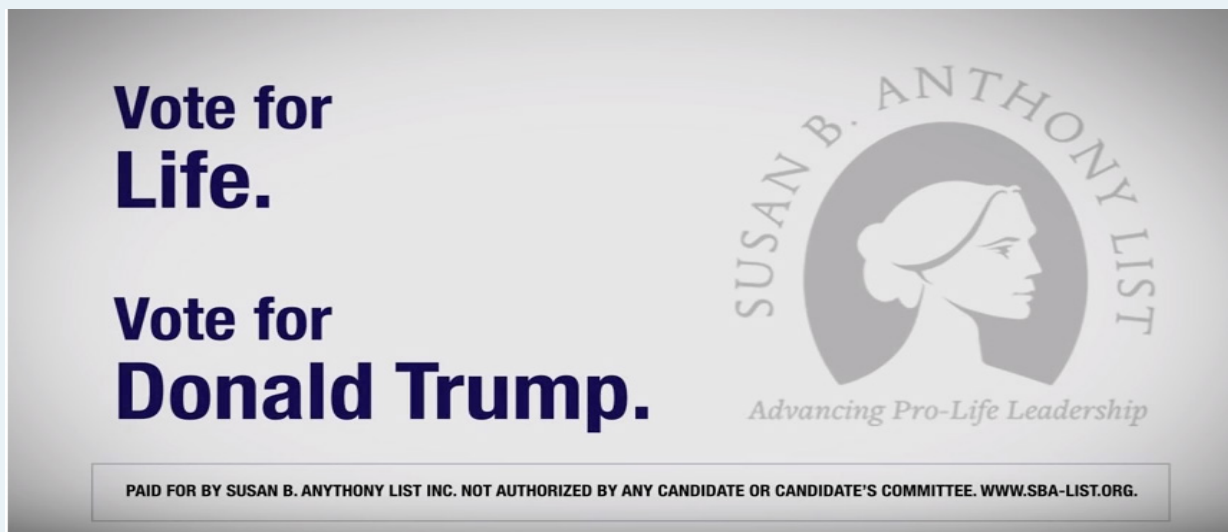
**Dannenfelser: "This Cycle We Enacted The Largest Ground Game Ever In The Pro-Life Movement."** [SBA List, [11/9/16](#), via YouTube]

**In 2016, SBA List Focused Its Senate Electoral Activities On Four States – Florida, Missouri, North Carolina And Ohio – And Won In The Senate Races In These States.** SBA List planned to target "pro-life Republicans, pro-life Democrats, and pro-life Hispanics (sic) voters." SBA List also played in and won the Missouri gubernatorial race and the congressional race in Utah's 4th District, another priority state. SBA List's candidate lost in the North Carolina gubernatorial race. Women Speak Out PAC spent \$91,618.01 in Florida, \$79,178.08 in Ohio, \$85,878.91 in Missouri and \$121,232.09 in North Carolina. Women Speak Out also spent \$46,941.72 to support Mia Love and \$40,513.89 to support Mike Lee in Utah. [SBA List, accessed [10/10/17](#); SBA List, accessed [10/10/17](#); SBA List email, [4/7/17](#), via NARAL Research Department; Federal Election Commission, accessed [11/12/17](#)]

**Susan B. Anthony List Released A Candidate Guide Called "Election 2016: Life on the Line" Emphasizing Trump's Anti-Choice Promises And Pence's Anti-Choice Record.** The guide pointed out that Trump "supports the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act, ... pledges to appoint pro-life Justices, ... committed to defunding Planned Parenthood" and "opposes taxpayer-funded abortion, defends conscience freedom." The guide also highlighted Pence's anti-choice record, pointing out that he "co-sponsored or authored 28 pro-life bills in Congress, ... signed 4 pro-life bills into law as Governor" and "led the charge to defund Planned Parenthood." [SBA List Election 2016 voter guide, accessed [11/14/17](#)]

**SBA List Released An Ad In The Last Week Of The Campaign Featuring Trump's Description Of Late-Term Abortion During The Third General Election Debate.** The digital ad, called "Not Okay," ran in Florida, Missouri, North Carolina and Ohio, aimed at "638,000 targeted voters in key battleground states." Women Speak Out PAC put out a fundraising appeal around the ad, asking for donations to "fund our final push to Election Day, getting

out the pro-life vote and reaching undecided voters. With the race completely tied, it all comes down to turning out our base and persuading undecided voters.” Dannenfelser on the strategy behind the ad: “It’s to really bring the point to the people. In a handful of states, a handful of people will determine the House and the Senate that will determine the fate of the Supreme Court in the future. So when you really look at it, that means it’s just a handful of people, and I believe the Catholic faithful can turn this election towards life.” As of November 2017, the ad had 572,000 views on Facebook and 53,210 on YouTube. [The National Pulse, [11/7/16](#); SBA List, accessed [11/14/17](#); SBA List, [11/4/16](#), via YouTube; Facebook, [11/2/16](#); EWTN, [11/7/16](#), via YouTube]



**SBA List Ran An Ad Targeting Hillary Clinton On Late-Term Abortion.** The ad featured the mother of Micah, a child born at “22 weeks and 4 days.” SBA List “launched a six-figure” digital campaign around the ad “designed to reach 550,000 pro-life, low propensity voters multiple times online.” [SBA List, [8/2/16](#), via YouTube; LifeSiteNews, [10/31/16](#)]

**The Day After The Election, Dannenfelser Said, “The Pro-Life Movement Is In The Strongest Position That It Has Been In Over 40 Years Since Roe V. Wade” Due To The “Perfect Lineup” Of Trump And A Republican Congress.** Dannenfelser said, “We’re poised to make the biggest legislative advances for the protection of unborn children since *Roe v. Wade*. ... We are teed up to defund Planned Parenthood. ... Last time, made it to the president’s office but had the wrong president, so of course he didn’t sign it. We have all that we need now because we’ve got the perfect lineup.” She said the same went for the 20-week abortion ban, and continued, “With the commitments that we have, that we know from Donald Trump, we will be entertaining pro-life Supreme Court justices. I believe he’s the only presidential candidate to ever formulate the promise in that way, that pro-life Supreme Court justices will be nominated only.” In January 2017, Dannenfelser said the election “revolutionized the politics of abortion. We have control of the House and the Senate, and we have strong commitments from the administration to make real changes for the first time in decades, so we’re very well-positioned to enact some change.” [PBS NewsHour, [1/30/17](#), via YouTube; SBA List, [11/9/16](#), via YouTube]

## Priests For Life

**According To Its 2016 Election Plan Of Action, Priests For Life Aimed To “Register, Educate And Activate Voters” In Order To “Elect Pro-Life Candidates To Every Level Of Government.”** Priests for Life also aimed to “inform and equip the clergy and other pro-life leaders of all that they can legally say and do regarding elections.” Priests for Life’s “all-important ground game activities” included alerting religious leaders to its “election-related materials” and “pastoral resources.” Priests for Life planned to spend \$445,000 on the 2016 election, including \$45,000 on “letters and legal symposium to all U.S. bishops” and \$95,000 on “voter education activities.” Priests for Life provided resources for clergy and parishes, as well as “legal guidelines on what to do in the parish.” [Priests for Life Election 2016 Plan of Action, accessed [11/13/17](#); Priests for Life, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Priests For Life Led The Vote Pro-Life Coalition.** The group was made up of anti-choice organizations, including American Values, Americans United for Life Action, Heartbeat International, LifeNews, LifeSiteNews, National Institute of Family and Life Advocates, Operation Rescue and Susan B. Anthony List. The coalition served to inform 501(c)3 nonprofit organizations and churches how they could act regarding elections and provide information and materials to the groups. [Vote Pro-Life Coalition, accessed [11/13/17](#); Priests for Life, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Priests For Life Encouraged Other Groups In The Vote Pro-Life Coalition To Email Their Lists About Voting For Candidates On The Issue Of Abortion.** The Rev. Frank Pavone wrote, “One of the key things we can still do prior to the end of this election season is to send an email to our lists, and post it on our websites, urging our people to vote and to get as many others as possible to vote as well.” Pavone provided a sample email for groups to send their members, stating, “The decisions Americans make on November 8 at the polls will determine the shape of America for decades to come. The choice of a President and a Congress, along with numerous other public officials, will determine the direction of countless policy decisions, the makeup of the Supreme Court, the lives of millions of unborn children, the religious liberty of our citizens – just to mention a few things. One day of voting – decades of consequences. Please be sure to vote on November 8 and to get others to vote as well!” [Vote Pro-Life Coalition, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Priests For Life Created A Voter Guide To The Republican And Democratic Party Platforms; The First Three Issues Were “Human Life,” “Planned Parenthood” And “Judges.”** The Priests for Life party platform guide included a disclaimer that it was “legally approved for distribution by Churches and 501(c)3 organizations.” Alliance Defending Freedom provided a letter stating its “opinion” that the Priests for Life guide was “501(c)(3) compliant.” Priests for Life distributed “hundreds of thousands of copies including as inserts in parish bulletins, diocesan newspapers in key states, the National Catholic Register, and electronically.” [Priests for Life, accessed [11/13/17](#); Alliance Defending Freedom, [8/31/16](#); Priests for Life, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Priests For Life Encouraged Supporters To “Urge Your Pastor To Equip Your Parish On The Final Weekend Before Election Day.”** The Rev. Frank Pavone directed pastors to “have your parish pray the Election Prayer,” “share with parishioners three key quotes” that “indicate what common sense also tells us: no issue matters more in the election than abortion” and “distribute” its party platform comparison guide. He wrote, “This one-page educational piece is legally fit for distribution by Churches (a legal letter is also available at the website), and will help voters understand the philosophy and policy preferences of the Republican and Democratic parties.” [Priests for Life, [10/31/16](#)]

