

TROJAN HORSE: "Episode 1"

Opening:

Welcome to The Trojan Horse

Opening - Welcome

**TAPE:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:40:59] What did we miss in 2016? How can I count the ways? I first of all think that we missed the authoritarian tendencies of the Republican Party, that we actually believe that they believed in balanced budgets and they believed in the military. And it turned out that they didn't believe in any of that stuff. They just believed it holding on to power.

**TAPE:** 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:26:12] People just want to talk about jobs and the economy. And it's like, well, that's really great. Except like one of the most singular things that affects our ability to have economic security and hold jobs is our ability to control when and how and with whom we have kids.

**TAPE:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:42:15] We missed the white supremacist backlash that the Tea Party was a white supremacist movement that was organizing in opposition to President Obama. And President Trump was certainly elected as a backlash against President Obama.

**TAPE:** 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:35:49] part of what white women need to recognize is that we have been utilized as part of a strategy to maintain power for this radical idea for a very long time. And it's got to stop.

**TAPE:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:41:50] We had probably overestimated the ability of the country to embrace women in power. Women in politics.// [00:41:38] I think we missed the depths of misogyny in this country

**TAPE:** 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav

**ILYSE ARGOT:** [00:12:10] At any given moment when Donald Trump was waving his misogyny flag, the sort of self-proclaimed moral majority could have stood up and said, hey, we don't talk that way about women. We don't speak that way about women. And they did not. Actually, they formed a circle around him and protected him. He was their guy. They were all in.

**TAPE:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:42:46] And I think we missed the fragility of our democracy. We often believed quite naively that our democratic institutions were sturdier than they actually turned out to be and that they could be so easily corrupted from the inside. We didn't even need Russian interference for that to happen. This thing corrupted somebody inside. How we missed that, that was even a possibility. **And so there's so much we could write about what we missed.**

**NARRATOR:**

**So this is what it feels like to look back at 2016. There's this long list of all the things we missed. And, while all of the pieces you just heard are true - corruption, racism, misogyny - most people continue to overlook the political infrastructure that connects them all: the anti-choice movement.**

**TAPE:** 11.13.19\_Ilyse.wav

**Ilyse** [01:24:32] Well, I mean, **the other reason that we started this project is because we were really clear that part of the reason that, you know, sort of political pundits missed Trump's rise to power is because they have consistently underestimated and misinterpreted the power of the anti choice movement within the Republican Party. And we cannot have that happen again. You know, they use abortion as a strategy to silence us and in order to actually win elections we have to answer that.**

Welcome to *The Lie That Binds*, a 6-part series exploring the insidious history of how the anti-choice movement was built from scratch. I'm your host Jess McIntosh. In each episode, we'll expose a key piece of the anti-choice playbook, and retrace how the Radical Right has weaponized abortion in order to rig the political system in their favor. If we ever stand a chance of fighting back, we need to understand how the opposition has brought us to this moment. Only then can we stop them from taking the next step. Because of all the people who missed it (The pundits, the voters, the bloggers) there's one key person who did not underestimate the power of the anti-choice movement.

**TAPE:** 11.13.19\_Ilyse.wav

*ILYSE HOGUE: [00:26:37] The person who knew that he had to court this anti-choice movement and infrastructure and that sort of them barrier for entry for him was having a very out loud and proud anti choice position... Trump knew that, right? Trump knew that that was the gateway to entry.*

**NARRATOR:**

That's Ilyse Hogue, President of NARAL Pro-Choice America. You know who didn't miss Trump's transactional love affair with the Radical Right? NARAL. They're the oldest organization solely dedicated to building political power around abortion rights.

Every year, they release a report that details the state of reproductive freedom in America. But this year, they're releasing a book. And just to be clear, this is not a branded show, we're not gonna do a little NARAL spiel every week, I'm not trying to sell you on anything... except the book. You should read that book. Okay - that's my first and last one. It's just important that you know where this research is coming from.

We're taking this on, because abortion is an issue the other side is hoping we're too afraid to even talk about. And look - we know this is a controversial topic. Even people who wholeheartedly identify as progressive still

have a lot of unresolved feelings around abortion. You may be one of them.

But here's the thing: the anti-choice agenda is not just an anti-abortion agenda. The leaders of the Radical Right focus on abortion because they know that our "unresolved feelings" keep us silent which gives them space to consolidate power and build new alliances.

**TAPE:** 11.13.19\_Ilyse.wav

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:27:20] *I think the thing that was really eye opening for us in the process of researching the book is really understanding how these sort of disparate but ideologically aligned subcultures of the anti choice movement, the white supremacists and the men's rights advocates converged to support Trump in a really powerfully toxic way. And that led us to the like. Well, how was there so much alignment there under this one person? And what we figured out is because there was always ideological alignment between racist misogynists and anti choice movement.*

**CLIP:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:05:56] *I don't think we can talk about the opposition to abortion without talking about the opposition to immigration, gay marriage and immigrant rights all at the same time because it's all part of the same fabric of hatred.*

**NARRATOR:**

That's Loretta Ross, a lifelong activist for "Reproductive Justice" (who you also heard up top). She's right that opposition to abortion is embedded in our nation's fabric of hatred, but let's be clear:

We're not doing this podcast to say that if you're a pro-choicer with conflicted feelings that automatically makes you a racist or an enemy of women. We are doing this because we on the left cannot defeat the Radical Right if we are not willing to unapologetically fight for abortion access, and we can't wage that fight if we are not willing to take on racism and misogyny.

Most importantly in the short term, we can't win in 2020 unless we start to understand how all of these things link together...

### ACT 1

#### Trojan Horse / Popular Opinion

##### A1 (a): Setting Up History

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD** [00:03:19]: Abortion, though, it sounds if you listen to them like their end all be all. The primary goal that what they're fighting for isn't actually to block abortion. It's so much bigger than that.

**NARRATOR:**

That's Ellie Langford. She's the Director of Research at NARAL. And we should clarify - when we say their primary goal is not to block abortion, that doesn't mean GOP lawmakers aren't doing everything in their power to impose reproductive oppression across this country. They are. But the *political* issue of abortion is, itself, a Trojan Horse. It's a vehicle that carries within it a vast array of hidden agendas.

