THE EXPORT OF









OVERVIEW

According to recent data from the Pew Research Center, the disapproval of homosexuality in many nations around the world remains deeply entrenched. In most of the 40 nations surveyed, more than 50 percent of respondents consider it "morally unacceptable," with that number above 90 percent in seven countries.

Being LGBT in nearly 80 nations remains a criminal offense, and the road to societal acceptance and full equality under the law remains perilously long for citizens in these and many other countries.

While LGBT people around the world face systematic stigmatization, persecution and violence, there exists a network of American extremists who are working tirelessly to undercut them at every turn. These individuals are spreading venomous rhetoric, outrageous theories and discredited science. Some claim that LGBT people are responsible for the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Others argue that LGBT people are luring away children, and that acceptance of LGBT people will lead to the destruction of families around the world. Some even suggest that the death penalty may be an appropriate punishment for homosexuality.

While this vicious brand of bigotry is currently finding little traction in the United States, public opinion in many other nations makes their words and work much more dangerous. In fact, their actions pose a fundamental threat to the safety of LGBT people around the world, and that threat is growing.

These extremists are securing audiences with heads of government and their spouses, testifying before parliaments and gatherings of lawmakers and building relationships with faith leaders and other prominent citizens. Their organizations are lobbying United Nations delegates, getting involved in the drafting of constitutions and intervening in international court cases that affect the rights and lives of LGBT people.

Disturbingly, in their advocacy of bigotry and anti-LGBT policies, their voices are being heard and their impact is being felt. They're active in nations on five continents, with concentrations of activity in Eastern Europe and Africa.

With anti-LGBT losses mounting in the United States, and with strong indications of increased activity abroad, more must be done to expose this work and the people doing it.

In the pages to follow, The Export of Hate profiles some of the many individuals and organizations dedicated to this shared global mission. We outline the connections and associations between them, the nations in which they're active and some of the resources at their disposal.

SOME CLAIM THAT LGBT PEOPLE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HOLOCAUST, THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE AND THE SPREAD OF HIV/ AIDS. OTHERS ARGUE THAT LGBT PEOPLE ARE LURING AWAY CHILDREN, AND THAT ACCEPTANCE OF LGBT PEOPLE WILL LEAD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF FAMILIES AROUND THE WORLD. SOME EVEN SUGGEST THAT THE DEATH PENALTY MAY BE AN APPROPRIATE PUNISHMENT FOR HOMOSEXUALITY.

SCOTT LIVELY

X

BASE OF OPERATIONS SPRINGFIELD, MASS.



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ORGANIZATION

ABIDING TRUTHS MINISTRIES

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RESOURCES

Lively's Abiding Truths Ministries reported contributions of



and assets of \$12,587 at the end of FY 2012.

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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Scott Lively has been active in the American anti-LGBT movement for decades. He first appeared as a spokesman for the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) in 1991 and quickly became known for his controversial tactics. The group used literature reminiscent of Nazi propaganda,¹ and Lively was fined \$31,000 for using "unreasonable force" in ejecting a journalist from an OCA meeting.² After Oregon, Lively moved on to a variety of "profamily" roles in California, including heading up the Pro-Family Law Center, which he claimed was "the nation's only law-centered entity devoted exclusively to opposing the homosexual agenda."³

In 2007, Lively and his wife relocated their Abiding Truths Ministries to Springfield, Mass., where he said they would serve as "missionaries to America."⁴ Abiding Truths is listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, and Lively uses it as a base of operations for his domestic and international advocacy.⁵ He also runs the Holy Grounds coffee shop in Springfield.⁶

Scott Lively qualified for the November 2014 gubernatorial ballot in Massachusetts. He has almost no campaign funds and readily admits that he's running only "to have a platform to articulate my views."⁷



"When you think of the Nazi Party... you cannot help but understand that this organization was a machine constructed by militant, sadomasochistic, pedophilic homosexuals. They built the Nazi machine. They were the people that ran it, that put it together. Most people understand that there were some homosexuals involved in the Nazi Party – no, it wasn't that. They were the foundation of the Nazi Party." – Eugene Register-Guard, 10/24/94

"THERE IS A WAR THAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD. THERE IS A WAR THAT IS WAGING ACROS THE ENTIRE FΔ **CF** G -IT'S BEEN WAGI NGIN STATES FO R FS WAGI G DFCADFS CHRISTIANS AND Н



– Scott Lively, "Letter to the Russian People," 10/15/07

– Scott Lively, Novosibirsk, Russia, August 2007



UGANDA



In the United States, Lively is largely considered a fringe extremist, even by other anti-LGBT activists, but he has never been content to spread extremism and hate at home. He first traveled to Uganda in 2002 to warn about the LGBT menace to that country[®] and he returned in 2009 to headline a conference on "the dangers of homosexuality."⁹ Many Ugandan activists believe that he was one of the inspirations for the harsh anti-homosexuality bill that was enacted in 2014, which punishes same-sex intimacy with penalties that can include life in prison.¹⁰

