THE STATE OF THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT
2009

THE 81ST LEGISLATURE:

CHANGE AT THE CAPITOL?

TEXAS FREEDOM NETWORK EDUCATION FUND
THE 81ST LEGISLATURE: CHANGE AT THE CAPITOL?

A REPORT FROM THE TEXAS FREEDOM NETWORK EDUCATION FUND

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ABOUT THE TFN EDUCATION FUND

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

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The 81st Legislature: Change the Capital?
With the end of Tom Craddick’s reign as speaker and a near-even partisan split in the Texas House of Representatives, one might assume the religious right’s influence will be much weaker in the 81st Legislature. In fact, far-right groups such as Texas Eagle Forum, Free Market Foundation and WallBuilders all fired off salvos of e-mails to activists in opposition to the election of Joe Straus, R-San Antonio, as the new speaker.

Joe Pojman, director of Texas Alliance for Life, told reporters that passing anti-abortion legislation under Straus would be difficult: “We will have almost no chance of getting badly needed pro-life bills through the committee process and onto the House floor, effectively killing them,” he said.

David Barton, head of the Christian-right pressure group WallBuilders, echoed Pojman’s comments in e-mails to his list: “Rep. Straus (who has been in office for only two sessions) has developed a clear voting record that demonstrates overt hostility toward unborn life and traditional family values.”

Even harsher words came from Cathie Adams at Texas Eagle Forum, who charged that Straus was a “Republican in name only” who would be beholden to Democrats.

Free Market Foundation, the Texas affiliate of Focus on the Family, warned its supporters that Straus would oppose the religious right’s policy agenda: “Over the past decade, it is arguable that no state in the nation has made more progress in enacting laws protecting unborn life, traditional marriage and family, parental rights, and public religious expressions. However, there is now an aggressive and unprecedented attempt underway to halt progress on the issues about which we care most.”

But while Straus has certainly demonstrated that his political views are more mainstream than those of his critics on the far right, he is hardly a liberal. Moreover, the religious right’s influence over public policy was strong even before Rep. Craddick became House speaker.

In 1995, for example, the Legislature required that all public school districts downplay the effectiveness of condoms and other forms of responsible pregnancy and disease prevention and emphasize abstinence in sex education instruction. The Legislature passed various bills restricting reproductive rights, including parental consent legislation in 1999. One of the religious right’s most important goals – public funding for private school vouchers – failed to pass the House by just one vote in 1997. Beginning in the 1990s, bills attacking gay and lesbian families became a regular part of legislative sessions. In fact, the religious right’s opposition prevented passage of hate crimes legislation until 2003. Under a Democratic House speaker, lawmakers also passed legislation implementing various parts of then-Gov. George Bush’s faith-based agenda, lifting regulations for faith-based providers of social services. (The Legislature later refused to renew those regulatory exemptions for some providers after news reports exposed a variety of abuses.)

So while the House has now voted out a speaker anointed by the far right, the religious right will not easily give up its long-standing influence over public policy. Moreover, various officials – such as Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst and certainly Gov. Rick Perry – see the religious right as important potential allies in the 2010 elections. Along with the rise of other allies like state Sen. Dan Patrick, R-Houston, Texans should expect social conservatives to fight strongly on a number of fronts. In fact, efforts by Lt. Gov. Dewhurst, Sen. Patrick, Sen. Tommy Williams, R-The Woodlands, and others to weaken the Senate’s two-thirds rule on taking up legislation is likely just the first shot in an attempt to shift the hyper-partisan battles over social issues from the House to the other side of the Capitol. We expect to see those battles on a number of legislative fronts.
Science
Lawmakers in Louisiana, Oklahoma and other states have pushed legislation granting so-called “academic freedom” to public school science teachers to challenge evolution in their classrooms and even to suggest supernatural alternatives such as “intelligent design”/creationism. It would be surprising if social conservatives did not try to pass similar legislation in Texas.

Legislators are also expected to battle over embryonic stem cell research. That medical research provides hope for families and friends of loved ones who suffer from serious conditions such as Parkinson’s disease, juvenile diabetes, cancer and spinal cord injuries. Religious conservatives strongly oppose such research, however. Various bills that would have either restricted or provided state support for that research failed to pass in 2007.

Sex Education
Two years ago, legislation requiring that any sex education or abstinence-only programs teach only medically accurate information failed to get even a committee hearing. Religious conservatives opposed consideration of this common-sense legislation. With Texas among the states with the nation’s highest teen birth rate and at a time of rising rates of sexually transmitted infections, the Legislature is likely to see similar proposals this year as well as other efforts to promote information on responsible pregnancy and disease prevention in public schools.

State Board of Education
In past legislative sessions, social conservatives have failed to win passage of legislation restoring the State Board of Education’s authority to censor textbook content. (The board lost the power to edit textbooks in 1995.) Increasing controversy over the far right’s control of the state board is leading some legislators this year to propose measures further restricting the board’s authority and imposing new oversight measures.

Religious Freedom
The religious right has moved in other states to repeal constitutional provisions (so-called “Blaine amendments”) forbidding public funding for religious institutions such as parochial schools. Texas could see similar efforts.

Public Schools
Supporters of private school vouchers suffered serious defeats in legislative races in the 2006 and 2008 elections. Even so, the voucher lobby has already filed legislation that would shift money for special education in public schools to programs that pay to send students with special needs to private schools.

Individual Liberties
With the retirement of state Rep. Robert Talton, R-Pasadena, the Legislature lost one of its most rabidly anti-gay members. Other social conservatives, however, are likely to pick up where Talton left off. Among their targets could be barring adoption or foster care by gay and lesbian families.
The election of state Rep. Joe Straus, R-San Antonio, as speaker of the Texas House of Representatives could limit the influence of many House members on this year’s TFN Watch List. Indeed, the speakership of Tom Craddick, R-Midland, over the previous six years made each session open season for religious-right groups and their legislative allies. Even so, most of the lawmakers on this list are longtime House members and are likely to remain key foot soldiers for the religious right in the halls of state government. Moreover, the religious right has plenty of other officeholders to push its agenda this year.

Gov. Rick Perry

How could Gov. Rick Perry not lead our 2009 Watch List? It has sometimes been hard to tell whether Gov. Perry sees himself as the state’s chief executive, its chief Christian evangelist, or both. His hard-right positions on issues such as weakening church-state separation, promoting prayer in schools, teaching creationism along side evolution, attacking the rights of gay and lesbian Texans and their families (even suggesting that returning Iraq war veterans who are gay should live someplace other than Texas) and opposing women’s reproductive rights have made Gov. Perry a darling of the religious right. Case in point: with the state facing a revenue shortfall in the billions of dollars, the governor announced in December that one of his priorities is passing legislation to create specialty “Choose Life” license plates pushed by the anti-abortion lobby. Talk about getting your priorities straight.

Gov. Perry has also been a fixture at events hosted by the Texas Restoration Project, which organizes conservative clergy in support of Republicans and far-right causes. That group – funded heavily by San Antonio businessman James Leininger, the religious right’s sugar daddy in Texas – has hosted a series of so-called “Pastors’ Policy Briefings” at which hundreds of conservative clergy and their spouses have been treated (at no cost to them) to speechifying, prayer and praise for (and from) the governor. This cultivation of his far-right base has had its rewards, helping the governor win re-election in 2006 with just 39 percent of the vote in a field that included three major opponents and a Libertarian nominee. If the governor really does run for a third full term in 2010 – and he says he will – he will rely on that base to beat back a challenge from U.S. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison in the GOP primary. That means Gov. Perry will be looking for more ways to cement support from the Christian right this year.

Rep. Warren Chisum

Whether part of the House’s leadership team or exiled to the back benches, state Rep. Warren Chisum, R-Pampa, is a longtime favorite of the religious right in Texas. Rep. Chisum reminded us two years ago why Texas Monthly magazine once labeled him a “demagogue” and one of the state’s worst legislators. After promising before the 2007 session began that he wouldn’t pursue his obsession with attacking gay and lesbian families, he did it anyway. The chairman of the House Appropriations Committee – probably the second-most powerful position in the House – said he would support legislation (if any were filed) to bar gay and lesbian Texans from serving as foster parents. (Fortunately, no such legislation surfaced during the session.) Then he proposed a bill requiring every public high school in Texas to offer classes about the Bible. His legislation would have explicitly barred the State Board of Education from developing standards for such a course, and he fought against adding important safeguards for religious freedom. (TFN ultimately succeeded in persuading lawmakers to add those safeguards and to make the classes optional for school districts.)

Perhaps Rep. Chisum’s strangest episode of extremism, however, came when he circulated to fellow House members a memo from a Georgia state lawmaker. The memo attacked the scientific theory of evolution as an “anti-religion” plot hatched by some ancient Jewish sect. (Rep. Chisum later
The State of the Religious Right: 2009

Watch List: 2009

Governor Rick Perry
Warren Chisum, Texas House
Craig Estes, Texas Senate
Allen Fletcher, Texas House
Charlie Howard, Texas House
Dan Patrick, Texas Senate
David Swinford, Texas House
Randy Weber, Texas House
Tommy Williams, Texas Senate

apologized.) The memo also included links to a Web site promoting the claim that the sun and rest of the universe revolve around a stationary earth. (Really.)

Sen. Craig Estes
State Sen. Craig Estes, R-Wichita Falls, earned his spot on this year’s TFN Watch List after serving as the Senate sponsor in 2007 for state Rep. Warren Chisum’s bill, HB 1287, on public school Bible classes. The House Public Education Committee had struck the requirement that local schools offer such classes and added important safeguards for protecting the religious freedom of students, and the House refused to reverse those changes. Sen. Estes, however, tried to persuade the Senate to pass Rep. Chisum’s original bill, adding back the requirement and removing the safeguards. He finally backed off when senators threatened to kill the bill altogether. But his actions in 2007 make Sen. Estes someone worth watching when it comes to following the religious right’s legislative agenda in 2009.

Rep. Charlie Howard
Goodness. Where to begin? We noted in our 2007 report that Texas Monthly magazine once described state Rep. Charlie Howard, R-Sugar Land, as having “dropped off the right side of the political spectrum.” Indeed. To his attacks on the Children’s Health Insurance Program (which he has called socialism), his opposition to a woman’s right to choose and his support for private school vouchers, add his efforts to undermine separation of church and state, an important constitutional protection for religious freedom.

In 2007 he succeeded in passing legislation – HB 3678, the so-called “Religious Viewpoints Anti-Discrimination Act” – that requires public schools to turn official functions into “limited public forums.” Student speakers at those events are then permitted to pray or even evangelize, if they choose. Never mind that the courts have already set out clear guidelines regarding school prayer and protecting religious freedom for students. (And never mind that students whose attendance is required at such events might not share the speaker’s religious beliefs.) School boards around the state have been scrambling to adopt a plan for implementing the legislation without getting sued. Perhaps Howard doesn’t particularly care about problems he creates for public schools since he has home-schooled his own children.

Sen. Dan Patrick
Sen. Dan Patrick, R-Houston, is almost certain to be a regular on TFN’s Watch List each legislative year. The radio talk show host won election to the Senate in 2006 with strong support from the religious right. He rewarded that support in the 2007 legislative session by backing measures such as restricting a woman’s reproductive rights and weakening protections for church-state separation and religious freedom in the state’s public schools. Sen. Patrick also made headlines during the session several times, including when he stalked off the Senate floor before a Muslim imam led that day’s opening prayer. His comments afterward were both patronizing and hypocritical. “We witnessed something this morning that was extraordinary,” Sen. Patrick said. “The imam is fortunate to be in this great country, a nation that is so tolerant of others’ dream and faiths.” Of course, the good senator apparently didn’t feel tolerant enough to stay with his colleagues during the prayer. “I didn’t want my attendance on the floor to appear to be an endorsement,” he said. “I think that it’s important that we are tolerant of all faiths. That doesn’t mean we have to endorse all faiths.” Later in the session, Sen. Patrick voted for the so-called “Religious Viewpoints Antidiscrimination Act.” The bill requires public schools to turn official events into “limited public forums” at which student speakers can choose to pray and even evangelize. Sen. Patrick didn’t bother noting the hypocrisy of his support for the bill: students who don’t share a speaker’s religious faith won’t be free to leave the room, as he had left the Senate floor, when that speaker prays before the required assembly.
Sen. Patrick’s record in 2009 is unlikely to be much better. Among the measures he has filed is Senate Bill 182, which would require physicians to show a woman seeking an abortion ultrasound images of her fetus, describe the fetus’ development and have her listen to audio of the fetus’ heartbeat. A vocal proponent of private school voucher schemes, Sen. Patrick is no fan of public schools. One of his proposals, SB 308, would remove the statutory cap on the number of charter schools even though the state’s experience with such schools (numerous instances of gross financial mismanagement, corruption and academic failure) has been so dismal. Sen. Patrick’s SB 300 would also gut quality education standards such as small class sizes. It would also lift requirements on school districts to become more energy efficient and to conduct training sessions for students and teachers for evacuating school buses during emergencies.

