

From: The Military Religious Freedom Foundation (MRFF; www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org)

To: The Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Human Rights

-Hearing Title; "Protecting the Civil Rights of American Muslims"

Date Submitted: Monday, March 28, 2011

Subject: Military Religious Freedom Foundation's Testimony

My name is Michael L. "Mikey" Weinstein. I am the Founder and President of the "Military Religious Freedom Foundation" (MRFF). MRFF is a nonprofit 501(c)3 charitable organization with the sole mission of protecting the Constitutionally guaranteed civil rights of United States armed forces personnel and veterans. In this regard, MRFF focuses exclusively on protecting its clients religious freedom civil rights as specified in both the "Free Exercise" and "No Establishment" clauses of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution and, additionally, Article VI, Clause 3's guarantee of "no religious test." MRFF currently represents the interests of well in excess of 22,000 United States marines, soldiers, sailors, airmen, cadets and midshipmen at West Point, the Air Force Academy, Annapolis and other service academies, coast guard personnel, reservists, national guard personnel and veterans. Approximately 96% of MRFF's clients are self-professed Christians (about 3/4 are Protestants of numerous denominations and the remaining 1/4 are mostly Roman Catholic). Those approximately 4% of MRFF's clients who are not of the Christian faith represent a veritable rainbow of other faith traditions including, but not limited to, Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs, Native American spiritualists as well as agnostics and atheists. To become a MRFF "client" a complainant must only contact MRFF requesting personal guidance and assistance in confronting unconstitutional religious prejudice and discrimination. The first attachment to this testimony will provide a more comprehensive description of my personal background as well as the background of MRFF and its civil rights activism in the aforementioned cause. We are especially proud of the fact that, to date, MRFF has received three Nobel Peace Prize nominations; two for 2010 and one for the current year of 2011.



Please allow me to thank the Senate Committee members and staffers, from the bottom of my heart, for having the courage of will and strength of character to convene an official Congressional hearing to finally cast light on the despicable scourge of civil rights violations against Muslim American victims. I would like to further express my sincerest gratitude to the Senate Committee for extending the formal invitation to MRFF to provide testimony in this historic and critical hearing. As of today, Monday, March 28, 2011, MRFF has 261 Muslim American clients who are proud members of the United States armed forces. MRFF's Muslim American client caseload dramatically increased immediately after the tragic shootings at Fort Hood. The second, third, and fourth attachments to this testimony will describe the wretched abuse of Muslim American U.S. military members, quantitatively and qualitatively, with far more breadth of specificity than is either reasonably prudent or practical within the scope of my instant testimony. Please take the precious time to review with substantial diligence all of this additional information. It is at once shocking and disturbing. There is so much abject pain, suffering, degradation, dehumanization, and marginalization to tell that it would take a book, a long book, to do the whole sordid tale of the civil rights abuse of Muslim Americans in uniform true justice. Such is neither the purpose nor scope of my personal testimony submitted today. A few years ago, one of our MRFF clients wrote us a letter in which he asserted that MRFF was the "voice he and his fellow U.S. military members were not allowed to speak with." That simple yet elegant statement has become MRFF's standard bearer. I will try today, here and now, to very briefly be the "voice" for MRFF's 261 afflicted Muslim American armed forces members.

Ladies and gentlemen, the enormity of the civil rights abuses against Muslim American U.S. military members can best be described as grievously systemic and perversely and perniciously profound throughout the United States armed forces. Where to even begin? As MRFF's attached material will clearly show, anti-Muslim prejudice and discrimination is inextricably intertwined into the very DNA of today's American military. It is as prevalent as gravity. As an example, let me tell the Committee that there exists unrestricted and wide use by military officers and enlisted personnel of the derogatory racist terms such as "towel head," "raghead," "camel jockey" or the most universally used term of "Haji" to describe their Muslim American colleagues in uniform as well as all Muslims everywhere. In formal military training exercises, Muslim American members are very often reminded that "the enemy" in the War on Terror is Islam as an entire religion, and, accordingly, that any of its adherents and followers are seriously suspect. Official and honored speakers contracted by the Department of Defense spew this same filthy screed of "We Are At War With Islam" to captive, eager audiences of our military's best and brightest. It happens every day. Military life is very different from civilian life. Unless one has served in America's military it is almost impossible to appropriately convey the formidable magnitude of the communal, ritualistic, adversarial, almost tribal, imperative to be viewed as a trusted and respected member of the military unit team. Muslim American military members have been told repeatedly that they have no place in America's military because of their faith. They have been told that, as Muslims, they cannot and will not be allowed into the otherwise impenetrable brotherhood and sisterhood of trust and loyalty of their respective military organizations.