Lively has also been a frequent visitor to Eastern Europe, where he spent months in 2006-2007 on a 50-city tour of the former Soviet Union.¹¹ Wherever he goes, Lively presents himself as a world-renowned expert on LGBT issues and urges policymakers to pass laws that crack down on LGBT rights and the right of free expression. Lively takes personal credit for the passage of the Russian "gay propaganda" law, which he says he proposed back in 2007.¹²



Although he publicly proclaimed that he was stepping away from the frontlines of the culture war in 2011, Lively has made a big comeback.¹³ Last year he traveled to the United Kingdom¹⁴ and back to Russia¹⁵ to promote his extreme views. He recently visited Washington, D.C., to announce the formation of a Coalition for Family Values to rally his fellow extremists from around the world to the cause of blocking equality and spreading distortions and lies about LGBT people.¹⁶

BENJAMIN BULL

X BASE OF OPERATIONS SCOTTSDALE, ARIZ.



ADF-GLOBAL

CHIEF COUNSEL, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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RESOURCES

Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) is the largest legal organization on the radical right. ADF has an annual budget of more than

\$45 MILLION

and a staff of more than 40 attorneys, with partnership agreements with thousands more around the world.¹⁷

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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Alliance Defending Freedom was established by Christian leaders in the 1990s because "people of faith were being outgunned in court." The founding board of the organization included many prominent conservatives, including James Dobson of Focus on the Family. Over the years, ADF has argued hundreds of cases across the United States. Its work has been described as "virulently anti-gay" by the Southern Poverty Law Center¹⁸ and, among other highprofile cases, they defended Proposition 8 in California and filed a brief in Lawrence v. Texas supporting laws banning same-sex sexual relationships. ADF argued before the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in Richmond, Va. in defense of Virginia's marriage equality ban as well as fighting a similar case in Oklahoma.19

Beyond the realm of LGBT rights, ADF won a major victory in the United States recently when the Supreme Court ruled in favor of allowing the town of Greece, N.Y. to open municipal meetings with Christian prayers.²⁰ It also represented Conestoga Wood Specialties in a Supreme Court case on the right of corporations to refuse to provide birth control for their employees.²¹

REGIONS ACTIVE BELIZE RUSSIA MEXICO Image: state stat

ADF HAS

ALSO INTERVENED IN SUPPORT OF THE PUTIN GOVERNMENT'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PROTEST GROUP PUSSY RIOT AT THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE GROUNDS THAT PUSSY RIOT HAD VIOLATED "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM" IN RUSSIA. In 2011, the Alliance Defending Freedom launched a "global initiative" to take its pro-life, anti-LGBT and "pro-family" legal advocacy overseas.²² The group claims to have partnerships with attorneys in 31 countries around the world. The ADF's rationale for expanding operations overseas is that American courts are often influenced by the outcome of cases elsewhere. To that end, the group has intervened in cases involving Russia, Italy, Ireland, Mexico and Argentina. Most recently, in February 2014, the Alliance was granted permission to intervene as a third party at the European Court of Human Rights in defense of Italy's ban on same-sex marriages.²³

The ADF has been an active supporter of efforts to keep same-sex relationships illegal in the country of Belize. An LGBT activist is currently challenging that nation's anti-sodomy law in court and has faced societal stigma and violent attacks. He is opposed by a group known as "Belize Action," which has boasted of its support from American groups including the ADF.²⁴ The Alliance's IRS reports indicate that the group has spent tens of thousands of dollars supporting "human rights legal work" in the Caribbean.²⁵

In October 2013, Benjamin Bull represented the ADF on a trip to Moscow, where he participated in planning sessions for the 2014 World Congress of Families (WCF) conference, originally scheduled for September 2014 at the Kremlin.²⁶ While there, the WCF delegation met with Duma member Yelena Mizulina, who is known as Vladimir Putin's "morality crusader." Mizulina is responsible for the anti-gay "propaganda" law that passed in 2013 as well as the ban on adoption of Russian orphans by same-sex couples or unmarried individuals living in countries that allow marriage equality.27 ADF has also intervened in support of the Putin government's campaign against the protest group Pussy Riot at the European Court of Human Rights on the grounds that Pussy Riot had violated "religious freedom" in Russia.28

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NOTABLE QUOTES

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, THE MONIKER **OF 'HUMAN RIGHTS'** HAS LONG BEEN A OAK FOR A NUMBER -CALLED RIGHTS ER WAY, FROM EDUCATION, **O FREE HEALTHCARE,** US ASPF OMOSEXUAL AGENDA AND BEYOND, GHTS HAVF E INTENT POSING WORLDVIEW **OTHERS.**" UN

– Benjamin Bull Column, 5/28/12

SERVER SECTIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C.