**Rep. David Swinford**

As chairman of the House State Affairs Committee, Rep. David Swinford, R-Dumas, was the religious right’s point man in opposing medical research using embryonic stem cells. Such research gives hope to families of patients suffering from serious medical conditions like Parkinson’s disease, juvenile diabetes, cancer and spinal cord injuries, but social conservatives are adamantly opposed to it. When the committee met in 2007 to consider bills that would have promoted embryonic stem cell research, Rep. Swinford made sure that advocates – some of whom were patients themselves – didn’t get a chance to testify until the wee hours of the morning. Then the only bill to make it out of his committee would have banned public funding for embryonic stem cell research. (That bill, HB 225, never made it to the House floor.)

Rep. Swinford’s record on sex education is just as dismal. Speaker Tom Craddick sent to State Affairs a bill (HB 3165) by state Rep. Jessica Farrar, D-Houston, requiring that publicly funded instruction on sex education (whether abstinence-only or comprehensive) include only medically accurate information. One would assume that such common-sense legislation would sail through the Legislature, especially because Texas has one of the highest teen birth rates in the nation. The reality, however, is that many abstinence-only programs are riddled with factual errors and misleading information, meaning the abstinence-only lobby hated the bill. Rep. Swinford made sure it never saw the light of day, never even giving it a public hearing.

**Sen. Tommy Williams**

Observers aren’t surprised when state Sen. Tommy Williams, R-The Woodlands, carries the religious right’s water in the Legislature. In 2007 Sen. Williams was the Senate sponsor for state Rep. Charlie Howard’s bill on religious expression in public schools (HB 3678, the so-called “Religious Viewpoints Anti-Discrimination Act). During Senate committee consideration of the bill, Sen. Williams offered a substitute that included a provision forcing school districts to pay attorney fees if they were sued for violating the complicated and constitutionally suspect law. His substitute failed to pass, a good thing since it would have been a bonanza for far-right groups – such as Free Market Foundation – that have a long record of suing school districts over religious issues.

Sen. Williams has also been a backer of private school voucher schemes. This year, Sen. Williams’ Senate Bill 183 would create a private school voucher program for students with disabilities. Similar schemes in other states have served as an opening to much larger voucher programs even when they failed to serve the students they were purported to help in the first place. Sen. Williams’ bill, as originally filed, does not include explicit requirements for schools accepting the vouchers actually to have teachers certified in special education. It forbids schools from discriminating based on “race, color, or national origin,” but not based on religion.

A two-term senator elected in 2002, Sen. Williams has also sponsored legislation that imposes restrictions on access to reproductive services, including abortion. In 2005 he authored an “alternatives to abortion” bill that shifted millions of dollars in funding from traditional women’s health care providers to crisis pregnancy centers that offered no family planning services. As a result, thousands of low-income Texas women lost access to critical health services that had nothing to do with abortion and that, in many cases, had been geared toward preventing pregnancy in the first place. In 2003 he won passage for a bill requiring a 24-hour waiting period for women seeking to obtain an abortion. The bill mandated that those women be provided with information about the medical risks of the procedure, fetal development and adoption services. It also required the information to include the claim that abortion might increase a woman’s risk of breast cancer. The American Cancer Society and the American Medical Association dispute such claims.
Freshmen

It’s hard for first-term lawmakers to make big waves, but at least two bear watching closely in the 81st Legislature.


**Rep. Randy Weber**, R-Pearland, won with strong support from groups like the anti-abortion Texas Alliance for Life PAC and the Texas Home School Coalition. Other prominent supporters included private school voucher “sugar daddy” James Leininger of San Antonio, David Barton of the Christian-right group WallBuilders, Cathie Adams of Texas Eagle Forum and far-right State Board of Education member David Bradley, R-Beaumont Buna. (See Appendix G for information on WallBuilders and Texas Eagle Forum.)
Vouchers
A LEGISLATIVE SURVEY IN TEXAS

Vouchers are tax dollars shifted from public education to pay for tuition at private and religious schools. The Legislature has never passed a voucher scheme, although voucher bills narrowly failed in both 1997 and 2005. In 2007, the House voted 129-8 to forbid public funding for private school vouchers. A House-Senate conference committee stripped that provision from the final budget bill.

1993 – 73rd Legislature, Regular Session

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<th>Bill Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>HB 91</td>
<td>Carona</td>
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<td>HB 743</td>
<td>Cuellar, others</td>
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<td>HB 920</td>
<td>Grusendorf, others</td>
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<tr>
<td>SB 1375</td>
<td>Ratliff</td>
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HB 91 would have created a system of open enrollment, with some limits, in the state’s public schools and would have authorized publicly funded vouchers worth $3,000 for each child enrolling in a private or parochial school. Private and parochial schools participating in the program were required to offer a course of study in good citizenship and comply with federal nondiscrimination standards. The state was required to have a private entity evaluate the effectiveness of the voucher program annually.

HB 743 would have created an “education tuition grant demonstration program” for students eligible for enrollment in the national school lunch program in 14 Texas public school districts. Each private school voucher would be worth $4,000. Participating private schools would be required to provide transportation for students to and from school.

HB 920 would have created a voucher (“education scholarship”) program in up to 60 public school districts for educationally disadvantaged students (those enrolled in the national school lunch program). Under the bill, nongovernmental schools accepting vouchers in lieu of tuition would be designated “free schools.” The designation “private school” would apply to those schools that chose not to accept vouchers or any other public funding.

SB 1375 would have created a voucher program for “educationally disadvantaged children” attending “free schools” (the latter defined as in HB 920). The bill required that the program include at least 60 public school districts.

During debate over a major school finance reform bill meant to meet court rulings on equitable funding, Rep. Ron Wilson, D-Houston, offered an amendment creating a private school voucher program for students eligible for the national school lunch program. The amendment failed on an 80-62 vote.

1995 – 74th Legislature, Regular Session

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<td>HB 1315</td>
<td>Allen</td>
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SB 92 would have created a private school voucher program for families in which the head of the household had an income that did not exceed three times the federal poverty line.

HB 1315 offered students who had been expelled or were at risk of dropping out of a public school a voucher to attend private school.

HB 301 would have created a voucher program for students eligible for the national school lunch program. The program would have been available in 60 public school districts. The bill explicitly relieved schools accepting the vouchers from having to meet the educational regulations and statutes to which all state public schools were subject.

A House-Senate conference committee working on an education overhaul bill refused to include a Senate-backed provision creating a voucher program for low-income students in 20 public school districts.
HB 318 dealt with public education grants allowing students at low-performing public schools to attend a public school in another district. State Rep. Ron Wilson, D-Houston, offered an amendment permitting such grants to be used also for attending private schools. A move to table the amendment failed on a 68-68 vote, but Wilson withdrew the amendment as other House members – particularly opponents – arrived on the floor to vote on its passage.

HB 656 called for a voucher program that would allow any student to attend a private school or any public school inside or outside a district. Transportation requirements were the same as under SB 1206.

As with HB 656, HB 1110 would have created a voucher program allowing students at low-performing public schools to attend any other public or private school.

SB 1206, as amended in committee, would have established a pilot voucher program for students not performing at a satisfactory level and assigned to attend low-performing schools. School districts would have been required to provide transportation between home and the assigned public school. The school accepting the voucher would provide transportation to and from the assigned public school. The bill also called for public education grants that would allow students to transfer from a low-performing school to another public school within the same district. This bill included an elaborate breakdown of eligibility requirements for both students and schools accepting vouchers.

1999 – 76th Legislature, Regular Session

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<tr>
<td>SB 10</td>
<td>Bivins</td>
<td>Passed by Education, placed and then withdrawn from Senate intent calendar</td>
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HB 709 called for a “public education scholarship program” that would provide vouchers to educationally disadvantaged students in large urban school districts. Once eligibility was established and a student attended a private school, the student could continue receiving a voucher until his or her graduation from high school or 21st birthday.

SB 10 would have created a “public education scholarship program” for educationally disadvantaged students in counties with populations of at least 575,000.

Legislators also beat back proposed amendments to other bills that would have established voucher programs. Proponents failed in an effort to add vouchers to SB 4, an education bill increasing teacher pay, reducing local school property taxes and devoting money to early and ninth-grade education. In addition, Rep. Ron Wilson, D-Houston, was unsuccessful in his attempt to add a voucher scheme to a telecommunications bill (SB 560) on the House floor. The program would have covered students in the third, fifth and eighth grades who failed state assessment tests in reading and mathematics.

2001 – 77th Legislature, Regular Session

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<td>HB 2666</td>
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HB 1240 would have created a pilot private school voucher program for educationally disadvantaged students in the state’s six largest urban school districts. Vouchers would also have been available to students who performed poorly on state assessment tests or who attended a low-performing school.

HB 2666 called for a “public education scholarship program” that provided state-funded vouchers to students who were already using a federally funded voucher or scholarship to attend a private school.
HB 2465 called for an “education freedom pilot program” that would have provided private school vouchers to students from low-income families in 11 of the state’s largest school districts. Access to the program would have been expanded to all of the more than 1,000 Texas school districts in 2005.

HB 293 and HB 658 would have established a pilot private school voucher program for educationally disadvantaged students in the state’s six largest public school districts. The bills’ provisions were essentially the same as in HB 1240 in 2001.

SB 933 and companion HB 1554 would have created a “virtual charter school” pilot program allowing the University of Texas at Austin and one other state university to educate up to 2,000 home-schooled students. State funds would have been used to pay for student computers, Internet access, online classes, instructional materials and certified teachers who would monitor student progress. Opponents criticized the bills as creating “virtual vouchers” that would drain money from the state’s public schools.

SB 1822 and companion HB 3474 called for a study of the effectiveness of a privately funded private school voucher program in Edgewood Independent School District in San Antonio. The bills’ authors sought to determine the beneficial or harmful results on participating students, students remaining in public schools and on the district’s taxpayers. The bills failed to get even a hearing in committee.

Rep. Grusendorf also filed HB 1133, which wasn’t a voucher bill but would have required the State Board of Education to provide textbooks to private school students at state expense. The bill was left pending in the House Public Education Committee.

HB 12 would have established pilot voucher programs for educationally disadvantaged students in the state’s six largest urban school districts. HB 3042 called for a statewide private school voucher program open to nearly all students in any school district. HB 1263 would have created a pilot program in the state’s largest school districts. Students would be eligible for a voucher if, among other requirements, they were at risk of dropping out of school, were victims or siblings of victims of school violence, had limited proficiency in English or were in low-income families.

None of the bills received a vote on the floor. The House Public Education Committee incorporated much of HB 1263, however, into a bill reauthorizing the Texas Education Agency (SB 422). Wealthy voucher proponent James Leininger and House Republican leaders pressured representatives to pass SB 422 as amended. Just days later, however, opponents succeeded in gutting the voucher provision in a dramatic series of close votes on the House floor. A 74-70 vote stripped private schools from the bill, permitting vouchers to be used to attend only other public schools. House leaders then killed the bill.

HB 1445 would have created a “virtual school network” to provide education through electronic means to students across the state. Critics warned that the bill would create a “virtual voucher” program by using tax dollars to pay for educating private school and home-schooled students.
2007 - 80th Legislature, Regular Session

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<td>HB 19</td>
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<td>HJR 25</td>
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<td>SB 1000</td>
<td>Shapiro, others</td>
<td>Passed Education Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>SB 1506</td>
<td>Janek, Patrick</td>
<td>Left pending in Education Committee</td>
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Private school voucher schemes got little traction in the 80th Legislature. Only one bill made it through committee. Moreover, House members overwhelming voted to bar public funding for private school vouchers. That measure, an amendment to the budget bill, HB 1, passed the House 129-8. The prohibition did not make it into the final version of the bill agreed to by a House-Senate conference committee.

HJR 25 would have amended the state Constitution to prohibit the authorization or funding of a school voucher program.

HB 18 would have established a pilot voucher program for at-risk students in the state’s largest urban districts. HB 19 would have created a voucher program for students with disabilities. HB 3867 would have created a voucher program for students in foster care.

SB 1000 would have created an Autism Services Accessibility Program, allowing students with autism to transfer within a district, between districts or to a private accredited school with publicly funded vouchers.

SB 1506 would have established a pilot program offering publicly funded vouchers to certain “qualified at-risk children” to attend private schools.
Sex Education
A LEGISLATIVE SURVEY IN TEXAS

Texas has one of the highest teen birthrates of all the 50 states (and had the highest from 2004 to 2006). In addition, half of all new sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including HIV/AIDS, occur among young people under the age of 24. Not surprisingly, then, state and national polls have shown overwhelming support among parents for giving high school students medically accurate information about responsible pregnancy and disease prevention. Social conservatives, on the other hand, have been increasingly successful in eliminating such critical information from health classes and textbooks and in pushing programs that focus exclusively on encouraging only abstinence until marriage.