They have been unjustly denied leave time. They have been unjustly discarded in the military's health care system. They have been unjustly denied rank and choice assignments. They have been unlawfully detained and falsely accused of vile crimes and offenses of moral turpitude. They have been the innocent and helpless victims of scurrilous rumors and ruinous innuendo. They have been unjustly ordered to perform odious and remedial military tasks and chores. They and their loving families have been derided as exemplifying "the enemy amongst us." They and their families have been assaulted and abused both stateside and abroad. They and their families have endured hurtful and humiliating taunts and threats, delivered in the middle of the dark night and in the bright sun of daylight, both overt and indirectly nuanced. They and their families have been accused of not being "real Americans" and told that they are not remotely welcome in America. They and their families have been told to "go back to your Arab lands." When they try to complain to their respective chains of command or the Inspector General's Office or the military EEO office they receive no cognizable relief. The have nowhere to turn unless they are prepared to "go public" in the media which constitutes instant professional military career suicide and, further, induces the genuine risks of personal safety for the Muslim American military member and his or her family as well. When a Muslim American military member is told that they sorely lack intelligence, courage, honor, trustworthiness, loyalty, ethics, character, and integrity simply because of their Muslim faith, well, there is absolutely no difference between that putrescent and disgusting statement and telling someone that they are stupid because of the color of their skin or because they are female. The instances of these and many other civil rights violations against Muslim Americans in uniform are quite simply legion in magnitude and Jovian in proportion.

I asked one of MRFF's 261 Muslim American clients for his own words to buttress my testimony today. He wants me to tell you that he is an honored graduate of one of our U.S. military academies. He has served multiple combat tours in both Iraq and Afghanistan. He is highly decorated and has received both the Purple Heart and the Silver and Bronze Stars for exemplary courage in battle. Because he appears to be caucasian and has a last name that, as he says, is not particularly indicative of his deep and steadfast Muslim faith, most of his colleagues do not know immediately that he is Muslim. Thus, he has a vast trove of heart-breaking incidents to describe perpetrated by the unadulterated candor of those not initially aware of his Muslim faith. He tells of his children being harassed, baited, and proselytized at on base elementary schools to "save their souls from the evils of Islam and Allah." He tells of his wife being spat upon while shopping at the base commissary and whispered about and given looks of revulsion when she shops in the Post Exchange store or even gets gas at the base gas station. He tells of the endless indignation of having ALL of his faith of Islam, and thus, ALL Muslims everywhere, being brazenly and openly painted with the single brush of the extremists of the faith such as the Taliban or al-Qaeda. He tells of the shame and humiliation of always being the "go to guy" to explain and justify any act of terrorism committed by fellow Muslims anywhere in the world.



