



BULKY DOCUMENTS

(Exceeds 100 pages)

Filed: 02/04/2011

Title: REGISTRANT'S FIRST AND SECOND NOTICES
OF RELIANCE.

Part 1 of 2

92047809

BRIAN R. GIBBONS, P.A.
Attorney at Law

TTAB

3936 S. Semoran Boulevard, Suite 330
Orlando, Florida 32822-4015
E-mail: trademarks@briangibbons.com

Telephone: (407) 384-6156
Facsimile: (407) 384-2601

BRG11-103

January 31, 2011
Via U.S. Mail

Box TTAB – No Fee
Commissioner for Trademarks
P.O. Box 1451
Alexandria, VA 22313-1451

7863 0590

Re: Terry v. Newman
Cancellation Proceeding No. 92047809

Dear Sir or Madam:

Enclosed please find Registrant's First and Second Notices of Reliance.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,



Brian Gibbons, Esq.

BRG/ras



02-04-2011

BRIAN R. GIBBONS, P.A.

Attorney at Law

3936 S. Semoran Boulevard, Suite 330
Orlando, Florida 32822-4015
E-mail: trademarks@briangibbons.com

Telephone: (407) 384-6156
Facsimile: (407) 384-2601

IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE BEFORE THE TRADEMARK TRIAL AND APPEAL BOARD

RANDALL A. TERRY,
an individual,
Petitioner

v.

TROY NEWMAN,
an individual,
Registrant

In the matter of
Registration No. 3,179,591
For the mark: OPERATION RESCUE

Registered upon the Principal Register
On December 5, 2006

Cancellation No. 92047809

REGISTRANT'S FIRST NOTICE OF RELIANCE

Registrant, Troy Newman, hereby makes of record and notifies Petitioner of its reliance on the following printed publications submitted pursuant to Rule 2.122(e) of the Trademark Rules of Practice, 37 C.F.R. §2.122(e), TBMP §704.08 and Fed. R. Evid. §401.

EXHIBIT A

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as Exhibit A.

CERTIFICATE OF MAILING

I hereby certify that this correspondence is being deposited with the United States Postal Service as first class mail in an envelope addressed to: Commissioner for Trademarks, P.O. Box 1451, Alexandria, VA 22313-1451 on the date shown below:

By: B. Gibbons

Print Name: Brian Gibbons

Date of Mailing: January 31, 2011

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 2 of 17

These documents refer to and discuss the history of the rescue movement prior to the existence of Operation Rescue, and are relevant for the context of the use of the term “rescue” and the issues of whether the name Operation Rescue points uniquely to Petitioner and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner.

- A-1. Abortion Protests In 4 Cities, *Boston Globe*, September 19, 1982;
- A-2. Anti-Abortionists Bear Tiny Coffin In 3-Mile Walk, *Miami Herald (FL)*, September 18, 1983;
- A-3. Pickets Ring Clinic, Rail At Abortion, *Miami Herald (FL)*, September 18, 1983;
- A-4. Halt Killings, *Morning Call (Allentown, PA)*, August 24, 1984;
- A-5. Twelve Protesters Go On Trial In Northeast Anti-Abortion Case, *Philadelphia Inquirer (PA)*, November 19, 1985;
- A-6. 48 Arrested In Abortion Clinic Protest, *Houston Chronicle*, March 30, 1986;
- A-7. 30 Convicted In Abortion Protest At Northeast Clinic, *Philadelphia Inquirer (PA)*, September 4, 1986;
- A-8. Anti-Abortion Activist Vows To Press Resistance To Prisons’ Procedures, *Sun-Sentinel*, November 29, 1986;
- A-9. Radical Rites, <http://www.plagal.org/media/genre.html>, May 1994 (Retrieved September 24, 2010);
- A-10. Biography of Andrew Burnett, <http://www.lifeadvocate.org/bio/andrew/bioandrw.htm> (Retrieved September 24, 2010);
- A-11. *You Reject Them, You Reject Me: The Prison Letters of Joan Andrews* (excerpts), Richard Cowden-Guido (editor), 1988; Acknowledgements, pages 33-36, 104-109, 150-153; and
- A-12. *Wrath of Angels*, James Risen and Judy L. Thomas, 1998; pages 167-168.

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 3 of 17

EXHIBIT B

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as **Exhibit B**. These documents are offered for what they show on their face as to the public perception of the history of Operation Rescue and Randall Terry, and are relevant to the issues of whether the Operation Rescue mark is the same as the name previously used by Randall Terry, whether the name Operation Rescue points uniquely to Petitioner and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner. They are not offered for the truth of the contents therein.

- B-1. History of Operation Rescue, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Operation_Rescue (Retrieved January 26, 2011);
- B-2. Operation Save America, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Save_America (Retrieved January 26, 2011); and
- B-3. Randall Terry, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Randall_Terry (Retrieved January 26, 2011).

EXHIBIT C

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as **Exhibit C**. These documents refer to and discuss the history of Operation Rescue, and are relevant to show the public perception of the history of Operation Rescue, the association of the name Operation Rescue with various individuals, and the issues of whether the Operation Rescue mark is the same as the name previously used by Randall Terry, whether the name Operation Rescue points

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 4 of 17

uniquely to Petitioner and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner. Exhibits C-6 through C-12 focus in part on Keith Tucci; Exhibits C-13 through C-20 focus in part on Philip Benham; Exhibits C-22 through C-28 focus in part on Philip Faustin.

- C-1. Wrath of Angels, James Risen and Judy L. Thomas, 1998; pages 302-314, 317-318, 333-335, 357-358, 360;
- C-2. Debt Closing Operation Rescue's Base, Founder Says, *Seattle Times*, January 31, 1990;
- C-3. Fine Forces Closure Of Operation Rescue, *Pantagraph, The (Bloomington, IL)*, February 1, 1990;
- C-4. Anti-Abortion Group to Close Headquarters, *New York Times*, February 1, 1990;
- C-5. Anti-Abortion Leader to Change Strategy, *Seattle Times*, April 15, 1990;
- C-6. S.C. Base For Anti-Abortion 'Rescue' Group, *State, The (Columbia, SC)*, November 23, 1991;
- C-7. Changing Strategies Operation Rescue Stockpiles Assets Secretly, *State, The (Columbia, SC)*, January 5, 1992;
- C-8. Back to Basics, *World Magazine*, November 28, 1992;
- C-9. A Leader of Protests Against Abortion, *Philadelphia Inquirer, The (PA)*, July 14, 1993;
- C-10. Operation Rescue Leader Steps Aside For 'New Blood', *Wichita Eagle, The (KS)*, February 8, 1994;
- C-11. Militant Anti-Abortion Leader Tucci Quits Post With Operation Rescue, *St. Paul Pioneer Press (MN)*, February 9, 1994;
- C-12. Abortion Opponent Quits Post - The Rev. Keith Tucci Had Headed Operation Rescue National For Four Years, *The Orlando Sentinel*, February 9, 1994;
- C-13. New Operation Rescue Chief Not Taking Easy Road, *The Wichita Eagle*, February 13, 1994;
- C-14. Operation Rescue Changes Name, *Watertown Daily Times (NY)*, April 26, 1999;

BRIAN R. GIBBONS, P.A.
Attorney at Law

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 5 of 17

- C-15. Randall Terry Censured By Church, *The Washington Post*, February 12, 2000;
- C-16. Operation Miscue, *LA Weekly*, April 3, 2002;
- C-17. 'I Expect A Great Reward' - Abortion Provider's Killer Is Unrepentant On Eve of Execution, *Washington Post*, September 3, 2003;
- C-18. Longtime Abortion Activist Now A 'Mellowed' Politician, *Palm Beach Post, The (FL)*, June 25, 2005;
- C-19. Abortion Protest Trouble-Free Clinics Open As Groups Get Their Messages Out, *Birmingham News (AL)*, July 17, 2007;
- C-20. Editorial: Extremism Is The Threat, *Salisbury Post (NC)*, September 10, 2010;
- C-21. *The Rhetoric of Operation Rescue*, Mark Allen Steiner, 2006; pages 5-12;
- C-22. Schroeder Departure a Stunner, *Gazette, The (Colorado Springs, CO)*, November 30, 1995;
- C-23. Abortion Access Versus Free Speech - Supreme Court Hears Case On Colorado's 'Bubble' Around People Entering, *Christian Science Monitor*, January 19, 2000;
- C-24. Law's Fate Stirs Concern Both Factions Fear Outcome Of Ruling, *The Denver Post*, January 20, 2000;
- C-25. Abortion Protests Targeted County Eyes Ban On Home Pickets, *The Denver Post*, May 19, 2000;
- C-26. Picket Law Gets First Ok Arapahoe Responding To Abortion Protest, *The Denver Post*, May 31, 2000;
- C-27. 'Bubble Law' Remains Intact Supreme Court Upholds Colorado's 8-Foot Limit On Abortion Protesters, *Rocky Mountain News (CO)*, June 29, 2000; and
- C-28. Activists Hail Nebraska Law Court Ruling, *Rocky Mountain News (CO)*, June 29, 2000.

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 6 of 17

EXHIBIT D

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as **Exhibit D**. These documents show the public perception of Randall Terry as no longer being associated with Operation Rescue, and are relevant to the issues of whether the Operation Rescue mark is the same as the name previously used by Randall Terry, Randall Terry's fame, whether the name Operation Rescue points uniquely to Petitioner, and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner.

- D-1. Abortion Foes Decide To Try Another Tactic Want To Put More Heat On Government Officials, San Diego Union, The (CA), August 19, 1990;
- D-2. From The Front Line To The Sideline Terry Keeps Low Profile In Buffalo Protest, Wichita Eagle, The (KS), April 22, 1992;
- D-3. A Voice Against Abortion Operation Rescue Founder Has Taken To The Airwaves, State, The (Columbia, SC), July 15, 1993;
- D-4. Sizing Up A New Target - Randall Terry Steps Down From Operation Rescue To Go On The Attack Against Bill Clinton, Chicago Tribune, August 15, 1994;
- D-5. Abortion-Rights Advocates Have Alleged a Conspiracy, But the Jury Is Still Out, U.S. News & World Report, November 14, 1994;
- D-6. The Roots of Terror – A Special Report.; Is Abortion Violence a Plot? Conspiracy Is Not Confirmed, New York Times, June 18, 1995;
- D-7. Whatever Happened to Clinic Protests?, Citizen, August 26, 1996;
- D-8. Randall Terry Settles NOW v. Scheidler Lawsuit, Life Advocate, January/February 1998;
- D-9. Putting Aside Protest for Politics; Militant Abortion Foe Seeks G.O.P. Nod for Congress, New York Times, July 27, 1998;

BRIAN R. GIBBONS, P.A.
Attorney at Law

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 7 of 17

- D-10. Metro News Briefs: New York; An Anti-Abortion Leader Files for Bankruptcy, *New York Times*, November 8, 1998;
- D-11. Teens Give New Life to Operation Rescue, *Los Angeles Times*, October 12, 1998;
- D-12. Operation Rescue Founder Bankrupt, *Life Advocate*, January/February 1999;
- D-13. Where Are They Now?, *The Wichita Eagle*, July 13, 2001;
- D-14. Icon for Abortion Protesters Is Looking for a Second Act, *New York Times*, July 20, 2001;
- D-15. Followers Thinning For Anti-Abortion Militant Randall Terry Once Drew Hundreds Locally, But Rallied Few In Protest At Jones Institute, *Virginian-Pilot, The (Norfolk, VA)*, August 2, 2001;
- D-16. Fallen Anti-Abortion Leader Tries To Rebound With Stem-Cell Debate - Some Former Allies Say He Squandered His Credibility By Leaving His Wife, *Grand Rapids Press, The (MI)*, August 5, 2001;
- D-17. Barry Manilow Got Saved: Randall Terry Makes a Comeback, *OldSpeak*, February 10, 2003;
- D-18. Abortion Foe Tries For Comeback Fighting Gay Unions, *Wichita Eagle, The (KS)*, August 17, 2003;
- D-19. Planned Parenthood Dismissive Of Protest Tactics, *Sioux City Journal (IA)*, November 22, 2003;
- D-20. Terry: Abortion, Homosexuality Remain An Affront To America, *Sioux City Journal (IA)*, November 22, 2003;
- D-21. Operation Rescue Founder Discards Strident Approach, *Des Moines Register*, November 23, 2003;
- D-22. Please Remove Randall's Feeding Tube, *Operation Save America*;
<http://www.operationsaveamerica.org/articles/articles/please-remove-randalls-feeding-tube.htm> (Retrieved June 25, 2008);
- D-23. RandallTerryLive.org (Archive.org February 1, 2004 backup of www.randallterrylive.org/), Retrieved January 21, 2011;

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 8 of 17

- D-24. Conservatives Invoke Case in Fund-Raising Campaigns, *New York Times*, March 25, 2005;
- D-25. Voice For Schindlers Shaped By Activism, *St. Petersburg Times (FL)*, March 29, 2005;
- D-26. Letter from Mother Theresa, *RandallTerry.com* (Archive.org April 22, 2006 backup of www.randallterry.com/MotherTheresa/), Retrieved January 21, 2011;
- D-27. Randall Terry's Latest Protest Targets Giuliani, *Post-Standard, The (Syracuse, NY)*, January 22, 2008;
- D-28. He's Back: Anti-Abortion Crusader Randall Terry Leads the Protests at Notre Dame, *ABC News*, May 17, 2009;
- D-29. Old Mission, New Life - Randall Terry Wants To Lead Rebirth Of Antiabortion Fight, *Washington Post, The (DC)*, July 15, 2009;
- D-30. Anti-Abortion Activist Kicks Off Tour In Roanoke, *Roanoke Times, The (VA)*, August 22, 2009;
- D-31. Randall Terry's Tired Act, *Catholic Culture*, November 6, 2009;
- D-32. Operation Rescue, *New York Times*. June 1, 2009; http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/organizations/o/operation_rescue/index.html (Retrieved January 31, 2011);
- D-33. Corrections, *Washington Post*, September 16, 2010; and
- D-34. Anti-Abortion Activist to Run for President, *TV-WTOL*, January 20, 2011.

EXHIBIT E

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as **Exhibit E**. These documents relate or refer to the use of the Operation Rescue mark by Registrant, and are

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 9 of 17

relevant to the issues of whether the name Operation Rescue points uniquely to Petitioner and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner.

- E-1. Who We Are: Operation Rescue, <http://www.operationrescue.org/about-us/who-we-are/> (Retrieved January 28, 2011);
- E-2. History: Operation Rescue, <http://www.operationrescue.org/about-us/history/> (Retrieved January 28, 2011);
- E-3. Operation Rescue Protests in L.B., *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, April 2, 1999;
- E-4. 54 Fetuses Draw Tears at Memorial Service, *The Press-Enterprise*, April 3, 1999;
- E-5. Last-Minute Rule Busts Pro-Lifers, *WorldNetDaily*, April 28, 2000;
- E-6. *Their Blood Cries Out*, Troy Newman with Cheryl Sullenger, 2001;
- E-7. California Orders HMOs to Cover Morning After Pill, *CNN*, March 27, 2002;
- E-8. Protesters Try to Disrupt Abortion-Rights News Conference, *The Wichita Eagle*, August 16, 2002;
- E-9. Truck's Graphic Images Take Aim at Abortions, *The Wichita Eagle*, August 19, 2002;
- E-10. Abortion Foes Celebrate New Ruling, *The Wichita Eagle*, March 1, 2003;
- E-11. Abortion Foes Win 17-Year Battle over Clinic Protests, *The Wichita Eagle*, February 27, 2003;
- E-12. Both Camps on Abortion to Mark Roe v. Wade, *The Wichita Eagle*, January 20, 2004;
- E-13. Bel Aire Tickets Anti-Abortion 'Truth Truck', *The Wichita Eagle*, January 21, 2004;
- E-14. Abortion Foes Pledge to Block 'Deadly Deeds', *The Wichita Eagle*, January 23, 2004;
- E-15. Abortion Protester Arrested at Clinic, *The Wichita Eagle*, January 22, 2005;
- E-16. Hotel Forbids Abortion Clinic to Use Rooms, *The Wichita Eagle*, February 4, 2005;
- E-17. Operation Rescue Files Grand Jury Petition, *The Wichita Eagle*, April 8, 2006;

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 10 of 17

- E-18. Operation Rescue Buys, Closes Clinic, *The Wichita Eagle*, June 30, 2006;
- E-19. Protests Target Clinic, DA's Office, *The Wichita Eagle*, January 20, 2007;
- E-20. Abortion Battlefield Changing, *The Wichita Eagle*, January 22, 2008;
- E-21. Late-Term Abortions Are Not Meeting Kansas Law, *The Wichita Eagle*, February 5, 2008;
- E-22. The Abortionist and His No. 1 Foe, *CNN*, October 27, 2009; and
- E-23. On Trial's Sidelines, Abortion Foes Are Divided, *The New York Times*, January 11, 2010.

EXHIBIT F

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as **Exhibit F**. These documents relate or refer to other spokespersons and CEOs associated with various trademarks, and are relevant to the issues of whether the name Operation Rescue points uniquely to Petitioner and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner.

- F-1. Bill Gates Steps Down as Microsoft CEO, *ZDNet UK*, January 14, 2000;
<http://www.zdnet.co.uk/news/it-strategy/2000/01/14/bill-gates-steps-down-as-microsoft-ceo-2076313/> (Retrieved January 18, 2011);
- F-2. Iacocca Back in Chrysler Commercials, *The Car Connection*, July 7, 2005;
http://www.thecarconnection.com/tips-article/1007598_iacocca-back-in-chrysler-commercials (Retrieved January 18, 2011);
- F-3. Jack Welch, *Answers.com* (excerpt); <http://www.answers.com/topic/jack-welch>
(Retrieved January 18, 2011);
- F-4. Apple's Steve Jobs Takes Medical Leave, *Charlotte Examiner (NC)*, January 17, 2011;

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 11 of 17

- F-5. Steve Jobs Medical Leave: Experts Speculate But Apple Quiet, *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 2011;
- F-6. What Happens to Apple Without Steve Jobs?, *International Business Times*, January 18, 2011;
- F-7. Cosby to Speak At Boys & Girls Club Conference, *WXIA-TV Atlanta*, May 14, 2009;
- F-8. Priceline.com's William Shatner Makes AOL's List of Top Celebrity Spokespeople of All Time, *BusinessWire*, August 20, 2008;
- F-9. In An Emergency Role, Thomas Dons Apron Again, *Miami Herald, The (FL)*, December 21, 1999; and
- F-10. Recent Losses in TV, *AOL PopEater*, April 12, 2010.

EXHIBIT G

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as **Exhibit G**. These documents relate or refer to the use of the term "operation" as a military signifier, and are relevant to the context of the choice of the name Operation Rescue and the issues of whether the name Operation Rescue points uniquely to Petitioner and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner.

- G-1. Operation, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/operation> (Retrieved January 12, 2011);
- G-2. Military Operations: Calling the Shots, *The Independent*, February 24, 2010;
- G-3. War in Iraq Will Be Called 'Operation New Dawn' to Reflect Reduced U.S. Role, *Washington Post*, February 19, 2010; and
- G-4. In Choosing Its Battle Names, The Military Must Know Its Target Audience, *Washington Post*, March 20, 2010.

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 12 of 17

EXHIBIT H

True and correct copies of the following printed publications from newspapers, periodicals, books or websites available to the general public are annexed hereto as **Exhibit H**. These documents relate or refer to the use of the name Operation Rescue by third parties, and are relevant to the issues of whether the name Operation Rescue points uniquely to Petitioner and whether use of the name causes a presumption of a connection with Petitioner.

- H-1. Operation: Rescue, Heather David, 1971;
- H-2. Helping Out The Boat People - Houston Operation Provides Food, Medical Aid To Refugees, *The Dallas Morning News*, August 27, 1984;
- H-3. Leader of Original Operation Rescue Seeks POWs, MIAs, *The Orange County Register*, April 23, 1989;
- H-4. What's in Name? Enough to Protect, MIA Chief Says : Organizations: The Original Operation Rescue, Formed in 1981 to Resolve the Status of Missing U.S. Servicemen, Wants the Anti-Abortion Group to Find Something Else to Call Itself, *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1990;
- H-5. Operation Rescue II Picnic to Benefit Veterans, Service Members and Families, <http://webs.calumet.purdue.edu/news/2010/08/05/operation-rescue-ii/>, August 5, 2010;
- H-6. Sears Coupon Gives 10-20% Off for Operation Rescue Donation, <http://www.walletpop.com/2010/02/02/sears-coupon-for-10-20-off/>, February 2, 2010;
- H-7. New State Program Helps Veterans Receive Their Diplomas, *Staten Island Advance (NY)*, January 20, 2001;
- H-8. Fighting a War, and Getting a Diploma, *Wellington Daily News (KS)*, May 22, 2001;
- H-9. Operation Rescue Offers Diplomas To Veterans, *Reporter, The (Vacaville, CA)*, January 23, 2007;
- H-10. US, Mexico Reduce People Smuggling, *Eastern Arizona Courier (Safford, AZ)*, June 14, 2003;

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 13 of 17

- H-11. Guard Undertakes Drill In Romania - Knoxville-Based Unit Copes With Mock Disaster Situation, *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, July 30, 2000;
- H-12. With Black Hawks Down, Rescuers' Dander Up, *Rocky Mountain News (CO)*, January 18, 2002;
- H-13. 'Jet Crash' Gives Rescue Workers A Quick Education, *The Record (New Jersey)*, May 16, 1993;
- H-14. Fake Disaster 'Victims' Rescued At FAA, *Press of Atlantic City, The (NJ)*, August 22, 1993;
- H-15. Firehouse Project Underway, *Daily Gazette, The (Schenectady, NY)*, May 26, 2001;
- H-16. Storms Spawn Deadly Tornadoes, *News-Sentinel, The (Fort Wayne, IN)*, November 11, 2002;
- H-17. Suspicious Substance, *Commercial Appeal, The (Memphis, TN)*, February 13, 2007;
- H-18. Ex-Gould Residents Concerned About Fires, City Issues, *Pine Bluff Commercial (AR)*, September 11, 2010;
- H-19. Resident Says Old Funeral Home Has Become Hazard, *Times and Democrat, The (Orangeburg, SC)*, October 21, 2010;
- H-20. Women, 93, Critically Injured in House Fire – Cranford Mailman and Two Officers are Treated at Hospital after Rescue, *Star-Ledger, The (Newark, NJ)*, March 19, 2004;
- H-21. Door-to-Door Searches Turning Up ... Not Much – Empty Homes Hint at Fewer Deaths in Lower 9th Ward, *Times-Picayune, The (New Orleans, LA)*, September 10, 2005;
- H-22. Baltimore To Hold Terror Exercise in Subway, *Capital, The (Annapolis, MD)*, November 12, 2005;
- H-23. Arundel Digest, *Maryland Gazette, The (Glen Burnie, MD)*, March 13, 2010;
- H-24. Child-Porn Sweep Nets Another Arrest - Savannah Man Now Among Three Arrested In Region, *Savannah Morning News (GA)*, January 14, 2010;
- H-25. Newmarket Child Porn Suspect Waives Preliminary Hearing, *Foster's Daily Democrat (Dover, NH)*, April 13, 2010;

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 14 of 17

- H-26. Son Of Former City Councilor Honored By President Clinton, *Union-News (Springfield, MA)*, December 21, 1994;
- H-27. Students Send Help To Haiti, *The Miami Herald*, March 31, 2004;
- H-28. EARTHQUAKE IN HAITI Haitian-Americans Grieve And Wait; Groups Launch Aid Efforts As They Frantically Try To Contact Relatives, *Houston Chronicle (TX)*, January 14, 2010;
- H-29. Billionaire Ted Turner Aids Auburn Family's Haitian Rescue Effort, *Auburn Journal, The (CA)*, January 19, 2010;
- H-30. Kids In Poorest Province No Longer Hunger Victims, *The Miami Herald*, October 7, 2003;
- H-31. Operation Rescue Liberia, <http://prayculpeper.org/operation-rescue-liberia/>, December 19, 2007;
- H-32. Butch Mills to Speak at Operation Rescue Liberia Rally, <http://marchingthroughculpeper.com/butch-mills-to-speak-at-operation-rescue-liberia-rally/>, February 19, 2008;
- H-33. Operation Rescue.ch, <http://www.operationrescue.ch> (Retrieved January 28, 2011);
- H-34. YWEA Operation Rescue Overview video, <http://www.soundofnepal.com/videos/video/myuJpP3ivEE/YWEA-Operation-Rescue-Overview.html> (Retrieved January 27, 2011);
- H-35. Operation Rescue the Children, <http://www.rescuechild.org> (Retrieved January 28, 2011);
- H-36. Briefs: Big Dog Donates To 9/11 Charities, *Ventura County Star (CA)*, April 27, 2002;
- H-37. Little Church With A Big Heart - Evangel Power Chapel Reaches Out To Homeless Community, *Houston Chronicle*, January 8, 2004;
- H-38. Bone Marrow Drives, Tsunami Fund-Raisers Prompted Generosity, *World, The (Coos Bay, OR)*, December 31, 2005;
- H-39. Church Collecting Gear For Students, *Richmond County Daily Journal (Rockingham, NC)*, July 28, 2009;
- H-40. 3 Churches Join To Feed Families In Need - Orange City-Debary Food Bank Welcomes Contributions, *The Orlando Sentinel*, July 17, 1999;

BRIAN R. GIBBONS, P.A.
Attorney at Law

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 15 of 17

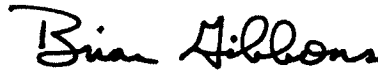
- H-41. Gifts Supply a Little Hope, *Chicago Sun-Times*, August 7, 2000;
- H-42. Rescue Mission Launches Building Campaign, *Herald-Sun, The (Durham, NC)*, May 18, 2001;
- H-43. Initiative Targets Sidewalk Sleepers - Dallas: Homeless People To Be Shifted To Shelters In 'Operation Rescue', *Dallas Morning News, The (TX)*, September 13, 2007;
- H-44. More Kids Calling Shelters Home: Operation Rescue, *Oklahoma Observer*, June 25, 2009;
- H-45. Protests Of Cuba Policy Draw Little Support, *St. Petersburg Times*, May 13, 1995;
- H-46. Truck Drivers You Hold The Power - To Effect Change, *Sports & Recreation Examiner (USA)*, June 15, 2010;
- H-47. Operation "Rescue the American Dream", <http://www.projectworldawareness.com/2010/05/operation-rescue-the-american-dream/> (Retrieved January 31, 2011);
- H-48. The Community Partnership: Operation Rescue, *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (1991);
- H-49. Operation Rescue [Olive Lilian Groom], <http://www.amazon.com/OPERATION-RESCUE-OLIVE-LILIAN-GROOM/dp/B0000CK6CQ> (Retrieved January 28, 2011);
- H-50. *Operation Rescue*, Rev. Charles L. Koester, 1979;
- H-51. *Operation Rescue: Satellite Maintenance and Repair*, D. J. Herda, 1990;
- H-52. Operation Rescue: The Senator's Daughter, <http://www.amazon.com/Operation-Rescue-Cynthia-VanRooy/dp/1590250044> (Retrieved January 28, 2011);
- H-53. *Operation: Rescue*, Anne Woodard, 2008;
- H-54. Rescue in Baghdad, *Brazil-Arab News Agency*, April 25, 2010;
- H-55. DuPage Residents Try To Turn Tide On Floods, *Daily Herald*, July 19, 1996;
- H-56. Operation Rescue, *Watertown Daily Times (NY)*, March 6, 1999;
- H-57. Kids Tackle Amphibious Rescue Effort, *Delaware State News (Dover, DE)*, June 23, 2005;

BRIAN R. GIBBONS, P.A.
Attorney at Law

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 16 of 17

- H-58. Dogs, Cats Torn From Owners By Hurricane Arrive At LAX, *Daily Breeze (Torrance, CA)*, September 21, 2005;
- H-59. Mortarboard Rebel Finally Gets Diploma, *San Diego Union-Tribune, The (CA)*, June 27, 2006;
- H-60. Extra!, *Rocky Mountain News (CO)*, September 24, 2008;
- H-61. Special Report: Operation Rescue, *Oprah.com*, May 12, 2009; and
- H-62. Sports, *Daily Gazette, The (Schenectady, NY)*, May 11, 2010

Respectfully submitted,



Brian R. Gibbons
Brian R. Gibbons
Attorney for Registrant

01/31/11
Date

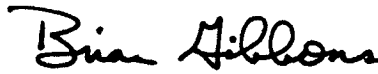
3936 S. Semoran Blvd, Suite 330
Orlando, FL 32822-4015
Phone: (407) 384-6156
Fax: (407) 384-2601

BRIAN R. GIBBONS, P.A.
Attorney at Law

First Notice of Reliance
Cancellation No. 92047809
Page 17 of 17

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that a true and accurate copy of the foregoing document is being deposited with the United States Postal Service as first class mail, postage prepaid, in an envelope addressed to Michael Culver, Millen, White, Selano & Branigan, PC, 2200 Clarendon Road, Suite 1400, Arlington, VA 22201, this 31st day of January, 2011.



Brian R. Gibbons
Brian R. Gibbons
Attorney for Registrant

3936 S. Semoran Blvd, Suite 330
Orlando, FL 32822-4015
Phone: (407) 384-6156
Fax: (407) 384-2601

RANDALL A. TERRY,
an individual,

Petitioner

v.

TROY NEWMAN,
an individual,

Registrant

In the matter of
Registration No. 3,179,591
For the mark: OPERATION RESCUE

Registered upon the Principal Register
On December 5, 2006

Cancellation No. 92047809

REGISTRANT'S FIRST NOTICE OF
RELIANCE

Exhibit A

ABORTION PROTESTS IN 4 CITIES

Boston Globe - Sunday, September 19, 1982

Author: (AP)

Demonstrators in four cities walked picket lines - some carrying black balloons or handing out leaflets - to protest abortion, but the number of groups taking part appeared to fall short of the 200 to 300 predicted by organizers. No disturbances were reported at rallies in Pittsburgh, New York, Connecticut and New Jersey. The rallies were planned as a "national day of rescue" at a meeting in Cherry Hill, N.J., last July. Joe Scheidler of the Pro-Life Action League Committee in Chicago said last week some 200 to 300 groups were expected to take part.

Edition: FIRST

Section: RUN OF PAPER

Page: ?????

Dateline: NEW YORK

Record Number: 8302090215

Copyright 1982, 2001 Globe Newspaper Company

ANTI-ABORTIONISTS BEAR TINY COFFIN IN 3-MILE WALK

Miami Herald, The (FL) - Sunday, September 18, 1983

Author: LISA HOFFMAN Herald Staff Writer

They followed a black hearse in the mid-morning sun Saturday, behind well-scrubbed but serious children carrying a tiny white coffin. They were walking, they said, for life not death.

More than 150 Palm Beach and Broward county residents, a third of them children, gathered at 9 a.m. in front of St. Ambrose Catholic Church in Deerfield Beach to begin a three-mile walk to proclaim their abhorrence of abortion.

"We won't quit. We won't stop marching. We won't stop saving babies from abortion," exhorted Jim Daly, president of Gold Coast Right to Life, the anti-abortion group that organized the march.

Friends for Life, a Chicago-based anti-abortion group, declared Saturday a "National Day of Rescue" and urged supporters around the country to show their strength in rallies and marches. Also in South Florida, about 30 marched in suburban Dade County.

"Marching for unborn children is about the best thing anyone can do on a Saturday morning," Broward Right to Life President Marsha Fleming told the crowd in the church parking lot before the walk started.

It was an orderly 1 1/2-hour hike north on Federal Highway to Sanborn Square Park in Boca Raton. It was led by the hearse, four blonde girls carrying a coffin topped with artificial roses and an American flag on which was superimposed the silhouette of a fetus.

The 85-degree heat, intensified by the blacktop, quickly soaked most backs in sweat. No one complained.

"Give life a chance," they sang. "Choose life, end abortion," they chanted. Most carried black and white signs that read "Save all the children."

The morning's only casualty was a Boca Raton police car that overheated.

When the marchers passed the Deerfield Medical Center, where abortions are performed, they encountered seven members of the Broward Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), carrying "pro-choice" signs. The two groups hurled slogans at each other but tempers stayed cool.

"We're here because we want to ensure the right to choose whether to have an abortion or not," said NOW member Nancy Pantz of Plantation. "Intimidation or hanging a guilt trip on a woman doesn't allow a choice."

The marchers also stopped in front of the offices of Dr. Robert M. Livingston on SE Third Street in Boca Raton, who march organizers said runs an "abortion mill." The offices were locked and no one answered a knock on the door. Livingston did not return phone calls from The Herald.

"It is a Christian responsibility, if someone owns a building, not to rent to abortionists," said Jim Hairson, the president of Omega, another Broward anti-abortion group.

Sipping a soda in Sanborn Square after the march, 13-year-old Eric Pulskamp of Pompano Beach said he "felt really good."

"I don't want anyone killing babies. I want a law to stop that. That's why I came here," said Pulskamp as his parents smiled.

Caption: photo: abortion with anti-bortion demonstrators (2)

Memo: also in BRWRD

Edition: PLM BCH

Section: PLM BCH

Page: 5PB

Index Terms: PROTEST PLM BCH

Record Number: 8303140897

Copyright (c) 1983 The Miami Herald

PICKETS RING CLINIC, RAIL AT ABORTION

Miami Herald, The (FL) - Sunday, September 18, 1983

Author: LIZ BALMASEDA Herald Staff Writer

The "Jesus people" lined the sidewalk outside a popular abortion clinic with their signs and their children, wanting to be seen Saturday morning by the pregnant women who would walk through the heat and disappear into the cool clinic.

The picket line outside the Dadeland Family Planning Center on N. Kendall Drive was an oddly hung clothesline of bold words:

"Equal rights for unborn women."

"The choice is made in bed, not on the surgical table."

"The child inside you begs for mercy."

Gary Clay, an insurance agent in the picket line, carried a child's coffin stuck with photographs of mutilated fetuses.

The 30 or so sign-bearers were members of Jesus Fellowship, an interdenominational charismatic church in Kendall. They joined some 300 anti-abortion groups that picketed at women's clinics across the country Saturday.

More than 150 Palm Beach and Broward county residents, one-third of them children, staged a three-mile protest march from Deerfield Beach to Boca Raton.

Chicago-based organizers of the sixth annual "National Day of Rescue" wanted their rallies to coincide with Yom Kippur, the Jewish day of atonement, and the feast day of the Stigmata of St. Francis.

"They should be atoning for the kind of things that are going on in there. These kids are being knifed and murdered in the womb," said Doug Martin, a Jesus Fellowship member and an insurance salesman.

Drew Freeman, a spokesman for Jesus Fellowship who makes a living as a sales manager for a local bank, compared abortion to the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. The air disaster "was a tragedy that left 269 human beings dead," he said, "but abortion kills 1.5 million human beings in America each year."

Motorists responded loudly to one placard that said "Honk Against Abortion."

But all the honking and picketing and preaching did not convince any of the pregnant women not to have abortions. None of the 65 women who had appointments for \$175 abortions had called to cancel, according to the clinic staff.

There were, however, strong words from boy friends and relatives of patients.

"This is emotional harassment. It takes a lot of guts to do what these women are doing. This is not like getting your hair done," said a woman who accompanied a friend to get an abortion.

The boyfriend of a 23-year-old woman who underwent an abortion Saturday said his girl friend "just is not ready to have a kid yet."

Inside the clinic, director Sue Hoffman, a licensed social worker and the mother of two "fully wanted" daughters, spent the morning attending media calls and soothing patients.

Hoffman opened the clinic in 1972 before the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that abortion was a woman's constitutional right. At that time, her patients were sent to New York for abortions. The clinic now has some 150 patients a week.

A near-tragedy in her family prompted Hoffman and her mother Bobbi to open the clinic. Hoffman's sister almost died of an illegal abortion 21 years ago at age 17, she said. "We may not be the most popular place in town, but we perform a needed service."

Caption: photo: Linda Link with son Marco Edwards picketing

Edition: FINAL

Section: LOCAL

Page: 1B

Index Terms: PROTEST MD

Record Number: 8303140853

Copyright (c) 1983 The Miami Herald

HALT KILLINGS

Morning Call, The (Allentown, PA) - Friday, August 24, 1984

Author: The Morning Call

To the Editor:

Hundreds of infants every year are being allowed to die horrible deaths by starvation and thirst in hospitals all over America. President Reagan has been trying with U.S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop to put an end to these murders. As Christian people, are we going to be like Ms. Ferraro? Are we only going to be God-fearing people while we are in our place of worship? Where is the big voice all of us could use to cry out against all of these murders?

Will elderly people be next because they're "not leading meaningful lives"? We have legalized Nazi-like killings by doctors since 1973. In Nazi Germany, the medical profession did the killing first, not the Nazis. They "terminated" some 250,000 retarded and handicapped or elderly people in German hospitals.

Jesus never put handicapped or elderly people out of their misery. He healed them, loved them and died for them! Prov. 24:11: "Rescue those who are unjustly sentenced to death; don't stand back and let them die."

The early Christians in Rome risked their lives to rescue unwanted babies left outdoors to die by the pagans. Christians, cry, scream and kick before you let the anti-Christ people take us into another Nazi Germany. Write our President and tell him how you feel.

Joyce Dreisbach

Emmaus

Edition: FIFTH

Page: A11

Index Terms: LETTERS; ABORTION; ELDERLY; ETHNIC; GROUP; HISTORY

Record Number: 320049

Copyright (c) 1984, The Morning Call, Inc.

TWELVE PROTESTERS GO ON TRIAL IN NORTHEAST ANTI-ABORTION CASE

Philadelphia Inquirer, The (PA) - Tuesday, November 19, 1985

Author: Tom Infield, Inquirer Staff Writer

The protesters termed it a "rescue mission." The police called it criminal mischief and trespassing.

On Aug. 10, a muggy Saturday, a dozen people wearing sweatshirts and parkas burst into the offices of the Northeast Women's Center in Northeast Philadelphia, disconnected two machines used to perform abortions and then gave themselves up for arrest.

Yesterday, their case came to trial in Municipal Court. The 12 did not deny being involved in the incident, but they said their actions were justified in order to prevent the murder of unborn children.

The case, which resumes today, is the first of four scheduled for trial as a result of what the clinic staff calls invasions of its offices at 9600 Roosevelt Blvd. from December through October. In each case, justification is expected to be presented as a defense.

Pennsylvania law specifically permits a criminal defendant to argue that the actions, though illegal, were justified to stop a "greater harm or evil."

But Judge Mitchell S. Lipschutz, who is trying the case without a jury, said yesterday that he would have to consider how far the justification defense could be pushed.

"The real issue in regard to justification," he said, "is whether or not . . . you can use force to prevent something that has been specifically declared to be legal."

What would happen, he asked rhetorically, if turn-of-the-century temperance activist Carry Nation came back in 1985 and began to "smash every bit of whiskey" to prevent harm to drinkers or because of "the terrible tragedy of (hockey goalie) Pelle Lindbergh." Would that be justified?, he asked.

He said he thought not. Nor, he said, would similar attacks on businesses that make or sell cigarettes, or sugar or any other product believed to have harmful effects.

Lipschutz therefore refused to permit testimony from expert witnesses - clergymen and doctors - dealing with when life begins or other abortion issues. He also did not allow state Rep. Stephen F. Freind (R., Delaware) to testify about the intent of the state's 1982 abortion-control law, which he co-wrote.

He said, however, that he would permit each defendant to testify "why he or she did it."

The 12 are charged with four misdemeanors: defiant trespassing, criminal mischief, disorderly conduct and conspiracy. Attorneys said that if they lost their case, they could appeal to Philadelphia Common Pleas Court. If the defendants were acquitted, the district attorney's office, represented by Andrew E. Greenberg, could not appeal.

One of the defendants, Joseph Wall, 58, of Unruh Avenue, was convicted last week in a similar case that involved a Pittsburgh abortion clinic. Also on trial are Susan Silcox, 36, of Martindale Road; Ellen Jones, 38, of Pennhurst Street; Kathy Long, 31, of North Fairhill Street; Anne Marie Breen, 23, of Cedar Street; Roland Murkum, 60, of Norwood, Pa.; Stephanie Morello, 22, of Algard Street; Henry Tenaglio, 62, of Havertown; Paul Armes, 30, of West Allen Lane; Walter Geis, 24, of Wilmington, Del.; John O'Brien, 50, of West Chester, and Howard Walton, 49, of Welsh Road.

Edition: FINAL

Section: LOCAL

Page: B03

Index Terms: NAMELIST; ABORTION PHILADELPHIA DEMONSTRATION NAMELIST

Record Number: 8502250912

Copyright (c) 1985 The Philadelphia Inquirer

48 arrested in abortion clinic protest

Houston Chronicle - Sunday, March 30, 1986

Author: Associated Press

UPLAND, Pa. - About 150 protesters stormed an abortion clinic and scuffled with police in a self-described "rescue mission" Saturday that resulted in 48 arrests and several minor injuries, police said.

Two sheriff's deputies and four other people were hurt when some of the anti-abortion activists entered the Reproductive Health and Counseling Center through a fire escape.

"They stormed the building," said Deputy Robert Mascho. "When we went to peaceably remove them, one of the protesters pushed my partner down the steps."

Delaware County Judge Clement J. McGovern ordered the protesters to appear at a hearing Thursday to determine whether they violated a 1984 injunction barring demonstrations at the clinic.

The clinic, on the grounds of the Crozer-Chester Medical Center, has been the site of repeated protests, including one Dec. 7 that resulted in 26 arrests.

Among those arrested Saturday were two priests, a minister, a 10-year-old boy and his mother, and a physician, Dr. George Isajiw, who called the demonstration a "rescue mission" on behalf of the unborn.

Kathy Coll, 42, of Yeadon, a spokeswoman for the Pro-Life Nonviolent Action Project of Southeast Pennsylvania, said her group did not storm the clinic.

"We walked in two by two, peacefully, like a procession," she said.

"We did not come to protest or disrupt the happening of the clinic," Coll said. "We had come prepared to rescue in that we did enter, we did talk to some of the girls. About seven of the girls we talked to decided not to have an abortion."

Two protesters and two security guards were treated for minor injuries at the hospital and released, a spokesman said. Mascho and his partner, Steven Turek, were not seriously hurt, said Chief Deputy Frank Mitarotonda.

Peter L. Miller, chairman of the hospital board of directors, said in a statement that Crozer would continue to offer the clinic's abortion services.

Edition: 4 STAR

Section: 2

Page: 19

Index Terms: 'KPS 'DCG DEMONSTRATIONS

Dateline: UPLAND, Pa.

Record Number: HSC0330228239

Copyright 1986 Houston Chronicle

30 CONVICTED IN ABORTION PROTEST AT NORTHEAST CLINIC

Philadelphia Inquirer, The (PA) - Thursday, September 4, 1986

Author: Henry Goldman, Inquirer Staff Writer

Thirty anti-abortion activists were convicted yesterday of criminal charges stemming from a demonstration last year at a Northeast Philadelphia women's health clinic and were warned by a Municipal Court judge that future illegal protests would result in jail sentences.

The demonstration occurred Oct. 19 at the Northeast Women's Center, which at the time was located at 9600 Roosevelt Blvd. Assistant District Attorney Martin Durkin said the demonstrators invaded the clinic through two entrances and refused to leave until they were removed by police.

Three of the protesters were convicted of assault for kicking a Philadelphia police officer assigned to the department's civil affairs unit, who carried the protesters out of the building.

Judge Louis J. Presenza fined most of the protesters \$50 plus \$75 in court costs, but several repeat offenders were fined \$200, and one as much as \$500. The defendants were sentenced to probationary terms ranging from six months to three years. Presenza said he would revoke probation if any of them protested illegally at abortion clinics and would impose stiffer penalties and jail terms.

Presenza rejected arguments by defense attorney Samuel C. Stretton that the group's actions were justified as a means to prevent the loss of human life. Several of the protesters yesterday characterized their actions as "a rescue mission" to save fetuses from abortion by persuading pregnant women to forgo abortions.

Stretton said yesterday that the group intended to pursue the justification defense in Common Pleas Court, where appeals from Municipal Court convictions are automatically granted.

As Presenza was announcing verdicts and sentences for the 32 defendants tried July 9, one of them, Dennis Sadler of Northeast Philadelphia, asked the judge, "What will you do the next time, when we bring in a mother and baby that we saved from an abortion?" Presenza said nothing in response.

Two defendants - Thomas McIlhenny and Gerald Lynch - were found not guilty after testimony indicated they were in the clinic's parking lot, not inside the building where demonstrators had attempted to disrupt clinic operations.

Yesterday's case was one of several stemming from demonstrations at the Northeast Women's Center, which moved in June to the 2700 block of Comly Road after clinic officials cited the protests as the reason they were refused a renewed lease. Last Thursday, Municipal Court Judge Michael J. Conroy sentenced 26 protesters to terms ranging from 45 days to six months for their participation in a May 23 demonstration at the clinic.

Those convicted yesterday included Joseph Wall, 59, of the 400 block of Unruh Avenue. On Tuesday he was ordered taken into custody by an Allegheny County Common Pleas Court judge for violating a previous court order prohibiting him from trespassing at abortion clinics. He had been free pending appeal on trespassing charges stemming from a May 10, 1985, demonstration at a Pittsburgh abortion clinic.

Presenza convicted Wall of failure to disperse and of disorderly conduct, fined him \$500 plus \$75 in court costs and sentenced him to three years of probation.

The three demonstrators convicted of assaulting a police officer were Stephanie Morello, 22, of the 6600 block of Algard Street, sentenced to two years of probation and fined \$200; Patricia Walton, 21, of the 2700 block of Welsh Road, who received 18 months of probation and a \$200 fine, and Thomas Herlihy, 39, of New York, sentenced to 18 months of probation and a \$200 fine.

Upon receiving his sentence, Herlihy turned to the judge and said, "You are a condemned man. You will burn in hell."

Presenza responded by telling defense attorney Stretton that he would cite Herlihy for contempt of court if he heard another word from him.

Another protester, Debra Baker, convicted of defiant trespass, told the judge she was not afraid to go to jail. "My freedom is a small price to pay because I know there are children in their mothers' arms today who would have been thrown in the garbage pail if we had not prevented their abortion."

The others convicted yesterday were:

Henry Tenaglio, defiant trespass; John O'Brien, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Robert Moran, trespass; Walter Geis, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Howard Walton, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; John Murray, trespass; Earl Essex, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; James Codachini, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Susan Silcox, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Linda Hearn, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Margaret Capone, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Miriam Dwyer, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct.

Helena Gaytos, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Laurie Wirtell, failure to disperse and disorderly conduct; Annemarie Breen, trespass; Ellen Jones, defiant trespass; Roland Markum, defiant trespass; John Connor, defiant trespass; Michael McMonagle, disorderly conduct and failure to disperse; Pasquale Varallo, defiant trespass; John Stanton, defiant trespass; Mary Burn, defiant trespass; Anne Knorr, defiant trespass, and Patricia McNamara, defiant trespass.

Edition: FINAL

Section: LOCAL

Page: B04

Index Terms: NAMELIST; ABORTION DEMONSTRATION VIOLATION ASSAULT; PHILADELPHIA SENTENCE NAMELIST

Record Number: 8602170658

Copyright (c) 1986 The Philadelphia Inquirer

ANTI-ABORTION ACTIVIST VOWS TO PRESS RESISTANCE TO PRISONS' PROCEDURES

Sun-Sentinel - Saturday, November 29, 1986

Author: VALERIE HILL-MORGAN, Staff Writer

Anti-abortionist Joan Elizabeth Andrews said Friday that she would continue to resist efforts to process her into Broward Correctional Institute, even if it means continued solitary confinement and serving the legal maximum sentence.

"Being in here is a burden and it's painful but I don't mind," the oft-arrested Andrews, 38, said in an interview. "I understand that they have to do what they have to do by putting me in confinement. But I cannot compromise my beliefs by cooperating."

Andrews became a cause celebre among Christian anti-abortion groups earlier this month after she received a five-year sentence for her part in a March protest at a Pensacola abortion clinic. On Friday, 12 supporters were arrested in Pensacola during a demonstration that attracted an estimated 200 protesters.

Another pro-Andrews rally is scheduled at BCI at 10 a.m. today, said protest coordinator Howard Krommes, who heads a Fort Lauderdale organization called Christians Combatting Humanists Deception.

"We just want everyone to know that we are united in our efforts against abortion," Krommes said. "We think it's ridiculous that they have sentenced her to five years for protecting human life."

Andrews said Friday that she was not aware of the demonstration, but that it didn't surprise her.

"I think that I have been more effective since I've been in prison," Andrews said. "I've gotten dozens of letters from people who say they are now doubling their pro-life efforts because of what's happened to me."

Andrews is scheduled for a prison administrative hearing on Tuesday because of her lack of cooperation, said Marta Villacorta, the institute's superintendent. Villacorta said that if Andrews does not cooperate, she cannot earn any gain time, which would allow her to be paroled early.

Andrews, a Newark, Del., resident, said that even though her longest previous prison sentence was six months, said she will not give in.

"I've already prepared myself emotionally to do the five years," she said. "Basically, it comes down to if you love God, you've got to be willing to put your life on the line. And since I'm Christian, I'm willing to do just that."

Andrews was transferred from Florida Correctional Institution in Lowell to Broward's maximum-security prison three weeks ago, prison officials said. She refused to be processed there, too, Lowell officials said. She is in solitary confinement.

Andrews was arrested in Pensacola after she and five other protesters entered an abortion clinic and did \$1,878 worth of damage, investigators said. Two workers were injured.

But those actions alone are probably not what landed Andrews in prison for five years, her supporters say. They contend that Andrews was sentenced to five years because she refused to promise in court that she would curtail her illegal anti-abortion activities.

Escambia County Circuit Judge William Anderson, who sentenced Andrews, has not commented on the case.

Christians and anti-abortionists are also expected to protest today at the judge's home in Pensacola.

Andrews said Friday that she did not think her actions were illegal.

"We believed that it was our duty to save lives," she said. "When we do a rescue -- a sit-in, we sing and pray and yes, we disarm the murder weapons -- the suction machines that are used in abortions. We do not see our actions as being illegal."

Caption: PHOTO (1)

(Staff photo/JOANN VITELLI)Joan Elizabeth Andrews sits in the Broward Correctional Institute.

Memo: Edited version appeared on page 8B of Palm Beach Edition

Edition: NEWS/SUN-SENTINEL

Section: LOCAL

Page: 1B

Index Terms: CRIME ; PROTEST

Record Number: 8603130413

Copyright 1986 News & Sun-Sentinel Company

GENRE

MAY 1994, PAGES 29-35

RADICAL RITES

By Karen Ocamb

Four months ago Charles Volz came out with a flourish. The 41-year-old gay man stood in the freezing cold with a dozen friends handing out 500 pro-gay pamphlets at the pro-life movement's 20th annual March for Life in Washington, D.C. An estimated 50,000 Right to Lifers had gathered to protest the Supreme Court's 1973 decision granting women the right to an abortion.

Volz didn't know what to expect. But knowing that the pro-life movement is heavily made up of Catholics, Christian fundamentalists, and conservatives who do not accept homosexuality, the Philadelphia attorney was braced for trouble. "It was memorable because the negative comments we received were so few as to be unique," he says. "We heard no anti-gay remarks. I was very surprised and gratified by the reaction."

Perhaps the pro-lifers were in shock. After all, Volz and friends stood under a five-foot banner in "subtle shades of purple and neon pink" featuring a huge gay triangle with an antiabortion symbol in the middle promoting the Pro-Life Alliance of Gay and Lesbians. The literature was a reasoned plea to the antiabortion marchers to reevaluate their "cliquish and unwelcoming attitude" toward pro-life lesbians and gays.

"Nothing in any survey or opinion research suggests that Gay and Lesbian Americans are necessarily any less Pro-Life than heterosexual Americans," the literature, written by Volz, read. "To the contrary, save for issues involving sexual orientation, Lesbians and Gays share the same views in the same percentages as the general population. Do those who believe that groups like 'ACT UP' represent all Gays and Lesbians also believe that NOW [National Organization for Women] represents all women and that Louis Farrakhan speaks for all African-Americans? Such a stereotyping attitude provides a security blanket for those who are not only convinced that their lifestyle is entirely correct and righteous but that all 'right-thinking' individuals necessarily think similarly...."

"Indeed, boiled down to basics, the message of the Lesbian and Gay community and the Pro-Life movement is the same: All human life deserves protection and respect simply because it is human."

Homosexual Right to Lifers. Gays against abortion. It's not a linkage that springs readily to mind. For years lesbian and gay activists have forged coalitions with women's groups based on the shared belief that other people while entitled to their opinions have no right to legislate private morality. It should be the woman's decision about what happens with her own body, say pro-choice advocates. She should have the right to choose whether or not to have a baby. Otherwise it's governmental interference in an individual's right to privacy.

Gay rights advocates agree, noting that state sodomy laws make it illegal for lesbians and gay men to sexually express themselves. The government, these advocates say, is mandating what gays can and cannot do with their own bodies, even though they may be consenting adults in the privacy of their own bedrooms.

But for members of the four-year-old Pro-Life Alliance of Gays and Lesbians (PLAGAL), abortion rights and gay rights are not inextricably linked. In fact, these gays argue, lesbians and gays should feel more affinity for the pro-life movement.

"Being Right to Life is not an issue of putting private morality on others," says Philip Arcidi, a 34-year-old "liberal" architectural journalist from Boston. "Being Right to Life is an issue of allowing every individual to

determine their own life. Being Right to Life is recognizing that every human life, simply because it is a human life, is inherently valuable. Gays have had their lives revoked for moralistic reasons. Our lives are deemed less than worthy, less valuable. I believe the unborn for utilitarian reasons are deemed less valuable. But they face the worst consequence: the end of their lives."

Joe Beard, 47, PLAGAL's "right-wing" outspoken secretary-treasurer, is more blunt. "Once you come to the conclusion that the fetus is a human being, it changes the whole thing." Beard dismisses the right to privacy argument, saying "they" would interfere "in the personal lives of the KKK [Ku Klux Klan] and of people who murder other people." And besides, the woman "had the option to use contraception. It's a choice she made to take the risk of bringing a new life into existence. She can't then decide to kill it after the fetus comes alive at conception."

Beard, who converted to Roman Catholicism because of his pro-life stance, became a "civil rights management" attorney in 1981 "challenging the use of racial quotas" in North Carolina school admissions. He says gays in particular should be concerned about abortion. "It is fast becoming clear that there is a genetic predisposition for homosexuality, if not a genetic cause. Anything genetic can be determined prenatally," he says. "That becomes a very real question of whether abortion used in the not too distant future will relieve us of having to put up with an unfair society. We will be bashed in the womb."

He challenges the conscience of the gay community. "Are gay and lesbian rights worth the deaths of a million and a half human beings a year?" he asks, citing what he says are Planned Parenthood abortion figures. "Is this not a pact with evil that will haunt the gay and lesbian community? How many babies would you kill in order to be able to sleep with your boyfriend?"

Thirty-eight-year-old librarian Steve Cook from San Jose, California, embraced his pro-life beliefs long before he accepted his bisexuality. Since he "values human life in all issues," his pro-life stance is consistent with having been a teenage Vietnam War conscientious objector and being against nuclear weapons and the death penalty. He believes "medical information" proves that 21 days into pregnancy there is "a beating heart" and "brain waves that can be measured in the fetus. Every abortion stops a beating heart." Cook also believes that the "right to privacy" is fallacious. "Abortion denies the privacy rights of the fetus," he says. "If this is a privacy issue, why do pro-abortion advocates want government funding of a private act? They're forcing other citizens to pay for what is viewed as a private act they don't agree with. The existence of the unborn child as a human life makes it a public policy issue."

Richard Colbert, president of the gay Republican Log Cabin Club's Los Angeles chapter, which has officially endorsed pro-choice positions, believes this "sensitive issue" should not be a public policy football. He has witnessed how the radical right has wielded the issue to dominate debates at Republican Party conventions, trampling basic libertarian tenets of limited government, respect for rights of privacy, personal freedom, and individual responsibility.

"I believe you can have a deeply felt conviction about being pro-life and at the same time respect and support equal rights for gays and lesbians. Things don't always fit into nice, neat packages," he says. "But this is not a debate where either side can win. Perhaps it shouldn't even be debated at the level of political platforms and political rhetoric for the same reason gay and lesbian issues shouldn't be bandied about as devices for these right wing activist organizations who are only using the issue to gain power, infiltrate the party infrastructure, and raise money. It doesn't belong in a political platform as far as I'm concerned. One can be pro-choice and oppose federal funding for abortion. It has to do with having respect for who has to make that incredible decision."