TAPE: [Ilyse\\_011720.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:02:03] So when we started to tell the story, we realized it was so different than what most people understood that we knew we needed a symbol or an analogy to help people understand this concept that the medical procedure of abortion became code for so many dangerous and regressive policies that the right pushes as they fight for control. [00:02:23] The Trojan Horse seemed like a perfect **graphic, graphic image** because they're going to war against a modern, diverse and tolerant

*society that they loathe. The horse says abortion, abortion, abortion as they ride into battle. But when you crack it open, it's just really old toxic ideas about race and gender and women and power that come tumbling out.*

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:03:55] *I do think it's accurate to say that the fight that conservatives are fighting is about control and that when they use the term abortion, it's a proxy for so many other things. // [00:03:36] That piece of it is something that they have learned to talk about, that they have taught people to hear in a particular way.*

**NARRATOR:**

**They've had to do that because people like the idea of reproductive freedom. Our side has the popular opinion.**

TAPE: [11.20\\_IlyseArgot.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:06:49] *When you talk specifically about how popular the legal right to abortion is. The answer is very popular. Support for Roe. And what people think it means is that at a historic high, it's at 77 percent, an overwhelming consensus of Democrats believe in the legal right to abortion. A massive majority of independents and even actually a majority of self-identified Republicans believe in legal right to abortion. The consensus is clear.*

**NARRATOR**

**It's popular today. It was back then. In fact, in the late 60s, it was even popular with Republicans. Before Roe, the Bible Belt provided greater access to abortion than much of the rest of the country. In 1968, it was easier to get an abortion in Alabama than New York. Here's Pulitzer Prize winning historian and writer, Linda Greenhouse -**

TAPE: [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** [00:03:15] *The public opinion question is very interestingly counterintuitive. There was a Gallup poll taken in*

the summer of 1972 that is as the case was pending at the Supreme Court and the justices were closing in on their final decision. And the poll asked people, do you believe abortion should be a question left to a woman and her doctor?

**TAPE:** [Hyde\\_WomensNews.wav](#)

On abortion 73% of those asked, said they agreed with the statement "the decision to have an abortion should be left to a woman and her physician" only 19% disagreed

**TAPE:** [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** [00:03:47] That is to say, a strong majority of Republicans. And that surprises people to learn that a slightly smaller majority of Democrats, because there were more Catholics who consider themselves Democrats. But even a majority of American Catholics said women and doctor. A majority of men, a majority of women across all demographics said it was time to get rid of the criminal regime in which abortion was illegal in almost every state.

**NARRATOR:**

So this leads to the obvious question: if access to abortion has always had majority support, how did we get to where we are today? How did abortion become the cornerstone of a major political party and the credentialing issue for every Republican candidate running in America right now?

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:08:24] There is a lot in history that explains exactly where that came from and where that switch happened and where it really happened was in this idea of tapping into the evangelical movement as a source of potential conservative voters. An evangelical movement that hadn't been reliable voters up until that time.

**A1 (b) - Brown V. BOE**

**NARRATOR:**

You might think that the modern day anti-choice movement originated during the early 70s, in the wake of the Roe v. Wade decision. You might think that because it's certainly

the way the other side tells the story. But it actually begins with another Supreme Court case decided nearly 20 years earlier.

**TAPE:** [George Wallace Segregation.mp3](#)

[00:00:15] I Draw the line in the dust and toss the gantlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever. Let us send this message back to Washington.

In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled, in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, that separate but equal state segregation laws were unconstitutional.

**TAPE:** [Brown V Board Wallace Audio.mp3](#)

[00:00:46] I'm asking from you an unequivocal assurance that you will not bar entry to this certain civilian Malone and the James Good and that you will step aside. These police do your constitutional duty as governor of the state.

**TAPE:** [Brown V Board Commentary.mp3](#)

[00:00:03] Certainly, there are none who believe that all states would react calmly to the Supreme Court decision, putting an end to segregation in the public schools. This is and has been an issue which, like it or not, we had to face eventually.

**TAPE:** [Cspan2 - ACityDecides.wav](#)

[00:00:07] White and Negro students going to the same school. The big question is, can they get along together? Some people are worried about our kids.

**TAPE:** [Brown V Board Commentary.mp3](#)

[00:01:03] There is another idea that integration in the schools is not a matter to be decided on a federal basis by the Supreme Court. That is a function of the states. The state to tie, you'd know their own problems best. And so here we find those who hope the court eventually will permit desegregation to be handled that local levels.

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:14:18] Around the time of the civil rights movement, there was just such obvious change happening and the



conservative movement saw opportunity in that and a threat as well, which I think is that that opportunity and threat, how they live together is really a core theme that carries throughout so much of this story.

TAPE: [11.20\\_IlyseArgot.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:38:02] There are real moments that crystallize how this movement was built, right. You have **always had multiple factions and you had the sort of Falwell faction, the evangelicals, who actually through the late 60s and early 70s, were fighting school desegregation, invoking what we call religious lib-** what they called religious liberty.

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:14:33] That religious freedom narrative has become something that is extremely flexible and has been used to justify all different types of discrimination. And that was something that was really pioneered during kind of those segregation fights.

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ilyse.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:07:42] I can't say that it was the first invocation in the political sphere of religious liberty. But I think for my generation, religious liberty is mostly synonymous now with like Hobby Lobby not wanting to give their employees contraception or, you know, a bake or not wanting to bake a cake for gay weddings. // [00:08:09] And it really did strike me how little we know about their history. Therefore, our own history. Right. And so they literally said it was impinging on their religious freedom to have to send their kids to desegregated schools. // [00:07:36] They didn't want their kids to have to go to school with black kids.

**NARRATOR:**

So what do you do when you're forced to desegregate your schools? You make new ones. Evangelicals like Jerry Falwell opened their own segregation academies. Falwell's was called Lynchburg Christian School. And eventually the IRS started asking questions about these schools' policy on race. Because Evangelicals didn't just want to use the idea of religious liberty to maintain segregation, they also

wanted those schools to be tax exempt. In 1971, Nixon directed the IRS to start revoking tax exemptions for segregated schools. One of them, Bob Jones University, took the fight all the way to the supreme court, where they lost. Badly.

And this is the time that evangelicals, who had long been reluctant to engage in politics, felt a threat they were willing to mobilize around. And the Republican party was ready with a strategy.

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:09:41] *The Southern Strategy, Goldwater's initial idea of using race to tap into this southern white religious group that hadn't been reliable voters before that who were motivated around issues like segregation and quote unquote, school choice.*

**NARRATOR:**

The Conservative's Southern strategy, that evolved around the 1968 Barry Goldwater campaign is a key part of this story. It's when the definition of Republicans and Democrats starts to look more familiar to what we see today.

When the Democratic Party aligned itself with the civil rights movement, segregationist Democrats fled straight into the arms of the Republican Party, who was willing to trade its dwindling support among liberal business-oriented types for a new base that was white, southern and culturally conservative.

When it was time to apply these tactics to a new cause, Jerry Falwell found himself, again, at the center of the action.

**ARCHIVE:** [BillMoyers - Jerry Falwell ERA.wav](#)

***Moyers:** [00:00:32] Jerry Falwell is the best known of the TV preachers from his church in Lynchburg, Virginia. He reaches an estimated 20 million viewers and raises over one million dollars every week.*

***Falwell:** We have a threefold primary responsibility. Number one, get people save number to get them baptized. Number three, get them registered to vote.*

**NARRATOR:**

But this time, Falwell had a new ally - Paul Weyrich.