He tells of he and his family endlessly enduring the painful direct and indirect actions of everyday disrespect and dismissiveness for merely being Muslims. He tells of being ruthlessly indoctrinated, from his first days as a cadet/midshipman at the Academy to his current position as an officer, with the belief America's military is a Christian military and that its greatest enemy is Islam and its followers. He tells of his repeated attempts to protect and speak for his subordinate Muslim American military members and describes with tears how these many attempts are futile and essentially brutally trivialized by the responsible military chain of command. He tells of officially endorsed Islamophobia rampant and pandemic throughout the U.S. military and of Muslim Americans therein being deliberately besieged and baited with slanderous lies and related defamation until they reach the breaking point of human toleration for such civil rights abuses and they just snap. He tells of whatever behavior follows that "snap" as being falsely manufactured and otherwise used, post hoc ergo propter hoc, to justify the original civil rights abuse which initially generated this primal-scream-for-help "snap" in the very first place. He tells of the unbearable loneliness and estrangement of being told in innumerable ways that he is not a reliable or dependable part of either his own combat unit or the entire United States military because of the fatal flaw of being a "suspicious Muslim." He tells of countless instances of being both directly and indirectly proselytized by both fundamentalist Christian military chaplains and his equally fundamentalist Christian direct military chain of command. He tells of having to constantly memorize the names of Muslim Americans who have been killed or grievously wounded in combat so that he can repeatedly tell his rapacious tormentors of his brother and sister Muslim American's deeds of honorable combat sacrifice to counter the barrage of never-ending disparagements and related civil rights violations against Muslim Americans. He tells of advising many other fellow Muslim American military members and their spouses and children to likewise memorize these names and their stories. He tells of horrendously callous and ambivalent responses to these names of the dead and wounded by his afflicters. And his lamentable and harrowing testimony is but one of the 261 stories MRFF has to tell the Senate Committee. Our fellow Americans of the Muslim faith in the profession of arms cry out for justice and equality. They do not want special treatment under the law; they want equal treatment. They want you, honored United States Senators and honored staff, to know that the United States Constitution does not protect their "civil privileges;" no, it protects their civil rights. He wants you to know that Muslim Americans in the U.S. military are every bit as patriotic and courageous and valuable as their non-Muslim colleagues. He wants you to see him as a Muslim American and not an American Muslim. There is a massive difference in the salient terminology as the word "Muslim" is an adjective in the former and a noun in the latter. And he wants you to appreciate how important it is for you and all of America to distinguish the two.



Please understand that the dire consequences of the rampant and universal civil rights abuses against Muslim Americans in the United States military cannot adequately be described as merely a "problem" or an "issue" or a "challenge." It is nothing less than a full-fledged national security threat. There are three acutely relevant reasons why; to wit, (1) its well known existence enrages our Islamic allies both abroad and domestically; (2) it incalculably emboldens our Islamic enemies both abroad and domestically; and, (3) it absolutely demoralizes our own troops and, thus, is a fatally divisive and metastasizing malignancy to the necessity and imperative of good order and discipline in the United States armed forces. This overt tyranny cum national security threat must cease immediately. Obviously the command structure of the U.S. military is complicit via both acts of malfeasance and misfeasance. Thus, who will stop this oppression if not Congress? Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? (Who will guard the guards?) Dr. Stanley Milgram's famous assertion seems so sadly applicable here: "The disappearance of a sense of responsibility is the most far-reaching consequence of submission to authority."

In closing, I am reminded of the great words of another afflicted American, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr King once said that, in the end, we remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends...and that there comes a time when silence becomes betrayal. Further, Dr. King said that we must learn to live as brothers or perish as fools. Honorable United States Senators and staff, the Military Religious Freedom Foundation thanks you for the distinct honor of presenting this tragic testimony to your assemblage this day. This hearing must be a dramatic catalyst of a true clarion call to action! MRFF begs you, implores you to not remain silent any longer. MRFF beseeches you to not permit our fellow non-Muslim countrymen and women throughout our American military forces to continue to inflict wicked civil rights violations upon their Muslim American brothers and sisters in arms. Please decisively act immediately and do not let the afflicters ignominiously cause us, one and all, to perish as fools by their forsaking of the oath they all swore to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the precious civil rights afforded therein.

Sincerely,

Michael L. "Mikey" Weinstein, Esq.