On the other hand, Elizabeth Birch, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Board of Directors Board Co-Chair, thinks having gay people express common pro-life and religious beliefs might open the eyes of non-allies.

"Gay and lesbian people are just as likely to speak in tongues as to speak at a pro-choice rally," she says. "I've been saying for years that we need to find gay and lesbian evangelists, Pentecostals, and Baptists who are willing to talk about receiving Christ as their personal savior. They need to talk about how everything about their lives is steeped in the evangelical movement and that they are gay and lesbian people. They might have done a more thoughtful analysis of the Bible and get across the over all message that the Scriptures are clearly about love."

That seems to be Cook's experience. In 1978 at a shopping mall in Pasadena, California, he signed up with National Right to Life, the largest "mainstream" anti-abortion organization. He subsequently moved north, became involved with their local chapter, came out of the "second closet," by picketing at the Planned Parenthood clinic in San Jose. His rainbow-colored sign read: "Killing Children Never Advances Gay Rights: Pro-Life, Pro-Gay." He wanted the media and people on both sides to know that not all gays were pro-choice.

Cook's bisexuality is "not an issue" with the California Pro-Life Council, says its president, Betsy Powell. In fact Cook has "helped me break some stereotypes. I'm delighted to be able to work together with PLAGAL for the cause of life," though she concedes they make "strange bedfellows." On other issues they "agree to disagree."

The California Pro-Life Council, the 44-year-old mother points out, is nonpartisan and nonsectarian. "This single issue allows us to cut across a number of boundaries that would keep us apart and splinter us endlessly." She says there have been occasions when Right to Lifers have returned from a protest at an abortion clinic and derogatorily complained about gays who spit at them. But Cook's presence reminds them that not all gays are alike. Additionally, she says, Cook has been able to "open doors" and bring the council and the Right to Life message into areas where they might not otherwise be invited.

Powell also evokes the futuristic scenario of aborting a fetus genetically determined to be homosexual. "Over the next decade it is very apparent that pro-lifers will be some of the most outspoken in protecting the interests of gay people. If and when they come to the point of identifying the gay gene, it will be pro-lifers who say these babies have a right to life too." Pro lifers are also the ones sticking up for AIDS patients who are "very vulnerable" when it comes to a reformed health care system that might deny them the right to receive life-saving treatments.

Meanwhile, says Arcidi, if you look at American society over the past few decades, "the trend is to broaden the scope of people who are guaranteed equal treatment under the law. That applies to race, gender, and sexual orientation. So to withdraw equal rights on the basis of one's residence the fetus in the womb goes against the trend of liberalism."

Some of his friends, Arcidi admits, are uncomfortable with his openness about his sexuality. But, he says, "I believe that if we can show the world that being gay is simply part of our lives, people will understand that being gay is simply part of society period."

Volz agrees. He came out because all his life he was open and aboveboard about everything except his homo sexuality, and he felt bad about it. But he expected his credentials in the pro-life movement to ensure him the respect he'd earned. After all, "I didn't get to choose being gay but I absolutely chose pro-life."

Volz's first involvement with the anti-abortion movement came December 8, 1984, when attorney Theresa Connolly called and asked if he would defend protesters arrested in Philadelphia's "first rescue" at the Northeast Women's Clinic. He said yes immediately, "flabbergasted that there was an abortion clinic in my neighborhood and I didn't know it. I overcompensated."

"A closet pro-lifer" and an attorney since graduating from Rutgers Law School in 1977, Volz was so

successful in defending anti-abortion protesters that Operation Rescue's Randall Terry called him for help when no one else would represent him. This "triggered something" in Volz that catapulted him into action. He became the president of a crisis pregnancy clinic (a shelter with 25 beds), went into debt, became the "adoptive father of two barely spared from the holocaust, a godfather to a child rescued at an abortion clinic," and a pregnancy counselor.

Volz was also a Horatio Alger cover boy. Born into a Philadelphia blue-collar Catholic family, his father was a fireman, his mother a bank teller he has worked hard every day since he was 17 to become a success. Married and divorced from a Jewish pro-lifer, he was a closeted gay "happily married" to his second wife until she died of breast cancer in March 1989, leaving him with their four-month old adopted daughter. He since adopted a second child from the same birth mother.

Volz believes that most of his friends in the pro-life movement knew he was gay before he came out but felt that sexuality is a personal matter. He also speculates that they didn't care because "a lot of the darlings of the conservative movement turned out to be gay." He has since joined the board of the Log Cabin Club.

"I think pro-life gays and the Log Cabin Club serve a crucial part of the gay agenda. If gays are to be accepted by mainstream America, we have to be accepted by things we hold in common. We all know how we differ," he says. He also thinks gays have "a certain nihilistic attitude" and "devaluing of life" that has "led to almost the self destruction of the gay community," Respect for the unborn will encourage gays to value their own lives, he says.

It's the "gay agenda" that bothers Volz's colleague Philadelphia Christian Action Council President Bill Devlin.

"As a pro-family public policy organization, we certainly welcome anyone into the pro-life movement," says Devlin. "However I view PLAGAL with a great deal of skepticism. In my dealings with the homosexual community here in Philadelphia, there has been quite a bit of grand standing. Is this one more opportunity for the homosexual community to use the media as a platform to promote their agenda rather than the agenda of the pro-life movement?"

"I am coming from my position that homosexuality is a lifestyle of choice not a genetic determination," Devlin says. "I am not a Heterosexual for Life. I'm in the pro-life

movement because I deeply care about women and children. I'm not waving a personal flag about my sexuality. I'm willing to lose who I am within the greater corpus of the pro-life movement. My concern is that these are the same junkies like ACT UP and Larry Kramer and Grassroots Queers, and I wonder about PLAGAL's motivation. Is this one instance of grandstanding by the homosexual community to put sexual choice before women and children?"

Devlin says the strong alliance between Philadelphia's pro-abortion community (the fifth largest in the U.S., he says) and the homosexual community "makes sense since one group bypasses life and the other short circuits it." Besides, he says, since the "average age of death" for gay men is 42, "why should gays promote life for the unborn child yet not promote life" within their own community?

As for Volz, Devlin says "his credentials are not the issue." They've been to some protests and meetings together and Devlin is glad for Volz's pro-life commitment. But he finds it "dichotomous and mutually exclusive" that Volz would be a practicing homosexual. "I think Chuck is confused about his sexuality, and hopefully he will practice life within his own life. I appreciate Chuck. But if he's actively engaging in receptive anal intercourse, he doesn't want life."

Ironically Tammy Bruce, 31, the lesbian feminist executive director of the Los Angeles chapter of NOW,

agrees with Devlin in questioning PLAGAL's motives and members. "This is a typical tactic of the religious right to divide and conquer. Suddenly these gay people are there and no one explains why they're not seen and known in the gay community."

A 10-year front-line veteran of pro-choice demonstrations, Bruce says one tactic used by pro-lifers is to have people pose as patients, make appointments, then suddenly call off the abortion, saying "I've changed my mind. I believe them." There is also plenty of historical evidence of self-hating gay people, Bruce says. The closeted Roy Cohn (who worked with closeted FBI director J. Edgar Hoover) "was one of the best gay-bashers and haters in the nation's history."

Several people challenged the six PLAGAL members who participated in the 1993 March on Washington for Gay, Lesbian, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. "Some folks walked by and called me a neo-Nazi and a self-hating gay man," says Arcidi, who's been out since 1980. "Occasionally people hissed at us. One woman looked at Joe Beard and me and said, 'I don't even think you two are gay men.' We laughed. We didn't know what we should do to convince her we were. Others said, 'We're glad you folks are here.'"

Beard also scoffs at the notion he might be a heterosexual spy. "I think anybody active in the gay life in the District of Columbia knows who I am and that I am gay. I haven't slept with all of them," says Beard, who's been out since 1978 and acknowledges that he is HIV positive. "But I have talked with them in bars. My ability to get into philosophical arguments is unsurpassed in D.C."

NOW's Bruce would no doubt like a shot at that. "This clearly is a pretty ignorant group of people. The abortion issue has nothing to do with zygotes, fetuses, babies, and the vagaries of conception," she says. "It's about control over what people do with their own body. If they don't know that we're the actual target ultimately, they have serious problems. They should go to Camp Sister Spirit in Tennessee and see how the lesbians who live there have to defend themselves against the same people they march with."

Bruce, who has followed the machinations of antiabortion and anti-gay rights forces, says that the divide-and-conquer tactics are now being used to promote anti-gay initiatives in states, counties, and municipalities around the country.

"It's the same group of people backing them both," Bruce says. "They're moving into the mainstream and setting a tone through legislation and other means whereby certain people can be controlled when it comes to decisions about their bodies. 'Women don't know what's best for them. They're sick. They have to be stopped, controlled for the sake of other people.' The anti-gay referendums use the same rhetoric. 'Gays and lesbians are sick and have to be stopped. What they do is wrong.' [And] we are not procreative so we are dooming the human race. It's the same theory, same agenda. So much for issues of self-determination."

Bruce is outraged about the "life begins at conception" argument. "There is no medical evidence when life begins. The only group on the planet that says they know when life begins is the Catholic Church, and they're guessing," she says. "How dare these gay men set themselves up in God-like judgment about when life begins."

In fact, lesbians and gay men should be worried that the radical right might succeed in establishing their version of a theocratic society. Consider, she says, the futuristic scenario evoked in *The Handmaid's Tale* where the sperm and the uterus are used in the service of procreation.

"Moving to affect my life or the life of a stranger based on your opinion is a dangerous thing," she says. These gay men are "no better than [former California Congressman William] Dannemeyer and [Traditional Values Coalition head Rev. Lou] Sheldon. They're suicidal if they hate themselves so much they need to join the thing that oppresses them. These are the same people who said we made the choice to get AIDS and want to put us in camps because we're a danger to the rest of life. The one thing in common is control based on fear

and sexism. It has nothing to do with AIDS or saving babies. But if their dream world comes to pass, there will be camps for people with AIDS, sodomy will be illegal in every state, people will get executed for being homosexual because of the potential danger of AIDS to innocent heterosexuals and since homosexuals made a choice to be gay, they're guilty for that too. It's draconian, diabolical. People will get imprisoned and killed for who they are."

Think this scenario is far-fetched? Bruce asks. The anti-abortion forces are sitting in front of or fire-bombing clinics or throwing acid on clinic workers right now. Doctors have been shot at, one murdered. Their homes, families, and children have been subjected to around-the clock harassment and intimidation so that many doctors, nurses, and clinic staff have given up counselling, refer ring or giving abortions out of fear.

"How far are they going to go?" Bruce asks of the PLAGAL members. "What if it's a gay bar next?"

Volz, Beard, Cook, and Arcidi say they are adamantly opposed to violence of any kind, a stance that serves as the underpinning of their pro-life belief.

Beard, a Goldwater Republican who believes that Soviet Russia was an evil empire, thinks "government has no business interfering in the private, personal, economic lives of individuals and that the purpose of government is to prevent violence and fraud and leave people alone." Those radical right extremists, Beard says, are in "complete consternation" over PLAGAL's involvement in the pro-life movement.

"We're dealing with one of the greatest issues of conscience and I can't ignore my conscience," says Arcidi. "But I will not do a thing in support of anyone who will take my rights away as a gay man. I will, however, by being representative to other Right to Lifers as a gay man, have the opportunity to enlighten them about gay men and lesbians. That happens almost any time I'm present in many Right to Life gatherings. That is a wonderful dividend for every gay man and lesbian. PLAGAL works on a frontier that probably no other gay or lesbian can touch."

Beard says PLAGAL has a mailing list of 196, of whom some are assumed to be non-gay "fellow-travelers," some "pro-choice plants," and others who have expressed interest. He hopes PLAGAL is breaking a stereotype that the gay community speaks with a single voice.

On this, Log Cabin L.A.'s Colbert agrees. "There is an unreasonable expectation on the part of those of us who are active to expect that our community act in a cohesive, homogeneous way. In fact, I believe most of the national organizations, institutions, and the gay press links the gay and lesbian community at large with a certain way of being, way of thinking, and it just isn't so. Our fight and our struggle at Log Cabin or any other national organizations must be for the hearts and minds of the middle, where most Americans reside. That means that gays and lesbians with deeply held pro-choice and pro life convictions have a role to play."

**Partial Birth
ABORTION**

LIFE ADVOCATE

BIOGRAPHY

CURRENT ISSUE

WHAT'S NEW

HOT TOPICS

ARCHIVES


HISTORY

WHO WE ARE

LINKS

SUBSCRIBE

E-MAIL



Andrew Burnett
Publisher

Andrew Burnett is a graduate of Multnomah Bible College in Portland, Oregon, where he earned his bachelor's degree in Religious Education in 1976. Two years later he again graduated from the same institution with a master of arts in Biblical Studies.

Compassion for the unborn and women

Since the 1973 Supreme Court Roe vs. Wade decision legalizing abortion, millions of children have died. Much to our nation's shame that toll climbs higher as 4, 500 more babies die each day.

"What are Christians doing to stop this innocent bloodshed?"
"Are they doing anything to intervene for the babies dying in local abortion facilities each day?"



"What about reaching out to those who are considering abortion as an alternative to carrying their child to term?"
These are the question that Andrew Burnett asked himself after viewing a documentary television program on abortion in the summer of 1984. At that time it became clear that God was laying it on his heart to speak out for those children who die from abortion, to be an advocate for the unborn.

Advocates for Life Ministries is born

Late in 1984 he joined with a few other people who were already picketing and side-walk counseling at several local abortion facilities in Portland, Oregon. Early in 1985, along with several other activist from Portland, he founded Advocates for Life Ministries.

During the summer of 1985 Advocate for Life Ministries began publishing a newsletter called "The Advocate" that later became Life Advocate magazine. Over the years there have been many changes and improvements to the publication but the goal continues to be the same —to tell the truth about abortion.

Also, in 1985 Mr. Burnett attended the Pro-life Action Network conference. It was through that association with other pro-life activists from around the United States that he began to get a vision for what could be done to help stop abortion on a national scale.

In the summer of 1986, Mr. Burnett, along with several other local activists organized Advocates for Life Ministries' first rescue mission. A rescue involved Christian going in the spirit of Proverbs 24:11 which says to, "Rescue those being dragged away to slaughter." Rescuers protested abortion and attempted to protect unborn babies by placing themselves between the abortionist and their victims, blocking the doors to an abortion facility for as long as possible. Between 1986 and 1992 Advocates for Life Ministries conducted dozens of rescues in Oregon and participated in many more throughout the United States and several foreign countries.

Click here to see a sampling of the covers of the newsletter "*The Advocate*" as well as later issues of *Life Advocate* magazine.

A national leader

In 1987 Mr. Burnett and a number of other pro-life activists were asked to help form Operation Rescue, a National pro-life activists' group that emphasized the tactic of abortion blockades to stop abortion and raise awareness of the abortion holocaust all across the nation. He was more than willing and served in a leadership role with Operation Rescue for several years, helping to organize and lead many rescues around the country.



Beginning in January of 1993, Andrew Burnett headed up a national "Stop Kevorkian" Project aimed at exposing the "assisted suicide" killing of former pathologist Jack

Kevorkian. The project resulted in discovery of a signed document in which Kevorkian admits leaving a carbon dioxide mask in place even after one of his clients

requested its removal. The man died of CO2 poisoning only moments later. The discovery of the "Final Action" document spurred national news and protest against the idea of doctor's killing their patients. (Click here to view the "Final Action" document.)

In 1994 Mr. Burnett again joined with a number of other nationally known pro-life activists to form the American Coalition of Life Activists where he served as a Regional Director until the fall of 1997 when the coalition disbanded. During that time, the ACLA organized a number of regional and national activities aimed at exposing abortionists for the killers that they are.

Mr. Burnett continues to be the Executive Director of Advocates for Life Ministries and Publisher of Life Advocate magazine. He has contributed over 50 articles to Life Advocate magazine. He has been interviewed and featured in hundreds of local, national, and international publications and news outlets (i.e., The New York Times, Time magazine, The Washington Post, L.A. Times, ABC, NBC, CBS, National Public Radio and Television, German and Australian TV.).

The consequences of leadership

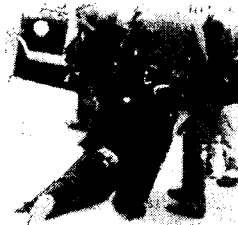
To thank him for his efforts on behalf of the unborn, Mr. Burnett has been sued by abortionists over a half dozen times. He is currently one of a dozen pro-life leaders around the country who are being sued by the Planned Parenthood. The suit claims that his advocacy for the unborn amounts to racketeering (RICO) and a violation of Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE).

Andrew Burnett was owner and operator of a successful Home Improvement company prior to his involvement with pro-life activism. He closed that business when a judge insisted that Christians promise not to rescue at the state's largest abortion facility, or go to jail until the promise was made or a civil suit was brought to trial..

Along with a number of other activists, Mr. Burnett was incarcerated for several months as a result of the judge's decision.

Currently Mr. Burnett focuses most of his activist attention on his own home town, Portland, Oregon, where he resides with his wife and five children. He is a committed Christian and leader in the local church where he and his family attend.

[\(Click here to view various photos of Andrew Burnett\)](#)



TOP

Richard Conden-Guido, ed.

***YOU REJECT THEM,
YOU REJECT ME***

*The Prison Letters of
Joan Andrews*



**YOU
REJECT THEM,
YOU
REJECT ME**

Joan Andrews serves the pro-life cause by her willingness to be treated as the unborn are treated, rejected as they are rejected. For her unbreakable passive resistance to abortion she has been sentenced to five years in jail, most of which time she has been in solitary confinement, and denied the sacraments of the Church.

A prolific letter-writer, Miss Andrews has touched the hearts of hundreds of correspondents with her witness against the callousness of a society which refuses to protect its most defenseless members. This witness is profoundly spiritual, rooted ultimately in her Catholic Faith.

This collection of Joan's correspondence, along with other relevant letters, memoranda and news stories, unfolds for the reader the quietly dramatic story of an ordinary woman called by God to be something neither she nor anyone else can ever be without the aid of grace—a martyr for life.

Richard Cowden-Guido, the editor of Joan Andrews' letters, is an award-winning Catholic journalist and author of *John Paul II and the Battle for Vatican II*. He serves the pro-life cause through a leadership position with the American Life League.

ISBN 0-937495-25-5 cloth; 0-937495-26-3 paper

COVER DESIGN BY JEANETTE O'CONNOR

**YOU REJECT THEM,
YOU REJECT ME**

The Prison Letters of Joan Andrews

Richard Cowden Guido, Ed.

TRINITY COMMUNICATIONS
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

© Trinity Communications 1988

ISBN 0-937495-25-5, cloth
0-937495-26-3, paper

To those for whom Joan Andrews stands in witness.

First printing May 1988
Second printing September 1988
Changes: Emendations of several letters
Insertion of letter of Mother Teresa, p. 220
New concluding remarks, pp. 222-223

Acknowledgements

To Judie Brown for her gracious leave, and her support for Joan and Joan's cause. To Jeff Mirus for his insight and confidence. To all of the Andrews family: with a special thanks to Susan and Miriam, the one who got it all started; and to Elizabeth Andrews, for her determination to protect her daughter's witness, and not least for the wonderful batch of letters from the early years. And to Joan herself, for letting me peer into the more private recesses of her life, and for our happy phone conversations and editing together.

You Reject Them, You Reject Me

To T. H. and Joe Wall and Peter Lennox and Juli Loesch and Earl Essex and Diane Bodner and all the people who kindly sent me Joan's correspondence. To all those I am neglecting here, but who have prayed and worked for Joan, and who have worked for justice. As ever to the Italian beauty who married me, and who provides my happiest inspirations. And finally to Brent Bozell, Michael Schwartz and Triumph magazine for organizing the first rescue I know of, in 1970 in Washington D.C., three years before *Roe v. Wade*.

Caveats

Apart from the ellipses and not always starting Joan's letters at the beginning, there has only been slight editing of the passages here published. The most extensive was in Joan's letter to Joe Scheidler, which in addition to polishing some expression, adds some three sentences in order to elaborate her theory and practice of non-cooperation.

san cry....

I can clearly relate to your telling me how you would hide real tears, for I do not cry often, especially not in front of anyone, but even when alone tears are rare.... in school, no matter what was ever said or done to me, or no matter how hurt I felt, I refused to let myself cry. When I was in the 5th grade, several of the big boys from the high school who hung around the elementary school while waiting on their school buses, decided they were going to make me cry. It became a nightly ordeal after school each day. They met me out back of the school, alone with Susan, and they'd punch me in the stomach. I, of course, had to prove that Catholics don't cry, nor snitch, so this went on for weeks probably, though at the time I thought it was most of the year before the boys got tired of it and quit. They never did make me cry. However, I recall feeling sick to my stomach with dread each morning and not wanting to go to school.... If one of them had dared lay a hand on Susan.... I'd have attacked them with all my might, as well as reported them, probably. Certainly if it happened more than once. As it was, they seemed satisfied to concentrate on me, and I'd just stand there and look at them trying not to show any emotion at all as they'd give me a good half dozen or so punches each day. I don't know if this explains why to this day I have such a problem being able to cry. Sometimes I feel tears coming on and then something inside clamps down. I regret it, but I seem to have no ability to counter this. It makes me feel like I'm being cold around people because I can't cry freely. And I've been accused of this a few times. In recent years it has bothered me so much that I prayed asking the Blessed Mother to teach me how to cry.

Well, it doesn't really matter anymore. Inside, I can cry, and maybe do it more than I should these days. What matters is that God knows how each and every one of us feels, and whether we can cry or not, He cries for us. What a God

we have!.... By the way, I have mostly good memories about Belfast school and the children and teachers there. In time, after the first couple years, many good friendships were forged. As it ended up, we all started getting along beautifully, and there wasn't anyone I didn't like. The one particularly hostile teacher never changed, but then she probably couldn't help it. Most likely she was raised on the prejudice she so vehemently expressed....

Peter, whether or not you are able to get me out of here, you have already made the biggest rescue as far as I'm concerned, that of my spirit. Of course, God did it, but you and Dana were willing to be His instruments, His holy vessels, in my need. Your sister always, in the love of Christ.

To Richard Cowden-Guido:

4 November 1987, Broward Correctional

During childhood my main interests were Jesus and the Faith, my family, the farm, horses, and also reading (horse stories or lives of the saints. Horses won out on volume, but being a very slow reader, I never read 'volumes'). My mother instilled us with a love for the Faith from our earliest memories. When I was a preschooler, I wanted to be an Indian, and lamented that our family wasn't a little redder in skin-tone.

More and more as I got near my pre-teens I began to develop a strong interest via revulsion in the Nazi holocaust. And I developed a deep desire to know how one should respond to any given situation morally—as God would want one to. So I read and watched TV programs with these questions in mind.

During high school, [I had only] a little civil rights involvement, though I became very involved in opposing the Vietnam war. Not in demonstrations, as there were none around my environment in Nashville during those years, from 1962 to 1966. It rather took the form of debate and

prayer. At college, there was some civil rights involvement on a minor scale, though in the spring 1966 semester I became very involved in anti-war protests, fasts, and prayer. But I became disenchanted with the anti-war group on campus and left it and school after that one semester. I also left because I was emotionally distraught because my brother John was drafted during that semester.

I lived at home with my parents from 1966 to 1973. I spent most of my time writing stories, some children's stories, but primarily stories regarding morality. Most pertained to war, though I touched on abortion, about which I had heard, though it was not legal then. I was a rather ignorant, ill-informed individual. I never dreamed until I was hit with it in 1973 that abortion would ever possibly be legalized. I did not even realize that New York and other states had legalized the killing before *Roe v. Wade*!

Also, during this period at home, I worked with horses at the farm, raising them, breeding them, breaking, training, buying and selling them, though I never was a good businesswoman. Never made any money at it. But I thoroughly enjoyed it, and living at home made it possible to have this kind of career with horses.

Of course, my dream was always to one day marry a wonderful, devout Catholic man and to raise a huge family of barefoot kids (hopefully on a farm). But he never came. Of course, I never went out to meet anyone. I contentedly stayed at home and expected God to send the right man to me. I expected him to come knocking on my door.

I cannot express my shock and horror in 1973 with the abortion decision. I awaited the uprising of the Catholic Church, but that did not come. I made plans and preparations to disarm the killing weapons in the abortion centers, and prayed for guidance and strength. In December of 1973 I headed by bus to Chicago to begin this effort, which I expected to become my life from that moment on until the

holocaust ended or God called me to leave this life. I did not particularly think of martyrdom, but, not knowing how long the holocaust would last, I knew unless it ended in my lifetime I'd be working to end it until the end of my life.

I felt very gloomy that December. I expected to be in and out of jails for the rest of my life, with long, long sentences each time. I am so happy that this is not what has developed at all, and I do not see my small sentences for non-violent rescue "sit-ins" to be the fulfillment of that forecast. I am not at all gloomy now, for back then I never foresaw others, in a movement, confronting the killing head-on, and having comradery, and support. How very pessimistic I was about people! How unrealistically I saw everything. It was as if I would always be all alone.

Maybe that misunderstanding had something to do with why I chickened out after a couple of days in Chicago. But though I abandoned the plan that December in fact, I never abandoned it in my heart. I only decided to postpone it for awhile. In the meantime, I got involved in all the other activity of what soon became clear was a growing movement. I first heard of a rescue (sit-in) at the St. Louis National Right-to-Life convention in 1978. Miriam and I signed up and were overjoyed this action was being taken. We missed it because of a surprise bridal shower sprung on Susan the day of the planned "sit-in."

Sadly, I thought this was a one-shot convention-linked action. I didn't know the real situation. In the fall of 1979, Miriam went to St. Louis University for nursing school, and, lo and behold—there was the rescue movement! She phoned Susan and me immediately to tell us! During that phone call, we worked out a plan where Miriam would relay to us everything about rescues so that Susan and I could organize them in Delaware. All that fall we organized and finally found five people to agree to do a first rescue with us in Delaware and to be members of this initial direct-action Delaware cell,

which we hoped would grow rapidly. However, the week of the rescue, everyone dropped out and said they couldn't do the planned rescue and didn't feel they could do a future one. Being so terribly naive and inexperienced, I didn't know a person could do a rescue alone. Therefore, during Advent of 1979, Susan and I decided to pull up stakes, go to St. Louis, and join the rescue movement there with Miriam.

We got there right after Christmas, but the next rescue wasn't until March 8, 1980. That was my first rescue. Then, we organized to start doing weekly and bi-weekly rescues. In May 1980 I lost my eye.

The rest is, well, history. Archbishop May [who came to St. Louis from Alabama—where there is a history of official opposition to sit-ins—almost exactly when Andrews did] came out strongly against the rescues and it was a major factor in strangling the movement in St. Louis, which was the most vital rescue group in the country at that time. Although he didn't really strangle it, only slow it down, for it is still very much alive, and much of my activity has been there. . . .

To her brother John: 23 November 1974

Daddy has been clearing the farm and it gets more and more beautiful. He's also making trails all through the woods. . . . None of the cows had their calves. They're fine, though. There are still ten baby calves—no new ones. Big Mama hasn't calved yet. I love you.

24 January 1979

We have the greatest news! Susan is getting married!!! After three and a half years of knowing and dating David Brindle they are getting married!!!!

It's really great, John. David. . . . will make a wonderful husband and a good father, and he's so very much in love with Susan and she with him. . . . David is such an honest person, I asked Susan why it had taken them so long to get

married, especially since she knew he agreed way back to have as many children as God sent them, and that they are compatible morally, and in how to raise children. . . . At the root of it Susan thinks it was her fear they'd have the same problems in religion Daddy and Mama had. . . . David is so much like Daddy. Susan has always loved that, because she loves Daddy so much, but also it caused her doubts, remembering how difficult things were with Daddy and Mama since they were so different in their backgrounds, and because David isn't a Catholic. Those fears are gone now and Susan is without doubt, and simply full of joy and peace.

Father Frank Ruff will marry David and Susan here in Saint Louis at the College Church of St. Xavier. . . . Everybody in the family is so happy. . . . Susan and all the family wish you could come to the wedding. Could you ever, John? [John Andrews was living and working in Saudi Arabia at this time.] Please, please try. . . . God bless you, John. We're so excited and happy. All my love.

[Joan's father was received into the Catholic Church in 1972. David and Susan Brindle have six children.]

20 October 1979

Miriam is having the greatest time at SLU! You wouldn't believe all her friends! . . . It's a co-ed dorm, and everyone seems really nice. Everyone we passed yelled to Miriam, "Hi, radical," or "Hi, convict" [this letter was written while Joan was organizing the ill-fated rescue in Delaware—after a visit, and shortly before she moved to St. Louis; Joan had never been arrested for a sit-in at this point, though her younger sister Miriam had]. . . .

One of her very closest friends, Sam Lee, was arrested with her. . . . He's so great. You couldn't meet a nicer person, and he's so intelligent! We went to his trial one of the days we were there (he's been arrested four times for similar sit-ins), but he was so brilliant on the stand that the prosecu-

see me more often. And the reason I didn't want you to do that was simply because the priest told me he'd see me again soon and that he'd bring Holy Communion, and I believe he meant it. Just because he missed this last week doesn't mean he won't be coming this week. And the only reason he hasn't been coming to see me before his visit the week before last was because of a misunderstanding: he believed I had been seeing a priest regularly. . . . Anyway I just wanted to explain why my voice maybe didn't sound normal.

Believe me, dearest Earl, I am just fine. And I'm looking forward to Broward, too, if for no other reason than the fact that I'll be able to write with a pen again! I hate writing with a pencil. One of the inmates here in Confinement who did some time at Broward said that inmates in Confinement there were permitted to use pens. I can't wait to get there. Never thought something so little would mean so much. . . . Kathleen and Earl, I love you both. You are always in my prayers and held tenderly in my heart. God bless you. Mary hold you in her love.

Reflection on Non-cooperation upon Entering Broward

Correctional: November 1986

There is the position that many direct action people espouse in support of cooperation while in jail because to them this means accepting injustice for the sake of Christ, gladly. My only variance, though I agree in principle with this, would be to say that I believe both approaches to be moral and justifiable depending upon the separate calling of the individual prolifer under conviction. Both cooperation with one's jail sentence and noncooperation. . . . I believe to be meritorious. . . . as long as the spiritual elements of courtesy, respect, kindness and humility are clearly present and reflected in either course of action. Motivation being, namely, that one believes the action to be pleasing to God and that in either action one conduct oneself as a Christian, with love,

courteously, and regretfully for any hardship incurred by anyone (though that hardship may be necessary to cause a focus upon the truth), and in humility. This can, and indeed, need be one's disposition. Not defiant, but simply faithful to the dictates of one's heart and conscience.

Secondly, we must see a . . . distinction between the idea of a stance taken as witness that rejects cooperation with a system of evil—for example the court sentencing proliferers to punish them for rescuing babies, and to discourage others from doing likewise. . . . and the spiritual, inner attitude and demeanor of the sentenced rescuer who does thank God joyfully for the privilege to suffer in His name and endure injustice for the sake of the more grievously offended preborn. By our love and humility and gentleness this attitude of accepting injustice upon oneself for Christ will shine through to others even while we non-cooperate in prison. We "non-cooperate" in love. In this way, for purposes of witness, of example, of purification, and thereby far from taking an easier road, we join ourselves more closely to the preborn who are abandoned by society.

Besides, we are not saying that we are better than other inmates and want to be treated better or differently. We are simply saying, yes, we are an inmate for Christ, but in conscience at this point and out of love for the babies and commitment to them we cannot cooperate with a sentence which is no insult to us, but rather is part of the structure of the holocaust. Part of its foundation. It is part of the compilation of actions and apathy without which the holocaust could not endure. The sentence attacks the humanity of preborn children everywhere and it attempts to halt rescue work by discouraging the rescue of these children. It is this with which we do not cooperate.

Actually, rather than being treated as though we're better than other inmates, we will be treated worse. We'll be put with the worst offenders, those who refuse to get along, with

the loud and disruptive, with all the "worst" in the prison—those who continue to offend, who incur new charges, who refuse to cope, those who continue in hostility, who keep incurring trouble within prison itself, the saddest of the sad, the worst of the worst. And why should we not be with these? . . . We will be cheerful, kind, and courteous, polite and humble with "our handlers," the officers over us; and helpful and kind with our fellow inmates. . . .

By our actions we'll set an example for those in the prison, those in the court, those in the community, and those in the prolife movement, which says that it is just not right to go along with injustice to the innocent preborn victims even in a small way, because even this small way, it too, contributes to the structure . . . that allows the holocaust to exist. It is no different than refusing to pay a fine to the court because that would be accepting the idea that you should be penalized for saving babies.

Of course, we do not non-cooperate to get a longer sentence or to suffer more: suffering will come as God allows and when we cannot avoid persecution. No, we say it is an attack on the dignity of preborn humanity to put rescuers in jail at all, whereby they cannot rescue more babies. However, if as a result of greater faithfulness . . . a longer sentence is incurred, a commitment to a worthy course of action presupposes a willingness to take the consequences. . . .

God gave us an intellect and I think he expects us to use it for the good. Strategy is simply the use of that intellect to best effect good by trying best to stop a terrible moral and physical outrage which horribly offends the Heart of God. We do not use strategy to take control from God, but to work with God's Will, His calling, His graces, His approved actions, to best touch the hearts of others and also to best prevent crimes against the natural law of God, the breaking of His Commandments. Certain sins we, as a community, have no control over. Others, however, such as legalized

murder, we do have much control over, and we are duty bound to exert it. And I think God expects us to take this control, under His authority, as His instruments. Besides, it. Thus we undertake certain actions, even if we were to know they would not be successful, simply due to faithfulness. . . .

Prayer indeed is of primary importance, but do not forget that part of prayer is prayer of action. Do not forget about both spiritual and corporal works of mercy, both of which are at work in a particular and fundamental way during a rescue mission. At all times, God is still in control as long as we acknowledge His control, desire His control, and ask for His control. . . . If our actions of strategy are aimed first at doing God's will, pleasing Him by using our mind to effect good—that is why we picket abortionists' homes, or judges' homes, to encourage them to extricate themselves from personal involvement and support of the holocaust—and if we act in every manner of love for all men, and being as concerned with results as with faithfulness to God, I believe God is pleased.

And though our first concern must be faithfulness to God's Holy Will, faithfulness to holiness, from which everything else flows, I believe God means us to be wise and use our minds to try to accomplish His good. . . . The two are meant to co-exist and to serve the same end: honor and glory to God. The triumph of good over evil. The accomplishment and fulfillment of His will.

Therefore, anything which denies God, attacks His truth or betrays it, can never be His means for ending the abortion holocaust. Thus, to stop abortion more effectively (supposedly) does not mean we are allowed to compromise another truth, as we have seen done by a faction in our movement that refuses to oppose artificial birth control. I am

specifying those Catholics who know this to be evil. . . . Yes, some proliferers in willfully focusing on success in the abortion struggle have abandoned other moral truths, forgetting that truth, integrity, morality, in essence faithfulness, comes first and that success is not in our hands, but in God's. There is no contradiction here in conducting our efforts intelligently and with hope of success—as well as, and foremost, morally and faithfully. We are not permitted to sin in order to stop the holocaust. We cannot abandon God in order to accomplish our end.

If He has our hearts and our wills, He will lead us, be assured. . . . [W]here it the witness He wants, we would do it even if it fails to be successful. In like manner, if we by our reason judge a certain action has no practical merit, we could discern that God would be better pleased if we use our minds to find a better way. And yet, we may also discern that He wants us to do it the ineffective way despite that fact, just as a matter of witness. That is why I think people are often called to different avenues of action because God wants us making many different witnesses.

Still. . . . I also believe God is so thoroughly outraged by the evil being supported by so many lukewarm, indifferent people of the "believing community," without whose support in a thousand little ways the evil could not exist, that I think He asks his activists to set an example of total and complete non-cooperation with any part of the structure, the process, which enables and supports the evil. And so we refuse to become a contributor in even the most minor and removed way. . . . I believe He wants His people to step further out into the waters and trust Him, even though we be misunderstood, perhaps. In time God will reveal the truth of our actions to those who truly have open hearts.

God also challenges us to think more deeply and pray more deeply through the beautiful help from brothers and sisters in the rescue movement, through the Church, the

family, and others as well. My dear sister and fellow rescuer in St. Louis, Laura Dunn, has exerted this kind of beautiful influence on me, along with John Cavanaugh O'Keefe, John Ryan, Tom Herlily, Joe Wall, my familial sisters Susan and Miriam, and others. I thank God for these magnificent people. They may not agree with my ideas or my actions every time, but they never fail to support me in their trust of me. And their challenging views never fail to touch me deeply and help to mold my opinions in so many ways. Spiritually, our gentle and humble mentor, Fr. Tom Cusack, has most clearly helped to lead me.

I ask those who have difficulty accepting this view on non-cooperation to think on and seriously contemplate the challenge to us of Franz Jaegerstaetter, who could have agreed to be a medic, perhaps in civil corps. . . . God bless you all.—Joan Andrews

[Franz Jaegerstaetter was an Austrian father and farmer who opposed the annexation of Austria by the Hitler regime in 1938, and refused conscription into the German military service in February 1943 on the grounds that, from a Catholic as well as natural perspective, the German war effort was both unjust and anti-Christian. As a consequence of this position he was beheaded on 9 August 1943. Like Joan, Franz Jaegerstaetter also incurred opposition from his local bishops.]

for my needs.... Would you rush right down and apply please? Your bunk is being readied.... Oh I can't wait! We'll be bunkies again, and I'll have you lullabye the whole Confinement block to sleep every night!!... Love.

Article by Scott Eymann in Sunshine, the Magazine of South Florida: 19 April 1987

She dropped out of college and adopted an itinerant lifestyle, travelling around the country to attend pro-life rallies, working as a domestic or exercising horses. She made no more than \$1,000 in any given year. She mostly lived with her sister Susan Brindle and her husband, baby-sitting for their growing brood. And, like the other women in the family, she began doing what she referred to as "rescues."

Joan Andrews' raids on abortion clinics were fairly ritualistic. She walked in the front or back door and told the waiting women that they were making a terrible mistake. And sometimes she attempted to unplug surgical equipment, with the idea of rendering the clinic incapable of operating for the rest of that day. Sometimes the rescues worked and Andrews would convince a woman to forego the abortion. At one time, Susan Brindle had three such girls living with her. It was on one of those rescues that Joan Andrews came to the Ladies Center in Pensacola in March 1986....

In late September, with the judge calling her "unrepentant," Joan Andrews was sentenced to five years in prison.... Although Judge Anderson has refused to comment on his sentence, his remarks during the trial provide a capsule version of his point of view, "You stand before me today telling me you are above the law," he told Andrews, "that the law does not apply to you because you believe certain things.... By your criminal action and your criminal conduct, you have blackened the name of that cause so that the really responsible, sincere Christians who support that position have stepped into the background and have sort of

abandoned the cause...."

Tom Bush of Ft. Lauderdale, Andrews' new attorney, is fairly confident that, in a few months, he can get the sentence reduced to time already served because of what he believes are the irregularities in the case. "If we exhaust legal procedures, then I'll petition the governor for clemency," says Bush.... [While the hand-wringing and legal maneuverings continue, Joan Andrews sits in solitary confinement, secure in her beliefs....]

She could be a pretty woman, but she is beginning to look worn and old beyond her 38 years. She bears her afflictions with a joyful grace.... She admits that... from the time she was 11, all she wanted to do was get married and have children—and yet she never kissed a man until she was 33. She lost her right eye to cancer six years ago and has a glass replacement.... She dismisses the difficulty it causes her: "I have to be careful going down stairs."

To look at her is to see someone rare, someone who has willfully chosen to mortify, not merely her flesh, but her entire life. The unspoken logic is crushingly simple: If the babies with whom she identifies so strongly are unable to have a life, then neither will Joan Andrews....

"I have drawn only one line for myself: I will not ever do violence to any human being"....

The basis of Andrews' non-cooperation is her feeling that, by sentencing her, the judicial system announced that the lives of the unborn children were not worth defending—and that, were she to cooperate with her jailers, she would be implicitly agreeing with that evaluation. To cooperate with her sentence would, in effect, be to admit her guilt.

She is a glowing, articulate presence; her words rush out, her fingers skittering nervously through the air. Her religious feeling is intense, but she lacks the holier-than-thou arrogance of so many pro-lifers. "There is a spiritual side to

non-cooperation," she says. "It has a great deal of power. But, taken too far, passive resistance cooperates with evil. I believe that all humans are as valuable as I am. . . . [E]ven if I had been sentenced to 30 days instead of five years, I wouldn't have cooperated."

It is probably a good thing that Joan Andrews never felt the call to become a nun, for above everything else, a bride of Christ must obey the dictates of the church, and this is a woman resolute in her will; she will obey her conscience and nothing else, and that conscience states that prayer without action is futile.

Joan has not always been the Happy Warrior of the pro-life movement. In 1978 and '79, the constant living out of a sleeping bag, traveling on buses ("You can get shoes at Goodwill for 10 cents, nice ones. . . .") rooming for a few weeks at a time with other pro-lifers in the network, seeing her family for only five or six days a month, began dragging her down. . . . Her zeal had been renewed by the time her eye, initially damaged when a horse kicked it, developed a malignant melanoma. The eye was removed on a Wednesday and she was back disrupting an abortion clinic on Saturday. . . .

The Rev. Daniel Kubala is director of the Respect Life Ministry for the Archdiocese of Miami; he has helped 100 women see their pregnancies to term. Yet he seems aware that, in Joan Andrews' terms, the methods by which he has chosen to serve his church are empty. He struggles to come to grips with her apparently limitless gift for self-sacrifice.

"I neither condemn nor bless what she is doing," Kubala says. "Part of our theology is that God reveals himself to different people in different ways. Outside of the early martyrs, there's not much to compare this to." Is she the 20th century's answer to Joan of Arc, or is she just another religious militant with a private theology impenetrable to outsiders? In short, is she a fool, a fanatic, a saint, or some

entirely original combination of all three? "I don't know if that question will be answered in our lifetime," Kubala sighs. . . .

There is no end to it of course. Barring a reduction in her sentence from a friendly Florida Attorney General's office, or a pardon, she will serve her full sentence. Upon her release, she vows, she will "go right out and do a rescue. In all honesty I don't know what's going to happen. . . . When I was having such a hard time, back in 1978, one of the things that brought me out of it was something Mother Teresa said: 'We are not called to be successful, we are called to be faithful.' I realized the truth of that. I just want to be able to say that, when all is said and done, I've done what I could."

And then this intelligent, passionate—perhaps too passionate—woman . . . goes back to her cell. The private Calvary of Joan Andrews begins all over again.

*From Joan Andrews to the Editor of Sunshine Magazine:
19 May 1987, Broward Correctional*

Regarding the story in your April 19th issue. . . . I was grateful for the kindness and sensitivity with which Mr. Scott Eymann wrote the article, and I appreciate his thorough research and his competence. . . .

There are, however, a couple of points I would like to clarify or correct. [For example] I gave the wrong impression . . . concerning the matter of conscience and Church authority. I am bound in absolute obedience to the authority of the Catholic Church in all matters concerning faith and morals. If there would be a conflict between my conscience and the teaching of the Church, I would unhesitatingly and completely submit myself to the Church's authority. I believe in the infallibility of Catholic doctrine [dogma].

Nonetheless, I agree with the observation that it was best I never felt called to be a nun. A nun takes the additional vow of obedience to her superiors, and this entails all

called the "Kansas City Resolve," a pledge to stage sit-ins whenever they got together at any sort of national conference. Ryan and Scheidler pushed the idea of the "Kansas City Resolve" a step further and began putting the pieces together to form their own national activist organization, which Scheidler dubbed the Pro-Life Action Network, or PLAN.

A month earlier, Scheidler had staged the first meeting of a group he also called PLAN in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, but it had not been the same crowd; the conference had drawn mainstream leaders, not those committed to activist protest. Now, Scheidler and Ryan wanted to reorganize PLAN into a central clearinghouse for the activist wing, to help coordinate sit-ins and clinic blockades from coast to coast. They scheduled the newly reconstituted PLAN's first convention for April of 1985 in Appleton, Wisconsin, and they planned to make sure that every anti-abortion activist in the United States was there. The Appleton convention would be the first official PLAN gathering for activists in the movement.

About eighty activists from thirty states attended the convention. Those arriving were greeted by a marquee that said "Welcome Pro-life Activists. Have a Blast!" Inside, some of the activists had attached firecrackers to their name tags; Scheidler now acknowledges those actions were in "bad taste," considering how many clinic arsons and bombings were occurring across the country at the time.

Those attending announced that they were willing to go to jail and confront police in their attempt to shut down clinics and run abortion doctors out of business. Ryan said the purpose of the mass arrests across the country was to clog up the court system. He said activists would be trained in nonviolent demonstrations, but he added that future sit-ins would "probably be more violent" in terms of clashes with police. Scheidler told followers, "The old movement is dead. There's a new movement of action and prayer." Leaders have called on God, he said, to bless their efforts. "We are going to protect those children. We are going to make this a year—twelve months—of pain and unpleasantness for those who are destroying our posterity."

Activists from across the country attended, including Monica Migliorino of Milwaukee and Andrew Burnett of Advocates for Life Ministries in Portland, Oregon. They all took ideas back to their local groups.

Among the most important concepts to emerge from Appleton was a

critical change in the semantics of anti-abortion activism. Joe Wall, who had helped launch a sit-in campaign in Philadelphia after participating in John O'Keefe's sit-ins in the Washington area, announced in Appleton that his local group now called its actions "rescues." The phrase "sit-in," so reminiscent of the sixties, turned off the conservatives that he wanted to recruit in Philadelphia, Wall said. The term *rescue* also conveyed the message that their actions were not symbolic, as were the sit-ins of the civil rights movement, but were designed to impede clinic access and thus stop individual abortions—to "rescue" the unborn. The term had immediate appeal to other activists at Appleton, and *rescue* came into broad usage almost overnight. Ryan quickly adopted the word for use in St. Louis, and the term *sit-in* quickly disappeared from the movement's lexicon.

"It was amazing," Ryan says. "To see all these people who each represented a group of people who had this commitment was just a shot in the arm. It encouraged us. It was important to have this awareness that there were supporters all across the country." The outcome of the Appleton convention, Ryan adds, was that activists agreed to get the abortion issue "in front of the world."

Ryan also realized that he needed a new local structure in St. Louis; Sam Lee's PEACE had never been a "real" organization. On the advice of his attorneys, who feared lawsuits, Lee had never incorporated or taken any other steps to give PEACE legal standing. When Lee dropped out, PEACE ceased to exist.

Ryan had lost his job at Catholic Charities, and he wanted to make activism his full-time occupation. He saw that he could use the people on Sam Lee's mailing list, coupled with the people who had come to his sit-in in February, to launch a new group, one headed by a full-time director: John Ryan. He asked Scheidler if he could borrow the name of Scheidler's Chicago organization: Pro-Life Action League. Scheidler was flattered and quickly gave his approval.

Ryan mischievously liked the idea that abortion-rights activists would now think of him as "Joe Scheidler South," and he enjoyed planting the idea that there was more of a national organization behind anti-abortion activism than there really was. Ultimately, he modified his organization's name slightly to the Pro-Life Direct Action League, just to throw the other side off even more.

By the
again:
and again
seriously
Ryan's ne
O'Brien,
eleven of

Ryan s
in an acti
abortion:
through
funeral, c

In Aug
the Apple
by Ryan;
ference a
a crew fil
focused b
raising ci
dark and
of it; at
served to

Ryan v
steady st
knit banc
him. Joa
Tennesse
had since
Louis to
O'Keefe's
Catholic
Academy
Philadelp
area sit-i
with Rya
were on t

Soon I
anything

RANDALL A. TERRY,
an individual,

Petitioner

v.

TROY NEWMAN,
an individual,

Registrant

In the matter of
Registration No. 3,179,591
For the mark: OPERATION RESCUE

Registered upon the Principal Register
On December 5, 2006

Cancellation No. 92047809

REGISTRANT'S FIRST NOTICE OF
RELIANCE

Exhibit B

History of Operation Rescue

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

See also: Operation Rescue (Kansas) and Operation Save America

The **history of Operation Rescue** involves a split between the original American anti-abortion group and a branch of the original group. The original *Operation Rescue* group is now known as *Operation Save America*, while the branch, once known as *Operation Rescue West* is now known as *Operation Rescue*. The branch has become more prominent than the original group, and many supporters of the original group now support the branch (which now bears the original group's name).

Contents

- 1 1980s
- 2 1990s
 - 2.1 Summer of Mercy
 - 2.2 Later activities
 - 2.3 Name dispute
- 3 See also
- 4 References
 - 4.1 Sources
- 5 External links

1980s

Operation Rescue was founded by Randall Terry in 1986.^[1] The slogan of Operation Rescue was "If you believe abortion is murder, act like it's murder."^[2] Randall Terry stepped down as director of Operation Rescue in 1989, appointing Keith Tucci to lead the national organization, now *Operation Rescue National* (ORN), as his successor.

Operation Rescue National's initial tactics involved peaceful sit-in demonstrations at abortion clinics, inspired by the civil rights demonstrations led by Dr. King in the 1960s. Operation Rescue National sprang to prominence during the 1988 Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, where hundreds of demonstrators were arrested, capturing national attention. Independent Operation Rescue organizations cropped up around the country during these early years, the most successful of which was the California organization, Operation Rescue West (ORW), founded by ORN's national tactical director, Jeff White. More than 40,000 people were arrested during ORN's anti-abortion demonstrations over the first four years.

The National Organization for Women and several abortion clinics filed a lawsuit, *NOW v. Scheidler* against ORN in 1988. The suit alleged violations of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), which were rejected by the Supreme Court of the United States.

1990s

ORN continued to grow into the early 1990s, targeting abortion clinics across the country. However, after

President Clinton signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act into law in 1994, blockading clinics became prohibitively expensive, and the organization turned to different tactics.

Summer of Mercy

ORN's activities gained attention again in 1991 during the "Summer of Mercy" in Wichita, Kansas, led by Keith Tucci. Thousands of anti-abortion protesters flocked to Wichita and were arrested at sit-in protests, known as "rescues". The protests were held at George Tiller's abortion clinic, and at what was then known as Wichita Family Planning, where a large "rescue" involving members of the clergy took place. Over 1,600 arrests took place during the first three weeks, with thousands of locals gathering and dozens of clergypeople becoming involved.^[1] The event lasted six weeks, with 2,600 arrests^[3] and culminated in a rally that filled Cessna Stadium, featuring Pat Robertson. *The New York Times* ran an article on August 4, 1991, quoting John Snow, a retired accountant who sat on the sidewalk across from Tiller's clinic in Wichita, dispensing Kool-Aid and saying the rosary. "'They're in there killing babies, nothing else, ma'am,' Mr. Snow said."^[1] Keith Tucci departed as director after the Summer of Mercy.

Later activities

ORN made an attempt at a similar success in 1992 when Buffalo mayor Jimmy Griffin invited ORN for the so-called "Spring of Life." The event became ORN's biggest public relations coup, when thousands of out-of-area protesters on both sides of the argument descended on Buffalo and Amherst, and massive riots took place. The crisis and financial hardship that the city endured because of the incidents was believed to have brought down the Griffin administration later that year. In 1994, Flip Benham became the director of ORN.

On August 10, 1995, Norma McCorvey, who was "Jane Roe" in the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision, announced that she was a member of ORN, and had converted to Christianity as a result of having repeated contact with Flip Benham and ORN since she worked near its headquarters office.

Name dispute

In 1999, *Operation Rescue West* changed hands when Jeff White stepped down from his position as director and transferred the leadership to Troy Newman. Newman moved ORW from California to Kansas, and dropped the word *West* from the group's name, simply calling the organization *Operation Rescue*. After a dispute between Flip Benham and Troy Newman over the use of the *Operation Rescue* name, and after Benham was named in a lawsuit, Flip Benham changed the name of his group, *Operation Rescue National* to *Operation Save America*. The former *Operation Rescue West* retained the name of *Operation Rescue*.

See also

- Operation Rescue (Kansas), formerly *Operation Rescue West* or *California Operation Rescue*
- Operation Save America, formerly *Operation Rescue* and later *Operation Rescue National*
- George Tiller, the target of much of the group's attention

References

1. [^] ^a ^b ^c Drive Against Abortion Finds a Symbol: Wichita (<http://www.nytimes.com/1991/08/04/us/drive-against-abortion-finds-a-symbol-wichita.html>)
2. [^] Abortion (<http://books.google.com/books?id=pul5SmZjmlsC&pg=PA163&lpg=PA163&dq=operation+rescue+motto&>)

source=web&ots=oiEoaxaewk&sig=6cuh6lhjCgy-Kr_hqnNNlwZTI4&hl=en&ei=7heKSbiTCZmQsQPcyuWkBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=7&ct=result) , by Janet Hadley

3. ^ Operation Rescue (<http://www.mhm.org/publications/fact%20sheets%20and%20advisories/OperationRescue.pdf>) , Montana Human Rights Network

Sources

- *Live From the Gates of Hell: An Insider's Look at the Antiabortion Underground* by Jerry Reiter (2000) ISBN 1-57392-840-2
- *Operation Rescue: A Challenge to the Nation's Conscience* by Philip F. Lawler (1992) ISBN 0-87973-506-6
- "METRO DATELINES; Anti-Abortion Group Will Close Its Offices", The New York Times, December 17, 1990
- Jim Risen & Judy L. Thomas, *Wrath of Angels: The American Abortion War* (1998)
- New York Times Sept 15, 2006 "Anti-Abortion Group Loses Tax Exemption" by Stephanie Strom
- Man's views change radically (<http://www.rickross.com/reference/a-abortion/a-abortion10.html>) 2001 Jerry Reiter interview
- Clinics Prepare for Operation Rescue 1993 (<http://www.holysmoke.org/fem/fem0249.htm>)
- CourtTV (<http://www.courttv.com/trials/kopp/index.html>)

External links

- Operation Rescue (<http://www.operationrescue.org>) , formerly *Operation Rescue West*
- Operation Save America (<http://www.operationsaveamerica.org>) , formerly *Operation Rescue* and later *Operation Rescue National*

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Operation_Rescue"

Categories: Christian political organizations | Pro-life organizations in the United States

- This page was last modified on 26 November 2010 at 23:16.
 - Text is available under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike License; additional terms may apply. See Terms of Use for details.
- Wikipedia® is a registered trademark of the Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., a non-profit organization.

Operation Save America

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

See also: History of Operation Rescue and Operation Rescue (Kansas)

Operation Save America (formerly **Operation Rescue National**) is an organization based in Dallas, Texas, that opposes human induced abortion and its legality. In 1994, Flip Benham became the director of the organization, then called *Operation Rescue National*. Benham replaced Keith Tucci, who had replaced Randall Terry.^[1] All of these individuals have been convicted of crimes while practicing civil disobedience.^[2]



Operation Save America members protest in front of an abortion clinic in Jackson, Mississippi, during their 2006 National Event in that city.

Contents

- 1 Name dispute
- 2 Activities
- 3 See also
- 4 References
 - 4.1 Sources
- 5 External links

Name dispute

In the late 1990s, Benham abandoned the name of *Operation Rescue*, and changed the name of his organization to *Operation Save America*. Once Newman's organization (the former Operation Rescue West or California Operation Rescue) began to grow in prominence and use the name *Operation Rescue*, Benham also began using the name *Operation Rescue*. After a feud with Newman, and after Benham was named in a lawsuit from the United States Department of Justice, Benham officially changed the name of Operation Rescue National to *Operation Save America*.^[1] Meanwhile, Benham broadened the scope of Operation Save America to include criticism of homosexuality, pornography, and Islam, and formed alliances with Christian conservative groups and the Constitution Party.^[3]

Activities

Operation Save America promotes a pro-life ideal by conducting mass protests at abortion clinics. Operation Save America has mobilized its members for other causes common to the Christian right, for example, opposition to Gay-Straight Alliances in public schools. At South Rowan High School, near Charlotte, North Carolina, when a Gay-Straight Alliance was forming at that school, Operation Save America arranged to have some 700 people to show up at the school board meeting and get the board to ban the club from the school.^[4] Critics contend that in so doing, the school board violated the Equal Access Act which is the same act that protects the right of prayer groups and Bible clubs to form in public schools.^[5]

They have also been involved in burning the Islamic holy text, the Qur'an, despite the opposition of some in the Muslim community to the practice of abortion. Their actions have been described as "an affront to Islam, all people of faith, and to our society as a whole... not Christian [and] not American" by the Mississippi Religious Leadership Conference.^[6]

In August 2006, after Wal-Mart publicly announced its corporate partnership with the National Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce (NGLCC), Operation Save America began a nationwide campaign to protest the alliance. Headlining the campaign was the slogan, "Corporate America is Being BLACKMAILED by the Radical Homosexual Agenda".^[7] Wal-Mart did not renew their membership with the NGLCC the following year.