**TAPE:** [Ellie\\_011720.wav](#)

*[00:10:46] Weyrich and Falwell came from very different worlds. And Falwell had was a very popular public figure and had a huge following within the Christian movement. I wouldn't even call it the Christian right at that point because they - it was their work together that started to construct this idea of the Christian far right. And it was them bringing their separate worlds together that really helped build the coalition we know today.*

**NARRATOR:**

**They proposed a new religious conservative coalition that they dubbed the Moral Majority.**

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt2.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:25:46] *They propose to build a new religious conservative coalition that they dubbed the Moral Majority.*

TAPE: Ellie\_0117.wav

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:09:52] *This idea of the Moral Majority was something Weyrich was kicking around in those years after he founded Heritage in 1973. He was thinking about ways to build conservative power. He was thinking about ways to solidify a far right voting bloc. And he was thinking about people like Jerry Falwell, who he could court for those goals.*

- [00:10:14] *The Moral Majority wasn't founded as an organization until 1979, but that didn't mean that these pieces weren't already coming together then.*

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt2.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:26:17] *Werich really believed that if they were successful, they could build this majority that could exceed their wildest dreams that would recreate the nation*

ACT 2  
Culture Wars to ERA

A2 (a) - Karen Mulhauser

NARRATOR:

So this is where we're going to leave The Right for now. FALWELL And WEYRICH are building their new coalition. Even though they lost on segregation, they learned they could harness resentments within their evangelical base that could potentially be used to mobilize votes with the right issue. Meanwhile, the country overall is getting more liberal.

And this brings us to Karen Mulhauser, former president of NARAL from 1973 to 1981. Before she was an activist, she was teaching high school science. In the 60s, American culture shifted dramatically, and the trajectory of her life shifted with it.

TAPE: [Mulhauser\\_Karen\\_Side\\_12232019\\_MARKERS.WAV](#)

*KAREN MULHAUSER [00:02:10] The students were coming to me because they wanted to talk about their sexuality all the way from where do I find contraception? And this was in Massachusetts before contraception was legal (Unless you were married) to where can I get an abortion? And even the boys started asking me, how do I know if she means no? I think she really means yes. // [00:02:43] And after I stopped teaching high school, I did problem pregnancy counseling in Boston with a group that that saw, you know, 20 or so girls and women a day who had unintended pregnancies and needed help.*

NARRATOR:

It's important to remember the idea of abortion access may have been popular, but the procedure was still very much illegal.

TAPE: [Mulhauser\\_Karen\\_Side\\_12232019\\_MARKERS.WAV](#)

**KAREN MULHAUSER:** [00:29:54] I mean, I I know stories of of people who did abortions in there in their basements. And I you we all know the story of Jane, wonderful Heather Booth, who as a college student helped a friend get an abortion. And then when people learned that she knew where to find a safe abortion, the dorm room, everyone knew that the phone in the phone booth rang and somebody asked for Jane that they needed to make the referral for for an abortion.

**NARRATOR:**

Covert organizations were starting to crop up all over the country to help women who were dealing with unwanted pregnancies. Of course - the resources available varied widely depending on the woman's income level.

**TAPE:** [Mulhauser\\_Karen\\_Side\\_12232019\\_MARKERS.WAV](#)

**KAREN MULHAUSER:** [00:03:05] If they could afford it, I referred them to a chartered flight to London where abortion was legal if they couldn't afford it. I referred them to a group called an underground group called Clergy Counseling Service. And they these were ministers, rabbis and priests who would talk with the women and girls and make an illegal referral, but to a place where they had visited to know that it would be safe.

**NARRATOR:**

If Republicans voting pro-choice is surprising, clergy members referring women for abortions is unimaginable. But these religious leaders knew that thousands of women were dying from unsafe abortions and that this was disproportionately impacting poor women.

So why did they do it?

**TAPE:** [Mulhauser\\_Karen\\_Side\\_12232019\\_MARKERS.WAV](#)

**KAREN MULHAUSER:** [00:06:17] The Clergy Counseling Service knew that that it would be safer to refer women to safe, although illegal abortion providers then have them self-induced or find an illegal abortion provider on their own.

**NARRATOR:**

If you were a woman with money, and connections, you could get a legal procedure performed by a doctor who deemed the pregnancy life threatening, which was the only circumstance in which abortion was legal in some states.

**TAPE:** [Mulhauser\\_Karen\\_Side\\_12232019\\_MARKERS.WAV](#)

**KAREN MULHAUSER:** [00:03:35] that sort of woke me up to an incredible need for education and also for advocacy. So I joined a group in Massachusetts that was called MORAL, the Massachusetts Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws. And there was a picture of me on the front page of The Boston Globe with my five month old child lobbying for abortion rights with the Massachusetts legislature.

**NARRATOR:**

Women like Karen were challenging the stereotype that you could either be a mother, or you could be a pro-choice feminist. There were suddenly more options than ever before, which was thrilling for some and terrifying for others.

**CLIP:** [11.20\\_IlyseArgot.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:39:34] The anxiety around what we now call reproductive rights and what that meant was really high. And some of it was certainly about Roe and what Roe meant. But a lot of it was around the fact that 1972 birth control had become legal for unmarried women, and that meant that unmarried women were engaging overtly. They had always engaged in sex outside of procreation, but overtly, right? Sexual liberation was happening. But people don't talk as much about the economic ramifications of that. When women were able to plan their families, they were able to think about long term careers, enter the workplace, not leave when they got pregnant and they were challenging men in the workplace in ways they never had before. And that was deeply concerning

A year after the pill was legalized. Roe v Wade arrived at the supreme court.

TAPE: [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** [00:02:28] What we miss by starting in 1973 without awareness of the much longer timeline is the fact that Roe against Wade was propelled to the Supreme Court by social movements that had been in their different silos, working for many years to liberalize access to abortion in America. And they were beginning to coalesce in the early 1970s. There were many cases in many courts around the country and Roe vs. Wade just happened to be the first in the queue that got up to the Supreme Court.

**NARRATOR:**

If you're listening to this podcast, you probably know this case. But here's something you might not know - even though Roe v. Wade was a big step towards women's equality, the actual supreme court decision had nothing to do with equal rights.

The Supreme Court held that a woman's right to an abortion was implicit in her right to privacy, which was protected by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

TAPE: [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE** [00:36:23] There was a lot of equal protection talk going on. By that time around, the abortion rights community, especially in the feminist community, that criminalizing abortion was a violation of equal protection. The court just couldn't hear that. There's nothing of equal protection in Roe. The court didn't at that time really have a jurisprudence of equal protection that had anything to do with women. [00:37:03] You know, people find the actual ROE opinion a little bit disappointing when they come to it these days because it doesn't reflect the way the much richer conversation that eventually evolved around this issue and about the right to abortion as a way of enabling women to take full part in the economic life of society. To cite an opinion from Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and one of the later cases. But Roe came early. It came before the nine middle aged to elderly men who then sat on the Supreme Court, really had their hands fully around the question of the role of women in society.



**NARRATOR:**

And that leads us to one of the most important plot points in this story: the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment.

**TAPE:** [Mulhauser\\_Karen\\_Side\\_12232019\\_MARKERS.WAV](#)

**KAREN MULHAUSER:** [00:21:29] Clinics were opening up all over the country. There were organizations that were passing resolutions in support of legal availability of abortion. So the momentum was in our favor.