New Jub West

President and Founder

Military Religious Freedom Foundation mikey@militaryreligiousfreedom.org www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org

#### Attachments:

- 1: About Michael L. "Mikey" Weinstein (1 page)
- 2: Addendum on Muslim Harassment in the United States Military (1 page, introducing attachments 3 & 4)
- 3: News Articles Pertaining to Muslim Harassment in the United States Military (17 pages)
- 4. "Against All Enemies, Foreign and Domestic," a chapter from the book *Attitudes Aren't Free: Thinking Deeply about Diversity in the US Armed Forces*, published by Air University Press, Maxwell AFB in 2010 (30 pages)

#### About Michael L. "Mikey" Weinstein

## For background information and recent news articles pertaining to the Military Religious Freedom Foundation, please visit <a href="https://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/moment">www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/moment</a>

Mikey Weinstein is the undisputed leader of the national movement to restore the obliterated wall separating church and state in the most technologically lethal organization ever created by humankind: the United States armed forces. Described by Harper's magazine as the constitutional conscience of the U.S. military, a man determined to force accountability, Mikey's family has a long and distinguished U.S. military history spanning three consecutive generations of military academy graduates and over 130 years of combined active duty military service in every major combat engagement our country has been in from World War I to the current Global War on Terror.

Mikey is a 1977 Honor Graduate of the United States Air Force Academy. Mikey has been married for over 33 years to his wife, Bonnie. He is the proud parent of two sons and one daughter. His oldest son and daughter-in-law are 2004 Graduates, and Mikey's youngest son graduated in the Class of 2007 from the Air Force Academy and is the sixth member of Mikey's family to attend the Academy. His father is a distinguished graduate of the United States Naval Academy. Mikey spent 10 years in the Air force as a "JAG" or military attorney serving as both a Federal prosecutor and criminal defense attorney.

A registered Republican, he also spent over three years in the West Wing of the Reagan Administration as legal counsel in the White House. In his final position there, Mikey was named the Committee Management Officer of the much-publicized Iran-Contra Investigation in his capacity as Assistant General Counsel of The White House Office of Administration, Executive Office of the President of the United States. Mikey has held numerous positions in corporate America as a senior executive businessman and attorney.

After stints at prominent law firms in both New York City and Washington D.C., Mikey served as the first General Counsel to Texas billionaire and two-time Presidential candidate H. Ross Perot and Perot Systems Corporation. He left Mr. Perot's employ in 2006 to focus his fulltime attention on the nonprofit charitable foundation he founded to directly battle the far-right militant radical evangelical religious fundamentalists: The Military Religious Freedom Foundation. (http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org)

Mikey has appeared innumerable times on all of the major cable and terrestrial TV news networks and is a frequent guest on national radio networks as well. His constitutional activism has been covered and profiled extensively in the print media including the Associated Press, The New York Times, the Washington Post, the L.A. Times, the Denver Post, The Guardian and many other national and international newspapers and periodicals including Time magazine.

St. Martins Press in New York released Mikey's book, "With God On Our Side: One Man's War Against an Evangelical Coup in America's Military" in October 2006. The paperback version was released in February 2008 with the Foreword being written by Ambassador Joseph Wilson IV. The book is an expose on the systemic problem of religious intolerance throughout the United States armed forces. Mikey recently made his international film debut in the Hollywood adaptation of James Carroll's New York Times best selling book detailing the 2,000 year bloody history between the Church and the Jews, entitled "Constantine's Sword", and directed by Oscar nominee Oren Jacoby.

Mikey was named one of the 50 most influential Jews in America by the Forward, one of the nation's preeminent Jewish publications. He also has received a nomination for the JFK's Profile in Courage Award and received the Buzzflash Wings of Justice Award. In addition Mikey was honored by a distinguished civil rights organization Jews for Racial and Economic Justice with the Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer Risk-Taker Award, for those who have taken extraordinary risks in the pursuit of justice.

Reviled by the militant radical evangelical fundamentalist Christian far-right, Mikey has been given many names by his enemies including Satan, Satan's lawyer, the Antichrist, That Godless, Secular Leftist, The Antagonizer of All Christians, The Most Dangerous Man in America and, most recently and perhaps most colorfully, The Field General of the Godless Armies of Satan.