On July 12, 2007, three members of the organization (Ante and Kathy Pavkovic, and their daughter Christian Sugar) tried to shout down a Hindu clergyman as he offered the traditional morning prayer on the US Senate floor.^[8] The protesters denounced the prayer as an "act of abomination" and "gross idolatry". The protesters were arrested for disrupting congress and taken away, and the prayer resumed.^[9] The protest was denounced by Barry W. Lynn, executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State.^[10]

Operation Save America is dedicated to non-violence^[11] and asks those that participate sign a disclosure of non-violence.

See also

- History of Operation Rescue
- Operation Rescue (Kansas), formerly *Operation Rescue West* or *California Operation Rescue*
- Randall Terry
- Murder of Jim Pouillon, a member of Operation Save America

References

1. [^] ^a ^b Operation Rescue (<http://www.mhmn.org/publications/fact%20sheets%20and%20advisories/OperationRescue.pdf>), Montana Human Rights Network.
2. [^] For one of Keith Tucci's convictions: "Anti-Abortion Leader Will Surrender," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, Thursday, July 15, 1993, 3B; For one of Flip Benham's convictions: "Leader Convicted for Religious Demonstration at School," *Reading Eagle/Reading Times*, Wednesday, February 18, 1998, C14; For one of Randall Terry's convictions: "Court Upholds Terry's Sentence," *The Gadsden Times*, Sunday, February 27, 1994, A2
3. [^] Standing By His Conviction, *Washington Post* Mar 18, 1998
4. [^] Salisbury Post (<http://www.salisburypost.com/area/367522152471958.php>)
5. [^] Religious Right Targeting Gay-Straight Clubs (http://scienceblogs.com/dispatches/2006/05/religious_right_targeting_gays.php), ScienceBlogs
6. [^] Anti-abortionists' burning of Quran called 'hateful' (<http://www.clarionledger.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20060720/NEWS/607200393/1001/news>) - The Clarion-Ledger, July 20, 2006
7. [^] Christian Groups Protest Wal-Mart Support for Homosexuality, Abortifacient Birth Control (<http://www.lifesitenews.com/ldn/2006/dec/06121805.html>)
8. [^] Protesters disrupt historic reading of Senate prayer by Hindu (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/usa/story/0,,2125680,00.html>) - The Guardian, July 13, 2007
9. [^] Christian extremists disrupt Hindu Senate invocation (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EZ9To30Hz7A>), YouTube
10. [^] Christian protesters disrupt first Senate prayer by a Hindu (<http://news.bostonherald.com/politics/view.bg?articleid=1010979>), Boston Herald
11. [^] Operation Save America (<http://www.operationsaveamerica.org/cms/assets/brochures/WeDontShootAbortionists.pdf>), Why We Don't Shoot Abortionists

Sources

- *Operation Rescue: A Challenge to the Nation's Conscience* by Philip F. Lawler (1992) ISBN 0-87973-506-6
- *Live From the Gates of Hell: An Insider's Look at the Antiabortion Underground* by Jerry Reiter (2000) ISBN 1-57392-840-2
- "METRO DATELINES; Anti-Abortion Group Will Close Its Offices", The New York Times, December 17, 1990
- Jim Risen & Judy L. Thomas, *Wrath of Angels: The American Abortion War* (1998)
- New York Times Sept 15, 2006 "Anti-Abortion Group Loses Tax Exemption" by Stephanie Strom
- CourtTV (<http://www.courtstv.com/trials/kopp/index.html>)
- Clinics Prepare for Operation Rescue 1993 (<http://www.holysmoke.org/fem/fem0249.htm>)
- Man's views change radically (<http://www.rickross.com/reference/a-abortion/a-abortion10.html>) 2001 Jerry Reiter interview

External links

- Operation Save America (<http://www.operationsaveamerica.org>)

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Save_America"

Categories: 1986 establishments | Christian political organizations | Concord, North Carolina | Pro-life organizations in the United States | Christian fundamentalism

- This page was last modified on 28 October 2010 at 03:43.
 - Text is available under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike License; additional terms may apply. See Terms of Use for details.
- Wikipedia® is a registered trademark of the Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., a non-profit organization.

Randall Terry

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Randall A. Terry (born 1959) is an American pro-life activist. Terry founded the pro-life organization Operation Rescue. The group became particularly prominent beginning in 1987 for blockading the entrances to abortion clinics; Terry led the group until 1991.^[1] He has been arrested more than 40 times, most recently for protesting pro-choice President Barack Obama's commencement visit to the University of Notre Dame in violation of a no-trespass order from the school.^[2] Terry has long been known for provocative and controversial statements, including that abortion is murder and should be made a capital crime.

In 2003, Randall Terry founded the Society for Truth and Justice and conducted a program called Operation Witness. He was the spokesman for the Schindler family in the Terri Schiavo case. In 1998, he ran for Congress in upstate New York, and in 2006 for a seat in the Florida State Senate, both times losing in the Republican primary.

Contents

- 1 Career as activist
 - 1.1 2012 presidential candidacy
- 2 Personal life
- 3 Works
 - 3.1 Bibliography
 - 3.2 Discography
- 4 References
- 5 External links

Career as activist

In 1986, Randall Terry was arrested for the first time for chaining himself to a sink at an abortion clinic. Operation Rescue grew to become a well-known example of civil disobedience by the American conservative right, and Terry was often in the news because of his activities as the group's leader.

Randall Terry was named as a co-defendant in the 1994 Supreme Court case, *NOW v. Scheidler*, a class action suit to compel pro-life leaders to compensate clinics for loss of business. Terry settled out of court with the National Organization for Women. He promptly filed bankruptcy, prompting Senator Charles Schumer to propose an amendment to a bankruptcy bill in Congress which would "specifically ... prevent abortion

Randall Terry



Randall Terry counter-protesting at the National Equality March

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Born | Randall A Terry 1959 New York City, New York, United States |
| Residence | Washington, D.C. |
| Occupation | Pro-life activist, author, musician |
| Known for | Founding Operation Rescue |
| Political party | Republican (?-2011), Democrat (2011-) |
| Religion | Roman Catholic (since 2005) |
| Spouse | Cindy Dean (div. 2001) Andrea Sue Kollmorgen |
| Children | Ebony Whetstone (fostered) Jamiel Terry (adopted) Tila Terry (adopted) Faith Terry (first marriage) and three or more children (second marriage) |

opponents from using the bankruptcy code to escape paying court fines." The amendment was not included in the final bill. In 1998, NOW obtained more than 25,000 "frequent flyer miles" held by Terry in order to help satisfy a legal judgment.[1] (http://www.publiceye.org/body_politic/news/now80310.htm) The long-running case was resolved on February 28, 2006, the Supreme Court voted 8-0 for Scheidler, against NOW.[3]

In 1990, Terry helped to organize protests outside the hospital where Nancy Cruzan was a patient, around the time that her feeding tube was removed. The group Missouri Citizens for Life also was involved in the protests, along with the Rev. Patrick Mahoney, a former Operation Rescue staffer. In a similar case in 2003, Terry became the spokesman for Terri Schiavo's parents and was in the news as "Terri's Law" was passed in Florida. He continued as the Schindler's spokesman as the struggle became nationally prominent, through Schiavo's death in March 2005.[4]

In 1998, Randall Terry ran for the United States House of Representatives in Upstate New York. Terry competed with radio station owner William "Bud" Walker for the Republican nomination to face Democratic incumbent Maurice Hinchey. Terry received the endorsement of Focus on the Family head James Dobson; however, national and state Republicans were not supportive of Terry's candidacy.[5] Terry was defeated by Walker 53% to 35%, but was the Right to Life Party nominee in the general election.[6] Terry came in third place, winning 7% of the vote, with Hinchey and Walker winning 62% and 31% respectively.[7] In 2000, Terry and his son Jamiel promoted the candidacy of Steven Forbes in the Republican presidential primary.[8] In June 2005, Terry announced plans to run in the primary against Florida Republican state senator James E. King, citing King's work in attempting to block legislation which would have kept Terri Schiavo alive. In August 2006, in an attempt to undermine King's support in a Republican primary the next month, Terry publicized an endorsement of King by "Bill Clinton" — actually, robo-calls by a professional impersonator of former President Bill Clinton.[9] The two "Clinton" scripts each contained a disclaimer. One was, "Hello friend, Bill Clinton here – not really!" The other was "This is a celebrity impersonation." [9] Terry used the scripts and the impersonator in 43,000 calls. The "no amnesty" line was a reference to immigration reform proposals which were an issue in many campaigns during 2006. On September 5, 2006, Terry was defeated in the primary, with King receiving over two-thirds of the votes cast.

On March 20, 2009, the White House announced that President Barack Obama was to speak at the May 17 Commencement of the University of Notre Dame. Terry declared that Notre Dame, being one of the foremost Catholic universities in the nation, should not have allowed Obama to speak. Terry's main objection was that Obama supports abortion rights. He was quoted in a article to the University's newspaper, *The Observer*, stating that he planned to make the commencement "a circus." Terry was arrested May 1, 2009, on the Notre Dame campus for violating a no-trespass order. He posted a bond of \$250 at the St. Joseph County Jail and was released the same day, and assigned a court date later that month.[2][10] In a statement given to a Christian news service, Terry claimed Notre Dame's invitation of Obama was a betrayal of Catholic teaching, comparing it to Judas' betrayal of Jesus Christ.[11]

When Kansas obstetrician George Tiller was murdered while serving as an usher in his Wichita church on the morning of May 31, 2009, Terry immediately issued a statement critical of Tiller.[12][13] On the same day, June 1, Terry released a video in which he called President Barack Obama and pro-choice politicians "child killers", and described Tiller as a "mass murderer" who "reaped what he sowed." He voiced regret that Tiller wasn't able to "get things right with his maker" and that it was unfortunate that he didn't get a "trial of a jury of his peers and to have a proper execution." [14] Terry's comments provoked a backlash. The *Albany Times-Union*, in an editorial, accused Terry of undermining the credibility of the "generally peaceful" pro-life movement, and Jacob Appel described Terry as "a George Lincoln Rockwell for the 21st century". [15][16]

2012 presidential candidacy

In January of 2011, Terry announced his intention to challenge President Barack Obama in the Democratic Party primaries for the presidential election of 2012.^{[17][18][19]} He plans to run a Super Bowl ad featuring graphic photos of babies who were victims of abortion.^[20]

Personal life

Terry's personal life has frequently come under public scrutiny, some of which he has welcomed, going so far as to put his foster children on his *curriculum vitae* as part of his pro-life "bona fides." Terry has had two wives and numerous children. With his first wife Cindy, he had a daughter before fostering two additional daughters and a son. He formally adopted the two youngest foster children. As of 2006, he had four sons with his second wife, Andrea.^[21]

In the early 1980s, Terry married Cindy Dean, a woman he had met in Bible school.^{[8][22]} In 1985, he met a woman who had borne her second child in prison and was planning an abortion rather than having a third. Terry persuaded her to continue the pregnancy and a daughter named Tila was born later that year. In 1987, Cindy and Randall Terry had a daughter together whom they named Faith.^[22] In March 1988, they took in Tila, then aged three, and her siblings Jamiel, 8, and Ebony, 12, as foster children. All three are biracial; their mother was white. Terry formally adopted the two younger children in 1994 and began describing his family on his résumé as: "Children: One by birth and three black foster children," although Ebony had left home at the age of 16 in 1991.^[8] Ebony, who was not adopted by Terry, uses the surname Whetstone, but both Jamiel and Tila took and retain the surname Terry.^{[8][22]} She converted to Islam, a religion Terry has preached is composed of "murderers" and "terrorists."^[8] In 2004, Terry described his relationship with Ebony as "good."^[8] However, Terry banned Tila from his home after she became pregnant outside of marriage twice by age 18; her first pregnancy ended in miscarriage.^{[8][23]} In 1998, when Terry was accused of racism while running for Congress, his son Jamiel stepped forward to defend him.^[8] In 2000, Jamiel worked with his father on Steven Forbes' campaign for the Republican nomination for U.S. President, and campaigned with his father against gay marriage in Vermont.^[8] In 2004, Jamiel publicly announced that he was gay and wrote an article for *Out Magazine* for which he was paid \$2,500.^[8] Randall Terry contends much of the article was written by other people and most of the statements purported to be facts in the article were untrue. Terry promptly disowned his son and claimed that he had "prostituted" the family name.^[8] Jamiel's response was, "My father's first and foremost aim is to protect himself. He talks about how I prostitute the family's name, but he's used the fact that he saved my sister from abortion and rescued me from hardship in his speeches and interviews. What's the difference?"^[8] When he learned in 2004 that his son was giving an interview about his orientation to the *Washington Post*, Terry pre-empted Jamiel by writing an essay, *My Prodigal Son, the Homosexual*,^[24] which was published on Terry's own website and several other websites, rejecting his son and referring to his life as "a shambles."^[8]

In 2000, Terry divorced his wife of 19 years, Cindy,^[8] and married his former church assistant, Andrea Sue Kollmorgen.^{[22][23][25]} Kollmorgen, born circa 1976, was approximately 25 at the time of their nuptials;^[26] As a consequence of the divorce, the home on 119 acres (0.48 km²) where he had lived with Cindy and their four children was to be sold.^[25] His decision to divorce in 2000 to marry Kollmorgen was unfavorably contrasted by some in the press to his own judgment expressed in his 1995 book, *The Judgment of God*: "Families are destroyed as a father vents his mid-life crisis by abandoning his wife for a 'younger, prettier model.'"^[8] His sentiments against divorce had been so strong that when his own parents divorced, "Randall refused to let his

children speak with their grandfather for three years," according to interviews with the family done by the *Washington Post*.^[8] As a result of Terry's divorce from Cindy Dean, the pastor of the Landmark Church of Binghamton, New York, "unceremoniously tossed him out"^[8] although Terry had been a member there for 15 years.^[27] That church had previously censured him for abandoning his wife and the two children still at home in preparation for divorce, and for a "pattern of repeated and sinful relationships and conversations with both single and married women."^{[23][27]} After the censure and expulsion, Terry joined the Charismatic Episcopal Church, a denomination established in 1992.^[27] After a period of study commencing in 2005, Terry formally converted to Roman Catholicism in 2006, taking the confirmation name "David Mark."^[21] After his conversion, he disavowed the first marriage and divorce, saying, "There were tragic problems that were inherent to the marriage. According to Catholic doctrine as it has been taught to me, those problems made it an invalid sacrament."^[21]

In the 2004 essay formally rejecting Jamiel, three years after divorcing Cindy Dean, Terry described his family as "a great wife, a teenage daughter and two small boys."^[24] The teen daughter was Faith Terry, his child by his original wife, born in 1987. In 2004, the *Washington Post* reported that Terry and Cindy's daughter was in college.^[8] Five years into his second marriage, a 2006 article in the *National Catholic Register* described his current family as "his three, soon to be four, rambunctious young boys."^[21] Terry's second wife, Andrea, is also a pro-life activist and was arrested in 2008 for trespass while leafleting a Roman Catholic cathedral parking lot with campaign flyers for a fictitious candidate promoting slavery for African-Americans. Randall Terry stated, "The piece was intended to be incendiary and basically a satire," a protest against vehicles in the church parking lot which, he said, carried bumper stickers supporting pro-choice political candidates, particularly Rudy Giuliani.^[26]

Works

Bibliography

- *Accessory To Murder: The Enemies, Allies, And Accomplices To The Death of Our Culture* (1990) ISBN 0-943497-78-7
- *Why Does A Nice Guy Like Me... Keep Getting Thrown In Jail?: How theological escapism and cultural retreatism in the Church have led to America's demise.* (1993) ISBN 1-56384-052-9
- *The Sword: The Blessing Of Righteous Government And The Overthrow Of Tyrants* (1995) ISBN 1-887690-00-X
- *A Humble Plea: To Bishops, Clergy, Laymen: Ending the Abortion Holocaust* (2008) <http://ahumbleplea.com>

Discography

- *I Believe in You*
- *Dark Sunglasses Day*

References

1. ^ Statement Regarding Suspect in Tiller Killing (<http://www.operationrescue.org/archives/operation-rescue-statement-regarding-suspect-in-tiller-killing/>) . June 1, 2009, Operation Rescue.
2. ^ ^a ^b Sly, Randy. Randall Terry Arrested at Notre Dame (<http://www.catholic.org/politics/story.php?id=33423>) . May 1, 2009, *Catholic Online* (news).

3. ^ <http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/05pdf/04-1244.pdf>
4. ^ Susman, Tina (2005-04-03). "Crusading once again: A series of setbacks forced Randall Terry out of the public eye, but the 'family values' champion has returned" (<http://www.newsday.com/news/nationworld/nation/ny-usterr034202000apr03,0,2491642.story>) . Newsday. <http://www.newsday.com/news/nationworld/nation/ny-usterr034202000apr03,0,2491642.story>. Retrieved November 3, 2007.
5. ^ Corn, David. Riding with an Abortion Foe Who Once Targeted Tiller (<http://blogs.cqpolitics.com/davidcorn/2009/06/riding-with-an-antiabortion-fo.html>) . June 2, 2009. *CQ Politics*.
6. ^ Randall Terry Defeated - Cost \$100 per Vote (http://www.publiceye.org/body_politic/news/rat80917.htm) . September 17, 1998 at PublicEye.Org.
7. ^ New York House Races (1998) (<http://www.nationaljournal.com/members/campaign/1998/house/ny.htm>) . September 15, 1998, *National Journal*.
8. ^ *abcdefghijklmnopqr* Powell, Michael. Family Values: Randall Terry Fights Gay Unions. His Son No Longer Will. (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A32934-2004Apr21?language=printer>) . April 22, 2004. *Washington Post*, p. C-1.
9. ^ *ab* Terry gets 'Clinton' to endorse opponent: Florida state Senate candidate has fun in battle for GOP District 8 nomination (http://worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=51499) , August 12, 2006. *World Net Daily* (news).
10. ^ Randall Terry Bonds Out of Jail (<http://southbendtribune.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20090501/News01/905010173/1130>) , 2009. Available only via paid archive at *South Bend Tribune* of Indiana. Excerpt available here (<http://thepoliticalcarnival.blogspot.com/2009/05/randall-terry-bonds-out-of-south-bend.html>) accessed May 29, 2009.
11. ^ Arrested at Notre Dame; Statement by Randall A. Terry (<http://www.catholic.org/politics/story.php?id=33463>) . May 5, 2009. Christian Newswire story in *Catholic Online* (news).
12. ^ "Dr. Tiller's Death: Randall Terry Releases Video for Pro-life Leaders Concerning Dr. Tiller's Killing" (<http://www.christiannewswire.com/news/7392310537.html>) , Christian Newswire, 31 May 2009, Retrieved 8 June 2009
13. ^ Barnes, Robert. Abortion Provider Shot Dead In Church (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/05/31/AR2009053101181.html>) , June 1, 2009. *Washington Post*.
14. ^ Randall Terry Video Statement on Tiller Murder (<http://crooksandliars.com/media/play/wmv/8514/>) , June 1, 2009. Crooks and Liars. Accessed June 4, 2009.
15. ^ Murder, in the name of life, Albany Times Union, June 4, 2009
16. ^ Randall Terry, Says He's More Concerned About Obama's Reaction Than Tiller's Murder (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/05/31/randall-terry-operation-r_n_209531.html) by *The Huffington Post*, May 31, 2009
17. ^ Dwyer, Devin (January 18, 2011) "Activist Vows Graphic Anti-Abortion Ads During Super Bowl" (<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/anti-abortion-activist-randall-terry-eyes-presidency-graphic/story?id=12639702>) , ABC News. Retrieved January 18, 2011.
18. ^ Boyle, Matthew (January 18, 2011) "Pro-life activist to primary Obama so he can air graphic pro-life ads during Super Bowl" (<http://dailycaller.com/2011/01/18/pro-life-activist-to-primary-obama-so-he-can-air-graphic-pro-life-ads-during-super-bowl/>) , The Daily Caller. Retrieved January 20, 2011.
19. ^ <http://www.sunshinestatenews.com/story/pro-life-activist-randall-terry-looks-defeat-barack-obama-2012-dem-primaries>
20. ^ "Activist Vows Graphic Anti-Abortion Ads During Super Bowl" (<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/anti-abortion-activist-randall-terry-eyes-presidency-graphic/story?id=12639702>) . <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/anti-abortion-activist-randall-terry-eyes-presidency-graphic/story?id=12639702>.
21. ^ *abcd* Drake, Tim. Pro-life activist Randall Terry converts to Catholicism, still slaying dragons (http://www.catholic.org/national/national_story.php?id=19866) . May 17, 2006. *National Catholic Register*.
22. ^ *abcd* Randall Terry (<http://www.nndb.com/people/704/000059527/>) , National Names Database. Accessed May 29, 2009.
23. ^ *abc* Hinojosa, Maria. *Live From...* with Miles O'Brien (<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0404/15/lo1.03.html>) , April 15, 2004. CNN transcript.
24. ^ *ab* Terry, Randall. My Prodigal Son, the Homosexual (http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=37979) . April 9, 2004. *World Net Daily*.
25. ^ *ab* Barry, Dan. Icon for abortion protesters is looking for a second act (<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/20/nyregion/icon-for-abortion-protesters-is-looking-for-a-second-act.html>) . July 20, 2001.

New York Times.

26. [^] ^a ^b Sly, Randy. Pro-Life Workers Arrested at St. Petersburg, FL Cathedral (http://www.catholic.org/national/national_story.php?id=26597) , January 26, 2008. *Catholic Online* (news).

27. [^] ^a ^b ^c Religious Right Leader Randall Terry Censured (<http://www.au.org/media/church-and-state/archives/2000/04/pampe.html>) , April 2004. Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

External links

- Official website (<http://www.randallterry.com>)
- Radio show (<http://www.RandallTerryLive.com>)
- Randall Terry (<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm2553986/>) at the Internet Movie Database

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Randall_Terry"

Categories: 1959 births | Living people | American Roman Catholics | American pro-life activists | Civil disobedience | Converts to Roman Catholicism | New York State Right to Life Party politicians | Roman Catholic activists | United States presidential candidates, 2012 | American Pentecostals

- This page was last modified on 25 January 2011 at 17:24.
 - Text is available under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike License; additional terms may apply. See Terms of Use for details.
- Wikipedia® is a registered trademark of the Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., a non-profit organization.

RANDALL A. TERRY,
an individual,

Petitioner

v.

TROY NEWMAN,
an individual,

Registrant

In the matter of
Registration No. 3,179,591
For the mark: OPERATION RESCUE

Registered upon the Principal Register
On December 5, 2006

Cancellation No. 92047809

REGISTRANT'S FIRST NOTICE OF
RELIANCE

Exhibit C

world of screaming and yelling and confrontation—and he wasn't."

In the end, Terry, White, and McMonagle managed to put the Los Angeles police on trial, cross-examining arresting officers and showing videotapes of the Holy Week arrests and the police use of pain compliance techniques. Remarkably, the jury accepted Terry's courtroom dramatics and acquitted all three men on twenty-four of twenty-seven charges; a mistrial was declared in the final three. It was a stunning triumph for Operation Rescue.

"They were trying to save lives and we were for that, too," juror Priscilla Ramos told the *Los Angeles Times*. "I'd love to shake Randall Terry's hand." Reflecting the complex views on abortion of so many Americans, one juror said he was "pro-choice" but had been shocked to learn from the defense testimony in the trial that women could have abortions up to six months into their pregnancies. "I now respect the individuals for standing up for what they believe and I think seeing Mr. Terry in court humanized him a little," said juror Edmund Bleavins.

Courtroom victories were rare for Operation Rescue, however, and Terry had little time to savor his upset win in Los Angeles. Almost immediately, he had to decide how to deal with a September trial on trespass charges stemming from the 1988 siege of Atlanta. Many of the rank-and-file activists who had been arrested in Atlanta the previous fall were finally coming up for trial as well. Burned out by their lengthy time in jail the previous year, almost all of them had decided to dispose quietly of their old charges by paying off their bonds. Their commitment to "confront the system" was now long forgotten.

Terry went through with a jury trial, but unlike his experience in Los Angeles, he was quickly convicted, sentenced to two years' probation, banishment from the Atlanta metropolitan region for two years, and fined \$1,000. Terry had avoided a jail sentence, but he was torn over whether to pay the fine and move on or refuse to pay and make one last, lonely stand in Atlanta. In an uncharacteristic move, he turned to a dozen of his most trusted lieutenants and asked them to vote on the issue rather than deciding himself. In the process, he sparked a heated debate over Operation Rescue's strategy and direction.

In internal discussions, McMonagle and Mahoney pushed Terry to pay the fine and put Atlanta behind him; Operation Rescue was in the midst of planning its biggest campaign ever, scheduled for Washington,

D.C., in
lead. Stra
might enc
However,
and Jayne
and that
energize sup

The de
whether p
logical str
to pay th
remember
he said, 'I
sided with
going to b

Warmir
County Ja
time in ja
from the l
own as soc
ers to rally

"I am d
ment natic
Operation
of exceptic
number of
fenging his
challenge
your heart

To explo
Terry's mar
Rescue in
Rescue, bu
the siege of
ist outlook
pared you f
letter as he

But Terr
ing in com

twisted sense of humor; Foreman was a lackluster speaker and a humorless revolutionary who had come to see Operation Rescue as a dull-edged knife badly in need of sharpening. Although Foreman grudgingly admired Terry's oratorical skills, he had privately begun to doubt Terry's leadership style and his strategic vision.

A Schaeffer-style Reformed Presbyterian and a product of the rough-and-tumble Philadelphia protests of the mid-1980s, Foreman was becoming more and more militant, and he believed it was time for Operation Rescue to demand greater sacrifice from its supporters. He believed activists should become "missionaries to the preborn," willing to give up their lives to block clinic doors. Foreman knew that Terry did not share that vision of total commitment and abnegation.

In fact, Terry had always sought to balance the conflicting goals of rescue: symbolic protest and physical intervention to stop a specific abortion. During the siege of Atlanta, Terry had begun to emphasize the latter, but he had not forgotten that Operation Rescue's success was built on the power of political symbolism. Foreman, by contrast, strongly believed that rescue was not a form of protest, and he wanted to move Operation Rescue much further into acts of extremism. Like Joan Andrews and John Ryan before him, Foreman believed there were few, if any, acceptable limits on "lifesaving" tactics.

"Rescue is not a strategy," Foreman wrote. "The underground railroad was not a strategy to abolish the slavery issue. It is what the serious Christian did to abolish slavery for this slave, then that slave, and then the next slave. They did not look at slavery as an issue. They looked at the slave personally. . . . The underground railroad was not primarily a strategy, it was a way of life, it was rescue."

Privately, in fact, Foreman had little patience for Operation Rescue's middle-class supporters who lacked his purity of commitment. "Operation Rescue came with a beautifully tailored program: die to yourself on the weekend and still make it to work on Monday morning," Foreman later wrote dismissively. "Operation Rescue showed us how we could sacrifice like a hero in a way which fits a busy schedule. . . . The early successes in the 1988 siege of Atlanta . . . showed how ill prepared we were to face up to a world determined to protect legalized murder. At the first sign of resistance we melted and began to turn to the political doors which had crept open a few inches because of our boldness. . . . We still thought of rescue as street-level coercion instead of laying down our lives."

Foreman be-
soon Terry en-
major protest
start of a new
itics. It was c
protests as a
Washington p
Washington of
roots power in
tration as ma
explosion in E
group that hac
political agenc

"What we h
fringe radicals
up operations
introduce our
the streets loo
sion of us out

But Terry n
DC Project s
Instead, Fore
DC Project v
Terry's plans
action.

To Foreman
Project were
funding for M
the DC Proje
more. Operati
tics, leaving a
Ralph Reed.

In jail alone
Rescue pris
mentally. Terr
six months di
Alpharetta, G

Foreman began to change Operation Rescue's direction almost as soon Terry entered jail. Terry had envisioned Operation Rescue's next major protest campaign—in Washington, D.C., in November—as the start of a new effort to move out of the streets and into conservative politics. It was dubbed “the DC Project,” and Terry hoped to use the protests as a platform from which to announce his arrival onto the Washington political scene; he had arranged for Mahoney to open a Washington office that would leverage Operation Rescue's raw grassroots power into legislative influence. Terry had been watching in frustration as mainstream Religious Right groups took advantage of the explosion in Evangelical activism, and he believed it was time for the group that had done so much to unleash that energy to present its own political agenda.

“What we have to do is dispel the myth that we're clinic-bombers or fringe radicals,” Mahoney told a reporter at the time, as he sought to set up operations in Washington. “It will take us six to eight months to introduce ourselves to legislators and prove we're not lunatics roaming the streets looking to blow things up. Let's be candid, that's the impression of us out there. A few screws loose.”

But Terry never aggressively pursued that dream; he did not take the DC Project seriously enough to stay out of jail in order to lead it. Instead, Foreman took over Operation Rescue one month before the DC Project was scheduled to begin, and he immediately squelched Terry's plans for the group to get involved in political and legislative action.

To Foreman, the political and public relations elements of the DC Project were distractions from hard-edged rescue, and he ended all funding for Mahoney's proposed Washington office. Foreman limited the DC Project to the November clinic blockades and allowed nothing more. Operation Rescue never again attempted to shift gears into politics, leaving a vacuum eventually filled by the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed.

In jail alone, without the comforting presence of fellow Operation Rescue prisoners, Terry gradually came unwrapped, emotionally and mentally. Terry was facing the longest sentence of his activist career—six months digging ditches and laying sewer pipe on a labor gang in Alpharetta, Georgia—and city prosecutors were threatening him with

another six months if he did not give in and comply with the court order. Terry had been arrested at least thirty times in his life, yet he had spent only about ninety days in jail since 1984. Now, he faced the possibility of a year in jail just as Operation Rescue was coming under mounting legal pressures and just as Terry's personal life seemed to be collapsing as well.

In a controversial step taken soon after Terry entered jail, local social services officials in Binghamton launched a high-profile investigation of his family life to determine whether Terry's three foster children should be taken away because he was so often arrested and away from home. The action by Broome County, New York, officials appeared politically motivated and gave Operation Rescue a chance to issue a searing press release underscoring how Terry was suffering the fate of a martyr. Under the glare of the negative publicity, county officials finally backed down.

Privately, however, the foster care investigation rattled Cindy Terry. She had put up with her husband's long absences ever since he began recruiting for Operation Rescue in late 1986, but now she was losing her patience. Tensions rose between Randy and Cindy, and apparently the couple came close to the breaking point. Dan Little, who helped Cindy deal with the foster care investigation while her husband was in jail, recalls that the Terry's marriage faced enormous strains: "It was a difficult time because neither one of them thoroughly understood the pressures that had come to bear."

Allowed out briefly at Thanksgiving to see his wife and children, Terry returned to jail more depressed than ever. "He cried all the time" while he was visiting his family, recalls Foreman. "He was feeling more and more hopeless."

By December, Terry began to hint to Foreman, Jeff White, and other visiting Operation Rescue staffers that he wanted out of jail. Terry knew that meant he would have to compromise with the system that he had vowed to confront through his refusal to pay "blood money," but he secretly proposed a solution to his lieutenants. Someone could pay his \$1,000 fine anonymously, he suggested; Terry could swear that he did not know who did it, and he could leave jail without the public humiliation of having folded under the pressure of prison life. It also meant that he could continue to stand tall publicly, before Operation Rescue's rank and file, many of whom had responded to Terry's appeals by sending money both to Operation Rescue and directly to Terry's wife for his per-

sonal use. In wife by supp outside Bing was in jail," l

His secret after just a integrity—w against "the

Foreman that they wo said, if you Rescue coul

Terry's ina Rescue and come to the carefully kep

and file to p circle agreec ing that he

Operation F dark night o live up to hi a few of hi Creek, were

Terry stick i "He was l to get out," i you have to

lieutenants police serg Rescue's sie saw in Terry

strutting, m was now rec While co pay his fine

to continue Terry told V Operation l

nd comply with the court
times in his life, yet he had
t. Now, he faced the possi-
escue was coming under
personal life seemed to be

ry entered jail, local social
igh-profile investigation of
ree foster children should
ed and away from home.
icials appeared politically
e to issue a searing press
g the fate of a martyr.
ty officials finally backed

tion rattled Cindy Terry.
ices ever since he began
but now she was losing
d Cindy, and apparently
Dan Little, who helped
hile her husband was in
mous strains: "It was a
roughly understood the

his wife and children,
"He cried all the time"
"He was feeling more

, Jeff White, and other
out of jail. Terry knew
he system that he had
blood money," but he
omeone could pay his
uld swear that he did
ut the public humilia-
life. It also meant that
eration Rescue's rank
s appeals by sending
erry's wife for his per-

sonal use. In fact, Terry later said that so much money was sent to his wife by supporters while he was in jail that he was able to buy a farm outside Binghamton. "I always got more money [from donors] when I was in jail," he says.

His secret proposal stunned his aides, who could not believe that after just a couple of months in jail, Terry was willing to sell out his integrity—willing to dissemble his way out from under his public stand against "the system" and against abortion.

Foreman and White grew angry with Terry and told him to his face that they would not lie to save his reputation: "I gave Randy a check and said, if you want out, then let's get out," recalls White. Operation Rescue could pay Terry's \$1,000 fine. "But let's do it standing up."

Terry's inability to deal with prison life began to rip apart Operation Rescue and allowed half-buried rivalries and disputes over strategy to come to the surface. In a series of secret meetings and conference calls, carefully kept hidden from both the press and Operation Rescue's rank and file to protect Terry's image as a martyr, Operation Rescue's inner circle agreed to try to pressure Terry to keep his feet to the fire by insisting that he should stay in jail. Led by Foreman, the majority inside Operation Rescue believed that Terry was simply suffering through a dark night of the soul and that it was their responsibility to force him to live up to his word—and to protect Operation Rescue's credibility. Only a few of his closest friends, led by Dan Little, his pastor at Pierce Creek, were sympathetic with Terry's plight, but even they insisted that Terry stick it out.

"He was looking to me, basically asking me to say it was okay for him to get out," recalls Little. "I said, 'I don't want to tell you this, but I think you have to stay. You need to stay with it.'" But the pressure from his lieutenants was backfiring, and Terry was an emotional wreck. Atlanta police sergeant Carl Pyrdum, Terry's adversary during Operation Rescue's siege of Atlanta in 1988, was shocked by the transformation he saw in Terry when he went to serve him with court papers in jail; the strutting, mouthy protest leader he had encountered the year before was now reduced to a passive, shuffling, ghostly figure.

While continuing to drop broad hints about the need for someone to pay his fine anonymously, Terry began to voice doubts about his ability to continue to run Operation Rescue at all. In a moment of despair, Terry told White and Foreman that he thought it was time to shut down Operation Rescue and walk away. Concerned that Terry was ready to

abandon Operation Rescue, White asked Terry to give him the Operation Rescue name so that he could continue the fight. Terry was insulted; Operation Rescue was still his DBA, and he had no intention of surrendering it to someone else. "Randy told Jeff he would give it to him when Hell froze over," recalls Foreman. "We always had strong arguments in jail."

At the same time that Operation Rescue's leadership was being ripped apart by the secret debate over Terry's imprisonment, the external pressures were intensifying as well. Operation Rescue had outrun the federal court injunctions as it moved from city to city, but now the slowly grinding legal system was finally catching up. In December 1989, a federal judge in New York got fed up with Operation Rescue's refusal to pay a \$100,000 fine stemming from the group's violation of the injunctions against its first major rescue in New York City in May 1988. Federal judge Robert Ward threatened to seize all of Operation Rescue's assets to pay the huge penalty and gave the group an ultimatum: either turn over its financial records to the U.S. attorney or post a \$50,000 bond to appeal the case.

From jail, Terry told Foreman to defy Ward, and Foreman moved to notify Operation Rescue's supporters to stop sending donations to Binghamton, where the money was in danger of being seized. Instead, he instructed them to send their donations to Atlanta, where an office had been set up during the 1988 campaign. "Just picture a bounty hunter with all the power of the IRS, and you will begin to understand what a federal prosecutor can do to us," Foreman warned Operation Rescue donors in a letter dated December 5.

Foreman's action kept Operation Rescue one step ahead of the courts. In a high-profile legal move taken just before Christmas, 1989, federal marshals seized two of Operation Rescue's Binghamton bank accounts, but they retrieved only \$3,000. The court order, however, had put Operation Rescue in financial limbo; although it could temporarily hide money in new bank accounts, it could not stay in business for long under those conditions. Operation Rescue's staff could not be paid, and those who stayed on board found themselves temporarily working for free.

Art Tomlinson came up with an ingenious, if legally questionable, solution that kept Operation Rescue solvent, at least for a few more

Terry to give him the
 true the fight. Terry was
 and he had no intention
 Jeff he would give it to
 'We always had strong

leadership was being
 y's imprisonment, the
 ration Rescue had out-
 m city to city, but now
 hing up. In December
 th Operation Rescue's
 ne group's violation of
 New York City in May
 seize all of Operation
 the group an ultima-
 J.S. attorney or post a

d Foreman moved to
 ending donations to
 eing seized. Instead,
 anta, where an office
 ist picture a bounty
 begin to understand
 n warned Operation

step ahead of the
 re Christmas, 1989,
 s Binghamton bank
 order, however, had
 it could temporarily
 in business for long
 old not be paid, and
 orarily working for

gally questionable,
 ast for a few more

months. Tomlinson had been assigned to maintain and expand Operation Rescue's ties to fundamentalist pastors around the country, and in his travels he had come in contact with other conservative groups tapping into fundamentalist anxiety and rage. At one small Washington conference for conservative Presbyterians, Tomlinson met Larry Pratt, founder of a right-wing group called Gun Owners of America. Pratt, an early pioneer in the antigovernment movement that blossomed in the mid-1990s, hated how the government seemed to be cracking down on Operation Rescue, and he responded to Tomlinson's request to help find a way to skirt the court-ordered freeze on Operation Rescue's bank accounts. Pratt had a second organization, called the Committee to Protect the Family Foundation, and he agreed to allow Operation Rescue to funnel its money secretly through the group's bank accounts. In January 1990, Terry wrote a letter to Operation Rescue's donors asking them to send contributions to the Committee to Protect the Family, and whenever Operation Rescue received a bill, Carol Ann Krzykowski, Terry's bookkeeper in Binghamton, sent it to Pratt in Virginia. He then paid the bills with checks written from the committee's accounts. Krzykowski later testified that Pratt's group paid at least eighty thousand dollars of Operation Rescue's bills in the first three months of the covert deal.

Tomlinson's financial alliance with Pratt presaged the links that later emerged between anti-abortion militants and the antigovernment militia movement in the mid-1990s. By 1996, in fact, Pratt became enmeshed in a national controversy when his ties to the militia movement were revealed at the same time that he was serving as a national co-chairman of Pat Buchanan's presidential campaign.

Tomlinson's stopgap measures did little to relieve the pressures building inside Operation Rescue. By January 1990, Terry was going stir-crazy in Fulton County Jail and had come to regret his decision in October to send out the fiery letter that now was holding him hostage. He was also becoming suspicious that Foreman wanted to keep him in jail so that he could remain in charge of Operation Rescue. "I couldn't put my finger on it, but I knew something was amiss. I felt like I was being used as a pawn," recalls Terry. He began to argue every day with Foreman and White about whether he should get out of jail. "I told them I'm a human being, there are problems with my family. I'm a flesh-and-blood man. And they kept giving me this General Patton talk," upbraiding Terry for his weakness and defeatism.

Terry's increasingly vocal doubts paralyzed Operation Rescue. Jesse Lee told others in the inner circle that he feared that Terry was caught in a "demonic stranglehold"—the leader they had once honored as anointed by God was now being tested by Satan. The only way to defeat Satan, Terry's lieutenants believed, was to force Terry to live up to his promise to stay in jail. Within the inner circle, no one argued more strongly that Terry should stay in jail than Foreman. He was unwilling to give up on Atlanta and, Terry suspected, to give up power. Although others in Operation Rescue drifted, Foreman took action and began to look for ways to keep Terry incarcerated.

The best way was to send out another letter to Operation Rescue's supporters, under Terry's signature, reaffirming his original decision to stay in jail as a martyr while the Christian community rallied to the cause. That would make it impossible for Terry to try to finesse his way out of jail. Foreman decided he should use something that already had Terry's name on it, so he started with a letter Terry had written early in his jail term to televangelist James Dobson, in which Terry reaffirmed his initial defiant stance and asked Dobson to come to Atlanta to join a clinic sit-in and risk arrest. Ultimately, Terry had decided not to send the letter for fear of alienating Dobson, who was among his most loyal supporters and who had privately been sending money directly to Cindy Terry. Foreman made a few alterations in the Dobson letter to make it suitable to send out to Operation Rescue's entire mailing list and then faxed a copy to Operation Rescue headquarters in Binghamton to be proofread and printed.

When the letter came in, Operation Rescue staffers Wendy Wright and Mark Lucas were elated. Thinking that it had been written by Terry, they saw the letter as a sign that the old Randall Terry was back, that he had emerged from his private hell. Wright and Lucas, who had been praying for Terry's rehabilitation, eagerly prepared thirty thousand copies.

Foreman insists that he had planned to show the letter to Terry for his approval after it was proofread and typed in Binghamton, before it was mailed to supporters. "My goal was to rehabilitate Randy, not to shut him up in jail," Foreman says. "He was the golden-haired child who made the thing work; we needed him." But when he contacted Wright and Lucas, Foreman was surprised to discover that they were already stuffing envelopes, poised to send the letter out. Lucas told Foreman that Operation Rescue did not have enough money to alter and reprint the letter, and that was enough for Foreman. Foreman went

ahead with his power play, and Lucas backed him up. "Randy needs to grow up," Lucas told Foreman.

Hearing another insider echo his own thoughts, Foreman decided that it was God's will that the letter be sent out without Terry's knowledge—that it was God's way of breaking Satan's grip on Terry. "I got Charismatic and I said maybe God wants Randy to know what he should do," Foreman recalls. "That was a mistake, because I'm not Charismatic." Foreman told Lucas and Wright to go ahead, and the letter was sent out on January 22, 1990.

Seeking cover, Foreman quickly called Jeff White to tell him what he had done and pressured him to agree not to tell Terry. "We were unmerciful," admits White. Foreman knew that Terry would be furious after the letter was made public, so he prepared a private letter, to be delivered later, telling Terry to "be a man" and stay in jail. After the forged letter was sent to Operation Rescue's entire mailing list, Foreman gave a copy to Bob Jewitt to take into jail to show to Terry. He also gave Jewitt a sealed envelope containing his private letter to Terry and told Jewitt to give it to Terry only if he seemed upset after reading the first letter.

Terry was enraged on seeing what had gone out under his name without his knowledge, and he came completely unhinged after reading Foreman's private note upbraiding him. "I had been totally betrayed," says Terry, the anger still evident years later. "These guys wanted me in jail for their own purposes, and Joe Foreman was the ringleader."

As soon as he heard how Terry had reacted, Foreman knew he was to be ousted. But he was not alone. When Jeff White confessed to Terry that he had known about the letter for several days before Terry learned of it, Terry coldly told him that he was "dismissed."

Terry was convinced that he had to get out of jail as soon as possible to put down Foreman's rebellion, but he still faced the political problem of how to get out without appearing to have caved in to the city of Atlanta. No one outside Operation Rescue's inner circle knew about Terry's emotional breakdown or Foreman's coup attempt. Operation Rescue's rank-and-file supporters still believed Terry remained steadfast in his defiance of the "system" with the full backing of the rest of Operation Rescue's leadership, and it was important to maintain that illusion.

Days after the Foreman-engineered letter was sent to Operation Rescue's mailing list reaffirming Terry's determination to fight on, therefore, Terry's \$1,000 fine was suddenly paid by an "anonymous" donor. Terry was released from jail on January 29. His release surprised almost

eration Rescue. Jesse that Terry was caught had once honored as The only way to defeat Terry to live up to his no one argued more 1. He was unwilling to power. Although oth- tion and began to look

o Operation Rescue's s original decision to nunity rallied to the try to finesse his way ning that already had had written early in ich Terry reaffirmed e to Atlanta to join a decided not to send mong his most loyal ey directly to Cindy on letter to make it ailing list and then Binghamton to be

fers Wendy Wright en written by Terry, y was back, that he cas, who had been d thirty thousand

: letter to Terry for ghamton, before it tate Randy, not to olden-haired child hen he contacted ver that they were r out. Lucas told gh money to alter an. Foreman went

everyone in Operation Rescue's inner circle, catching most of them when they were secretly meeting to rip power away from him in yet another coup attempt.

Irate over Terry's decision to fire Foreman and White, most of Terry's lieutenants were meeting at Jayne Bray's house outside Washington to draw up a list of demands for greater power sharing within Operation Rescue. The group included virtually all of Operation Rescue's veterans: Michael McMonagle, Gary Leber, Art Tomlinson, Jeff White, Jesse Lee, Mark Lucas, and Jayne Bray. They wanted to force Terry both to take Foreman and White back and to submit all his decisions to a ruling council, made up of them, that would have the final say over Operation Rescue. They wanted to end Terry's autocratic, Charismatic approach to leadership and replace it with the management-by-committee approach favored by Presbyterians like Foreman and White.

When Terry flew directly from Atlanta to Washington to attend the Christian Broadcasters annual convention, many of the coup plotters wanted to confront him immediately with their list of demands. But Terry was so haggard and weak that Keith Tucci, one of the few in the inner circle who remained loyal to Terry, demanded that they wait until Terry had a chance to go home and rest.

The showdown came in February, when Terry, Foreman, and the others held a bitter meeting in a Binghamton motel; the conference was so acrimonious that Dan Little was forced to act as referee. After two days of confused debate interspersed with screamed accusations, Foreman and White took control of Operation Rescue's key asset—its mailing lists—and set off for North Carolina to start a new group they planned to call Operation Rescue National. Still drained from his time in jail, Terry at first acquiesced, but he quickly realized that Foreman and White were effectively taking his organization with them. They were in "insurrection," Terry complained, and he ordered them to return the mailing lists and other assets. Fed up, Terry staged a final confrontation with the rebels in March. At a hotel in Washington, he brought in those who had signed the "list of demands" and, in a series of angry sessions, dismissed them all.

His action gutted Operation Rescue. Terry's lieutenants were just as angry at him as he was with them, and they quickly went their separate ways. "A spiritual and emotional split took place," says Mahoney. "And when the relationships were broken, it was almost impossible to rebuild the organization." But Terry no longer seemed to care; too exhausted to continue the fight, he was thinking about getting out himself. He hoped

to r
abo
V
turn
Op
brie
brie
acc
in
anr
titl
ma
ins.
sid
led
ing
par
] cov
Ref
clai
mo
tha
The
the
mer
fou
I
Res
Qu
tha
cou
bac
Tor
Res
I
Alt
hav
adr
wit

to move on: to repair the breach with his wife and family and to think about a new future—as a radio talk-show host.

What was left of Operation Rescue, Terry told supporters, would be turned over to the loyal Keith Tucci, and it would be renamed Operation Rescue National, the name that Foreman and White had briefly co-opted. The name change was designed to give Tucci at least a brief respite from the court orders targeting Operation Rescue's bank accounts. In late March 1990, Tucci set up Operation Rescue National in Summerville, South Carolina, and with Terry's blessing, he announced that he was the movement's new leader. Terry assumed the title of Operation Rescue founder and became the movement's "outside man"—its leading spokesperson—and Tucci tried his best to be the inside organizer. But Tucci had inherited an empty shell. No one outside the inner circle was told of the behind-the-scenes feuding that had led to the dramatic shakeup. Even those Terry had shoved aside, including Foreman, kept quiet for years. "All anybody knew was that we had a parting of the ways," says Foreman.

The press failed to get the story of the breakup and, instead, kept covering Operation Rescue events as if nothing had happened. Reporters only occasionally expressed confusion over the fact that Tucci claimed to be running things even as Terry kept a high profile as the movement's spokesperson. For months, however, Terry remained fearful that word of the rebellion might leak out and destroy his reputation. Therefore, he sought to pressure the dissidents to take their names off the list of demands that had been presented to him in February. His former lieutenants refused; they were no longer working for him, and they found his latest demand insulting.

Terry enlisted Dan Little to intervene with the former Operation Rescue staffers who were also members of the Church at Pierce Creek. Quietly, Little agreed to use his leverage as their pastor, telling them that they had sinned and that only by withdrawing their signatures could they cleanse their souls. Little's threats cowed Mark Lucas but backfired on fellow Pierce Creek members Gary Leber and Art Tomlinson, who completed their break with Terry and Operation Rescue.

It took years for Terry to reconcile with many of his former aides. Although he and Jesse Lee both still live in the Binghamton area, they have barely spoken since 1990. Terry has not forgiven Foreman and admits that he has quietly tried to undermine Foreman's efforts to work with other leaders in the anti-abortion movement.

Hardly anyone stayed to help Tucci launch Operation Rescue National. Throughout 1990 and into early 1991, Tucci failed to mount any major protest campaigns that could grab national attention. Local organizations continued to stage their own protests but without national coordination. The press occasionally wrote about Operation Rescue's inability to recapture its past success but otherwise failed to grasp that something had changed.

In October 1990, when a federal judge in Washington threatened to go after the group's donors to find money to pay fines stemming from Operation Rescue's DC Project blockades the previous November, Terry and Tucci told donors to send their contributions to local affiliates. Operation Rescue was all but dead anyway; the group ended 1990 with just twenty thousand dollars to its name. "Operation Rescue went from overnight success to overnight failure," says Tomlinson. "I mean we fell flat and we fell hard."

For militants like Foreman, however, Operation Rescue's breakup was perversely liberating. Freed from Terry's centripetal force, Foreman and other Operation Rescue veterans like Andrew Burnett, who shared his hard-edged vision of anti-abortion activism, could split off to form their own small but uncompromising new organizations. They could abandon all of Operation Rescue's pretenses of trying to appease large numbers of middle-class fundamentalists. Through tiny cells like Foreman's Missionaries to the Preborn and Burnett's Advocates for Life, they would perfect dangerous new tactics, such as attaching bicycle locks to their necks and to the axles of strategically parked cars, all designed to slow police efforts to clear clinic entrances. Gradually, they began to voice their frustration over the failures of civil disobedience and to develop perverse new theories that they claimed showed that the Bible justified the use of violence to end abortion.

Later, insiders traced the origins of the anti-abortion extremism of the 1990s—and the movement's ultimate descent into violence—to the splintering of Operation Rescue's leadership.

Operation Rescue came together for one last stand, in Wichita in the summer of 1991, where members briefly encouraged Terry to work with Tucci to stitch the movement back together. If this event failed to spark a revival, the road would be open for extremists like Joe Foreman, Andrew Burnett, and even Michael Bray, who was now out of prison and eager for a comeback.

WICHITA

Summer of Mercy?

Like so many others who had once been close to Randall Terry, Gary Leber bitterly cut himself off from his old leader after Operation Rescue's acrimonious breakup in the winter of 1990. Terry had dismissed Leber along with most of Operation Rescue's staff following Joe Foreman's attempted coup, and Leber soon started an independent life in Binghamton, far from Terry's orbit. Operation Rescue was all but dead, and like other fundamentalists, Leber figured that anti-abortion activism was dying with it. But as he was going through his mail one day in the summer of 1991, Leber found a recruiting letter from Terry that brought back a flood of memories—and sudden hope for reconciliation and renewal.

Terry was in Wichita, Kansas, helping Operation Rescue's new leader, Keith Tucci, mount the group's first major campaign since the breakup. Tucci had attempted on his own to recapture Operation Rescue's spirit and fire, but the event he had organized in Dobbs Ferry, New York, had come up short. Now Terry was once again engaged, and Operation Rescue seemed poised to score its biggest hit ever.

Come to Wichita, Terry said in the letter. Come back to Operation Rescue. "Our God is the God of second chances," Terry wrote, in words

that Leber interpreted as Terry's plea for forgiveness for the cold-hearted way he had dealt with his lieutenants the year before. "God is doing something here we have never seen before, but always hoped and prayed for," the letter continued. "Now it seems God is answering our prayers. He's giving us another chance."

"Randy's back," Leber told himself. He answered the call, as did many of the other dissidents who had been banished just one year earlier: Jeff White, Michael McMonagle, even the discredited Joe Foreman. Along with thousands of grassroots activists who were also undergoing a brief rebirth of enthusiasm, they swarmed into Wichita for what would become Operation Rescue's largest campaign ever: the "Summer of Mercy." Over forty-six days, the Wichita campaign resulted in nearly twenty-seven hundred arrests; long emotional rallies attracted followers from almost every state in the country. Local churches flung open their doors—and their coffers—and Wichita became a fundamentalist Woodstock, a summer happening out of nowhere.

Wichita was also Operation Rescue's last stand, however, and the tense air of desperation that hung over the campaign by the end would serve as a warning of the movement's coming slide into extremism and violence.

Keith Tucci was horribly miscast as Randall Terry's successor and the man tasked with getting Operation Rescue moving again. An earnest Charismatic preacher, Tucci had not been involved with the day-to-day running of Operation Rescue, and he lacked Terry's oratorical skills and charisma. Tucci recognized his own shortcomings and was stunned when Terry asked him to take over.

In addition, Tucci had no base of support in the movement. His only qualification was that he had remained loyal when Terry believed everyone else connected with Operation Rescue had turned against him. However, Tucci's selection as head of Operation Rescue in March 1990 only added to the strains between Terry and the rest of the anti-abortion movement. Terry's former lieutenants, now dispersed, were dismayed that Terry had plucked Tucci out of obscurity to run what remained of the largest organization in the movement. Many were smugly convinced that Tucci would never revive Operation Rescue and turned their backs on him. Foreman and others began to set up small, rival organizations to tap into what was left of activism.

Through would pro of the or operate fr urb of C Pittsburgh remained efforts at former lie 1991, was remember

With fe and less m support th had to bor he did not simply dis

Tucci w was just st alongside ; doing drug member of him. Tucc school in (church in :

Tucci la 1982, a you experience first time. help pregn tion of loc: abortion lit

Tucci wa abortion m that he rea Pittsburgh ence; he jc paign in N members o

leave before they got on stage, demanded to be moved up in the program. Jarman did not budge.

The ninety-minute rally drew more than five thousand supporters, who chanted slogans like "Randall Terry, go to jail; we're pro-choice and we'll prevail." During their speeches, both Ireland and Smeal called for confrontations with the protesters in the streets. "We're going to go toe-to-toe with these bullies," Ireland said, something Jarman and her group had been trying to avoid for weeks. In interviews after the rally, the national leaders criticized the way the local abortion-rights groups had handled the protests.

That afternoon, Jarman and Smeal had it out. "She accused me of not caring about women around the country and not taking responsibility for reproductive freedom anywhere except in my own backyard," Jarman said, adding that Smeal told one reporter that "I believe you are required to confront evil or you will allow that evil to flourish." When Jarman heard that, she retorted, "It sounds like a Randall Terry quote to me."

The "Summer of Mercy" ended on Sunday, August 25, with one last flourish, a rally that attracted more than twenty-five thousand people at Wichita State University's football stadium. The featured speaker was Pat Robertson, who had just launched the Christian Coalition, and who was clearly impressed by the passionate support that Operation Rescue had found in Wichita.

"We submit today that we will not rest until every baby in the United States of America is safe in his mother's womb," Robertson told the cheering crowd. "Ladies and gentlemen, we will not rest until this land we love so much is truly, once again, one nation under God."

The three-and-a-half-hour event was a remarkable hybrid: part religious revival, part political rally. As Operation Rescue's supporters filed into the stadium, a plane flew overhead, trailing a sign that read "Go home! Wichita is pro-choice!" The crowd began chanting, "We are home! We are home!"

Kelly may have ultimately run them out of town, but Operation Rescue's leaders could still claim victory; the energy channeled into Wichita during the protests spilled over into the political arena, at least in Kansas. The Religious Right's biggest victory in Kansas in the 1992 elections was the takeover of the Sedgwick County Republican Party,

which began during the protests when Mark Gietzen, head of the Kansas Republican Coalition for Life, went to Operation Rescue rallies to sign up recruits to run for precinct committee positions. Eighty-three percent of the new committee members elected in the 1992 Republican primary were abortion foes. Two weeks after the election, Gietzen's recruits took over the party's central committee leadership, and Gietzen became the party's new county chairman. Conservative Republican Todd Tiahrt also relied heavily on volunteer workers recruited during Operation Rescue rallies to power his 1992 upset win over Wichita's Democratic congressman, Dan Glickman.