**9 NARRATOR:**

Does this sound familiar? With progressive momentum came conservative backlash.

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ilyse.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:10:34] And that was transformative in culture. Absolutely transformative in terms of what women could not just do, finish educations, not drop out of school if they got pregnant, you know, actually enter the workplace and stay in the workplace. But what they could dream about what they could do. And it was challenging power structures and economic hatch harmony of men in the workplace in ways that had never happened before. And that was terrifying.

**TAPE:** [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** [00:21:36] What happened after Roe is really very fascinating and contingent on something that was going on under a completely different track: which was second wave feminism, of course, and the Equal Rights Amendment, which just around the time of Roe was out in the country, having been approved by both houses of Congress, was out in the country for ratification.

**ARCHIVE:** [ERARally\\_ABC News](#)

The Equal Rights Amendment - commonly referred to as the "ERA," was first introduced to Congress in 1923, but it never gained enough traction to pass. The rise of 2nd wave feminism saw renewed support for ERA in the 60s, and it was reintroduced in 1971 as an amendment to the US Constitution.

It's primary purpose? That "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." To put a finer point on it, it sought to end the legal distinctions between men and women.

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:19:39] *The Equal Rights Amendment, was supposed to be the first time that women were actually recognized in the Constitution, where equal rights for women or equal rights based on gender were recognized, enshrined. And for ever more indisputable.*

**NARRATOR:**

So what happened to ERA after it was brought to congress? Well, you may be surprised to find out... it passed. The House of Representatives AND the Senate approved it at a federal level in 1972. All that was left was for each of the 50 states to ratify the amendment to make it valid nationwide.

**ARCHIVE:** [ERA\\_RALLY\\_gettyimages-450001802.wav](#)

**TAPE:** [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** [00:22:10] *The pendency of the ERA mobilized conservative Christians, many of them women, who really saw it as an opening wedge to kind of revising the meaning of the structure of family life and so on.*

**ARCHIVE:** [ERA\\_Feminist\\_Debate.wav](#)

*The feminist women's movement evolved out of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements of the 60s. The New Right's womens' movement has emerged as a backlash against feminism and as a response to the economic stresses of the 70s*

**NARRATOR:**

The battle against the ERA was led by one activist in particular Phyllis Schlafly.

ARCHIVE: [ERA Feminist Debate.wav](#)

One of the best known anti-feminists is Phyllis Schlafly, founder of the Eagle Forum, an organization dedicated to the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. She is married to a millionaire and she has 6 children.

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** [00:22:30] And it was a very brilliant strategic conservative woman named Phyllis Schlafly, who herself Catholic and politically conservative, who made the connection, found a connection, articulated a connection between the ERA and the right to abortion. And in doing that, she was really the the founder of the pro family movement.

ARCHIVE: [EagleForum3 - PhilDonahue.wav](#)

**PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY:** [00:00:26] I get fed up with the women's liberationists running down motherhood and saying it's a menial degrading career and that the home is a prison from which women should be liberated and let out into this wonderful work place. Now the home is the most fulfilling place for most women.

**PHIL DONAHUE:** Are you comfortable in the fairness of your characterization of the women's movement as running down motherhood and suggesting that the home is a prison?

**PHYLLIS SHLAFLY:** Well have you ever read Ms. Magazine? Yes. Well, it is they they invite women to sisterhood instead of marriage and the family. And I think it's very aptly named, you know, they call it mirrors. And if you read it, the only thing you can come to the conclusion is that it's a motivating unifying force is the old adage misery loves company, misses for misery, misses for misery loves company. Yes. It's a lot of unhappy complaints about unhappy women with problems - now everybody's got problems, but you don't need to look to the constitution to solve it.

10 NARRATOR:

Okay - Content warning for our listeners. This woman is infuriating. Make sure to breathe throughout this section.

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:19:31] Phyllis Schlafly...[00:23:03]she really wrote the playbook. [00:18:41] She built herself a position of power and influence and authority by creating a anti feminist movement that denied that women deserve positions of power and authority. And that...[00:19:34]Really made her mark during the ERA debates.

**ARCHIVE:** [EagleForum2 - OverRainbowDinner1982.wav](#)

**PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY:** [00:00:05] I think the ERA'ers are the victim of their own ideology, they believe they're not persons. They believe they're second class citizens. They believe that women can't do anything in our society because they're oppressed. And so they went to man like President Carter and they went to governors and they went to movie stars and they went to powerful people in the media to do for them what they could not do for themselves.

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ilyse.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:**they really centered most of their efforts early on on defeating the ERA, which they they made outlandish claims about. Right. Like it was just going to be the end of, like, family as we knew it if the ERA passed.

**ARCHIVE:** [WillFBuckley 3 - Spousal Support ERA.wav](#)

**PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY:** The laws of our country have given a very wonderful status to the married woman and the wife has a great deal of many rights, for example, she has the legal right to be supported by her husband and these are the laws which will be invalidated by the Equal Rights Amendment. It's part of the marriage contract that the husband knows when he gets married, he assumes the obligation to support his wife and children

**FEMINIST SPEAKER:** That is absolutely incorrect Phyllis, there is no law whatsoever in any state that requires a husband to support his wife.

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ellie Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:22:10] But she was able to stir up a lot of traditionalist fundamentalist outrage over potential changes in society // [00:21:08] And she got a lot of mostly white, very conservative women to jump in behind that and to fight for what they cast at the time as their privileges, their privilege to be protected, their privilege to not be drafted to inherit their husband's Social Security benefits. // and to convince women, again, mostly privileged, mostly white women, that it was in their interest to stand up for patriarchy. // [00:18:15] And that really got the attention and gratitude and appreciation of the men who agreed with her.

**ARCHIVE:** ERA\_Feminist Debate.wav

*The right has fairly successfully substantively spoken to some very real fears*

**ARCHIVE:** FeministDebate\_anti abortion narration.wav

*The place where I feel myself able to connect with the women that have lobbied against the issues that I cared very much about is their fear. I'm also a middle aged woman coming out of the 28 year marriage. And I really understand the fear of losing status.*

**NARRATOR:**

**This is where all the disparate conservative movements start to come together. GOP operatives like Paul Weyrich and Jerry Falwell saw how successfully Phyllis Schlafly had mobilized white conservative women in opposition to second wave feminism. They understood that these tactics could resuscitate the GOP strategy.**

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:30:11] That momentum that they were able to build around segregation and a number of related issues. Looked like it was going to peter out, and I think Phyllis Schlafly was the answer to their prayers.