On October 15, 2009, the Military Religious Freedom Foundation was officially nominated for the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize. The nominator, who wishes to remain anonymous, happens to be the only Christian in the upper chamber of his country's national parliament; the country is an ally of the United States. Shortly thereafter, another anonymous Qualified Nominator submitted a second official nomination for MRFF for the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize. On October 13, 2010, for the second consecutive year, the Military Religious Freedom Foundation was officially nominated again for the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize.

On November 30, 2010, Americans United for the Separation of Church and State announced that Mikey Weinstein would become AU's first ever "Person of the Year" in 2011. In their press release, AU describes MRFF as "the leading voice protecting church-state separation in the military."



#### Addendum on Muslim Harassment in the United States Military:

It is abundantly clear from the numerous reports and complaints received by the Military Religious Freedom Foundation (MRFF) from Muslims serving in the U.S. military that a negative attitude towards those of the Islamic faith not only exists, but has resulted in the harassment, humiliation, and even the completely unwarranted detention of Muslim service members.

The reports received by MRFF are typically about individual experiences and incidents, such as the mistreatment and humiliation of Muslim recruits by their drill sergeants or incidents of non-commissioned officers (NCO) and officers telling formations of soldiers that the current wars are a holy war against Islam. But what leads an NCO to think that it's perfectly acceptable to humiliate a Muslim American soldier by calling them "haji" or dressing them up in Arab garb to play the role of "terrorist" in a training exercise, or an officer to proclaim to their subordinates that we're in a war against Islam?

In part, this attitude that such behavior is acceptable may come from the growing suspicion of American Muslims fomented by the widespread fear-mongering and Islamophobic propaganda from the civilian sphere, which is, of course, beyond the control of the military. However, when this suspicion and bigotry is not only condoned but even endorsed by the military establishment itself, a clear message is sent throughout the ranks that the denigration, mistreatment, and abuse of Muslim service members is not only allowed but encouraged.

It is therefore imperative to look at the underlying causes within the military that have led to the negative attitude and unrestrained bigoted behavior of so many NCOs and officers towards their Muslim subordinates, which, in turn, sets the example for the troops beneath these NCOs and officers to perpetrate the same offenses against their Muslim peers.

As the examples in the attached articles and book chapter will show, there are a number of ways in which the military itself has caused or exacerbated the bigotry and mistreatment faced by so many Muslims now serving in the U.S. armed forces.

Among the most obvious and most egregious ways in which the military is endorsing and fostering a culture of intolerance and suspicion towards Muslim service members is through what is being taught to NCOs, officers, and future officers at the U.S. military's colleges and service academies. The attached articles include examples of the invitation of some of the most deplorable and offensive speakers on the anti-Muslim speaking circuit to lecture at U.S. Air Force Academy, the Joint Forces Staff College, and other U.S. military colleges, as well as the use and endorsement by the Naval War College of a politically motivated anti-Muslim propaganda film. The Department of Defense also demonstrates its tolerance for intolerance through its association, and in some cases official partnership, with some of the most virulently anti-Muslim preachers and ministries in America, two cases of which are included in the attached articles.

The attached book chapter, "Against All Enemies, Foreign and Domestic," from the book *Attitudes Aren't Free: Thinking Deeply about Diversity in the US Armed Forces*, published by Air University Press, Maxwell Air Force Base in 2010, details a variety of issues related to religion in the military, including a number of additional examples of ways in which the U.S. military has, and continues to, actively contribute to its own growing problem of anti-Muslim sentiment among its ranks.

## **HUFFPOST MEDIA**

#### Chris Rodda

Senior Research Director, Military Religious Freedom Foundation

Posted: September 25, 2008 09:26 AM

# Obsession "Stars" Have Lectured at U.S. Military Colleges; U.S. Navy Uses Film

In the past year and a half, two of the Islamophobic fear mongers featured in *Obsession:* Radical Islam's War Against the West -- the politically useful anti-Muslim documentary currently being distributed by the millions in swing states via DVDs inserted in major newspapers -- have been invited to speak at U.S. Military Colleges.