1993 – 73rd Legislature, Regular Session

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 1163</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Left pending in Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2582</td>
<td>Hirschi, others</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 487</td>
<td>Uher, others</td>
<td>Left pending in Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 924</td>
<td>Uher</td>
<td>Left pending in Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 938</td>
<td>Chisum, others</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 151</td>
<td>Shelley, others</td>
<td>Education Committee testimony, referred to special subcommittee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 20</td>
<td>Moncrief</td>
<td>Referred to special subcommittee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 996</td>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>Public hearing in Education Committee, referred to special subcommittee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HB 938 and SB 996 were companion bills that would have required local school district to “devote substantially more attention to abstinence from sexual activity than to any other behavior.” Schools would have been required to teach students that abstinence is the preferred choice of behavior, the expected standard in terms of public health and the only method that is 100 percent effective in preventing pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, infection with HIV and “the emotional trauma associated with adolescent sexual activity.” Discussions on contraception and condom use would present effectiveness based on “reality rates” rather than “theoretical laboratory rates.” SB 996 would have also required schools to get written consent from parents before admitting students to classes with instruction on sex education.

HB 2582 would have required students in teacher education programs to complete no less than three semester hours in human sexuality and would have authorized grants to school districts for “comprehensive sexuality and self-responsibility programs.” Course materials would have been required, among other things, to include instruction in postponement of sexual activity, the importance of family and personal values and the development of decision-making skills. In addition, the bill called for sex education materials for public schools to be reviewed by a committee of health experts appointed by the State Board of Education.

SB 20 would have required the teaching of comprehensive sex education (including “self-development and life skills” as well as instruction on pregnancy and disease prevention) in Texas public schools. The bill would have authorized school districts to establish local advisory committees to advise board trustees in the selection, development and implementation of the district’s program on sex education.

HB 487, HB 924, HB 1163 and SB 151 all sought to abolish the Pregnancy and Parenthood Advisory Council. The Legislature created the council in 1987 to study and help prevent teenage pregnancy. In 1993 the council became a lightning rod for religious conservatives opposed to comprehensive sex education. Critics charged – falsely – that the council was promoting policies such as teaching 5-year-olds about “deviant sexual behaviors,” masturbation, abortion and homosexuality. The coordinated assault by far-right groups overwhelmed the council’s supporters. Although all four bills seeking the council’s abolition failed, the Legislature closed it down by cutting off funding.

1995 – 74th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 162</td>
<td>Kamel, Allen</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 397</td>
<td>Chisum</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2469</td>
<td>Coleman</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 1</td>
<td>Ratliff</td>
<td>Signed by Governor 5/30/05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SB 1, a major education reform bill, included a provision requiring that public schools emphasize abstinence over any other method of sex education. Public schools are required to emphasize that abstinence is the preferred behavior for all unmarried persons and “the only 100 percent effective in preventing pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, infection with human immunodeficiency virus or acquired immune deficiency syndrome, and the emotional trauma associated with adolescent sexual activity.” The provision does not forbid school districts from offering comprehensive sex education. The provision requires that districts appoint and consider the recommendations of a local health advisory council before making any changes to the local sex education curriculum. School districts that do offer instruction on contraception and condom use must discuss the effectiveness of those methods “in terms of human use reality rates instead of theoretical laboratory rates.” School districts may not distribute condoms in connection with sex education instruction, and parents have the right to remove their children from a school’s sex education program.

HB 162 would have required high school students to learn that abstinence is the only “certain means” of avoiding out-of-wedlock pregnancy, STDs, HIV/AIDS and other health problems associated with sex.

HB 397 would have required that abstinence be presented to students as the preferred choice of behavior for unmarried people and that it was 100% effective in preventing pregnancy, STDs, HIV/AIDS and “emotional trauma” that might accompany sexual activity. The bill required that, when taught in high schools, contraception and condom use be taught in terms of “human use reality rates” instead of “theoretical laboratory rates.”

HB 2469 called for local school health education advisory councils to assist in recommending changes to the health education curriculum, including information about sex education.

1997 – 75th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 648</td>
<td>Coleman, Maxey, Chisum</td>
<td>Passed by Public Education, report sent to Calendars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HB 648 would have established membership requirements for local school health education advisory councils to advise board trustees on sex education programs. HB 2393 had similar language but included a section on course materials dealing with general health issues and preventative health care.

SB 19 dealt with health and physical education for public school students. Rep. Coleman succeeded in amending the bill to give local school health education advisory councils authority to assist school districts “in ensuring that local
community values are reflected in the district’s health education instruction,” not just instruction on sex education. The amendment also required that the local councils include at least one public school teacher, public school administrator, district student, health care professional, businessperson, law enforcement official, senior citizen, clergyperson and representative from a nonprofit health organization.

2003 – 78th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB 1357</td>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>Effective on 9/1/03</td>
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</table>

SB 1357 made various minor adjustments to the requirement for health advisory councils in local school districts.

2005 – 79th Legislature, Regular Session

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 1354</td>
<td>Villarreal</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1658</td>
<td>Farrar, others</td>
<td>Referred to Public Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2520</td>
<td>Coleman</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 3134</td>
<td>Castro</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HB 1354 called for, among other provisions, grants to public and private entities to establish or expand teenage pregnancy prevention programs. The programs would include comprehensive sexuality education.

HB 1658 would have required that health textbooks for public high school students include “specific, age-appropriate information” on all methods of contraception, teen dating violence, sexual assault, the importance of prenatal care services during pregnancy and the importance of well-woman exams.

HB 2520 would have required that the Department of State Health Services develop a fact-based, age-appropriate curriculum regarding AIDS and the prevention of HIV for public school students.

2007 - 80th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 311</td>
<td>Chisum, Flynn, Hancock, Crabb</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 3165</td>
<td>Farrar</td>
<td>Referred to State Affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HB 311 and its companion SB 1807 would have required that school districts obtain written parental consent before educating students about human sexuality, thus making it more difficult for teens to obtain medically accurate information on sex education. (Current law permits parents to opt their children out of sex education classes, but it does not require that parents grant prior approval.)

HB 3165 would have required that all information in abstinence-only and comprehensive sex education programs be medically accurate.
Stem Cell Research
A LEGISLATIVE SURVEY IN TEXAS

Many scientists believe that stem cell research could one day lead to cures for serious medical conditions such as Parkinson’s disease, juvenile diabetes and spinal cord injuries. Some believe that embryonic stem cell research holds the most promise for such cures in the future. Even so, social conservatives oppose such research. Legislation promoting, restricting or even banning embryonic stem cell research in its various forms has been offered in the Texas Legislature since at least 2001. No legislation related to stem cell research has yet passed the Legislature.

2001 – 77th Legislature – Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB 102</td>
<td>Nelson, West</td>
<td>Passed the Senate; referred to House Civil Practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 1209</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Referred to Jurisprudence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SB 102 would have banned human reproductive cloning. The bill did not address stem cell research and would not have prohibited using cloning technologies for scientific research or therapies.

SB 1209, introduced by West, would have barred all forms of human cloning. As written, however, this bill would also have had the effect of restricting some forms of embryonic stem cell research.

2003 – 78th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB 1034</td>
<td>Shapleigh</td>
<td>Referred to Jurisprudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1175</td>
<td>P. King, others</td>
<td>Placed on General State Calendar in the House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 156</td>
<td>Nelson, others</td>
<td>Referred to Jurisprudence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SB 1034 would have kept legal research involving embryonic stem cells, human embryonic germ cells, and human adult stem cells but would have criminalized human reproductive cloning.

HB 1175 and SB 156 would have banned human reproductive cloning as well as therapeutic cloning for embryonic stem cell research.

SB 610 related to grants for federally funded health centers. Rep. Phil King failed to amend the bill so that it barred grants to facilities that engaged in or were likely to engage in human reproductive cloning or even in therapeutic cloning intended for stem cell research.

SB 1652 related primarily to financing and administration at higher education institutions. Rep. Phil King failed in attempts to amend the bill so that it barred funding for institutions engaged in human cloning, even procedures needed for therapeutic embryonic stem cell research.

2005 – 79th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 1929</td>
<td>Woolley, others</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2081</td>
<td>Paxton</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2269</td>
<td>Woolley, others</td>
<td>Left pending in Higher Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2329</td>
<td>Morrison, Herrero</td>
<td>House-Senate Conference Committee report filed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2469</td>
<td>Thompson; Noriega</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2948</td>
<td>Swinford, Deshotel</td>
<td>Referred to State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 3076</td>
<td>Naishtat</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 864</td>
<td>P. King, others</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HJR 71</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HJR 96</td>
<td>Naishtat</td>
<td>Referred to Higher Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 1041</td>
<td>Janek</td>
<td>Referred to Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 1164</td>
<td>Zaffirini</td>
<td>Left pending in Health and Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 128</td>
<td>Shapleigh, Ellis</td>
<td>Left pending in Health and Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 1733</td>
<td>Shapleigh</td>
<td>Referred to Health and Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 943</td>
<td>Armbrister</td>
<td>Left pending in Health &amp; Human Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HB 864 and SB 943 would have prohibited human reproductive cloning and therapeutic embryonic stem cell research involving unfertilized blastocysts – effectively barring most embryonic stem cell research. A person violating the law – including patients – could have been fined between $500,000 and $1 million.

HB 2081 would have prohibited the use of state money for research on embryonic stem cells.
HJR 96 was a proposed constitutional amendment authorizing the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board or its successor to issue general obligation bonds in an amount up to $295 million for stem cell research.

HJR 71 was a proposed constitutional amendment establishing the Texas Institute for Regenerative Medicine to make grants and loans ($900 million over six years) to institutions of higher education and advanced medical research facilities in Texas for stem cell research and related facilities. The amendment would also have protected responsible embryonic stem cell research.

HB 3076 would have established a stem cell research program of up to $295 million, including grants and loans, with regulatory standards and oversight bodies for institutions of higher education.

SB 1041 and HB 2269 would have funded an adult stem cell research center at the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston. The bills didn’t address embryonic stem cell research.

HB 2469 would have established a Texas Institute for Regenerative Medicine and a committee to provide oversight. Research could include using human embryonic stem cells, human embryonic germ cells, and human adult stem cells.

With some differences, SB 128, SB 1164, SB 1733, HB 1929, HB 2948 would have banned human reproductive cloning but not therapeutic embryonic stem cell research. Unfertilized blastocysts could not be maintained for more than 14 days at higher education facilities unless frozen. The bills established general guidelines for stem cell research but did not bar therapeutic embryonic stem cell research at higher education facilities provided that the egg or unfertilized blastocyst was donated instead of purchased.

HB 2329 would have authorized the issuance of tuition revenue bonds or other obligations to fund capital projects at public institutions of higher education. The bill would have provided the University of Texas Health Center at Houston with $41.1 million for an adult stem cell research center. This center could have used the funds for stem cell and “related biomedical” research. The bill failed to pass in this session.

Amendments to SB 1, a general appropriations bill, that would have authorized funding for stem cell research failed to gain approval.

### 2005 – 79th Legislature, First Called Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 6</td>
<td>Morrison</td>
<td>Passed the House; died in the Senate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 75</td>
<td>Shapleigh</td>
<td>Referred to Health and Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 80</td>
<td>Ogden</td>
<td>Left pending in Finance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HB 6 and SB 80 would have authorized the issuance of tuition revenue bonds or other obligations to fund capital projects at public institutions of higher education. Both would have allowed up to $41.1 million in funds to establish, acquire, purchase, construct, improve, renovate, enlarge or equip facilities at the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston for stem cell and “related biomedical” research.

SB 75 would have banned human reproductive cloning but not therapeutic stem cell research involving unfertilized blastocysts. Unfertilized blastocysts could not be maintained for more than 14 days at higher education facilities. The bill did not bar therapeutic embryonic stem cell research at higher education facilities provided that the egg or unfertilized blastocyst was donated instead of purchased.

### 2005 – 79th Legislature, Second Called Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB 12</td>
<td>Zaffirini</td>
<td>Referred to Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 28</td>
<td>Shapleigh</td>
<td>Referred to Health and Human Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SB 12 related to the issuance of revenue bonds for higher education. This bill would have allowed higher education institutions to establish, acquire, purchase, construct, improve, renovate, enlarge or equip facilities at the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston for stem cell and “related biomedical” research. Bonds would be issued for financing purposes, not to exceed $41.1 million.

SB 28 would have banned human reproductive cloning but not therapeutic stem cell research involving unfertilized blastocysts. Unfertilized blastocysts could not be maintained for more than 14 days at higher education facilities. The bill did not bar therapeutic embryonic stem cell research at higher education facilities provided that the egg or unfertilized blastocyst was donated instead of purchased.
2007 - 80th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 225</td>
<td>Paxton, others</td>
<td>Passed State Affairs and sent to Calendars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 537</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1486</td>
<td>Naishtat</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1533</td>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1829</td>
<td>Raymond</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2704</td>
<td>Woolley, others</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HJR 43</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>Left pending in State Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 56</td>
<td>Zaffirini</td>
<td>Referred to Health and Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB 1835</td>
<td>Hegar</td>
<td>Referred to Health and Human Services</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

HB 225, and its companion SB 1835, would have banned public funding for embryonic stem cell research. HB 1533, HB 1829, HB 2704 and SB 56 would have made human cloning a criminal offense but did not restrict embryonic stem cell research.