**Priests For Life Celebrated “Our Election Victory” After Trump Won.** In an alert to members, the Rev. Frank Pavone wrote (emphasis from original): “Dear Friends, With countless other groups and colleagues across the nation, we continue to celebrate that fact that **We won the election!** Motivated by our love for the children in the womb, and the necessity of protecting them, we elected a President and a Congress, as well as numerous state legislatures and Governors, who are **willing to take concrete steps to advance the protection of our youngest children!** This was accomplished through **both prayer and action.**” [Priests for Life, [11/21/16](#)]

## Faith & Freedom Coalition

**In The 2016 Cycle, Faith & Freedom Coalition Targeted Over 15 Million “Pro-Life” Voters To Turn Out, Spending \$10 Million, Knocking On 1.2 Million Doors And Distributing Over 50 Million Pieces Of Literature Through The Mail And In Churches.** FFC’s 2015 to 2016 activities: “Faith & Freedom undertook a data-analytics-driven \$10 million grassroots ‘ground game’ campaign to educate, mobilize and turn out voters of faith. Campaign centered on 15.6 million faith-based voters in the key states that FFC’s data analytics and micro-targeting found were regular churchgoers, pro-life, pro-Israel and anti-Obamacare. Over 10 million phone calls. 22 million pieces of educational mail. Distributed 30 million voter guides in 117,000 churches. FFC volunteer knocked on 1.2 million doors.” FFC “made more than 155 million contacts with conservative Christian voters in 2016, targeting the key battleground states and Senate races.” FFC reports to have a “database of 42 million eligible Christian voters,” which “is the largest, most sophisticated Christian voter database ever built.” [Faith & Freedom Coalition, accessed [11/13/17](#); Faith & Freedom Coalition, [12/6/16](#), via YouTube]

**The FFC Voter Guide Video Discussed Abortion, The Supreme Court And The Iran Deal.** The voter guide video held up Trump’s opposition to abortion in contrast to Clinton’s support of it. It also showed Clinton saying she wanted the Supreme Court to uphold *Roe v. Wade* and marriage equality contrasted with Trump saying he wanted to appoint judges like Antonin Scalia. The print version of the voter guide listed the candidates’ positions on “abortion on demand” and defunding Planned Parenthood. [Faith & Freedom Coalition, [11/2/16](#), via YouTube; Faith & Freedom Coalition, accessed [11/13/17](#)]

**Ralph Reed Personally Donated \$5,400 To Trump And An Affiliated PAC On The Day Of Trump’s Meeting With Conservative Leaders.** On June 21, 2016, Ralph Reed donated \$2,700 to Donald J. Trump for President Inc. and \$2,700 to the Trump Victory PAC. [Federal Election Commission, [6/21/16](#); Federal Election Commission, [6/21/16](#); Century Strategies, accessed [11/14/17](#)]

**After The Election, Ralph Reed Highlighted That Evangelical And Conservative Christian Voters Voted By A Large Majority For Trump.** Reed said that around 80 percent of evangelical and conservative Christian voters voted for Trump. [Faith & Freedom Coalition, [12/6/16](#), via YouTube]

## Family Research Council

**FRC’s Tony Perkins Endorsed Trump At The Republican National Convention, Citing His Selection Of Pence And “His Judicial Nominees.”** In his speech, Perkins said, “From his judicial nominees to his running mate, to the party platform and the policies it promotes, Donald Trump has committed to upholding and protecting the first freedom and therefore our ability as citizens to unite our nation once again under God.” When asked if supporting Trump was a calculated risk, Perkins said, “You know what? Nations are built on calculated risk. Yeah. You could say we’re taking a calculated risk.” In a post on FRC Action’s website, Perkins wrote, “The most

significant policy issue of this presidential election is the question of which candidate will get to nominate one or more justices to the Supreme Court.” After criticizing Clinton, Perkins wrote, “The type of nominees that Donald Trump has said he will advance will protect our constitutional rights and restore a proper understanding of how the Constitution allocates power. This is the choice before us.” [The Hill, [7/21/16](#); Media Matters for America, [9/8/16](#); The Fiscal Times, [7/22/16](#); FRC Action, [10/11/16](#)]

**FRC Reported Spending Over \$300,000 On Electoral Activities In The 2016 Cycle.** FRC Action PAC spent \$193,891 in the 2016 cycle, primarily through donations to candidate committees and other PAC committees. FRC Action is the political arm of Family Research Council, Faith Family Freedom Fund, the FRC Action super PAC, spent \$135,623. [Federal Election Commission, accessed [12/6/17](#); Faith Family Freedom Fund, accessed [12/28/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

**FRC Action Knocked On Doors, Made Phone Calls And Went On A “Values Bus Tour” Through 20 States To Educate And Turn Out Voters “Who Undoubtedly Helped Deliver Trump’s Win.”** FRC Action wrote, “FRC was proud to play a crucial role in that surge, calling or knocking on the doors of more than 264,000 in North Carolina alone. We rolled through 20 states on our Values Bus with the message of what was at stake in this election, making more than 140 stops, and moving the needle on a vital bloc of voters who undoubtedly helped deliver Trump’s win.” The tour went to all 100 counties in North Carolina and to 20 states between September and November 2016. The Values Bus Tour held a get-out-the-vote rally in North Carolina in early November. [FRC Action, [11/9/16](#); FRC Action, [10/4/16](#), via YouTube; FRC Action, [11/2/16](#), via YouTube]

**FRC Action Released A Video About The Impact The Next President Could Have On The Supreme Court, Encouraging “Christian Conservatives” To Vote On That Basis.** The video said, “It’s very likely that our next president will appoint, and our next Senate will confirm, three or even four new justices” to the Supreme Court. The video continued, “Like it or not, many pivotal cases have been won and lost by a 5-4 margin. As Christian conservatives, imagine if some of these close votes protecting our freedoms and the sanctity of life were reversed.” The video then listed examples of close cases important to this voter base, including *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* regarding contraceptive access, *Gonzales v. Carhart* on late-term abortions and *Rust v. Sullivan* on federal abortion funding. “The slightest shift on the court could place these rulings and so many more of your freedoms in jeopardy, so when you make your decision this November, remember these decisions.” FRC Action claimed that 1.5 million Americans saw an ad it released on the Supreme Court. [FRC Action, [10/28/16](#), via YouTube; FRC Action, [11/10/16](#)]

**Faith Family Freedom Fund Released Ads About The Hyde Amendment.** One version of the ad supported Sen. Roy Blunt and one supported “candidates who will protect the Hyde Amendment.” [FRC Action, [11/3/16](#), via YouTube; FRC Action, [9/30/16](#), via YouTube]

## National Right To Life

**National Right To Life PAC Endorsed Trump In August 2016, Citing His Promises On Supreme Court Justices, His Hiring Of Kellyanne Conway And His Comments To NRTL.** National Right to Life wrote that “Donald Trump gave 100% pro-life answers to National Right to Life’s questions, met with pro-life leaders of National Right to Life and made campaign manager Kellyanne Conway, a strong, well-known pro-life advocate, a public face of his campaign.” It also wrote that Trump “made it clear that the Supreme Court was on the line for a generation and that he would appoint only pro-life justices.” The National Catholic Register reported, “Carol Tobias, president of the National Right to Life Committee, confirmed the pro-life movement’s growing enthusiasm for the GOP’s



presidential nominee. ‘I have seen overwhelming support for Trump from pro-lifers,’ Tobias told the Register. She emphasized that the sharp contrast between Trump and Clinton helped foster that support. “Trump has said he will nominate pro-life judges to the Supreme Court. We know Hillary Clinton will appoint judges who will probably expand *Roe v. Wade*.” Tobias said National Right to Life would not join Trump’s Pro-Life Coalition because “we don’t know if [participating on the coalition] will limit what we can do.” [National Right To Life PAC, accessed [12/28/17](#); National Catholic Register, [9/27/16](#)]

**National Right To Life And Its Political Arms Reached Out To “Millions Of Identified Pro-Life Voters By Mail, Phone, And Radio Ads On Behalf Of Trump And Pro-Life Senate Candidates In Swing States And The Key Senate Races.”** National Right to Life Victory Fund created a presidential voter guide called “Where Do the Candidates Stand on Abortion?” The guide compared the candidates’ positions on abortion bans, Supreme Court nominations, vice presidential candidates and party platforms. National Right to Life and state affiliates also endorsed many anti-choice Senate and House candidates in 2016. National Right to Life spent \$384,597.97 in independent expenditures and \$674,451.96 overall during the 2016 cycle. National Right to Life, New Jersey Right to Life, Oregon Right to Life and Right to Life of Michigan were among the top anti-choice groups making PAC contributions to federal candidates in the 2016 cycle, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. [National Right to Life, [11/9/16](#); National Right to Life Victory Fund, [7/31/16](#); National Right to Life Victory Fund, [6/22/16](#); National Right to Life PAC, accessed [12/14/17](#); Federal Election Commission, accessed [12/1/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/6/17](#)]