More broadly, of course, Wichita put anti-abortion protest back into the national headlines for the first time in nearly two years, thanks to a new cadre of fundamentalist supporters. Terry appeared engaged in Operation Rescue once again, and he and Tucci soon announced plans to target a string of cities for "Wichita-style" protest campaigns. Operation Rescue found, however, that Wichita could not be repeated. When it tried to do so in Buffalo, New York, in April 1992, billing its "Spring of Life" campaign as "bigger than Wichita," Operation Rescue was defeated.

The action in Buffalo was met not only by another federal court injunction, but also by a police force with strict and consistent orders to keep the city's clinics open and by hundreds of militant clinic defenders from all over the country who had come to Buffalo to prevent a repeat of the Wichita debacle. This time, the clinic defenders did not ask for permission from local clinic administrators as they had in Wichita. Instead, Kathy Spillar, the clinic-defense leader for Smeal's Feminist Majority Foundation, simply showed up and deployed her forces. Clinic defenders in Buffalo used the most aggressive tactics ever employed to thwart Operation Rescue, including forming human circles around Operation Rescue leaders while following them and screaming in their faces. But it was effective. "Wichita sent the lesson that you can't give an inch or they will take a mile," a satisfied Smeal told reporters in Buffalo. "We're going to be wherever Operation Rescue is, in bigger numbers."

Buffalo's failed "Spring of Life" was followed by a string of unsuccessful Operation Rescue campaigns in cities like Baton Rouge and Houston. Unable to keep up the momentum gained from Wichita, Terry lost interest again and began to focus his attention on launching a radio talk show. Under Tucci, Operation Rescue slowly crumbled.

In hindsight, Terry now acknowledges that Wichita was Operation

Rescue's last the move-
more church
believes, wh
Wichita for l
after that, fu
and Operatio

"We [fund
was over. Th
that we mus
movement, a
did." Politic
Reed, whom
Right in the
Republican
dashed. "I be
polluted the
and are raisi

Just two m
the Supre
anti-abortion
of *Southeaste*
gering publi
brought to a
Bush eras ov
Casey ste
Supreme Co
regulate and
states to take
new law car
other things
abortion and
tion; that we
before obtair
one parent c
stances, noti
reports on al

Rescue's last chance, and that anti-abortion activism was doomed after the movement failed to exploit its brief success in Wichita to win over more churches and church leaders. The turning point came, Terry believes, when Kelly threatened to target churches and their pastors in Wichita for legal action if they continued to support Operation Rescue; after that, fundamentalist church leaders backed off from the protests, and Operation Rescue never won them over again.

"We [fundamentalists] lost our nerve," Terry says now. "And the game was over. The window of opportunity was closed. . . . It was in my mind that we must somehow harness this [energy] and turn it into a political movement, and for whatever reasons, we did not do that and others did." Political compromisers, such as the Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed, whom Terry has publicly vilified, took control of the Religious Right in the mid-1990s and directed fundamentalists into mainstream Republican politics. Terry's hopes for a "Christian" revolution were dashed. "I believe that some of those who did [harness the energy] have polluted the message, diluted the message, compromised the message, and are raising up bureaucrats," he adds.

Just two months after Operation Rescue's disappointment in Buffalo, the Supreme Court dealt what turned out to be a final blow to the anti-abortion movement in its landmark decision in *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*. The *Casey* ruling ended any lingering public doubts about whether *Roe* would be overturned, and brought to a close the twelve-year struggle throughout the Reagan and Bush eras over the Supreme Court's position on abortion.

Casey stemmed from a law enacted in Pennsylvania after the Supreme Court's *Webster* ruling in 1989 gave states greater latitude to regulate and restrict abortion. Pennsylvania was one of a handful of states to take advantage of *Webster* to impose new restrictions. Its tough new law came with a blizzard of new regulations, requiring, among other things, that abortion providers counsel women on the risks of abortion and then obtain patients' written consent to perform the abortion; that women wait twenty-four hours after giving written consent before obtaining an abortion; that minors obtain the consent of at least one parent or a judge; that married women, except in certain circumstances, notify their husbands; and that abortion providers file state reports on all abortions performed.

with other local activists all demonstrators as "Ann" from

1., driving out of the parking lot. Shannon moved toward him, holding anti-abortion literature, and I remember hearing six shots and there's glass and blood everywhere. "We can't do that."

Shannon, but he had second thoughts, pulling a handgun from her pocket. He turned toward me, shouting, "Urban warfare, bullet wounds in the hospital, Tiller refused to be arrested, no defusion. His years of drug use, his arm, and he did not

Pack, chased Shannon out of Shannon's license. Shannon was shot down as she was later. Shannon was indicated herself. "If there had been it," she told me. "I've never seen any other anti-abortion pamphlets or *Advocate* magazines. A letter about Tiller called "The

the next day, police officer, Angi, describing the shooting. "I shot Tiller," she said. "It was the most righteous thing I've ever done." "Oh! Do not keep anything incriminating before long."

finally did dig up her notebook: Shannon's 1992 letters from other anti-abortionists. Inside the house, she was describing arsons she had painted a picture of

Shannon's evolution from mainstream abortion foe to radical extremist and triggered one of the first federal investigations into the existence of a national conspiracy of anti-abortion terrorists whose aim was to shut down clinics and kill doctors.

First Griffin, now Shannon; by the fall of 1993, the violence had devastated the anti-abortion cause. The shootings prompted Congress to pass the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, making it a federal crime to block access to clinics or to commit acts aimed at denying a woman access to an abortion. The Supreme Court followed suit, abruptly changing the direction it had set so recently in the *Bray* case. The Court issued rulings allowing law enforcement officials to use racketeering investigations against anti-abortion groups and provided lower courts the freedom to establish protest-free "buffer zones" around clinics to protect doctors and patients. With clear-cut laws and jurisdiction, the Justice Department, which had been reluctant to intervene in what the FBI and other federal officials had long viewed as a partisan political issue, established a new task force aimed at cracking down on anti-abortion extremists. The investigation focused on supporters of Paul Hill's violent philosophy and on the *Army of God* manual.

Meanwhile, Keith Tucci was struggling to stave off the final collapse of Operation Rescue, which by then was only a shell of its former organization. In September 1993, he called about sixty activists together in Melbourne, Florida, in a desperate effort to keep the civil disobedience movement afloat. Tucci thought the only way to save what was left of the group was to make a clean and public break with the new violent fringe; in the September conference, therefore, he tried to draw a line in the sand on the issue of violence. Tucci proclaimed that Operation Rescue was to be nonviolent and said that anyone who refused to pledge to condemn violence would have to leave the organization.

The Melbourne meeting quickly turned into a disaster for Tucci and for what remained of Operation Rescue. Jeff White, the head of an independent group he called Operation Rescue-California, was disgusted with Tucci's stance; White and other militants in Operation Rescue's leadership claimed that although they would not commit violence themselves, they were unwilling to condemn those who did attack doctors. In Melbourne, White tried to shout Tucci down: "You are about to do something that is going to tear this movement apart!" White yelled.

Tucci soon realized he had lost control; his uncompromising stand against violence was now the minority view within the activist ranks. The Melbourne conference broke up in disarray. In early 1994, Tucci resigned from Operation Rescue's leadership and turned over what was left to Flip Benham, a Dallas fundamentalist preacher with only limited experience in the movement.

Keith Tucci stepped down just as Michael Griffin's trial was gearing up in Pensacola. Michael Bray and Paul Hill were constant presences at the trial; both used it as a soapbox to spread their theories on violence. "Michael Griffin acted legally, morally, and heroically in defending the innocent," Bray told reporters on the steps of the courthouse.

Much of the defense's case focused on John Burt, who had been leading a protest outside the clinic the morning Gunn was killed. Griffin's attorney contended that Burt, by exposing Griffin to graphic anti-abortion videos, aborted fetuses, and the effigy of Gunn, was largely responsible for poisoning Griffin's mind. It was a weak defense, and jurors did not buy it; they deliberated less than three hours before finding Griffin guilty, and he was sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole for twenty-five years. Burt was not charged in the criminal case, but he soon became the target of a wrongful death civil suit filed by David Gunn's estate.

Meanwhile, prosecutors in Wichita were preparing for Shannon's trial on attempted murder charges. In October 1993, Shannon had begun talking to *Wichita Eagle* reporter Judy Thomas, first in jail, then in long telephone conversations. On November 2, the *Eagle* ran a front-page story saying that Shannon had confessed to shooting Tiller. "I'll always know I did the right thing," Shannon told Thomas. In the interview, Shannon also said her diary contained enough evidence about other anti-abortion activities to put her behind bars for years. But that did not bother Shannon. "Even if I spend the rest of my life in prison, I did the right thing." Over the next five months, Shannon continued to stay in touch with Thomas through phone calls and letters. During their conversations, Shannon provided details that indicated her involvement in the earlier abortion clinic arsons. In December 1993, federal authorities in Oregon subpoenaed Angi Shannon as a grand jury began looking into her mother's activities. In Kentucky, ATF agents

raided John
information:

By Februa
was going st
Portland, as
testify before
that investig
federal gove
directed age
and John Bro

The direct
Bush era, wh
the FBI had
related violen
investigations
with violence
rights advoca
aggressive. "U
come within
bemused ATF

Even as fed
gate Burt,
February 26,
and anti-abort
ing to Burt, t
abortion doct
Coalition for
Gunn.

In Ware's Pe
He had arrived
gun, and about
ing about doir
doctors as he
called Don Tre
Rescue Americ
him back to H
pened, Ware h
Ware on weap

notify law enforcement officials about Ware led to denunciations from other extremists, who accused Burt of being a government informant.

Ten days after Ware's arrest, Shannon's trial began in Wichita. Hill attended and held a press conference in the courthouse to defend Shannon's actions. On the final day of the weeklong event, Shannon took the stand. Although her public defender tried to convince the jury that Shannon did not intend to kill Tiller, Shannon told the district attorney, "I think it's irrelevant whether or not I was trying to kill him . . . because it would have been right either way, to try to stop what he's doing." Shannon was found guilty after the jury deliberated for just one hour and twenty-two minutes.

The following month, Joe Foreman, Andrew Burnett, and the new Operation Rescue leader, Flip Benham, gathered anti-abortion leaders for another round of meetings in Chicago in a last-ditch effort to close their rift over the issue of violence. On April 30, 1994, about eighty activists gathered at the Radisson Lincolnwood Hotel in Chicago, but the conference was just as big a failure as the conference held the previous September. Benham was just as uncompromising—and just as unsuccessful—as Keith Tucci had been in Melbourne.

In fact, the extremists were now more committed to violence than ever before. Scheidler, who attended the Chicago conference as an elder statesman, was "genuinely shocked" that support for violence had become so widespread. "It scared me to death," he says.

As the meeting disbanded, Burnett and Foreman realized that if they wanted to continue working at the national level, they were going to have to do it through a forum other than Operation Rescue. Over the next few months, they quietly founded a new group to bring together like-minded extremists: the American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA). It quickly began to supplant Operation Rescue as the dominant new force in anti-abortion activism.

"ACLA's goal is to find those abortionists who are hiding out from public scrutiny and expose them," Foreman said in a letter addressed "to all Christian pro-life activists." Half of ACLA's new regional directors had signed Paul Hill's "justifiable homicide" declaration. The group soon launched a campaign to target individual doctors around the country, issuing a list of abortion providers it called "the deadly dozen," distributing wanted posters listing some of their home addresses, and

offering a
tion, or l
Campaign
hoods an
providing
The AC
rights gro
and mem
seeking a
progress,

By 199
politic
Supreme
who block
tions coul
teering,
Organizat
against Sc

In the r
Entrances
into law i
Court ruli
decided to
around cli
Amendme
seeking ab
abortion p
Woman Co
been issue
Patricia B
through so
shut down

On June
FACE I
Ladies Cer

Permission to reprint or copy this article or photo, other than personal use, must be obtained from The Seattle Times. Call 206-464-3113 or e-mail resale@seattletimes.com with your request.

Debt Closing Operation Rescue's Base, Founder Says

AP

Anti-abortion activist Randall Terry said today in Washington, D.C., that the Operation Rescue he founded is closing its headquarters because of debt but that local affiliates nationwide will continue their activities.

Terry made the announcement at a news conference a day after he was released from a Georgia prison where he spent almost four months on charges of criminal trespass and unlawful assembly. Terry was released after an anonymous person paid his \$500 fine and a \$50 special assessment. Terry had refused to pay the fine himself.

He said he did not know who paid the fine. "I'm happy I'm out," he said. "I'm glad I did the time . . . and I'm also glad I'm out."

Terry said the Binghamton, N.Y., headquarters for Operation Rescue is in debt for \$70,000. In addition, the group is appealing a \$50,000 fine that was imposed by a New York court in December.

Terry said that because of the fine, the organization had been unable to raise money to pay salaries and carry on the operations at its headquarters.

The judgment in the New York case, a lawsuit filed by the National Organization for Women, "unfortunately has driven us to the brink of bankruptcy," he said.

Terry said the 125 local Operation Rescue groups across the country will continue their direct-action efforts to shut down abortion clinics.

Meanwhile, lawmakers in one house of the Wisconsin legislature approved a bill today requiring minors to get parental consent before having abortions, and defeated an effort to repeal a dormant law that penalizes doctors who perform abortions.

"This is going to be a shot heard around the world," Republican Rep. Robert Welch said. "Wisconsin is a liberal state taking a moderate stand on abortion."

The Assembly had sifted through 30 proposed amendments before its 72-24 vote early today for a bill that would require girls younger than 18 to have the consent of at least one parent or a court. Consent would not be required of incest and rape victims.

The measure is expected to go to a Senate committee, where its prospects were uncertain, Welch said.

Democrats control the Assembly 55-42, but partisan affiliation had little effect because there were more anti-abortion Democrats in the Assembly than pro-choice Republicans.

Yesterday, the Assembly rejected by 54-42 an amendment to the bill that would have excluded pregnant girls deemed suicidal by a professional therapist or doctor.



Fine forces closure of Operation Rescue

Pantagraph, The (Bloomington, IL) - Thursday, February 1, 1990

Author: AP

WASHINGTON, D.C. (AP) - The national Operation Rescue organization is shutting down because of debt but local affiliates nationwide will continue their pro-life efforts, founder Randall Terry said yesterday.

Terry made the announcement at a news conference a day after he was released from a Georgia prison where he had spent nearly four months in custody on charges of criminal trespass and unlawful assembly.

He said a \$50,000 fine imposed by a New York court in a lawsuit filed by the National Organization for Women hurt Operation Rescue's fund-raising efforts and helped put the group \$70,000 in debt.

The fine is being appealed, but the judgment in the New York case "unfortunately has driven us to the brink of bankruptcy," he said.

Terry said that because of the fine the organization had been unable to raise money to pay salaries and carry on the operations of the Binghamton, N.Y., headquarters, which had employed 23 people.

"It is unprecedented in American history for government to go after any group with such Draconian fines," he said. "As a result of the lawsuit, we don't have any option but to close our doors."

However, Terry said, the 125 local Operation Rescue groups across the country will continue their direct-action efforts to shut down abortion clinics.

"We are confident these groups will continue doing what they're doing," he said. "The movement is bigger than the office in Binghamton and will carry on with or without us."

Terry was released Tuesday from a Fulton County, Ga., minimum-security prison camp after an anonymous person paid his \$500 fine and a \$50 special assessment.

He said he did not know who had paid the fine. "I'm happy I'm out," he said. "I'm glad I did the time ... and I'm also glad I'm out."

Terry said his immediate plans "are to go home and spend some time ministering to my wife and family."

But he said he plans to continue his anti-abortion activities. "You'll see me out there kicking," he said. "I'm not dead. Once I get my bearings, I will still be speaking, traveling."

He said he stopped in Washington, at a conference of religious broadcasters, on his way home because he wanted to express his outrage at the prison sentences that are being handed out to members of Operation Rescue around the country.

Pro-life activists, he said, are being jailed more often and held longer than demonstrators for other causes.

"This is politics," he said. "There's no other explanation."

Terry, a born-again Christian and former car salesman, was arrested during an Operation Rescue demonstration outside the Atlanta Surgi-Center in 1988. He was ordered to pay the fine, agree to stay out of metropolitan Atlanta for two years and abide by Georgia law.

Terry refused and was jailed Oct. 5, saying he was prepared to serve out the two-year sentence.

Operation Rescue is a loose-knit organization Terry founded in 1987, three years after he and his wife began standing outside a Binghamton clinic trying to discourage women from having abortions.

Edition: FINAL

Section: NEWS

Page: A7

Dateline: WASHINGTON, D.C.

Record Number: 0F219DF33541D46C

Copyright (c) 1990, 2002 Pantagraph Publishing Co.

February 1, 1990

Anti-Abortion Group To Close Headquarters

AP

LEAD: The founder of the militant anti-abortion group Operation Rescue said today that the group would close its headquarters because of debt but that its affiliates nationwide would continue their activities.

The founder of the militant anti-abortion group Operation Rescue said today that the group would close its headquarters because of debt but that its affiliates nationwide would continue their activities.

The group's organizer, Randall Terry, made the announcement a day after he was released from a jail in Fulton County, Ga., where he had served almost four months after convictions for criminal trespass and unlawful assembly. The charges stemmed from protests by members of Operation Rescue at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta in 1988.

Mr. Terry was released after his \$500 fine and a \$50 special assessment were anonymously paid. He had refused to pay the penalties, saying he could not do so in good conscience.

Operation Rescue's national headquarters, in Binghamton, N.Y., has a debt of \$70,000, Mr. Terry said today. In addition, a \$50,000 judgment was imposed on it in December by a New York court, concluding a lawsuit by the National Organization for Women.

Mr. Terry said that because of the judgment, which is being appealed, the organization had been unable to raise money to operate the headquarters.

Mr. Terry, who made the announcement at a conference of religious broadcasters here, said the decision would not affect the efforts of Operation Rescue's 125 affiliates.

Permission to reprint or copy this article or photo, other than personal use, must be obtained from The Seattle Times. Call 206-464-3113 or e-mail resale@seattletimes.com with your request.

Anti-Abortion Leader To Change Strategy

Orange County Register

ANAHEIM, Calif. - Randall Terry, founder of the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, has announced last week that he is stepping aside from the group's day-to-day operations to promote a new strategy of publicizing names, addresses and home numbers of judicial officials who he believes treat his group unfairly.

In his first public appearance since his release from a Georgia prison in January, Terry, 31, said Operation Rescue has been losing the battle in the courtroom because "flaming, pro-abort lesbians" were putting pressure on judges and district attorneys.

"They have been on the phone terrorizing these people and we have not," Terry shouted to more than 3,000 people gathered for an Operation Rescue rally at the Vineyard Christian Fellowship Anaheim. "We are going to hold judges and DAs accountable."

As the crowd applauded wildly, Terry said his new strategy - conceived during his four-month stay in jail - includes holding vigils and prayer meetings at the offices and homes of judicial officials.

Terry said judges and district attorneys must be convinced that the sentences and fines the protesters receive are unjust and judicial officers must be pressured to stop jailing Operation Rescue members.

Local pro-choice activists said they are not impressed with Terry's new campaign.

"So he's going to harass people at home? And this is supposed to convince people they should share his views? That hasn't worked in the past and it won't work in the future," said Barbara Martinez, public-affairs director for the Orange County Chapter of Planned Parenthood.

Terry said he realized where Operation Rescue was faltering while spending four months in a Fulton County, Ga., minimum-security prison camp for criminal trespassing and unlawful assembly. He was arrested during a demonstration outside an Atlanta Center in 1988 and sentenced to two years in jail for refusing to pay a \$1,100 fine.

The fine was later halved by the Georgia Supreme Court. Terry was released after an anonymous person paid his \$500 fine and a \$50 special assessment.

During that time, Terry said, he decided to turn over the "hands-on" operation of the group to Keith Tucci, 33, former regional director for the Midwest.

Tucci is shown prominently in an Operation Rescue video of an anti-abortion protest. He said he has no plans to change the day-to-day strategy of the group's protests at abortion clinics.

S.C. BASE FOR ANTI-ABORTION 'RESCUE' GROUP

State, The (Columbia, SC) - Saturday, November 23, 1991

Author: DAVE MONIZ, Staff Writer. The Wichita Eagle contributed to this story.

Living incongruously against a backdrop of arching live oaks, neat redbrick storefronts and the Lowcountry's genteel serenity is a warrior.

He's the Rev. Keith Tucci, one of the country's most prominent anti-abortion "rescuers" and a man who has quietly set up a churning publicity machine. From an undisclosed location near Summerville, Tucci is running Operation Rescue-National with a telephone line and post office box.

The reincarnation of the defunct, New York-based Operation Rescue, Tucci's organization was founded 18 months ago to continue preaching a zealous anti-abortion gospel.

"No, I'm not going to advertise I'm here," Tucci said, smiling as he sipped a cup of decaffeinated coffee at the Flowertown Restaurant.

The "rescue" movement that Tucci helps direct reached full bloom this summer in Wichita, Kan., where hundreds of protesters blocked entrances to abortion clinics, forcing police to arrest and then drag many of them to jail. The protests attracted packs of media and gained unprecedented publicity for one faction of anti-abortion advocates.

Today, in an unknown number of cities across the United States, including Charlotte, anti-abortion rescuers plan to block entrances to abortion clinics. It is unclear if any South Carolina cities have been targeted.

Tucci, a 35-year-old Pittsburgh native, is a pillar in the rescue movement, although unlike some of his brethren he doesn't keep track of how many times he has gone to jail. As director of Operation Rescue-National, his long-term goal is to make abortion "an abomination and intolerable."

"Rescue is a legitimate community response, and it does save babies," said Tucci, whose role as director includes training "rescue" leaders in other cities.

At its peak, the Binghamton, N.Y.-based Operation Rescue advertised that its efforts had resulted in 50,000 arrests and the "rescuing" of more than 600 babies from human blockades at abortion clinics. Founded by New York native Randall Terry, perhaps the most visible anti-abortion advocate in the United States, Operation Rescue evolved into a high-profile organization that once employed 17 people and deposited \$1.16 million in bank accounts in 1989.

Terry disbanded Operation Rescue that year, however, after federal marshals seized the group's bank accounts. The accounts were confiscated after the National Organization for Women won an injunction preventing the group from blocking access to abortion clinics in New York City.

After a series of lawsuits were filed against Operation Rescue, Terry announced last year that his organization would be reborn with a new name and image.

Tucci, a longtime friend of Terry's, arrived in Summerville 18 months ago to set up the new organization. He said Terry is not involved in Operation Rescue-National, although the two communicate a lot.

An associate pastor at the interdenominational Joy Church in Goose Creek, he has kept a remarkably low profile.

One principal reason he moved to Summerville, Tucci said, was to be near longtime friend Kent Phillips, a pastor at Resurrection Church.

"I wanted to be in a place where my family would have a lot of support," Tucci said. Phillips, whose church supports Tucci's agenda, said if his friend "is in jail for two months," he knows his family will be taken care of in Summerville.

Operation Rescue-National is not incorporated or registered with the South Carolina secretary of state, and Tucci's attorneys have responded to requests for financial statements by citing exemptions for religious organizations, according to the secretary of state's office. In South Carolina, religious groups are exempt from laws governing charitable solicitations.

Ed Brown, director of public charities for the secretary of state, said Operation Rescue-National is not required to file financial statements but must register with his office.

Brown sent a letter to Operation Rescue-National's attorneys informing them that the organization must register, which he described as a formality. He is waiting for a reply.

"There are always people who speculate we have piles of cash," Tucci said. "I know where they are coming from; I see the influence we have, and people see money as influence."

Tucci said Operation Rescue-National is a victim of its predecessor's success. About 100 unrelated anti-abortion groups around the country now use the name Operation Rescue, making fund-raising more difficult. His budget last year, he said, was about \$20,000. He receives no salary, and lives off honoraria from the numerous speeches and appearances he makes around the United States.

The group's presence in Summerville, a Dorchester County town of 22,000, has gone largely unnoticed by merchants, city officials and the thousands who commute daily to jobs in the Charleston metro area.

Meghan Dudgeon, a clerk at Byrnes Jewelers in Summerville, said she was aware of the protests in Wichita this summer but had no idea one of the chief architects was operating in her midst.

Dudgeon said she thought that was a bit unusual as "everybody knows everybody's business around here."

Tucci would prefer to keep his profile right where it is, prominent in big cities around the United States and virtually invisible in South Carolina, where he says he is not active in anti-abortion activities. Before Operation Rescue was disbanded, protesters began picketing its New York headquarters.

"I think if I started a local group, I might as well write my own epitaph," Tucci said.

Lorraine McGuire, director of Charleston's Women's Medical Clinic, said she became aware of Tucci's presence in February, when she saw a mention of Operation Rescue-National in an anti-abortion newsletter. NOW has sent information about Operation Rescue-National to abortion rights attorneys across the United States and has vigorously fought blockades at abortion clinics.

Alison Wetherfield, legal director at the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, describes Operation Rescue and Operation Rescue-National as nearly identical.

"They are basically people who get together to organize people to block abortion clinics. They both train people who then organize blockades and put together training materials," Wetherfield said.

Wetherfield said she thinks Operation Rescue-National is based in Summerville for one reason: to avoid protests against it.

"Given that so much of their work involves compiling national mailing lists, it doesn't matter where you send it out of," she said.

To his group's numerous detractors, which include less demonstrative anti-abortion groups, Tucci quietly asserts that they have been misinformed.

"The media has grossly manipulated us and in a very few examples has exercised journalistic integrity.

"You show crash victims, war victims, victims of domestic violence. When we say why don't you show the American public what an aborted baby looks like, there's no response.

"They want to talk about us, but they never want to talk about the issue," he said.

Edition: FINAL

Section: METRO/REGION

Page: 1A

Index Terms: ABORTION SC

Dateline: SUMMERVILLE

Record Number: 9101310338

Copyright (c) 1991 The State

CHANGING STRATEGIES OPERATION RESCUE STOCKPILES ASSETS SECRETLY

State, The (Columbia, SC) - Sunday, January 5, 1992

Author: JUDY LUNDSTROM THOMAS and JIM CROSS, Knight-Ridder Newspapers

Hit by six-figure fines and penalties from clinic blockades, Operation Rescue leaders have formed an underground network, with a key base in South Carolina, designed to make it impossible for courts and opponents' lawyers to hurt them financially.

Their strategy, developed early in 1990, aims at stepping up the campaign to rid the nation of abortion while protecting the movement's finances from legal attack by abortion rights groups, tax collectors, state officials or the courts.

In effect, with dozens of mostly independent local groups across the country, Operation Rescue has become a forest that keeps outsiders from getting a good look at the trees.

It is a freedom fighter's tactic, Operation Rescue leaders say, a weapon in a battle they say has had no equal since the civil rights demonstrations of the 1960s.

And, encouraged by their 46-day protests in Wichita, Kan., last summer, Operation Rescue leaders are out to make abortion the dominant political issue in the elections of 1992, starting with plans for major protests at the Democratic and Republican conventions. Friday, Operation Rescue's leader Randall Terry announced the next mass anti-abortion protests this spring in Buffalo, N.Y. The architect of the Wichita comeback for the organization was the Rev. Keith Tucci, who operates from Summerville.

While Terry was staggering under the pressure of the national movement, his handpicked successor, Tucci, moved from Pennsylvania to South Carolina two years ago, took the group's reins and became a central strategist for the recrafted organization.

The clergy and Christian activists of Operation Rescue are permitting themselves few of the trappings of wealth and social standing enjoyed by the most prominent TV evangelists and, to a lesser extent, leaders of mainstream churches. Theirs is an organization stripped for fighting.

The names, addresses and phone numbers of the movement's offices change frequently. Charting the organizational structure of Operation Rescue is baffling, because a few ministers and activists from dozens of local groups constantly come and go from duties on the picket lines or days and weeks in jail.

Fund-raising projects such as mail-order centers offering books and videotapes open in a city, close, then open again in another place.

The movement is:

Making itself judgment-proof. As lawsuits stack up against leaders, they are dumping their assets, signing their houses and cars over to spouses and relatives, trading their salaries for speaking fees and moving to new offices that don't have their names on the doors. Tucci won't provide an address or allow an outsider into his South Carolina office.

Spreading out, decentralizing. The Binghamton, N.Y., office where Terry founded the original Operation Rescue is closing. Today, group leaders say, they have 80 to 100 self-sufficient groups across the country. Not one, including Tucci's group in South Carolina, controls more than a small share of the movement's cash or personnel.

Broadening its leadership. As Terry shifts his focus to producing a Christian radio talk show called "Turn the Tide," he is drawing back from the picket line activities for which he has been arrested more than 36 times. Meanwhile, Tucci and a handful of advisers are setting up a less top-heavy organization that does not rely on any one of them for direction.

Stepping up its national fund raising, Tucci's Operation Rescue-National is one of many groups from Washington, D.C., to Orange County, Calif., that used the Wichita protests as a centerpiece in their mail-order fund raising last summer. A Fort Lauderdale, Fla., group, for instance, sold \$19 videotapes of the protests.

Finances an unknown

No one knows how much all of the groups raised this year, because most of them are not registered in the states where they have offices. Few of them will file public reports this year on how much they raised or spent.

In South Carolina, for instance, a disagreement between the Secretary of State and Operation Rescue-National over registration was settled Dec. 16. The organization decided to register although Tucci has said state law does not compel his organization to do so.

However, a clash over disclosure of Operation Rescue-National's finances, as required under state law, might yet occur after a grace period expires in about 18 months.

In Kansas, the state has received no financial reports from Tucci's group or other similar groups. In October, Kansas Attorney General Bob Stephan wrote to attorneys general across the nation suggesting they swap any information they have on Operation Rescue groups. In South Carolina, the information was forwarded to the Secretary of State's office, which oversees non-profit and charitable organizations.

Across the country, the finances of the movement have confounded judges and lawyers who have tried to collect fines and penalties from leaders of the demonstrations.

"Rarely has any court been faced with such a willful and persistent violation of its orders, coupled with an attempt by the defendants to evade financial responsibility for their behavior," U.S. District Judge Patrick Kelly said Aug. 5, when he sent federal marshals to stand guard at the picket lines in Wichita.

On Aug. 21, Kelly tried to hold a financial hammer over Operation Rescue leaders Tucci, the Rev. Joe Slovenec of Cleveland and the Rev. Pat Mahoney of Boca Raton, Fla. The leaders of the Wichita protests, Kelly said, were running a "big bucks operation."

Kelly fined them \$10,000 each and \$500 a day until they posted a \$100,000 peace bond. The bond money would not be returned to them, he warned, if they violated his order banning demonstrators from blocking access to clinics that perform abortions.

But Operation Rescue-National leaders never acted as if they took Kelly's threats seriously.

"You can't get blood from a turnip," Terry said.

Kelly never collected any money from Operation Rescue leaders.

The judge dropped the fines when the leaders promised to leave Wichita. And Kelly's bond order was never enforced. A federal appeals court put it on hold to consider arguments that Kelly had no authority to require the bond.

If Kelly had tried to make good on his threat to seize Operation Rescue's assets, he would have been in for a fight.

In a legal sense, "Operation Rescue" does not exist. The term is not a registered trademark. The Internal Revenue Service has no record of a specific corporation involved in abortion protests that operates under that name.

Dozens of groups with their own budgets are involved in staging events under the banner of Operation Rescue. The groups do not operate from a single bank account or file a collective tax return.

There is no one board of directors that controls all the participating groups. No single office, not even Tucci's South Carolina Operation Rescue-National headquarters, can claim to control the entire movement.

Was a 'sitting target'

It didn't start out that way.

In 1988, Operation Rescue was a miracle unfolding before the eyes of the anti-abortion community. The movement gained national media attention in July 1988 when it staged massive protests in Atlanta at the Democratic National Convention, beginning a four-month series of protests that resulted in more than 1,000 arrests.

Operation Rescue reached across the nation, bringing the faithful together in a full-fledged war against what Terry called the "baby-killing industry."

By mid-1989, the group boasted of 50,000 arrests nationwide, more arrests than during all the civil rights demonstrations of the '60s.

As recently as December 1989, Operation Rescue was a specific organization with its headquarters in Binghamton.

Terry was drawing \$600 a week as its paid director. He had an office, an annual budget of more than \$1 million and a paid staff of 23. He had at least two bank accounts, as well as a retail merchandising business that sold anti-abortion books, tapes and videos for as much as \$50 apiece.

It was, as Terry said he realized later, "a sitting target."

Terry's newsletters were filled with pitches for donations. About \$1 million arrived in Terry's post office box in 1989 from supporters across the country, according to court records.

"The jump-start for the donations was the national exposure Randy got from the Christian broadcast media," said Juli Loesch Wiley, Operation Rescue's media coordinator from May to December 1988. "He used the donations that came in from that to build up direct mail appeal."

Terry never incorporated Operation Rescue. He did not try to qualify with the IRS as a tax-exempt charity whose donations would be tax-deductible.

"I don't believe in non-profit, because it puts a bridle in your mouth as to what you can say and do," he told the Wichita Eagle. "You can't discuss politics. You can't lobby, you can't promote political candidates, you can't promote civil disobedience. Those are all things that are intrinsic to what we're about."

Rerouting the donations

He has urged other anti-abortion groups to organize in a similar fashion. Getting the Internal Revenue Service's approval to operate as a tax-exempt charity would be nice, he said, but it would come with too many strings attached.

"What began as a benefit has been perverted into a curse," he wrote in his 1990 book, "Accessory to Murder." "More and more frequently, the IRS and federal and state officials are using the tax-deductible status to tell men of God and religious organizations what they can and cannot say."

Jeff White, leader of Operation Rescue-California in Anaheim, Calif., explains it another way.

"Randy knew if he was successful enough, the government would crush him, and they could use the IRS to do it," he said.

In theory, not being a tax-deductible charity should have hurt Operation Rescue financially. But Terry rewrote the rules.

His first group, which he created in 1983 and called Project Life, was tax-exempt. Then, in 1986, he disbanded Project Life and surrendered his tax-exempt status. His new group, Operation Rescue, was a taxable, for-profit business.

"Our income went up over tenfold in the ensuing two years," he wrote. "I'm not saying that it is because we aren't tax-deductible. I'm just saying that if you are doing God's will and God's people believe in your ministry, they will give to the work."

But things started falling apart for Operation Rescue in October 1989.

Terry had landed a two-year jail sentence for trespassing at the Atlanta Surgicenter the previous summer. The judge

offered to drop the jail time if Terry would pay a \$1,100 fine. Terry refused and wound up in the maximum security Alpharetta Correctional and Rehabilitation Center near Atlanta.

From prison, Terry directed the movement with the help of a tight-knit advisory group whose members jokingly called themselves the Little Buddies.

In December 1989, a New York federal judge threatened to seize Operation Rescue's assets to collect a \$50,000 fine. Federal Judge Robert Ward ruled that Operation Rescue had violated an injunction won by the National Organization for Women in May 1988 against blocking access to clinics in New York.

Ward gave Operation Rescue the ultimatum of turning over its financial records to the U.S. attorney's office or posting a \$50,000 bond to appeal its case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Terry sent word to the Rev. Joseph Foreman, who was Operation Rescue's acting director: Tell the followers not to give in.

"Just picture a bounty hunter with all the power of the IRS, and you will begin to understand what a federal prosecutor can do to us," Foreman wrote in a Dec. 5 letter to donors he called "Friends of the Unborn."

Terry's prayers were answered.

A Virginia-based, pro-family lobbying group called the Committee to Protect the Family agreed to pay Operation Rescue's bills.

Terry wrote his followers, saying they should send their donations to the committee's headquarters in Springfield, and the committee would use the money to help Operation Rescue.

White talked to lawyers before setting up the deal with the committee. The committee would raise and spend money on behalf of Operation Rescue. None of the cash would go through the accounts that were subject to the judge's order. It was legal, the lawyers said.

"The reason was we had no control," White said. "We simply told them our needs and they took care of everything. We had no legal interest in it."

As the donations were being rerouted, Terry was conceiving of a new incarnation of Operation Rescue.

"We are changing the shape of our national leadership," he wrote in the Jan. 22 newsletter. "We will no longer have a central office. But, to lead the fight, we will personally build up local groups."

Leadership problems

In the meantime, jail was taking its toll on Terry. He missed his family. The New York state welfare agency was threatening to take away his three foster children because he was spending so much time in jail.

There also was dissent among Terry's 12-member advisory council over whether Terry should pay his fine and get out of jail. Some of the group wanted Terry out of jail so he could again take up the reins; others didn't, arguing that he would be giving in to the "baby-killers."

While Terry was in jail, "I saw a transformation," Bob Jewitt, Operation Rescue's communications director in Atlanta, said.

"After he went to jail and saw the injustice of him sitting in jail, it became aware to him that he could be put in jail for a year or two and treated like a criminal," Jewitt said. "Prior to that, he had never spent more than two weeks in jail."

After four months in jail, Terry was released Jan. 29, 1990, when an anonymous donor paid his fine. The next day, Terry announced that he was closing Operation Rescue's Binghamton headquarters.

While Terry was dealing with leadership problems, Operation Rescue was hammered again a month after his release.

Judge Ward found a group of protesters, including Terry, in contempt for violating federal court orders against blocking access to abortion clinics. He fined them \$450,000.

The movement limped along, with Terry vowing that "we're going to keep going forward."

In March 1990, Tucci moved from his hometown of Pittsburgh to Summerville and became the movement's new leader.

He decided to call his organization by a new name: Operation Rescue- National. Though Tucci claimed Operation Rescue-National was a different organization from the one Terry had called Operation Rescue, his methods and goals were the same as Terry's.

"It was kind of Operation Rescue reincarnated," White said. "It's Keith's baby. Randy wanted out of it. He turned all the assets, in terms of the mailing list and control, over to Keith."

Operation Rescue leaders said Tucci was Terry's hand-picked successor.

"I know that as early as three years ago Randy was saying that if he was to ever die or somehow be taken out of this he would want Keith Tucci to take over," said Andrew Burnett, of Advocates for Life Ministries in Portland, Ore.

At first, Tucci wasn't sure he wanted the job. But he went along with Terry.

"Randy had shut down Operation Rescue, there was a big void, and I was concerned that if somebody didn't step up to the plate and say, 'We are Operation Rescue,' that somebody who maybe shouldn't step up to the plate would step up, and there would be more confusion," Tucci said.

When Terry handed the reins over to Tucci, some of Terry's followers feared the movement would die, Mahoney said.

"Keith Tucci stepped in and it stayed alive," Mahoney said. "Everyone viewed Keith as someone who could not carry on; he didn't have the personality. They were wrong."

Terry's Operation Rescue got socked once again by the courts in October 1990. U.S. District Judge Louis Oberdorfer threatened to go after Operation Rescue's donors if the group did not pay about \$50,000 in contempt fines and attorneys' fees stemming from a Washington case.

"They were going for the jugular by trying to stop the leaders from having the ability to feed their families," Jewitt said. "And they were just doing it out of malice. They wanted to intimidate us and drag us through the courts."

Terry announced that Operation Rescue was "going underground."

"We were going to do everything we used to do, only without the sitting target of an office and a big bank account," Terry said.

With the movement spreading across the country, Tucci said, supporters started sending money to local groups instead of contributing to a single national office. Operation Rescue-National's operating budget in 1990 dipped to \$20,000, he said.

Now, Tucci says, there are 80 to 100 groups in the nation. The movement is stronger for the change, leaders say.

The Wichita comeback

By spring of 1991, the movement had hit a low point. There were fewer demonstrations, fewer arrests and less attention from the media than when Terry had been running the show. Operation Rescue-National leaders decided it was time to do something big.

Terry and Mahoney wanted to go to Boston. But Tucci stopped them. God had spoken to him, he said. Wichita would be their next target.

"And they went, 'Wait. You've gotta be out of your mind!' " Tucci said. "All of these people were saying, 'It's in the middle of nowhere.' I said, 'No, it's in the middle of everything.' "

Led by Tucci, Operation Rescue-National launched the "Summer of Mercy" in Wichita, originally planned as a six-day event. But things went so well that the protests exploded into a 46-day campaign.

Tucci said Operation Rescue-National raised \$148,000 as checks poured into Wichita from across the country. When the donations started arriving, Wichita's Central Christian Church stepped in and became banker and bookkeeper for Operation Rescue-National.

"It was the greatest support from a local community that Operation Rescue has ever seen," Tucci said.

But Tucci's claims of success have raised questions about the movement's finances.

"It's just incredible the money they have floating around," said Anne Bower, an abortion-rights activist and editor of The Body Politic in Binghamton. "This is an insidious network."

Bower said she does not believe that Terry would ever let go of the financial control of the movement. "I don't care where their offices are. The money all goes into the same pot."

Alison Wetherfield, legal director for NOW's Legal Defense and Education Fund, said the movement goes through a series of contortions to keep its money hidden.

"It's very sneaky what they do," she said. "A lot of fund raising is done through religious institutions, radio and TV shows. When it reaches Operation Rescue, it arrives as cash on hand. The whole point is to hide their money. Operation Rescue is not paying their taxes; they are not paying their fines."

Operation Rescue leaders will not say how many judges in various states have ordered fines and penalties or awarded damages against the group in recent years, but NOW's Wetherfield estimates that the total is more than \$750,000.

The movement's leaders say the claims that Operation Rescue-National is rich are absurd.

Tucci said he doesn't even draw a salary to pay for being director of Operation Rescue-National. So how does he support his wife and five children?

"Well, you depend on friends who will help you," he said. "I do a lot of public speaking. Several churches support me as a missionary."

Tucci estimates that in 1991 he will earn \$30,000. Terry has said he will make about \$50,000 from speaking engagements.

The house where Tucci lives in Summerville was bought in March 1990 for \$109,603, according to South Carolina tax records. Tucci's wife and another woman are listed as the owners. Tucci, however, said his family makes no house payments. A couple he would not name is taking care of the mortgage, he said.

The family car is in his wife's name. Tucci is not registered to vote and still gets his driver's license and auto tags from Pennsylvania, almost two years after moving. He has a 1990 Chevrolet van registered to his old church in Pennsylvania -- Greater Pittsburgh Word and Worship Fellowship.

Tucci refuses to answer all but the most general questions about how Operation Rescue-National operates. He dodged questions, for instance, about what happened to a mail-order retail business that until recently sold T-shirts, books and tapes from Terry's Binghamton office.

He bristles when questioned closely about Operation Rescue-National's finances.

"The people that give to us know us," he said. "I have a good reputation. Other endeavors, everything I've ever done, clean as a whistle."

Caption: Photo, bw

During last summer's protests in Wichita, Kan., hundreds of Operation Rescue members were arrested. Knight-Ridder Newspapers

Edition: FINAL

Section: GENERAL

Page: 1A

Index Terms: ABORTION DEMONSTRATION

Record Number: 9201010341

Copyright (c) 1992 The State

Back to basics

Pro-life movement, with its defeat at the polls, enters a new era | *Marvin Olasky, Nickolas Eicher*

The modern pro-life movement of the United States emerged in 1973 following the shock of the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision. The movement's political emphasis brought about quick success as concern about abortion contributed to formation of a Republican/"Reagan Democrat" coalition that captured the White House and the Senate in 1980.

During the '80s, leading journalists and idea merchants remained supportive of abortion, and many people opposed abortion except for those they loved or hated—daughters of minorities. Yet a string of Supreme Court appointments seemed to portend a *Roe* reversal, and several court decisions restricted slightly the abortion liberty. Pro-life hopes were high.

Those expectations turned blue in 1992, as three Reagan/Bush court appointees joined two *Roe* holdovers to form a five-justice pro-abortion majority in the *Casey* decision. This month, a president who spoke softly on abortion but at least carried a big veto was voted into political exile, and so was a movement that had placed its hopes on politics.

In January, when pro-life forces gather in Washington for a somber march on the 20th anniversary of Roe, proclamations of imminent new victory will be few.

Twenty years! Twenty years of some success in holding the line: the number of abortions has not gone up since the late 1970s, even though unmarried pregnancies have increased sharply during that period. But running in place over 1.6 million new, small skulls each year satisfies no one

The main pro-life emphases for two decades have been political, legislative, and judicial, but other strategies also have emerged: the blockade approach of Operation Rescue and the compassionate ministry of crisis pregnancy centers are two of the options.

Now that the political approach seems to have crashed, will there be a shakeup in the movement? When will it begin?

The shakeup begins next Tuesday, Dec. 1, when it will be announced that Guy Condon, president of the legal-oriented Americans United for Life, is moving to a similar position with the compassion-oriented Christian Action Council. For Condon, who succeeded in expanding AUL's budget six-fold during his eight years there, the change is not a lateral transfer but an embrace of a different vision.

In an interview last week, Condon emphasized a point he had been making since before the election: "We are losing miserably the battle for perception and public conviction, which means the public is allowing the policy elites to advance the abortion agenda."

One problem, he said, is that "we have engaged in a top-down strategy, concentrating on litigation, legislation, and scholarship to influence the policy elites through the intellectual argument." Press accounts have made pro-lifers "appear to be fighting for a special interest, rather than serving the general public's shared interest."

Well-intentioned activities, Condon added, have given pro-abortion media an opportunity to make "pro-lifers look like 'fetus freaks' with no regard for the legitimate needs of the woman facing a crisis pregnancy or the needs of an unplanned child who is born." Gallup surveys, he said, "tell us that Americans are more likely to see pro-lifers as violent and uncaring toward women than those who are killing children and manipulating women to do so."

The clear priority, Condon continued, is compassion, not politics: "I believe that God is showing his people that we can

no longer look to the institutions of power to fulfill his commandments to us. He's calling us to help one woman at a time, to help meet her medical, emotional, and spiritual needs."

Condon has many specific plans to discuss with the Christian Action Council board, which already has aided in the development of 450 crisis pregnancy centers. In general, he says, "We want to create a caring network that will make it easy to link up those who want to help with those who need help."

Condon envisions the network to include thousands of "caring network churches linked to local care centers and adoption centers nationwide," with families pledging to provide shelter for young women in crisis and homes for children in need.

Even some of the toughest anti-abortion crusaders are returning almost exclusively toward compassion and education. Judie Brown, the brassy leader of American Life League who actually opposed Louisiana's anti-abortion law because it was too weak (allowing abortions in cases of rape and incest), has said she's "through debating abortion."

In the current issue of ALL's magazine *All About Issues*, Mrs. Brown writes that "the reality of a hostile administration and unfriendly federal courts does, in fact, create a new freedom for the pro-life movement." That freedom, she says, is from politics.

"We're going to crank up the education," said Mrs. Brown, who told World she has turned down four debates in just the last few weeks. Not that Mrs. Brown has softened her no-exceptions emphasis, but she said 95 percent of her efforts will be directed toward pro-life education (through the Celebrate Life television program) and assisting crisis pregnancy centers and homes for unwed mothers.

In a just-concluded survey of 2,500 crisis pregnancy centers nationwide, Mrs. Brown says she found they shared two common problems: a negative public image and difficulty in raising funds.

"In 1993, we're going to collect every success story from any crisis pregnancy center and share it with all 2,500 of them around the country," Mrs. Brown said of her effort to help the centers learn from what works. ALL will do a total of six mailings, and by the end of the next year "every crisis pregnancy center in the country is going to have a three-ring binder full of success stories."

Jim Smith, Washington lobbyist for the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, has three simple strategies for this new phase of the pro-life movement: "Education, education, education."

Smith faulted those who wrongly relied on politicians and presidents to win the abortion battle for them. The Southern Baptist leader cited 2 Chronicles 7:14 to admonish evangelicals to "humble themselves and pray and seek God's face and turn from their wicked ways." Smith said: "Evangelical pro-lifers need to remember that our faith is not in politicians."

But for Smith, passage of the Freedom of Choice Act is not a foregone conclusion. He says President-elect Clinton, a Southern Baptist out of step with the denomination on abortion and many other social issues, "understands he was not elected with a mandate for a radical social agenda.

That, Smith believes, will keep Clinton from expending "political capital" on the Freedom of Choice legislation—although if the measure passes, Clinton will sign it.

Throughout Clinton's presidential campaign, he encouraged citizens to vote their pocketbooks. Throughout his presidency, pro-life citizens may vote *with* their pocketbooks. Thomas Strobhar, an Ohio stockbroker, heads the firm Pro Vita Advisors. "I'm seeing a greater interest in conscience investing," Strobhar says. "We should not patronize companies that run counter to our deeply held moral values, nor should we profit from them."

Strobhar charges no fees in helping pro-lifers structure their investment portfolios to avoid doing business with companies that support abortion. Since starting Pro Vita Advisors about three years ago, Strobhar has "answered thousands of inquires," and under Clinton he expects his mailbox will get even fuller.

Even Operation Rescue is taking a fresh look at its mission. With founder Randall Terry concentrating on his radio talk show, Operation Rescue National director Keith Tucci has taken the reins. Tucci says the seeds of this month's political defeat were sown 20 years ago when pro-lifers "tried to convince the world without first having convinced the church that abortion is wrong."

"Pro-lifers were convinced they were the 'silent majority,' " Tucci said. "We are not the 'silent majority,' we are a

minority and we have to educate the American people"—beginning, he says, with the church.

The Operation Rescue leader has launched two new projects toward that end: the 12-week Impact Team program to train 23 new activist leaders, and the National Adoption Project to place "special needs" children into Christian Homes.

The adoption project is new for Operation Rescue. By the end of the year, the rescue organization will have spent \$30,000 to support the program, and Tucci says it will spend twice that next year. The money will be used to help buy ads, produce a video, and generate publicity to bring to the attention of adoptive Christian parents "special needs boys and girls [who] are often tied up in bureaucratic red tape."

"We have people to match up parents with kids," Tucci says. They help navigate through the [adoption] process."

Impact Teams is vintage Operation Rescue. The first training "school" begins Jan. 18. Students of activism, Tucci says will spend about half their time in a classroom setting and the other half "in the streets."

For the 23 slots, more than 90 people have submitted applications, which are being screened carefully. "It's boot camp for the pro-life army," Tucci says, brushing aside suggestions that under Clinton, the penalties for rescuing will get tougher.

"We are counting on Clinton's overplaying his hand," explains Tucci. "His action will bring more Christians into the streets...I think it's recruiting season right now."

Tucci cited one Impact Team applicant, a business executive with six children, who said Clinton's election convinced him to join the rescue movement: "That was the final straw." He's been accepted.

Tougher Clinton administration laws against rescue won't deter Joseph Foreman either. "Clinton is no match for a believing church," Foreman says, "and Bush is no replacement."

While Tucci's branch of rescue is Christian activism, Foreman's is missionary work. Unborn children form a "group of people who are going to be murdered, never having heard the gospel," foreman said in a telephone interview from a Milwaukee jail. "This is a missions issue...Activism is legitimate [as] a political expression, but the missionary is somebody who goes there and brings the gospel, regardless of the political situation, to people who will not otherwise hear it.

"So what I am talking about is a missionary to the preborn approach."

This new phase of the pro-life movement does not mean pro-life political involvement will cease. "It would be a mistake to conclude that the public policy debate is over," warns National Right to Life Committee's Douglas Johnson

There is little pro-lifers can do to stop executive orders by Clinton reversing Bush administration policies against tax-funded abortion counseling, referral, and fetal tissue research—actions Johnson concedes "will result in more abortions."

But NRLC's federal legislative director notes that the House of Representatives remains closely divided over the Freedom of Choice Act and federal funding of abortion.

Abandoning the public policy arena, Johnson says, "cedes federal policy making to the abortion pressure groups." These groups will demand laws making it difficult even to oppose abortion, whether through protests, direct action, or compassionate ministry.

Under new federal statutes, protests against abortion businesses could become unlawful or be kept far away from clinic buildings and property; crisis pregnancy centers could be restricted in their advertising and not allowed to appear in the same Yellow Pages classifications as abortion clinics; hospitals and pro-life health care workers could be compelled to provide abortions.

"If there's no effective opposition," Johnson says, "they'll walk all over us."

Some pro-lifers, though, are suing for peace—through a movement called "common ground." It's not a new idea. Prior to the 1980 election, a common ground meeting was held in Washington: It was presided over by feminist activist Eleanor Smeal. Although pro-lifers were skeptical and divided over whether to attend the meeting, some believed at the time it was possible to work together to reduce the abortion demand.

Representatives from a Cleveland group called People Expressing A Concern for Everyone, or PEACE, disrupted the

meeting by bringing into the room "Baby Elizabeth," a dead unborn child wrapped in a blanket. The meeting was over.

When pro-lifers won the *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* decision in 1989, Andrew Puzder began trying to rebuild the dormant movement. Puzder, a St. Louis lawyer now living in southern California, wrote an op-ed article in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* calling for pro-lifers and pro-choicers to pull together toward a common goal of reducing the demand for abortion. Puzder was a key drafter of the Missouri legislation restricting abortions.

"If we can put aside for a moment our simple win-lose attitudes and approach this issue sensibly and calmly, perhaps we can jointly accomplish some good for those we all seek to protect." Puzder wrote.

Abortion business-woman B.J. Isaacson-Jones, who headed the Reproductive Health Services clinic, responded to Puzder's offer and agreed to meet—and thus began the current common-ground movement.

In Missouri, both sides have supported legislation aimed at helping pregnant crack-addicted mothers, expanding WIC funding, and preventing teen pregnancy.

Puzder added to the group Loretto Wagner, then legislative chairman of Missouri Citizens for Life (now Missouri Right to Life). "I was sick of being cynical and suspicious," says Mrs. Wagner, explaining that as a pro-life activist she felt alienated from "half of the world." She believes pro-lifers should appeal to the good in pro-abortion people: "I think all people are capable of good."

But some of Mrs. Wagner's fellow pro-life activists believed she was up to no good. At one board meeting she was instructed not to be a part of common ground efforts in her official capacity. She came under increasing fire from some board members and—although she says she survived a "no confidence" vote—resigned her official duties.

"I didn't want to be associated with such bigoted people," Mrs. Wagner said, adding that she still enjoys good relations with most members of MRL.

Samuel Lee, also one of the prime drafters of the Missouri statute, parts company with his colleagues in the common ground effort. "It treats each side as moral equals," Lee says. "That's what bothers me most."

Lee takes issue with the notion that pro-abortion forces are needed to help provide compassionate alternatives to abortion, which he says pro-lifers have been doing very effectively for many years without the help of the abortion industry.

Although the political climate favors "choice," Lee says most Americans think abortion is a nasty business. He credits the pro-life movement with successfully stigmatizing abortion and abortionists.

But the common ground approach, Lee believes, "Helps them with their goal: achieving legitimacy in society."

In 1978, when he was new to the pro-life movement, Lee broke bread with an abortionist and her lawyer (who 11 years later would make oral arguments to the Supreme Court in the *Webster* case) in an attempt to "understand" their side of the issue.

A year later, Lee attended the Washington "common ground" meeting. Lee believed at the time it was possible to work together to reduce the abortion demand; he resented the pro-lifers who crashed the meeting.

"At the time I was furious," Lee recalls. "As I look back, though, I think [what they did] was the right thing to do."

In Maryland, Frederica Mathewes-Green reflected on the failure of a \$2.5 million pro-life attempt to win a referendum on repeal of that state's pro-abortion law. Mrs. Mathewes-Green, who was communications Director of the Vote kNOW Coalition, said, "That's a lot of money to lose, but perhaps the defeat was a blessing in disguise. Perhaps we'll be able to let go of our search for earthly power."

She added, "Perhaps we have been putting too much faith in working to elect legislators to pass laws that would compel people to agree with us. Under that strategy we were slowly losing ground. Now we are realizing the need to put first things first and help people to come to agree with us, before we can pass and sustain pro-life laws."

How to do that? The task is difficult, according to Mrs. Mathewes-Green, because the pro-life message "runs directly counter to the overwhelming spirit of our age, which is 'have it your way.' We were able to make people feel guilty, conflicted, but we were never able to convince them to do the right thing."

Since pro-lifers were "reminding our pleasure-loving, pain-avoiding culture of some unpleasant truths," it was easy

for pro-abortionists to plant a "kill the messenger spirit."

In the Maryland referendum debate, according to Mrs. Mathewes-Green, "we said 'it's a bad law' and they got up and said, 'Yes, but those pro-life people are bad people.' It was like being on an eighth-grade playground, and we were the nerds."

Mrs. Mathewes-Green also pointed out that "trying to convince people the unborn child is a baby misses the mark, because people generally know that, but they don't think there's any alternative to abortion. The question they're asking is, how can we function as a society without abortion, and that's the question we have to answer."

She concluded, "If we play the same game they do we'll never win, because they can always out bid us. Our only hope is to put our hands and feet on the side of compassion and begin to live it. That sounds like an old answer and it is—some 2,000 years old—but it's the only answer."