HB 537 and HB 1486 were supportive of stem cell research, either by calling for funding or providing rules that would protect such medical research.

HJR 43 proposed a constitutional amendment establishing the Texas Institute for Regenerative Medicine, authorizing the issuance of bonds for the purposes of the institute and prohibiting the Legislature from prohibiting stem cell research.
Textbook Adoptions

A LEGISLATIVE SURVEY IN TEXAS

Among the State Board of Education’s responsibilities are adopting curriculum standards for Texas public schools and approving textbooks that local public school districts may purchase using state money. Efforts by state board members to edit textbook content based on their own personal and political beliefs have a long history. In 1994-95, for example, board members demanded that publishers make hundreds of changes to proposed new health textbooks. Among those changes were the removal of illustrations for self-exams for breast and testicular cancer, which some board members thought were too stimulating for teens. They also attacked medically accurate information on responsible prevention of pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. Embarrassed by these efforts, Texas legislators moved in 1995 to restrict the power of the state board over textbook content. Since then, lawmakers have tried to further limit the board’s authority or abolish the body altogether. Board members have challenged that 1995 provision before the state attorney general and by trying to pass new legislation restoring their authority.

1995 – 74th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB 1</td>
<td>Ratliff</td>
<td>Signed by the governor May 30, 1995</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SB 1, a major education reform package, included a provision that limited the State Board of Education’s authority over content in public school textbooks. Under the new provision, the state board could reject a proposed textbook only if the textbook did not meet state curriculum standards, if it included factual errors or if it did not meet manufacturing standards. Official opinions from two state attorneys general, a Democrat and a Republican, have generally upheld the provision’s limits on the state board’s authority.

1997 – 75th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HJR 114</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 3351</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 3396</td>
<td>Sadler</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 792</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td>Committee Report sent to Calendars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legislators filed multiple bills to abolish or transfer duties away from the State Board of Education. HJR 114 proposed a constitutional amendment that would abolish the State Board of Education. This amendment and HB 3351 would have placed the board’s duties under the state’s education commissioner. HB 3396 would have limited the board’s authority essentially to oversight of management and investments into the Permanent School Fund. The fund pays for textbooks and some other costs. HB 792 would have limited the number of board meetings throughout the year, reducing meetings from 10 per year to 4 regular meetings and 2 possible special meetings. The bill’s author argued that fewer meetings were more in line with the board’s reduced responsibilities under SB 1, which was passed in 1995.

1999 – 76th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
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<tr>
<td>SB 1707</td>
<td>Ellis</td>
<td>Referred to Education Committee</td>
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</table>

SB 1707 would have replaced the elected State Board of Education with an appointed panel. The appointments would have been made by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

2001 – 77th Legislature, Regular Session

Although there was quite a bit of discussion regarding the state board’s oversight of the permanent school fund in 2001, there were no bills seeking changes in the textbook approval process or in the board’s authority over textbook content.
2003 – 78th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 1172</td>
<td>Madden, others</td>
<td>Passed House, placed on Senate intent calendar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1447</td>
<td>Howard, others</td>
<td>Passed by Public Education, considered in Calendars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1448</td>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1917</td>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
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</table>

HB 1172 would have returned some authority over textbook content to the State Board of Education by setting subjective standards for the study of U.S. and Texas history and giving board members authority to determine whether those subjective standards had been met. The bill included requirements on the importance of patriotism, the free enterprise system and democratic values. Existing statute already included similar language, however. On the other hand, the bill also required that historical events addressed in public schools meet “a reasonable test of historical significance,” although no guidelines for determining what was “a reasonable test” were included. The bill also required that “the public school curriculum reflects an overall tone that portrays the United States as a country that has overcome its mistakes and emerged as the freest, most democratic nation in the history of the world.” Yet no guidelines for evaluating whether this standard was met were provided to the State Board of Education. The House Public Education Committee passed a completely different substitute bill that eliminated much of the original language. Passed by the House and then the Senate Education Committee, the bill ultimately died in the Senate.

HB 1447 would have completely restored to the State Board of Education the power to censor textbooks. Among its sweeping provisions was a novel definition of “factual errors” as “including errors of commission or omission related to viewpoint discrimination or special interest advocacy on major issues, as determined by the State Board of Education.” That provision would have permitted, for example, board members to reject biology textbooks that “omitted” discussion of creationism as an alternative “theory” to evolution in biology textbooks.

HB 1448 and HB 1917 would have essentially required the State Board of Education to determine whether textbooks sufficiently promoted patriotism, free enterprise and basic democratic values and to reject those textbooks judged not to do so. The bills never made it out of committee. A 2006 state attorney general’s opinion acknowledges the state board’s responsibility (under existing statute) to foster the teaching of U.S. and Texas history and the free enterprise system.

2005 – 79th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HB 220</td>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>Left pending in Public Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>HB 253</td>
<td>Naishtat</td>
<td>Left pending in Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 973</td>
<td>Madden</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 1658</td>
<td>Farrar, others</td>
<td>Referred to Public Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB 2534</td>
<td>Chisum</td>
<td>Left pending in Public Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

House Bill 220, as with HB 1447 in 2003, would have completely restored to the State Board of Education the power to censor textbooks. It included the same definition of “factual errors” as “including errors of commission or omission related to viewpoint discrimination or special interest advocacy on major issues, as determined by the State Board of Education.” That provision would have permitted, for example, board members to reject biology textbooks that “omitted” discussion of creationism as an alternative “theory” to evolution in biology textbooks.

HB 2534 and HB 973 would have established subjective textbook standards and left it to the highly politicized state board to determine whether those standards had been met. The bills would have required textbooks and curriculum to be “consistent with fundamental American principals” (HB 973) and promote “citizenship, patriotism, understanding of the essentials and benefits of the free enterprise system” (HB 2534). Both bills would have given the state board responsibility over ensuring the public school curriculum emphasized an overwhelmingly positive view of the United States.

HB 1658 would have required that health textbooks for public high school students include “specific, age-appropriate information” on all methods of contraception, teen dating violence, sexual assault, the importance of prenatal care services during pregnancy and the importance of well-woman exams.

HB 253 would have required that both the student and teacher editions of textbooks cover all state curriculum standards for a particular grade and course. Currently, a textbook can be judged as conforming to state curriculum standards if either the student edition or teacher edition covers those standards. In 2004 the state board approved
health textbooks even though required material on responsible pregnancy and disease prevention could be found only in teacher editions. As a result, Texas high school students today will find in their health textbooks no information about contraception or methods of preventing sexually transmitted diseases except through abstinence-only-until-marriage.

2007 - 80th Legislature, Regular Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill Number</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Final Action</th>
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<td>HB 77</td>
<td>Naishtat</td>
<td>Referred to Public Education (Primary provision passed into law as amendment to HB 188.)</td>
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HB 77 would have required that all elements of the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills curriculum standards be covered in both student and teacher editions of textbooks. When the State Board of Education approved new health textbooks in 2004, information on contraception and other methods of preventing pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases was limited to the teacher editions of textbooks even though it was required in the state’s curriculum standards for health. HB 77 failed to pass. However, this requirement was part of HB 188, which passed the Legislature and was signed into law by the governor. HB 188 (Hochberg) also requires the State Board of Education to establish rules for the “midcycle review and adoption” of textbooks and other instructional materials in the period between regularly scheduled textbook adoptions for a particular subject. HB 188 did not give the SBOE authority to edit textbook content.
The religious right’s dominance over the Texas Republican Party is clearly evident in the 2008 party platform. Numbers in brackets below indicate specific pages in the platform. (http://www.tfn.org/2008TXGOPplatform)

**Attacking Religious Freedom**
The state party renewed its assault on religious freedom for all people, regardless of their faith beliefs. In fact, far-right extremists once again pushed through a platform that calls on government to promote their own religious views above all others.

- The Texas GOP declares that “America is a nation under God founded on Judeo-Christian principles” and that the party is pledged “toward dispelling the myth of separation of church and state.”[P-18]
- “We support school subjects with emphasis on the Judeo-Christian principles upon which America was founded and which form the basis of America’s legal, political and economic systems.” [P-17]
- The party platform calls for revising the federal tax code to sweep away limits on politicking by clergy and houses of worship. [P-9]
- The party also calls for legislation permitting student-sponsored prayer in public schools and seeks to end what it calls “censorship of discussion of religion in our founding documents.” [P-17]
- “We oppose any governmental action to restrict, prohibit, or remove public display of the Decalogue (Ten Commandments) or other religious symbols.” [P-11]
- Despite problems such as abuse of clients and financial mismanagement that have plagued some programs in the past, Texas Republicans call for less oversight and regulation of faith-based providers of social services. [P-18]

**Undermining Sound Science, Medical Research and Public Education**

Under the control of religious conservatives, the state GOP reaffirmed its support for policies that undermine public schools, sound science and medical research.

- The Texas GOP would undermine the teaching of evolution in science classes by promoting “intelligent design”/creationism and the so-called “weaknesses” of theories such as evolution. [P-17] The platform does not acknowledge that evolution is the foundation of all the biological sciences and that scientists have repeatedly debunked arguments about so-called “weaknesses” of the theory.
- Texas Republicans “oppose any sex education other than abstinence until heterosexual marriage.” That position would prohibit teaching students age-appropriate, medically accurate information about birth control and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV. [P-17]
- The party platform opposes medical research involving embryonic stem cells even though scientists have identified such research as holding the most promise for treating and curing serious medical conditions such as cancer, spinal cord injuries, juvenile diabetes and Parkinson’s disease. Moreover, the party would impose criminal penalties on medical professionals and scientists who engage in such research. [P-14]
- The state GOP supports draining millions of dollars from public schools to pay for private and religious school tuition through tax-funded vouchers. It opposes requiring that private and religious schools – even those that would receive tax-funded vouchers – meet any state standards and other regulations set for public schools. [P-16] Further, the platform calls for the abolition of property taxes, which provide nearly all local funding for public schools in Texas. [P-21]
- Texas Republicans also support a federal tax deduction for expenses related to private and home schooling. [P-21] Such a plan would benefit primarily high-income families that could cover the remaining cost of sending their children to private schools. It would also mean less funding available for public education for all other families.
- The party supports giving the heavily politicized State Board of Education sole authority over content in and the adoption of public school textbooks. [P-16] Doing so would return Texas to the days when publishers were forced to make hundreds of changes to their textbooks to meet the personal, political and religious objections of censors on the state board. The Legislature limited the state board’s authority in 1995.
- The state GOP calls for “maximizing” local control over public schools, which would sweep away statewide quality education standards that have helped more students succeed over the past two decades. [P-16]
- Texas Republicans call for the abolition of the U.S. Department of Education and government-sponsored programs that deal with early childhood development. [P-16, P-17]
- The state party also calls for special rights for students
in private schools, including exemptions from local ordinances that set daytime curfews for all students. [P-16]

**Threatening Judicial Independence and Civil/Equal Rights**
The state GOP remains hostile to an independent judiciary and to protecting the civil and equal rights of all Texans.

- The Texas GOP supports congressional passage of the so-called “Constitution Restoration Act,” which would – among other provisions – bar the U.S. Supreme Court from hearing and ruling in cases regarding governmental entities or officials who acknowledge “God as the sovereign source of law, liberty, or government.” The law would also permit the impeachment and removal of judges who listen to such cases. [P-10]
- The platform opposes giving federal courts jurisdiction in cases involving family law. [P-12]
- The party would forbid judges from determining the constitutionality of laws and end Supreme Court jurisdiction in cases involving abortion, religious freedom and the Bill of Rights. It calls for the impeachment of judges who, through the subjective judgment of others, “abuse their authority.” [P-10]
- The party opposes affirmative action. “We believe it is simply racism disguised as a social value.” [P-9]
- Republicans oppose measures, such as “Motor Voter” laws and the “Help America Vote Act,” that make it easier for Americans to register and vote and help ensure that their votes will be accurately counted. They would also impose new requirements that make it harder for people to register to vote or maintain their voter registration. [P-10]
- The party opposes the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. [P-14]
- The party would gut the Americans with Disabilities Act by excluding from its protections “those persons with infectious diseases, substance addiction, learning disabilities, behavior disorders, homosexual practices and mental stress.” [P-16]
- The party opposes no-fault divorce and supports “Covenant Marriage,” which would make it harder for abused spouses to escape domestic abuse. [P-12]

**Renewing an Obsession with Homosexuality**
The platform declares that Texas Republicans “deplore all discrimination.” [P-19] Yet the platform also commits Republicans to widespread and systematic discrimination against anyone who is not heterosexual.