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ilyse.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:08:34] *What's fascinating to me is you sort of had that school of thought merging with the Eagle Forum and Phyllis Schlafly and Anita Bryant, who had a very clear analysis and architecture around sort of the rise of feminism and women's lib and the sexual revolution and everything that was going on in the 60s and 70s, rock and roll and all of it and how threatening it was to traditional family.*

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt1.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:20:03] *And it wasn't until. She burst onto the scene and her organization Stop ERA. Really came to the fore that year I started to lose momentum. Up until that point, both parties were fully backing it. It was moving quickly through the states. It had passed both houses of Congress and it was looking like it was going to be ratified.*

**NARRATOR:**

**With broad bipartisan support through 1977, the amendment received 35 of the necessary 38 state ratifications. The ERA just needed 3 more states.**

ARCHIVE: [RA RALLY\\_gettyimages-450001802.wav](#)

**NARRATOR:**

**But the outlandish claims by Phyllis Schlafly and the Eagle Forum had poisoned the conversation.**

**Feeling the mounting Conservative pressure, 5 state legislatures voted to revoke their ERA ratifications.**

ARCHIVE - [HooverStanford1 - Firing Line, ERA .wav](#)

*WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY [00:00:33] The Legislature in Nebraska was not reacting to opposition to ERA mobilized by sexist males but by women, many of whom on second blush are discovering in the amendment implications they regard as inimicable to the best interests of American women. The national chairman to the movement to Stop ERA is Phyllis Schlafley*

**TAPE:** [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** [00:23:12] *Of course, it succeeded in defeating the ERA. //[00:22:54] And she brought together in coalition Catholics and evangelicals who*

**NARRATOR:**

The battle over the ERA isn't over. In early 2020, Virginia became the 38th state to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. Its future is still unknown. But the course of the original fight had major political implications for the GOP strategy.

**TAPE:** [12.23\\_Linda.wav](#)

**LINDA GREENHOUSE:** *And with respect to abortion, it showed the way for Republicans to realign themselves as the anti-abortion party in the hope of roping in conservative-but-Democratic Catholic voters in the Northeast. In much the same way that the Republicans have a Southern strategy, which is a way of peeling white Democratic voters away from the Democratic Party during the civil rights era and turning them into lifelong Republicans. //*  
 [00:25:34] *The Republican Party in California would set up tables in the social hall in Catholic churches for people, for parishioners leaving mass. They would pass through the social hall and there would be a table urging them to sign up and change their party registration from Democratic to Republican. //*  
 [00:22:54] *And she brought together in coalition Catholics and evangelicals who historically had been quite suspicious of one another and had not joined forces on any social policy before then.*

**NARRATOR:**

Conservative leaders paid close attention to the rise and fall of the ERA. The 60s and 70s had revealed some powerful elements that could be used to activate a new base.

The elements were: racism, misogyny and fundamentalism. Through their battle over segregation academies, they learned that evangelicals could become a reliable voting bloc, if they were given an issue they could get behind. By

looking over Phyllis Schlafly's shoulder, they discovered that misogyny is an ingrained value for both men and women, and religious fundamentalism gave them a respectable reason to wage a fight. Now they just needed to build infrastructure to implement these ideas. This brings us back to Paul Weyrich.

ACT 3

Paul Weyrich / Conference Call

A3 (a) - Paul Weyrich

ARCHIVE: [Cspan4 - Q&AwithPaulWeyrich.wav](#)

**PAUL WEYRICH:** [00:00:09] I suppose the more important thing that I did was to try to bring together the what is now known as the religious right. Those people were not active in politics. And I served as sort of a coach to get them active in the political process. And today, as you know, they're an important element in electing even the president of the United States.

TAPE: [Ilyse\\_011720.wav](#)

**ILYSE:** [00:23:04] Paul Weyrich is this fascinating character. He's probably the least well-known and most significant person in this entire story. He was as radical as radical could be. He actually ascribed to this idea of dominionism, which is this sort of very, like, Old Testament idea that white men were gifted this earth from God, and that in order to, like, live by God's will, a white man had to stand in power. [00:23:35] He was a primary architect of almost every institution we now recognize as part of the conservative movement:

TAPE: [11.13.19\\_Ellie\\_Pt2.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:28:24] Paul Weyrich was the founder of the Heritage Foundation. It was a new organization in 1973, the same year Roe was passed, and it was this think tank that really became kind of a juggernaut in the conservative movement because of its focus on message discipline, and its emphasis on framing things in a carefully tested and highly strategic way.

NARRATOR:



**The birth of The Heritage Foundation is really a turning point. It's when the scaffolding of the Radical Right takes shape.**

**TAPE:** [Ilyse\\_011720.wav](#)

*Ilyse: [00:55:18]When you look at the network of institutions that have their roots on their right in the post civil rights era, they all sort of emanated from this common place. And that was this idea that there was a war on white Christian culture and that it was going to require just substantial infrastructure to fight it and maintain power. [00:55:48]And so if you think about the groups that came out of that, whether it's Heritage Foundation or Council for National Policy or ALEC or the Federalist Society, that we actually sort of think of as just establishment organizations at this point. They all were the brainchild of the Falwell's and the Weyrichs, who were actually trying to do this thing, which is stay in control: economic control, cultural control, political control. They all came from the same place and that was that desire for control.*

**The tangled root structure of these establishment organizations makes it difficult to even classify them without inadvertently playing into their agenda.**

**TAPE:** [Ilyse\\_011720.wav](#)

*Ilyse [00:56:35] I mean, it's really, you know, the reason that I think people get tied up in knots about whether things like Federalist Society or Heritage are anti choice or radical right or religious right is because there is no distinction between them. They are actually all one thing. // We just actually think that they are the radical right. // [00:56:55] You know, as as we have sort of done this work and recognize the origins of them. We just actually think that they are the radical right. That we should not we we sort of give them an advantage and do ourselves a disservice if we start to sub categorize them by tactic rather than recognizing the wholeness of their ideology.*

**The blurred lines between authoritarianism and religiosity were built into the architecture of the Radical Right. Weyrich and his allies had a keen understanding that in order to have maximum impact, they had to package their**

fundamentalist values in non-religious language. As an eventual president of the foundation put it, they set out to "not just to make conservative ideas respectable, but mainstream. And to set the terms of the national policy debate."

**TAPE:** [12\\_19\\_19\\_Loretta\\_Ross\\_TapeACall\\_\\*.wav](#)

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:13:31] When they decided in the 70s to become openly political and openly dictate religious politics into the secular realm. [00:13:49] I don't think that we understood how they were just trying to control sex and sexuality and morality. They were trying to protect democracy from diversity. Protect democracy from equity and equality, because they envisioned that the country would become decreasingly religious and they would lose control.

**NARRATOR:**

I know that sounds like a bold claim from Loretta. But the control agenda inside the Trojan Horse is shockingly brazen. Here's Paul Weyrich in his own words.

**ARCHIVE:** [GooGooSyndrome - Voting.wav](#)

**PAUL WEYRICH:** [00:00:01] Now, many of our Christians have what I call a goo goo syndrome, good government. They want everybody to vote. I don't want everybody to vote. Elections are not won by a majority of people. They never have been from the beginning of our country. And they are not now. As a matter of fact, our leverage in the elections quite candidly goes up as the voting populace goes down.