ORGANIZATION



DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

The American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) has an annual budget of more than



As a 501(c)(3) organization, the ACLJ is not required to detail its spending to the IRS; however, the Better Business Bureau reported in 2012 that the group did not meet 10 out of 20 standards for charity accountability. The missed standards included board oversight, board size, board meetings, board compensation, effectiveness policies and reporting, accurate expense reporting, annual reports, website disclosures and cause marketing disclosures.³⁰ Over the years, the ACLJ has distributed millions of dollars to the Sekulow family. Between 1998 and 2011, ACLJ and another affiliated charity paid more than \$33 million to the Sekulow family and businesses they own or co-own.³¹

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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The ACLJ was founded by Pat Robertson in 1990 to serve as a counter to the American Civil Liberties Union.³² The ACLJ is one of the biggest American religious-right legal powerhouses, and it collaborated with an array of other right-wing groups. The ACLJ has focused on blocking marriage equality and participated in the original drafting of the Defense of Marriage Act. The organization also filed an amicus brief supporting efforts to keep sodomy illegal in the 2003 *Lawrence v. Texas* Supreme Court case.³³ The ACLJ has also been involved in

The ACLJ has also been involved in other issues. It opposes a woman's right to choose and The Affordable Care Act and supported Arizona's anti-immigrant S.B. 1070 law. The group also campaigned against the imposition of "Sharia law" in the United States and opposed the Park51 Islamic center in New York City.



NOTABLE QUOTES

"EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS ARE THE MOST OUTSPOKEN OPPONENTS OF KEY AGENDA ITEMS OF THE GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENT BUT IT IS THE LARGER 'CHRISTIAN' COMMUNITY WHO, COMBINED WITH EVANGELICALS, MAKE UP A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS. THIS IS MOST EVIDENT WHEN AMERICANS HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON THE DEFINITION OF MARRIAGE FROM THE PRIVACY AND ANONYMITY OF THE VOTING BOOTH."

– Jordan Sekulow Column, Washington Post, 10/12/10 "THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE, INDEPENDENTLY ADEQUATE, RATIONAL BASES FOR THE STATUTE. FIRST, <u>A BAN ON</u> <u>SAME-SEX SODOMY PERMISSIBLY</u> FURTHERS PUBLIC MORALITY. SECOND, THE EXTENSIVELY DOCUMENTED HEALTH RISKS OF SAME-SEX SODOMY SUPPLY

REGIONS ACTIVE PAKISTAN BRAZIL PAKISTAN PA The American Center for Law and Justice has offices around the world – in Israel, Russia, Kenya, France, Pakistan, South Korea and Zimbabwe. According to ACLJ, the purpose of these affiliate offices is to "engage in domestic and international litigation, provide legal services, advise individuals and government agencies, and counsel clients on human rights issues."³⁴

In 2010, the ACLJ opened an East African office in Nairobi with the explicit purpose of lobbying the Kenyan government "to take the Christian's views into consideration as they draft legislation and policies."³⁵ To that end, the group spent tens of thousands of dollars trying to defeat a draft version of the Kenyan constitution, which they argued was too permissive toward LGBT Kenyans and would allow "abortion on demand."³⁶ Although the ACLJ was unsuccessful at defeating the draft constitution, it pledged to go to court to continue the fight and to carry out civic education to "warn people of the dangers of homosexuality."³⁷

In Zimbabwe, the ACLJ opened an office in 2009, again with the intent of focusing on the constitution-drafting process.³⁸ In June 2010, Jordan Sekulow and several other ACLJ officials traveled to Zimbabwe and met with leaders of all three major political parties, including Prime Minister Tsvangirai.³⁹ At the time, ACLJ was distributing material in Zimbabwe calling for homosexuality to "remain a criminal offense." 40 Bolstered by groups like the ACLJ, Zimbabwe is one of the most homophobic and transphobic countries on earth and the country's president, Robert Mugabe, often engages in homophobic rants, calling LGBT people "pigs and dogs and animals.

Most recently, the ACLJ expanded into South America, opening an office in Brazil in 2013. The head of the office, Felipe Coelho, is part of one of Brazil's most prominent evangelical families, and the office aims to block hate crime legislation from becoming law and opposes marriage equality and employment protections for LGBT people.⁴¹

A STRONG PUBLIC HEALTH RATIONALE FOR THE STATUTE."

– American Center for Law and Justice Amicus Brief, Lawrence v. Texas

PETER L^ABARBERA

× base of operations NAPERVILLE, ILL.



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ORGANIZATION

AMERICANS FOR TRUTH ABOUT HOMOSEXUALITY

PRESIDENT

X

RESOURCES

AFTAH has not filed an IRS 990 form since 2009. At the time, the group reported contributions of



and \$0 in assets.

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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Peter LaBarbera founded Americans for Truth About Homosexuality (AFTAH) in 1996 and has had a long career as an anti-LGBT activist in the United States. LaBarbera wrote for the *Washington Times* in the 1990s and has been an official with Accuracy in Media, Concerned Women for America, the Family Research Council and the Illinois Family Institute. During his years with the Illinois Family Institute, LaBarbera repeatedly tried and failed to get an anti-gay referendum on the Illinois state ballot.