- By supporting “sodomy” laws, the Texas GOP would have government imprison and/or fine adults who engage in even private, consensual sexual intimacy with someone of the same gender. Texas Republicans also call for removing from federal courts any jurisdiction over cases involving same-gender sexual relations. [P-12]
- The platform calls for the passage of a federal constitutional amendment that forbids any state from permitting same-sex marriage or any other legal recognition of or benefits for (including insurance or retirement benefits) same-sex relationships. The party would make issuing a marriage license to same-sex couples a felony offense. Civil officials performing such ceremonies could also be charged with a felony offense. [P-12]
- The party opposes the right of gay and lesbian parents to adopt or even to have legal custody of their children. The party would also bar visitation rights for gay and lesbian parents unless ordered by a court and supervised under government authority. [P-12, P-14]
- The party supports repeal of the state’s hate crimes statute (which increases penalties for those crimes committed because of bias toward a person’s “race, color, disability, religion, national origin or ancestry, age, gender or sexual preference”). [P-19]
- Republicans oppose allowing gay men and lesbians to serve in the nation’s armed forces. (They also oppose permitting women to serve in any combat role.) [P-23]

**Opposing Reproductive Rights for Women**
The Texas GOP would severely restrict the rights of women to make decisions about their own bodies and reproductive health.

- The Texas GOP supports a federal constitutional amendment that bars a woman from choosing to end her pregnancy. It also supports extending constitutional protections to fetuses, the effect of which would be to criminalize abortion with no exceptions. [P-12]
- The party opposes the sale and use of emergency contraceptives such as the “morning after pill” and of RU-486, a drug used to end an early-term pregnancy. [P-13]
- Texas Republicans call for government to require that providers of abortion services distribute anti-abortion propaganda about alleged risks of abortion to adults, characteristics of the fetus and abortion alternatives. [P-13]
- The party opposes licensing and granting liability and malpractice insurance to doctors who perform abortion or facilities where abortion services are provided. [P-13]
- The platform calls for a strict candidate litmus test, instructing Republicans to support only candidates who oppose abortion. [P-12]
• The party calls for the Legislature to permit Texans to purchase “Choose Life” license plates. [P-13]

**Trashing Good Government**

• The Texas GOP opposes any taxes or regulations designed to deal with the serious threat of climate change. [P-21]

• The platform calls on the state Legislature to transfer from the Travis County Public Integrity Unit to another body the powers and funding needed to investigate and prosecute charges of government corruption (such as those against former U.S. House Majority Leader Tom DeLay, R-Sugar Land). [P-11]

• The party opposes mandatory vaccination programs for infectious diseases that endanger children in public schools and the general public outside them. [P-16]

• Texas Republicans call for the elimination of the Social Security tax and privatization of that vital retirement program. [P-15] The party also wants to abolish the Internal Revenue Service and federal taxes on earned income, inheritance, gifts, capital gains and corporate income. Republicans would replace such taxes with a regressive national sales tax. [P-21]

• The state party reaffirmed its hostility to international cooperation by calling for U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. It also opposes measures, such as the Endangered Species Act, that protect the environment. [P-9]

• The party supports the repeal of minimum wage laws. [P-22]
They Really Said It...
QUOTING THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT IN 2008

**CHURCH AND STATE**

“On the 4th of July, we celebrate what Jesus Christ did for America, since it was founded as a Christian nation. The Declaration of Independence formed all of the principles of Christianity into our form of government. It was nonsense that (the Founders) wanted a secular nation.”

**David Barton**, head of the far-right WallBuilders and former vice chairman of the Texas Republican Party, in materials used by the National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools.

*AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, NOVEMBER 19, 2008*

“Satan is here in Craig County High School. We fight Satan every day.”

**Fay Powers**, former local school board member in Virginia, explaining why the county’s public schools need a class about the Bible. The local school board approved the course.

*OURVALLEY.ORG, MAY 27, 2008*

“With the exception of the cross-burning episode . . . I believe John Freshwater is teaching the values of the parents in the Mount Vernon school district.”

**Dave Daubenmire**, defending his friend John Freshwater, an Ohio eighth-grade science teacher who slammed scientific theories in class, told students that homosexuality is a sin and burned crosses onto students’ arms using an electrostatic device. Daubenmire is a former London High School football coach whose district was sued in 1999 by the American Civil Liberties Union because he led his players in prayer at games, practices and meetings.

*THE COLUMBUS DISPATCH, JUNE 19, 2008*

 “[Some of my opponents] do not want to change the Constitution, but I believe it’s a lot easier to change the Constitution than it would be to change the word of the living God, and that’s what we need to do is to amend the Constitution so it’s in God’s standards rather than try to change God’s standards.”

**Mike Huckabee**, former Arkansas governor and a Republican presidential candidate, referring to his support for a constitutional amendment that would ban abortion and define marriage as between a man and a woman.

*MSNBC.COM, JANUARY 15, 2008*

**POLITICS**

“We have been clearly warned by his running mate, Joe Biden, that America will suffer some form of attack within the first 6 months of Obama’s administration. However, unlike Joe, I do not believe this ‘attack’ will be a test of Obama’s mettle. Rather, I perceive it will be a planned effort by those with whom Obama truly sympathizes to take down the America that is threat to tyranny. What nobody seems to be discussing is the fact that if such an attack takes place, what about Martial Law? What happens to expand executive power when a state of civil disorder is declared?”

**Texas State Board of Education member Cynthia Dunbar**, R-Richmond, writing days before the general election in an essay about Democratic nominee Barack Obama.

*CHRISTIAN WORLDVIEW NETWORK WEB SITE, NOVEMBER 2, 2008*

“To all those who name the name of Christ who plan to willfully disobey Him by voting for Obama, take warning. Not only is our nation in grave danger, according to the Word of God, so are you.”

**Janet Porter**, president of the far-right Faith2Action and author of The Criminalization of Christianity, warning voters that they would be divinely punished if they voted for Barack Obama and Joe Biden.

*WORLD NET DAILY, DECEMBER 4, 2008*

“At a time when Congress is busy trying to legislate defeat in Iraq, we are inviting you to a Pastors’ Policy Briefing that will help you engage the battle, to walk point. Today, with our troops facing danger abroad and our nation looking for guidance here at home, America’s need is to rearm spiritually through the leadership of her Pastors.”

**Mike Huckabee**, Republican presidential candidate calling on clergy to attend a Colorado event designed to increase their level of political engagement.

*AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, JUNE 30, 2008*
“Would it be wrong to ask people to pray . . . for rain?”

*Stuart Shepard*, Focus on the Family, asking followers to pray for torrential rain during Sen. Barack Obama’s outdoor acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention in Denver.

*Religion News Service, August 1, 2008*

“The ideological beast of (Barack) Obama’s worldview has been drawn out of its lair and now stands naked and exposed by (Sarah) Palin’s compassion and conviction. The beast is hunting our children, our nation’s destiny, and us. The rage of the media against Palin simply further exposes the moral bankruptcy, bigotry, and lack of compassion of liberalism.”


*Religion Dispatches, October 29, 2008*

“I was just curious if there was any validity to it. I was trying to get documentation if there was any scripture to back it up.”

*Danny Funderburk*, mayor of Fort Mill, South Carolina, explaining his reason for forwarding a chain e-mail suggesting Barack Obama is the biblical antichrist.

*Charlotte Observer, September 28, 2008*

“Although they are pleasant men in their personal demeanor, their group is more than disgusting to our Lord and Savior.”

*Ralph Drollinger*, head of Capitol Ministries, who works with a fellowship group at the California Capitol, criticizing lawmakers who participated in a separate fellowship group that embraces people of all faiths without insisting that they accept Jesus Christ.

*The Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy, February 27, 2008*

If science is limited to only natural explanations but some natural phenomena are actually the result of supernatural causes then science would never be able to discover that truth — not a very good position for science. Defining science to allow for this possibility is just common sense. Science must limit itself to testable explanations not natural explanations. Then the supernaturalist will be just as free as the naturalist to make testable explanations of natural phenomena. The view with the best explanation of the empirical evidence should prevail.”

*Don McLeroy*, chairman of the Texas State Board of Education, and a creationist who rejects the theory of evolution, calling for a redefinition of science to include the study of supernatural [religious] explanations for phenomena.

*Austin American-Statesman Online Op-Ed, September 24, 2008*

“I would say probably the Nazis would have found some rationale to kill the Jews without Darwinism, but Darwinism made it awfully convenient for them.”

*Ben Stein*, best known for his role in “Ferris Bueller’s Day Off,” discussing “Expelled,” his pro-“intelligent design”/creationism movie.

*Missouri News, April 6, 2008*

“There are others who think their ancestors were apes. That’s okay. But I’m going to vote the right way.”

*David Bradley*, vice chairman of the Texas State Board of Education, discussing the board’s science curriculum review with Republican state convention delegates in Houston.

*The Dallas Morning News, June 14, 2008*

“...I was thinking to myself the last time any of my relatives saw scientists telling them what to do they were telling them to go to the showers to get gassed … that was horrifying beyond words, and that’s where science — in my opinion, this is just an opinion — that’s where science leads you. … Love of God and compassion and empathy leads you to a very glorious place, and science leads you to killing people.”

*Ben Stein*, explaining his reasoning for embracing “intelligent design”/creationism and making the anti-evolution movie, “Expelled.”

*The National Review Online, April 30, 2008*
“If this creature [a Tyrannosaurs Rex] was designed to eat meat from the very start, what would he have to do until Adam and Eve sinned and death entered the world? What would he have to do? Fast and pray for The Fall. Is that likely? The answer is, everyone look at me and say, ‘No.’ Try that with me.”

Bill Jack, co-founder of BC Tours, which takes customers on tours of museums to explain natural history from a creationist perspective, talking to students about how dinosaurs were created 10,000 years ago and, thus, were vegetarians because death did not enter the world until man sinned.

ABC NEWS, MARCH 19, 2008

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

“We now know, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that not only did the Supreme Court literally make up the right that you claim gives you permission to use birth control, but the most popular form of birth control, the pill, can kill innocent preborn children. If there is a chance that human beings are going to be murdered, I am going to do everything in my power to help prevent that from happening. If you knew there was a chance that someone might poison your neighbor, don’t you think you would try to notify your neighbor and do as much as you could to help save a life?”

Far-right groups American Life League, Pro-Life Wisconsin and Pharmacists for Life International Associate, on a Web site urging like-minded people to join them for Protest the Pill Day ’08: The Pill Kills Babies, arguing that contraception is abortion, too.

ALTERNET.ORG, MAY 6, 2008

EDUCATION

“Even if you question the accuracy of my constitutional interpretation as proof of the inappropriateness of a state-created, tax-payer supported school system, still the Scriptures bear witness to such an institution’s lack of proper authority in the life of the Christian family.”

Texas State Board of Education member Cynthia Dunbar, R-Richmond, explaining her opposition to public education in her book One Nation Under God. Dunbar writes that public education is a “subtly deceptive tool of perversion,” “unconstitutional” and “tyrannical.”

TFN INSIDER, DECEMBER 4, 2008

“I’m sorry. This critical thinking stuff is gobbledygook.”

David Bradley, vice chairman of the Texas State Board of Education, explaining his opposition to proposed language arts curriculum standards created by teachers and curriculum experts. Bradley later voted with other far-right board members to replace the proposal with another version.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE, APRIL 21, 2008

“I think Islamic curriculum is about the furthest thing that we need to be introducing into Texas classrooms. . . . I think people are real sensitive about Islamic studies, given recent events in the United States.”

David Bradley, vice chairman of the Texas State Board of Education incumbent, who circulated a flier accusing his Democratic challenger of wanting to teach public school students about Islam.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE, OCTOBER 27, 2008

“What good does it do to put a Chinese story in an English book? You learn all these Chinese words, OK. That’s not going to help you master ... English. So you really don’t want Chinese books with a bunch of crazy Chinese words in them. Why should you take a child’s time trying to learn a word that they’ll never ever use again?”

Don McLeroy, Texas State Board of Education chairman, attempting to justify why a reading list for the new English language arts curriculum should be almost exclusively restricted to classics of English literature. McLeroy added that some foreign words — such as chow mein — might be useful.

SAN ANTONIO EXPRESS-NEWS, MARCH 21, 2008

CIVIL/EQUAL RIGHTS

“I’m not a social scientist. I can’t answer the question of, ‘Is it the environment that one finds oneself in or is it the way you’re wired up when you are born?’ I don’t know. I do know this: that people have a choice to engage in that activity. For instance, there’s probably a debate that goes on about if you’re an alcoholic you were born with that genetic trait. But every day, individuals realize that that is a trait that is not particularly good for their health, not good for their well-being and that it can be controlled with responsible behavior. And I would suggest that that is probably an argument that can be made for a host of genetically inclined disorders. If that in fact is where they come from.”

Gov. Rick Perry, in an interview about his new book, explaining his thoughts about homosexuality.

WASHINGTON POST, FEBRUARY 24, 2008

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

“You’d better watch out, get ready to cry, You’d better go hide, I’m telling you why ’cuz Santa Claus will take you to hell. He is your favorite idol, you worship at his feet, but when you stand before your God He won’t help you take the heat. So get this fact straight: you’re feeling God’s hate, Santa’s to blame for the economy’s fate, Santa Claus will take you to hell.”

The proposed text of a sign the ridiculously far-right Westboro Baptist Church wanted to post in the Washington state Capitol during the Christmas season.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, DECEMBER 11, 2008 APPENDIX F { 25 }
“I am not saying everyone has to be Christian; this is not a homogenous nation. What you have to be is someone who believes in a Judeo-Christian ethic, in other words, in knowing there’s a right and wrong.”