**TAPE:** [Ellie\\_011720.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [00:12:12] The idea for founding Heritage really came out of Weyrich's dissatisfaction with the power that the conservative movement could leverage in Washington. He said that he looked at organizations like AEI, which was one of the only major conservative think tanks out there and available in the space and noticed that these groups were operating on a slow timeline. They were producing briefs after the fact, after legislation was already decided. And they specifically said that they didn't want to be involved in the political process. But they didn't want to be too politicized. That was not something

that Weyrich wanted. Weyrich was entirely comfortable with leading the political process and manipulating it to the extent that he could.

**TAPE:** [11.20\\_IlyseArgot.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:37:27] You know, I always say a couple different things happen. They lost the school desegregation fight, not because we solved structural racism in the schools, but because the Civil Rights Act became law in the country, sort of moved on. // [00:37:39] And then Phyllis Schlafly and Anita Bryant actually won the ERA. Right. Like the Eagle Forum defeated the ERA and they needed something new to organize around. And when you think about like, what did that look like? There is this moment that is well documented of these groups getting together in the late 70s saying we need something new to organize around. And, you know, they were clear about what they were organizing around. **But we need the thing, right?**

**ARCHIVE:** [EmoryUniversity1 - RandallBalmerLecture.wav](#)

**RANDALL BALMER:** [00:00:01] According to Weyrich. And by the way, he told me this directly once these evangelical leaders had mobilized in defense of Bob Jones University. They held a conference call to discuss the prospect of other political activities. Several people suggested possible issues. And finally, a voice on the end of one of the lines said, how about abortion? And that, according to Weyrich, was how abortion was cobbled into the agenda of the religious right in the late 1970s, not as a direct response to the January 1973 Roe v. Wade decision.

**18 NARRATOR:**

That's Dr. Randall Balmer, he's written extensively about Evangelicalism in America and the "Real Origins of the Radical Right." This conference call between conservative leaders is well documented, but Balmer heard about it from Weyrich himself.

**TAPE:** [Ellie\\_011720.wav](#)

**ELLIE LANGFORD:** [01:37:42] Yeah. I mean, that's the thing about this work. It does sound like we're constructing a conspiracy theory. And gosh, I mean, when you're researching something that

*has been meticulously constructed as a conspiracy, it's really hard to paint it as anything else. // [01:38:02] I think what I lean on is that we have the receipts*

**TAPE:** [Ilyse\\_011720.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:03:01] Paul Weyrich, you know, the sort of founding father of the the horse, the Trojan Horse itself recognized that there was no sort of innate resistance to the idea of terminating a pregnancy. And in fact, natural sort of compassion was with a woman facing a situation that she didn't feel like she could handle. // [00:03:23] And so he knew that he had to build essentially a propaganda machine that was grounded in disinformation, lies, in order to catalyze the resistance that he wanted around abortion. And so he effectively built this house. Right? And he built protective layers around a very unpopular agenda that had to do more with control and racism and misogyny than it did with abortion. // [00:03:53] But he gambled very effectively that he could use abortion as the exterior to at least silence people, if not win them over.

**ACT 4:**  
**Trojan Horse Today**

**A4 (a)**

**NARRATOR:**

**Evangelicals batted around a bunch of issues on that conference call: prayer in schools, pornography, gay marriage...and while they have definitely fought against those things, choosing abortion their key issue made a lot of sense tactically. It plays on all the stigmas Americans STILL hold about empowered women, sex, and gender roles - so it totally distracts from their true agenda.**

**TAPE:** [11.13.19\\_Ilyse.wav](#)

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:14:09] To me, it's been really important to look at what they don't speak up on right like that, the far right infrastructure that has promoted reproductive oppression and built this Trojan horse doesn't actually advocate for widespread health insurance for children. It does not actually advocate for

*policies that support working moms because it doesn't really think moms should be working right. And so it's not trying to level the playing field and create a healthy environment for all families and all kids. It's actually trying to use the law and policy to enforce a perception of what families should look like, and everyone has to fit within it.*

**NARRATOR:**

**So what should family look like? White, with 2 heterosexual parents, who are both documented US citizens, and the man is in charge. And what happens if your family doesn't meet that description? Well, that's where the misogyny and racism comes in.**

**ALT: And what happens if you don't fit within the Radical Right's model family?**

**TAPE: 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav**

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [01:25:47] *You know, look, we talk a lot about how this is not really about abortion and has never been about abortion. For the other side. And it is about racism and it is about misogyny that may be too theoretical for some people. It is really crucial for listeners to understand what that means tactically. // [01:26:11] That means criminalization and pregnancy. It means the state health bureaucrats in Missouri tracking women's periods who go to Planned Parenthood. It means Big Horn County in Montana, passing a county ordinance that requires pregnant women to self report for monitoring. It means Marcia Jones in Alabama being shot in the stomach while pregnant, losing her pregnancy and being sent to jail for being shot in the stomach. It means actually turning women into criminals if we don't adhere to a reproductive agenda of a ruling class that is designed to keep us in place. And that's terrifying.*

**NARRATOR:**

**The only policies they do advocate for are punitive laws designed to regulate pregnancies. They claim these laws are in the name of protecting children, yet they are completely divorced from the reality of what it's like to actually birth and raise a child.**

**TAPE: 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav**

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:21:54] Any person at the time that they decided that they want to become a parent is probably going to be asking themselves questions about the conditions under which they will raise these children.

**NARRATOR:**

**This brings us back to Loretta Ross, and an important term you're going to be hearing a lot throughout this series: reproductive justice.**

**TAPE: 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav**

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:19:41] I'm one of twelve black women who created the term reproductive justice in 1994. And then we expanded it to base it on the human rights framework to mean that every human being has the right to have a child, to not have a child. And to parents the children they have in safe and healthy communities.

**NARRATOR:**

**With the Right hyper-focused on controlling and legislating women's bodies, the left can get serious about defending children and mothers. Too often we cede the ground of "family values" to the opposition, but here's the reality.**

**TAPE: 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav**

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:22:24] I mean, we do care about the quality of life of the children that we choose to bring into the world. And so. It is just human to be concerned about. What are the conditions under which I'm going to have to parent, whether or not I have access to health care, whether or not I'll get fired from my job. If I tell them I'm pregnant or beaten by my partner, if I tell them I'm pregnant. I mean, all of these are legitimate reproductive health concerns that people consider when deciding whether to continue or terminate a pregnancy. // [00:23:02] And because we unfold all of those into reproductive justice, I think it makes it attractive for people to talk about it as a container for all these apparently disconnected issues that are really part of the same decision making process.

**NARRATOR:**

The anti-choice movement isn't just about abortion, and neither is reproductive justice. It's about all the policy concerns that grant people the ability and freedom to make empowered decisions. Loretta has seen a lot of success, but our progress is on shaky ground.

**TAPE:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

*LORETTA ROSS: [00:14:57] Well, it is distressing to see how far we get pushed back every time we try to take a step forward. Obviously, when I became an activist in the 1970s, I had no idea that 50 years later I would still be fighting for the same things. I had no idea how crazy it would get.*

**NARRATOR:**

Let's face it: we're here because none of us had any idea how crazy it would get. Which brings us back to where we started this story, in 2016 with Donald Trump riding a wave of racism all the way to the White House.