Americans for Truth About Homosexuality is known for posting inflammatory material and inaccurate material about LGBT people on its website. The organization has given a platform to discredited psychologist Paul Cameron and to notorious exporter of hate Scott Lively. The Southern Poverty Law Center considers Americans for Truth About Homosexuality a hate group.⁴²

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Peter LaBarbera has recently become active as an international anti-LGBT advocate. In December 2013, LaBarbera traveled to Jamaica to address a "pro-family" conference.⁴³ Homosexuality is illegal in Jamaica and human rights advocates consider it one of the most homophobic places on earth, with LGBT Jamaicans often subjected to societal stigma and horrific violence.⁴⁴ LaBarbera urged Jamaican Christian conservatives not to repeal the country's anti-sodomy law and told them that homosexuality is a choice and is associated with pedophilia. He warned that if the sodomy law were repealed, Jamaica would become like the United States where "so-called 'LGBT activists' manipulate words and laws to achieve dominance in your country."⁴⁵ LaBarbera also dismissed concerns about the violence that LGBT Jamaicans face, claiming that most violent attacks are committed by other LGBT people.46

Closer to home, LaBarbera recently traveled to Canada to address students at the University of Regina in Saskatchewan. While there, he was arrested and charged with distributing hate materials on the "dangers" of same-sex relationships. A university official described his fliers as "graphic" and "disturbing."⁴⁷

LaBarbera has also partnered with another notorious exporter of hate, Scott Lively, on a new anti-LGBT group called the Coalition for Family Values. The Coalition was organized to support the Russian crackdown on gay "propaganda" and to call for the passage of similar laws in the United States and other nations.⁴⁸ LaBarbera went so far as to suggest that the United States should pass a Russianstyle law to stop Disney from "promoting lesbianism to kids."⁴⁹ LaBarbera has also openly praised Uganda's new anti-homosexuality law, which punishes same-sex relations with up to life in prison, and warned that any steps toward decriminalizing homosexuality open a "Pandora's box" of dangerous rights and freedoms for LGBT people.⁵⁰ ×



KIDS WOULD **BE BETTER OFF** NGLE-PARENT Δ SI **DUSEHOLD...BECAUSE** J'RE NOT MODELING DMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOR HEN YOU HAVE CY RAISING CANADA CHILD. 5 JAMAICA

> – Peter LaBarbera, Alan Colmes Show, 1/7/14

PAUL CAMERON

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BASE OF OPERATIONS

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.



ORGANIZATION

Х

FAMILY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

CHAIRMAN

X

RESOURCES

The Family Research Institute is essentially a one-man operation for Paul Cameron with his son serving as vice chairman. The Family Research Institute reported income of only

\$54,494

on its FY 2013 IRS Form 990.⁵¹

X

ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Paul Cameron holds a doctorate in psychology from the University of Colorado and has been active for decades in the American anti-LGBT movement, churning out dozens of "scientific" papers on the dangers of homosexuality. Cameron's work has long been deemed illegitimate by professional organizations in the United States. In the early 1980s he was expelled from the American Psychological Association after other psychologists complained that he had deliberately misrepresented their work in his anti-gay writing. Cameron then began to call his research sociology, which prompted the American Sociological Association to censure him because he "consistently misinterpreted and misrepresented sociological research on sexuality, homosexuality and lesbianism' to campaign "for the abrogation of the civil rights of lesbians and gay men."⁵² Despite the fact that Cameron's "research"

Despite the fact that Cameron's "research" has been described as "hate literature masquerading as legitimate science" by the Southern Poverty Law Center, it continues to be cited by judges, religious leaders, and legislators from Massachusetts to Colorado.⁵³

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NOTABLE QUOTES

"I'M NOT ADVOCATING THE DEATH PENALTY. I'M SAYING I'M OPEN TO IT. DEPENDING ON WHAT THE LEGISLATURE OF A GIVEN COUNTRY DECIDES ONE MUST UNDERSTAND THOSE WHO ACT ON THEIR HOMOSEXUAL DESIRES OR INTERESTS USUALLY END UP BEING PARASITES ON SOCIETY, AND PARASITES THAT ARE VERY DANGEROUS FOR SOCIETY, NOT ONLY BECAUSE THEY TAKE FAR MORE THAN THEY CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIETY. BUT THEY PARTICULARLY **INJURE CHILDREN...I HAVE NO PARTICULAR, NOR** MY COLLEAGUES, ANY PARTICULAR STANCE ON THIS EXCEPT TO SAY THIS IS NOT AN UNREASONABLE THING, ESPECIALLY AS WE CONSIDER, AS WE'RE LOOKING RIGHT NOW, AT NEWS REPORTS ALL ACROSS THE WORLD REGARDING THOSE WITH HOMOSEXUAL **INTERESTS IN CHILDREN HAVE** DONE TO CHILDREN."