Oklahoma state Rep. Sally Kern, who claims she is a “cultural warrior for Judeo-Christian values.”

TULSA WORLD, AUGUST 6, 2008

“How utterly repulsive, insulting, and heartbreaking to God for his chosen people to credit idols with bringing blessings he had showered upon the chosen people. Their own rebellion had birthed the seed of anti-Semitism that would arise and bring destruction to them for centuries to come.”

John Hagee, far-right pastor of San Antonio, in one of his many anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic remarks. Republican John McCain later rejected Hagee’s endorsement of his candidacy for president.

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW, MARCH 7, 2008

“Just plain crazy

“We were built for battle! We were created for conflict! We get off on warfare!”

Rev. Rod Parsley, head of the 12,000-member World Harvest Church in Columbus, Ohio, in his call on evangelicals to go to war for their faith. Republican John McCain later renounced Parsley’s endorsement of his candidacy for president.

WASHINGTON POST, MAY 29, 2008

“(God) is living in me and I am the incarnation of Himself. The whole world is in my hand, and I will conquer and subjugate the world.”

Rev. Sun Myung Moon, quoted in a column looking at his connections to prominent politicians and high-level government officials.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE, MAY 17, 2008

“The students, led by Susan’s sister and Louise, a member of a charismatic church, engaged in loud and desperate prayers while holding Susan with one hand. Kneeling on the ground, my friends were chanting, ‘Satan, I command you to leave this woman.’ Others exhorted all ‘demons to leave in the name of Christ.’ It is no exaggeration to note the tears and sweat among those assembled. Susan lashed out at the assembled students with verbal assaults.”

Republican Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, writing about an exorcism his friends and he performed in college.

TALKINGPOINTSMEMO.COM, JUNE 11, 2008

“It does seem to be saying, ‘Islam is the light.’ I don’t think too many people would argue with that, so I think they’re being a little disingenuous. And this is not a healthy thing to be putting out in the marketplace when we’re in a war on terror, and little children are so susceptible to the messages they hear — even from a doll — then to take them into the school and talk about them. So yeah, this is a serious thing.”

Jan Markell of the end-times movement Olive Tree Ministries in Maple Grove, Minn., claiming that a doll marketed by toy-making giant Mattel was indoctrinating children into Islam.

MINNESOTA INDEPENDENT, OCTOBER 27, 2008
Christian Coalition of America – Texas Chapter

Founded by Pat Robertson, the Christian Coalition was once the best-known religious-right organization. In 1997, Fortune listed the organization as the seventh most influential lobbying group in our nation’s legislative system. The Christian Coalition’s highly partisan electoral activities, however, got it in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service. In 1999, the IRS revoked the group’s tax-exempt status, recognizing the partisan nature of the group. The Christian Coalition’s membership and fundraising has been in decline ever since. Christian Coalition of America reported just $1,408,747 in revenue for 2006.

Christian Coalition of America – Texas Chapter was established in 2006, replacing the defunct Texas Christian Coalition (CCTX, Inc.). CCTX – which moved from the North Texas city of Bedford to Sugar Land near Houston in 2005. The new Texas chapter of Christian Coalition of America, headquartered in Duncanville near Dallas, was apparently as partisan as ever, listing itself as a coalition affiliate of GOPUSA. GOPUSA describes itself as an organization that strives “to be the first source Republicans and conservatives turn to for news and information, both at the state and national levels.” (http://gopusa.com/company/mission.shtml, as of 12/15/06.)

Christian Coalition of America, Inc., filed required documents with the Texas Secretary of State’s Office as a Texas corporation on September 4, 2007. All listed officers, including Roberta Combs, president, listed out-of-state addresses (primarily South Carolina). The Christian Coalition of America - Texas Chapter Web site was live as of Jan. 17, 2009. The organization’s home page, however, indicated that the Web site had not been updated since August 31, 2006.

From the Web site: http://www.ccoatx.com/

Mission:
“The Christian Coalition of America - Texas Chapter offers people of faith the vehicle to be actively involved in shaping their government - from the County Courthouse to the halls of Congress.

Today, Americans are bombarded with countless political messages from across the ideological spectrum. Because of this, it is becoming increasingly difficult to separate truth from fiction and right from wrong. The Christian Coalition of America-Texas Chapter is committed to representing the pro-family agenda and educating Texans on the critical issues facing our society. Whether it is the fight to end Partial Birth Abortion or efforts to improve education or lower the family’s tax burden, your chapter stands ready and able to work for you.

Our Chapter will work to have a full time staff, lobby our elected officials from local to National office holders, so that Texans voices can be heard. During this upcoming election we will provide non-partisan guides to give voters a clear understanding of where various candidates stand on the issues importance to them. With this knowledge, voters can go to the polls to make their decision. We shall not stop with voters guides we will host events, grassroots training schools around the State to draw pro-family supporters.

If you are interested in having a positive pro-family impact on your government, the Christian Coalition of America - Texas Chapter is your organization.

Your involvement is paramount to our efforts. After deciding how you want to be involved, please contact us by letter, phone or email so we can send you the information you need to be successful.

In politics, every voice counts.”

Management
Buck Werner, executive director

Revenue:
Unknown

Contact Information:
P.O. Box 380206
Duncanville, TX 75138
Phone: (972) 709-5871
Email: administrative@CCOATX.com

Data for the defunct Texas Christian Coalition follows.
501(c)(4) nonprofit
EIN: 75-2830534

Leadership
Chuck Anderson (2005), Norm Mason, chairman (2004)
Mike Hannesschlager, executive director (2004)

Board Members:
Stuart Lane Betty Anderson

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

![REVENUE 2003-2004](image-url)

APPENDIX G

Organizations of the Religious Right in Texas
CONFia seeks to build a "Hispanic values movement" linked with other fundamentalist Christian evangelical groups. The group opposes abortion, embryonic stem cell research, same-sex marriage and euthanasia. CONFia has also worked to build support in the Hispanic community for a publicly funded voucher program open to any "public, private or Christian school." The organization also posts on its Web sites voter guides from the Free Market Foundation, the Texas affiliate of Focus on the Family.

From the Web site: http://confianow.com/

Mission:
"Council on Faith In Action is a 501(c)3 organization educating Hispanics on the importance of Civic Involvement.

The acronym CONFia comes from the Spanish word Confiar - to put one's trust or faith in someone. CONFia is putting our trust in God. And we are putting our faith into action.

CONFia's vision is to equip and mobilize Hispanics in America to uphold justice, righteousness and truth.

We are a non-profit organization dedicated to train Hispanics – of all ages and from all walks of life - to uphold our Christian worldview in the civic arena.

CONFia is committed to developing a strong, informed Hispanic grassroots network. We will do this by:

- Encouraging Hispanics to exercise their vote responsibly
- Educating Hispanics on the basics of civic involvement
- Providing resources through our seminars, newsletter and website"

Our Hope
We hope that you will partner with us and other individuals, churches and organizations - Hispanic and non-Hispanic - to educate Hispanics on civic involvement and to develop a strong, effective, and informed Christian Hispanic grassroots network - the Hispanic Values Movement.

Management:
David Contreras, executive director
Laura Calo, CONFia Headquarters
Tomas Lares, Jr., Southeast director
Mark Gonzales, Texas field director
John Mendez, West Coast director

Original CONFia Task Force:
David Contreras
Maria Hernandez Ferrier
Daniel Garza
Mark Gonzales
Beto Gonzales
Marta Guevara
Ana Maria Hernandez
Juan Carlos Hernandez
Tomas Lares, Jr.
Abel Lopez
Alice Patterson

Board of Directors (Web site, January 2009)
Maria Hernandez Ferrier, chair
Beto Gonzalez, vice chair
Alice Patterson, treasurer (also a director of Justice at the Gate, an evangelical Christian organization)
Abel Lopez, secretary
David Barton (also director of WallBuilders, which opposes separation of church and state)
Marta Guevara
Jonathan Saenz (an attorney and lobbyist for the Free Market Foundation)

CONFia reported that it did not meet the $25,000 income threshold for filing an IRS Form 990 for 2005 and 2007.

Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:
$48,425.00 $8,174.00

Contact Information:
P.O. Box 461488
San Antonio, TX 78246-1488
Email: info@CONFianow.com
Covenant Foundation, Inc.
501(c)(3) nonprofit
EIN: 74-2622129

From the Web site: No Web site

It is for good reason that James Leininger has been called the “sugar daddy” of the religious right in Texas. If not for him, many far-right groups in Texas might well not exist. Through a variety of personal foundations, as well as through direct contributions, James and Cecilia Leininger have given millions of dollars to far-right religious and political groups and causes.

(In fairness, the Leiningers’ generosity through the Covenant Foundation also extends into other charitable causes, including the Children’s AIDS Fund [$50,000 in 2007], Christian Academy of San Antonio [nearly $2.3 million], the Rafiki Foundation ($500,000), and the San Antonio Symphony [$50,000].)

Leininger, a San Antonio physician and businessman, made his fortune selling specialty hospital beds. He created the Covenant Foundation, Inc., in 1991. Six years later, he merged Covenant with his older JCL Foundation (created in 1987). Covenant now appears to be the oldest and largest of Leininger’s personal foundations. Among his other foundations was the Children’s Covenant Foundation, which existed from 1991 to 2004. He and three other Leininger family members were on the founding board of the PAL Foundation in 1993 (which still exists). Leininger is also president of the Children’s Educational Opportunity Foundation’s governing board. CEO supports private school voucher schemes and funded a privately funded voucher program for students in the Edgewood Independent School District in San Antonio. (Leininger announced in 2007 that the CEO voucher program would end before the 2008-09 school year.) The official address listed for board members is the same building as the Covenant Foundation.

Covenant has often ranked among the largest Texas foundations in total dollars donated in a calendar year. Total annual donations from the Covenant Foundation’s have declined in recent years, however. In 2000, for example, Covenant gave away about $14.3 million. In 2002 that figure was more than $12 million. By 2006, however, that number had declined to nearly $7.2 million and in 2007 was nearly $7.4 million.

Among political pressure groups on the right, some of the largest Texas-based recipients of Covenant funding are The Justice Foundation (formerly Texas Justice Foundation), which promotes the religious right’s agenda in the courts; Texas Public Policy Foundation, one of the most influential supporters of private school voucher schemes and a strong opponent of the Children’s Health Insurance Program; and WallBuilders, which attacks the separation of church and state as a “myth.” (See entries for each of these and other far-right groups in this appendix.)

Covenant also doles out significant sums to private schools, churches, ministries and other religious groups. Christian Academy of San Antonio, founded by Leininger in 2002, was by far the largest recipient of Covenant funding in 2007: nearly $2.3 million. Covenant has also funneled large donations to Patrick Henry College, which recruits students who were home-schooled and on whose governing board Leininger sits.

Covenant Foundation Contributions, Gifts and Grants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount Donated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>$7,373,464</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>$7,182,199</td>
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<td>$4,304,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>$6,484,170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IRS Form 990s

Officers/Directors (2007)
David C. Craven, President
Thomas W. Lyles, Jr., Secretary
Charles A. Staffel, Treasurer
James R. Leininger, Chairman
Cecilia A. Leininger, Director
Brian C. Leininger, Director
Tracy M. Leininger, Director
Kelly C. Welch, Director
Richard H. Welch, Director
Robert Welch, Director

Contact Information:
8122 Datapoint Dr., Suite 1000
San Antonio, TX 78229-3273
Educational Research Analysts
501(c)(3) nonprofit
EIN: 75-1407723

Educational Research Analysts is likely to play a role in the revision of public school curriculum standards over the next few years. Mel and Norma Gabler of Longview (Texas), who started the organization, began reviewing textbooks in the 1960s. The Gablers and their successors have criticized textbooks for, as they see it, coverage of evolution, failure to promote phonics-based reading instruction, insufficient support for principles of free enterprise, a failure to promote a strict interpretation of the U.S. Constitution, a lack of respect for Judeo-Christian morals, failure to emphasize abstinence-only-until-marriage instruction in health textbooks, and the “politically correct degradation of academics.”


In recent years the group has appeared to adopt a tactic of releasing reviews of textbooks after the State Board of Education has already voted on approving or rejecting those books. This tactic seems to fit into an overall strategy by Educational Research Analysts to discredit public school textbooks altogether rather than help ensure that the state’s public schools have the best choices available to them. The group also appears to be expanding its interest beyond Texas. In 2008 the group reviewed reading textbooks submitted by publishers for adoption in California.


From the Web site: http://www.textbookreviews.org/
The 81st Legislature: Change at the Capitol?

Free Market Foundation

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

The Free Market Foundation has increasingly looked to organizing conservative Christian pastors as a strategy in advancing its political agenda. For example, the group has played a prominent role in helping organize the Texas Restoration Project. That effort seeks to mobilize conservative pastors behind Republican candidates and causes supported by conservative evangelicals.