In February 2008, Walid Shoebat, along with his fellow self-proclaimed ex-terrorists turned fundamentalist Christians, appeared at the U.S. Air Force Academy's 50th Annual Academy Assembly. In June 2007, Brigitte Gabriel, founder of the American Congress for Truth and author of *Because They Hate*, delivered a lecture at the Joint Forces Staff College (JFSC).

The following quotes are all from the question and answer segment of Brigitte Gabriel's lecture at the JFSC.

In answer to the question, "Should we resist Muslims who want to seek political office in this nation?," Gabriel replied:

"Absolutely. If a Muslim who has -- who is -- a practicing Muslim who believes the word of the Koran to be the word of Allah, who abides by Islam, who goes to mosque and prays every Friday, who prays five times a day -- this practicing Muslim, who believes in the teachings of the Koran, cannot be a loyal citizen to the United States of America."

As part of her answer to this same question, Gabriel asserted that a Muslim's oath of

office is meaningless, giving the following reason:

"A Muslim is allowed to lie under any situation to make Islam, or for the benefit of Islam in the long run. A Muslim sworn to office can lay his hand on the Koran and say 'I swear that I'm telling the truth and nothing but the truth,' fully knowing that he is lying because the same Koran that he is swearing on justifies his lying in order to advance the cause of Islam. What is worrisome about that is when we are faced with war and a Muslim political official in office has to make a decision either in the interest of the United States, which is considered infidel according to the teachings of Islam, and our Constitution is uncompatible [sic] with Islam -- not compatible -- that Muslim in office will always have his loyalty to Islam."

The next question came from a soldier who introduced himself as Muslim who has been serving in the U.S. Army for the past 19 years. He asked Gabriel if she was a member of Hasbara Fellowship. Gabriel not only answered that she was not a member, but asked, "What's Hasbara Fellowship?" Gabriel is currently listed as a speaker on the official website of Hasbara Fellowships as a member of the organization's Speakers Bureau, and has been since 2005.

Here's what Gabriel had to say about terrorists entering the U.S. from Mexico:

"Those Al Qaeda members and Hezbollah members who are coming into the United States, they are immediately going from the Mexican border into the major cities where there is large Islamic concentration in the United States, such as 'Dearbornistan' Michigan..."

And, on the Islamic community in the U.S. and racial profiling:

"We need to see more patriotism and less terrorism, and especially on the part of the Islamic community in this country, who are good at nothing but complaining about every single thing instead of standing up and working with us in fighting the enemy in our country.

And, finally, Gabriel's advice to Americans who see a mosque being built in their

#### community:

"I tell them, if you see a mosque being built in your community, and you are worried about suspicious activities happening in the mosque, go down to city hall. Find out who owns the deed to that mosque. Is it a Saudi foundation? Is it names of some Islamic sheik outside of the United States of America? Write those names down. It's public information -- for free. Write the information down. Come home. Call the F.B.I. in your local community. Turn the names to the F.B.I. and the F.B.I. can start checking. Are these people on the most wanted list? Do they have links to terrorism? This is how we can help our government as citizens..."

Brigitte Gabriel's lecture was part of the JFSC's Islam elective, a course open only to American military and national security personnel. Foreign students attending the college, which include students from Islamic allies who would obviously be appalled and outraged by the likes of Gabriel, are not allowed to take this course.

Just as appalling and outrageous as Gabriel's JFSC lecture was the February 2008 appearance of the "three ex-terrorists" at the U.S. Air Force Academy. The three members of this traveling anti-Muslim sideshow, paid \$13,000 to speak at the 50th Annual Academy Assembly on the topic "Dismantling Terrorism: Developing Actionable Solutions for Today's Plague of Violence," are Walid Shoebat, Zachariah Anani, and and Kamal Saleem. Shoebat, who appears in *Obsession* and sells the film on his website, has also spoken at Tim LaHaye's Pre-Trib (Pre-Tribulation) Research Center conferences and John Hagee's Christians United for Israel (CUFI) events. Zachariah Anani is a Lebanese-born Canadian citizen who claims to have killed 223 people while a Muslim terrorist. Kamal Saleem, under his real name, Khodor Shami, worked for Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network for sixteen years, was hired by James Dobson's Focus on the Family in 2003, and founded Koome Ministries in 2006 to "expose the true agenda of [Muslims] who would deceive our nation and the free nations of the world."