– Paul Cameron, David Pakman Show, 2/25/14⁵⁴

X

REGIONS ACTIVE

As Paul Cameron has become more marginalized even within the anti-LGBT community at home in the United States, he has increasingly had to seek relevance overseas. Cameron has visited Russia and Eastern Europe repeatedly since 2008 to peddle his "research." In June 2008, Cameron first appeared at a roundtable on "deviation of social norms in modern society" at Moscow State University.55 In October of that year, he was in Moldova to lecture on the "demographic disaster" that he believes is being unleashed by contraception and rights for LGBT people and women. Cameron returned to Moldova in 2011 to lobby against anti-discrimination laws.⁵⁶ The Moldovan government took Cameron's message to heart and in 2013 passed a law banning LGBT "propaganda," but it was quickly repealed as part of the nation's drive to join the European Union.⁵⁷ Cameron has also appeared elsewhere in Eastern Europe, including a controversial trip to Poland in 2009 when he was turned away from giving



a speech on homosexuality at a university and forced to find a new venue after a newspaper learned of his background.⁵⁸

Cameron also returned to Russia in 2013, to address a Duma roundtable on "family values."⁵⁷ Cameron's presence was intended to bolster support for a bill that targeted gay and lesbian parents and threatened to take away their children. Cameron's testimony was full of false statistics, including the "fact" that one in three gay people support having sex with children.⁶⁰ Duma member Alexander Sidyakin later tweeted that Cameron's testimony was evidence that children should be taken away from LGBT parents and adopted by other families.⁶¹

Even in countries Cameron has not visited personally, his influence has been felt. The original authors of Uganda's horrific antihomosexuality law cited Cameron's work alongside that of Scott Lively when drafting their bill.⁶² When the bill was passed into law in 2014, Cameron openly applauded and claimed that harsh penalties were needed to discourage homosexuality, just like murder.⁶³

SHARON SLATER

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BASE OF OPERATIONS GILBERT, ARIZ.



ORGANIZATION

FAMILY WATCH INTERNATIONAL

AKA GLOBAL HELPING TO ADVANCE WOMEN AND CHILDREN; PRESIDENT

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RESOURCES

In 2011, Global Helping to Advance Women and Children reported only



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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

At home in the United States, one of Family Watch International's primary activities is hosting an annual invitation only "Global Policy Forum" for United Nations delegates. The purpose of this forum is to train delegates from developing nations to fight "the sexual agenda at the U.N."⁶⁵ The forum often includes testimony from people who claim to have been "cured" of homosexuality by damaging "reparative therapy," and participants have included representatives from Africa, Asia, the Middle East and the Caribbean. Slater's organization also provides resources via its website for U.N. delegates, including briefs that explain how "Unwanted Same-Sex Attraction Can be Successfully Treated" and how "so-called 'homosexual rights' are driving much of the current worldwide assault on marriage, the family and family related issues."⁶⁶

SLATER SAID LGBT PEOPLE ARE "SIGNIFICANTLY MORE PROMISCUOUS" AND "MORE LIKELY TO ENGAGE IN PEDOPHILIA."

– Stand for the Family, Sharon Slater, p. 37

X REGIONS ACTIVE



At the United Nations, Family Watch International is known as Global Helping to Advance Women and Children. The organization has "consultative status" with the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.⁶⁷ This enables Sharon Slater and her associates to attend international conferences and events, make written and oral statements at these events, organize side events, enter the United Nations premises and have opportunities to network and lobby. Slater's stated goal is to "lobby African governments to withstand the anti-family agenda at the U.N."⁶⁸

Slater has traveled extensively in Africa and has addressed legislators, policymakers and religious leaders across the continent. She organized two "pro-family" conferences in Nairobi and Mozambique in 2002 and 2006. Slater claims to be fluent in Spanish and Portuguese and to have traveled to Costa Rica, Panama, Brazil, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, Portugal, Argentina, Guatemala, China/Hong Kong, Thailand, Germany, United Kingdom, Scotland, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel, Mozambique, Swaziland, South Africa, Uganda, Nigeria and Kenya.⁶⁹



NIGERIA

Slater has been particularly active in Nigeria. In 2009, she addressed a World Congress of Families event in Abuja⁷⁰ and she returned in 2011 to speak to the Nigerian Bar Association and to high-level government officials, including the wives of the vice president of Nigeria and deputy senate president, the minister of women's affairs and the solicitor general. Slater urged the Nigerian government to resist efforts to decriminalize homosexuality, which she said would result in more AIDS cases. She held up Nigeria as "a strong role model for other governments in the region to follow on how to hold on to their family values despite intense international pressure." 71 Slater returned to Nigeria a third time to address another World Congress of Families event in 2012.⁷²

Slater's lobbying bore fruit in January 2014, when Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan signed a harsh anti-homosexuality bill into law.⁷³ The law mandates penalties of up to 14 years in prison for same-sex sexual activity and bans gay marriage and membership of gay rights groups. Within days of the law's enactment, reports emerged from Nigeria of gay men being rounded up, arrested and tortured.⁷⁴

"THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS SEXUAL RIGHTS. this is a FICTITIOUS CONCEPT MADE **UP BY THOSE** WHO SEEK to promote SEXUAL ANARCHY ON THE OTHER HAND, THE RIGHT to practice ONE'S RELIGION AND EXPRESS **NE'S RELIGIOUS** FI IFFS IS ENSHRINED MANY **INTERNATIONAL** AND NATIONAL LAWS."