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

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

In 2007 and 2008, Liberty Legal aided the Ector County Independent School District when a group of families in the West Texas city of Odessa sued the district over its use of a sectarian Bible class curriculum for high schools. The school district agreed in March 2008 to stop using that curriculum (from the National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools) and adopt a new one for use for its high school course about the Bible. The families then withdrew their lawsuit. Free Market Foundation/Liberty Legal has disingenuously touted that result as a "victory" that permitted the district to continue teaching the class. The families who sued, however, had sought only to prevent the school district from using a blatantly sectarian curriculum that promoted the religious beliefs of fundamentalist Christians over all others.

Free Market Foundation strongly opposed what turned out to be successful efforts by Texas House members to replace state Rep. Tom Craddick, R-Midland, as speaker in January 2009. During his speakership, Craddick had rewarded support from religious-right groups by aiding legislation on issues such as private school vouchers, opposition to abortion, support for prayer in schools and opposition to same-sex unions. "Over the past decade, it is arguable that no state in the nation has made more progress in enacting laws protecting unborn life, traditional marriage and family, parental rights, and public religious expressions," Shackelford wrote to activists in an e-mail blast. "However, there is now an aggressive and unprecedented attempt underway to halt progress on the issues about which we care most."

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

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

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

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

Vision
All churches and ministries in the state of Texas will create, foster, and encourage an environment of freedom that strengthens the church and protects the practice of faith. The intimate relationships between church, community, and family will take on their God-given responsibilities and government will relinquish control of these areas. We will accomplish this vision by:

• Sharing resources and providing relational support
• Fostering a culture of unity among Christian ministries from various backgrounds
• Developing a strong moral voice to government leaders, and challenge destructive political initiatives that harm churches and families
• Accomplishing things of strategic significance
• Impacting our state with a bold, strong Christian influence
Management (2006)
Kelly J. Shackelford, President,
Mark E. Swafford, Executive Vice-President
Hiram S. Sasser, Director of Litigation
Jonathan Saenz, Staff Attorney

Board Members (2006)
W.W. Caruth III
Tim Dunn
Kelly Rogers
Al Angel
Cindy Asche
Mark Cover
Bill Crocker
Dale Brown
James Robertson
Archer Bonnema
Deborah Carlson
Ken Carlson
Linda Flower
Paul Pressler

Revenue 1997: $314,004.00
Revenue 2006: $1,600,766.00
Assets 2006: $1,158,297.00

Contact Information:
Free Market Foundation
903 East 18th Street, Suite 230
Plano, Texas 75074
(Free Market Foundation also operates out of an Austin office.)
E-mail: programs@freemarket.org
Founded by Richard Ford, the Heritage Alliance and the Heritage Alliance PAC were once known as the Free Market Committee and the Free Enterprise PAC, or FreePAC. Funded by conservative donors such as San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger, FreePAC backed a slate of far-right candidates in the 2002 state elections. In an attempt to purge moderates from the ranks of Republican elected officials, FreePAC also distributed mailers attacking a half-dozen GOP House members and senators during the party primary elections that year. Some of the inflammatory mailers included photos of two men kissing. The mailers painted their moderate Republican targets as, among other sins, being anti-family and supportive of teaching children about gay sex. They also attacked lawmakers for supporting women’s reproductive rights, including access to abortion services. The attacks drew condemnation from newspapers and other Republican officials from across the state, and all six of the targeted Republican moderates won their primaries. In 2005 the Heritage Alliance Marriage PAC worked to pass a state constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions. In 2007 the group supported legislation on public school Bible classes and a bill designed to allow student speakers to evangelize at public school events.

**From the Web site: www.heritagealliance.com**

**Mission:**

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

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

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

Your voice and your vote really do make a difference. Heritage Alliance serves to help you use your voice and vote wisely to hold our legislators accountable and ensure traditional values for our children and grandchildren.”
Justice at the Gate/At the Gate Ministries, Inc.
A 501 (c)(3) nonprofit
EIN: 75-2633461

Justice at the Gate is the assumed name of At the Gate Ministries, Inc. According to paperwork filed with the IRS, the organization’s primary exempt purpose is to “promote reconciliation among persons of all beliefs.” However, the group’s Web site is an online organizing tool that designed to help build a political machine based on local organizers. The site invites visitors to volunteer for such positions as “civic awareness coordinators” and city or county coordinators. Coordinators distribute election material and facilitate voter registration efforts.

The site encourages conservative Christians to engage in political affairs, supports the appointment of “godly judges,” and includes targeted outreach to minority communities in its activities. The group has coordinators in at least nine states, including Texas, where it has been actively involved in voter registration and other electoral activity. In 2005, for example, Justice at the Gate campaigned for passage of a constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions in Texas.

The group’s Web site includes detailed information about legal issues involving political work by churches and religious leaders. Much of the information is useful, but some of the advice might endanger the tax-exempt status of a church or other house of worship. For example, Justice at the Gate suggests that pastors may personally endorse or oppose a candidate from the pulpit. The Internal Revenue Service, however, has been investigating specific instances in which such activities may have, in fact, put the tax-exempt status of a church or other house of worship at risk.

From http://www.praytexas.com/text/newsletter.htm:
Justice at the Gate director Alice Patterson also founded Pray Texas in 1996 in the West Texas town of Junction. One project of Pray Texas is a weekly prayer group that prays for the Texas Legislature in an office in the state Capitol. The current president of Pray Texas is Cathe Halford, who with Alice Patterson was active in the Ector County chapter of the Texas Christian Coalition.

From the Web site: http://www.justiceatthegate.org/

Mission:
“Building strategic partnerships to mobilize Christians to pray effectively and to vote righteously.

Empowering believers in God’s presence through reconciliation and education to impact our nation through focused prayer for our judiciary and through the power of the ballot by purposing to:

- Build strategic partnerships to connect with key ethnic leaders
- Prepare a place of healing in God’s presence by continuing the reconciliation work of black and white abolitionists
- Empower Christians to impact our nation by connecting their faith values to electoral choices, evidenced by the power of the ballot
- Open doors of access to government by educating and connecting the faith community to dedicated believers serving in government
- Mobilize governmental prayer by connecting an intercessor to every judge in America, from the county to the federal level”

Management (2007, Texas Secretary of State records)
Alice Patterson, president, director
Susan Weddington, vice president, director
John Patterson, secretary/treasurer, director


Contact Information:
7203 Wilder
San Antonio, Texas 78250
E-mail: justiceatthegate@aol.com
The Justice Foundation
A 501(c)(3) nonprofit
EIN: 74-2676958

The Justice Foundation (formerly known as the Texas Justice Foundation) has been working to elevate its profile at the national level. Through its program called Operation Outcry, TJF has circulated to public policymakers around the country affidavits from 2,000 women who say they have been harmed by abortions they had. The group has strongly supported so-called abortion “trigger laws,” which would automatically ban abortion in a state – often with no exceptions – should the U.S. Supreme Court overturn its landmark Roe v. Wade ruling from 1973. In November 2006, TJF and its allies suffered a stinging defeat when South Dakota voters repealed such a draconian trigger law in their state. In 2007, Texas Senator Dan Patrick, R-Houston, filed a similar trigger bill – SB 186 – in the Legislature. The bill’s House companion, HB 175 by state Rep. Warren Chisum R-Pampa, received a public hearing but failed to make it out of committee.

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

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

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

In 2005, TJF filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of Cano and 180 women who said they were injured by undergoing an abortion procedure. Justice Anthony Kennedy cited the brief in the majority opinion in Gonzalez v. Carhart, which upheld the constitutionality of a federal law banning so-called partial birth abortions. Justice Kennedy referenced the brief to write more broadly about the emotional impact of abortion on women, asserting that the ban would ultimately be good for women, who – he argued – would be spared the mental and moral trauma of the procedure.

Attorney Allan Parker leads TJF and is a former Bexar County Christian Coalition president. Parker and former directors of TJF have been familiar names in other pro-voucher organizations. Fritz Steiger, president of CEO America (now Children First America), was a TJF director. Thomas W. Lyles, who is on the board of directors for CEO America and TPPF and was involved with Texans for Governmental Integrity, a political action committee founded by Dr. Leininger, served as TJF’s secretary.

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

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

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

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

Board Members (2007)
Allan E. Parker, Jr., Director
Richard C. Trotter, Vice President
George Pond, Vice President
Linda Schlueter, Vice President
James R. Leininger, Director

Revenue 1998: $796,915.00
Revenue 2007: $1,037,968
Assets 2007: $61,857

Contact Information:
Texas Justice Foundation
8122 Datapoint, Suite 812
San Antonio, Texas 78229
Phone: (210) 614-7157
Fax: (210) 614-6656
E-mail: info@txjf.org
Liberty Legal Institute
A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

An arm of Free Market Foundation – itself the Texas outpost of James Dobson’s Focus on the Family – Liberty Legal is a litigation group that attempts to insert religion into the public sphere through lawsuits. The organization specializes in blowing local controversies into legal battles over religious freedom. In March 2006, for example, Liberty Legal helped a student Bible-study group sue the Plano Independent School District for the right to post an organizational description of the group on the district’s Web site. In April the group threatened to sue a Fort Worth-area school over whether a religious student group should have to pay a fee to host a rally – including a sound system and a Christian rock band – in a school gym.

In August of 2005, Liberty Legal provided work for the National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools (NCBCPS). The NCBCPS had come under fire following a Texas Freedom Network Education Fund report detailing blatant sectarian bias, numerous errors and plagiarism in a Bible curriculum the National Council is aggressively marketing to public schools around the country. In May 2007, Liberty Legal agreed to defend the Ector Country Independent School District (Odessa) in West Texas after the American Civil Liberties Union filed a federal lawsuit charging that the district’s use of NCBCPS materials violated the U.S. Constitution’s establishment clause. The school district agreed in March 2008 to stop using that curriculum.

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

“Liberty Legal Institute (LLI) is a 501(c)(3) organization that was founded in 1997 to protect religious freedoms and First Amendment rights for individuals, groups and churches. LLI offers its assistance pro bono to ensure all individuals and groups can thrive without the fear of governments restricting their freedoms.

Liberty Legal consists of staff attorneys and a network of over 120 dedicated litigators committed to successfully battling in the courts for:

- Religious freedoms
- Student’s rights
- Parental rights
- The definition of family

These litigators donate their professional expertise and time to fight for these sacred freedoms. Liberty Legal Institute is headquartered in Plano, Texas with affiliate offices located in Dallas, Houston, Austin, Midland, Lubbock and San Antonio.”

Mission:
“To achieve expanded religious freedom and family autonomy through litigation and education designed to limit the government’s power, increase the religious rights of citizens and promote parental rights.”

Management (Web site, January 2009):
Kelly Shackelford, Chief Counsel
Hiram Sasser, Director of Litigation
Jonathon Saenz, Litigation Attorney and Director of Legislative Affairs

1997 Expenses: 2006 Expenses:
$6,797.00 $477,857.00

Contact Information:
Liberty Legal Institute
903 E. 18th Street, Suite 230
Plano, TX 75074
Phone: (972) 423-3131
Fax: (972) 423-6570
E-mail: info@libertylegal.org
Founded in 1992, Life Dynamics opposes the right to abortion in all circumstances, including to save the life of the mother. The group has backed its extreme position with extreme tactics, including the distribution of literature with “jokes” suggesting that doctors who perform abortions should be shot. The group also distributed a video charging that clinics were engaged in an illegal underground trafficking of fetal tissue. When members of a Congressional committee pointed out discrepancies between the statements of a spokesman in the video and statements on an affidavit by the same individual, the spokesperson answered: “I would go by the affidavit, when I was under oath I told the truth. Anything I said on the video when I was not under oath, that is a different story.” (Roll Call, 3/13/2000)

Life Dynamics has also threatened legal action against school districts. The group sent a letter to school districts notifying them that they could be held liable for not reporting criminal activity if any minor sought family planning services as a result of finding out about these services through school. (www.lifedynamics.com/Anti-Abortion_Prolife/Teen_Abortion_Facts/)

**From the Web site: http://www.ldi.org**

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

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

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

**Management**
Mark Crutcher, founder and president

**Board Members:**
Mark Crutcher
Tulane Crutcher, secretary/treasurer
B.J. Posey
Louise Coleman
Cherie Johnson
Terrance Anderson, vice president
Arden Morley

**Revenue 1998:** $914,657
**Revenue 2007:** $497,937
**Assets 2007:** $858,645

**Contact Information:**
Life Dynamics, Inc.
P.O. Box 2226
Denton, TX 76202
Texas Alliance for Life was created in 1988 by Joseph Pojman as the Greater Austin Right to Life Committee. In 1999, the organization adopted another name: Texas Coalition of Parents’ Rights. Finally, in 2002, the organization became known as Texas Alliance for Life, but it may still operate under any of the assumed names. Texas Alliance for Life holds anti-abortion rallies around the state and opposes a woman’s right to choose whether or not to have an abortion; embryonic stem cell research; and the expansion of Planned Parenthood facilities. Although officially nonpartisan, the group has made its support for certain political candidates – especially Gov. Rick Perry – obvious. “The pro-life vote, generated with the help of Texas Alliance for Life, gave Perry a strong margin of victory,” the group wrote after the governor’s re-election in November 2006 (“TAL Update 12/4/06, http://texasallianceforlife.org/TAL%20Updates/TAL%20Update%202006_12_04.htm.”)