## Concerned Women For America

**Concerned Women For America Released A Video Outlining The Impact The Next President Would Have On Judges: “Your Vote For A Presidential Candidate On Nov. 8 Is Also A Vote For The Men And Women Of The Judiciary.”** The video stated, “The upcoming election is especially critical because the current vacancy on the Supreme Court will be filled by our next president. In fact, the next president will probably appoint at least two, and as many as four, of the nine judges on the Supreme Court. Remember, these judges serve for life, and the average tenure of a Supreme Court judge is 24 years. This court will make decisions that affect the definition of marriage, limitations on abortion, the right of private citizens to own guns, freedom of religious expression, public Nativity scenes, war memorials with crosses, school choice and many others. So your vote for a presidential candidate on Nov. 8 is also a vote for the men and women of the judiciary who make decisions that will impact America for years to come.” [Concerned Women for America, [9/14/16](#), via YouTube]

**Concerned Women For America State Chapters Canvassed In The Presidential Election.** CWA of Florida canvassed in the presidential election. Terri Johannessen, state director of CWA of Florida, wrote, “As you know, Florida was a hot state in the Presidential election. Our state Prayer/Action Chapters were heavily involved in canvassing households and distributing voter guides door-to-door. With six teams working across the state, we were able to distribute 300,000 voter guides leading up to the November 8 Election. Highlighting issues that CWA has chosen to focus on, the guides compared the stances of the candidates so that voters could readily see which one aligned with their values.” Johannessen celebrated Republican control of “the Federal executive and legislative branches” since “history has shown that more often these are the officials who’ve favored the positions of CWA.” CWA also partnered with Faith & Freedom Coalition and Susan B. Anthony List “in canvassing our great state for Christian family values.” [CWA of North Carolina newsletter, [Fall/Winter 2016](#); CWA of Florida, [12/18/16](#)]

**Along With FRC Action, CWA Launched A “Values Bus Tour” To Mobilize Voters.** According to CWA, “The Values Bus is driving coast to coast to encourage and equip voters to vote their values on November 8! ... We will help mobilize America’s voters as we work together to preserve the bedrock values of religious freedom, sanctity of life, natural marriage, and limited government that make our nation strong.” The bus went to 20 states. [Concerned Women for America, accessed [12/13/17](#); Values Bus, accessed [12/13/17](#)]

**CWA Of Kansas Put Together And Promoted “Election Resources.”** This included a 2016 party platform comparison, information on the importance of voting in the presidential election to influence judicial nominations, and voting-related deadlines. [CWA of Kansas, [10/26/16](#)]

## March For Life

**March For Life Action Ran Ads Claiming A National “Pro-Life Consensus” During The Presidential Election.** The ad, called “Consensus,” ran on television and digitally, targeting Columbus and Dayton, Ohio; Pittsburgh and Scranton, Pennsylvania; Richmond, Virginia; and Washington, D.C. The ad called for “our voices to be heard” against “pro-choice politicians.” March for Life launched its 501(c)4 nonprofit organization, March for Life Action, in September 2016, allowing the organization to partake in some political activities and “to advocate for specific pro-life policies.” In the post announcing the creation of the 501(c)4, March for Life President Jeanne Mancini wrote that, while the group was “non-partisan,” it believed the Democratic Party had “the most radical pro-abortion platform ever.” [March for Life, [9/22/16](#); March for Life, [9/20/16](#)]

## Students For Life

**Students For Life: Trump’s “Victory Helps The Pro-Life Movement Immensely.”** The day after the election, Kristan Hawkins wrote on the Students for Life website, “America has a pro-life majority government. Everything we have been fighting so hard to accomplish these past several years, despite an entrenched abortion lobby and corrupt politicians in Washington – all of this is now possible. It’s now very easy to imagine a day when *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* will be overturned and when Planned Parenthood, our nation’s abortion Goliath, will be defunded of half a billion dollars in taxpayer money. This is possible, now. If... If we, the pro-life generation, hold President-Elect Trump to his promises. If we hold the Congress and [its] leaders to their numerous pledges. If we stand united, focused, and motivated. There is no excuse. As you know, our mission at Students for Life has never been dependent on what happens in Washington. This victory helps the pro-life movement immensely. This new pro-life majority has it within their reach to pass and enforce the pro-life laws we need until we reach the day our culture fundamentally rejects abortion. We will save more lives. ...but now the real work begins. We have to finish what we started. We need to ensure that only pro-life Supreme Court justices are appointed, period. We need to fire Planned Parenthood and defund them of our taxpayer dollars, plain and simple. We need to mobilize like never before and ensure our leaders in Washington will do what they have pledged.” [Students for Life, [11/9/16](#)]

## TRUMP FOLLOWED THROUGH ON HIS COMMITMENTS ONCE IN OFFICE

### Judicial Nominations

**Trump Nominated Neil Gorsuch To The Supreme Court With The Enthusiastic Support Of The Anti-Choice Movement.** Many anti-choice groups celebrated Trump's nomination of Gorsuch and worked to push through his confirmation. Dannenfelser tweeted, "Promise kept," with a picture of Trump and Gorsuch at the nomination announcement. Operation Rescue President Troy Newman praised Trump's nomination of Gorsuch: "We want to express our thanks to President Trump for nominating a man of such stellar quality as Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court. ... One of the reasons I endorsed Trump for president was because of the strong promises he made to pro-life leaders. Now, after less than two weeks in office, he is keeping those promises." The Rev. Frank Pavone of Priests for Life called Gorsuch's nomination "a tremendous victory." Kristan Hawkins said in a statement from Students for Life, "We are thrilled with Judge Neil Gorsuch's nomination to the US Supreme Court by President Trump, who is continuing to fulfill campaign promises at a breakneck speed." Concerned Women for America wrote in an email, "In the first six months of his term, the president has ... fulfilled his promise to fill the Supreme Court vacancy with a strict constitutionalist judge, Neil Gorsuch." Judicial Crisis Network set up the website ConfirmGorsuch.com after the nomination. Following Gorsuch's confirmation, Trump sent thank-you notes to Dannenfelser and Nance for "all of your efforts to help confirm our Supreme Court nominee Neil Gorsuch." [Operation Rescue, [1/31/17](#); Twitter, [1/31/17](#); Priests for Life, [1/31/17](#); Students for Life, [1/31/17](#); ConfirmGorsuch.com, accessed [1/31/17](#); Concerned Women For America email, 8/3/17, via NARAL Research Department; Susan B. Anthony List, [4/7/17](#); Concerned Women for America email, 5/3/17, via NARAL Research Department]

**"One of the reasons I endorsed Trump for president was because of the strong promises he made to pro-life leaders. Now, after less than two weeks in office, he is keeping those promises."**

**Operation Rescue's Troy Newman**  
[Operation Rescue, 1/31/17]

**Trump Got A Record Number Of Federal Judges Confirmed In His First Year, Many Of Whom "Are Young, Conservative, And Opposed To Abortion And LGBTQ Rights."** In his first year in office, Trump nominated 58 people to judicial appointments. The Senate approved at least 12 circuit court judges and six District Court judges by the end of 2017. According to HuffPost, "That's more [circuit court judges] than any president has confirmed in their first year in office since the circuit courts were created in 1891." The nominees included Kyle Duncan, who represented Hobby Lobby in its case against contraception coverage; John Bush, who compared abortion to slavery on an anonymous blog; and Amy Coney Barrett, who called *Roe v. Wade* an "erroneous decision" and belonged to a secret religious group that refers to women as "handmaids." Steve Graszo, who defended a "partial-birth" abortion ban in front of the Supreme Court, was confirmed despite receiving a "not qualified" rating from the American Bar Association over concerns he "would be 'unable to separate his role as an advocate from that of a judge,' given his record on issues like LGBTQ and abortion rights." [National Review, [8/4/17](#); HuffPost, [12/14/17](#); HuffPost, [12/12/17](#); HuffPost, [7/20/17](#); HuffPost, [10/31/17](#); NARAL Pro-Choice America, accessed [12/15/17](#)]

**Tony Perkins, November 2017: "People Who Voted For This President Based Solely On The Courts Certainly Haven't Been Disappointed!"** [Family Research Council, [11/30/17](#)]

## Anti-Choice Executive Orders And Policies

**Trump Signed A Presidential Memo To Reinstate The Global Gag Rule.** The global gag rule “bars international non-governmental organizations that perform or promote abortions from receiving US government funding.” The rule was initially implemented by the Reagan administration, but rescinded in 2009, under President Obama. Trump signed the memo restating the rule on Jan. 23, 2017, his first week in office. [CNN, [1/24/17](#); MSNBC, [1/23/17](#), via YouTube; Business Insider, [5/3/17](#)]