– Sharon Slater, "A Strategic Plan to Defend the Family," June 2010

ROBERT OSCAR LOPEZ

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BASE OF OPERATIONS



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ORGANIZATION

Lopez does not have a formal organization. He is employed as an associate professor of English at Cal State–Northridge and is a blogger at *English Manif, American Thinker* and other conservative publications.⁷⁵

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RESOURCES The source of Lopez's funding is

UNKNOWN.

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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

In addition to his duties as a professor of English at Cal State-Northridge, Robert Oscar Lopez has also found time to travel around the United States advocating against LGBT rights. He appeared at the National March for Marriage in Washington, D.C. in June 2013⁷⁶ and via satellite at an anti-marriage equality rally in Salt Lake City in January 2014.77 Lopez made multiple trips to Minnesota in 2013 to lobby against marriage equality, including delivering testimony to the Minnesota Senate Judiciary Committee about his experience growing up with a lesbian mother. Lopez urged lawmakers to oppose marriage equality and to stand up for the rights of children to grow up with a parent of each gender.78



"SAME-SEX PARENTING FLAGRANTLY VIOLATES CHILDREN'S RIGHTS, DEPRIVES THEM OF INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AND RISKS INFLICTING GRIEVOUS EMOTIONAL

REGIONS ACTIVE

Robert Oscar Lopez is a rising star on the international anti-LGBT scene. He is given creditability as an 'expert' on gay parenting because he was raised by lesbian mothers. Lopez also claims to be an ex-gay man and often recounts his experience of falling into a life of drugs and promiscuity as a young man before marrying a woman and becoming a father. Lopez cites this as evidence of the toxicity of gay culture and a reason to deny LGBT people equality.

and becoming a farmer. Lopez cites this as evidence of the toxicity of gay culture and a reason to deny LGBT people equality. Lopez traveled to Europe at least four times between March 2013 and April 2014 to address "pro-family" activists.⁷⁹ In March 2013, he addressed a massive Manif Pour Tous rally in Paris.⁸⁰ During that time, antimarriage equality protests were rocking France and at times they turned violent. Lopez returned to France in September 2013 to attend Manif Pour Tous's "summer university" grassroots training⁸¹ and again in February 2014 to address another rally against equality in Paris.⁸² Lopez serves as the American face for the French anti-LGBT movement and publishes a blog called "English Manif."

In April 2014, Lopez crossed the Atlantic once again to address an event in Italy. Italy remains the only major western European country without any legal protections for its LGBT citizens, and at his event in Milan, Lopez repeated his usual strident anti-LGBT adoption rhetoric and referred to LGBT activists as "McCarthy's rainbowbrandishing great-grandsons."⁸³







BELGIUM



DISTRESS ON THEM, WITH NO JUSTIFICATION WHATSOEVER, OTHER THAN THE WHIMS OF ADULTS. IT IS ABUSE. IT IS ABUSE. FACE IT."

– Robert Oscar Lopez Blog Post, English Manif, 7/17/13

> "It begins with a plea for tolerance. Then comes the desire to be able to live together without being bothered. Good, no problem there. Then comes the demand for legally recognized relationships. Then comes the demand for equivalency - *i.e.*, marriage. Then they go for educational curriculum, recruit children into homosexuality, take over the medical profession, and subvert the media. The final phase is the demand to own children as property, which results, ultimately, in the demand to have free global channels to buy and sell sperm, rent wombs, and traffic children."

– Robert Oscar Lopez Blog Post, English Manif, 10/5/13

BRIAN BROWN

X

BASE OF OPERATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C.



NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MARRIAGE

PRESIDENT

RESOURCES

The National Organization for Marriage (NOM) reported nearly



in revenue in 2012; however, the group found itself more than \$2.7 million in debt at the end of the year because of failed attempts by its political advocacy arm to prevent the passage of marriage equality laws in states around the country.⁸⁴ NOM was recently fined \$50,000 by a government ethics board in Maine, which found "significant violations of law" and cited the organization for failing to properly report campaign contributions.⁸⁵

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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The National Organization for Marriage is the leading anti-marriage equality group in the United States. Founded in 2007 to pass California's Proposition 8, the organization has played a role in nearly every ballot campaign to prevent marriage equality since that time. After losing fight after fight at the ballot box in recent years and sliding further into debt, NOM has become increasingly fringe in its anti-LGBT advocacy. Originally focused only on the question of marriage, NOM now opposes protections for workers via ENDA as well as California's new law that allows transgender students to safely and fully participate in school activities.

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NOTABLE QUOTES

"WHEN YOU KNOCK OVER A CORE PILLAR OF SOCIETY LIKE MARRIAGE, AND THEN TRY TO REDEFINE BIBLICAL VIEWS OF MARRIAGE AS BIGOTRY, THERE WILL BE CONSEQUENCES. WILL ONE OF THE CONSEQUENCES BE A SERIOUS PUSH TO NORMALIZE PEDOPHILIA?"