The claims of the three ex-terrorists about their exploits as Muslim terrorists have long been questioned by academics and terrorism experts who have found a plethora of

unlikelihoods and outright impossibilities in their stories. The most obvious question, of course, is why, if their stories are true, haven't these three self-proclaimed terrorists, who have been traveling the country for years admitting to numerous killings and other terrorist acts, not been deported or jailed. Well, apparently, even our government's terrorist hunters don't believe these guys. According to a *New York Times* article about the trio's appearance at the Air Force Academy, "A spokesman for the F.B.I. said there were no warrants for their arrest."

After demands by the Military Religious Freedom Foundation (MRFF) for equal time to counter the anti-Muslim screed of the three ex-terrorists, the Air Force Academy eventually allowed MRFF founder and president, and Academy graduate, Mikey Weinstein, and two MRFF Advisory Board members, Islam expert Reza Aslan and former Ambassador Joe Wilson, to speak to (deprogram) the cadets.

In addition to *Obsession* cast members Brigitte Gabriel and Walid Shoebat speaking at U.S. military colleges, Gregory Ross, the film's co-writer and director, stated in an interview that the film is being used by the U.S. Navy. According to Ross, who is also Communications Director for Clarion Fund, the organization that produced the film and is now funding the DVD newspaper insert scheme, "I know that the U.S. Department of the Navy uses the film and that it has also been shown on Capitol Hill on many occasions in order to education [sic] politicians."

## **HUFFPOST RELIGION**

#### Chris Rodda

Senior Research Director, Military Religious Freedom Foundation

Posted: April 21, 2010 04:09 PM

# MRFF Demands that Pentagon Disinvite Franklin Graham from NDP Event

The Military Religious Freedom Foundation (MRFF) has sent the following letter to Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, demanding, for the reasons explained in the letter, that Franklin Graham be uninvited as the keynote speaker for the Pentagon's upcoming National Day of Prayer event. The request for MRFF's assistance from a group of Muslim military personnel and DoD employees at the Pentagon, which is enclosed with the letter to Secretary Gates, follows.

April 19, 2010

Dear Secretary Gates,

On behalf of a courageous community of United States military personnel and DoD employees of the Muslim faith at the Pentagon who have contacted the Military Religious Freedom Foundation (MRFF) for help regarding the choice of Franklin Graham as the speaker for the Pentagon's May 6, 2010 National Day of Prayer event, MRFF hereby demands, for the reasons explained below, that the Pentagon Chaplains Office immediately rescind its invitation to Mr. Graham and choose a more appropriate and inclusive speaker for this high profile event. (See attached request for MRFF assistance.)

You may recall the outrage of the Muslim community, as well as members of other religious faiths, when Mr. Graham was invited to speak at the Pentagon in 2003 -- outrage prompted particularly by Mr. Graham's statements following the attacks of 9/11 in which he called the whole of the religion of Islam "evil" and

"wicked." Mr. Graham has never retracted or apologized for these statements, and, in fact, was still defending them as recently as December 2009 in an appearance on CNN.

MRFF also strongly objects in the most fervent magnitude to the Constitutionally noxious affiliation of the Pentagon's National Day of Prayer event with the National Day of Prayer Task Force (NDPTF). This illegal affiliation violates the Joint Ethics Regulation (DoD 5500.7-R) regarding the strictly prohibited endorsement of a non-federal entity (Section 3-209), and DoD Instruction 5410.19, which, likewise, prohibits the providing of a selective benefit or preferential treatment to any organization (Sections 6.7.1 and 6.7.2).

By making it a regular practice to have the NDPTF's honorary chairman, who this year is Franklin Graham, as the designated keynote speaker for the Pentagon's event, and by using the promotional materials supplied by the NDPTF, the Pentagon Chaplains Office has clearly turned the Pentagon's event into an official NDPTF event. No other interpretation is reasonable, rational, or possible.