Copyright © 2008 WORLD Magazine
November 28, 1992, Vol. 7 , No. 27



America's Newspapers

A LEADER OF PROTESTS AGAINST ABORTION

Philadelphia Inquirer, The (PA) - Wednesday, July 14, 1993

Author: Carol Horner, INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

The Rev. Keith Tucci, who has headed Operation Rescue National since 1990, says he has no regrets about the militant - opponents say terroristic - tactics the group uses to try to stop abortions.

Those tactics, which even some abortion opponents reject as unduly intimidating and harassing, include blockading clinics, thrusting graphic pictures of aborted fetuses at women patronizing clinics, and picketing abortion providers at home with signs accusing them of murder.

"Abortion is always the dismembering of a little boy or a little girl and exploitation of their mother," said Tucci, 36, who is scheduled to lead an anti-abortion rally tonight in King of Prussia.

"In light of that, our actions are extremely domesticated and cultured."

In a telephone interview last week, Tucci (pronounced TOO-see) spoke at length about the spiritual and emotional journey that led him to the leadership of Operation Rescue National, an outgrowth of the original Operation Rescue, which was founded by Randall Terry. The group's current seven-city Cities of Refuge campaign is scheduled to bring him tonight to a rally at the Valley Forge Hilton in King of Prussia.

He talked from his home in Melbourne, Fla., where he lives with his wife, Penny, and their five children, ages 2 to 10. Not long before, Penny had a miscarriage; Keith Tucci canceled plans to lead weekend rallies in Dallas and San Jose, Calif., to remain by her side.

He also asked the Rev. Joe Slovenec, a regional coordinator for Operation Rescue National, to fill in for him on a national TV show. "This is an event he has planned for a year and a half . . . but he's staying home and taking care of his wife," said Slovenec.

Tucci, said Slovenec, is a compassionate man. As a result of their anti-abortion activities, the two men spent time in jail together in Ohio and Kansas.

Tucci declares that his organization is nonviolent, and he says he deplores any action like the March killing of David Gunn, a Florida doctor who performed abortions. Gunn, allegedly shot in the back by a renegade anti-abortionist named Michael Griffin, had his name, photo and work schedule featured on an Operation Rescue "Wanted" poster.

"Our position is we are pro-life for born people and unborn people," Tucci said, "and nobody should be choosing who lives and who dies."

Operation Rescue National is unabashedly religious in its foundations, said Tucci, who led rallies Monday in Minneapolis and yesterday in Cleveland.

He said he planned a religious call to anti-abortion action at tonight's rally in King of Prussia. "We can blame the abortionist," he said, "but the Bible is very clear - 'For him to know right and not to do it is sin.'"

Many of Tucci's critics see no religious morality - no rightness at all - in his actions, or those of his followers.

"I think basically all of these male leaders of this organization, who have not a clue, not a clue in the world, what it is to have an unwanted pregnancy, are just frauds," said Peggy Jarman, spokeswoman for Women's Health Care Services of Wichita, Kan., which was targeted by Operation Rescue in 1991.

"Anybody who has stood in front of a clinic where those people have been and watched the way they abuse patients cannot possibly say they are nonviolent," said Jarman.

"People who equate violence with blood and broken bones do not understand what violence is, and how horrible emotional and psychological violence can be."

At every Operation Rescue rally in Wichita, Jarman said, leaders called for donations. "I think they're about media and about money," she said.

Ronnie, a counselor at Allegheny Reproductive Health Center in Pittsburgh who withheld her last name, accused Tucci of trying to deny women basic rights. "The only thing that a woman represents to him is a uterus in which a fetus may be housed," Ronnie said. "The woman herself is of no value to him."

Tucci believes the opposite. Those who blockade clinics are the real defenders of women, he said. "The NOW (National Organization for Women) gang - they've helped create a stud mentality in the American male, and women have paid the price."

Women are seen entering abortion clinics alone, he said. "You have to wonder, where's the guy at? He gets the joy, she gets the pain."

And Tucci has an answer for critics who observe that leadership in Operation Rescue is mainly male: "As a Bible-believing Christian, we believe men should be a blessing to women, not push them out in front of the bullets." But, he maintained, many strong women do work in Operation Rescue.

Although Tucci's title is executive director of Operation Rescue National, he said he draws no salary from the organization. Instead, he said, he makes an annual income of about \$30,000 from pastoral affiliations with churches and from speaking fees. Some see Tucci as a less charismatic, more low-key leader than Randall Terry, the used-car dealer and lay preacher from Binghamton, N.Y. who founded Operation Rescue. But he has keen admirers, for both his personal characteristics and his leadership.

"Keith is a pastor's pastor," said Slovenec, "He's a very prayerful man, so when you follow a man like that, you know he has given a lot of prayer and thought to any decision he would have made, which makes him easy to follow."

Tucci was born in Pittsburgh; his parents divorced when he was a toddler. His mother married several more times, Tucci said, but the unions were short-lived. For the most part his mother raised her five children on her own, living in housing projects.

Tucci left home for the first time at 14 to hitchhike to Florida. Throughout his mid-teens he hung out with a rough crowd, experimenting with alcohol and drugs and "everything on the streets."

"I was headed to hell," Tucci said. "I was an accident looking for a place to happen."

But a group of older women, many Catholic, decided they would try to save the youths. They preached to the kids, who hooted at them.

"We thought they had fallen off a spaceship," Tucci said.

But the women persisted, and in time, their work began to take hold in Tucci.

"I guess in a way, I kind of respected them," he said. "I was listening to what they said, and some of it was pretty interesting - 'If any man be in Christ, all things are made new . . .'"

"I said, 'It's too outrageous. I wish I could believe that.'"

Tucci would not talk specifically about the moment of his religious conversion, saying only that "over the course of the next several weeks, I became aware of the presence of God in my life."

By then almost 20, he started going to the Christian Life Church in Trafford, Pa., where the minister treated him like a son. Soon Tucci met his future wife, decided to become an Assemblies of God minister himself and enrolled in Bible college.

He cites three milestones that mark his emotional and psychological journey into leadership of Operation Rescue National:

In 1981, when he was associate pastor of a charismatic, evangelical Assemblies of God church called the Christian Life Church in Trafford, an unmarried young woman came to his study. Tearfully, she told him she was pregnant by a man she did not love.

Tucci gave her two pieces of advice: Don't get married and don't get an abortion. "Two wrongs don't make a right," he told her.

But driving home that night, he realized his opposition to abortion was more sentimental than grounded in the Scriptures. He resolved to study.

The second milestone happened a few years later when Tucci was pastor of the Greater Pittsburgh Word and Worship Fellowship Church, which he founded. By this time he'd become active in the movement opposing abortion, but he was chagrined to learn that many young women in his church had had abortions.

One came to him in anguish because she'd been told an abortion had damaged her physically and could keep her from ever bearing children. "Isn't there something pastor should do before this happens" to others? he remembers her asking.

"I realized that I had a greater obligation than just offering alternatives," he said. "I felt there was a need for intervention."

The third milestone happened in the spring of 1988 in New York City, where Tucci had traveled to see an abortion clinic blockade conducted by Operation Rescue. Operation Rescue had been founded the year before by Terry, the same year Tucci met Terry at an anti-abortion rally in Pittsburgh.

Tucci planned to watch the New York action from the sidelines. But Terry spotted Tucci over the heads of hundreds of protesters sitting on the sidewalk outside a clinic.

"Why don't you come over and say something?" Terry called out, according to Tucci.

"The crowd opened up like the Red Sea, and I walked in there. I took the microphone, and I began to cry."

The tears came from sudden awareness that concern about his reputation was governing how far he was willing to go in a cause he believed in: "I knew my attitude of self-preservation stunk in the sight of God."

Tucci got arrested that day, and, in his anti-abortion activism has run afoul of laws and injunctions ever since. He established Operation Rescue National in 1990 as Terry was stepping back from day-to-day leadership of the original Operation Rescue.

The rest is history, except for one thing: After he became active in the anti-abortion movement, Tucci learned that when his mother was pregnant with him, she had been advised to have a medically therapeutic abortion, the only kind then legal.

"She had some physical complications, and she had gone to see a doctor and the doctor told her that her life could be threatened if she continued the pregnancy."

Tucci said he asked his mother why she did not have the abortion. "She said, 'Abortion was just a dirty word. It was something I didn't think I could live with.' "

That was 1956. Tucci believes that if the 1973 Supreme Court decision guaranteeing abortion rights had been in effect, his mother might have aborted him: "I think she would've been beat into cultural submission."

Tucci is determined to re-create the climate that, he believes, made his mother feel it was unacceptable to terminate her pregnancy.

"Our cultural goal is to make abortion ugly again, which it is, and nobody wants to talk about it," he said.

"This is a long-term struggle that we're in."

Caption: PHOTO

PHOTO (1) 1. Keith Tucci, head of Operation Rescue National.

Edition: FINAL

Section: FEATURES MAGAZINE / FAMILY LIFE

Page: G01

Index Terms: INTERVIEW ABORTION BIOGRAPHY AGE

Record Number: 9302090015

Copyright (c) 1993 The Philadelphia Inquirer

OPERATION RESCUE LEADER STEPS ASIDE FOR 'NEW BLOOD'

Wichita Eagle, The (KS) - Tuesday, February 8, 1994

Author: Judy Lundstrom Thomas, The Wichita Eagle

Keith Tucci, leader of one of the nation's most visible anti-abortion groups, has stepped down over what some of the group's leaders say was a dispute about how to handle the issue of violence against clinics.

Tucci, director of Operation Rescue National, said in a letter to the group's officials that he thought it was time for him to resign. But other Operation Rescue leaders said Tucci had fallen out of favor after he tried to force them to sign a pledge that they would not advocate or even discuss the issue of violence.

Tucci's successor will be Flip Benham, a Dallas pastor and co-founder of Operation Rescue's Dallas/Fort Worth contingency. The group plans to move its headquarters from Melbourne, Fla., to Dallas as soon as possible, said spokeswoman Wendy Wright.

The rift occurred in September at a meeting of anti-abortion leaders in Melbourne. The meeting took place just weeks after Wichita physician George Tiller was shot and wounded. Shelley Shannon, the Oregon woman charged in the shooting, is a long-time abortion protester.

Jeff White, head of Operation Rescue-California, said Tucci ordered about 40 leaders at the meeting to sign a pledge that they would not discuss the issue of violence.

"He got into this thing about what you can say and what you can't say," White said. "He said you couldn't even have a discussion and try to defend that position."

After that, White said, "The leadership basically deserted him.

"And you know why? We're not intellectual midgets in this movement. Everyone that's been involved in this movement has thought about why they do the things they do. And Keith tried drawing a line that basically said nobody can even talk about violence. And it was like, 'Get out of town.' It was a petty thing."

Tucci's order, White said, was an ultimatum.

"But the problem is that the guys that he gave the ultimatum to are not the kind of guys that receive ultimatums," he said. "He said to sign it or get out. . . . We all said, 'Forget it.' We had Operation Rescue before you were here.' We ignored him."

White said Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry, as well as leaders Joseph Slovenec and Joseph Foreman, refused to sign the pledge. Benham was one of about 20 who did sign it, White said.

Tucci, 37, was unavailable for comment. In his letter to Operation Rescue leaders, he did not refer to the dispute. Instead, he wrote, "New fresh blood must be instilled into the lineup. Every good coach knows that.

"I have come to a critical point where I believe that I have given my best in a leadership role. . . . I've made a very prayerful decision to step aside and allow new life to come forward," Tucci said. "I don't want to wait for the symptoms to appear; I want to do things in God's time. I am confident now is the time."

Operation Rescue spokeswoman Wright downplayed the September incident and said that it had nothing to do with Tucci's resignation.

"Not at all," she said. "It's just that Keith has been in the battle for four years."

Tucci's resignation comes on the heels of a U.S. Supreme Court decision in which justices ruled unanimously that

abortion protesters can be sued under a federal racketeering law. The National Organization for Women had charged that groups such as Operation Rescue are part of a nationwide criminal conspiracy that has included arson, bombings and extortion. The high court's ruling was an interpretation of the 1970 Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations act, known as RICO.

Benham, 45, is a graduate of Florida State University and Asbury Theological Seminary. He founded the Free Methodist Church in Garland, Texas, and has been its pastor for 12 years. He is married and has five children.

The move will be Operation Rescue's third since leaving Binghamton, N.Y., in 1990. From there, the group went to Summerville, S.C., then to Melbourne in 1992.

Tucci became widely known after leading Operation Rescue's "Summer of Mercy" protests in Wichita in 1991. The protests resulted in about 2,700 arrests of more than 1,700 people some people were arrested more than once.

In September, Tucci returned to Wichita to confront Attorney General Janet Reno as she spoke at a town hall meeting on crime. Before he could ask her why the Justice Department kept refusing to meet with Operation Rescue leaders, Tucci was hauled off to jail on two arrest warrants stemming from the 1991 protests.

Denise Billings, leader of Godarchy Productions in Wichita, was at the Melbourne meeting.

"It was made really clear (at the meeting) that both Flip and Keith were completely against acts of violence, period," Billings said.

She said she was surprised to hear Tucci was quitting.

"But I think his reasons were good ones," she said. "I don't think he's running out of fear. I think he felt like it was time to step aside and let somebody else take over."

Billings said she doubted Tucci's leaving would affect the rescue movement. "Quite frankly, I would be surprised if there still is much of a rescue movement because of the federal crackdown," she said.

Wright said she was looking forward to working with Benham.

"Randy (Terry) was the one that got everything started," she said. "He really motivated people to get involved. Keith is more a pastor. He helped nurture the movement.

"And Flip, I think he's going to bring a different personality into play."

Caption: PHOTO: Keith Tucci

Edition: CITY

Section: MAIN NEWS

Page: 1A

Record Number: 9401060412

Copyright (c) 1994 The Wichita Eagle

MILITANT ANTI-ABORTION LEADER TUCCI QUILTS POST WITH OPERATION RESCUE

St. Paul Pioneer Press (MN) - Wednesday, February 9, 1994

Author: BYLINE: Brian Bonner, Staff Writer

The Rev. Keith Tucci says he is stepping down as leader of the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue National to spearhead what he described Tuesday as an "international pro-life organization."

In a telephone interview Tuesday, Tucci said he had anointed a Dallas-based successor to give the group he has headed since 1990 a "fresh outlook."

But whether Tucci willingly let go of Operation Rescue's reins to to lead a global effort or was forced out by others in the movement remains in dispute.

He dismissed claims from other anti-abortion leaders that he had fallen out of favor, and he also denied a charge by the abortion rights group Feminist Majority Foundation that he is bailing out of a failed movement.

Tucci, 37, said he will run his new organization, Life Coalition International, from his home in Melbourne, Fla. Operation Rescue - founded in 1986 by Randall Terry - will move its national headquarters to Dallas under the leadership of the Rev. Flip Benham.

Benham said he will renew the group's human blockades outside clinics, beginning March 25 in Birmingham, Ala.

Tucci said his new group will sponsor anti-abortion activities worldwide, beginning in Norway. He said the activities will be paid for through donations.

"We saw a real glaring need and opportunity," Tucci said Tuesday. "South America, Central America, Africa have a number of countries that are pro-life by legislation where the laws are enforced in varying degrees. Under the Clinton regime, he's released about \$3 billion to support international family planning, which is propagating the abortion mentality."

But other anti-abortion leaders on Tuesday had a different slant on Tucci's sudden departure from Operation Rescue.

"I think he just ran out of ideas and didn't know where he wanted to go. I don't think he had the heart for it. He was not forced out," said the Rev. Joseph Foreman of Milwaukee. "He just never liked standing in the shadow of Randy, and yet could never seem to cast a shadow of his own."

Foreman also said Tucci was dismissed as a moderate in the movement. "The hard-core rescue types never liked Keith," Foreman said.

Foreman thinks Benham will lend a more fiery style to Operation Rescue, but it won't necessarily be more effective. "The guy just doesn't know a brick wall when he sees one," Foreman said.

Jeff White, leader of Operation Rescue-California, was quoted this week as saying Tucci had fallen out of favor after he tried to persuade other anti-abortion leaders to sign a pledge that they would not advocate or discuss violence.

After Tucci failed to win that pledge, White told the Wichita Eagle: "The leadership basically deserted him."

Foreman added that such a pledge is unacceptable because many activists view abortion as murder.

Katherine Spillar, national coordinator of the Feminist Majority Foundation, said "clearly the anti-abortion movement is splintered and it is over the issue of use of violence."

Tucci's led a 1991 siege that shut down three abortion clinics for 11 days in Wichita, Kan., and led to 2,700 arrests.

Last summer, Tucci led an 11-day Cities of Refuge campaign in seven U.S. cities, including the Twin Cities. Judy Lundstrom Thomas, a Wichita Eagle staff writer, contributed to this report.

Caption: Photo Tucci

Edition: Metro Final

Section: Main

Page: 5A

Index Terms: ABORTION GROUP END BIOGRAPHY KEITH TUCCI

Record Number: 9402090105

Copyright (c) 1994 St. Paul Pioneer Press

ABORTION OPPONENT QUILTS POST - THE REV. KEITH TUCCI HAD HEADED OPERATION RESCUE NATIONAL FOR FOUR YEARS.

THE ORLANDO SENTINEL - Wednesday, February 9, 1994

Author: By Lynne Bumpus-Hooper of The Sentinel Staff

The anti-abortion crusader who brought Operation Rescue National to Melbourne more than a year ago is leaving the organization.

The Rev. Keith Tucci made the announcement this week to his followers. The Rev. Flip Benham of Dallas will take over the organization, Tucci said in his letter to the membership.

Headquarters of the organization are being moved to Dallas this week, said Wendy Wright, spokeswoman for the group.

Tucci, 37, was not available for comment Tuesday. In his letter, he said he was leaving the role he has held for four years because it was time for new leadership.

Jeff White, head of Operation Rescue-California, said Tucci lost favor in the group after trying to force 40 leaders at a September meeting to pledge they would not advocate or discuss violence as a tool for fighting abortion.

"He got into this thing about what you can say and what you can't say," White said. "He said you couldn't even have a discussion and try to defend that position."

In his letter to Operation Rescue leaders, he did not refer to any dispute.

Wright said that White was not at the September meeting in Melbourne and that the anti-abortion leaders had agreed that violence did not belong in their movement.

Operation Rescue National will maintain its Southeast regional office in Melbourne, Wright said.

Tucci will continue to live in Melbourne while continuing in international anti-abortion work.

"I would anticipate the (anti-abortion) community will continue its strong work here," Wright said.

Patricia Windle, owner of the Aware Woman Center for Choice, wondered whether anti-abortionists are on the run.

"I think we are reaching critical mass across the nation," she said of abortion advocates.

"It could also mean they are going to a guerrilla warfare mode."

Tucci's resignation follows a U.S. Supreme Court decision that abortion protesters can be sued under a federal racketeering law.

The National Organization for Women has said that groups such as Operation Rescue are part of a criminal conspiracy.

Wright said Tucci's decision was made last year and was not affected by any of the recent legislative or judicial rulings.

Benham, 45, is a graduate of Florida State University and Asbury Theological Seminary. He founded the Free Methodist Church in Garland, Texas.

Operation Rescue National was an outgrowth of Operation Rescue, founded in the mid-1980s in New York by Randall

Terry.

Tucci became widely known after leading Operation Rescue's "Summer of Mercy" protests in Wichita, Kan., in 1991.

The protests resulted in about 2,700 arrests.

He rode into Melbourne on the wave of IMPACT training for activist abortion opponents a year ago.

A short time later, as the organization's executive director, he moved his family to Melbourne and accepted a pastor's post.

He faces criminal contempt charges for failing to answer a subpoena for the trial of protestors in Brevard County.

He is appealing a month jail sentence in Brevard for his activities outside the Melbourne clinic.

Edition: 3 STAR

Section: LOCAL & STATE

Page: D3

Index Terms: ABORTION OPPOSITION GROUP CENTRAL FLORIDA BREVARD COUNTY ; MELBOURNE ; EXECUTIVE ; RESIGNATION ; KEITH TUCCI ; CHANGE DECISION ; TEXAS UNITED STATES ; FLIP ; BENHAM

Dateline: MELBOURNE

Record Number: 9402090618

Copyright 1994 Sentinel Communications Co.

NEW OPERATION RESCUE CHIEF NOT TAKING EASY ROAD

Wichita Eagle, The (KS) - Sunday, February 13, 1994

Author: Judy Lundstrom Thomas, The Wichita Eagle

Flip Benham, the Dallas preacher who is taking over as leader of the national anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, has a tough battle ahead.

His group is divided over the issue of violence against abortion clinics and doctors, the federal government is cracking down on abortion protesters, and his church has kicked him out, calling him an embarrassment because of his anti-abortion activities.

But tough battles are a way of life for the 45-year-old Benham.

When he was a child, Benham said, his alcoholic father loaded up the family and moved them from upstate New York to Las Vegas, where he blew the family savings on a rock band and a hotel.

When Benham grew up, he ran a saloon in Florida, much of the time in a drunken stupor. He spent time in jail, he said, because of his boozing.

And for the past six years, he has been on the front lines of the abortion war.

This month, Operation Rescue leader Keith Tucci sent a letter to members, telling them that he was stepping down after four years at the helm of one of the nation's most visible and controversial anti-abortion groups. Tucci, who took over from founder Randall Terry in 1990, said that it was time for him to move on because he had given his best and that "new fresh blood must be instilled into the lineup."

But other Operation Rescue leaders said Tucci had become distraught over a dispute about how to handle the issue of violence against clinics. At a meeting of anti-abortion leaders last fall in Melbourne, Fla., Tucci told members that he condemned violence and that they should not even discuss the issue. Some of those at the meeting disagreed with him, saying that even though they may not endorse violence, there should at least be an open debate on the issue.

Tucci led Operation Rescue's Summer of Mercy protests in Wichita in 1991. The protests resulted in 2,700 arrests.

Benham said he agrees with Tucci that violence should be condemned.

"You don't solve the problem of murder by murdering somebody," he said. "Jesus did not come with a Molotov cocktail in one hand and a dagger between his teeth.

"It's easy to get all tangled up with this whole idea of justifiable homicide. There need to be people to keep us theologically straight. Otherwise, we would have a heresy."

Of Shelley Shannon, the Oregon woman accused of shooting Wichita abortion doctor George Tiller, Benham said: "I think she was well-intentioned and that she thinks she did the right thing. I love her, but I don't condone what she did."

Benham lives in Garland, Texas, a suburb of Dallas, with his wife and five children. He takes over leadership of the group at a time when the federal government is starting to crack down on abortion protesters.

Last month, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that abortion protesters can be sued under a federal racketeering law. And both houses of Congress have passed a bill providing stiff penalties for those blocking access to clinics. The measure is being worked out in a conference committee.

Benham spent most of his childhood in Syracuse, N.Y..

"We had a tough life," he said. "Dad was always loaded."

Benham attended Florida State University, graduating in 1970 with bachelor's degrees in political science and international relations. He spent three years in the U.S. Army, where he learned to fly helicopters. After his time in the service, he ran a saloon in Kissimmee, Fla.

Benham "found the Lord" in the summer of 1976, he said. He received a master of divinity degree from Asbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Ky., in 1980. "I was a Christian pro-abortion," he said. "Then, in '82, somebody said to me, 'When did Jesus become Jesus in the flesh?' And I realized then that at the moment of conception, God was there. So I began to preach that abortion was murder."

Benham moved to Dallas, where he founded the Free Methodist Church.

In 1988, he was watching the Democratic National Convention on television when he saw an elderly woman being handcuffed by police and hauled off in a paddy wagon. He later learned the woman was taking part in Operation Rescue's protests in Atlanta the group's first major national event.

"That's when it all hit me," he said. "I promised my wife that I was going to do everything I could to save the children."

In 1988, Benham helped form Operation Rescue of Dallas.

Benham said he doesn't keep track of how many times he's been arrested for blocking clinic gates. He was arrested twice during the Summer of Mercy protests in Wichita, police records show.

"I have been in jail so many times in so many cities," he said. "But I also spent time in jail before I met Jesus, for booze and all that stuff. I never dreamed I would spend time on the other side."

As Operation Rescue's headquarters moves from Melbourne to Dallas, Benham is working on the group's next big event "Holy Week, A Passion for Life," in Birmingham, Ala., from March 25 to April 2.

And, he said, "I most assuredly expect rescues."

Operation Rescue officials say they don't expect Tucci's departure to have much impact on the rescue movement.

The Rev. Pat Mahoney said Benham is a "very capable person."

"He has sort of a very tender side, which is surprising because he's a very strong, physical man," he said.

Abortion-rights activists choose other words when describing Benham, whom they call "Flip Venom."

"I believe that Flip is a very dangerous man in the same way that David Koresh was a dangerous man," said Janie Bush of the Choice Foundation in Dallas. "I guess what I mean by that is I believe that he is becoming a little demagogue."

Memo: See related stories on page 1A.
A Window on Violence

Edition: STATE

Section: MAIN NEWS

Page: 12A

Record Number: 9401070116

Copyright (c) 1994 The Wichita Eagle



OPERATION RESCUE CHANGES NAME

Watertown Daily Times (NY) - Monday, April 26, 1999

Author: Associated Press

Operation Rescue National leaders were so encouraged by the response to their weeklong Operation Save America campaign that they permanently changed the group's name to reflect its new, broader moral message.

Operation Rescue will be known as Operation Save America from now on as it attempts to steer people back toward their moral roots by attacking not just abortion, but child pornography, teen sex, homosexuality and the absence of God from the classroom, a spokeswoman said.

"We do want to save this country, not just the unborn," said spokeswoman Eileen Schopf. "We want to show our love for this country and our desire to return to the moral grounds this country was founded on."

The decision was made Saturday, during the demonstration's final rally.

Operation Save America drew to a quiet close with church services on Sunday, ending a week of peaceful protests outside abortion clinics, doctors' offices, hospitals, bookstores and high schools.

Some 200 to 250 abortion opponents were estimated to have taken part in events through the week, far fewer than the thousands who came to Buffalo during the 1992 Spring of Life abortion protests. And in stark contrast to the 628 arrests of 1992, no protesters were arrested this time around.

There was no indication how many people may have shied away from the week's events because of its timing. Operation Save America was announced a week after October's unsolved sniper killing of an abortion provider, Dr. Barnett Slepian, at his suburban home.

Glenn Murray, an attorney for the Slepian family, said the doctor's widow "thinks it's despicable that in the aftermath of her husband's murder they would plan a rally trying to exploit his death and eliminate access to abortion."

Also calling the week a success Sunday were law enforcement officials and abortion rights advocates.

At Buffalo United for Choice '99, the message on the answering machine included plans for a victory party. A spokeswoman for the coalition of abortion rights supporters was not immediately available to comment.

Buffalo Police Commissioner Rocco Diina praised the multi-agency effort that enabled law enforcement to maintain a strong presence at protest sites through the week.

Police officers sometimes outnumbered protesters outside clinics.

A spokesman for Attorney General Eliot Spitzer said a temporary restraining order, which kept protesters from 15 to 60 feet from the facilities, did its job.

Edition: Both

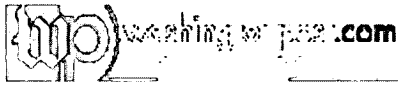
Section: State News

Page: 28

Dateline: BUFFALO

Record Number: 9904260008

Copyright (c) 1999 Watertown Daily Times



Home | Register

Web Search:

GO by Google



[News Home Page](#)

[Photo Galleries](#)

[Politics](#)

[Nation](#)

[World](#)

[Metro](#)

[Business/Tech](#)

[Sports](#)

[Style](#)

[Books](#)

[Food](#)

[Home](#)

[Post Magazine](#)

[Sunday Arts](#)

[Television](#)

[Weekend](#)

[Columnists](#)

[Photo Galleries](#)

[Live Online](#)

[Style Index](#)

[Travel](#)

[Health](#)

[Opinion](#)

[Weather](#)

[Weekly Sections](#)

[News Digest](#)

[Classifieds](#)

[Print Edition](#)

[Archives](#)

[News Index](#)

[Help](#)

Partner Sites:

[Newsweek.com](#)

[BRITANNICA.COM](#)

6 W017 FRER

2 Q1W116 LMI

[Visitors' Guide](#)

[Children's Activities](#)

[Dining Guide](#)

[Museum Tours](#)

[Theater Tickets](#)

[Movies in the Area](#)

[Top Movie Theaters](#)

[D.C. in the Movies](#)

[Video Finder](#)

[Coming to Video](#)

[Filmographies](#)

[Oscar Database](#)

[Radio Station Guide](#)

[Internet Airfares](#)

Randall Terry Censured By Church

By *Hanna Rosin*

Washington Post Staff Writer

Saturday, February 12, 2000; Page C01

Randall Terry, who became famous waving pictures of fetuses and chaining himself to hospital beds as founder of the militant antiabortion group Operation Rescue, is now being compared to President Clinton. At Clinton's worst moment. And by Terry's own pastor, no less.

Three months ago, the Landmark Church in Binghamton, N.Y., where Terry has been a member for 15 years, issued a censure letter. In modern church terms, that's the equivalent of a Scarlet Letter, meant as a deliberate public shaming after all private pleading has failed.

"Many of his longtime friends . . . are shocked and bewildered that a man who has traveled the country pleading with Christian people to think and act biblically is now thinking and acting so anti-biblically," writes pastor Daniel J. Little in the letter, which was posted this week on the Web site of Operation Save America, the new name for Operation Rescue.

The letter then accuses Terry, 41, of leaving his wife, Cindy, and their two children as a first step to end their "Christian marriage" and a "pattern of repeated and sinful relationships and conversations with both single and married women."

Terry calls the charges "absolute nonsense, insanity."

In a letter responding to the censure, Terry accuses Little of violating a "confidential pastoral/parishioner relationship" and calls the censure letter "invalid."

"Let me just say this," Terry said in an interview yesterday. "My marriage problems are personal, painful and private." He admits he and his wife have separated, and that the marriage is in "crisis."

As for the other women: "The truth is this: Mr. Terry has asserted he has only had sex with his wife," says a different letter signed by four other pastors defending Terry.

That's where the Clinton part comes in: "That's like saying, 'I did not have sex with that woman,'" said Little, referring to Clinton's famous denial of an affair with intern Monica Lewinsky. "Both Terry and I know what the accusation is referring to."

The ironies of Terry finding himself in such a position are even more pointed now. His latest incarnation is founder of Loyal Opposition, a

new group dedicated to preserving the sanctity of traditional marriage. To that end, he's set up shop in Vermont to lobby the legislature not to allow gay marriage.

In his 1995 book, "The Judgment of God," Terry wrote, "We have become a sex crazed society. Women are viewed as sex toys to be used and discarded by vile, pathetic males (I shall not call them men); families are destroyed as a father vents his mid life crisis by abandoning his wife for a 'younger, prettier model,' homosexuals and lesbians are no longer content to secretly live in sin, but now want to glorify their perversions."

Previously, he pioneered militant antiabortion tactics, shutting down dozens of clinics around the country. Wherever he went he championed muscular biblical literalism. A man's duty, he wrote in his most famous pamphlet, was to roam the country "slaying dragons" for Christ.

Terry ran for Congress as a Republican in New York in 1998 as one of six "righteous men," the "Patrick Henry men" as he liked to call them, campaigning on a family values platform. He was the only one of the six to get a rare letter of support from religious broadcaster James Dobson, the equivalent, in his evangelical circles, of an endorsement from the pope. They all lost, but they lost defending their principles.

[E-Mail This Article](#)

© 2000 The Washington Post Company

) UPP17KH: DMKQVWQI3RWW

- [3DJHM7FLQI UPP17KH: DMKQVWQI3RWW](#)
- [: K\I' R\K PK17 KLN17 KH1& DO\W\KH\(\ H11 H\2 PLN'](#)
- [& RQYHJ\DW\QGM17 KDW2DUH16 FLDW\KI17 KH1\WKI\W1. QFZ](#)
- [/HMMU\) UPP17KH](#)

[Back to the top](#)



Visit:
www.myagencycareer.com
 to learn more

become an agent today

Operation Miscue

How legal problems, cultural shifts and internal turmoil muffled America's radical anti-abortion movement, and why the battle isn't over

Ben Ehrenreich

published: April 11, 2002

it is a perfect late winter Saturday in Huntington Beach. The Santa Anas have scrubbed the sky an almost violent shade of blue. Volleyball players leap about the sand, surfers frolic in the waves, lowrider trucks and Harleys cruise PCH. Ambling toward the pier, a group of girls in bikini tops and cutoffs encounters Jeff White, a thickset man with small blue eyes and a graying blond goatee. He is handing out fliers alongside two more modestly dressed teenagers who hold between them a giant full-color poster of the severed head of an aborted fetus. "Abortion Is Choice," the caption reads. The bikini girls cringe.

"Disgusting pigs," one of them says.

White responds with a tight-lipped smile, "That's Mr. Disgusting Pig."

Today, accompanied by a few hideously gory posters and a dozen or so Christian teens, White is vastly outnumbered by the masses here assembled to worship the decidedly pagan gods of sun, sea and flesh. But a decade ago, the Zeitgeist flitting about his shoulders, White was at the very center of one of late-20th-century America's most heated battles. He was one of Operation Rescue's top organizers, part of founder Randall Terry's inner circle, and was routinely mobilizing hundreds and sometimes thousands of people for mass sit-ins in front of abortion clinics all over the country. Today, White is the head of Survivors, an anti-abortion youth group he founded in 1998 (the name implies that every child born since the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision is a survivor of abortion), which parades on the pier once a month. He's still doing what he's been doing in one form or another for almost two decades: fighting, as he puts it, for the babies.

That fight, whether configured in the language of life or of choice, of the body of Christ or of the wombs of living women, occupied America for much of the 1990s and has worked its way into the very fiber of our contemporary civil discourse. The trajectory of Jeff White's activism over those years mirrors the fate of the movement he once helped to lead, that bizarre hybrid beast, a radical, grassroots, far-right, Christian movement which borrowed its tactics and much of its rhetoric from the civil rights and anti-war struggles of the 1960s. Its story is littered with all the paradoxes of American civil life, with hopes both great and petty, with pieties and hypocrisies equally grand, with ashes and rubble and too many corpses and lives destroyed. It is a story that is day by day still being told and telling itself, its battles not yet over, its victors and losers for now still undetermined. It's not too soon to ask, though, whether the movement's visibility has declined and its crowds dispersed because they overreached and self-destructed, or because they're winning.

For Jeff White it began in the mid-1980s, when he grudgingly caved in to his wife's demands that he watch the film *The Silent Scream* at church. Before that, he says, "I was against abortion, but I was not an activist. I may have even been antagonistic toward an activist kind of mindset." To his surprise, he says, "When I saw the reality and horror of abortion, it just changed my heart." It was one of those falling-off-your-ass-on-the-road-to-Damascus moments, an experience of revelation similar to those described by others who would go on to devote their lives to fighting abortion. It brought with it a newfound certainty that a great evil existed in the world, a conviction grand enough to elevate a staid suburban life to a plane of biblical absolutes.

Within a few years White had sold the BMW parts store he ran in Santa Clara and devoted himself full time to the cause. The strict demands of Operation Rescue's battle cry, "If you believe abortion is murder, then act like it," appealed to him, and, whether you agree or not about abortion, the motto's integrity merits some respect. I do not believe abortion is murder and have a hard time entertaining a notion of human life abstract enough to include an embryonic growth, but if I believed as White does, and as all who call themselves pro-life claim, that every abortion kills a living human being, that an undeveloped fetus is no different from my 5-month-old niece, I hope that I would be out in the streets with the believers, and not simply content to vote Republican, write my congressman and wait for a Supreme Court justice to die.

The issue, of course, is larger and more complicated than that, but for White and others like him, it seemed that simple. His commitment and ambition pushed him quickly through the organization's ranks, from Southern California director to national tactical director and police liaison. He joined one of a small circle of men who helped Randall Terry put abortion on the evening news again and again throughout the late '80s, organizing massive blockades at clinics around the country. Protesters chained themselves to doors, hurled themselves in front of patients' cars, hollered "baby-killer" as loud as they could, fell on their knees and prayed, did whatever they could to stop what they saw as the greatest holocaust the world had ever known. White was arrested, by his own reckoning, more than 60 times, and spent, all told, about 18 months in jail. He has been slapped with legal judgments adding up to more than \$1 million, which will prevent him from ever drawing a salary or owning anything in his own name again. It was all, White now insists, done out of passion and love of God: "Why would I sell my business?" he asks. "Why would I take my family on the road? Why would I go to jail? Why would I miss my daughter's birthday, my son's birthday, my daughter walking? All these things happened while I was in jail. Why would I be in jail during Thanksgiving? Why would all these men and women do those things?"

Sitting in the shade at the base of the pier, as his teen allies stand beside their posters a few yards away, passively absorbing jeers from passersby, White reminisces about the fruit of that passion, what he calls "the largest civil rights movement in the history of the United States." Operation Rescue, White says, "was a movement of the Holy Spirit. Things happened in Operation Rescue that were beyond normal, that spread like a wildfire." For instance, he says, in 1991, thousands of anti-abortion activists descended on Wichita, Kansas, intending to shut down a clinic operated by Dr. George Tiller. He closed his doors for a week, hoping they'd go away. On a Saturday night, White says, Operation Rescue decided to stay. "The next morning we had 80 churches open their doors for speakers. Now I challenge you, go tell somebody that you're a speaker of any sort and try to get them to open their church to you tomorrow. You can call hundreds of churches and you might get one, but in 12 hours, 80 churches opened their pulpit. That's a movement of the Holy Spirit. If you were secular, you would say it was a popular uprising, where somehow through the night, it passed from pastor to pastor and home to home so that the next morning thousands of people were on the street. How did that happen?"

Attempts to repeat the fervor of that "Summer of Mercy" -- which saw more than 2,600 arrests over

six weeks -- in Buffalo, and later in Baton Rouge and Houston, failed miserably. Wichita was the anti-abortion movement's last hurrah. There would never again be a successful large-scale "rescue," as the mass sit-ins were called by their participants. By 1991, Operation Rescue was already in shambles. Randall Terry had left, dethroned by factional infighting led by White and a handful of others. Over the years, the group would splinter into regional fragments, its leaders and its tactics rejected by the fundamentalist mainstream and reviled by secular America as surely as taunts of "Assholes!" are shouted at White's Survivors a from about every 20th passing SUV. Last summer, when Operation Rescue's successor, Operation Save America, threatened to shut down George Tiller's clinic once again as part of a "Summer of Renewal," only a few hundred die-hard activists showed up in Wichita. No one was arrested, the clinic stayed open, and the protests barely made the news. The Holy Spirit, it seems, had gone elsewhere.

There are a lot of ways to explain the dissolution of the grassroots anti-abortion movement. You can point to the bickering and backstabbing among the leadership, to the movement's abandonment by mainstream fundamentalist leaders like Jerry Falwell, or to the increasingly effective response of pro-choice groups, which, by the early '90s, were able to muster large numbers of activists to engage in "clinic defense," escorting patients and clinic staff in and out of the building, keeping the doors unblocked and the clinic open. You can speculate about the cultural factors that spurred -- and later ceased to spur -- a group largely composed of middle-class white men to aggressively declare themselves the protectors of America's unborn children and the guardians of the nation's wombs. But, says Frederick Clarkson, author of *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy*, "There's no sociological analysis that stands up to the raw fact of incarceration."

In the early days of the movement, police were hesitant to arrest anti-abortion protesters. Those arrested were usually let off with a slap on the wrist, often to the extent that they were able to get arrested and released several times over the course of a single blockade. After a few cities were overwhelmed by Operation Rescue's antics, police, prosecutors and judges began to get tough, seeking felony convictions and handing out more serious sentences. By 1990, White says, it was already clear to the Operation Rescue leadership that the methods that had been grabbing them headlines -- the highly confrontational mass sit-ins -- could not be sustained much longer. "How many times can you get arrested and go to jail and keep your job?" he asks. "It was a middle-class American movement. Seventy-thousand people got arrested. [The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) puts the number at just under half that.] That's great. But how many times can you do that?"

By the early 1990s, clinics and pro-choice groups were also learning to use the law to hurt Operation Rescue financially. In 1989, the National Organization for Women sued Operation Rescue under the federal anti-racketeering RICO laws, and others began to seek restraining orders to prevent anti-abortion activists from approaching clinics or harassing patients and staff. When they violated the orders, which -- convinced that they had only God's laws to answer to -- they invariably did, they would be sued and frequently slapped with enormous judgments. Randall Terry and his officers grew adept at juggling their finances to avoid collection, but the debts eventually caught up to them. Operation Rescue has been forced to change its name twice, first to Operation Rescue National and later to Operation Save America, to avoid paying judgments. Jeff White's Operation Rescue of California, which he founded after the breakup of the national group, was forced out of business by an \$880,000 judgment won by a San Diego lawyer in 1995.

Until then, White had tried various tactics. "I've never done anything because I'm disappointed that something else didn't work," he claims. But each new strategy clearly attempted to make up for the failings of previous ones, and, perhaps not coincidentally, each one was more aggressive than the last. As early as 1992, White had begun organizing what he called Minuteman Strike Teams, small groups that would blockade a clinic unannounced, then leave when police arrived. "We found that when we

did rescues with 500 people in front of a clinic, one in three would close. When we did rescues with 40 people and went to three in a day, one in three would close," White says. "So it was tactically a much better option, without the arrests." It was also, of course, one of the only options available to a group that could no longer muster protesters by the hundreds. One Northern California pro-choice group referred to White's minuteman teams as "paramilitary formations," describing them as "extremely aggressive, tactically sophisticated and physically violent." In 1993, White, Randall Terry and one other man staged a minuteman strike of their own in Los Angeles. They spontaneously dropped in on the Her Clinic on Figueroa, pushing their way through the doors and, according to one patient, "screaming in a loud voice at the patients" in the waiting room. One clinic volunteer later testified that the three refused to leave the clinic and that he was punched by White, who countered that it was he who was punched and that he was forcibly prevented from leaving.

At around the same time that he formulated the minuteman tactics, White and his Operation Rescue of California launched its "No Place To Hide" campaign. The idea was to picket in front of the homes of physicians who perform abortions. Troy Newman, who now heads Operation Rescue West, was then one of White's colleagues (the two have since parted ways). Protesters would go to doctors' homes, Newman recalls on the phone from Wichita, where he's recently moved his family from San Diego, "and we would pray for them, we would hold signs exposing them to their community . . . We would create fliers warning, 'Your neighbor is an abortionist,' or 'Unwanted in this neighborhood,' or 'Beware, so and so is a child killer,' and we'd couple his name and address, and if we could get it, a picture of him, with pictures of aborted babies."

Operation Rescue of California published an "Abortion Buster's Manual," which provided instructions for digging up dirt on doctors. "You are at war against people who make big money cutting live babies into squirming pieces," it read. "There can be no mercy in a war against this kind of enemy. If your digging leads to your local abortionist losing his practice or even his license, feel good!!"

With intimidation as their goal, the "No Place To Hide" protests invariably got ugly. In 1994, White and other activists began protesting every Friday morning in the driveway of Dr. Michael Morris in the town of Crestline, not far from White's home near Lake Arrowhead. Morris reported being followed and boxed in by protesters' cars on the twisting mountain roads he drove to work, being forced to "run the gauntlet" of jeering, threatening protesters as he left his home in the morning, and, on one occasion, being detained and assaulted by White and four others as he attempted to write down the license plate number of a protester's car. White told the story differently in a police report, asserting that Morris pushed protesters and became more agitated when White tried to make a citizen's arrest for battery.

The courts ruled in favor of Morris, granting him an injunction that forbade White and his companions from coming within 15 feet of Morris or driving within three car lengths of him. Morris declared in documents submitted to the court that "I suffer from mental anguish and anxiety due to my fear of being murdered or seriously injured."

He had good reason to fear. The sole motivation for the "No Place To Hide" campaign, according to Newman, was to dissuade doctors from performing abortions, to make it unpleasant enough for them that they would just give up. "If there weren't more abortionists," the logic went, "there wouldn't be any abortions taking place." By the mid-1990s, some activists were taking that theory all too literally.

The Los Angeles offices of the Feminist Majority Foundation are in an unmarked brick building on Third Street. When you push the buzzer, a voice speaks through the intercom, "Hi, can I help you?" Depending on your answer, and your image on a video monitor a couple yards inside the door, you may or may not be allowed to enter. In the conference room down the hall, one wall is decorated with framed, blown-up photos of early-20th-century suffragette marches. The wall beside it is lined with

dozens of shoebox-size filing cabinets. One is labeled "Marches," another "Anita Hill." There are boxes labeled "NOW," "Parental Consent" and "RU486," and there are boxes labeled "Stalking & Intimidation," "Arsons & Bombings," "Murders & Shootings."

It's part of the legacy of the anti-abortion movement that security is taken so seriously even here, in the middle of an affluent Westside commercial strip. Because it's not just clinics that have been targeted: In 1984, the National Abortion Federation's Washington offices were firebombed. Katherine Spillar, the Feminist Majority's executive vice president, says there has never been an incident of violence here, though there have been threats. Between 1989 and '91, this office was the center of resistance against Operation Rescue's "Holy Week" assaults on Los Angeles clinics. "We mobilized over 10,000 people in Los Angeles and trained them how to literally put their bodies between the extremists and the clinics to make sure that patients and doctors and health-care staff could get in," Spillar says. As a result, she says, Operation Rescue's attempts "to position themselves as the new civil rights movement of the '90s" failed. "Instead, what became clear so quickly, especially when we would be out there, arms linked, protecting the clinics, is that they were the bullies."

Bullies, in some cases, is putting it mildly. Abortion opponents have been destroying clinics since a few years after *Roe v. Wade*: There have been 41 bombings at clinics that provide abortions since 1977 and 167 acts of arson. In the early 1990s, as the "rescue" movement ground to a halt, the violence began to escalate. Since 1991, there have been 17 attempted murders of doctors and clinic employees. And since the 1993 shooting of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, Florida, seven people have been murdered by abortion opponents, including three doctors. Bulletproof glass is now the norm at clinics that offer abortions, and high-profile physicians wear bulletproof vests on their way to and from work. Despite it all, White claims emphatically that "There is no organized movement of violence within the pro-life movement. It doesn't exist. It's totally a fabrication for fund-raising for the other side."

Organized or not -- and Spillar insists it is -- the violence has forced pro-choice activists like Spillar into law-and-order stances rarely encountered among liberal feminists. Spillar at times takes up an almost Giulianiesque "broken-windows" theory of anti-abortion crime, praising police for understanding that if they "allow" picketing "then the next thing is the blockades, and then it escalates to following people to their homes." The "worst of the violence," she says, has occurred in jurisdictions where police tolerated picket lines "and looked the other way, thinking it's their right to be out there protesting."

Since the 1990s, the Feminist Majority, NARAL and the National Abortion Federation have been lobbying for tougher laws and stricter enforcement to fight the anti-abortion movement. In 1994, Congress passed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, known as the FACE Act, which made crimes against abortion providers felonies and gave the federal government clear jurisdiction over anti-abortion activists who jump from state to state. Throughout the '90s, several states and cities (including Los Angeles) passed "buffer zone" laws, forbidding protesters from coming within a certain distance of a clinic. In 1998, after the murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian, pro-choice groups convinced then--Attorney General Janet Reno to establish a federal task force devoted solely to investigating crimes against abortion providers.

Over the last few months, Spillar and other pro-choice leaders have been cheering Attorney General John Ashcroft's promises to crack down on domestic terrorism. Substitute "the Army of God" (an organization -- for which journalists usually reserve the term "shadowy" -- which has taken credit for numerous acts of violence against abortion clinics and employees) for "al Qaeda," and their rhetoric at times mirrors that of Bush-administration hawks. "Unless you close down the network that is funding and aiding and abetting and orchestrating," Spillar says, "you're never going to really get rid of this violence." A quite justified fear of violence has pushed the inheritors of '60s radicalism into an

equivocal and ironic stance, as they mime the conservatives of that era who pilloried the SLA and the Weather Underground to justify crackdowns on student radicals. While Ashcroft mounts the most frightening assault on civil liberties since Joseph McCarthy, the pro-choice leadership take their opportunities where they can. The Feminist Majority has even prepared a document titled "Similarities Between Domestic and Global Terrorists," which draws some obvious parallels among fundamentalists the world over, but goes on to compare clinic-bomber Eric Robert Rudolph's alleged smalltime marijuana dealing to the Taliban's involvement in opium production.

Those parallels, the real ones anyway, are worth mentioning. Because for most anti-abortion extremists, it's not just about abortion. What's actually at stake is often obscured when the abortion debate is reduced to biology -- to the intractable and ultimately academic question of when life begins. The real fight is whether biology is relevant at all, and whether secular, humanistic values have any place in American civil life. "This is a spiritual battle," says Flip Benham, the Dallas-based preacher who currently holds the reins of Operation Save America. "It's not about reproductive rights, it's not about homosexuality, it's not about condom pass-outs -- it's about who is Lord and whose laws reign." Troy Newman agrees: "We're about societal reformation," he says, "returning to the values that made this country what she is." Newman and Benham have their own take on just what those values are. "What makes us great is not that we're diverse," Benham says of America. "What makes us great is that we have a rock-solid foundation in Jesus Christ."

That is a sufficiently disturbing statement for those of us who are not Christians, and for Christians who are not biblical literalists like Benham and Newman. The threat of physical violence is also still very real, and still spawns an atmosphere of fear in reproductive-health clinics across the country. The violence has fallen off considerably since its peak in the mid-'90s, and no one has been killed in the United States since Slepian's assassination in 1998, but a clinic security guard was fatally shot in Australia last summer, and a doctor was stabbed in the back while entering a Vancouver, Canada, clinic in July 2000. A bomb went off at a Washington clinic as recently as last June, and the lobby of a Michigan Planned Parenthood was set afire in January 2001. Last year, Clayton Waagner escaped from jail and, in postings to the Internet, promised to kill 42 abortion providers. He has taken credit for mailing hundreds of fake anthrax threats to abortion clinics last fall. Waagner was arrested last December, but Nancy Sasaki, president and CEO of Planned Parenthood--Los Angeles, says the mere presence of protesters, no matter how diminished their numbers, is enough to inspire fear. "You don't know that one of them couldn't be one of those crazies," she says. "So it doesn't matter that they're not chaining themselves to the doors anymore. The fact that they're there and they're still yelling at you and you can hear and you can feel their anger and their hatred for what you represent to them [means] the threat is there."

The violence has also caused its share of damage within the anti-abortion movement. In 1994, anti-abortion extremists organized a conference in Chicago. In attendance was Paul Hill, there to push a biblical justification for the murder of abortion doctors. Just a few months later, Hill would kill a physician and his escort in Pensacola, Florida. Thirty-four people, including Joseph Foreman, at the time a close associate of Jeff White, ended up signing a statement declaring "the justice of taking all godly action necessary to defend innocent human life including the use of force." Flip Benham, in his trademark Texan twang, recalls attending the conference to argue against the proponents of "justifiable homicide." "I can remember beseeching them in the name of Jesus to cease and desist from their heresy," Benham says. "That led to a great and much-needed split in the group."

Benham's move, and his insistence that his followers publicly condemn violence, was at least as important as a PR strategy as it was a principled stand. The belligerence of Operation Rescue's tactics had already alienated a good portion of American fundamentalist ministries, and Benham had every incentive to distance what was left of the group as far as possible from anyone who refused to openly

condemn violence (which included White, who, though he insists his own commitment to peaceful protest is absolute, says, "I believe that what I am doing is right, but in my heart of hearts, I don't know that in God's eyes it's not going to come up short. So I don't condemn").

Regardless of any attempts at damage control, in the mid-'90s, Operation Rescue "took the brunt of the heat" for the escalating violence, says Troy Newman. "It became very, very unpopular within churches and on street corners to say that you were pro-life, because if you said you were pro-life, all of a sudden people equated you with being a bomber and a murderer."

Tim and Terri Palmquist learned that lesson well. Tim, sitting in the lobby of the Bakersfield "Life House" -- a blue A-frame just across the street from the only clinic in all of Kern County that provides abortions -- remembers a brighter era, before violence and factionalism slowed the movement to a crawl. A tall man with a red beard and tired blue eyes, he was in Wichita in 1991 with Terri, his wife. "You had the feeling," he says, "that we had got the momentum going here, and abortion was going down and it was going down fast."

Back then, Tim and Terri regularly took part in Operation Rescue actions, traveling around the state and participating in, by Terri's estimate, about 30 clinic blockades. Terri, Tim says, has a gift for what people in the movement call "sidewalk counseling," confronting women as they approach family-planning clinics to talk them out of having an abortion. "Most of the time my wife was out there sidewalk counseling, and I was watching the kids," Tim laughs. (The Palmquists have nine children. Large families are the norm in the anti-abortion movement: Jeff White has 10 kids.) "Throughout the rescue period there were times that she did let me do something, but most of the time it was her, because she is just more effective in terms of being able to talk one-on-one with the women."

The Palmquists originally wanted to stage a rescue in Bakersfield, says Terri, a small woman with brown frizzy hair, dressed in khakis and Winnie the Pooh sneakers. They decided against it, though, once the sentences started getting tougher. "When we sidewalk counsel," she says, "one or two babies are saved every time I'm here, so it's really more effective one life at a time than to spend a whole bunch of time in jail." They ruled the possibility out completely in 1993. That year, the Family Planning Associates clinic in Bakersfield was burned to the ground, along with the entire office complex in which it stood. (In the same month, two other clinics in Illinois and Pennsylvania were burned, and a bomb exploded at a clinic in Newport Beach.) The Palmquists were out of town when it happened, at an Operation Rescue leadership meeting in Florida, but right after the fire, Terri says, "They were showing our pictures on the news, trying to blame us for it."

They were never even questioned by police, Terri says, but they nonetheless lost the support of most of Bakersfield's Christian community, "because they didn't want to be associated with pro-lifers who burned down the clinic." The arson was never solved. Four years later, after the clinic moved to its current location, across the street from the Palmquists' "Life House," Peter Howard, a Bakersfield anti-abortion activist who had taken part in prayer vigils with the Palmquists, drove a truck loaded with propane tanks and gasoline through the clinic's glass doors. The fire was put out before any serious damage was done; Howard was sentenced to 15 years. The two attacks have effectively alienated the Palmquists from the portion of Bakersfield's Christian community that wasn't already turned off by Operation Rescue's confrontational tactics. "It's been a constant struggle, especially dealing with the churches and pastors, to help them understand what we're doing, that it's not something that they should be afraid of being associated with."

Despite the setbacks, the Palmquists have continued to focus on sidewalk counseling, though since they began leasing this house in 1998, they've been offering free pregnancy tests as well, which takes up a good deal of their time. Throughout the afternoon, anxious Latina teenagers shuffle through the door to be tested. Between tests and counseling sessions, Terri explains her methods. She stands on

the sidewalk outside the clinic next to a sign like the ones White brought to Huntington Beach. "When they're going in, I just will say, 'Hi, my name's Terri. Is there something I can do to help you? Are you going in here? We offer free pregnancy tests over here, and if you're thinking about abortion, I just want you to know that I'll adopt your baby, I'll help you in any way I can.'

"Most of them just ignore us," Terri admits, but if they do agree to come inside, or if they come in off the street for a pregnancy test, she sits them down in a room lined with inspirational posters and framed photos of sleeping infants. She tries to talk to them about the problems in their lives that led to their thinking about ending their pregnancies, and shows them the video, about half of which depicts an abortion, followed by a few minutes of tiny red severed fetal legs and hands being poked and jiggled, for maximum gross-out effect, with tweezers and forceps. Terri says that 98 percent of the women who stay till the end of the video decide against having an abortion.

Before they go she gives them a Zip-loc bag filled with baby paraphernalia: a tiny knit hat or booties, a picture frame and a rubber ducky. "I tell them that if they come back with their baby, we'll give them some clothes and stuff, if they need any maternity clothes." In this manner, she says, she and other volunteers dissuade two or three women a week from getting an abortion out of the approximately 75 who she says go in seeking the procedure. Until the previous week, Tim had arrayed 75 white crosses on the lawn in front of the house, one for each "baby" they fail to "save."

Asked if after the high hopes of the late '80s and early '90s, they are ever disappointed at how little has changed, and how long and hard they've had to work, Terri admits that it is "frustrating to think that we did come close. I think we came real close, and then God came down and blessed the effort, and then because of the price to keep it up or whatever, people decided not to do it." She won't admit, though, to feeling defeated. "We have our days," Terri says, "but for the most part we've just hung in there."

Tim, on the other hand, jumps at the chance to talk "about wanting to give up," as he, unprompted, puts it. "It's been a constant crisis going on for so long," he says. "It keeps you constantly on the point of saying, 'I don't know if I can handle this,' but that's just where we have to depend on God and say, 'God, we need your strength to be able to make it through this.' Because on our own I would have given up a thousand times -- I probably have given up at least a couple hundred, and then Terri brought me back."