– NOM National Newsletter, 8/18/11

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REGIONS ACTIVE

As NOM's losses have mounted at home, Brian Brown has begun to seek audiences around the world to spread his anti-LGBT message. In May 2012, he traveled to Spain to address a World Congress of Families gathering. At this event, Brown referred to himself as "a bit of a rebel" and provided details to an international audience on how NOM had been able to secure electoral victories against marriage equality.⁸⁶

Brown's overseas travel really ramped up in 2013. In January he was off to Paris to address the French anti-marriage-equality movement. Calling his trip a "blessing," Brown gave an enthusiastic endorsement of the "Manif Pour Tous" movement and has continued to provide rhetorical and technical support for them ever since.⁸⁷ There is some evidence that NOM has been sharing software vendors and expertise with the French movement and may even be planning to launch an "International Organization for Marriage" at some point in the future.⁸⁸ Continuing his collaboration with the French right wing, Brown hosted one of the founders of Manif Pour Tous at the March for Marriage in Washington, D.C. in June 2014.⁸⁹

Following his trip to Paris, Brown next appeared at another meeting of the World Congress of Families in June in Trinidad and Tobago. The country is one of 11 in the Caribbean where same-sex relations are forbidden by law, and Brown delivered a speech on "Marriage – One Man and One Woman" to a crowd of "pro-family" activists from around the region.⁹⁰ Brown made another appearance at a World Congress of Families event in Australia in August 2013.⁹¹



Days after his jaunt to the Caribbean, Brown was on the road again, for his first of two trips to Russia in 2013. Traveling with five French anti-LGBT activists, Brown was able to address the Russian Parliament arguing against allowing same-sex couples to adopt.⁹² In addition to speaking before the legislative body, Brown appeared on television to spread his message about the "normal civil rights" of children.⁹³ Shortly after his trip, President Putin signed a law that bans adoption of Russian orphans by same-sex couples or single adults from countries where same-sex marriage is illegal.⁹⁴

A few months later, it was back to Russia again for Brown. His October trip to Moscow featured the entire planning committee for the 2014 World Congress of Families conference that was initially scheduled to be held at the Kremlin.⁹⁵ While in Russia, the group met with influential members of the Duma, including Yelena Mizulina, the author of the anti-gay "propaganda" law signed into law in June 2013.⁹⁶

LARRY JACOBS

X BASE OF OPERATIONS **ROCKFORD, ILL**.



ORGANIZATION WORLD CONGRESS OF FAMILIES

MANAGING DIRECTOR

RESOURCES

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The World Congress of Families (WCF) is a project of the Howard Center for Family, Religion and Society, an organization based in Rockford, III. The Howard Center has an annual budget of approximately

\$500,000

a year, an unknown portion of which is devoted to the World Congress of Families.⁹⁷ The WCF has numerous partner organizations that also provide financial and logistical support. Of the 29 "partner organizations" listed in a planning brochure for a recent WCF event, more than 60 percent were other American right-wing groups.⁹⁸ The entire board and staff of the World Congress of Families is American as well.⁹⁹

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ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The WCF is not a fringe group. Many mainstream American conservative organizations are dues-paying members and help fund its conferences. In November 2013, representatives of the group held a briefing for congressional staff on Capitol Hill on what America "should learn" about "pro-family" legislation from countries like Russia.¹⁰⁰

The George W. Bush administration provided extensive support for the World Congress of Families during its eight years in office. President Bush sent a welcome letter to the 2001 WCF regional conference in Washington, D.C. Representatives Jo Ann Davis (R-Va.) and John Doolittle (R-Calif.) attended that conference, and a session was held on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives.¹⁰¹ Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services Wade Horn and U.N. Ambassador Ellen Sauerbrey attended the 2004 World Congress in Mexico City¹⁰² and the 2007 World Congress in Warsaw, Poland, despite the urging of 19 members of the European Parliament not to do so.¹⁰³ In Mexico City, Sauerbrey brought an official message from President Bush, which read: "As one of the pillars of civilization, families must remain strong and we must defend them during a time of great change. ... My administration has taken important steps to promote strong families, preserve the sanctity of marriage and protect the wellbeing of children.



NOTABLE QUOTES

"HOW SAD AND IRONIC IS IT THAT THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT (LABELED A COMMUNIST DICTATOR BY MANY IN THE WESTERN MEDIA ELITE) IS THE ONE DEFENDING I AWS AND MORA CONSISTENT FRFFDOM IN CONSTITUTION WHILE OUR SOCIALIST AMERICAN PRESIDENT AUNCHED AN ALL OUT ASSAULT AGAINST ELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND THE MORAL AND **RELIGIOUS PEOPLE OF AMERICA.**"