**TAPE:** Ilyse\_011720.wav

*ILYSE HOGUE [01:10:20] Donald Trump's election and what it ushered in in terms of overt misogyny, overt white supremacy, along with the sort of traditional radical right. What we talked about is anti choice movements was such a startling illustration of that efficacy, the toxic efficacy of this Trojan horse that they built so many years ago around abortion.*

**NARRATOR:**

That last detail is important - the Radical Right started building Trump's coalition decades ago.

**TAPE:** 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav

*ILYSE HOGUE: [01:17:14] I'm always really careful when I talk about the overt rise of white supremacy under Donald Trump to remind people it's a reconvergence of the anti choice movement with white supremacist movement, not a sort of new found*

alliance. // [1:17:53] Look, there is ample evidence of the convergence of these movements from legislators in Florida to Governor LePage to our favorite racist, Steve King in Iowa, actually using what the white supremacist movement calls replacement theory. Right. The idea that white people are being replaced in our country by people of color to outlaw abortion because white women need to have more babies. They just say that overtly. Right. Like they're they're just literally carrying themes straight out of the KKK into the halls of state legislatures and Congress. To, if you look at the way that anti choice movement has built its own media life news, lifestyle news that carries a lot of white supremacist propaganda on them and we ignore them because it's just oh, it's just those anti-abortion people don't we really don't have to pay attention. Meanwhile, Life Site News has a huge audience sharing is trading in all sorts of hate speech. It's quite a frightening moment.

**ARCHIVE:** [Willke\\_FetalDevelopment\\_Population.wav](#)

The birth rate is going back up for pro-life people, at least that's true for North America. Europe is dying. Wait another 20 or 30 years and it will be a Muslim continent. We in North America have a real burden, I guess you could say that to maintain civilization as we know it.

**NARRATOR**

**That's Dr. John Willke speaking on LifeSiteNews - he is commonly known as the father of the pro-life movement, we'll meet him properly in episode 2, but that little tid-bit should give you a sense of how the Radical Right uses Anti-Choice Language to amplify white supremacist ideas.**

**TAPE:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:11:51] Now whether or not they'll be ultimately successful. I don't think so. // [00:09:59] I believe that they're demographically doomed. In a very short period of time, the white population is going to be a minority in the United States, and that's what they are **dramatically and apocalyptically** afraid of. // [00:12:00 ] I think that they're trying to hold back time, which is impossible. They're trying to reverse this all back to the 19th century. It's just impossible. So I don't think that they're going to succeed overall. Now, whether or not



*they will be vicious in the short term goes without saying. they're going to do a lot of damage in their last grasp on power.*

**TAPE:** 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav

**ILYSE HOGUE:** *[1:14:59] When you don't have a popular agenda, you have to pursue other ways of maintaining power. Some of that looks like voter suppression. Some of that looks like gerrymandering. So that you're disproportionately advantaging a minority of the population in representative government.*

**NARRATOR**

**Again - words like gerrymandering and voter suppression might start to sound theoretical the more you repeat them, but these are the tactics the Radical Right uses to rig the system. If you need a concrete example, look no further than Georgia's 2018 Governor race between Brian Kemp and Stacey Abrams. The race was held 5 years after the supreme court's 2013 decision to invalidate key pieces of the voting rights act, which opened the floodgates for targeted voter ID laws and voter purges in states that previously had necessary protections.**

**TAPE:** StaceyAbrams\_010920.wav

**STACEY ABRAMS:** *[00:04:45] After the gutting of the Voting Rights Act [00:04:56] suddenly you saw this raft of new laws that made it harder and harder to vote as a legislator. That was important to me because I believe in the right to vote. And as someone who speaks for the people, I need to hear what they say. And then as a candidate for governor myself, in 2018, I watched voter suppression steal the votes and the voices from tens of thousands of Georgians.*

**NARRATOR:**

**That's Stacey Abrams. Since that election, Leader Abrams has become a powerhouse on the Left. And The Right loves to paint her as a sore loser who's fabricating a story about voter suppression to justify her loss, which might sound plausible except that her opponent Brian Kemp was WILDLY flagrant about gaming the system: which he could do,**

because he was also the Secretary of State. He was the person in charge of guaranteeing a fair election process for the election in which he was a candidate! **And the numbers don't lie.**

**TAPE: StaceyAbrams\_010920.wav**

**STACEY ABRAMS:** [00:05:27] We had one point four million voters purged over his tenure. We had 53000 registrations held hostage under his misuse of this one and his exact match. And we saw in the state of Georgia more than 200 polling places shut down under his watch. And each of those had the effect of blocking people from their right to vote. But I think the most obscene part was the fact that he did so claiming to be a protector of democracy. And the problem was he only wanted to protect democracy for those who said what he wanted to hear.

**11 NARRATOR:**

~~Like every part of this story — this has historical precedent.~~

**TAPE: StaceyAbrams\_010920.wav**

~~**STACEY ABRAMS:** [00:06:36] The hypocrisy of Brian Kemp's role as secretary of state and his leadership and voter suppression is actually part of a centuries long story. It's actually it began with the inception of our nation. We are a country that was founded on democracy, but began by saying that blacks weren't human and thus were not valued as citizens. That Native Americans weren't allowed to be citizens and that women should be silent. And since that time, there have been gradations of opportunity where we've added new voices through the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments through the 19th Amendment through the twenty Sixth Amendment. But at the same time, we've constantly relegated to the states the authority to determine how voting happened. So, yes, you have these constitutional winds that said that these groups should be a part of the body politic. But every single time the ability to make it real was given to the states, the very states that it stripped power away. And so in the South, you had African Americans who were denied the right to vote even after the 15th Amendment until 1965 with the Voting Rights Act. If you were Native American, you weren't a citizen of this country until 1924. And the right to vote did not become real and~~

~~manifest until the 1960s. If you were a woman, yes, you got the right to vote in 1920. But for so many women of color, that right to vote did not exist until the Voting Rights Act took effect. And so each time the right to vote is granted to a new group. What we see is that behind the scenes, that same small group of people who want to hold power to themselves pretend it's this prestidigitation of look at what one hand is doing. Yes, I am giving you this right. But with the other hand, I'm taking it back by saying that the states can shut down your access to the polls.~~

**NARRATOR:**

**So what does any of this have to do with Reproductive Rights?**

**ALT: So what does this actually have to do with Reproductive Rights?**

**TAPE: Ilyse\_011720.wav**

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [00:51:15] Brian Kemp, in order to even come close enough to win in a contested election where there was an enormous amount of voter suppression going on. Had to make loud promises to the right that the first thing he would do was ban abortion. // [00:51:27] And in order to actually win, he'd disenfranchise voters. And then it was payback time. And even with that, there was a massive outcry against it.