**Trump Signed An Executive Order Aiming To “Make It Easier For Employers With Religious Objections Not To Include Contraception Coverage In Workers’ Health Care Plans.”** Pence stood next to Trump as he signed the executive order on “promoting free speech and religious liberty.” The order also “targeted the Johnson Amendment, a provision of tax law which prohibits churches from getting directly involved in political campaigns – and has long chafed some evangelical activists.” [USA Today, [5/4/17](#)]

**Trump Signed A Bill “Allowing States To Withhold Federal Family Planning Dollars From Clinics That Provide Abortion Services” Behind Closed Doors With Marjorie Dannenfelser And Penny Nance By His Side.** Trump signed H.J. Res. 43, “a Congressional Review Act resolution overturning the Obama Administration’s Title X rule.” The Center for Medicare & Medicaid Services Director Seema Verma, bill sponsor Rep. Diane Black and Kellyanne Conway also attended the private signing. Speaking outside of the White House at a press conference with Verma, Dannenfelser said, “This week the pro-life movement had two huge victories: first, the swearing-in of Justice Gorsuch, and now, President Trump will undo former President Obama’s parting gift to the abortion industry.” Pence cast the tiebreaking vote in the Senate to pass the bill. [The Washington Post, [4/13/17](#); Twitter, [4/13/17](#); House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy, [4/13/17](#); Los Angeles Times, [3/30/17](#)]

## As Vice President, Pence Works Closely With The Anti-Choice Movement

**Vice President Mike Pence And Counselor To The President Kellyanne Conway Spoke At The 2017 March For Life.** Pence was the highest-ranking official to ever speak at the event. Second Lady Karen Pence told the crowd, “This is not our first March for Life.” Mike Pence said, “President Trump actually asked me to be here with you today. He asked me to thank you for your support, for your stand for life, and for your compassion for the women and children of America. ... I like to say that over there at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., we are in the promise-keeping business. ... And that’s why next week, President Donald Trump will announce a Supreme Court nominee who will uphold the God-given liberties enshrined in our Constitution in the tradition of the late and great Justice Antonin Scalia. You know, life is winning in America.” Conway told marchers on behalf of the administration, “We hear you, we see you, we respect you, and we look forward to working with you.” [USA Today, [1/27/17](#); ABC News, [1/27/17](#); The Washington Times, [1/27/17](#); Indianapolis Star, [1/27/17](#); LifeSiteNews, [1/27/17](#); CNN, [1/27/17](#)]

**Pence Held A Reception At The White House For “About 40 U.S. Pro-Life Leaders” The Night Before The March For Life.** Attendees included National Right to Life President Carol Tobias, Students for Life President Kristan Hawkins, And Then There Were None President Abby Johnson, March for Life President Jeanne Mancini, former Americans United for Life President Charmaine Yoest, Focus on the Family President Jim Daly, Care Net CEO Roland Warren, as well as representatives from Susan B. Anthony List, the Knights of Columbus and Heartbeat International. Pence tweeted that he “told them I look forward to addressing National @March\_for\_Life on Friday.” [LifeSiteNews, [1/27/17](#); Time, [1/27/17](#); Focus on the Family, [4/26/17](#); Facebook, [1/29/17](#); Twitter, [1/26/17](#)]

**Pence Held At Least Two Roundtables At The White House With Anti-Choice Groups To Discuss Health Care Reform And “Reaffirm” The Administration’s “Commitment To The Sanctity Of Life.”** In March, Pence held a “pro-life listening session” with groups including Family Research Council and the American Conservative Union. Pence’s office reported, “The conversation focused on ensuring that the sanctity of life is respected and included in efforts to repeal and replace Obamacare. The Vice President solicited suggestions from the foremost pro-life leaders on improving health care in America while he provided a synopsis of the Administration’s overall strategy for repealing and replacing Obamacare. Vice President Pence reiterated his and President Trump’s strong commitment to the sanctity of life.” Leaders and representatives from Susan B. Anthony List, Students for Life, Concerned Women for America and March for Life attended a roundtable meeting with Pence and then-Secretary of Health and Human Services Tom Price at the White House in July. [Twitter, [7/21/17](#); Twitter, [7/21/17](#); Twitter, [7/21/17](#); Twitter, [7/21/17](#); Twitter, [7/21/17](#); Washington Examiner, [3/9/17](#); Office of the Vice President press release, [3/9/17](#)]

**Vice President Mike Pence Was The Keynote Speaker At The Susan B. Anthony List Campaign For Life Gala.** Kellyanne Conway also spoke at the gala, where she said the Trump administration was “just getting started” on “protecting the sanctity of life.” [Washington Examiner, [5/3/17](#); Facebook, [5/3/17](#)]

## **Trump’s Executive Branch Is Stacked With Anti-Choice Staff**

**Trump Hired And Appointed Many Anti-Choice Executive Branch Staffers.** Teresa Manning, who formerly lobbied for the National Right to Life Committee and Family Research Council, became the deputy assistant secretary for population affairs. Katy Talento joined the White House Domestic Policy Council as a health policy aide. She previously wrote articles opposing and spreading lies about birth control and worked as Sen. Thom Tillis’ legislative director. Former AUL President Charmaine Yoest became assistant secretary of public affairs at the Department of Health and Human Services. Valerie Huber, chief of staff to the assistant secretary for health, was formerly the president of Ascend, an abstinence-only education advocacy group. Jane Norton, director of the Office of Intergovernmental and External Affairs, formerly tried to “defund” Planned Parenthood and limit abortion coverage in state health programs as lieutenant governor of Colorado. Peter Navarro is a top White House trade policy adviser who created a graphic claiming weak manufacturing increased abortion rates. Scott Lloyd, director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement, served on the board of directors of Front Royal Pregnancy Center, a fake health center. [This Week In Immigration, [3/28/17](#); Breitbart, [4/4/17](#); Planned Parenthood Action Fund, accessed [12/14/17](#); NARAL Pro-Choice America, accessed [12/28/17](#); The Associated Press, [4/29/17](#)]



## CASE STUDY

# 2017 Congressional Abortion Bans

Anti-choice groups work with their political champions in office to pass anti-choice legislation. State- and federal-level legislation can give the movement short-term gains while setting it up for future legal success. The anti-choice movement thinks about legislation strategically in terms of how to effectively challenge and overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

In 2017, the anti-choice movement worked closely with its congressional champions to bring up two different abortion ban bills that would ban abortion at 20 and 6 weeks of pregnancy. Similar 20-week abortion bans have failed in the past, but the current version is seeing significant support from the GOP Congress under Trump. The other proposal – which would ban abortion before many women know they are pregnant – is unprecedented in its extremity.

The anti-choice movement sees the GOP's increasingly dangerous anti-choice bills as stepping stones in a broader campaign to fully ban abortion, even though 7 in 10 Americans support keeping abortion legal and accessible.

## ANTI-CHOICE GROUPS PUSHED THE 20-WEEK ABORTION BAN TO A VOTE IN CONGRESS

**Republican Lawmakers Stood With Marjorie Dannenfelser At The Press Conference Announcing The Vote On The 20-Week Abortion Ban.** The Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act would ban abortion after 20 weeks. Dannenfelser spoke alongside Reps. Kevin McCarthy, Diane Black, Trent Franks, Chris Smith and Vicky Hartzler at the press conference. [The Hill, [9/26/17](#)]



**House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy Credited Anti-Choice Groups, Including SBA List And National Right To Life, With Promoting The 20-Week Abortion Ban And Working “For The Same Goal.”** At the press conference announcing the vote on the 20-week ban, McCarthy said, “I also want to thank Susan B. Anthony List, National Right to Life and so many other groups for their work. Not only will passing this legislation keep a promise we made, but all the work is for the same goal: ending suffering and helping people live.” [U.S. Rep. Kevin McCarthy press release, [9/26/17](#); U.S. Rep. Kevin McCarthy, [9/26/17](#), via YouTube]

**SBA List Donated To House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy Just Days After He Announced He’d Bring The 20-Week Abortion Ban To A Vote In The House.** On Sept. 26, 2017, McCarthy held a press conference with Susan B. Anthony List President Marjorie Dannenfelser and other House members to announce that the House would vote on the 20-week abortion ban. On Sept. 29, 2017, Susan B. Anthony List donated \$1,000 to McCarthy. On Oct. 3, 2017, Susan B. Anthony List celebrated the passage of the 20-week ban on that day, thanking McCarthy for his role in its passage. In a statement, Dannenfelser said, “Today’s vote to pass the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act was a win for basic human decency. Thanks to Leader McCarthy and Rep. Trent Franks, we are one crucial step closer to protecting thousands of unborn children nationwide from painful late-term abortions.” [U.S. Rep. Kevin McCarthy, [9/26/17](#); Federal Election Commission, [9/29/17](#); SBA List, [10/3/17](#)]