– Larry Jacobs, Interfax, 8/17/12

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REGIONS ACTIVE

Larry Jacobs is the most visible public face of the World Congress of Families, an organization that advocates for anti-choice and anti-LGBT legislation around the world. Jacobs and the WCF have been most active in Russia and Eastern Europe. Jacobs has been a frequent visitor to Russia since 2010 and has met with high-ranking members of the Russian government and other influential policymakers, including Yelena Mizulina, the author of the recently enacted ban on LGBT "propaganda."¹⁰⁴ Jacobs claims that he and the World Congress of Families played an important role in the passage of this and other "pro-family" legislation in Russia. The WCF has also held events across Eastern Europe in an attempt to drum up support for more anti-LGBT laws and suppress events like pride marches.¹⁰⁵

The World Congress of Families has also been active in Africa, holding events in Nigeria ¹⁰⁶ and Kenya ¹⁰⁷ and sponsoring an event keynoted by the first lady of Uganda in New York. ¹⁰⁸ Jacobs traveled to Nigeria in 2012 to address a WCF event where he spoke on "healthy sexuality" and "children's rights vs. children's needs." ¹⁰⁹ WCF's presence in Africa has corresponded with a disturbing rise of harsh penalties for LGBT Africans in countries like Kenya, Uganda and Nigeria, where nearly 90 percent of citizens believe homosexuality is wrong. Homosexuality has been illegal in



Nigeria since colonial rule, but a stricter ban was recently signed into law by President Jonathan. The new law makes it illegal "not only to engage in an intimate relationship with a member of the same-sex, but to attend or organize a meeting of gays, or patronize or operate any type of gay organization, including private clubs." Several Nigerian states have imposed the death penalty for being gay.

Australia is another target country for the WCF's export of homophobia. Officials from the WCF have been traveling to Australia since at least 2008¹¹⁰ and Jacobs traveled to Australia in 2012, where he met with conservative leaders to begin planning a WCF event that drew hundreds of international anti-LGBT activists the next year.¹¹¹ With help from WCF partner organizations, including the National Marriage Coalition, the Australian Family Association, the Endeavour Forum and the Dads-4-Kids Foundation, marriage equality legislation was defeated in the Australian parliament in 2012.¹¹²



Brian Camenker is the founder of MassResistance, a Massachusetts-based extreme anti-LGBT group that is classified as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. In December 2013 Camenker traveled to Jamaica to serve as keynote speaker at a conference in support of upholding that country's antisodomy law.¹¹³ Camenker is also the producer of a 28minute "documentary" called What "Gay Marriage" Did to Massachusetts, which he claims to have distributed around the world to anti-gay activists in Australia, Hong Kong, Finland, Sweden and Estonia.114

BRIAN CANERATER OF MASSRESISTANCE, A MASSACHUSETTS-BASED EXTREME ANTI-LGBT GROUP THAT IS CLASSIFIED AS A HATE GROUP



MAI STAVER

AS PERU MOVES CLOSER TO APPROVING CIVIL UNIONS FOR SAME-SEX COUPLES, IT HAS INCREASINGLY BECOME A TARGET FOR AMERICAN ANTI-LGBT ACTIVISTS.



MICHAEL BROWN

As Peru moves closer to approving civil unions for same-sex couples, it has increasingly become a target for American anti-LGBT activists. In November 2013 representatives from Virginia's Liberty University, including law school dean and radio host Mat Staver, traveled to Lima to address the Peruvian Congress.¹¹⁵ Staver "encouraged the Peruvians to stand strong" against LGBT rights and claimed that it was the Obama administration that was pushing same-sex marriage on the country.¹¹⁶ A few months later, in March 2014, another American radio host, Michael Brown made the trip to Lima. Brown also addressed the Peruvian Congress on "the consequences of redefining marriage" and warned lawmakers to learn from the "mistakes we've made in America" by allowing civil unions or full marriage equality.¹¹⁷

DISHONORABLE MENTIONS

STAND AGAINST THE RADICAL HOMOSEXUAL AGENDA"



Janice Shaw Crouse is a longtime official with Concerned Women for America and an active partner of the World Congress of Families. As far back as 2007 she was urging the Ugandan government to take "a biblical and cultural stand against the radical homosexual agenda" ¹¹⁸ and she has traveled to Russia on several occasions in the last few years with the World Congress of Families to promote "pro-family" policies. ¹¹⁹ Not content to spread homophobia overseas, Crouse participated in a November 2013 World Congress of Families seminar on Capitol Hill in the United States on "what America should learn" from countries like Russia on family policy.¹²⁰

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SCOTT STIRM

WHILE IN BELIZE HE HAS BECOME THE MOST OUTSPOKEN PROPONENT OF RETAINING THAT COUNTRY'S BAN ON HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS.



Scott Stirm is an American missionary from Waco, Texas, who has lived in Belize for 20 years.¹²¹ While in Belize he has become the most outspoken proponent of retaining that country's ban on homosexual relationships. He serves as executive director of Belize Action, an organization currently involved in a heated battle over the anti-sodomy law, which Stirm calls "a good law that protects human dignity." LGBT activists in Belize face hostile societal conditions and are often subject to violent attacks. Belizean activists believe that the country's heated anti-LGBT rhetoric is largely an import from the United States and Stirm has received financial and legal support from some major American organizations, including the Alliance Defending Freedom and the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute.¹²²



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