Now, Tim says, their work is moving in a new direction. "We feel that God may be leading us to do some things that we haven't done before." The Palmquists are turning their energies inward, toward the Christian community that has kept them at a distance for so many years. "What we want to do is be able to mobilize the churches," Tim says. "The first thing is for the churches to recognize that this is their concern." To that end, the Palmquists have been trying to keep track of the church backgrounds of the women they deal with, and eventually to put together a database that they can show to pastors so they can say, "Well, you know what? We've had three girls from your church this year come here, and this is something that affects your church."

The Palmquists are not alone in this newfound focus. Troy Newman again and again cites the figure that 70 percent of the women who have abortions are Christian. "The problem is really internal," he concludes. Today, Newman says in his theatrical salesman's voice, there "is less emphasis on the tactic of going down and rescuing, sitting in front of the door of an abortion clinic, picketing an abortionist in his neighborhood or running for office even. We need to start with ourselves. Jesus said take the log out of your own eye before you can remove the speck in your brother's eye. So you know what that means? We need to stop killing our own children."

Speaking of logs and specks, it's worth mentioning that the anti-abortion movement has itself been

repeatedly torn asunder by some fairly un-Christian behavior. Jeff White insists that the early squabbles within the ranks of Operation Rescue -- which led to a coup of sorts, in which White and Joseph Foreman attempted to unseat Randall Terry -- "were not ego trips." Every argument, he says, occurred "because we loved God and we loved each other." Since then, there's been a series of splits, alliances forged and broken, with plenty of bad feelings left behind. Newman and White once worked together, but today Newman jumps at the chance to leak the allegation that White has an unreported income: "He's got a judgment hanging over his head for a million bucks, so he keeps pretty low," Newman confides, adding, "He's got his own business, I don't know if he wants anybody to find out what he does." White denies this. "It's kind of weird that he would even say something like that," he says.

Flip Benham, who cites Scripture like other men stutter, displays equally little eagerness to turn the other cheek to an old comrade-at-arms. White, he says vaguely, "has often lied and done a lot of foolish things." Benham refuses to explain what sort of foolish things he means, and adds, "There was a falling out long before the violence issue. Jeff White wanted to be king, and nobody wanted him there."

Benham was also instrumental in the final downfall of Randall Terry, who, in the years since he left Operation Rescue, would flirt with the militia- and white supremacist--linked U.S. Taxpayers Party, broadcast a right-wing Christian radio show, run for Congress (and lose miserably) in upstate New York, and wage battles against gay rights and so-called child pornography (by leading a boycott to pressure Barnes & Noble to stop selling Jock Sturges' coffee-table photo books). Shortly after Terry left his wife in 1999, Benham posted a plea on the Operation Save America Web site beseeching the faithful to "Please Pray for Randall Terry," who had fallen into sin. Terry was ostracized by the few supporters he had left, and lost his radio show. He now sells used cars in upstate New York and is attempting to remake himself as a country crooner, hawking his CDs -- which feature such tracks as "Got It Bad for You" and "The Holy One" -- on the Internet.

If anti-abortion forces have proved themselves adept at intra-Christian bickering in the past, they are now making it an official focus of their work. Newman's Operation Rescue West has joined Flip Benham's Operation Save America in launching a project they call "Establishing BloodGuilt" to, in Benham's words "remind the church of her responsibility to stand in the gap." Though that project was officially launched in January for the 29th anniversary of Roe v. Wade, activists in Wichita last summer briefly abandoned their positions in front of the clinic and marched on several churches, protesting their tolerant stands on abortion and, in at least one case, on homosexuality. Terri Palmquist promises that if Bakersfield churches "slam the door in our face," she and Tim and their scattered followers will have to move their picket lines and oversized signs from the sidewalks in front of the clinic to those in front of the churches.

Part of this more insular focus, Newman admits, stems from disillusion at the fickleness of the national mood. "There was a lot of early enthusiasm. We thought that if we could just sit in front of the door of an abortion clinic a couple of times, abortion would end. That's when we began to realize that Americans have no staying power for difficult issues," Newman says. "We're beginning to think of this battle as long term. It could happen in our lifetime, but we can see reformation and revival happening in our children's lifetime." Substitute revolution for those other R words, and he sounds every bit the exhausted midcentury Marxist.

Despite the shift, though, anti-abortion activists haven't entirely given up on the public at large. Clinics all around the country still have regular picketers, the Palmquists still stand on the sidewalk across the street, and Troy Newman hasn't given up on what he calls "education." Newman's Operation Rescue West now sponsors "Truth Trucks," which cruise the freeways of Southern California, and

occasionally tour the rest of the country, their trailers plastered with oversized images of aborted fetuses. (Robert Rudnick, the driver of one such truck, was arrested last year outside a clinic in Birmingham, Alabama. Police confiscated three handguns and two shotguns from the truck. Newman denies any connection to Rudnick. No charges were filed.) "If America is going to support abortion on demand," Newman says, "she's going to view the decapitated heads of the children she helped kill on a regular basis to the point where they are sickened by it."

In the end, Newman's and the Palmquists' disenchantment is probably best understood as indicative of an age-old American David-and-Goliath complex, of a Christian delight in persecution, or of the inevitable result of their impossibly absolutist expectations. Because even if the extremist wing of the movement they represent has been isolated and enfeebled, their cause has rarely looked brighter. If the public has repeatedly shown itself to be more pro-choice than not -- a fact illustrated by Richard Riordan's and Elizabeth Dole's pragmatic stands on abortion -- it is nonetheless harder now than at any point in the last two decades to get an abortion in America. More than 800 clinics, hospitals and private doctors' offices have stopped performing abortions. In most rural areas, there's simply nowhere to go: 84 percent of American counties lack even one abortion provider. What pro-choice activists call "guerrilla legislation" has been quietly passed at local, state and federal levels to deny public funding of abortion and slowly but effectively chip away at choice with mandatory waiting periods and parental-consent requirements. And of course, with Bush in the White House and the remaining pro-Roe Supreme Court justices aging rapidly, legal abortion is on shakier ground than ever.

Back at the beach, Jeff White is not holding his breath. "I don't take solace in politicians," he says. He is also steadfastly optimistic. "A lot of the pro-life movement is down in the mouth," White admits. "I don't know why." As if to answer him, a blond head leans out the window of a passing white pickup and screams, "Get outta here!" White shakes his head. "The last time I was here, there was a guy thumping me on the chest," he says. It's happened enough times that whenever anyone approaches, White says, he immediately assumes that they're going to try to hit him. "It actually happens far less than you would imagine."

Either way, he doesn't let the jeers and blows get him down. "Historically, it's when the other side appears as if they have all the cards that it can change in a flash, the whole center of the battle." He points to the teens working with him a few yards away, all members of Survivors, which White says has been gaining momentum, growing "in leaps and bounds." The kids are recruited at local churches, and it's in the enthusiasm of these unusual teens, who are willing to give up a beautiful Saturday to be ridiculed by strangers, that White places his hope. He talks about the "high-intensity activist training camp" he runs for youth each summer, and about their tours of college campuses -- "the battleground for the hearts and minds of the next generation" -- where they do much the same thing they are doing right now, standing around in public places trying to win converts with their gruesome posters. "It's just a trickle now," White promises, "but it will become a flood."

'I Expect A Great Reward' - Abortion Provider's Killer Is Unrepentant On Eve of Execution

Washington Post - Wednesday, September 3, 2003

Author: Manuel Roig-Franzia and Catharine Skipp, Washington Post Staff Writers

Paul Hill never left any doubt about his feelings on the subject of killing abortion doctors. He was all for it.

"Justifiable homicide" to protect unborn children, he called it. He made his case so often, on television talk shows and in newspaper interviews, that he became one of the leading voices in support of Michael Griffin, the chemical plant worker who committed the nation's first abortion clinic murder in Pensacola, Fla., in 1993.

Three months after Griffin's life sentence for murder in 1994, Hill went from commentator to killer. He fired a 12-gauge, pump-action shotgun into a pickup truck outside the Ladies Clinic in Pensacola, killing physician John B. Britton, 69, and security escort James H. Barrett, 74.

Hill, now 49 and so unrepentant that he said today he would kill again, is scheduled to die by injection Wednesday evening for the double murder. Barring a stay, he will be the first person in U.S. history to be put to death for killing an abortion provider.

Hill's planned execution at the Florida State Prison in Starke is drawing new attention to the extremist groups that advocate violence to stop abortions and is sending pulses of anxiety through the nation's 450 abortion clinics. Extra security precautions were being put in place at clinics today in anticipation of a possible backlash from some radical antiabortion activists inspired by Hill who has been labeled a martyr and "a true American hero" on Web sites run by groups such as the militant Army of God. Hill -- a man whose inflammatory rhetoric filled the airwaves in the mid-1990s -- is going out talking. He conducted a group interview today on the eve of his execution, smiling and appearing composed in footage of the hour-long session at the northern Florida prison.

"I expect a great reward in heaven," Hill said. "I am looking forward to glory. I don't feel remorse. . . . People have asked me if I would do it again; if I was put in a similar circumstance, I believe I would act similarly."

Hill's hair is a bit thinner than it was when he was making the rounds of television shows, such as the Phil Donahue show, where he compared abortion doctors to Adolf Hitler and accused women who have abortions of being "accessories to murder." But his smile was there, just the same as always, an expression that has unnerved many who learned what Hill had done and how he felt about it.

Hill, an airplane pilot's son and former Presbyterian minister who grew up in the upscale Miami suburb of Coral Gables, is facing a death that he has done little to prevent. He refused to make an opening statement while representing himself during a murder trial in late 1994. After his conviction, he blocked attempts by attorneys to file motions challenging his death sentence.

His dogged refusal, despite numerous opportunities, to express remorse has made him a hero to the most extreme elements of the antiabortion fight. He is celebrated on Web sites and praised effusively.

The Rev. Don Spitz, who is organizing a vigil for Hill outside the prison Wednesday, drove to Pensacola in 1994 after hearing about the abortion clinic shooting to meet Hill and has been his spiritual adviser since. In the days after the shooting, Spitz said, Hill was contented, at peace.

"He had joy because he obeyed God," Spitz said.

Hill's claim that God told him to kill Britton and his continued advocacy of violence have divided the country's antiabortion movement. Some of the nation's most prominent antiabortion leaders have condemned him.

"Christ did not come to save us with a Molotov cocktail in one hand and a dagger between his teeth; he came to lay his life down so that others might live," said Flip Benham, national director of the antiabortion group Operation Rescue.

"What Paul Hill did was directly the opposite."

Seven people, including three abortion doctors, have been killed in attacks aimed at abortion clinics and their workers since 1993, according to the National Abortion Federation, a Washington-based group that represents clinics that conduct about half of the 1.2 million abortions performed nationally each year. Only Hill has been sentenced to death, while other killers have received life sentences. One suspect, the fugitive Eric Robert Rudolph, who was captured earlier this year, is awaiting a trial in a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic bombing that killed a police officer.

Vicki Saporta, the group's director, calls the attackers "terrorists."

"They've proven they'll stop at nothing," Saporta said today.

The last fatal attack was nearly five years ago, when Barnett Slepian was shot to death inside his home in Amherst, N.Y., in front of his wife and children, by a sniper who fired through his kitchen window. Saporta and others worry that this period of relative calm will be broken by the double impact of Hill's scheduled execution and the 25-years-to-life sentence handed down in May for Slepian's killer, James C. Kopp.

"We're very concerned that this fall will bring the attempted assassination of an abortion provider," Saporta said.

Threatening letters, each containing a single rifle bullet, were sent recently to four state officials in Florida, including the judge who sentenced Hill and Gov. Jeb Bush (R). Bush told reporters today that he will not "be bullied" by such tactics.

While there is an air of nervousness at many clinics as the execution approaches, Hill appeared placid and composed today, wearing his orange prison jumpsuit and preparing to eat his last meal. He asked Spitz to bring just one thing when he arrives for a final prayer Wednesday: a New American Standard Bible.

Edition: F

Section: A Section

Page: A1

Dateline: MIAMI, Sept.

Record Number: 090303XA01136236

Copyright 2003 The Washington Post

LONGTIME ABORTION ACTIVIST NOW A 'MELLOWED' POLITICIAN

Palm Beach Post, The (FL) - Saturday, June 25, 2005

Author: GEORGE BENNETT, Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Randall Terry is back in the culture wars, but he says he's no longer the angry young man who gained fame and scorn as an anti-abortion protest leader in the 1980s and '90s.

The 21st century Terry, running for a state Senate seat in northeast Florida, is a "mellowed" man who has been through legal defeats, bankruptcy, divorce, remarriage, rejection by some of his former soulmates and a foray into country music.

He's still an unwavering foe of abortion who boasts that his Operation Rescue followers racked up more than 70,000 arrests at abortion-clinic protests and that his personal rap sheet includes getting booked more than 40 times.

But at 46, he says the in-your-face era of his life is over.

"I don't want to be a protester. I want to be a statesman," Terry said Wednesday between media events announcing his 2006 campaign.

Terry, who moved to the St. Augustine area two years ago, isn't merely running for some seat in the state legislature. He has picked a wedge-issue Republican primary fight with Sen. Jim King of Jacksonville, who this year led eight of his GOP colleagues in blocking legislation aimed at keeping Terri Schiavo alive.

The Schiavo case put Terry back in the national spotlight as spokesman for Schiavo's parents, Bob and Mary Schindler, in their losing fight to have their brain-damaged daughter's feeding tube reattached.

Rhetoric gives way to music

A Terry-King primary has the makings of an ugly clash between guests on a Hannity and Colmes segment. But Terry vows his challenge will have a civil tone.

"When I was leading Operation Rescue, I was in my 20s," he said. "There are things that I have said that make me wince now because that's not who I am now. I'm in my 40s. I'm in my mid-40s. I've mellowed. Hopefully I've matured."

In his Operation Rescue days, Terry said, "Some of my rhetoric was a little too strident and I did not give people the benefit of the doubt."

Now, he said, "I'm just not angry. I was an angry young man before. I'm a more musical young man now. I'm not middle-aged yet."

The non-angry, more musical Terry plays piano and guitar and spent time in Nashville recording country-western music before moving to Florida.

At a series of news conferences last month to announce he was thinking of challenging King (not to be confused with Wednesday's series of news conferences to announce he was challenging King for sure), Terry handed out his countrified 2003 Dark Sunglasses Day

CD. He also distributed copies of his Bible-quoting treatise on government, *The Sword*, and a sermon called *The Two Mountains* that he recently delivered at a synagogue.

He pointed to the sermon as an encapsulation of his views on faith and government. It says American laws and liberties are rooted in a belief in "an active, caring God, as He is taught in the Jewish and Christian faiths . . . without those Divine principles, there is no America."

Public, personal losses

Terry became a national lightning rod in the 1980s as founder of Operation Rescue. He likens the group's demonstrations at abortion clinics to the non-violent civil rights sit-ins of the 1960s. Critics accused Operation Rescue of intimidation and creating a climate that led others to violence.

Terry rejects that criticism.

"Our peaceful protests gave a safety valve to the cultural debate about abortion. . . . We were always peaceful," said Terry, who broke with the group in 1992.

When he appeared on a South Florida radio show last month, a caller asked Terry about James Kopp, convicted in 2003 for the 1998 murder of a doctor who performed abortions. Kopp once had been involved in Operation Rescue.

"Jim Kopp at that time was never talking about shooting anybody," Terry told the caller. "The fact that Jim Kopp went off his rocker a decade later is not my fault."

In his heyday, many of Terry's words and deeds were calculated to shock.

In 1992, he helped arrange for an Operation Rescue protester to present an aborted fetus to then-candidate Bill Clinton outside his hotel at the Democratic National Convention in New York. Terry was convicted of violating an injunction and served five months in jail.

It's the kind of thing Terry said he wouldn't be involved in today. But he wouldn't necessarily condemn someone for doing it.

"I just wouldn't do it today. But at the time, Bill Clinton was an unflinching champion of abortion," Terry said. "If Bill Clinton is proud of abortion, then he needs to come face-to-face with one of his victims. We have shown the victim of crime to demonstrate injustice."

The 1990s saw setbacks and a fading from public view for Terry. Planned Parenthood and the National Organization for Women filed multiple lawsuits against him and Operation Rescue for blockading abortion clinics and won \$1.6 million in fines and legal fees.

The debts led Terry to file for bankruptcy in November 1998 - the same time he was losing a bid for Congress in upstate New York as a Right-To-Life Party candidate.

Terry divorced his wife of 19 years in 2000. He married Andrea Kollmorgen later that year. They now have three children.

Primary will test GOP

The disintegration of Terry's first marriage led to a censure from his former church in Binghamton, N.Y., and criticism from some in the anti-abortion movement.

The Rev. Flip Benham, who heads the current version of Operation Rescue, said Terry has failed to show "Godly sorrow" for the breakup of his marriage. "It's very difficult for him to speak out with any kind of Christian authority with his kind of character flaws."

In a recent interview, Terry said he was tired of talking about the divorce and its fallout, adding only that "I love God. I didn't commit any adultery."

He said the controversy has been fully addressed on his Web site. The site includes a long defense of Terry by Bishop Craig William Bates of the Northeast Diocese of the Charismatic Episcopal Church, which Terry joined in 1999.

The randallterry.com site also includes lengthy responses by Terry and his bookkeeper to a 2003 article in the Christian magazine *World* that raised questions about Terry accepting donations to buy his \$398,400 house in Ponte Vedra Beach.

Terry said part of the reason he moved to northeast Florida was the area's reputation as a Republican bastion. His challenge of King will be a measure of what kind of Republicanism that is.

"The Terri Schiavo matter was unforgivable to many of the Republican loyalists," Terry said at one of his announcement news conferences.

King, a state legislator since 1986 and a senator since 1999, countered that he is the "real Republican" in the race. "I'm a fiscal conservative and a moderate on social issues. My success and voting record would indicate I'm pretty much where much of Florida is."

The Associated Press contributed to this story.

george_bennett@pbpost.com

Caption: PHOTO (C & B&W)

1. (C) OSCAR SOSA/The Associated Press NEW CALLING: The Terri Schiavo case prompted Randall Terry, holding his son, Michael, to seek public office. 2. Associated Press file photo PAST PERSONA: Randall Terry, shown preaching in 1992, says some of his past comments 'make me wince now because that's not who I am.'

Memo: Ran all editions.

Edition: FINAL

Section: A SECTION

Page: 1A

Index Terms: ABORTION PROTEST POLITICS CANDIDATE REPUBLICAN FL SENATE

Record Number: 0506250132

Copyright (c) 2005 Palm Beach Newspapers, Inc.



Abortion protest trouble-free Clinics open as groups get their messages out

Birmingham News (AL) - Tuesday, July 17, 2007

Author: GREG GARRISON News staff writer

Flip Benham stood on the street at the Five Points South fountain on Monday morning, Bible in hand, facing a row of graphic anti-abortion posters and speaking to people as they walked by.

"It's a hard truth," said Benham, director of Operation Rescue/Operation Save America, which is leading protests in the city this week.

It's a message that fires emotions.

Heather Carnaro grew angry as she passed Benham, telling him she would have an abortion if she was raped.

"I believe in abortion in certain cases, incest or rape, or if it's her life or the baby," Carnaro said. She said she got pregnant at 18, left home and had the baby despite her family's insistence she have an abortion. "I'm not in favor of having an abortion, but in certain circumstances, it's necessary."

The face-off of Benham and Carnaro was one facet to a national anti-abortion protest that confronted Birmingham commuters with large graphic signs

and slogans Monday.

More than 100 protesters gathered in front of the New Woman All Women Clinic. Another 30 were in front of the Planned Parenthood office. The two clinics are about two miles apart on Birmingham's Southside. About 20 people held signs along U.S. 280 in front of The Summit during rush hour traffic.

Benham and several other demonstrators rallied at Five Points South, conducting an "Emancipation Proclamation" for the unborn. Dozens of people gathered around the fountain, singing songs and signing letters of support for the unborn.

Birmingham police Lt. Henry Irby said there had been no problems with protesters.

The day was free of any significant confrontation, said Kim Adams, coordinator of the Alabama Reproductive Freedom Summer counter-protest and president of the Greater Birmingham National Organization for Women.

The clinics were open, with more than a dozen supporters standing guard, she said.

"There was no engagement between the two sides," Adams said. "We consider it a bust. They haven't had that many people out today."

Benham said the demonstrations against abortion are planned each day through Sunday.

Adams said those supporting abortion rights plan to gather at Five Points South for an "abortion speak out" on Friday at 5:30 p.m. and at a rally in Kelly Ingram Park on Saturday at 10 a.m.

EMAIL: ggarrison@bhamnews.com

Section: LOCAL NEWS

Page: 1-B

Volume: 120

Record Number: MERLIN_4260582

Copyright, 2007, Birmingham News. All Rights Reserved.

Editorial: Extremism is the threat**Salisbury Post (NC) - Friday, September 10, 2010**

Mounting tension broke Thursday when the Rev. Terry Jones announced that his Florida church would not burn copies of the Quran on Sept. 11. The symbolic protest threatened to set off a destructive chain of events. That same day, we saw troubling local evidence of Christian doctrine being twisted to destructive ends.

The FBI arrested 26-year-old Justin Carl Moose, accused in a plot to bomb a women's clinic in North Carolina. Fortunately, the person seeking Moose's expertise was an FBI plant. But Moose's intention to "save a life, terminate an abortionist," as he says on his Facebook page, was as real as the instructions he gave for building a bomb.

Millions of Christians sing "Onward, Christian Soldier" and take its talk of war as metaphor, much like the Salvation Army. Millions study the Bible and find a message of peace to embrace. But, just as Islam can spawn terrorism by extremists, Christianity has its radicals. Moose is said to be a member of the Army of God, a Christian group that advocates violence in its quest to stop abortion. The Army of God claimed responsibility for the bombings committed by Eric Rudolph and has been connected to other violent acts.

Many people abhor abortion and work to end it in peaceful ways. They open pregnancy support centers, lobby Congress and hold demonstrations. Christianity is not the threat; extremism is. "You don't overcome murdering by murdering," says Flip Benham, national director of Operation Rescue. Benham's organization has been accused of encouraging violence, a charge it denies. Army of God adherents openly advocate violence.

Moose's arrest brings that threat uncomfortably close to home. He graduated from South Rowan High School and lives in Concord. If what the FBI says is true, he is a homegrown terrorist.

Compare that to another Concord man who made headlines last week, Private First Class James McClamrock. McClamrock was one of the first U.S. soldiers to die in Iraq since the official end of combat operations. Only 22 and a preacher's son, he joined the Army a year ago. He was "one of the good ones," a family friend said. "He had his head on straight."

The country has millions more homegrown patriots than terrorists, more churches advocating harmony than threatening to burn Qurans. The wayward minority gets the attention, though, and shapes outside opinions. The extremists are the threat — to their own religion.

Section: Opinion**Record Number: ecc6296569ed9df580f69ba05db9a249845a756****Copyright 2010 Salisbury Post, All Rights Reserved.**

The Rhetoric of **OPERATION RESCUE**

Projecting the Christian Pro-Life Message



Mark Allen Steiner



THE RHETORIC OF
OPERATION RESCUE

Projecting the Christian Pro-Life Message

Mark Allan Steiner

T & T Clark
New York London

Copyright © 2006 by Mark Allan Steiner

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher, T & T Clark International.

T & T Clark International, 80 Maiden Lane, New York, NY 10038
T & T Clark International, The Tower Building, 11 York Road, London SE1 7NX
T & T Clark International is a Continuum imprint.

Cover design by Wesley Hoke

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Steiner, Mark Allan.

The rhetoric of Operation Rescue: projecting the Christian pro-life message / Mark Allan Steiner.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN 0-567-02562-4 (hardcover) — ISBN 0-567-02572-1 (pbk.)

1. Operation Rescue (Organization) 2. Pro-life movement—United States. 3. Christian conservatism—United States. 4. Rhetoric—Political aspects—United States. 5. Rhetoric—Religious aspects—Christianity. I. Title.

HQ767.25.S74 2006

261.8'36—dc22

2006001130

Printed in the United States of America

06 07 08 09 10 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Acknowledgments

Part One:

CHAPTER

The

Pre

Part Two:

CHAPTER

Tra

Be

A I

Rh

CHAPT

Operat

Franci

Eva

Fur

Pro

our critique of culture, or because we lacked conviction, or because there were not enough of us, or because too many were lethargic and uncommitted. We failed because we were unable to redirect a nation from the top down." "Real change," they declare, "must come from the bottom up or, better yet, from the inside out."⁴ Forgetting this truth, further, is a major consequence of political co-optation. "Whenever the church cozies up to political power," they observe, "it loses sight of its all-important mission to change the world from the inside-out." Instead, "we try to fill ourselves with power that belongs to the world and seek to usher in a kingdom not of this world by using tools that are of this world."⁵

Carter's critique is quite similar. "If history has taught us anything," he states, "it is that religions that fall too deeply in love with the art of politics lose their souls—very fast." This is so in part because "politics is a dirty business" that "leaves few of its participants unscathed. . . . When the transcendent language of faith is dragged down into the arena of democracy," therefore, "it usually winds up battered and twisted."⁶

This does not mean that those with deep religious convictions should eschew public and political involvement completely, as did American fundamentalist Christians throughout much of the twentieth century. Rather, Carter's imperative is that "religion, when it engages in the public life of the nation, must do so with some care." In particular, those with deep religious convictions—particularly fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christians in the United States—need to make sure to maintain their collective role of "prophetic resistance." Rather than merely "gather[ing] enough votes to tell everybody else what to do," according to Carter, public religious activism needs to be consistent with the most significant public role of religion—"stand[ing] apart from politics, apart even from culture, to call us to righteousness without regard to political advantage."⁷

My goal in this book is to help explain why fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christians have in large part missed this mark. By conducting a sustained examination of the rhetoric of pro-life social protest group Operation Rescue, a group that appealed primarily to fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christians in the United States, I wish to complement the analyses of Neuhaus, Guinness, Thomas, Dobson, and Carter by offering a somewhat different but related critique of contemporary evangelicalism and fundamentalism.

In a book examining the role of television in contemporary American politics, political communication scholar Roderick Hart claims, "it is how we talk about politics that has let us down."⁸ In my view, likewise, it is how

fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christians *talk* about their faith—especially about how that faith is to be brought to bear in public life—that has let them down. In other words, the problems with conservative Christian political activism identified by the above authors can be seen at least in part as a *rhetorical* problem. Such a view affirms that rhetoric—the language and symbols that human beings use to influence others—is fundamental to the human condition and has considerable power.⁹

Operation Rescue serves as an opportune case study for me to develop this overall claim. The group, prominent between 1988 and 1992, was chiefly responsible for the incorporation of confrontational social protest as an accepted strategy of the general pro-life movement. With its mass blockades of clinics where abortions are performed, Operation Rescue brought the abortion controversy to a new level of contention. Operation Rescue, writes anthropologist Faye Ginsburg, "offered a new vision and strategy to a battle-worn pro-life movement that had achieved few of its specific goals through more moderate methods." The organization, she continues, "had a catalytic effect on a new generation of activists, part of a rising tide of conservative Christian activism."¹⁰ In a relatively recent history of the militant wing of the pro-life movement, journalists James Risen and Judy L. Thomas declare, "Operation Rescue turned what had been a small, ragtag group of easily ignored protesters into a genuine movement, an aggressive national campaign that put the anti-abortion cause back onto America's Page One. . . . Operation Rescue," they continue, "eventually became the biggest social protest movement since the antiwar and civil rights campaigns of the 1960s."¹¹

Operation Rescue's historical prominence, as well as its incorporation of confrontational social protest into the pro-life movement, certainly makes the group worthy of study by scholars in a variety of disciplines. My interest in Operation Rescue, however, relates more to how the group's rhetoric was able to shape its activists' motivation and sense of identity. As Risen and Thomas have pointed out, the perspectives of fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christianity are central to the group's rhetoric. Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry, they write, "succeeded where others failed by following a simple yet powerful strategy. He focused his recruiting efforts almost exclusively on fundamentalist churches, particularly on the pastors of those churches." In order to "transform 'rescue' from a movement that appealed only to handfuls of feverish Catholics . . . into something that would draw thousands of fundamentalists out of their church pews," Terry "changed] the rhetoric in ways that few outsiders ever detected

win[ning] over his fellow Evangelicals by translating anti-abortion protest into their own Bible-based language of judgment and wrath.¹² In this sort of rhetoric can be found not only the key to the group's initial success and later failure, but also an important indicator of what is wrong with the contemporary participation of fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christians in public dialogue.

In this book, a sustained examination of the rhetoric of Operation Rescue, I claim that this rhetoric most usefully can be seen primarily within the context of larger rhetorical struggles within the evangelical Christian tradition. These historical and contemporary rhetorical struggles relate to both (1) how, as evangelicals, to utilize the symbolic resources of the faith tradition as what noted rhetorician and literary critic Kenneth Burke called "equipment for living,"¹³ and (2) how, on the personal and organizational levels, to act upon evangelical faith commitments to engage public culture and to engage in public dialogue.

On both of these counts, I judge the rhetoric of Operation Rescue to be inadequate, even dangerous. Their rhetoric, I will argue in this book, promotes an at best deficient—and at worst dangerous—vision of what the Christian faith does mean and should mean for evangelicals. Further, the rhetoric of Operation Rescue promotes attitudes toward public engagement (political activism, lobbying, public statements, and so on) that are hindering or even inimical to civil and productive public discourse—the type of discourse that would allow for diversity and pluralism in public dialogue, while also minimizing the temptations to incivility, coercion, and violence.

I must add, however, that these rhetorical deficiencies of Operation Rescue should not be judged to be the sole responsibility of the group's rhetors, as similar deficiencies can be observed throughout the history of the evangelical Christian tradition. On the other hand, neither should the blame rest with the evangelical faith tradition itself (nor with religious expression more generally) since, I believe, a meaningful corrective can be drawn from the symbolic resources of that same faith tradition. Indeed, gaining the ability to articulate such a meaningful corrective—for these rhetorical deficiencies and for the larger problems concerning the relationships among religion, politics, and public expression—is an important reason to try to understand better, with a sufficient degree of complexity and nuance, what is wrong.

Such is the plan of this book. First, though, I close this introductory chapter by providing a historical overview of Operation Rescue and a logistical overview of this book's chapters.

The Rise and Fall of Operation Rescue

According to Randall Terry's wife, Cindy, Terry first conceived of Operation Rescue in 1983. During a Wednesday night prayer meeting at their church, he envisioned "being in front of abortion mills across the country and just shutting them down, hundreds of thousands of people just shutting them down all over the country."¹⁴ It was not until 1986, however, that Terry led his first "rescue" at Southern Tier Women's Center in Binghamton, New York. He and six others locked themselves inside the clinic and were arrested for criminal trespass; Terry was then jailed after refusing to pay the fine.¹⁵

To be sure, the "sit-in" approach to pro-life social protest did not originate with Randall Terry. For this, Risen and Thomas credit Catholic protester John O'Keefe, who staged his first protest in 1975.¹⁶ O'Keefe and others organized a series of "sit-ins" prior to the emergence of Operation Rescue, but these were usually small and failed to attract any sort of sustained attention.¹⁷ Terry, by contrast, "revolutionized rescue by making it big."¹⁸

Though done on a significantly larger scale, the style of protest is formally (if not ideologically) similar to the "sit-ins" employed in the 1960s and modeled by O'Keefe. "A rescue mission," writes Terry in describing his group's style of protest, "happens when one or two, or a group of twenty or a hundred or five hundred or more people go to an abortion clinic and either walk inside to the waiting room, offering an alternative to the mothers, or sit around the door of the abortion clinic before it opens to prevent the slaughter of innocent lives."¹⁹

Operation Rescue advocated the necessity of going beyond conventional legal and political means to end legalized abortion, and embracing a more confrontational approach. "I am convinced," Terry declared, "that the American people will begin to take the pro-life movement seriously when they see good, decent citizens peacefully sitting around abortion mills, risking arrest and prosecution as Martin Luther King Jr. did."²⁰

In this respect, the linking of Operation Rescue with past movements involving "civil disobedience" was crucial. "Now, with 70 ministers leading the way," commented Cal Thomas upon the "Pastor's Rescue" that took place during the 1991 "Summer of Mercy" campaign, "whole congregations may be emboldened to follow." "If that happens," he continued, "we've seen the beginning of what could mirror the civil rights movement of the '60s, when ministers sat in and blockaded on behalf of another oppressed minority and participated in a revolution that produced laws protecting blacks against racial discrimination."²¹

Nor was this linkage lost on others who supported Operation Rescue. Other writers (including Terry), in arguing for the legitimacy of Operation Rescue's civil disobedience, labored to establish commonality between Operation Rescue and important, legitimating historical phenomena. Such phenomena include the work of the abolitionists and those who operated the "Underground Railroad" in the nineteenth century,²² and the work of individuals, such as Corrie Ten Boom and André Trocmé, in hiding Jews from the World War II Nazi government.²³

In part, as a means of reinforcing this linkage, Operation Rescue emphasized its commitment to nonviolence. Those participating in "rescues" typically were required to sign a pledge card that, in the context of the overall purposes and goals of Operation Rescue, explicitly proscribes violence in any form.²⁴ On a 1994 CNN talk show, Operation Rescue leader Flip Benham declared that "[o]ut of 75,000 arrests, Operation Rescue has not had one convicted act of violence, which makes it the most peaceful, social revolution in world's history."²⁵ In his book-length apologia for Operation Rescue, Randy Alcorn asserted that violence is contrary to the basic purpose of Operation Rescue activism. "There are perfectly logical and consistent reasons why we draw lines and do not use violence in rescuing," he writes. "Violence puts human life at risk, and we are to save lives not endanger them. We want to rescue victims, not create victims. . . . [W]e are intervening for the innocent, not doling out punishment on the guilty."²⁶

The rhetoric of Operation Rescue frames the group's activism as much more than just nonviolent protest to effect change on an important social issue. The group's rhetoric also casts such activism as "repenting" of the collective inactivity that has left the practice of abortion unchecked, asking God for mercy on the church and on America, and, finally, saving lives. Such deeper motives tie in with tightly held religious convictions, particularly for those espousing the evangelical Christian faith. Terry nicely summed up this deeper level of motivation in an exhortation to the reader of his book. "It is important," he writes, "that you come in a spirit of humility and unity, demonstrating a 'we' mentality and not a 'me' mentality. Remember, our purpose for coming together is to repent for our inactivity on behalf of the unborn. If you're there to get a kick out of getting arrested, your motivation is seriously wrong. Our only reason for doing a rescue is to save children in obedience to God's Word."²⁷

Such appeals found broad resonance, and the organization and the size of its protests grew. In 1988 Operation Rescue garnered national attention with its "Siege of Atlanta." Observe Risen and Thomas: "The enduring

stereotype of the American abortion war—Evangelical fury crashing against feminist certitude—was fixed into the national consciousness by Operation Rescue's siege of Atlanta." "When Randall Terry and his fundamentalists poured into Atlanta's streets in the summer of 1988," they continue, "America discovered Operation Rescue." This completed "the sudden transformation of anti-abortion activism from a movement of scattered and easily ignored pockets of local protest into a national phenomenon." "[T]he politics of abortion," they conclude, "would never be the same."²⁸ By the end of the campaign, over 1,200 arrests of protesters had been made.²⁹

Operation Rescue's "Summer of Mercy" campaign, held during the summer of 1991 in Wichita, Kansas, was the group's largest and arguably most pivotal. The campaign, which lasted over a month longer than initially expected, began on July 15 as a week-long series of protests designed to "win the hearts and the minds of grass-roots America."³⁰ By the time the final arrest was made, on August 26, there had been over 2,600 arrests of over 1,700 individuals.³¹ But numbers do not tell the whole story. In their case study of the "Summer of Mercy" campaign, communication scholars John W. Bowers, Donovan J. Ochs, and Richard J. Jensen documented the escalation that took place; this included the injunction issued by federal judge Patrick Kelly, the arrests and incapacitation of Operation Rescue leaders, the presence of federal marshals, and the use of mace against protesters.³²

Concurrent with Operation Rescue's rise to prominence were challenges and setbacks that presaged the eventual collapse of the group. One of these challenges related to vision and recruitment. Terry knew that if Operation Rescue was ultimately to succeed, the group needed to connect with the larger evangelical community nationwide. In this respect, the denunciation of Operation Rescue's tactics by Dr. Charles Stanley, a nationally prominent evangelical and arguably the most influential minister in the South, was pivotal. "The worst blow" in Operation Rescue's 1988 "Siege of Atlanta," declare Risen and Thomas, "came from 'the church.'" "Terry knew," they continue, "that if he could tap into the resources and congregations of mainline churches like the Southern Baptists, Operation Rescue could take thousands, rather than hundreds, into the streets and into the jails." Because of the implications for Operation Rescue's short-term and long-term goals, "Terry and his comrades went to great lengths to cultivate Stanley and win his support."³³

Stanley's August 1988 leaflet "A Biblical Perspective on Civil Disobedience," distributed at his church and read from the pulpit, was devastating to Operation Rescue. Stanley went beyond a refusal to endorse Operation

Rescue, criticizing their approach to pro-life activism as unbiblical.³⁴ This denunciation, observed Risen and Thomas, was “a critical turning point in Operation Rescue’s fortunes.” “Dozens of other Protestant ministers,” they continue, “followed Stanley’s lead and kept their distance from Operation Rescue, and the organization never won the support of any mainline denomination.”³⁵

The legal pressure on Operation Rescue, meanwhile, continued to rise. Just the mounting civil judgments against the group forced Operation Rescue to close its national offices in December 1990, after which the group decentralized and re-formed as Operation Rescue National.³⁶

Bowers, Ochs, and Jensen have provided an ample description of the federal government’s response to the 1991 Wichita “Summer of Mercy” campaign. The federal injunctions issued by Judge Patrick Kelly, the presence of hundreds of federal marshals, and the arrests of movement leaders is summed up nicely in the authors’ claim that “[t]he establishment had the power and was willing to use it to gain control of the situation.”³⁷

The federal government’s use of power against Operation Rescue-style protests has figured prominently since the summer of 1991. In January 1994, the United States Supreme Court ruled that owners of abortion clinics can sue “rescuers” under the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) law, thus enabling victorious clinic owners to collect triple damages from protesters.³⁸ Later that year President Clinton signed into law the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act, which renders a wide variety of violent and nonviolent pro-life protest, including the “rescue” tactics of Operation Rescue, a federal crime punishable by up to one year in jail and a fine of up to \$10,000 for first offenses.³⁹ These types of legal sanctions have raised the stakes dramatically for those who would engage in “rescue” protests of the sort Operation Rescue popularized.

While the organization technically still exists under the new name “Operation Save America,”⁴⁰ a good case can be made that Operation Rescue, as an organization of pro-life social protest, is effectively dead. Risen and Thomas characterize Operation Rescue’s 1991 “Summer of Mercy” campaign as the organization’s “last stand.”⁴¹ While the 1991 Wichita protests did “put anti-abortion protest back into the national headlines,” according to the authors, Operation Rescue simply failed to capitalize on this media attention. “Buffalo’s failed ‘Spring of Life’ [April 1992],” in their judgment, “was followed by a string of unsuccessful Operation Rescue campaigns in cities like Baton Rouge and Houston. . . . Unable to keep up the momentum gained from Wichita, Operation Rescue slowly crumbled.”⁴²

A further measure of Operation Rescue’s fall, according to Risen and Thomas, can be seen in the organization’s failure to check the increasing slide of the more militant Operation Rescue activists into advocacy of violence. Following the shootings of abortion doctors that had taken place,⁴³ Operation Rescue leader Keith Tucci called a September 1993 meeting in an attempt “to stave off the final collapse of Operation Rescue, which by then was only a shell of its former organization.” Tucci, convinced that the only way to save Operation Rescue “was to make a clean and public break with the new violent fringe,” drew a line in the sand with his declaration that “anyone who refused to pledge to condemn violence would have to leave the organization.” The meeting, according to Risen and Thomas, “quickly turned into a disaster for Tucci and for what remained of Operation Rescue,” as many in Operation Rescue’s leadership simply refused to condemn abortion-related violence.⁴⁴ In April of the following year, new Operation Rescue leader Flip Benham tried essentially the same thing, but to no avail.⁴⁵

Indications of Operation Rescue’s fall can also be seen in the organization’s change in protest tactics. In 1996, for instance, it was reported that for an October protest in Indianapolis, Operation Rescue had planned not to block clinic doors, but planned instead to protest at busy street intersections with large posters of “aborted babies.”⁴⁶ The fact that Operation Rescue’s leadership would even consider—let alone carry out—such a fundamental alteration of their defining protest tactic suggests an at least tacit acknowledgment of failure. Further, Operation Rescue’s protest tactics have also expanded to issues other than just abortion. In April 1998, Operation Rescue leader Flip Benham announced plans to protest outside Walt Disney World, in response to the theme park’s annual Gay Days and Disney’s promotion of homosexuality as an “alternative lifestyle.”⁴⁷

Randall Terry himself has also given up permanently on the organization and on “rescuing” as an effective pro-life strategy. According to Risen and Thomas, Terry has since acknowledged that Wichita was “Operation Rescue’s last chance,” and that Operation Rescue activism “was doomed after the movement failed to exploit its brief success in Wichita to win over more churches and church leaders.” “We [fundamentalists] lost our nerve,” they quote Terry as saying. “And the game was over. The window of opportunity was closed.”⁴⁸ Terry later formally agreed never again to engage in precisely the sort of protest he championed when founding the organization. While admitting no wrongdoing, Terry agreed to the settlement in order to be dropped from the National Organization for Women class-action lawsuit

against Operation Rescue and a variety of other organizations and individuals. "This is simply his way of bowing out gracefully to concentrate on his [1998] congressional campaign," his attorney remarked.⁴⁹

For those splinter groups such as Operation Rescue West,⁵⁰ who might have any motive to carry on Operation Rescue's legacy of pro-life "civil disobedience," the legal consequences are as great as ever. Most significant in this regard is the FACE Act, which has been law since 1994. "Once FACE was the law of the land," remark Risen and Thomas, "the potential punishment for conducting a clinic blockade went from a few days in jail to years in a federal prison; 'rescue' quickly ended as a result."⁵¹ Roger Evans, a senior Planned Parenthood official, concurred. "One of our greatest victories was having FACE enacted," he was quoted as saying. "The massive invasions of the early '90s," he added, undoubtedly referring to the "Summer of Mercy" campaign, "have largely gone away."⁵² The Supreme Court, furthermore, has refused to strike down the law on constitutional grounds.⁵³

In 1998 pro-life activists also suffered another crushing legal defeat. On April 20, a federal jury in Chicago convicted, under the RICO law, prominent pro-life activist Joseph Scheidler, his Chicago-based organization Pro-Life Action League, two of his associates, and Operation Rescue of a conspiracy to shut down abortion clinics. As the RICO law applies if "a group is accused of committing just two illegal acts over the course of 10 years," its successful application to social protest groups raises the chilling prospect of silencing both social protest and the exercise of legitimate First Amendment rights.⁵⁴

These events advance the rather compelling suggestion that Operation Rescue, and its particular style of pro-life social protest, is effectively dead. Even so, the group and its rhetorical practices speak to important contemporary scholarly, religious, and community issues. How, then, is the group and its rhetoric to be properly understood?

To be sure, there have been a variety of explanations. One perspective on Operation Rescue emphasizes the group's religious "fundamentalism," with that term understood broadly and quite negatively. Operation Rescue activists, according to this perspective, are best seen as intolerant and incorrigible religious crusaders who pose a significant risk to civil society.⁵⁵

A second perspective emphasizes the political nature of the group's activism, seeing the group essentially as one segment of a virulent "Christian Right." In this view, pro-life activism, such as Operation Rescue's, functions to keep the larger political movement mobilized and galvanized, thus help-

ing to ensure that the Christian Right maintains its influence in the Republican party.⁵⁶

A third perspective views the group through the prisms of power and class. This perspective sees Operation Rescue not just as a manifestation of the Christian Right, but also as a manifestation of the enduring racism and sexism embedded in Western culture. The group is thus linked to white supremacy, the "backlash" against the advancements of feminism, and the resentment of egomaniacal and insecure white males.⁵⁷

To be sure, there is a measure of truth within each of these basic perspectives on Operation Rescue. Yet it seems clear that a corrective is needed to the "progressive" ideological sensibilities that underlie each of these perspectives. Such a corrective should not be merely a matter of political partisanship, though I do believe that engaging, responsible scholarship does not seek to hide the ideological commitments of the scholar behind a veil of "objectivity." For instance, I write this book as a conservative evangelical Christian who desires to ensure that this faith tradition is given its fair due—neither unreflectively maligned, nor celebrated and practiced in an unreflective, uncritical, and/or dangerous way. This of course means that my observations and arguments will reflect certain values, assumptions, and biases. This is also true of everyone, however, including (and especially) scholars—whether or not they make the pretense to objectivity. Indeed, as historian George Marsden has insightfully pointed out, scholarship done from a uniquely Christian perspective serves well to correct for the hidden values, assumptions, and biases that permeate academic culture.⁵⁸

The most telling neglect of the perspectives summarized above is precisely with respect to the religious (specifically fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christian) motivation underlying Operation Rescue activism. In some cases, it is discounted as only instrumental or pretextual. In other cases, it is acknowledged as significant but is rendered simplistically as a grotesquely distorted caricature.

My hope, by contrast, is to present an account of the rhetoric of Operation Rescue (and of the significant rhetorical practices that have characterized the fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christian faith traditions) that pushes beyond naturalistic biases and the Enlightenment-based myth of "liberal neutrality,"⁵⁹ evaluating these artifacts and traditions on their own terms as much as possible. In so doing, I hope to show how the way fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christians talk—about who they are, about what the world is like, and about what they need to do, in the words of sociologist James Davison Hunter, "to know and live

Schroeder departure a stunner

Gazette, The (Colorado Springs, CO) - Thursday, November 30, 1995

Author: Jeff Thomas ; Gazette Telegraph

She surprised everyone when she got elected in 1972. On Wednesday, 23 years later, Pat Schroeder surprised everyone again when she said she would not seek another term in the U.S. House of Representatives.

"I suddenly woke up and said, 'My whole adult life, I've been here,' " said the 12-term Democratic congresswoman. "It's time to move on to tackle new challenges."

She entered Congress in 1973 by running against the Vietnam War. She emerged as one of America's foremost feminists, a quick-witted liberal who challenged the military's male-centered ethos and stuck the "Teflon President" label on Ronald Reagan. She leaves as the senior woman in Congress, one of the few remaining big-city Democrats in a House dominated by Republicans.

The announcement, made without fanfare in Washington, D.C., surprised even her veteran staff, which was just getting the 1996 campaign juices flowing.

"When I told the staff, I could see a lot of stunned

faces," said Kip Cheroutes, who has run Schroeder's Denver office for 12 years. "It hasn't quite set in yet. This will have a delayed emotional reaction."

Schroeder's departure in January 1997 is compelling news in nyyWashington, where 15 other Democrats have said they'll leave the House. And it's sure to awaken political ambitions in her Denver district, which both parties have long conceded to Schroeder. Her announcement resonated loudly at the National Organization for Women, which lamented the loss of "the dean of feminists in Congress," and at the gleeful GOP headquarters in El Paso County, where Chairman Robert Gardner said Schroeder's departure "is going to make a huge difference"

in moving the Republican agenda forward.

But outside the Washington beltway, outside Denver and outside political circles, Schroeder's retirement is not likely to make much of a difference.

The 1st Congressional District, with the heaviest concentration of Democratic voters of any of Colorado's six districts, is a safe bet to remain in Democratic hands. Names that immediately surfaced Wednesday to run in Schroeder's place included Denver Mayor Wellington Webb and his wife, Wilma; Dottie Lamm, wife of former Gov. Richard Lamm; and State Rep. Diana De Gette.

The district is not losing a lawmaker who could single-handedly influence events. Though a powerful force on Capitol Hill and always at the center of political rough-and-tumble, her crowning legislative achievement in 23 years has been the Family Emergency and Medical Leave Act of 1993.

Even in Denver, where she is a regular at Taco Bell and neighborhood meetings, Schroeder's ability to secure the city's share of federal money has been mixed. Denver's federal highways are getting a face lift and a former Air Force base is being converted into a wildlife refuge. But even as she rose to power in the House Armed Services Committee, military jobs in Denver evaporated.

While her staff dotes on constituents and helps wage their private battles against the bureaucracy, Schroeder has played to a national audience ever since her first year in Congress. After confounding tradition by winning a seat on the Armed Services Committee, her voice was heard from coast to coast when she called the committee chairman a sexist who "doesn't believe that anyone with a uterus can make a decision on military affairs."

It was only the first of many jabs to draw widespread attention.

"Pat Schroeder for years has been more of a national

player than a local player," said Eric Sondermann, a Denver Democratic political consultant. "If you look at the Colorado congressional delegation, you have people of varying levels of competence, but they're all low-key, and not well-known. Pat Schroeder is one person who is truly a national player."

Schroeder was the first of a new crop of Colorado Democrats to sweep into power in the wake of Watergate.

Schroeder fought for abortion rights and a host of other issues affecting women. She worked to improve living conditions for military families. She rose to the No. 3 position on the Armed Services Committee before Democrats lost their majority in Congress this year.

When Gary Hart's 1988 bid for president crumbled in scandal, Schroeder thought about stepping into the race. Money and support poured in for three months, but she backed away at a tearful news conference.

Now she is the last of the Watergate-era Democrats who have dominated the party in Colorado for the past two decades.

Sondermann said Schroeder has had a difficult time adjusting to the new climate, and appears to be fixated with Gingrich. Earlier this year, she blasted the speaker for suggesting women shouldn't serve in combat because they could get infections from being in a ditch for 30 days. She said she sees the whole Republican Party "morphing into Newt Gingrich."

"People have finally awakened and understand that Newt Gingrich is really the Republican Party," Schroeder said. "That everybody is either a femiNewtie or a Newtoid, and if they vote Republican they are getting Newt."

When she organized a protest of Gingrich during a Denver appearance to autograph his book, Denver newspapers clucked that Schroeder was behaving in unbecoming fashion.

"She really felt adrift in Newt Gingrich's Washington,"

Sondermann said. "Not ideologically adrift, but almost

personally adrift. These are people with whom she disagreed, but also people she couldn't abide."

Though Sondermann said Schroeder would have won re-election in 1996, Gardner suggested she didn't want to face Republican attorney Joe Rogers in a campaign.

But Schroeder said her decision had nothing to do with Gingrich or campaigning. She said she considered stepping down at the end of her last term, when Democrats still held power.

"I'm really glad I didn't, because I think they needed somebody to kind of carry the battle," she said. "Nobody had any idea there was going to be such an earthquake here. . . . With this whole reshaping of the Congress and the whole changeover, I think they needed some seasoned people around here to kind of help Democrats regain their legs."

In contrast to the scandal that marked Hart's departure,

and Wirth's bitter farewell, Schroeder sounded upbeat.

She said she might teach, or get involved with charitable foundations, or "maybe some media stuff."

"I've had a wonderful run here and had a great time here," she said.

Gazette Telegraph news services contributed to this report.

HER LIFE AND CAREER

Born in Portland, Ore., July 30, 1940.

Married James W. Schroeder in 1962; children Scott and Jamie.

Graduated from the University of Minnesota with a bachelor's degree in 1961, magna cum laude, Phi Beta kappa; earned her law degree from Harvard in 1964.

Field attorney for the National Labor Relations Board, 1964-1966; practicing attorney and law instructor 1969-1970; Colorado Department of Personnel hearing officer 1971-1972.

Elected to Congress in 1972, re-elected to 11 terms.

Ranking Democrat on the subcommittee on courts and intellectual property and the National Security Committee, where she is a member of the subcommittee on military research and development.

At-large House whip since 1978; co-chairs the Democratic

Caucus Task Force on National Security; first woman appointed to Armed Services Committee; chairs subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING

"Colorado and the entire country are better off because we've had the benefit of 24 years of Pat Schroeder's passion, dedication and hard work. There will never be another like her in the House of Representatives."

U.S. Rep. David Skaggs, D-Colo.

"I think she's started to recognize the liberal Democratic philosophy she's represented the past 25 years is essentially bankrupt and its time is past."

Don Bain, Colorado Republican Party chairman

"Although on most issues she and I have very different visions, she is a strong campaigner for what she believes in, and I have to admire her for that."

U.S. Rep. Joel Hefley, R-Colo.

"She has served Denver and Colorado well for many years, and we will all miss the unique style and personality she brought to politics and to Congress."

Gov. Roy Romer

"Our members raised a small fortune for her when she announced a presidential bid, and we would do it again in a heartbeat."

Kim Grandy, executive vice president of the National Organization for Women

"Pat has shown herself to be a consistent enemy of unborn life . . . Our only concern is the other avenues she might use to promote her wicked agenda. We would like to see Pat Schroeder fade away from the public arena and become a distant memory."

Philip Faustin, executive director of Operation Rescue

"Today is a sad day for women, pro-choice Americans and all those who value personal and religious liberties."

Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League

Caption: COLOR PHOTO INFOBOX BLACK & WHITE PHOTO

Associated Press - Pat Schroeder is comforted by her husband, James, after she announced the end of her presidential bid in September 1987. Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo., gestures Wednesday on Capitol Hill as she announces she won't run for a 13th term in the House of Representatives.

Memo: MAIN; 1; LOCAL

Section: A

Page: 1

Index Terms: POLITICS ; RETIREMENTS

Record Number: 152965

Copyright 1995, 2002 The Gazette (Colorado Springs, CO)



Abortion access versus free speech - Supreme Court hears case on Colorado's 'bubble' around people entering

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - Wednesday, January 19, 2000

Author: Warren Richey, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Faced with the prospect of disruptive and potentially violent antiabortion demonstrations outside medical clinics across the state, the Colorado Legislature in 1993 passed a law designed to insulate patients from protesters and their message.

The so-called "bubble law" created an 8-foot moveable buffer zone around anyone within 100 feet of a medical facility. A protester can approach closer than eight feet only by obtaining permission from the patient.

The US Supreme Court will consider on Jan. 19 whether the Colorado law strikes the proper constitutional balance between a patient's right to gain access to medical facilities and the protesters' right to express their views while standing on public streets and sidewalks.

"There should be nothing wrong with seeking to change someone's mind, walking along beside them and trying to convince them that what they are doing is wrong," says Philip Faustin, who heads the Colorado chapter of Operation Rescue, an antiabortion group. He says the law is "chipping away at an essential right, free speech, when that speech isn't popular."

Women's-rights organizations counter that the law seeks merely to create a safe, stress-free passageway through picket lines of unpredictable protesters. "This is really just about protecting folks who need to get into a health-care facility," says Yolanda Wu of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund in New York. "It is hard to know whether the situation will escalate into something that is violent or harassing or aggressive."

Setting precedent?

The Supreme Court's view will help determine the landscape not only for future protests in Colorado, but also for states and cities around the country. Some states and cities currently mandate buffer zones or require permits for demonstrations.

Supporters of the Colorado law say it is a minimal intrusion of free-speech rights, since protesters only face restrictions within the 8-foot zone surrounding each patient. If the patient grants permission, the protesters may speak directly to the patient at length and hand out literature.

"Demonstrators' First Amendment right to engage in numerous forms of communication such as leafleting, picketing, yelling, or singing within 100 feet of health-care facilities is not restricted at all," says a friend-of-the-court brief for several abortion-rights groups written by Lucinda Finley, a law professor at the State University of New York at Buffalo. "Demonstrators merely are prohibited from forcing unwanted close physical proximity within a distance of eight feet of a person entering a health care facility."

Ms. Finley continues: "Such a restriction is clearly content neutral - it does not impinge on what a demonstrator can communicate; it controls only the demonstrator's proximity to his or her target."

The US Solicitor General's office is supporting the Colorado law. In its brief on the case, the solicitor general writes: "The 8-foot limitation on approaches does not prevent communication at closer range if the protester is stationary and the distance is closed by the listener. And, even at eight feet, speech can be readily heard and placards clearly seen."

The law's opponents say giving patients the power to muzzle protesters and forbid them to hand out leaflets and display signs within the 8-foot zone is an unconstitutional prior restraint on free speech in a public area.

Free-speech concerns

"It makes even traditional First Amendment advocacy on the public streets a matter of grace rather than right," says Steven Shapiro in a friend-of-the-court brief filed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

"By granting unlimited licensing power to private citizens, Colorado has created a condition under which the right to speak may be denied based on the content or viewpoint of expression," writes Jay Alan Sekulow of the American Center for Law and Justice in Washington, who is arguing the case on behalf of opponents of the law.