Pojman strongly opposed the election of state Rep. Tom Straus, R-San Antonio, as speaker of the Texas House in January 2009. “We will have almost no chance of getting badly needed pro-life bills through the committee process and onto the House floor, effectively killing them,” Pojman said. (“Texas House speaker throws in the towel,” Associated Press, Jan. 5, 2009)

From the Web site: http://texasallianceforlife.org/

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

We have three principle areas of peaceful, legal activity:

Education: We educate community leaders, elected officials, the media, and the general public about the value of innocent human life and the need for its respect and protection. We do this through our newsletters, web sites, public speaking, and events.

Public Policy: We support public policies that protect innocent human life. We work through the federal, state, and local legislative, administrative, and legal processes.

Alternatives: We promote compassionate alternatives to abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia.

We focus our efforts in the State of Texas and throughout the United States. Donations to support our efforts are appreciated.

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

Management, Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund (2007)
Christopher Maska, Trustee
Joseph Pojman, Executive Director

Leadership, Texas Alliance for Life, Inc. (2007)
Joseph Pojman, Executive Director
Jean Cullen, Treasurer
Alexis Dobson, Director of Volunteers
Kristin Jones, Director of Communications
Mary Shearer, Director of Administration
Jill Davis, Special Assistant
Patty Fennessey, Project Director
Jennifer Stratton, Comm. Dir.
Katie Rose, Legislative Assistant

Board Members:
Christopher Maska, President
Davida Stike, President
Brandon Frye
Scott Gilmore
Chris Munson
Beverly Nuckols, M.D.
Pastor David Smith
Kayo O’Keefe
Jim Shaw
Jim Teegarden
Rich Phillips
John Partridge
Texas Alliance for Life 501(c)(4)
Revenue 2007: $85,543.00
Assets 2007: $14,019

Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund 501(c)(3)
Revenue 1999: $72,994
Revenue 2007: $154,483
Assets 2007: $41,062

Contact Information:
Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund
P.O. Box 49137
Austin, TX 78765-9137
E-mail: info@texasallianceforlife.org
The Texas Eagle Forum is a branch of the national Eagle Forum, which is headed by founder Phyllis Schlafly. The Texas chapter’s head is Cathie Adams, who is also a Republican National Committeewoman. Adams appears to have no problem using religion as a political weapon. Shortly before the November 2008 presidential election, for example, she sent an e-mail to activists in which she viciously attacked Democratic nominee Barack Obama’s religious faith. “While many question Barak Hussein Obama’s ‘religion’…, the more important question is whether he has a ‘relationship’ with Jesus Christ because that is the only HOPE that any of us have to obtain eternal life,” Adams wrote. “I personally see NO evidence that Obama has that kind of ‘saving faith.’” She then encouraged the recipients of her e-mail to help the Republican Party turn out voters on election day.

Then in December, Adams bombarded activists with e-mails attacking state Rep. Joe Straus, a San Antonio Republican who was challenging Tom Craddick, R-Midland, for speaker of the House. Her e-mails accused Straus (who succeeded in unseating Craddick as speaker) of allegedly betraying far-right causes such as opposition to abortion and to equal rights for gay and lesbian families.

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

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

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

Mission:
“Texas Eagle Forum’s mission is to enable conservative and pro-family men and women to participate in the process of self-government and public policy-making so that America will continue to be a land of individual liberty, respect for family integrity, public and private virtue, and private enterprise.”
Texans for Life Coalition
501(c)(3) nonprofit
EIN: 75-1908415

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

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

Management (Web site, January 2009)
Kyleen Wright, President and CEO
Betty Garcia, Assistant Director
Terri McLaughlin, Education Coordinator
Dot Hogue, Treasurer

Board Members (2007)
Wade Birdwell
Casey Burke
Sheree Havlick
Dot Hogue, CPA, Treasurer of the Board
David Edmonson, Vice President
Betty Garcia, Secretary of the Board
Jeffrey Stewart
Dr. Jack Hatcher, Christ for the Nations Institute
Kyleen Wright, President


Contact Information:
Texans for Life Coalition
P.O. Box 177727
Irving, TX 75017-7727
E-mail: webservant@texlife.org
While its work today is not based explicitly on conservative religious principles, the Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF) has played an increasingly influential role in shaping public policy in Texas from a far-right perspective. In fact, many Republican lawmakers attend TPPF’s “policy orientation” events, and TPPF leaders and staff members advise Gov. Rick Perry and other elected officials on public policy. The group has supported censorship of school textbooks in the past, opposes funding for the Children’s Health Insurance Program and promotes policies—such as private school vouchers and school “deregulation”—that threaten public education in the state.

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

**From the Web site: [http://www.texaspolicy.com](http://www.texaspolicy.com)**

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

The Foundation’s mission is to improve Texas by generating academically sound research and data on state issues, and by recommending the findings to opinion leaders, policymakers, the media and general public.

Funded by hundreds of individuals, foundations and corporations, the Foundation does not accept government funds or contributions to influence the outcomes of its research.

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

**Management (2006)**
Mary Katherine Stout, *President*
William Peacock III, *Vice President*
Byron Schlo mach
Jamie Story
Shari Hanrahan

**Board (2007)**
Phil Adams
Ernest Angelo
Tim Dunn
Ramiro Galindo
Wendy Lee Gramm
James R. Leininger, MD
Tim Lyles
William A. McMinn, *Chairman*
Vance C. Miller
Brenda Pejovich
Brooke L. Rollins, *President*
Jeff Sandefer
George W. Strake, Jr.
Michael Stevens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenue 1997:</th>
<th>Revenue 2007:</th>
<th>Assets 2007:</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>$810,456</td>
<td>$2,522,968</td>
<td>$1,383,929</td>
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**Contact Information**
Texas Public Policy Foundation
900 Congress Ave., Suite 400
Austin, TX 78701
E-mail: info@TexasPolicy.com
The Texas Restoration Project, a network of conservative Christian pastors, is part of a growing web of similar organizations in various states. It became active in Texas in 2005. The group does not appear to be registered as a nonprofit or political organization, at least not under the name “Texas Restoration Project.” Much of the funding for its activities seems to have come from the Niemoller Foundation, a 501(c)(3) private foundation headed by the Texas Restoration Project’s chairman, Rev. Laurence White, as well as his wife and Andrew Adams. The Niemoller Foundation has also funded similar “Restoration” or “Renewal” projects in other states, raising and spending more than $2.1 million from 2005 through 2007 for such pastor-mobilization efforts. According to IRS records, much of Niemoller’s 2005 funding came from prominent Republican donors Dr. Jim Leininger of San Antonio, Houston homebuilder Bob Perry, East Texas chicken tycoon Bo Pilgrim, and liquor distributor Don O’Neal. All have been prominent contributors to Gov. Rick Perry’s political campaigns. Since 2005, much of Niemoller’s funding appears to have come from Leininger and the American Family Association.

Most of the states with similar “Restoration” or “Renewal” projects were key battlegrounds in the 2008 presidential election, although the Niemoller Foundation appears to have limited its funding (at least through the end of 2007) to Texas, Colorado and Florida. Most of the projects have been established since 2004. Prominent supporters have included Rod Parsley – a fundamentalist evangelical pastor from Ohio – and David Barton, the former vice chair of the Texas Republican Party and the founder and head of WallBuilders, a Texas-based group that opposes separation of church and state. (Financial information about the Niemoller Foundation for 2008 is not yet available.)

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

Board (2007)
Rev. Laurence L. White
Deborah White
Andrew A. Adams

Niemoller Foundation revenue for 2007: $237,967
Niemoller Foundation assets for 2007: $27,919 (cash)

Revenue 2005-07

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>$237,967</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>$615,057</td>
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Major contractors listed
2007 IRS Form 990:
David Lane for fundraising - $56,000
Renaissance Hotel-Austin - $92,323

2006 IRS Form 990:
San Jacinto Public Affairs, Austin - $50,136
Marriott Denver Tech Center - $93,508
David Lane, fundraising - $201,478
Focus on the Family - $112,492

2005 IRS Form 990:
San Jacinto Public Affairs, Austin - $473,881
Hilton, Austin - $293,910
David Lane, fundraising - $167,500
Free Market Foundation, Plano - $100,278
Justice at the Gate, San Antonio - $100,000

Direct charitable activity
2007 IRS Form 990:
Conference, Texas Pastors’ Policy Briefing, Jan. 15-16 - $193,720

2006 IRS Form 990:
Conference, Florida Pastors’ Policy Briefing, Jan. 15-16 - $52,965
Conference, Colorado Pastors’ Policy Briefing, June 5-6 - $162,675
Conference, Colorado Pastors’ Policy Briefing, Oct. 2-4 - $176,650

2005 IRS Form 990:
Conference, Austin Pastors’ Policy Briefing, May 23-24 - $261,047
Conference, Austin Pastors’ Policy Briefing, Aug. 23-24 - $261,047
Conference, Pastor Mobilization, Fort Worth, Dallas, San Antonio, Austin - $200,000

Texas Restoration Project Contact Information:
P.O. Box 200222
Austin, TX 78720-0222
Phone: (800) 491-9032
restoration@sanjacintogroup.com

Niemoller Foundation Contact Information:
427 West 20th Street, Suite 501
Houston, TX 77008-501
(713) 869-8346
Founded in 1994, the Lufkin (Texas)-based group calls on pastors – so-called “patriot pastors” – to promote a conservative political agenda in their congregations. That agenda is virulently anti-gay and includes opposition to abortion rights, comprehensive sex education and embryonic stem cell research. One of the members of the group’s board of directors is the Rev. Dr. Laurence White, who serves as chairman of the Texas Restoration Project – another organization whose mission is to mobilize pastors into a conservative political force.

The president of Vision America is Rick Scarborough, a former Southern Baptist pastor who is a prominent leader in the far right’s campaign to undermine an independent judiciary. In fact, the group has called for the impeachment of “activist judges” whose rulings it opposes. Scarborough has been one of the loudest voices proclaiming that “activist judges” are engaged in a “war on Christians” and people of faith. In March 2006, for example, Vision America hosted a national conference in Washington, D.C., called “The War on Christians and Values Voters.” The event featured a long list of heavy hitters on the far right, including former U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay of Texas, U.S. Sen. John Cornyn of Texas, Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum, and former Republican presidential candidate Alan Keyes.

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

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

Board (2006)
Rick Scarborough, President
Randall Odom
Mike Valerio
William Gattis
Keith Drewery
Damon Keeley
Richard Barret
Bo Chinn
John Graves

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<td></td>
<td>$131,826</td>
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Revenue 1998-2006

Vision America Action
2005 revenue: $69,647
2006 revenue: $70,717

Contact Information:
Vision America
P.O. Box 10
Lufkin, Texas 75902
E-mail: mail@visionamerica.us
WallBuilder Presentations, Inc.
A 501(c)(3) nonprofit
EIN: 75-1627779

Headquartered in the North Texas town of Aledo, WallBuilders is an “educational” organization with a distinct ideological agenda – promoting the notion that the United States is a Christian nation, founded on Christian principles and that its laws should be based on conservative Christian biblical teaching. The group has an increasingly partisan agenda as well. Its founder and president, David Barton, was vice chair of the Republican Party of Texas from 1998 to 2006. He remains a prominent speaker before Republican and other conservative groups around the country.

Barton strongly opposed the election of state Rep. Joe Straus, R-San Antonio, as speaker of the Texas House in January 2009. “Rep. Straus (who has been in office for only two sessions) has developed a clear voting record that demonstrates overt hostility toward unborn life and traditional family values,” Barton wrote about his fellow Republican in an e-mail blast to far-right activists.

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

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

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

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

Barton also apparently takes on issues that would seemingly have little to do with WallBuilders mission. In June 2007, for example, Barton told the Environment and Public Works Committee of the U.S. Senate that the federal government should take no action on climate change, an environmental crisis on which Barton remains a skeptic.

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

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

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

**Board (2007)**

Charles D. Barton, president
Cheryl Barton, secretary/treasurer
Rose Barton
Jeff Fisher
Richard Watson
Stephen McDowell

**Revenue 1997:** $424,949.91
**Revenue 2007:** $1,164,140
**Assets 2007:** $1,169,421

**Contact Information:**
WallBuilder Presentations, Inc.
P.O. Box 397
426 Circle Drive
Aledo, TX 76008-0397
E-mail: info@wallbuilders.com
ENDNOTES

1 “Straus claims he has votes to unseat Craddick,” Associated Press, Jan. 3, 2009
2 “Perry talk on gay vets draws ire; Calls for apology come after chief suggests they should live elsewhere,” 
   Austin American-Statesman, 6/15/2005
5 “Muslim leads prayer, but senator bows out,” Austin American-Statesman, 4/5/2007
6 “Muslim leads prayer, but senator bows out,” Austin American-Statesman, 4/5/2007
The Texas Freedom Network Education Fund supports research and education efforts that promote religious freedom and individual liberties.