**Republican Senators Announced The Introduction Of The 20-Week Ban By Speaking On The Senate Floor With Anti-Choice Leaders From National Right To Life, Family Research Council, Americans United For Life, SBA List And Concerned Women For America.** Sens. Lindsey Graham, Joni Ernst and James Lankford held a press conference on the Senate floor with anti-choice leaders Carol Tobias of National Right to Life, Tony Perkins of Family Research Council, Catherine Glenn Foster of Americans United for Life, Mallory Quigley of Susan B. Anthony List and Caroline Aderholt of Concerned Women for America. Each of the anti-choice leaders spoke about his or her group’s support for the bill, as did each of the senators. Graham said, “I can assure every pro-life group out there this will be on the floor of the Senate sooner rather than later.” [U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham, [10/5/17](#), via YouTube]

**Anti-Choice Groups Lobbied Congress On The 20-Week Abortion Ban Bill.** As of December 2017, SBA List had spent \$570,000 on lobbying year-to-date and had five registered lobbyists: Marjorie Dannenfelser, Marilyn Musgrave, Eric Schmitz, Billy Valentine and Autumn Christensen. One of the many bills for which SBA List lobbied the House and the Senate was the 20-week ban. National Right to Life had spent \$230,000 on federal lobbying year-to-date as of December 2017, and Family Research Council had spent \$30,000. Both National Right to Life and Family Research Council reported lobbying the House on the 20-week ban. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/29/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/29/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/18/17](#)]

**Republicans Promoting The 20-Week Ban Had Financial Ties To The Anti-Choice Groups That Pushed The Bill.** National Right to Life supported McCarthy, Franks, Black and Smith through independent expenditures in 2016. SBA List donated to all of the lawmakers who announced the introduction of the bill alongside Dannenfelser. SBA List donated \$3,500 to Diane Black in 2016 and \$2,515 in 2012; \$3,000 to Vicky Hartzler in 2016, \$6,000 in 2014 and \$10,015 in 2012; \$5,500 to Chris Smith in 2016 and \$5,000 in 2012; and \$2,000 to Trent Franks in 2016. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/3/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/3/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/3/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/3/17](#)]

**Top Anti-Choice Activists From SBA List And National Right To Life Have Argued That A 20-Week Ban Is One Of The “Baby Steps” Toward Stopping Abortion.** Rewire reported, “[National Right to Life’s Darla] St. Martin said she didn’t consider the 20-week ban ‘the end-all, be-all,’ but it ‘builds momentum’ for more anti-choice laws and candidates. ‘One yard can make all the difference,’ [former Americans United for Life President Charmaine] Yoest said, using a football analogy. ‘We’re marching down the field.’” Nance said, “We’ve made progress, and this bill helps us make progress on the life issue in general because it explains to people what we’re talking about. Any time that we can talk about fetal development, we win. ... Today we are many steps down the road. We’re not to the end of the road, but we’re going to get there because public opinion is on our side, and public policy is downstream of public opinion.” March for Life President Jeanne Mancini said, “This bill would not only save 20,000 lives each year, but would educate the public on the humanity of the unborn person.” Dannenfelser said, “Passing this bill is an important step towards ending the scourge of abortion upon our nation.” [Rewire, [3/4/15](#); LifeZette, [10/4/17](#); CWA email, 10/24/17, via NARAL Research Department; Breitbart, [9/26/17](#); SBA List email, 10/3/17, via NARAL Research Department]

**Dannenfelser Said SBA List’s “Top Priority” Was The 20-Week Abortion Ban Because “We’ve Been Building Momentum In Two Elections For It, And We’re Going To Be Injecting It Into The 2018 Elections.”** In an interview with Rewire, Dannenfelser said, “There’s a lot of reasons to vote on legislation. One is to pass it [and] have the president sign it. ... Another is to make sure there is a very high-level public conversation,” especially “while we elect new senators who will add to the winning total.” Dannenfelser wanted to use a vote on the 20-week ban to divide Democrats: “Odds are, we’re not going to win this vote [on HR 36] ... but Democrats, evidenced by the big arguments within the Democratic Party about whether this is a litmus test, are really having trouble advancing late-term abortion as a humanitarian cause. That’s what we want to highlight.” Dannenfelser also said Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell would bring the 20-week ban to a Senate vote: “We’ve talked to him many times about this. ... He has no problem bringing it up on the floor as an important thing to get people on record for, to have the conversation, to build the vote till next time.” [Rewire, [9/27/17](#)]

**SBA List Planned To Spend \$12 Million During The 2018 Election Cycle And Knock On 2 Million Doors.**

SBA List had canvassers in Florida and Ohio starting in July 2017 and expanded to Missouri and Indiana in October 2017. The SBA List canvassing script “focuses on abortions after five months of pregnancy and using taxpayer funds to pay for abortions.” SBA List had knocked on 75,000 doors for the 2018 midterm as of Sept. 23, 2017. As of July 2017, SBA List had 32 canvassers in Florida and 15 in Ohio, “with plans to expand.” The group has a goal of 2 million doors by 2018 and plans to spend \$12 million. SBA List partnered with First Freedom Ohio, the “grassroots action” arm of Citizens for Community Values, for its 2018 canvass in Ohio. The Southern Poverty Law Center identified Citizens for Community Values as a hate group. [USA Today, [7/24/17](#); Freedom First Ohio, [10/24/17](#); USA Today, [10/10/17](#); SBA List Newsletter, 9/23/17, via NARAL Research Department; Southern Poverty Law Center, [2/15/17](#)]

## ANTI-CHOICE LEGISLATORS INTRODUCED A SIX-WEEK ABORTION BAN IN THE HOUSE

**In January 2017, Rep. Steve King Introduced The Heartbeat Protection Act Of 2017, Which Would Ban Abortion Before Many Women Know They Are Pregnant.** Mother Jones wrote that the bill “would make abortions illegal as early as six weeks into a pregnancy – a point at which many women do not yet know they are pregnant.” The House held its first hearing on the bill in November 2017. Rep. Karen Handel, “who has a history as an antagonist of Planned Parenthood,” served on the House Judiciary subcommittee that held a hearing on the heartbeat ban bill. [Mother Jones, [11/1/17](#); Right Wing Watch, [10/30/17](#)]

**Proponents Of The Heartbeat Ban Saw It As A Step Toward Overturning Roe V. Wade.** Mother Jones reported, “Rep. Steve King (R-Iowa) sponsored the bill, and started the hearing with an opening statement in which he made clear that he intends this bill to be the first step in setting up a Supreme Court legal challenge to *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that legalized abortion nationwide. ‘President Trump will hopefully appoint one or two more justices to the Supreme Court, making this a profound moment in the pro-life movement,’ King said. ‘President Trump is actively changing the makeup of our judicial system with strong conservative nominees who would hear arguments about this bill while it is being challenged on the way to the Supreme Court.’” Mother Jones continued, “The Ohio bill’s original author, anti-abortion activist Janet Porter, has pushed the bill for years specifically because it is designed to be ‘the arrow in the heart of *Roe v. Wade*.’” Porter was at the House hearing on the heartbeat bill. [Mother Jones, [11/1/17](#); LifeSiteNews, [11/1/17](#)]



REP. STEVE KING

**Conservative Law Professor David Forte Testified In Favor Of The Bill, Arguing That “Passage Of A Federal Heartbeat Bill Will Invite The Supreme Court To Revisit And Revise Its Jurisprudence On Abortion, Giving The Unborn, Once Their Heartbeat Begins, The Right To Be Born.”** Forte argued that “the heartbeat bill gives the court the opportunity to rethink the viability standard of *Casey*” and claimed that “the call for the Court to reexamine the viability rule is coming from lower federal courts.” Forte has worked with several conservative think tanks, including The Heritage Foundation, Liberty Fund and the Ashbrook Center. He also worked for the Reagan administration and continues to advise the Republican Party on constitutional law. Forte helped write a 2011 abortion ban in Ohio; The Associated Press reported that “supporters of the Ohio measure hope to provoke a legal challenge and overturn the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling.” [The Federalist Society, accessed [10/31/17](#); The Associated Press, 1/4/12, via Nexis; Written testimony of David Forte, [11/1/17](#)]

**“President Trump is actively changing the makeup of our judicial system with strong conservative nominees who would hear arguments about this bill while it is being challenged on the way to the Supreme Court.”**

**Rep. Steve King**

[Mother Jones, 11/1/17]

**Charlotte Lozier Associate Scholar Kathi Aultman Testified In Favor Of The Bill While Perpetuating Many Lies About Abortion.** Stating, “I don’t believe women can remain unscathed after killing their child,” Aultman claimed



that women regretted their abortions, faced emotional distress after abortions and used multiple abortions as birth control. She said that “abortion is big money” and called herself “a mass murderer” because she used to perform abortions. [Mother Jones, [11/1/17](#); Testimony of Kathi Aultman, [11/1/17](#)]