This will mark the second time the high court has considered the Colorado law. In 1997, the Supreme Court remanded the case back to the Colorado courts with instructions to consider whether the law was constitutional or not in light of two high court decisions that had recently been issued striking down portions of state laws restricting antiabortion protests at clinics.

The Colorado courts upheld the law, and the US Supreme Court again agreed to take the case.

(c) Copyright 2000. The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: USA

Page: page 2

Dateline: WASHINGTON

Record Number: 19021

Copyright 2000 The Christian Science Monitor



Law's fate stirs concern Both factions fear outcome of ruling

The Denver Post - Thursday, January 20, 2000

Author: Susan Greene Denver Post Staff Writer

Colorado advocates on both sides of the abortion debate voiced concern about the fate of the state's so-called bubble law Wednesday as U.S. Supreme Court justices considered the legality of shielding abortion clients from protesters.

The only state law of its kind nationwide, it echoes ordinances previously on the books in Denver and Boulder.

Some 7,493 abortions were performed in Colorado in 1998, state health officials say. As women arrived for many of those appointments, protesters were required to keep their distance, often expressing their protests by yelling "baby killer" and other epithets through megaphones.

Philip Faustin, executive director of Operation Rescue of Colorado, complains the measure unfairly restricts his and fellow protesters' free speech.

"It would be nice to see pro-lifers allowed to have the same rights everyone else has to communicate," he said.

He takes umbrage with the specific language of the law, which restricts "oral protest, education or counseling" of clinic clients within the 8-foot bubble.

"Educating and counseling is not harassing. ... It's criminalizing a behavior that's not criminal. There's nothing wrong with approaching someone to educate them. That's not harassment. That's not violence," he said.

Faustin added that he fears a rash of arrests should the nine Supreme Court justices uphold the bubble law.

"You wouldn't think that could happen in this country, where we're supposed to have the right to expression," he said.

Local reproductive-rights advocates portray anti-abortion protests not as education or counseling, but as harassment.

"The purpose of demonstration is to punish people, to make them guilty and unhappy. It's not an expression of opinion. It's psychological rape," said Dr. Warren Hern, director of the Boulder Abortion Clinic.

Hern said he and his staff have "been under pretty much constant attack" since he started offering abortions in 1973. Over the past quarter-century, he said, he has received death threats, had his windows shot out and been placed on a national anti-abortion hit list.

Given such troubles, he and other abortion-rights advocates tout the bubble law for protecting women who they say are often emotionally and even physically vulnerable to protesters.

"It's a very important expression of community sentiment," Hern said of the law, which he believes should extend even farther than 8 feet. "The distance that the anti-abortion fanatics should be kept from abortion clinics is the distance that a rifle bullet can travel."

Added Ellen Brilliant, spokeswoman for Planned Parenthood of the Rocky Mountains: "It's been extremely effective because it strikes a reasonable balance between a person's right to free speech and a women's right to health care."

Bubble-law supporters worry about losing protections should the Supreme Court overturn the measure.

"There would be a lot of harassment," said Brenda Rouch, executive director of Colorado NARAL, the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League. "We would have to immediately look at how to otherwise protect women and physicians."

Neither abortion-rights nor anti-abortion activists planned demonstrations this week specifically tied to the Supreme

Court hearing. Wednesday's arguments fell days before Saturday's 27th anniversary of the high court's Roe vs. Wade decision, which legalized abortion in 1973.

Caption: PHOTO: The Denver Post/Lyn Alweis A man dressed as the Grim Reaper is a regular protester at the Planned Parenthood clinic at 2030 E. 20th Ave. in Denver.

Edition: THU1

Section: A

Page: A-12

Index Terms: abortion ; laws ; disputes ; Colorado

Record Number: 1017490

Copyright 2000 The Denver Post Corp.



Abortion protests targeted County eyes ban on home pickets

The Denver Post - Friday, May 19, 2000

Author: Ginny McKibben Denver Post Staff Writer

ARAPAHOE COUNTY - Seven years of weekly, raucous protests outside one abortion doctor's suburban home would come to an end under a proposed county ordinance.

Arapahoe County commissioners, bombarded with neighborhood complaints over regular protests outside Dr. Ed O'Loughlin's home, are poised to pass a law banning picketing in front of specific homes.

The picketing, which prompted sheriff's deputies to arrest three men last month, has been a regular Saturday morning occurrence for years.

"I've seen it, and it's inappropriate. And I want it to stop," said John Brackney, commission chairman. "I want to do it in a reasonable and constitutional way, but I want it to stop."

The proposed ordinance, which will be introduced May 30, could be similar to one recently adopted by the Aurora City Council. That law bans picketing that targets a particular resident or visitor to a residence.

However, abortion foe Philip Faustin of Operation Rescue warns that the law may not bring peace to the neighborhood. It could just foster more problems.

"You can ban targeting a specific home so (protesters) can't stay in front of the house," he said.

"Now you have to go in front of everyone's house. In an attempt to protect the abortionist, you end up targeting the whole neighborhood," Faustin said.

Even though the weekly protests against O'Loughlin, a Planned Parenthood physician, have persisted for years, only in the past few months have residents in his Huntington Estates neighborhood, near East Iliff Avenue and Parker Road, united to get the ruckus stopped, said Commissioner Lynn Myers.

"They have bonded together to take action," Myers said. "I get calls from grandparents, parents and children."

Brackney has gone to the neighborhood to observe the protests.

"It is loud, disturbing, aggressive, and I think it is incompatible with people trying to enjoy property," he said.

Paul Hanley, president of the Huntington Estates homeowners association, said Thursday that the protests have become a serious inconvenience and a disturbance to everyone in the neighborhood.

"They scream at the top of their lungs. You can hear it on the High Line Canal and in our home around the corner," Hanley said.

Recently, Hanley said, the anti-abortion demonstrators have been countered by abortion-rights advocates.

"The prospect for violence has increased dramatically. We are concerned there will be a confrontation and someone will get hurt," Hanley said.

"Regardless of what is protested, we are not interested in our neighborhood becoming a battleground for any issue," he said.

Myers, whose commission district includes Huntington Estates, said neighbors have ordered signs for the neighborhood that read: "Give us back our neighborhood."

"We are trying to respond. Our attorneys are researching laws throughout the country that have passed in this situation," Myers said.

Brackney said the law will not target only abortion protesters. Any protest that disturbs neighborhoods, whether gun control, abortion or animal rights, could be banned when it singles out a residential home or individual.

The law should be carefully crafted to avoid stepping on protesters' rights to free speech, Brackney said. But, he added, he wants that right restricted so the rights of homeowners are also respected.

"The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled in dozens of cases that we can limit the time, the place and manner of speech," Brackney said. "The classic case is that of yelling 'Fire!' in a theater."

Edition: FRI1

Section: DTW

Page: B-01

Index Terms: abortion ; protests ; neighborhoods ; regulations ; metro

Record Number: 1029728

Copyright 2000 The Denver Post Corp.



Picket law gets first OK Arapahoe responding to abortion protest

The Denver Post - Wednesday, May 31, 2000

Author: Ginny McKibben Denver Post Staff Writer

ARAPAHOE COUNTY - The weekly anti-abortion protests outside Dr. Ed O'Loughlin's home are "urban terrorism," his tearful wife said Tuesday.

For seven years, pickets have targeted the family's home on weekends and holidays, disrupting the neighborhood and prompting the doctor to wear a bullet-proof vest and carry a gun.

Tuesday, neighbors told the Arapahoe County commissioners they want to put an end to the protests. The commissioners responded by giving initial approval to a law that restricts residential picketing.

"We are talking urban terrorism, total intimidation and harassment," Kate O'Loughlin said. "They told me that they want to see my husband executed."

O'Loughlin has learned to shoot a gun. Her husband, who works for Planned Parenthood, carries a loaded weapon to work.

"I live in constant fear for my son and my husband," O'Loughlin said.

Pat O'Loughlin, 10, who has grown up with protests outside his home, told commissioners they have kept him from playing outside on Saturday. Instead, he has seen a "disgusting van with slaughtered-baby pictures for almost my whole life."

"I pray every day that they will stop coming. Please help me," Pat said.

The commissioners approved on first reading Tuesday an ordinance that would ban such "targeting picketing," where only one home in a residential area of unincorporated Arapahoe County is picketed. The plan doesn't ban all neighborhood protests but does restrict short-term picketing.

If, for example, pickets decide to march through a neighborhood, they would be subject to other provisions in the proposal. The proposal says pickets can carry only one sign, which can't be larger than 3 square feet, and they can picket only from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. or face fines ranging from \$500 to \$1,000.

Huntington Acres neighbors who have endured seven years of picketing outside the O'Loughlin home told commissioners they want to take back their neighborhood.

"They have said they are a conquering army and we will never have our neighborhood back. We have assured them we will," banker John Kennedy said.

Operation Rescue spokesman Philip Faustin said the proposed provisions will never hold up in the higher courts. "It's a definite infringement on First Amendment rights. And the (U.S.) Supreme Court is not going to let them get away with it," he said.

Faustin also accused Arapahoe County commissioners of shifting the problem from O'Loughlin's house to those of his neighbors.

"I think the commissioners are misguided. ... The only person they are helping is the abortionist."

Keith Mason, one of the pickets, said he supports the ordinance and he expects anti-abortion activist Bob Enyart to tell the commissioners that June 26 at a public hearing. Commissioners will take a final vote after the hearing.

"We are not opposing the ordinance. We picket because the government allows us to do that. At the same time, the

government shouldn't allow a murderer like O'Loughlin to live," Mason said.

Mason admitted protesters have been harassing the O'Loughlins.

"We are harassing him. If police were to charge us with something it should be harassment or stalking. But it's not right for a murderer to live in a neighborhood and live peaceably."

John Brackney, commissioner chairman, said the ordinance offers some protection for the privacy and security of the neighborhood. "I think it is our obligation to balance property rights with the First Amendment," he said.

Arapahoe County Undersheriff Grayson Robinson welcomes the law, because it would allow deputies to halt the demonstrations and issue summonses for the violations.

Commissioner Steve Ward warned the neighbors that the county cannot put an outright ban on protests or outlaw repugnant photographs of dead babies. "Let's set the record straight on expectations," Ward said. "This law will not give you all the protection you want. The Constitution doesn't allow us to eliminate protests."

Karen Sugar, Colorado representative for the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights League, called the ordinance a big move toward solving the problem.

"It's not a pill to cure it all. But it is an important tool for law enforcement," she said. "It will make the protesters more responsible and make the cost too high to keep coming to the neighborhood.

"Maybe the people will have a quiet summer. At least they will have a chance at it."

Caption: PHOTO: The Denver Post /Craig F. Walker Daxx Dalton, 3, holds up an anti-abortion sign outside the Arapahoe County home of Dr. Ed O'Loughlin on Monday. The O'Loughlins say the picketing has left them feeling terrorized.

Edition: WED1

Section: A

Page: A-01

Index Terms: abortions ; protests ; doctors ; neighborhoods ; laws ; metro

Record Number: 1030820

Copyright 2000 The Denver Post Corp.



America's Newspapers

'BUBBLE LAW' REMAINS INTACT SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS COLORADO'S 8-FOOT LIMIT ON ABORTION PROTESTERS

Rocky Mountain News (CO) - Thursday, June 29, 2000

Author: Michael Romano News Washington Bureau

The Supreme Court upheld Colorado's landmark "bubble law" Wednesday by ruling the state's restrictions on abortion protesters do not violate the Constitution's guarantee of free speech.

In a 6-3 decision, the high court dismissed First Amendment concerns raised by the law's opponents. Abortion protesters can easily communicate their message outside the eight-foot "bubble" created by the Colorado legislature to protect clinic clients from harassment, the court majority said.

The decision is almost certain to pave the way for similar state laws aimed at curbing overly aggressive abortion protesters. Already, New Mexico and Massachusetts, among other states, are considering similar statutes.

"This law was written to protect First Amendment rights as well as the patients' right to get into a clinic without being harassed," said Rep. Diana DeGette, the Denver Democrat who crafted the law as a legislator. "The Supreme Court's decision was a resounding affirmation of that restrained approach."

The 1993 Colorado law bars abortion protesters from coming closer than eight feet to anyone within 100 feet of the front door of any health care clinic without their consent.

Colorado Attorney General Ken Salazar said he was elated by the decision, which he believes ratifies the intent of a law overwhelmingly supported in the state legislature. Eighty-five of 100 lawmakers approved the measure, including Republican Gov. Bill Owens when he was in the legislature.

Critics vowed to continue battling the bubble law and any similar statutes enacted in the wake of Wednesday's decision.

"I'm devastated," said Jim Henderson, senior counsel with the Pat Roberston-founded American Center for Law and Justice, which filed the lawsuit on behalf of three Denver-area abortion protesters.

"We will make ourselves available to persons charged with specific violations of this statute," Henderson said.

A violation of the law is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of up to \$750 or six months in jail.

Several municipalities, including Denver and Boulder, have similar statutes restricting abortion protesters.

The court's majority opinion, written by Justice John Paul Stevens, was joined by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, David Souter, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer.

"The right to free speech, of course, includes the right to attempt to persuade others to change their views, and may not be curtailed simply because the speaker's message may be offensive to his audience," Stevens wrote.

"But the protection afforded to offensive messages does not always embrace offensive speech that is so intrusive that the unwilling audience cannot avoid it," he continued.

Stevens said the eight-foot buffer zone imposed by the law "leaves ample room to communicate a message through speech."

Stevens' decision was opposed by Justices Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas and Anthony Kennedy.

Scalia denounced the decision as "one of the many aggressively pro-abortion novelties announced by the court in

recent years." Kennedy called it an "unprecedented departure" from precedent involving unpopular speech.

What would have happened 50 years ago, Kennedy asked, "if civil rights protesters hadn't been able to get within 100 feet of a segregated lunch counter?"

"The Constitution," Kennedy added, "doesn't permit criminalization of peaceful dissemination of unpopular views."

In Colorado, about 9,000 abortions are performed each year, said Ellen Brilliant, spokeswoman for Planned Parenthood of the Rocky Mountains. Almost 6,000 of those procedures are done at four clinics operated by the group, in Denver, Fort Collins, Colorado Springs and Durango.

"This decision," Brilliant said, "is a great relief for women and the families that we serve. It means that their right to seek health care, free from physical bullying, has been protected."

The Supreme Court's decision was a repudiation of the lengthy and expensive challenge launched on behalf of Jefferson County abortion protesters Leila Jeanne Hill, Audrey Himmelmann and Everitt W. Simpson.

Colorado's law has been upheld consistently during a legal process stretching over nearly six years.

Hill, a Wheat Ridge resident, castigated the high court saying, "I think they've betrayed the First Amendment and all those who trusted them to guard our freedom."

Philip Faustin, executive director of Operation Rescue in Colorado, said the ruling will not stop his group from protesting outside the offices of two abortion providers in Denver. He said he does expect that police, newly emboldened by the court's decision, will make arrests under the law.

Supporters and opponents of the bubble law expect the ruling to have an immediate and sweeping effect. Attorneys general for 20 states joined Colorado in support of the law.

Kathy Rodgers, president of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund in New York, said, "This creates a road map for legislators across the country to exercise their responsibility to ensure that women have safe, unimpeded access to reproductive health care."

Hill, the "sidewalk counselor" who vowed to continue her protests outside abortion clinics, said, "We'll see bubble laws in almost every state before they're through. Obviously, the bubble law is a result of intolerance to our message."

INFOBOX

REACTION TO HIGH COURT DECISION ON BUBBLE LAW

"You know, the children are the real losers in this. The Supreme Court has silenced those kids. The Supreme Court has taken a cornerstone, a foundation brick, out of this house we call America."

Jeanne Hill, one of the abortion protesters who challenged the law

"If the government makes it more difficult to save kids whose arms and legs are about to be ripped off, we will become more cautious and more persistent."

Bob Eryart, talk-show host and longtime anti-abortion activist

"What this case does is criminalize good behavior. We're out there educating, counseling, giving out literature. And that won't end."

Philip Faustin, director Operation Rescue in Colorado

"This sends a message to protesters that they don't have the unfettered right to go after patients who are entering clinics. And that's a good message to send around the country. I would expect that other states, with similar problems, might start to look at this law."

Rep. Diana DeGette, co-author of the law.

"We did things at the time like stand eight-feet apart and see if normal conversation could be carried on and it could. Eight feet does not prevent normal conversation, and it prevents those in-your-face confrontations that degenerate into violence."

State Sen. Mike Feeley, co-author of the law

"I think the court reached the right decision. I think the General Assembly crafted a narrowly tailored law to protect its citizens yet not abridge the fundamental rights of free speech."

Colorado Attorney General Ken Salazar

LIB2

Caption: Photo

Abortion opponent Al Garcia of Denver raises his fists and a doll while protesting Wednesday outside the clinic operated by Planned Parenthood of the Rocky Mountains at East 19th Avenue and Vine Street. By Esdras M Suarez / News Staff Photographer. FILE: ARCHIVE. HARD COPY: SUAREZ - SHOOT DATE 2000: 6/28

Memo: Contact Michael Romano at (202) 408-2718 or Romanom@shns.com.

SUPREME COURT RULINGS

Banner p.1A - ABORTION RULES DAY IN SUPREME COURT / COLORADO RESTRICTIONS ON CLINIC
PROTESTERS UPHELD
SEE END OF TEXT FOR INFOBOX

Edition: Final

Section: News/National/International

Page: 4A

Index Terms: COLORADO ABORTION LAW U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISION

Dateline: WASHINGTON

Record Number: 0006300062

Copyright (c) 2000 Rocky Mountain News



ACTIVISTS HAIL NEBRASKA LAW COURT RULING

Rocky Mountain News (CO) - Thursday, June 29, 2000

Author: John C. Ensslin News Staff Writer

Colorado abortion-rights activists hailed Wednesday's U.S. Supreme Court decision that overturned as unconstitutional a Nebraska law banning partial-birth abortions.

"We're very pleased that the Supreme Court recognized the deception and vagueness in what was being called partial-birth abortion," said Pat Steadman of the group Protect Families Protect Choice.

However, abortion opponents, including Catholic Archbishop Charles J. Chaput of the Archdiocese of Denver, described the high court's 5-4 ruling as a moral disaster.

"What the court has done is to open the gates to a uniquely savage and repugnant form of violence against the young," said Chaput.

"This is a disastrous ruling," Chaput said. "It will have far-reaching and unintended consequences - consequences we will look back on and bitterly regret."

However, Philip Faustin, executive director of Operation Rescue, said he does not know of any partial-birth abortions being conducted in Colorado. "It doesn't affect us a whole lot," he said.

Leslie Hanks, vice president of Colorado Right to Life, disagreed and cited reports of the procedures being used at an abortion clinic in Aurora.

State Health Department statistics do not track the number of cases in which partial-birth abortions are performed in Colorado.

However, of the 7,493 abortions reported in 1998, most were done within the first 20 weeks of pregnancy. A total of 138, or 1.9 percent, were conducted after the 20th week.

Regardless of the numbers, abortion rights advocates described the ruling as a significant victory. "It confirms what we've known all along," said Ellen Brilliant, a spokeswoman for Planned Parenthood. "So-called partial-birth abortion laws are so vague that they could apply not only to late-term abortions but to abortions performed in the first and second trimester."

LIB2

Memo: SUPREME COURT RULINGS

Edition: Final

Section: Local

Page: 32A

Index Terms: ABORTION LAW

Record Number: 0006300077

Copyright (c) 2000 Rocky Mountain News

RANDALL A. TERRY,
an individual,

Petitioner

v.

TROY NEWMAN,
an individual,

Registrant

In the matter of
Registration No. 3,179,591
For the mark: OPERATION RESCUE

Registered upon the Principal Register
On December 5, 2006

Cancellation No. 92047809

REGISTRANT'S FIRST NOTICE OF
RELIANCE

Exhibit D

Abortion foes decide to try another tactic Want to put more heat on government officials

San Diego Union, The (CA) - Sunday, August 19, 1990

Author: Irene Jackson, Staff Writer

After three years of "rescuing" unborn babies before women enter abortion clinics, Operation Rescue is broadening its battleground to take on public officials.

"We're mobilizing people to hold governmental officials accountable -- especially the judges, DAs and police," said Randall Terry, who founded the organization that started in New York and swept swiftly across the country.

To carry off this new crusade, Terry recently formed the Christian Defense Coalition, based in Washington, D.C., which will act as a clearinghouse for the home phone numbers, addresses and other information about public officials.

"It's computer networking people together, so that within 24 to 48 hours if someone is being harassed we can start an avalanche of phone calls and letters," Terry said.

San Diego got a taste of this tactic last week when Terry, in town to drum up support for the abortion battle, exhorted residents to write and telephone an El Cajon judge who jailed anti-abortion attorney Cyrus Zal.

Municipal Court Judge Larrie R. Brainard found Zal guilty of 20 contempt-of-court citations during a January trial of 11 abortion foes accused of trespassing. Zal began serving his 290-day jail sentence Monday.

"This man Brainard is a godless enemy of Christ and he's an enemy of justice and freedom and the Christian community here, and anybody who is concerned with justice needs to hold this man accountable," Terry said during an interview Thursday at a Pacific Beach church where he would stage a rally that night. "They need to utilize their First Amendment privilege of redress of grievance to the fullest."

At times holding his hand in a fist by his chest, Terry talked about what Operation Rescue must now do to overcome what has not been a good year for his San Diego County supporters.

In courts from Vista to El Cajon, more than 100 men and women have been convicted of trespassing at various medical clinics during anti-abortion rallies. While many of them went to jail, still others agreed to probations that prohibited them from repeating their actions at other protests.

Terry admits that the losses in court have been a legal whiplash, resulting in lost members and financial shortfalls. But Terry is back on the road, visiting the "fire fights" -- places that need his motivation to get back into the battle.

"We go forward. We continue to rescue," is the message he brings, referring to the word his group uses when the doors of medical clinics are blocked to prevent women from entering to have an abortion. "And we also begin to hold the officials accountable for hammering our people -- phone calls, letters, prayer vigils, pastors meeting these judges face to face, some of them praying that God will chasten them."

Terry makes it clear that he blames San Diego judges for the string of convictions here, denouncing the jurists as the harshest in the country.

"Overall, San Diego has been the worst in the country," he said. "You've got some very evil men on the bench."

That's from a man who at age 31 has been arrested 35 times and spent more than seven months in jails.

"There are other issues of justice concerning pro-lifers," he said, using his right index finger to tick off several on the fingers of his left hand. "Let's be real honest, if homosexuals or anti-apartheid protesters or anti-nuclear protesters like Martin Sheen were hammered in court the way our people are being hammered, there would be such a hue and outcry from the press, from civil libertarian groups, and from the general public that the judges would back down."

"But because our people's views are unpopular with the media elite, with most of the judiciary, we're being hammered and there's no outcry. In fact, I think some of the press believe you can't beat us hard enough."

And in fact some of his critics want to do just that.

"What happens is they think they have the corner market on God and the corner market on morality," said Bill Baird, who describes himself as the father of abortion rights and is the director of the Pro-Choice Defense League in New York.

Baird calls the abortion controversy waged between the two sides "holy wars."

"I think Randy is a young man who is a used-automobile salesman who apparently, with his skill of selling cars, is selling a concept that he can deny women their freedom," Baird said during an telephone interview from a hotel in New Hampshire, where he was vacationing. "I see him as typical of the macho pig bully I have fought all of my life. A man who has been able to organize religious zombies, incapable of thinking for themselves, to blockade abortion clinics."

Baird has been shot at and his abortion clinics in New York firebombed. He said he is fearful that the growing strength of the abortion protest movement will zap many of the legal rights won over the past 30 years.

"I predict that unless the American people wake up and recognize that there truly is a holy war going on in this country, then we are not only going to lose the abortion law, we are going to lose the birth control statute, what books you can read and what movies you want to see," Baird said. "Your rights are under attack like never before in history ...My fight has never been abortion. My fight is for the freedom and dignity of each of us to choose."

With a shrug, Terry dismisses his critics.

"They are godless enemies," he said. "They are deceived and deceivers."

That zealous belief about "the enemy" has brought people to Terry's camp for more than three years.

One of the first in San Diego was the Rev. Richard B. Kaufman, 44, of the New Life Presbyterian Church in Escondido.

It was back in August 1988, said Kaufman, when one of the elders of the church brought him a cassette tape of an interview with Randall Terry.

"The one phrase that struck me was, 'If we say that abortion is killing babies, then we need to act like it,' " Kaufman said during a May interview in an office that looks out at a pasture surrounding his church.

Kaufman traveled to Atlanta during the Democratic convention in 1988 to show his support, was arrested, posted bail, returned and contacted other area advocates. Meeting in living rooms in the evenings, an initial core of six or seven people in August 1989 organized the first "rescue" in the county in Escondido.

"The Christian responsibility is to submit to the laws of the land of the government authorities," Kaufman said.

"Operation Rescue wholeheartedly agrees, but would also add that when God's law and men's law conflict we have to follow God's law."

That is at the heart of the Operation Rescue creed and was an often-quoted phrase during the trial of 66 people in El Cajon earlier this year. The vast majority were convicted of trespassing.

One of the things that angers critics most about Operation Rescue is how its members block clinics, interfering with the rights of those seeking medical care.

"If history is our guide then history teaches us that these people impose their own interpretation of the law upon us," Deputy District Attorney Gordon Paul Davis said during the sentencing last spring of local Operation Rescue leader Connie Youngkin, who at the time also was a candidate for the Assembly.

"You have a noble objective being pursued by illegal means," Davis added. "And as the judge pointed out, even the noblest objective is twisted by illegal means."

Even a moderate but highly successful group, the National Right to Life Committee, with 50 state affiliates and about 3,000 chapters, frowns upon Operation Rescue's adherence to civil disobedience.

On the advice of lawyers, the Right to Life group made the decision to work within the laws to enact changes, said Jan Carroll, the associate western director of the national organization.

The lost battles for Operation Rescue have been major -- not just here, but across the country.

Within two weeks in May, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand rulings in New York and Atlanta that forbid demonstrators from blocking access to abortion clinics. There are still \$450,000 in fines resulting from demonstrations in New York and injunctions have been won in San Diego, Los Angeles and elsewhere by abortion-rights advocates forbidding the group from trespassing on property.

"We're not paying the fines," Terry said defiantly as he threw his hand out in front of him with a quick wave. "Because why should we pay fines for trying to stop the murder of innocent children?"

Terry stepped down last spring as the director of Operation Rescue, though he still is active as a consultant to the group. Susan Odom, one of Terry's closest advisers, noted after he announced his resignation that jail terms and fines had affected the membership, most of whom are white, middle-class parents who participate in "rescues" only during days off or vacations.

"We're realizing the cost and are experiencing the slowing of growth," Odom said, although no one in Operation Rescue would discuss membership or chapter numbers. Being arrested and jailed, she added, "cuts into our families and not everybody is able to do that."

So Terry -- whose second book, "Accessory to Murder," will be released in September -- is back on the road, about a week out of every month, to visit supporters.

He misses his wife, Cindy, and their four children -- but this, he said, is a God-given mission that pushes him on to save America from doom.

"Everything is at stake," he said. "If we plummeted this far in 30 years, where are we going to be 30 years from now? It's terrifying ..."

Caption: 1 PIC

Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry. (B-5) The San Diego Union/Howard Lipin

Edition: 1,2

Section: LOCAL

Page: B-1

Index Terms: ABORTIONS ; CONSTITUTIONS ; DEMONSTRATIONS ; HOSPITALS ; INFORMATION ; ORGANIZATIONS ; PENALTIES ; RELIGIONS ; SAN DIEGO

Record Number: UTS0807530

Copyright 1990, 2007 Union-Tribune Publishing Co.

FROM THE FRONT LINE TO THE SIDELINE TERRY KEEPS LOW PROFILE IN BUFFALO PROTEST

Wichita Eagle, The (KS) - Wednesday, April 22, 1992

Author: Judy Lundstrom Thomas, The Wichita Eagle

BUFFALO, N.Y. Where's Randall Terry?

As hundreds of abortion foes and abortion-rights advocates squared off Tuesday in Operation Rescue's "Spring of Life" protests, Operation Rescue founder Terry was at home near Binghamton, N.Y., 200 miles away from the chants of "Randall Terry, Randall Terry, where are you? Where are you? Safe at home sleeping, while they're out here freezing. Ah-choo. Ah-choo."

Terry is on the sidelines of this major Operation Rescue action so that he can prepare for the May 4 kickoff of his nationally syndicated radio talk show, "Randall Terry Live." He knows his decision to stay away from Buffalo has angered some.

"I get it from both sides," he said Monday from his radio studio in Windsor, a small town east of Binghamton. ". . . The press goes, 'Well, this (the Buffalo protest) is another Randall Terry show.' And then I don't go to one of the events and they're like, 'Well, where is he?'"

"What do you people want? This movement is more than me; it's bigger than me. If I dropped over dead tomorrow, this movement would go right on moving without me. It's very important that other leadership emerge. And that's what's going on."

Also, Terry said, he has to focus on his radio show.

"If I don't come out of the chutes with a hard-hitting, flawless performance, I'm going to have trouble," he said. "The impact this show can have on the pro-life movement is massive. So for me to squander this would be irresponsible."

What's irresponsible, abortion-rights advocates said, is Terry's being allowed to use the airwaves.

"That's a scary thought," said Kris Smith, spokeswoman for the Pro-choice Network Western New York. "But I think he'll probably get about the same reception as they (Operation Rescue supporters) did in Buffalo today."

Terry is no stranger to the microphone. Arriving at the small studio Monday dressed in baggy gray pants, dark brown cowboy boots and a black felt cowboy hat that he bought at Shepler's in Wichita, he walked toward the door carrying a small musical keyboard.

"This is how I'm going to answer all your questions," he said to a reporter. He pushed a button on the keyboard, and the words "no comment" played over and over at varying tempos and pitches.

Inside, Terry said the keyboard would be the perfect device for tormenting the "pro-aborts," his term for abortion-rights advocates. He pushed another button and his voice screeched, "Randall Terry does not hate women." Another said, "Molly Yard is the Quaker Oats man."

"This is a riot," Terry said, giggling. Yard, former president of the National Organization for Women, is a favorite target of Terry's.

Terry's radio studio is on the site of a former used-car lot that he owned years ago, Windsor Motors. He plans to have his dealer's license renewed and sell a few cars on the side.

He hopes to have the studio ready within two weeks. The building sits next to an antique shop and across the street from Bett's Restaurant and Dairy Bar, two of the few businesses in Windsor.

Inside are a production room, recording room and studio, along with a reception area. Terry said the facility cost about \$80,000.

The money, he said, was donated.

"I'm looking for advertisers now," he said. "This was paid for by people who said, 'Hey, we think what you're doing is great,' and gave a one-time gift. It's not going to be funded ongoing by donations. That was just to get the equipment."

In putting together the studio, he said, "we've gone very frugal. Used desks. Reasonably priced carpet. Some used equipment.

"All I need is a microphone and a way to deliver that signal. And then I can become the ongoing torment to the abortion industry. I am going to torment the wicked people, I can tell you that."

The show will air two hours a day, Monday through Friday.

"It's going to be a very fast-paced, hard-hitting, issues-oriented show with live call-ins, guests," Terry said. "Molly Yard's worst nightmare."

Terry said he would be competing with the likes of Rush Limbaugh, the conservative, controversial talk-show host whose Excellence in Broadcasting network airs daily across the country.

"The difference between Rush and me is that he comes from a conservative political viewpoint, and I come from a biblical viewpoint," Terry said. "In fact, he has said, 'I'm not an activist and this show is not a platform for activism.' Well, I am an activist and this show will be a platform for activism."

One definite topic, he said, will be abortion.

"One of the things I'm going to be doing with the show is taking it right to the fight," he said. "Randall Terry, broadcasting live from the eye of the storm. I'm going to be me, in my normal, animated, confrontational self."

However, he said, "the big question station managers have is, can I talk about anything else? I think that I can."

Terry said he already has lined up 90 radio stations across the country to carry his program. And he insists he is serious about selling cars.

"I just love it," he said. "Just imagine, two or three cars parked over there, and I'll go, 'Wait. Excuse me, ladies and gentlemen. Is that Ted Kennedy out there looking at my 1979 Volkswagen Beetle? I think he thinks that will float if that goes off the road.'"

If Terry wants national attention for his radio show, why not move to a metropolitan area like Washington or New York?

"We have deep roots here," he said. "Our friends are here, our church is here. We couldn't just move."

It's also nice to be tucked away from the spotlight, he said.

The interview was interrupted several times by calls from nationally broadcast news programs wanting to know about Buffalo: "CBS This Morning," NBC's "Today," and ABC's "Nightline." Terry told them to call the media center in Buffalo.

"I really want Keith (Tucci) to do the interviews, 'cause I want him to get the exposure and experience," he said.

Tucci is director of Operation Rescue-National, the reincarnated version of Operation Rescue.

Although Terry said he would not be a constant presence in Buffalo, he acknowledged that it would be hard to stay away.

"I called them up yesterday and said, 'Look, if you need me for anything, just call me,'" he said. "I am bummed out

that I'm not up there, but I also feel if I go up there, there are so many things that we have to do getting things ready that if I was up there, it would be a disaster.

"I'll reach hundreds of thousands every day. Every day. Can you imagine the size of a stadium filled with a hundred thousand people, two hours every day?" But doesn't running a full-time radio show mean that "rescues" are over for Terry?

"No," Terry said. "In fact, I was almost arrested in D.C. last weekend. It's just going to be a matter of when and where."

But perhaps the most important thing the show will do is keep Terry at home. "Yes, that's part of the reason for it," he said. "This has just been too hard on Cindy (his wife), too hard on the children, too hard on my body."

Caption: PHOTO: Randall Terry MAP: Abortion clinic protests Knight-Ridder Tribune

Edition: CITY

Section: MAIN NEWS

Page: 1A

Index Terms: ABORTION

Record Number: 9201160901

Copyright (c) 1992 The Wichita Eagle



A VOICE AGAINST ABORTION OPERATION RESCUE FOUNDER HAS TAKEN TO THE AIRWAVES

State, The (Columbia, SC) - Thursday, July 15, 1993

Author: BRIAN BONNER, *Knight-Ridder Newspapers*

It's a shade past noon on a recent Thursday, and The Voice Of Resistance is late for his own nationally syndicated radio show.

Randall Terry -- founder of Operation Rescue, master of acid rhetoric opponents love to hate -- ambles through the front door of his beige, unmarked studio just as the taped introduction to his "Randall Terry Live" show runs out.

Wearing shorts, T-shirt and Rockports over white socks, Terry takes his place in a tiny, sweltering sound room 170 miles from New York City. Just off a state highway, deep in the countryside, Terry is about to send his message to listeners in 25 states.

He is, he says, in a "foul, nasty mood." In addition to the usual enemies -- abortion-rights supporters, the news media, feminists, gays, socialism -- Terry takes aim at a few more targets, a little warm-up for a 30-city speaking tour.

Although Terry is no longer officially linked to Operation Rescue, he remains a guiding force of the movement he created in 1986.

Acerbic sound bites fill the two hours of "Randall Terry Live" -- the platform for the politically incorrect broadcast on 50 stations.

Terry, 34, says he is angry at "pagans like Ted Kennedy" who want to make blockading abortion clinics a federal crime. But he is even angrier at Christians for not standing up to the attempt "to hammer pro-lifers to the wall."

He takes a swipe at Archbishop John Roach for not welcoming to the Twin Cities the "missionaries" of Operation Rescue, who have captured prime-time news with their clinic blockades around the country.

"Those Christian leaders in Nazi Germany (who refused to oppose Hitler) are a blight on church history. They are a disgrace to Christendom," Terry says. "And I submit to you that the clergy today that speak against Rescue . . . are siding with the enemy. They are collaborators with the enemy, and that's tragic."

Through a window in an adjoining room, two assistants monitor sound, run the promos and occasionally barter with Terry on the air. One of them tried to hand Bill Clinton a fetus last year. A federal judge found Terry guilty of criminal contempt for aiding the follower in disrupting the Democratic National Convention in violation of a court order.

In between promoting other causes, Terry takes plenty of time to promote a cause near to his heart: Randall Terry, and his quest to become king of the conservative, religious talk show hosts. He refers to conservative darling Rush Limbaugh as "the big guy" and clearly covets his audience.

"I hope to have a show on hundreds of stations, to raise up and educate young people to become the leaders, and to write a lot of books," Terry said. Last year, he said, he made \$55,000.

Terry's latest book -- his fourth -- is hot off the presses. Its title: "Why Does A Nice Guy Like Me Keep Getting Thrown In Jail?"

Terry spent months in an Atlanta jail in 1989 for anti-abortion activities. That same year, he anointed the Rev. Keith Tucci of Pittsburgh the new leader of Operation Rescue.

Besides jail, friends say Terry had wearied of rescue attempts and the federal government's seizure of the national organization's bank accounts. Now, aides say, most of his possessions are in the name of his wife of 10 years, Cindy.

But the activist element of the anti-abortion movement still looks to Terry, a glib former used-car salesman, for inspiration and rhetorical firepower.

Attacks against him have done little to blunt his fervor. The truth, Terry concedes, is that he feeds off his opponents and they feed off him.

Off the airwaves and in private, Terry adopts a friendly, relaxed manner. He looks ready for a golf course, a contrast from the finger-pointing, enraged, in-your-face pose captured by so many photographers.

In his heart, Terry says, he is confident: Someday society will regard abortion as murder and ban it. Until then, Terry will fire up the troops with his us-vs.-them rhetoric.

Caption: Photo, bw
Randall Terry

Edition: FINAL

Section: GENERAL

Page: 8A

Index Terms: ABORTION PROFILE RANDALL TERRY

Dateline: BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

Record Number: 9301210721

Copyright (c) 1993 The State

SIZING UP A NEW TARGET - RANDALL TERRY STEPS DOWN FROM OPERATION RESCUE TO GO ON THE ATTACK AGAINST BILL CLINTON

Chicago Tribune - Monday, August 15, 1994

Author: Joe Maxwell. Special to the Tribune.

Three bronze women dressed in Grecian robes and wearing wreaths of laurel keep watch over the southern steps of the state Capitol in Jackson. The statue honors women of the Confederacy who aided their men in a foiled struggle for secession.

Quietly standing nearby are about 15 men, women and children awaiting the arrival of one of their heroes: Randall Terry, who in 1985 founded the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue and now hosts his own Christian talk show in 30 cities nationwide.

"Demand full public hearings!" an amplified voice suddenly cries out over the Capitol grounds. The voice can be traced to a charter luxury bus rounding a corner in the distance. The bus is sleek silver with a red-white-and-blue sign on each side reading, "Wake up America!"

"Don't let your freedoms be done away with," the voice from the bus bellows over the speakers. "Protect your freedom."

At that, a lanky figure exits the bus, along with a few other men holding signs with sayings like, "We believe you, Paula"-a reference to Paula Jones, the woman who has accused President Clinton of sexually harassing her in 1991 when he was governor of Arkansas.

Terry, who acknowledges that in his pre-Christian youth he was a dope-smoking hippie, is characteristically informal, wearing a brown, short-sleeve, button-down shirt, khakis and scuffed brown cowboy boots.

A gaggle of reporters races to interview him as he ambles from the road toward the Capitol steps, where he greets locals and encourages them to hold some extra protest signs.

Amid a suffocating press, Terry explains his mission. In one week he is traveling to every Southern capital by bus, calling for "full public hearings" on a litany of allegations of impropriety against Clinton, allegations he believes justify impeachment if proven true.

"I think the people don't trust the president," Terry says, charging that the "pack of mules" in the major media in New York City and Washington have failed to fully investigate claims that Clinton knowingly allowed dope smuggling in Arkansas, knew of injuries and threats against people willing to speak about his alleged sexual improprieties, and covered up shady business dealings and events surrounding White House counsel Vince Foster's death.

The White House media affairs office did not return phone calls concerning Terry's claims.

"We have a right to know if there is a felon in the White House," Terry says, passing out complimentary press copies of a controversial video produced by Citizens for Honest Government in California that tries to document improprieties allegedly connected to Clinton.

Hounding the health caravans

Terry answers a few reporters' questions, but cuts off the gathering early. He has learned that buses from the Health Security Express, caravans crossing the U.S. to build support for Clinton's health-care reform plans, are arriving 90 minutes south in Hattiesburg. In minutes he's back on his bus and rolling south to menace them.

Some people dismiss these efforts as quixotic. Some call them crazy. But Terry, 35, of Binghamton, N.Y., a former used-car salesman and Bible college graduate, started a movement in the '80s-Operation Rescue-that eventually led

to protest cases reaching the U.S. Supreme Court.

Some claim it also helped lead to the actions of Michael Griffin, 32, who last year killed David Gunn, 47, an abortion doctor in Pensacola, Fla., and Paul Hill, 40, charged in last month's shooting deaths of Pensacola abortion doctor John Britton, 69, and his escort, James Barrett, 74, and the wounding of Barrett's wife, June. Hill, a defender of Griffin who has said using lethal force to stop abortion is "justifiable," was an early member of Operation Rescue. The organization's leaders have long condemned his evolution toward advocating violence and distanced themselves from him.

Operation Rescue hit its heyday in summer 1991 in Wichita, Kan., when tens of thousands of people were attending nightly rallies opposing abortion. More than 2,000 were arrested blocking Wichita abortion clinics that summer.

Back then Terry's target was abortion, which he claims is murder. Today his target is Clinton, whom Terry claims "embraces the sodomite agenda" and is "hostile to biblical morality."

During the Wichita protests, Terry at times personally greeted Dr. George Tiller, whom Terry called "Tiller the Killer," as he drove his truck into his clinic parking lot wearing a bulletproof vest.

Britton also was wearing a bulletproof vest when he was shot in the head in Pensacola on July 29, the Friday that Terry departed from his Jackson stop and headed for Louisiana's capital of Baton Rouge. Terry was forced to field calls from his bus about the shooting.

"This is a deplorable act, and Operation Rescue will maintain its unswerving adherence to non-violence," Terry said just hours after the shootings. He said the anti-abortion movement has been "desperately hurt" by the 1993 and '94 killings. "There's no question about that."

Leaving Rescue behind

Terry says in an interview in Jackson that although he has resigned as president of Operation Rescue, he has not left the movement. "I've been arrested in pro-life activities and leading pro-life activities to this very day. But I am not the director of (Operation Rescue), which freed me up from managerial duties and fund-raising pressures so I could do my radio show and travel and speak.

"And another reason I did it was I was burning my body out. And I have a family and was spending so many days on the road."

But Terry still spends a lot of time on the road, away from his wife and three children, two of them black and adopted. And he has founded a new organization, Loyal Opposition.

"Loyal to God, loyal to his word and loyal to the Constitution," Terry says.

"One reason that we started it is that it seems like there is no true opposition in this country anymore. The Republicans don't know how to give opposition to the Democrats. The Christian community doesn't seem to know how to give opposition to the heathen."

Fresh off an afternoon of trailing the Health Security Express to Hattiesburg, Terry sends his bus up the interstate to Meridian, tailing the supporters of Clinton's health-care reform, while he keeps his Thursday night speaking engagement in Jackson.

Arriving at the rally at a Jackson church, he takes a gulp of Listerine to loosen his throat and walks into the sanctuary, where he is introduced to warm applause.

Then he launches into a critique of the Religious Right, charging that top members of the conservative Christian Coalition, including founder Pat Robertson and Director Ralph Reed, have gone soft on moral issues in the name of political compromise to gain respect and power in the Republican Party.

He quotes Robertson from ABC-TV's "Nightline" of Nov. 4, 1993: "I would urge people as a matter of private choice not to choose abortion, because I think it's wrong. It's something else, though, in the political arena, to go out on a quixotic crusade when you know that you will be beaten continuously. So I say, let's do what is possible. What is

possible is parental consent."

He accuses Reed of boasting on CNN-TV's "Crossfire" on June 13, 1994, that Christian Coalition members helped elect three Republicans-two to the Senate and one as a governor-that were pro-choice.

"Certain 'Christian leaders' are inspiring droves of Christians to move into the big tent of the Republican Party-a tent happily housing child-killers and sodomites," Terry tells about 200 people at the church. He encourages them to consider supporting the conservative U.S. Taxpayers Party in future elections.

Trouble in the camp

While Terry is at the top of many liberals' hate lists, numerous evangelicals are also quick to distance themselves from him. Some say he oversimplifies tough issues. And some question whether his uncompromising, outspoken stances will produce the best political results.

To such observations, Terry responds:

"Some pooh-pooh the prospects of a third party. To them I say this: The Republican Party was brand new in 1854 and took the White House and destroyed the Whig Party by 1860. In the last presidential run, Ross Perot demonstrated just how vulnerable the two major parties are. The Reform Party of Canada is barely 10 years old and recently decimated the Canadian Conservative Party, similar to our moderate Republicans."

While most at the Jackson meeting greet Terry's negative comments about Clinton-and even his analysis of the Christian Coalition-with polite applause, two women in their 80s leave early. "I'm not a Bill Clinton fan, but I don't know," one of the women says softly. "He (Terry) just dwells on Bill Clinton, and I think there are other issues."

Adds her friend: "I'm a little bit surprised that he talks this way in the church. I prefer it done at the courthouse."

But Terry says Christians are the very ones who need to wake up and get with the program. He says too many pastors are "mushy, middle-religious people" and "wimps. . . . They have no heart. They have no guts. They have no courage. They are worried about offending someone. They are worried about bad press."

At this point in his life, Terry seems beyond worrying about being offensive or getting bad press, both of which are staples in his life.

He is calling for a "reformation" of America and a return to "the Scriptures (as) our standard for behavior."

Terry doesn't seem ready to throw in the towel any time soon in his anti-Clinton campaign. Operation Rescue also struggled early to get its footing; no one could foresee its eventual impact.

It's not surprising that one of Terry's heroes is Winston Churchill. "I dream about Winston Churchill," he says.

Both men, it seems, have advocated the same goal: "Never quit."

Caption: PHOTOS 2

PHOTO: Randall Terry steps outside his bus in Jackson, Miss. After resigning as the leader of Operation Rescue, he's now calling for "full public hearings" into allegations against Bill Clinton. PHOTO: Randall Terry (left) prays along with Rev. Dan Hall at the Riverside Independent Methodist Church in Jackson, Miss. Photos for the Tribune by Rogelio Solis/AP

Edition: NORTH SPORTS FINAL

Section: TEMPO

Page: 1

Index Terms: BIOGRAPHY ; INTERVIEW ; RELIGION ; ABORTION ; OPPOSITION ; CHANGE

Dateline: JACKSON, Miss.

Record Number: CTR9408150086

Copyright 1994, Chicago Tribune

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

NOVEMBER 14, 1994

ABORTION-RIGHTS ADVOCATES HAVE ALLEGED A CONSPIRACY, BUT THE JURY IS STILL OUT

Shelley Shannon hardly looks like a terrorist. Her hair hangs down in clumps. Big glasses obscure her face. At 38, Shannon, whose given name is Rachelle, might easily be mistaken for a schoolteacher, a dime store cashier or a clerk. Instead, according to a new federal indictment, Shelley Shannon was a one-woman crime wave. In just two years, federal investigators say, Shannon managed to torch or inject noxious acid into nine buildings in four states; she also found time to shoot a man.

The crimes that have been charged to Shannon could be written off as just a few more violent acts in a randomly violent America, except for one thing: Shannon's targets were not chosen at random. Every building she is accused of damaging housed an abortion clinic. The man she shot performed abortions.

In the eyes of some Americans, violent acts of the type espoused by Shannon make her a hero. Her defenders say Shannon didn't just target buildings and try to take a man's life; she was trying to save the lives of unborn children.

Shannon is not alone. When a jury took just 20 minutes last week to convict Paul Hill of the murders of a Florida abortionist and his aide, the verdict capped a wave of antiabortion violence that includes 153 actual or attempted arsons and bombings over the past decade. The violence has taken a toll of nearly \$13 million. Beyond that, the radical antiabortion movement has engaged in dozens of illegal acts such as violent blockades, assaults on clinic workers, trespassing and destruction of property. Clinic workers have also been harassed at home and on the phone. One caller phoned the mother of a clinic doctor in the middle of the night and told her, falsely, that her son was dead. Wanted posters bearing doctors' names and photos have been plastered on street corners. In Minnesota, Ohio, California and Oregon, abortion clinics have been bombed or set ablaze repeatedly--some three or four times.

``FRINGE PEOPLE." Not all Americans who oppose abortion see people like Shelley Shannon and Paul Hill as heroes. ``We are a pro-life organization, and we are concerned to protect life," says Wanda Franz, president of the National Right to Life Committee, which has 3,000 chapters in all 50 states. ``We are opposed to having our members engage in any kind of illegal activity. This is just one . . . peripheral issue that involves a very small proportion of fringe people who have nothing to do with the mainstream pro-life movement."

After years of neglect by the FBI and nearly every other federal law enforcement agency, the ``fringe people" who practice violence against proponents of abortion are now the subject of a high-level government investigation. Attorney General Janet Reno has ordered FBI Director Louis Freeh to determine whether some antiabortion activists have engaged in a criminal conspiracy to shut down or block access to clinics and drive doctors who perform abortions out of business. That investigation, joined by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, is continuing.

An inquiry by *U.S. NEWS* documented an extensive pattern of meetings and organizational links, which suggests that some acts of violence perpetrated against abortion clinics may not be the acts of loners. Some violent opponents of abortion appear to have been inspired, if not supported, by more ``moderate" antiabortion activists.

Records show that some prominent abortion opponents who denounce violence have a pattern of contacts and meetings with the very criminals they claim to reject. Still other records reveal movements of large amounts of money raised by antiabortion groups. In some cases, antiabortion activists who face huge government fines have been able to conceal their financial assets from law enforcement authorities acting to restrain their activities. The magazine found that many of the most violent opponents of abortion began as members of more moderate organizations before gravitating toward radical groups. Though the number of violent activists is small, their impact has been disproportionately large. Their activities suggest a higher level of coordination than had previously been thought.

"HEROES" AND FELONS. The links among violent antiabortion activists appear significant. Not long before she shot Dr. George Tiller in Wichita, Kan., in August 1993, Shelley Shannon visited John Brockhoeft, a Kentucky man incarcerated for burning an abortion clinic in the Cincinnati area. Shannon also paid a call on Curtis Beseda, now in jail in New Mexico for setting fire to four abortion clinics in Washington State. Those visits occurred around the same time some of Shannon's alleged clinic attacks took place.

The meetings might be explained away as coincidence, but the ties between Shannon and other violent antiabortion activists go deeper. For a time, Shannon edited an antiabortion newsletter that Brockhoeft distributes from prison. Brockhoeft has ties to still other radical antiabortion activists. He says he spoke at length to Paul Hill several times from prison in the months before Hill shot and killed Dr. John Britton and his escort, James Barrett, a retired U.S. Air Force lieutenant colonel who had survived two wars. The shootings occurred in Pensacola, Fla., this July.

A recent book entitled *A TIME TO KILL* portrays Brockhoeft, Beseda and Don Benny Anderson, who kidnapped an abortion doctor and his wife and held them for eight days in 1984, as "heroes of recent memory." The book was written by Michael Bray, a Bowie, Md., preacher who did four years in prison for conspiring to bomb 10 abortion clinics and related facilities in the Washington, D.C., area. The bombings caused more than \$1 million in damage to the facilities and nearby businesses. The book was published by Andrew Burnett, who puts out a monthly magazine, *LIFE ADVOCATE*, which sympathizers regard as the voice of the militant antiabortion movement. Burnett also runs an organization called Advocates for Life Ministries Inc., a Portland, Ore., group with which Shelley Shannon participated in several clinic blockades. Burnett's *LIFE ADVOCATE* magazine profiles doctors who perform abortions, lists the addresses of those in prison for bombing clinics and runs articles by opponents of abortion, including one by Paul Hill in the August 1993 issue defending the murder five months earlier of a Pensacola abortion doctor named David Gunn.

A month after the Paul Hill article appeared in *LIFE ADVOCATE*, the magazine carried another article that described in dramatic detail how John Burt, a regional director of an antiabortion group called Rescue America, and Paul Hill tracked and identified Dr. Britton in Pensacola. Britton had replaced Gunn. An antiabortion activist named Michael Griffin was charged with Gunn's murder. At trial, Burt testified that he had shown Griffin gory videos of bloody fetuses and an effigy of Gunn with a noose around his neck. Burt, who was leading a demonstration at the clinic when Gunn was shot, denies any involvement in the murder and was not charged with any crime. He did not return phone calls from a reporter. Don Treshman, the head of Rescue America, issued a press release after the shooting that sought donations to aid Griffin's family.

Among this small group of activists, nearly all members express friendship or admiration for one another. Michael Bray, whose wife, Jayne, was once a board member of Randall Terry's Operation Rescue, named one of his daughters Beseda, after Curtis Beseda, the arsonist now imprisoned in New Mexico. Bray states the credo of himself and his fellow activists simply: "I defend the termination by private citizens of practicing abortionists to defend innocent children." Other activists disavow violence but refuse to condemn it. Joseph Foreman, a former member of Operation Rescue, recently formed the American Coalition of Life Activists with other antiabortion activists who defend the use of violence.

STEAKHOUSE MEETING. Abortion has been at the center of American political life for more than two

decades, since the 1973 Supreme Court decision in ROE V. WADE. It was not until the mid-1980s, however, that the most zealous of the abortion opponents began organizing in earnest. Two men, Joe Scheidler and Randall Terry, were the driving force. Scheidler and Terry began meeting to discuss ways to stop abortion in 1986. One of those meetings took place in a Pensacola steakhouse with about 40 other antiabortion activists. It was at this meeting, participants say, that Terry first laid out his plan for the organization that would become known as Operation Rescue.

Scheidler, many say, is the movement's true intellectual godfather.

A former newspaper reporter from Chicago who later worked in public relations, Joe Scheidler is a large man whose trademarks are his beard, his hat and his bullhorn. Scheidler had formed something called the Pro-Life Action League in the early 1980s, when he came to a parting of the ways with the Illinois Right to Life Committee. Scheidler later formed a larger entity, the Pro-Life Action Network (PLAN).

It included the leaders of several smaller antiabortion groups who preferred activism to the protest-and-march tactics of the larger, more moderate National Right to Life Committee. Both the Action League and PLAN are directed from offices on the north side of Chicago, where employees and volunteers mail literature, organize meetings and protests and train supporters in Scheidler's particular approach to halting abortions.

The Action League in particular has become Scheidler's livelihood. Since 1991, it has taken in more than \$1 million in contributions, according to its nonprofit tax returns. Nearly three fourths of that, 73 percent, has gone to pay for staff salaries, office rental, benefits, travel and other overhead expenses. Scheidler has paid himself an average of \$52,066 a year. Since 1991, his wife, Ann, has earned about \$23,000 a year.

Scheidler has been an eloquent spokesman for the antiabortion movement--and he says he has spoken out clearly against violence. Chapter 81 in Scheidler's book, *CLOSED--99 WAYS TO STOP ABORTION*, is entitled "Violence: why it will not work." "I see all of these acts of violence as an admission of defeat, that you can't do it through the proper channels," he says in an interview. "I just think it's wrong."

While Scheidler insists he does not condone violence, he has ties to many people who do. Scheidler has visited bombers Michael Bray, while Bray was out on bond, and Curtis Beseda in jail. He has also talked frequently with John Brockhoeft, the man imprisoned for setting fire to a Cincinnati-area clinic and for a similar offense in Florida. Scheidler says, "I had no idea the guy was going to burn anything."

If Scheidler has argued against the use of violence, it has not always been clear from his writings. His correspondence, documented during the course of a 1986 lawsuit brought against him by the National Organization for Women, raises a number of questions. "Thanks so much for sending the photographs of our gang in front of the bombed-out abortuary--great scene," Scheidler wrote to a supporter in May 1985. "Appreciate your help. Keep up the good work." In 1986, Scheidler wrote an attorney representing kidnapper Don Benny Anderson, suggesting a "nationwide movement to seek his release." Scheidler told another supporter in 1984 that Anderson "has a lot to teach us." Citing this evidence, U.S. District Judge James Holderman ruled that Scheidler had maintained "links" to arsonists, noting that the letters in particular "reveal that Scheidler did nothing to discourage bombings of clinics, but rather encouraged the activity."

Scheidler rejects such conclusions. He knew nothing of the violent acts, he says, before they occurred. About his meetings with bombers, Scheidler responds: "Just because someone commits a crime doesn't mean they are a bad person." **ACTIVIST'S START.** Randall Terry came to the movement in a very different way. In the early 1980s, Terry was a frustrated rock musician turned Bible student turned car salesman who was drawn to the abortion issue. In 1984, he and his wife began protesting at an abortion clinic in Binghamton, N.Y. In 1987, a year after the meeting in the Pensacola steakhouse, Terry led a large antiabortion rally in Cherry Hill, N.J., which he called "Operation Rescue." One year later Operation Rescue officially got underway.