**TAPE: StaceyAbrams\_010920.wav**

**STACEY ABRAMS:** [00:11:11] Reproductive suppression and reproductive oppression exist in tandem because what it says is that not only do you not have the right to control your body, you don't have the right to be heard about what you should be allowed to do. // [00:09:54] Reproductive rights have long been used as a weapon against women and against communities that need access to resources and services. We know that the issue of abortion rights did not become a political issue until Republicans saw that they couldn't win elections any other way. And it became one of the markers they used to separate communities that had common cause on so many issues. // [00:10:23] In Georgia, for example, the very person who won the election in 2018 by suppressing votes then

went against the will of Georgians to pass a forced pregnancy bill.

**NARRATOR:**

We'll go into this bill more in the next episode, but voters in Georgia had a clear choice between Brian Kemp (who was making deals with the radical right) and Stacey Abrams (who was not afraid to talk about Reproductive Freedom).

**TAPE:** StaceyAbrams\_010920.wav

**STACEY:** *I was the first candidate for governor who openly talked about abortion rights as a centerpiece of my campaign. I talked about the challenges facing the reproductive choice communities, because if you are a woman of color, reproductive justice has multiple facets to it. And I understood that. So, you have to be able to not only talk about what is to guide, to be able to understand what barriers exist, and those barriers differ from community to community.*

**NARRATOR:**

The less we talk about the real concerns of these communities, the more we cede power to the opposition.

**TAPE:** 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav

**ILYSE HOGUE:** *[01:26:55] That is my biggest fear is that we play into their plan to keep this narrowly focused on abortion, which keeps us silent, but also doesn't allow us to tell the broader picture that this is our moment to define about control versus freedom.*

**TAPE:** StaceyAbrams\_010920.wav

**STACEY ABRAMS:** *And then you have to trust that people should be able to speak that aloud by ensuring that they have the right to vote. And so we not only did the work of engaging communities talking to them, but then also trying to create pathways for their voices to be heard and for voter suppression. [00:18:07] I believe we would've been successful.*

**TAPE: StaceyAbrams\_010920.wav**

**STACEY ABRAMS:** And so I've launched Fair Fight Action in Georgia, which is our C4 organization in Fair Fight, which is our political wing, and that has been focused on the 20 states where voter suppression has the strongest hold on our electorate. And what we intend to do is break that hold by making sure we not only elect the president, but that we win the U.S. Senate, that we hold the House, and that we also flip state legislative bodies. Because when we forget that most of these laws begin at the state level, we lose. We have ceded so much local government to the other side. They've been able to manipulate not only the levers of power, but even the conversations we have.

**NARRATOR:**

But Stacey Abrams' story doesn't end there and neither does our fight against voter suppression. The work she is doing is making a difference and it's getting the attention of fellow activists like Loretta Ross.

**TAPE: 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav**

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:51:17] Well, I think that what Stacey Abrams is doing down in Georgia with Fair Fight is one of those examples of how you do it. I mean, she is demonstrated that you can win elections and energize people to come to the polls. And the only thing really standing in our way is the fact that they have to rig the system in order to illegally steal elections. [00:51:42] And so we don't need a blue way. We need a blue tsunami, because that's what we've got to have to take to overwhelm these gerrymandered systems. And the fact that they're willing, as I said, to destroy democracy rather than to relinquish one iota of control, or that they don't want a democratized democracy, they want a pseudo democracy with them in charge of it.

**TAPE: 11.20\_IlyseArgot.wav**

**ILYSE** [01:20:50] We are doing this podcast, we're undertaking this project because, you know, people need to understand what's really happening and stand up and masse against it. And we have a particular audience we think we can reach at the same time. You

know, we we have to recognize that things that are even deeply unpopular are being effective under Trump. And they will go as far as they can until they are defeated. And they are putting in place as many institutional pieces of power to allow the legacy of this administration to live on well beyond its years. So we got to be eyes wide open. And that starts with understanding the analysis of what's really happening and how it has permeated all institutional branches of our government and actually demanding that our elected officials acknowledge what is actually happening

**TAPE:** 12\_19\_19\_Loretta\_Ross\_TapeACall\_\*.wav

**LORETTA ROSS:** [00:10:58] I mean, there are so many fronts on which they're deconstructing democracy that we need to be really concerned about because it's going to take a long time and a lot of effort to even restore the very partially realized democracy we had before they began the subversion 50 years ago. // [00:52:08] It's going to take a lot of patience, a lot of losses, a lot of overwhelming organizing. But you're talking about a descendant of slaves. So you're talking about someone who'd never thought that America was what it should be, but never gave up on the hope that America can be something better.

**TAPE:** Ilyse\_011720.wav

**ILYSE HOGUE:** [01:08:30] 2020 is the tipping point. We will look back and see this as the moment whether we made a decision to actually stand up and fight back or where we surrendered future generations' rights to a small but well organized faction of society.

**ILYSE HOGUE:** This is a fight about freedom versus control, about dignity vs. oppression. [01:09:05] And we must center it has such within every conversation we have with every candidate with in every decision we make about how we vote and how we tell the story of the 2020 election. If we do, we can pave the way for a much, much more just future. And if we don't, we will deeply regret it.

NARRATOR:

This isn't about "women's issues." This isn't about "identity politics." This is about a nation fighting for its soul. This is about US - a citizenry who is being systematically cut off from our ability to shape the direction of our democracy.

It has been less than half a century since anti-choice ideology was created out of thin air by a small group of bigoted political operatives hoping to exploit religious Americans for political gain. For all their talk about faith and morality, people of faith weren't the inspiration for this movement -- if anything, they were the easy marks. But today, they can claim the lion's share of credit for electing the President, and the Radical Right is inches away from achieving their ultimate goal of erasing the progress made by women since the 1960s thanks to reproductive freedom.

Over the next 5 episodes, we'll continue to explore how the anti-choice playbook has been perfected over time, from Phyllis Schlafly to KellyAnne Conway, from Ronald Reagan to Donald Trump. Most importantly, we'll share some of the ways that you can actually fight back.

**HOLDING AREA / DRAFT TEASER**

When you think of a hot button political issue, what comes to mind?

Welcome to *The Lie That Binds*, a 6-part series exploring the insidious history of how the anti-choice movement was built from scratch. I'm your host Jess McIntosh. In each episode, we'll expose a key piece of the anti-choice playbook, and retrace how the Radical Right has weaponized abortion in order to rig the political system in their favor. If we ever stand a chance of fighting back, we need to understand how the radical right has brought us to this moment. Only then can we stop them from taking the next step.

We're taking this on, because abortion is an issue the other side is hoping we're too afraid to even talk about. And look - we know this is a controversial topic. Even people who wholeheartedly identify as progressive still have a lot of unresolved feelings around abortion. You may be one of them.

But here's the thing: the anti-choice agenda is not just an anti-abortion agenda. The leaders of the Radical Right focus on abortion because they know that our "unresolved feelings" keep us silent which gives them space to consolidate power and build new alliances.

They proposed a new religious conservative coalition that they dubbed the Moral Majority.