**Anti-Choice Activists Seated An Ultrasound Machine In The Audience At The House Hearing On The Heartbeat Bill.** Rep. King showed video of a woman’s ultrasound during the hearing. Mother Jones wrote, “Mackenzie [Miller], he said, is pregnant with ‘little Lincoln Glen Miller’ and had an ultrasound earlier that morning, performed by a tech sitting to her right, on an ultrasound machine that was placed on the chair to Miller’s left. King then proceeded to show both video and audio of Miller’s ultrasound on a screen at the front of the hearing room. The fetus pictured was far beyond six weeks gestation, and King periodically narrated what was happening on the screen: ‘There’s a good shot of him. Looks like Rocky at the top of the steps,’ King said. ‘Suck your thumb, OK,’ King continued, then seemingly began to narrate the fetus’s thoughts: ‘That thumb is good, but I can’t wait to be born and see what this world is like out here.’” Abortion provider Dr. Daniel Grossman criticized King for using footage of a fetus at 18 weeks, not six weeks, the point at which the bill would ban abortions. Grossman said, “Clearly Rep. King is trying to elicit an emotional response among the public by showing the images of an ultrasound later in pregnancy, when the fetus is very recognizable. ... If he had shown a six-week ultrasound – which basically looks like a spot that is less than a quarter-inch in length – I doubt there would be the same emotional response.” [Mother Jones, [11/1/17](#); Newsweek, [11/1/17](#)]

**Anti-Choice Groups Financially Supported Steve King.** In 2014, SBA List donated \$2,500 to Steve King. The group donated \$7,620 to King in 2012, bundled \$41,670 for him, and made \$29,996 worth of expenditures and \$322 in independent expenditures on his behalf. National Right to Life PAC spent \$18,816.76 in independent expenditures supporting King in 2014 and \$15,941.46 in 2012. The National Right to Life Victory Fund also supported King through independent expenditures, spending \$2,051.80 in 2014 and \$337.36 in 2012. Both NRTL entities also supported King in 2016. Faith Family Freedom Fund spent \$4,796.49 in independent expenditures supporting King in 2014 and \$20,000 in 2012. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/26/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/26/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/26/17](#); Federal Election Commission, accessed [12/18/17](#); Federal Election Commission, accessed [10/26/17](#); Federal Election Commission, accessed [12/18/17](#)]

## OHIO ABORTION BAN DISCUSSIONS SHED LIGHT ON THE ANTI-CHOICE MOVEMENT’S BROADER SCOTUS STRATEGY

**Ohio Right To Life President Mike Gonidakis Supported A 20-Week Ban Over A Heartbeat Ban In Ohio Due To The Makeup Of The Supreme Court.** Gonidakis said, “I know everyone is swept up in Trump mania, but we have to be realistic. ... When you overreach, you lose. The courts can be very vicious to you. ... If the court was 7-2 pro-life, I would say, let’s do a ban at conception. Lord willing, it will flip.” [NBC News, [12/8/16](#)]

**Ohio Right To Life Spokeswoman Katherine Franklin Argued In Favor Of A 20-Week Ban In Ohio Over A Heartbeat Ban In Order To Bring A “Palatable” Law In Front Of The Supreme Court.** Franklin said, “We really want the strongest legislation possible to go before the Supreme Court, and right now just at this time we really believe that a more incremental step is the way to go. ... Ohio Right to Life and the national pro-life movement really sees it as our responsibility to pose a new standard that would be palatable to the Supreme Court.” Franklin also said, “Because we have a hostile court, Ohio Right to Life is very loathe to give the Supreme Court yet another



opportunity to strike it down or to make a mark against a bill that would by and large protect infant children when their heartbeat is detected.” [World, [12/7/16](#); National Catholic Register, [12/20/16](#)]

**Clarke Forsythe, Acting President And Senior Counsel At Americans United For Life, Discussed How The Anti-Choice Movement Weighed Legislation In Terms Of The Makeup Of The Supreme Court And The Timing Of Cases.** Forsythe said, “If the court were to uphold the heartbeat bill, there’s not much left of *Roe v. Wade*. ... The question is: ‘What is the makeup of the court, and what is the best timing to challenge Roe?’” [National Catholic Register, [12/20/16](#)]

**“The question is: ‘What is the makeup of the court, and what is the best timing to challenge Roe?’”**

**AUL’s Clarke Forsythe**

[National Catholic Register, 12/20/16]

# APPENDIX: FUNDING CONNECTIONS

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The different types of groups involved in the anti-choice movement are not only connected through their shared goals and joint activities; many of these groups receive their funding from the same donors. Many of the same major donors fund different parts of the anti-choice movement, from legal groups to political groups to fake health centers. These common funders enable the anti-choice movement to work cohesively and strategically toward mutual goals with sufficient funding for every branch of the movement.

## SEAN FIELER

**Sean Fieler's Foundation, The Chiaroscuro Foundation, Gave The Becket Fund At Least \$100,000 Per Year From 2012 To 2015.** The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty \$180,000 in 2010, \$100,000 in 2011, \$110,000 in 2012, \$260,000 in 2013, \$200,000 in 2014, and \$100,000 in 2015. [The Chiaroscuro Foundation, accessed [12/1/17](#)]

**Fieler's Foundation Donated At Least \$295,000 To AUL.** According to a funding breakdown on the Chiaroscuro Foundation's website, between 2010 and 2013 the foundation donated \$295,000 to Americans United for Life. [The Chiaroscuro Foundation, accessed [12/1/17](#); New York Times, [1/29/13](#)]

**Fieler's Foundation Funded Bethany Christian Services, A Fake Health Center And Adoption Network.** The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave Bethany Christian Services \$20,000 in 2012, \$10,000 in 2013, and \$70,000 in 2014. Bethany Christian Services is an adoption agency that operates fake health centers across the country to convince women to go through with their pregnancies and give their babies up for adoption instead of having abortions. [The Nation, [8/26/09](#); The Chiaroscuro Foundation, accessed [12/1/17](#)]

**Fieler's Foundation Funded New York City Fake Health Centers.** The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave EMC Frontline \$175,000 in 2009, \$515,000 in 2010, \$425,000 in 2011, and \$75,000 in 2012. EMC Frontline, which stands for Expectant Mother Care, "is New York City's oldest and largest network of pregnancy centers." The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave Avail NYC \$51,500 in 2014 and \$50,000 in 2015. Avail NYC is a fake health center in New York City. [ProLifeInterns.com, accessed [12/1/17](#); EMC Frontline, accessed [12/1/17](#); The Chiaroscuro Foundation, accessed [12/1/17](#); Avail NYC, accessed [12/1/17](#)]

**Fieler And His Foundation Have Funded SBA List, Students For Life, Live Action, And State And Local Right To Life Groups.** The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave Students for Life \$15,000 in 2011, \$77,500 in 2012, \$16,000 in 2013, and \$37,000 in 2014. The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave the Susan B. Anthony List Education Fund \$150,000 in 2011, \$125,000 in 2012, \$40,000 in

2013, \$40,000 in 2014, and \$25,000 in 2015. Fieler himself has also donated to SBA List's PAC, Women Speak Out, giving \$385,946 in 2014. The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave \$7,500 to the Vermont Right to Life Educational Trust Fund and \$460 to Wisconsin Right to Life in 2013. They also gave \$3,500 to the Fordham Respect for Life club and \$1,000 to Choose Life at Yale in 2011. The Chiaroscuro Foundation gave Live Action \$100,000 in 2011. [The Chiaroscuro Foundation, accessed [12/1/17](#); Susan B. Anthony List's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [12/18/17](#)]

**Fieler Was Also An SBA List Board Member.** Fieler was a board member and donated "from \$200,000 to \$250,000" annually to the Institute for American Values, but he left the board after they began to support same-sex marriage. Fieler said that there is "a very harmful myth about the gay lifestyle. It suggests that gay relationships lend themselves to monogamy, stability, health and parenting in the same way heterosexual relationships do. That's not true." [New York Times, [1/29/13](#); Susan B. Anthony List 990, [2015](#), via Guidestar]

## THE DEVOS AND PRINCE FAMILIES

**The DeVos Family Supports Conservative Causes Through Its Five Family Foundations, Along With The Prince Family Foundation.** Rich DeVos initially made his money by co-founding "marketing giant" Amway in 1959. He was the president of Council for National Policy, as well as an "early funder." According to MLive: "The family is widely known for its support of conservative political candidates and issues...However, a portion of the philanthropic giving is to conservatively aligned institutions, such as think tanks...The DeVoses have five family foundations, Rich, 89, and his wife have the Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation. And each of their four children and spouses have one: the Dick and Betsy DeVos Foundation, the Daniel and Pamella DeVos Foundation, the (Cheri DeVos) CDV5 Foundation, and the Douglas and Maria DeVos Foundation." Betsy DeVos's parents also run a conservative family foundation, the Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation. In the 1980s, Betsy married Dick DeVos, linking the two families together. Trump named Betsy DeVos as his Secretary of Education. [MLive, [1/4/16](#); Center for Responsive Politics, [12/1/16](#); Center for American Progress, [1/23/17](#); ACLU, accessed [12/19/17](#)]

**The DeVos And Prince Family Foundations Have Supported Many Anti-Choice And Conservative Groups.** In 2015 and 2016, the Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation donated or approved future donations to many groups including the Council for National Policy, National Right to Life, Live Action, Students for Life of Michigan, Americans United for Life, and The Heritage Foundation. In 2015, the Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation donated to or approved future donations to Focus on the Family, the Federalist Society, The Heritage Foundation, and Right to Life of Michigan Educational Fund, among many others. [The Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; The Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar]