Operation Rescue's unofficial slogan became, "If you think abortion is murder, act like it!" In 1988, Terry gained national notoriety when Operation Rescue staged the first of a string of clinic blockades in New York City. Later rallies were staged in more than a dozen cities, including protests at the 1988 Democratic convention in Atlanta and at both parties' conventions in 1992.

There is no evidence at all suggesting that Terry has ties to antiabortion groups that espouse violence, and Terry emphatically rejects such tactics. Where Terry's involvement in the movement has raised questions, however, is in the money he raises and spends--and how he conceals it from legal authorities that try to restrain his group's activities. In 1989 alone, according to a deposition obtained by U.S. NEWS, Terry's followers contributed \$777,000 to Operation Rescue. Every penny was needed. Terry's habit of violating court orders against Operation Rescue protests at abortion clinics had resulted in fine after fine. To date, Terry may still be liable for \$170,000 in fines--a mere fraction of the approximately \$1 million assessed against him and Operation Rescue over the years.

Terry has consistently refused to pay. In October 1990, he sent a letter to supporters announcing that the "national office" of Operation Rescue would close by Dec. 15, 1993; all employees would be laid off. Terry was taking the Operation Rescue effort "underground," he told supporters, in order to avoid court fines and to carry on the fight against practitioners of abortion. "Being underground," Terry wrote in the letter, "makes for a very difficult target in these harassing lawsuits."

The shutdown announced by Terry didn't close the money pipeline. Associates of Terry's had already begun advising supporters to send their Operation Rescue donations to new entities, such as Operation Rescue Atlanta. Another Operation Rescue--christened Operation Rescue National--was started by Rev. Keith Tucci of South Carolina. Tucci's group claimed to have no legal ties to Terry. Terry says the same thing. "I resigned as director of Operation Rescue in the spring of 1990," he said in an interview.

Terry's role in the antiabortion movement does not seem to have diminished appreciably, however. He has appeared as a speaker at numerous Operation Rescue National rallies. Flip Benham, the current head of Operation Rescue National, says he still consults regularly with Terry. Benham calls Terry "Randy the prophet."

MOVING MONEY. Few if any people outside Operation Rescue or Operation Rescue National understand its finances, but they involve frequent and apparently sudden movements of money. There is no evidence that Terry, Operation Rescue or Operation Rescue National has provided financial support to any violent antiabortion activists. Terry says emphatically that all money raised by him and his associates in Operation Rescue and Operation Rescue National goes to peaceful protests against abortion providers. All money, Terry says, is accounted for.

There are questions, however, about how some of the money is spent. A glimpse into the financial engine of Operation Rescue National was obtained from court records. In the spring of 1991, Operation Rescue National used Wichita's Central Christian Church to raise money for a nonviolent "rescue" operation at a local abortion clinic. Documents produced in a federal court action showed that Central Christian Church opened a "special project account" at Kansas State Bank & Trust of Wichita on April 24, 1991. The account's opening balance: \$53.19. The bank recorded no activity in the church account until July 24, when the "rescue" demonstration at the abortion clinic began. On that day, Operation Rescue National made two deposits into account No. 101100058. The deposits totaled \$43,224.24. On August 8, Operation Rescue placed another \$26,332 into the church bank account. Bank records show that most of the money was raised by Operation Rescue from thousands of Central Christian Church members in Wichita, as well as from members of affiliate churches in Ohio and Minnesota.

But not all the money raised went to finance the Wichita protest operation. In fact, according to a bank balance sheet, \$28,891.35 went from the church bank account to Operation Rescue. Another \$9,864.50 went

to Carol Kryzkowski, a Binghamton, N.Y., woman who was hired by Randall Terry in 1989 to be Operation Rescue's bookkeeper. And another \$8,000 went to a Cleveland minister named Phillip Vollman. In an interview, Vollman says he can't remember what the \$8,000 was for. One withdrawal from the church bank account was especially peculiar. A check in the amount of \$1,500 went to Bennet Luke, an Operation Rescue worker. On the bottom of the canceled check is a notation, "For R. Terry." Terry says the money was probably used to pay Luke for setting up a radio show Terry hosted during the Wichita events. After the Wichita protest was concluded, Operation Rescue National made a cash withdrawal from the church bank account of \$12,000. Terry says he knows nothing about where the money went. Benham, director of Operation Rescue National, says all the organization's finances are handled properly.

A FEDERAL CASE. The day after Paul Hill murdered Dr. John Britton and James Barrett, FBI Director Freeh sent instructions to every FBI field office: Agents were to look for evidence of a criminal conspiracy against abortion clinics. The teletyped message named a handful of suspects. The names appear to have been drawn primarily from a list of 30 antiabortion activists who had signed a "Defensive Action" statement distributed by Paul Hill after Dr. Gunn was murdered. The document said, in part, that murder was justified "provided it was carried out for the purpose of defending the lives of unborn children."

Among the 30 signatories to the Hill document were Andrew Burnett, the publisher of *LIFE ADVOCATE*, John Brockhoeft and Michael Bray, the Maryland preacher and convicted felon. Others on the list include Roy McMillan, the founder of Operation Rescue Mississippi and a longtime friend of Paul Hill's. It is not known to what extent, if any, the signers of the document may figure in the FBI's investigation.

The FBI will need more than just contacts and meetings among individual activists if it is to prove a criminal conspiracy case. The indictment of Shelley Shannon last month suggests the kinds of evidence law enforcement authorities are looking for--and the broad outlines a conspiracy case might take. From the backyard of her modest home in Grants Pass, Ore., agents of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms recovered a personal diary and an operational manual distributed by a group calling itself the "Army of God." BATF agents had long suspected that the Army of God was nothing more than the product of the fertile brains of a few antiabortion zealots behind bars. But the manual found in Shannon's back yard went beyond zealotry; in almost professional detail, the manual lists 65 ways to destroy, damage or disrupt abortion clinics. It also tells how to block water and sewer lines with cement and how to use homemade plastic explosives. John Brockhoeft, who had long claimed to be a colonel in the Army of God, says now from prison that he made the claims "to throw the batfreaks [BATF agents] off the track."

Federal investigators may or may not believe that, but what they haven't yet explained is how someone like Shelley Shannon could single-handedly cause so much mayhem over such a relatively short period of time. Between August and November 1992, a federal indictment says, Shannon set fire to or injected acid into six clinics, including the one in Redding, Calif. At least twice, the criminal charges state, Shannon hit two clinics within 24 hours. On August 17 and 18 of 1992, she struck in Sacramento and Reno--133 miles apart; on September 16 and 17, she tried to burn down a clinic in Eugene, Ore., and injected butyric acid in another one in Chico, Calif., 300 miles away. The number of alleged targets and the distances between them have prompted speculation among some abortion-rights activists that Shannon wasn't acting alone. "The investigation continues into these incidents," says federal prosecutor Stephen Peifer, "and into a whole series [of other arsons and bombings] across the country."

To proponents of abortion rights, one heartening development is the increased federal attention being paid now to people and organizations espousing violence against clinics and doctors offering abortion services. According to an internal memo, as recently as March 1993, then FBI Director William Sessions was instructing all agents across the country that "the FBI will not conduct its own investigations until directed to do so."

FBI Director Freeh has issued that directive, and the abortion-violence investigation now is a high priority,

law enforcement officials say. The existence of the FBI inquiry has not stopped the violence, though. In recent months, fires have struck abortion clinics in California, Montana and Minnesota. There have not been any more shootings. But if there is one person who activists on both sides of the abortion debate worry might take the law into his own hands, it is Roy McMillan. He has been keeping a close watch on Dr. Joseph Booker, Mississippi's only declared abortion provider. Booker now wears a bulletproof vest. "People keep saying I'll be next," McMillan acknowledges. "Paul Hill said that initially, too. I don't foresee any circumstances [under which I would use violence]. But I have told people this: Go read Lincoln's inaugural address of 1861. He made it very clear he didn't intend to free slaves. Two years later he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Who knows what the future holds?"

BY STEPHEN J. HEDGES, DAVID BOWERMASTER AND SUSAN HEADDEN

-END QUOTE-

June 18, 1995

The Roots of Terror -- A special report.; Is Abortion Violence a Plot? Conspiracy Is Not Confirmed

By TIMOTHY EGAN

Handcuffed and nondescript in jailhouse blues, Shelley Shannon, a housewife from rural Oregon, stood before a Federal judge here on June 7 and admitted waging a terrorism campaign against abortion clinics and doctors.

Mrs. Shannon was already serving a 10-year prison term in Kansas for shooting and wounding a doctor in Wichita in August 1993. Now, in a series of one-word responses to questions from a judge, she was admitting that a year before the shooting she had tried to burn down or disable six abortion clinics on the West Coast.

Mrs. Shannon's guilty plea was not the exact ending Federal investigators had hoped for. They had wanted to coax information from her about associates in the anti-abortion movement. But after talking earlier this year, Mrs. Shannon suddenly refused to cooperate any further.

Her silence has seriously set back the Federal task force that is struggling to determine whether a nationwide criminal conspiracy exists to inflict violence on abortion doctors and clinics. The investigation has already consumed nine months, brought dozens of witnesses before two grand juries, one here and one in Alexandria, Va., and involved Federal agents around the nation.

A certain urgency surrounds the work of the task force; in the past two years, five clinic workers have been killed and nine attempted murders have been investigated. Arson attacks on clinics have risen sharply since 1992.

The task force was organized by Attorney General Janet Reno last fall after an abortion doctor and his escort were shot to death in Florida.

Although investigators have uncovered a lot about the anti-abortion movement, they have not found the criminal conspiracy. The problem is as old as the constitutional debate about the difference between legal free speech and criminal incitement to violence. The latter, prosecutors say, is extremely hard to prove.

What investigators say they have been able to do is sketch a chilling picture of abortion opponents as part of the new face of domestic terrorism, not unlike some members of the far-right paramilitary movement. The anti-abortion militants, saying God is on their side, share manuals on how to set off bombs, harass doctors or use sabotage to foil enemies.

This year, some have put together a list called the "Deadly Dozen" -- 12 American doctors targeted for harassment.

"We need to keep up the pressure that light brings to these night crawlers," said Joseph Foreman, an anti-abortion militant, in a letter introducing a new group formed to harass doctors.

He urged followers to put pressure on a doctor's "family, his suppliers, his office workers, his bank, his vacation plan, you name it."

Splintered, hidden in the shadows, the most militant members of the anti-abortion movement quote Scripture and Malcolm X to justify murder, arson and death threats. They solicit money through a series of ever-changing post office boxes and rely on occasional legal help from a well-financed group founded by the television evangelist Pat Robertson.

"God says that 'if a man sheds man's blood, then by man shall his blood be shed' " wrote Paul Hill, the convicted killer of the Florida abortion doctor and his escort, in a recent response to questions from schoolchildren.

In the past two years, these militant members have found some common ground with the anti-government groups. For example, a group in Nebraska, the Plainsmen, held aloft a hangman's noose in a demonstration outside Planned Parenthood's clinic in Lincoln earlier this year.

The Rev. Matthew Trewhella, a Milwaukee anti-abortion leader with ties to the paramilitary movement, told some followers late last

year that parents should be arming their children with assault rifles instead of teaching them to play pin the tail on the donkey.

Strong links exist, law-enforcement officials say, between the handful of leaders who preach that violence is justified and people like Mrs. Shannon who actually do the shootings and bombings.

"Two people convinced me that God is calling them to shoot abortionists," Mrs. Shannon wrote in a letter last April to an anti-abortion newsletter. In an apparent reference to talking to Federal investigators, she added, "I didn't give them those names."

Cheryl Glenn, a special agent with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in Portland who has spent two years investigating abortion clinic violence, said, "These people know that as long as they say abortion is murder and it's therefore justified to shoot an abortion doctor, somebody will act it out."

People who track anti-abortion violence strongly doubt that Mrs. Shannon acted alone. But Federal agents said her case illustrates a pattern that has developed in the past two years.

People are not ordered to kill a doctor or burn a clinic in a systematic fashion. Rather, they are inspired by the prayer, writings or visual aids of certain anti-abortion leaders, the authorities said.

"It's the same as trying to hold liable a Mafia capo who says he wants somebody taken out, but doesn't give explicit instructions," said Roger Evans, a lawyer for Planned Parenthood in New York.

The task force was making progress this spring when Mrs. Shannon offered tantalizing evidence of a conspiracy, giving names and details to investigators. But then she suddenly stopped cooperating, feeling, she wrote in her April letter, that she had betrayed her friends and cause. She left the Justice Department without enough details to make a case, according to the task force.

Some people who have been called before grand juries openly mock the investigation now and accuse the Government of harassing them for their beliefs.

"They can't find a conspiracy for the simple fact that there isn't one," said Andrew Burnett, a longtime friend of Mrs. Shannon. Mr. Burnett publishes a monthly magazine, *Life Advocate*, out of a small rental house a few miles from Mrs. Shannon's jail cell in Portland.

The magazine publishes essays justifying the shooting of doctors, and pleas for financial help for jailed comrades like Mrs. Shannon.

Mr. Burnett, a former roofing contractor and the father of five, has been arrested more than 50 times and owes at least \$500,000 in outstanding civil court judgments. Like other anti-abortion militants, he was one of the leaders of a much larger political group that has now broken into small alliances.

"The pro-life movement has changed radically," Mr. Burnett said. "Funds are down. People are discouraged. They call us terrorists. But those who have chosen violence have made a big bang." *Operation Rescue Regional Leaders Pick Up the Pieces*

Less than five years ago, the anti-abortion movement was on a roll, picking up momentum and strength with the rise of Operation Rescue. That group was founded in 1987 by Randall Terry, a one-time rock musician and used-car salesman, using the slogan, "If you think abortion is murder, act like it."

Supporters of the anti-abortion movement staged mass protests in front of clinics, using their bodies to block entrances or stop cars. Such tactics attracted many converts from the less confrontational groups that had been fighting abortion through prayer, vigils and peaceful demonstrations.

In Atlanta, Buffalo, Wichita and other cities, Operation Rescue members paralyzed clinics and kept police busy for days carting off protesters. Some protests drew thousands of people and lasted weeks.

But now Operation Rescue is virtually dead. What is left of the group is a handful of new regional leaders, with headquarters in Dallas, who have recently been able to muster only a few dozen people for clinic protests.

Civil court rulings, resulting in large fines against many Operation Rescue leaders, have taken a considerable toll on the group. A majority of followers who opposed abortion but did not want to go to jail or pay large fines were further scared off by the passage last year of a law making it a Federal crime to block access to clinics.

The leaders reached a crossroads about two years ago. While some members had long spoken of killing abortion doctors in the abstract, the discussion took a radical turn in March 1993 when Michael F. Griffin, a longtime supporter of the anti-abortion movement, shot Dr. David Gunn to death in Pensacola, Fla. Shouting "Stop killing babies," he shot the doctor three times in the back.

Mr. Griffin was convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

The murder caused an immediate split in the ranks of Operation Rescue. To some, the shooting was a logical extension of the group's rhetoric; killing an abortion doctor, they argued, is biblically sanctioned and no different from shooting an intruder to save your family.

"The question for each of us is do we really believe our own rhetoric," said Mr. Burnett, a former member of Operation Rescue.

Others were horrified. Flip Benham, who heads the national Operation Rescue group in Dallas, said it was blasphemous to cite Christianity as justification to shoot someone.

The divisions came to a head in a meeting in Chicago one year ago, attended by about 80 people. A petition circulated by Mr. Hill, a former minister, which justified shooting doctors, was the focus of furious debate. Four months after the meeting, Mr. Hill gunned down Dr. John B. Britton and his escort, retired Lieut. Col. James H. Barrett, as the two men drove into a Pensacola, Fla., clinic. Mr. Hill was convicted and sentenced to death.

Those who signed the petition, or refused to condemn violence, broke away and formed several, much smaller and poorly financed groups.

Mr. Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, continued to speak out against abortion, but broke off any formal connection to his group. He and another Operation Rescue leader, Joe Slovenec, are now talking about running for office as members of the United States Taxpayers Party, a far-right group with operations in 40 states.

"Now you have a whole series of overlapping movements, with the anti-abortion activists in some areas gravitating toward the militia movement," said Chip Berlet, an analyst with Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Mass. "These people come together over certain issues, and then you have individual acts of terror or vigilantism."

Some who left Operation Rescue seem to have a foot in both camps. They say they uphold biblical principles and do not condone violence. But then they cite Scripture to justify lying, death threats or acts of violence.

Donald Spitz, who earlier this year identified himself as a leader of an Operation Rescue group in Virginia, has been posting "war criminal" posters of abortion doctors, and has supported the spate of recent shootings. After John Salvi 3d was charged with killing two people and wounding five in a shooting rampage in a Brookline, Mass., clinic six months ago, Mr. Spitz said: "It's justified. It's moral. It was a righteous act."

Jeff White, an Operation Rescue leader in California, was recently convicted of an act of "vigilantism," as the Modesto, Calif., prosecutor called his effort to make a citizen's arrest of a woman who was monitoring his activities during a series of clinic protests. He also said in a court document earlier this year that it was O.K. to lie to further his cause.

So, while Operation Rescue's national leader, Mr. Benham, says the group will not use deceit or condone violence, its regional leaders are doing something quite different. The Militants Three Leaders Being Watched

These days, no single anti-abortion leader commands the kind of national prominence and following that Mr. Terry did.

Late last year, dozens of former Operation Rescue leaders came together to form a new group, the American Coalition of Life Activists, largely made up of people who refuse to condemn violence. The group is led by Mr. Burnett, Joe Foreman, a former Presbyterian minister, and Donald Treshman, one of the most militant of the abortion opponents. Their goal, as stated in Mr. Burnett's Life Advocate magazine, "is to find those abortionists who are hiding out from public scrutiny and expose them."

These leaders have been targeted by Federal investigators, and some have been questioned before one of the two grand juries looking into anti-abortion violence.

While members of the coalition say no criminal conspiracy exists, they have joined forces to try to close clinics and harass certain doctors -- a legal practice, to an extent.

Most recently, the coalition came up with a list of what they called the "Deadly Dozen" -- 12 American doctors targeted for harassment.

One doctor on the list, Dr. Warren Hern of Boulder, Colo., said he had received a number of death threats and had been under heavy protection of Federal marshals since the list was published last winter in Life Advocate.

"This is an extraordinarily dangerous development," said Dr. Hern, who runs an abortion clinic in Boulder. "There may not be an actual conspiracy, but these leaders send signals out. And they know they get the results they want."

In April, David Lane, a frequent protester outside Dr. Hern's clinic, was arrested for burglary and vandalism of another clinic. In a prison interview with The Rocky Mountain News, he said he was ready to kill a doctor "if the Lord calls me to." The Conspiracy Issue In Lawsuits, Pattern Emerges

While Federal officials have been frustrated in trying to prove a criminal conspiracy, lawsuits against some of the same people who have been Federal targets have had more success in persuading juries of a civil conspiracy.

And it is in those cases where Mr. Robertson's group, the American Center for Law and Justice, has been very active.

The group is working, for instance, on the appeal of a case in Houston, where a jury last year found that Mr. Treshman and leaders of Operation Rescue were civilly liable for conspiring to shut down abortion clinics. The jury awarded Planned Parenthood more than \$1 million.

"It didn't take any super-sleuthing to figure that these people are all interconnected, and that they share direct mail, fliers, press releases," said Susan Nenny of Planned Parenthood in Texas. "We proved a conspiracy in a civil court, in one of the most conservative states in the nation, in front of a jury."

A few months before he shot Dr. Britton and Mr. Barrett, Mr. Hill was charged in Florida criminal court with violating a noise ordinance while demonstrating at a clinic. His lawyers came from Mr. Robertson's group.

Then, during last year's trial of Mr. Hill for those killings, the defense tried to present a law-review article written by Michael Hirsh, a lawyer for Mr. Robertson's group. The article argued that killing abortion doctors was "consistent with biblical truth." Written after Mr. Griffin shot Dr. Gunn in Florida, the article was pulled from the law review of Mr. Robertson's Regent University when Mr. Hill went on his killing rampage.

Mr. Hirsh has since been dismissed from Mr. Robertson's group, and the legal foundation's leaders have lately been denouncing violence in strong terms. Jay Sekulow, the group's chief lawyer, said it provides legal help in some cases because of the larger issues at stake. He said the group was like a conservative version of the American Civil Liberties Union.

One of the losers in the Houston case, Mr. Treshman, has refused to pay any of the money from the verdict. To avoid court judgments, he said, he changes his post office box all the time.

"All you gotta do is keep closing boxes and opening new ones, and cash your checks at places other than banks," he said.

Mr. Treshman solicited money for the family of Mr. Griffin just hours after Mr. Griffin was arrested for killing Dr. Gunn.

He also said that he "works closely" with a well-financed Texas businessman, Mark Crutcher, head of Life Dynamics Inc., a Dallas-area company he founded to legally harass doctors and infiltrate abortion clinics.

Two years ago, Mr. Crutcher wrote a manual, which he intended to be confidential, called "Firestorm, A Guerrilla Strategy for a Pro-Life America." In it, he outlined a new plan of attack and also predicted that violence would soon be a part of the movement.

"It's a war, and in a war, you do things that are distasteful in a non-war environment," Mr. Crutcher said in an interview.

Following his plan, during the past two years, Mr. Crutcher recruited people to tie up the telephone lines of abortion clinics, sent out questionnaires to clinics under the guise of something he called "Project Choice," and mailed a crude joke book to medical students and doctors, which included this line:

"Q: What would you do if you found yourself in a room with Hitler, Mussolini and an abortionist, and you had a gun with only two bullets?

"A: Shoot the abortionist twice."

Mr. Crutcher said in an interview that "sabotage, infiltration, using provocateurs are part and parcel of this kind of battle."

He said that he did not know very much about the militants and that he said he was angry at "those people in the pro-abortion side who try to paint us as gun-toting, bomb-building radicals." He added, "We're working in the system."

Most recently, Mr. Crutcher has been working with a network of lawyers, including the ones in Mr. Robertson's group, to sue abortion doctors for malpractice. His aim, he said, is to protect "women from being butchered and babies from being killed." End of the Trail Did Mrs. Shannon Complete Puzzle?

Shelley Shannon, with a voice so soft as to be inaudible, is invariably described as the last person you would expect to shoot a doctor or bomb a clinic.

After she was arrested for shooting Dr. George Tiller, who has recovered, investigators dug up a booklet in her back yard -- the Army of God manual, a users' guide to bombing, burning and vandalizing abortion clinics.

Spread among biblical quotations are how-to diagrams of bombs, and a bold-faced declaration: "We, the remnant of God-fearing men and women of the United States of Amerika, do officially declare war on the entire child-killing industry."

On buying chemicals that can disable a clinic, the manual advises this: "It's good if the person buying the stuff (with cash, of course) not be the same one who uses it, each mutually unenlightened as to the details of purchase and usage."

Investigators do not know who wrote the manual. But Federal officials say Mrs. Shannon followed many of the instructions very closely when she bombed a series of abortion clinics in California, Idaho, Nevada and Oregon.

The militants scoff at the task force and its mission, saying they would not sign their names to petitions or grant press interviews if they were truly involved in a criminal conspiracy.

But Mrs. Shannon herself has left some intriguing clues. Shortly after she stopped cooperating with Federal officials, she wrote a letter to Prayer and Action Weekly News, an anti-abortion newsletter in Des Moines, Iowa, apologizing for helping Federal investigators. "I gave them too many pieces to too many puzzles, in a selfish effort to save my own life," she wrote.

Though Mrs. Shannon, who is facing a sentence of least 15 years in prison, expresses anguish, the Federal investigators say she did not go far enough. The puzzle, they say, still has too many missing pieces.

A former abortionist's long journey home: *Citizen* interviews Bernard Nathanson page 6

Disney's Mickey-Mouse religion page 10

Inside Disney's Christian closet page 12

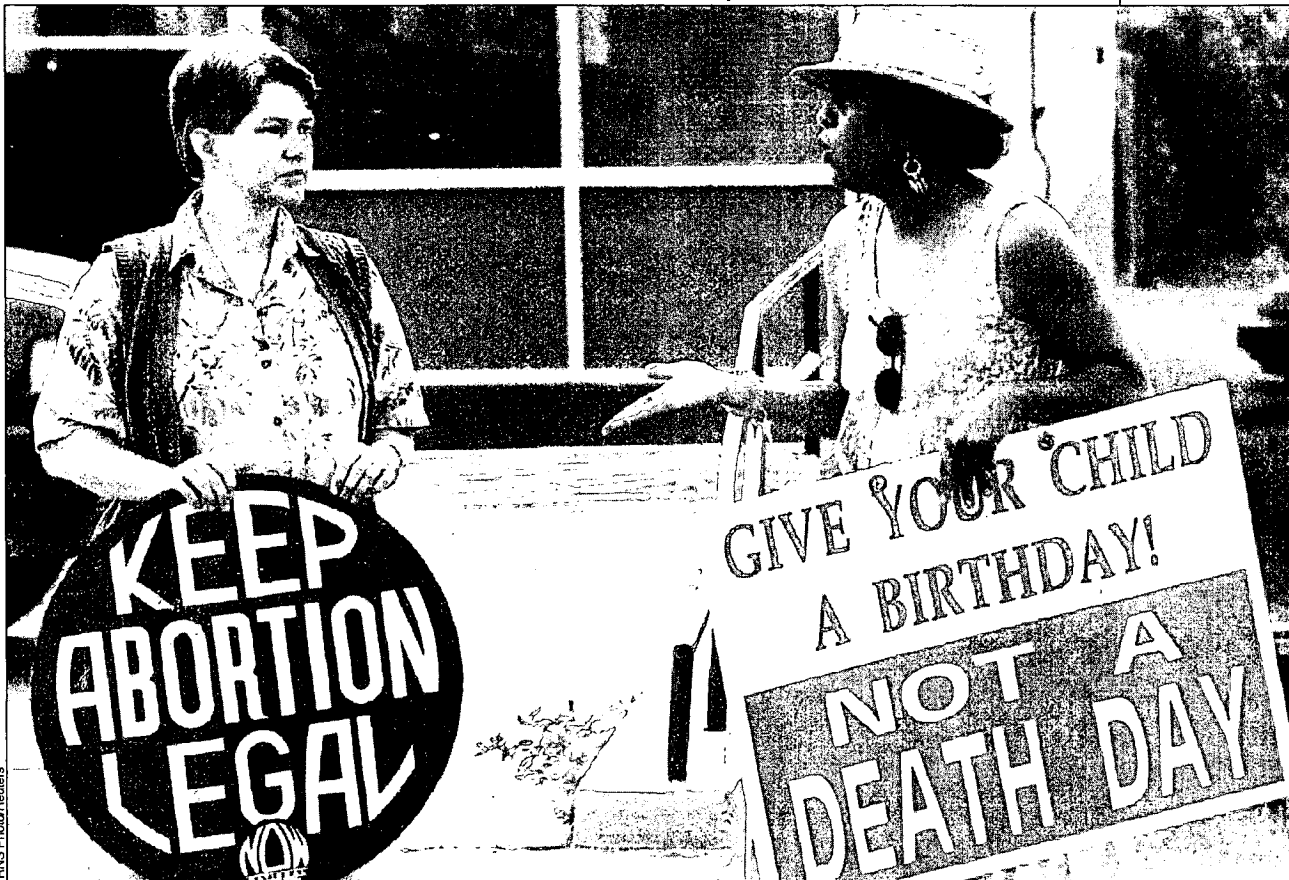
Today's sex education: A crime against children page 13

FOCUS ON THE FAMILY

CITIZEN®

Vol. 10 No. 8 • \$1.95

August 26, 1996



RNS Photo/Reuters

Whatever happened to clinic protests?

Abortion clinic blockades may have seen their day, but pro-life protesters aren't giving up—they're branching out.

by Jeff Hooten

They lobbied legislators and organized letter-writing campaigns. They picketed abortion clinics. They spent hours in prayer.

Yet by the late 1980s, pro-lifers remained a frustrated bunch. Eight years of arguably the most pro-life president in history had done little to stem the epidemic of abortions in the United States. While hundreds of babies were saved every year,

the number of abortions had already climbed into the tens of millions.

Instead of giving up, a group of pro-lifers upped the ante. They hatched a daring plan to shut down abortion clinics across the country.

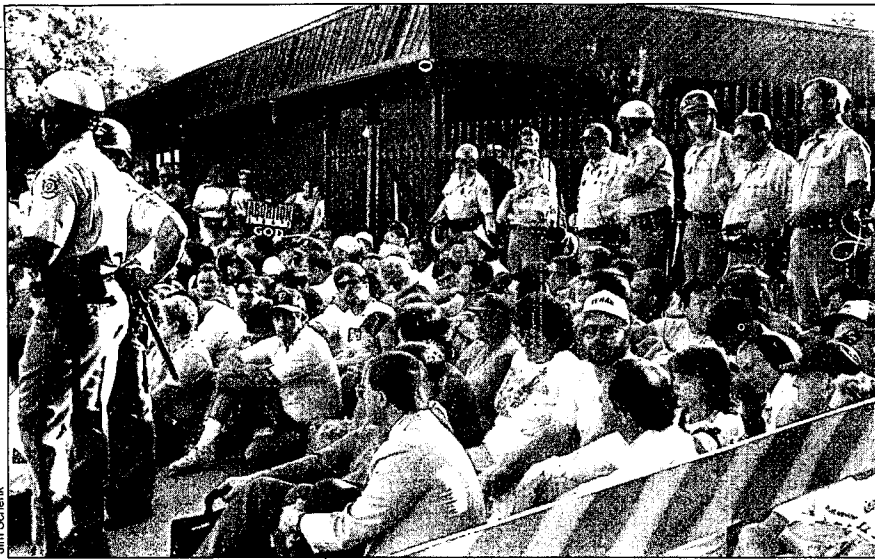
In theory, at least, the plan could have worked.

The organizers dubbed their movement

(continued on page 2)

I think there are actually a lot more protests going on at clinics [today] Those of us that went out in groups and rescued, I think now are going out and having a presence in front of clinics.

—Operation Rescue veteran Susan Peters



Jim Schenk

The "rescue" movement reached its height in the summer of 1991 during 47 days of rescues and protests outside a Wichita, Kan., abortion clinic (above). More than 2,600 activists were arrested (upper right), including 84 local clergy (lower left), but the clinic remained open and still performs late-term abortions.

CLINIC PROTESTS (continued from page 1)

"Operation Rescue," based on Proverbs 24:11: *Rescue those who are unjustly sentenced to death . . .* By staging peaceful sit-ins outside the doors of an abortion clinic, pro-life protesters could effectively prevent the clinic from opening. Organizers determined that with enough bodies, they could shut down a facility for hours—perhaps all day. If police chose to arrest the trespassers, local jails quickly would be overwhelmed.

Had only a small fraction of the Christian community in each city participated, the results could have been dramatic—some clinics might have been forced to close for good.

"Churches outnumber abortion mills at least 200 to 1 in every city in the country," said Randall Terry, founder and former director of Operation Rescue. "Even if one percent of the Christian community had taken a few sacrificial steps, I'm convinced we could have turned the tide."

But that never happened.

EARLY SUCCESS

Operation Rescue made its official debut on Thanksgiving weekend of 1987. Nearly 300 pro-lifers blocked the entrance to the Cherry Hill Women's Center, located just outside Philadelphia.

The protesters spent the morning praying and singing hymns outside the clinic doors. Though they were eventually arrested for trespassing, the demonstration was deemed a success: No abortions were performed that day.

The movement quickly spread. Clinic blockades took place in cities across the country. More than 4,000 arrests were recorded in one four-month period during 1988; most of those arrested were released the same day.

Wendy Wright, a former spokeswoman for Operation Rescue, was living in Los Angeles during the early days of the rescue movement. Said Wright: "When I first saw rescues on TV, it struck me like lightning: *That's effective. . .* I just knew that it was right and I had to do it.

"It's not like writing a letter to a congressman . . . this is going where the people are who are actually making decisions about the life of a child."

Christian media, at least, began to take notice. Focus on the Family's daily radio broadcast featured Operation Rescue three times in a one-year period.

Several prominent Christian leaders—including Dr. James Dobson, the Rev. D. James Kennedy and Charles Colson—endorsed Operation Rescue. The demonstrations were peaceful and prayerful, and because many in the movement's leadership were clergy, rescues began to gain credibility in the pro-life community.

Buoyed by their initial success, Operation Rescue's leaders turned their attention to Atlanta—site of the 1988 Democratic National Convention. The group had planned to demonstrate at clinics for only a few days during the convention, but when city authorities singled them out for longer jail times, waves of reinforcements flocked to Atlanta. The rescues continued for weeks, and the national press made "Operation Rescue" a household term.

"[Rescues] really took off after the convention," Terry said. "There was a direct political result to our street-level actions all over the country. In 1986, abortion wasn't even on the radar screen, as far as political issues. But by the time of the 1988 presidential election, it was the number-one voter issue nationally."

A TURNING POINT

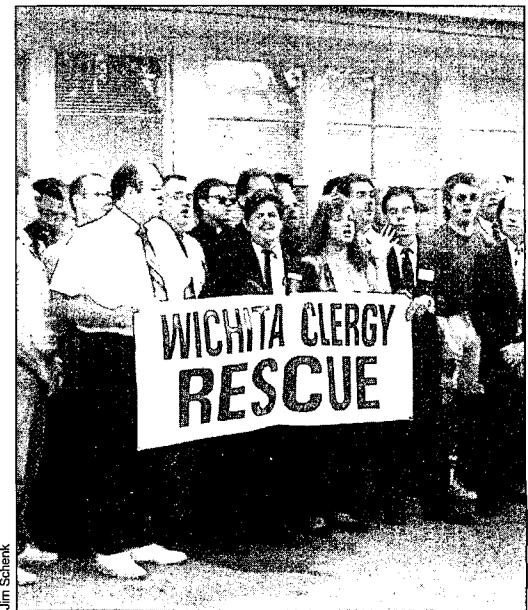
Despite its promising beginning, Operation Rescue's momentum turned out to be relatively short-lived. The movement never attracted the huge numbers needed to put an abortion clinic out of business. Even when pastors led the way, most of their congregations stayed home.

Unlike the civil disobedience protests of the 1960s, Operation Rescue was viewed by some as a terrorist conspiracy. Pro-lifers were divided on the concept of rescues, and many Christians steered clear of a movement wherein participants broke the law. Some ministers preached against rescues. Others weren't sure what to think.

"Out of a church of 1,000 people, 10 would show up," said Bob Jewitt, national coordinator for the Christian Communication Network and a veteran of the rescue movement. "It was getting to be an embarrassment for some of the pastors."

Judges started getting tougher. Fines and jail time, often for simple trespassing, increased dramatically.

What many view as Operation Rescue's



Jim Schenk



Life Advocate Magazine

biggest campaign—the 47-day “Summer of Mercy” in Wichita, Kan.—was also a turning point in the movement. U.S. District Judge Patrick Kelly threatened pro-life leaders with strong-arm tactics, including charging them under the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871. The national media depicted the protestors as violent and menacing. Public opinion toward rescues headed south.

The “Summer of Mercy” campaign sparked revival in Wichita’s churches, but the rescue movement had seen its zenith.

LEGISLATIVE LOSSES

Today, clinic blockades are a rarity. One reason, according to Wright, is that the novelty of an innovative tactic sometimes wears off quickly.

Wright used as an illustration the non-confrontational demonstrations known as “Lifechain,” in which pro-lifers line both sides of a major thoroughfare for a couple of hours, holding signs that read: “Abortion Kills Children.”

“At its high point around 1991, there was a Lifechain in California that drew about 60,000 people,” Wright said. “It was huge. Only one year later, they had less than a quarter of that amount.”

“A good friend of mine felt she paid her dues as a pro-life Christian by being involved in one Lifechain.”

Many pro-lifers say it was not just apathy that weakened the rescue movement, but an aggressive campaign by lawyers, judges and politicians:

- In addition to hefty fines and jail time, the rescue movement was hit with multi-million dollar lawsuits. The National Organization for Women even sued several pro-life leaders using the federal Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act—a statute created for use against organized crime.

- Pro-lifers took a beating from state and federal judges, who issued scores of injunctions and created buffer zones around clinics to prevent pro-lifers from picketing and even praying outside abortion clinics. The Supreme Court in 1994 struck down some of the more drastic rulings, but it upheld a buffer zone outside a Florida clinic that barred pro-life demonstrations within 36 feet of the clinic entrance.

- In 1994, President Clinton pushed for, and signed into law, the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE). While protesters on politically correct issues continue to suffer little—small fines, maybe a night in jail and typically dismissed charges—peacefully blocking the entrance to an abortion clinic is now a federal crime punishable by a \$10,000 fine and six months in prison. Repeat offenders could face up to three years in prison and \$250,000 in fines.

- Also in 1994, the Justice Department launched a 16-month investigation into an alleged nationwide “conspiracy” of violence at abortion clinics. Despite word that the investigation came up dry, Attorney General Janet Reno vowed in January that the Justice Department will continue to pursue evidence of any conspiracy.

ABORTION DISTORTION

Taken together, these developments have turned pro-life protestors into what Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia called a “disfavored class.” Pro-life attorneys say recent court rulings also have had a chilling effect on free speech.

“The sidewalks in front of abortion clinics are still open for free speech and free discourse,” said Jay Sekulow, chief counsel for the American Center for Law and Justice. “But people are scared to even hold up a sign in public anymore, or to have a prayer vigil.”

Many pro-lifers are under the misguided impression that there is a buffer zone around every clinic. In fact, praying, picketing, distributing pro-life literature and sidewalk counseling are still legal.

“There are injunctions out there that we are trying to undo, but at most places these activities can still go on,” Sekulow said.

Mathew Staver, who argued the Florida buffer-zone case, *Madsen vs. Women’s Health Center Inc.*, before the Supreme Court, said FACE only applies to acts of physical force, such as when people are prohibiting access to a clinic.

“[FACE] cannot be applied to peaceful protest,” said Staver, who is also president of the Orlando-based Liberty Counsel. “If they kneel on a public sidewalk . . . they will not be charged under FACE.”

Even some liberal attorneys agree. Robyn

(continued on page 4)

Life-saving activities at the clinics are very effective, because we’re going where the need is.

—Former Operation Rescue spokeswoman
Wendy Wright



Jim Schenk



Jim Schenk

As clinic blockades faded, "Lifechains" (top) gained popularity. Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry (bottom), having served several brief prison terms related to his rescue activities, has returned to his home state, New York, where he prays for and counsels women outside an abortion clinic at least once a week.

CLINIC PROTESTS (continued from page 3)

Blumner, executive director of the Florida American Civil Liberties Union, said the ACLU has argued that only those people specifically named in injunctions can be restricted in their picketing activity.

"We very much want women to have access to the abortion clinics," Blumner said. "But at the same time, we also want the landscape of First Amendment jurisprudence to be as encouraging and as friendly as possible to protected activities—and that includes anti-abortion speech."

MOVING AHEAD

Clinic blockades may have seen their day, but their impact is still being felt. Wendy Wright said that many people she met during the rescue movement's heyday have now gone on to other pro-life activities, such as political involvement, working at crisis pregnancy centers or helping educate their churches about the importance of activism in social issues.

"There's even been a couple people I know who went to law school because they saw how horrible our judicial system is," Wright said. "One man I know has become a judge. He ran against a judge who threw me in jail in Houston for praying on a sidewalk—and he won."

A brief look at some former rescue participants illustrates the diversity of pro-life activity in 1996:

- Wright is currently a pro-life lobbyist at the state and federal level, as well as a delegate to her state's Republican convention.

- Judy Madsen, the lead plaintiff in *Madsen vs. Women's Health Center Inc.*, works as a sidewalk counselor. She co-founded The True Majority, a pro-life women's organization, and has helped organize several prayer gatherings outside of clinics.

- David Lee, a former associate pastor at First Evangelical Free Church of Wichita, joined with 83

other local pastors in a clergy-only rescue during the 1991 "Summer of Mercy" campaign. He hasn't blockaded a clinic door since, and is now executive director of Heartland Life Network, a pro-life educational research foundation.

- Joseph Scheidler, director of the Chicago-based Pro-Life Action League and one of the early leaders of the rescue movement, said his organization has been enjoying success outside abortion clinics with what he calls the "Chicago Method."

"We've stopped as many as 27 women from going ahead with their abortions in one morning at a single clinic," Scheidler said. "We show them the lawsuits against the clinic. We show them the malpractice suits against the abortionists. We show them the actual cases filed against the clinic or the doctors, and files on the women who have been maimed or have died."

"These are places where people are destroyed. And the sooner women find that out the better."

Scheidler's organization has sponsored conferences on sidewalk counseling, and the league is currently producing a film on the best sidewalk-counseling methods.

A RED-HOT ISSUE

So what's the future of clinic protests? Sekulow is headed to the Supreme Court in October to challenge a lower-court ruling that restricted pro-life speech by several individuals—even on public property—in western New York.

Also in New York, Randall Terry continues to visit a local abortion clinic once a week. There, he and his pastor pray for and try to dissuade abortion-minded women.

"We should do all we can to save the babies who are scheduled to die today," he said.

Many in the pro-life movement, including Staver and Scheidler, maintain that sidewalk activities—not blockades—are the more effective means of directly preventing abortions. A daily presence outside a clinic, they argue, is more beneficial than temporarily shutting down a clinic and then spending an extended period in jail.

Scheidler is careful, however, not to disparage the historical importance of clinic blockades.

"I don't want to give the idea that because rescue has died down, that it didn't have its purpose," he said. "It brought thousands of people into the movement who probably would have never gotten active. It made abortion a red-hot issue."

"It's been 23 1/2 years since it was supposed to have been settled [with *Roe vs. Wade*]; and you'll

notice by picking up a newspaper or turning on the TV, it's not settled."

Its numbers are small, but Operation Rescue is still around. Current director Flip Benham remains upbeat. He noted that fewer abortions are performed today than 20 years ago. There are also several hundred fewer clinics than there were just 10 years ago, he said.

"Young doctors are not replacing the older [abortionists]," Benham said. "The abortion industry is on the downward side of a slippery slope." □



Lead White

investigators arrested the man suspected of taking them from a Los Angeles abortion clinic and dumping them.

Douglas Figueroa, 25, was arrested and booked for investigation of improperly disposing of medical waste, sheriff's Deputy Chief Mark Cardwell said. Bail was set at \$25,000.

Children playing in a field on March 14 found five boxes, sealed with duct tape, containing 45 aborted babies in jars.

Investigators traced the babies to the Clinica Femenina Para La Mujer abortion clinic, operated by abortionist Albert Brown.

Brown has denied dumping the bodies and contends that enemies he made while testifying in malpractice hearings framed him.

Figueroa is not an employee at Brown's clinic but does have ties to employees at the facility, authorities said.

Cardwell suggested he may have had help.

The idea that Figueroa dumped the babies "without any direction is in our view not a likely scenario," he said.

No one in the state has been prosecuted for illegally dumping babies' bodies since the state's waste management law was passed six years ago. The law mandates that bodies of aborted babies be cremated.

A determination by state health investigators that Brown violated "several aspects" of the medical waste management act was turned over to the Attorney General's Office, officials said.

Randall Terry settles NOW v. Scheidler lawsuit

Chicago, IL — One of pro-life's longest running sagas has ended for Randall Terry.

Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, has signed a settle-

ment agreement with the National Organization for Women (NOW) in order to get out of the 1986 *NOW v. Scheidler* lawsuit.

In the agreement, Terry says he has no plans to engage in any unlawful activities against abortion clinics or abortion providers for the next 12 years. Terry has not been at the forefront of Operation Rescue and has not rescued or otherwise broken laws against abortion clinics for more than six years. He is now running for the U.S. Congress for the New York seat in his district.

The agreement does not preclude legal demonstrations.

In the settlement, Terry admits no fault or liability and pays no settlement amount. He is expected to be called by the plaintiffs to testify, but that would have been true whether he had been dropped from the suit or not.

Terry said he was trying to avoid having to appear daily in what may be a month-long trial during the middle of his congressional campaign.

"I am a full-time candidate," he said. "I need a month-long trial like I need a hole in the head."

Terry says that he doubts whether NOW could have shown him to be liable in court.

The trial is scheduled to begin on March 2, 1998.

The same settlement offer has been made to the other defendants in the case. Joe Scheidler, director of Pro-Life Action League of Chicago, sent a reply to NOW's lead attorney, Fay Clayton, which read, "No way, Fay."



Randall Terry

"I want the trial," said Scheidler. ■

Trinidad police find human sacrifice victims

Port of Spain, TRINIDAD — Police in Trinidad, after digging up the remains of two children, continued a grim search on December 4 for more victims of what they feared was ritual child sacrifice.

Police unearthed the remains of what were initially thought to be three children from small pits behind a house in central Trinidad. They said later they had exhumed only two children, believed to be a three-year-old girl, Vidya London, and her 17-month-old brother, Daniel.

Two more children in the family, three-month-old twins Preya and Ria London, remain missing.

Police believe the children's parents, Kenrick London, 37, and his wife, Chandrowtie London, 21, killed them in a human sacrifice ritual.

The couple were in police custody on December 4 after appearing in court on a charge of murdering Chandrowtie London's sister Meena, whose battered body was found near her home on November 27.

Police said the couple confessed to torturing and strangling the 18-year-old girl.

Investigation into that murder led police to an abandoned house at Caratal Village, Gasparillo, where the bodies were exhumed. Police said that they expected to drag a nearby pond in an effort to locate the bodies of the missing twins.

After seizing several religious books at the couple's home, police said they suspected all four children were killed and offered as human sacrifices in a religious ceremony.

London was "always a strange, queer kind of spiritual brother," Roland Gulston, a local

priest, said. "He was obsessed by money and power and dabbled in occult practices to acquire both. He had a passion for reading 'high science' and 'dark spiritual books.'"

The Caribbean nation's Prime Minister Basdeo Panday said, "Whereas it used to be largely drugs, we are now seeing a new phenomenon of a disintegration of the family to the point that the internal family abuse is resulting in death."

According to local press reports, the children were killed in the belief that the parents who offered them as sacrifices would come into great wealth.

Ramesh Deosaran, who heads the Center for Criminology and Criminal Justice at the Trinidad Campus of the University of the West Indies, said infanticide was a growing crime in the twin-island Caribbean state and may well be going on undetected in the countryside.

"Occult practices in the Caribbean and the islands (and) Haiti and Guyana, in particular, are historically rooted," he said. "The culture of superstition . . . has always been here. It is quite likely that a lot of young children who have disappeared may have been victims of this kind of atrocity." ■

Oregon euthanasia doctor will not be charged

Corvallis, OR — James Gallant, the Oregon doctor who killed 78-year-old Clarietta Day with a lethal injection, will not



James Gallant

July 27, 1998

Putting Aside Protest for Politics; Militant Abortion Foe Seeks G.O.P. Nod for Congress

By JAMES DAO

The day was sweltering and cloudless, perfect for the annual lumberjack festival in this verdant hamlet west of the Catskills. As burly men sawed thick logs and vendors hawked the latest in chain saws, Randall A. Terry, militant abortion foe turned Republican candidate for Congress, was working the crowd.

Lanky and intense, he cooed over children, kissed elderly women and promised businessmen tax cuts. But when he came to the young woman selling pizza, she looked past him with an icy gaze.

"What can I do to make you like me?" Mr. Terry asked, sounding hurt.

"Nothing," she replied. "Our ideas are just too far apart."

Mr. Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, is learning a thing or two about the delicate art of winning votes. Gone are the days of thrusting photographs of bloody fetuses into the faces of pregnant women, chaining himself to operating tables, shouting down nurses, harassing doctors and creating general mayhem outside abortion clinics around the country.

In are the endless hours of campaign tedium, shaking hands, attending fund-raising events and asking a steady stream of sometimes friendly, often hostile strangers to like him just enough to vote for him.

"I'm not running a protest candidacy; I'm not running a candidacy to inspire people," he said at his campaign headquarters in Windsor, near the Pennsylvania border. "I'm running to win."

At a time when prominent social conservatives like Gary L. Bauer of the Family Research Council and Donald P. Hodel of the Christian Coalition have been excoriating the Republican Party, saying it has sold out Christian conservatives, Mr. Terry has gone one step further.

He is running to transform from within a party that he says has failed true conservatives too many times by tolerating abortion, government financing for the arts, commerce with godless socialist nations, excessive taxes and homosexuality. "This terrifies the Republican leadership," he said, waving an endorsement letter from James C. Dobson, an influential social conservative. "We are the hard core of the Republican Party, as measured by primary voters: pro-lifers, home schoolers, Second Amendmentists, antitax, patriotic American activists. And if they keep offending us, and we stay at home or go somewhere else, they have no party."

Not surprisingly, his campaign has few fans among Republican Party stalwarts. Most Republican organizations in the 26th Congressional District -- which runs from Newburgh through Binghamton to Ithaca -- and party leaders in Albany and Washington are supporting his major rival in the Republican and Conservative Party primaries, William Bud Walker.

"I shudder when I read some of the hateful things that Bud's opponent, Randall Terry, has said and written about people who disagree with him," wrote Representative Gerald B. H. Solomon, a conservative Republican from Glens Falls, in a letter supporting Mr. Walker. "I will continue to fight for conservative principles and against the Randall Terrys and David Dukes of this world."

Mainstream Republicans contend that Mr. Terry will pound a wedge between the party's moderate and conservative wings, driving centrists into the arms of Democrats. And they say that even if he loses the primary on Sept. 15, Mr. Terry will continue to wreak havoc on the party by running on small-party lines in November. Those parties are likely to siphon votes from Mr. Walker, helping the Democratic incumbent, Representative Maurice D. Hinchey, who is considered one of the most vulnerable incumbents in Congress.

Mr. Terry is running unopposed in the Right to Life Party primary and has a strong chance of winning the Conservative Party primary, said Michael R. Long, the Conservative Party chairman.

"These are people who would rather control their destiny, and lose elections, than make accommodations to other people," said

Representative Amo Houghton, a moderate Republican from Elmira, who is facing a primary challenge from an ally of Mr. Terry's, the Rev. James Pierce, a fundamentalist minister with a church near Corning.

Mr. Pierce is one of six candidates Mr. Terry recruited to run for Congress in 1998, calling them the "Patrick Henry Men" after the patriot whose fiery speeches incited opposition to the British. (Mr. Terry has vowed to field 25 Congressional candidates in 2000.)

Three of the six have dropped out or lost primaries, and the rest are considered long shots. But one, Joseph J. Slovenec, won a Republican primary and will face Representative Dennis J. Kucinich, a Democrat from Cleveland, in November.

Though political analysts say Mr. Terry is clearly the underdog in his race, they say he must be taken seriously because of his drive, charisma and ability to raise money: at least \$700,000 in the last year, more than Mr. Hinchey and Mr. Walker combined. The vast majority of that money has flowed from outside the state through Mr. Terry's connections to fundamentalist churches and anti-abortion groups.

His large war chest has enabled him to broadcast radio or television commercials fairly consistently since December, to distribute slick promotional videos and to assemble an inexperienced but devoted staff of 10, plus 50 volunteer workers.

"He has a shot just because he has such celebrity status," said Kelli Conlin, executive director of the New York Chapter of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League.

The son of Rochester public school teachers, Mr. Terry formed Operation Rescue in the Binghamton area in 1986. But he drifted away from the group several years ago when the anti-abortion movement began to fragment.

Lawsuits brought by the National Organization for Women helped hasten the group's demise: in 1991, Mr. Terry was ordered to pay the group \$16,000 in damages and to stop organizing clinic protests. He still owes much of that money, prompting Mr. Terry to say, "If I go to Congress, I'll be working for NOW."

Since leaving Operation Rescue, Mr. Terry, 39, has made a living giving speeches around the country. He is also the host of a one-hour radio program, "Randall Terry Live!," five days a week and runs what is described as a "Christian leadership" school on his 120-acre farm in Windsor, where he lives with his wife, Alice, and three children.

But while he has abandoned protest for politics, Mr. Terry has not forsaken the hard-right conservatism and fundamentalist Christian theology that underpinned Operation Rescue. He would abolish Federal income taxes and local property taxes, end government's role in financing and operating schools, phase out the Social Security system and return America to what he calls a Christian-based politics founded on reverence for the Ten Commandments.

His oratory matches his proposals. Property taxes are a form of serfdom, he says. Government officials are "a bunch of well-dressed horse thieves." Homosexuality is destroying the institution of marriage. "Government should be our quiet, righteous servant," he says on his campaign video. "It has become an arrogant, often evil master."

But if he can still sound like a firebrand preacher, there are also new, gentler wrinkles to Randall Terry, the politician. He has hired a political pollster to help "refine" his message, though he rarely seems to follow the advice. He talks about taxes far more often than about abortion. And he points to Patrick Henry, Winston Churchill, Theodore Roosevelt and Harry Truman as his heroes, citing them almost as often as the Bible in speeches.

"Roosevelt was a die-hard Christian who believed that self-government under the fear of God was the foundation of the Republic," Mr. Terry said in his office, where photocopies of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and a sepia-toned photograph of Roosevelt hang from the walls.

Reaction in the district to Mr. Terry's campaign has been sharply mixed. Many have sour memories of his early take-no-prisoners abortion protests in Binghamton in the 1980's. "He's softened up his aggressiveness, but it's going to take a long time before people forget his divisive ways," said Robert L. Moppert, a Republican who ran against Mr. Hinchey in 1994.

But an elderly woman in Deposit remembered him as a hero. "God bless you for your abortion work," she told him.

And a Deposit businessman who said he had not known anything about Mr. Terry came away liking his antitax message. "He's a small businessman like me, which means he can relate to my problems," said the man, Dick Buffington, 62.

His critics say Mr. Terry's softer style is just a new veneer for his old extremism. To make their point, they have circulated quotes from speeches in which Mr. Terry endorsed executing doctors who perform abortions and called Gov. George E. Pataki "evil" for supporting abortion rights.

Mr. Walker's supporters have also accused Mr. Terry of being a tax protester because he failed to pay nearly \$7,000 in state income taxes from 1990 to 1994. Mr. Terry, who has paid those taxes with penalties and interest, said he was late because of cash-flow problems.

Mr. Walker, 42, is a genial, soft-spoken, fourth-generation apple farmer from Ulster County who received a business degree from Harvard. He calls himself a social moderate and fiscal conservative, supporting abortion rights with restrictions, an array of tax cuts and smaller government. But he has fiercely attacked Mr. Terry's calls for ending Social Security.

"That is a radical, extreme position that will drive people in the other direction," Mr. Walker told a group of business owners and Republican officials in Owego.

A third candidate in the Republican primary, Douglas Walter Drazen, 37, a lawyer from Binghamton, has tried to position himself as the reform candidate. But he has raised almost no money and has virtually no campaign organization.

Mr. Terry dismisses Republican accusations that he is a wild-eyed radical. He is mining for a vein of discontent in America that runs deeper than party loyalty, he says. And if nothing else, he adds with a wry smile, he will make Congress interesting.

As if on cue, Mr. Terry's spokesman, Gary L. McCullough, kicks into the campaign's theme song, Billy Joel's "You May Be Right."

"You may be right -- I may be crazy," Mr. McCullough growls. "But it just may be a lunatic you're looking for."

Correction: August 3, 1998, Monday An article last Monday about Randall Terry, a Republican candidate for Congress and the founder of the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, misstated his wife's given name. It is Cindy, not Alice.

November 8, 1998

METRO NEWS BRIEFS: NEW YORK; An Anti-Abortion Leader Files For Bankruptcy

Randall Terry, the founder of the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, filed for bankruptcy last week in an effort to avoid paying massive debts owed to women's groups and abortion clinics that have sued him.

Mr. Terry, who is no longer the head of Operation Rescue, has been ordered to pay the National Organization for Women and Planned Parenthood a combined \$1.6 million.

Mr. Terry founded Operation Rescue in Binghamton in 1988. The organization, now based in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, is known for aggressive tactics, including barricading abortion clinics. Women's clinics have pending lawsuits against Mr. Terry in Federal and local courts.

On Tuesday, Mr. Terry lost a race for Congress to Representative Maurice Hinchey, the incumbent and a Democrat. Mr. Terry ran as a Right to Life Party candidate in the 26th Congressional District, which stretches from Ithaca to Newburgh.

Mr. Terry cited \$1.7 million in debts when he filed for personal bankruptcy Thursday in United States Bankruptcy Court for the Northern District of New York. One hundred thousand dollars of the debt were was unrelated to the lawsuits.