**The DeVos Family And Other Prominent Conservatives Have Funded ADF.** According to ThinkProgress: "The Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation, funded by the billionaire founder of Amway and owner of the Orlando Magic basketball team, gave ADF at least \$235,000 in unrestricted grants between 2001 and 2010. God's Gift, the foundation run until her death this

year by former medical supply company CEO Helen Lovaas, gave ADF \$1 million between 2010 and 2012. The eponymous foundation of the late Southern Maryland Hospital Center founder, Dr. Francis P. Chiaramonte, gave ADF \$75,000 annually between 2009 and 2012. And between 2010 and 2012, ADF received \$150,000 from the Edgar [and] Elsa Prince Foundation, another DeVos-family-connected entity.” [ThinkProgress, [5/1/14](#)]

**The DeVos And Prince Family Foundations Funded Fake Health Centers, With Two DeVos Family Foundations Giving Over \$1.1 Million To A Center In Michigan Between 1998 And 2013.**

Rewire wrote: “Between 1998 and 2013, two of the family’s charitable organizations—the Dick and Betsy DeVos Foundation and the DeVos Urban Leadership Initiative (formerly the Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation)—have given more than \$1.1 million in unrestricted grants to a single fake health center in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Other DeVos and Prince foundations have also donated to other anti-choice centers. [Rewire, [3/21/16](#); The Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation’s 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar]



SECRETARY OF EDUCATION  
BETSY DEVOS

**Family Research Council Credited “The Generosity Of The Devos And Prince Families Of Western Michigan” For Allowing FRC To Open Offices In D.C. And Michigan In The 1990s.**

Edgar Prince helped found FRC. [Family Research Council, accessed [12/6/17](#); Center for Responsive Politics, [12/1/16](#)]

## THE KOCH BROTHERS

### Wellspring Committee

**The Koch’s Dark-Money Group The Wellspring Committee Was A Financial Backer Of The Federalist Society.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, “Wellspring gave \$75,000 to the Federalist Society, an organization of conservatives and libertarians who ‘place a premium on individual liberty, traditional values and the rule of law.’” The Federalist Society has also received funding from foundations associated with conservative leaders John Olin, Lynde and Harry Bradley, and Richard Scaife, as well as the Knights of Columbus. Many more donors remain anonymous. As the Washington Times reported: “From 2013 to 2015 the Koch brothers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce were among the most notable names that routinely donated more than \$100,000 to the organization. Kellyanne Conway, Mr. Trump’s senior adviser, and her husband routinely donated more than \$50,000 during each of those three years, as did the Anschutz Family Foundation, headed by Philip Anschutz, a billionaire Justice Gorsuch represented as a lawyer in the early 2000s...During those same years, more than 30 donors giving more than \$100,000 chose to remain anonymous.” [Center for Responsive Politics, [3/24/17](#); The Federalist Society’s 2016 Annual Report, accessed [11/1/17](#); The Washington Times, [6/18/17](#); The New Yorker, [4/17/17](#)]

**JCN Had Deep Ties To The Wellspring Committee.** JCN founder Ann Corkery also ran the Koch-funded Wellspring Committee in the early years of the Obama administration. Wellspring became a major source of conservative funding after its founding in 2008

and supported both JCN and the Federalist Society. Corkery also worked for the Romney campaign. According to the Center for Responsive Politics: “During the comparable period, from July 2011 to June 2015, JCN’s total reported revenues approached \$17.3 million, meaning that it received around 90 percent of its funds from the Wellspring Committee. (Nonprofit groups like Wellspring and JCN can set their own fiscal years, so it is impossible to track grants and receipts over exact time periods).” [Center for Responsive Politics, [3/23/15](#); Center for Responsive Politics, [3/24/17](#)]

## Center To Protect Patient Rights/American Encore

**Koch-Linked Center To Protect Patient Rights Gave AUL And AUL Action Hundreds Of Thousands Of Dollars.** AUL and AUL Action have received funding from the Koch brother-linked Center to Protect Patient Rights for several years, including a combined \$604,000 in 2010 alone, “39 percent of the group’s operating budget that year.” In 2012, AUL Action received \$65,000 from them. [Rewire, [11/05/13](#); Center to Protect Patient Rights’s 990 form, [2012](#), via Guidestar]

**SBA List Received Over \$1 Million From Center To Protect Patient Rights.** Susan B. Anthony List received a grant of \$1,025,000 from the Center to Protect Patient Rights in 2010. According to Rewire: “The CPPR grant accounted for nearly 15 percent of the group’s overall revenues that year.” [Rewire, [11/05/13](#); Center for Responsive Politics, [5/18/12](#)]

**Center To Protect Patient Rights Funded Concerned Women For America.** According to Rewire, CPPR gave \$1.5 million to CWALAC in 2011. In 2012, CPPR donated \$173,573 to CWA. In 2014, the group gave CWA \$20,000 under its new name, American Encore. [American Encore’s 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar; Center for Responsive Politics, [3/5/14](#); Center To Protect Patient Rights’s 990 form, [2013](#), via Guidestar; Rewire, [11/05/13](#)]

## THE MERCER FAMILY

**The Mercer Family Foundation Funded The Becket Foundation.** The Mercer Family Foundation donated \$250,000 to the Becket Fund in 2015, \$250,000 in 2014, and \$250,000 in 2013. [The Mercer Family Foundation’s 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; The Mercer Family Foundation’s 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar; The Mercer Family Foundation’s 990 form, [2013](#), via Guidestar]

**The Mercer Family Foundation Donated Millions To The Federalist Society.** The Mercer Family Foundation donated \$2.3 million to the Federalist Society in 2015, \$2,050,000 in 2014, and \$1.6 million in 2013. The foundation has also donated to the Heritage Foundation and the Cato Institute. [The Mercer Family Foundation’s 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; The Mercer Family Foundation’s 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar; The Mercer Family Foundation’s 990 form, [2013](#), via Guidestar]

**The Mercer Family Funded Susan B. Anthony List Entities.** Robert Mercer gave \$500,000 to Women Speak Out PAC in 2014. The Mercer Family Foundation made a \$300,000 donation to the “Susan B. Anthony Education Fund” in 2015. On the Mercer Family Foundation’s 990



form from 2015, the Susan B. Anthony Education Fund is listed at the same address as SBA List, 1200 New Hampshire Avenue Northwest, Washington, D.C. Charlotte Lozier Institute is often identified as the Susan B. Anthony List Education Fund. [Guidestar, accessed 12/19/17; The Mercer Family Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [4/22/16](#)]

**The Mercer Family Foundation Funded The Council For National Policy.** The foundation gave \$25,000 to the Council for National Policy in 2014 and \$50,000 in 2013. [The Mercer Family Foundation's 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar; The Mercer Family Foundation's 990 form, [2013](#), via Guidestar]

**The Mercers Were Major Supporters Of Trump's Presidential Campaign And Have Close Ties To Steve Bannon And Breitbart.** Robert Mercer and his daughter Rebekah were major donors in the 2016 election and influential in the Trump campaign and White House. Rebekah took over the Mercer Family Foundation in 2008. The Wall Street Journal reported that “two of the Mercer family's confidantes, Steve Bannon and Kellyanne Conway, were installed atop the Trump campaign following a recommendation from Ms. Mercer.” In 2011, the Mercers “bought nearly 50% of Breitbart News for \$10 million,” after meetings with Andrew Breitbart and Steve Bannon. The Atlantic called Bannon the Mercers’ “top political guru” and the New Yorker wrote that “as far back as 2012, Bannon was the Mercers’ de-facto political adviser.” [The Wall Street Journal, [1/8/17](#); The Atlantic, [1/27/17](#); The New Yorker, [3/27/17](#)]

## THE GIANFORTE FAMILY FOUNDATION

**Greg Gianforte And His Wife Susan Founded The Gianforte Family Foundation In 2005.** Greg, Susan and their children were listed as the Board of Trustees of the Foundation as of December 2017. Greg Gianforte was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives to represent Montana in June 2017. [The Gianforte Family Foundation, accessed [4/4/17](#); New York Times, [6/20/17](#)]

**The Gianforte Family Foundation Donated To Alliance Defending Freedom, American Center For Law And Justice, Family Research Council, Focus On The Family, And The Heritage Foundation, Among Other Conservative Groups.** The Helena Independent Record reported: “The foundation has supported members of the State Policy Network, such as the Montana Policy Institute. These nonprofit research and advocacy groups support conservative causes and are backed by superdonors, the Koch brothers. Gifts also have gone to two groups—the Alliance Defending Freedom and the American Center for Law and Justice—that fight in courts to protect religious freedoms, such as prayer in schools. The alliance also has opposed abortion and argued that healthcare workers have the right to opt out of participating in morally objectionable procedures.” [Buzzfeed, [1/19/16](#); Helena Independent Record, [3/27/16](#)]

**The Gianforte Family Foundation Donated To Students for Life of America, 40 Days For Life, And Montana Right to Life.** The Gianforte Family Foundation donated \$1,200 to Students for Life in 2014, \$10,000 to 40 Days for Life in 2013, and \$500 to Montana Right to Life in 2010. [The Gianforte Family Foundation's 990 forms, accessed [1/4/18](#), via Helena Independent Record; The Gianforte Family Foundation's 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar]

**From 2006 to 2015, The Gianforte Family Foundation Donated At Least \$760,308 To Fake Health Centers In Montana.** The Gianforte Family Foundation's 990 form for 2015 was not accessible online during the writing of this report, so information on the Foundation's 2015 donations is incomplete. However, 990 forms from previous years reveal sizeable donations to multiple fake health centers in Montana. [The Gianforte Family Foundation's 990 forms, accessed [1/4/18](#), via Helena Independent Record; Great Falls Tribune, 2/7/17, via Nexis; The Gianforte Family Foundation's 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar]

## FARRIS AND DAN WILKS

**Fracking Billionaires Farris Wilks And Dan Wilks Each Ran Family Foundations, The Thirteen Foundation And Heavenly Father's Foundation, Respectively.** Brothers Dan and Farris Wilks had a fracking business which was purchased for \$3.5 billion in 2011. In 2011, Farris and his wife JoAnn each donated \$50 million to the Thirteen Foundation, "which (Farris) founded as a philanthropic vehicle for his newfound wealth." Farris and JoAnn are the only trustees of the Thirteen Foundation on its 2015 990 form, and Jonathan Francis is the Executive Director. Dan and Staci Wilks were the only trustees of Heavenly Father's Foundation on its 2015 990 form. [Inside Philanthropy, [12/22/14](#); Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#); The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, accessed 2015, via Guidestar; Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar]

**Farris Is A Pastor Of The Assembly Of Yahweh 7th Day Church in Cisco, Texas, Which His Father Founded.** The church "combines biblical literalism with a heavy emphasis on the Old Testament" and believes "women may not speak during worship." In the church, "abortion is 'murder,' including for pregnancies resulting from rape and incest. Homosexuality is 'a serious crime—a very grievous sin.'" Many of the Thirteen Foundation's contributions go to groups associated with the Assembly of Yahweh. [Inside Philanthropy, [12/22/14](#); Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#)]

**The Thirteen Foundation Donated To Human Coalition, Heartbeat International, and Care Net.** The Thirteen Foundation donated \$197,000 to Heartbeat International in 2011 and 2012 combined and \$450,000 to Care Net in 2011. In 2011 and 2012, the Thirteen Foundation gave \$2,242,857 to Online for Life/Media Revolution Ministries (MRM). Right Wing Watch reported that MRM "only had an \$80,000 budget the year before." In 2013, it donated \$1,157,143 to Media Revolution Ministries and approved \$6,250,000 for future payment to Online for Life. In its 2013 990, the Thirteen Foundation also noted that it set aside \$3,750,000 for distribution to Online for Life in 2014 and 2015. In 2015, the Thirteen Foundation donated \$2.5 million to Online for Life. Online for Life was an "outreach" of Media Revolution Ministries. Online for Life changed its name to Human Coalition in 2016. Jonathan Francis, the Executive Director of the Thirteen Foundation, was on the Online for Life board in 2014. Inside Philanthropy described the Thirteen Foundation as one of "the most generous supporters of these pseudo-clinics," referring to fake health centers. [Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#); Live Action News, [6/12/16](#); The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, accessed [2015](#), via Guidestar; The Thirteen Foundation 990 form, accessed [2013](#), via Guidestar; Online for Life press release, [8/12/17](#); Jezebel, [12/23/14](#); Inside Philanthropy, [12/22/14](#)]

**Heavenly Father's Foundation Donated To Heartbeat International.** In 2015, Heavenly Father's Foundation gave \$550,000 to Heartbeat International for "programming and education." [Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar]

**The Thirteen Foundation And Heavenly Father's Foundation Donated To Fake Health Centers In Texas.** The Thirteen Foundation gave over \$90,000 to Open Door, a fake health center, in 2012. In 2015, the Thirteen Foundation approved \$62,272 for future payment to Eastland County Open Door, and in 2013 it approved \$210,000 for future payment. JoAnn Wilks served on the board of Open Door. Heavenly Father's Foundation gave \$20,000 to Open Door in 2011 and again in 2012. In both 2014 and 2015, Heavenly Father's Foundation gave \$20,000 for a "fundraising banquet." In 2015, it gave \$4,500 for "Open Door projects," and in 2014 it gave \$75,000 for the "Breckenridge building." Heavenly Father's Foundation also gave donations in the tens of thousands in 2013 for the "fundraising banquet" and for staffing. In 2013, the Thirteen Foundation also donated to A Woman's Heart, A Child's Life, a fake health center in Greenville, Texas. [Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#); The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; SupportOpenDoor.org, accessed [11/29/17](#); The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, accessed [2013](#), via Guidestar; HealthProvidersData.com, accessed [11/29/17](#); Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar; Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2013](#), via Guidestar; SupportOpenDoor.org, accessed [11/29/17](#)]

**The Thirteen Foundation And Heavenly Father's Foundation Donated Hundreds Of Thousands Of Dollars To The Texas Right To Life Committee Education Fund.** In 2011 and 2012, the Thirteen Foundation gave \$310,000 combined. In 2015, it gave \$150,000 and approved \$150,000 for future payment. In 2013, it gave \$175,000. Heavenly Father's Foundation donated \$50,000 to Texas Right to Life in 2014 and again in 2015. [The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, accessed [2013](#), via Guidestar; The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, accessed [2015](#), via Guidestar; Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#); Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar]

**The Thirteen Foundation Donated At Least \$1.4 Million To Focus On The Family.** The Thirteen Foundation donated \$1.4 million to Focus on the Family in 2011 and 2012 combined, and they gave another donation in 2013. The Thirteen Foundation and Heavenly Father's Foundation have also donated to James Dobson's organization Family Talk. Family Talk promotes "biblical principles that support marriage, family, and child-development" through media, primarily its Family Talk radio show. Family Talk is a partner of Human Coalition, which provides "content and resources to their audience." The Thirteen Foundation gave Family Talk \$1 million in 2015, approved \$500,000 for future payment that year, and gave \$25,000 in 2013. Heavenly Father's Foundation donated \$550,000 in 2015 for "radio and internet programming." [Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#); The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, accessed [2013](#), via Guidestar, Focus on the Family's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; Focus on the Family's 990 form, [2016](#), via Focus on the Family; Heavenly Father's Foundation's 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar; Dr.JamesDobson.org, accessed [11/19/17](#); The Thirteen Foundation's 990 form, accessed [2015](#), via Guidestar; Human Coalition, accessed [11/29/17](#)]

**The Thirteen Foundation Has Donated Over \$2 Million To Life Dynamics, Which Aims**

**“To End Legalized Abortion In America And Restore Legal Protection To The Unborn.”**

Mother Jones reported that the Thirteen Foundation gave Life Dynamics \$850,000 in 2011, “more than doubling its revenue.” Mother Jones wrote: “The foundation’s donation to Life Dynamics was by far the largest in 2011; the next largest contribution was \$20,000.” Right Wing Watch reported that in 2011 and 2012, the Thirteen Foundation gave \$1,275,000 total to Life Dynamics. According to 990 forms, the Thirteen Foundation donated \$350,000 to Life Dynamics in 2015 and \$600,000 in 2013. In its 2013 990, the Thirteen Foundation also approved hundreds of thousands of dollars for future payment to Life Dynamics. [Life Dynamics, accessed [1/3/2018](#); The Thirteen Foundation’s 990 form, accessed [2013](#), via Guidestar; Right Wing Watch, September [2015](#); Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#); The Thirteen Foundation’s 990 form, accessed [2015](#), via Guidestar; Mother Jones, [8/19/13](#)]

**The Thirteen Foundation And Heavenly Father’s Foundation Have Donated To Other Anti-Choice, Anti-LGBTQ, Christian, And Conservative Groups, Including Family Research Council.**

In 2011 and 2012, the Thirteen Foundation gave \$700,000 to The Heritage Foundation, \$1 million to Liberty Counsel, \$530,000 to Family Research Council, and \$75,000 to the National Institute of Marriage. In 2015, the Thirteen Foundation gave \$329,000 to Family Research Council, \$1 million to Liberty Counsel, \$1,250,000 to Life Outreach International Association, \$250,000 to the Museum of the Bible, \$1,341,666 to the National Christian Foundation, and \$1 million to the Prager University Foundation. In 2015, Heavenly Father’s Foundation donated \$575,000 to Liberty Counsel, and in 2014 it gave \$250,000 to Liberty Counsel and \$125,000 to Passion Life for “China anti-abortion program.” Both Wilks families also donated at least \$15 million to a Ted Cruz super PAC, Keep the Promise III. [Right Wing Watch, [6/12/14](#); The Thirteen Foundation’s 990 form, accessed [2015](#), via Guidestar; Politico, [1/14/16](#); Heavenly Father’s Foundation’s 990 form, [2014](#), via Guidestar; Heavenly Father’s Foundation’s 990 form, [2015](#), via Guidestar]

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[WWW.PROCHOICEAMERICA.ORG](http://WWW.PROCHOICEAMERICA.ORG)