There is, of course, no issue with the Pentagon Chaplains Office hosting an NDP event. The outrageous issue, in the instant matter, is the Pentagon's hosting of an event affiliated with the NDPTF, a private organization headed by Shirley Dobson, wife of Focus on the Family founder Dr. James Dobson. The NDPTF has become the de facto "official" sponsor of the National Day of Prayer, and, by its comprehensively exclusive restrictions and blatantly sectarian requirements, has made all NDPTF affiliated events exclusively fundamentalist Christian in scope, message, and nature.

To begin with, all NDPTF volunteers must subscribe to the following "Statement of Belief," a statement which universally excludes not only all non-Christians and non-religious, but, in point of fact, even many Christians themselves.

"I believe that the Holy Bible is the inerrant Word of The Living God. I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the only One by which I can obtain salvation and have an ongoing relationship with God. I believe in the deity of our

Lord Jesus Christ, his virgin birth, his sinless life, his miracles, the atoning work of his shed blood, his resurrection and ascension, his intercession and his coming return to power and glory. I believe that those who follow Jesus are family and there should be unity among all who claim his name."

But even more incontrovertibly, NDPTF event coordinators must agree, by subscribing to the following statement, to restrict any participation beyond simply attending an event to Christians and only Christians.

"I commit that NDP activities I serve with will be conducted solely by Christians while those with differing beliefs are welcome to attend."

The NDPTF also has an "Official Policy Statement on Participation of 'Non-Judeo-Christian' groups in the National Day of Prayer," which states:

"The National Day of Prayer Task Force was a creation of the National Prayer Committee for the expressed purpose of organizing and promoting prayer observances conforming to a Judeo-Christian system of values. People with other theological and philosophical views are, of course, free to organize and participate in activities that are consistent with their own beliefs."

While the NDPTF, of course, has every right, as a private organization, to organize exclusively Christian events and to prohibit the participation of non-Christians, the Pentagon Chaplains Office absolutely cannot endorse or provide a selective benefit to this non-federal entity by shamefully, disgracefully, and unconstitutionally affiliating the Pentagon NDP event with it.

Given the heinously hurtful, bigoted, and very public continual statements of Mr. Graham against the entirety of the religion of Islam, and his position as honorary chairman of the NDPTF, the Military Religious Freedom Foundation hereby demands that the Pentagon Chaplains Office immediately rescind its invitation to Mr. Graham, permanently distance itself from the NDPTF, and simply do the right thing; to wit, make the Pentagon NDP event inclusive of all honorable and noble United States military personnel and DoD employees, regardless of religious beliefs, who wish to participate.

Michael L. "Mikey" Weinstein, Esq.
Founder & President
Military Religious Freedom Foundation
www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org

**Enclosure** 

CC:

President Barack Obama
John M. McHugh - Secretary of the Army
Ray Mabus - Secretary of the Navy
Michael B. Donley - Secretary of the Air Force
Admiral Michael Mullen - Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
General James E. Cartwright - Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
General George W. Casey, Jr. - Chief of Staff of the United States Army
Admiral Gary Roughead - Chief of Naval Operations
General Norton A. Schwartz - Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force

Request for MRFF's assistance from Muslim military personnel and DoD employees at the Pentagon:

General James T. Conway - Commandant of the Marine Corps

Dear Mr. Weinstein,

We request the assistance of the Military Religious Freedom Foundation with a matter that concerns all Americans. As Muslim members of the U.S. military and the Pentagon worship community, we are dumbfounded that the Pentagon Chaplain's Office has invited Mr. Franklin Graham to be the guest speaker at the National Day of Prayer at the Pentagon on May 6, 2010.

Seven years ago, the Pentagon Chaplain's Office invited Mr. Graham to speak at the Pentagon, dismissing the concerns of the Pentagon Muslim worship community, as well as those of the Muslim community at large. At that time, the Pentagon chaplain claimed a lack of knowledge of Mr. Graham's opinions on

Islam and Muslims. The current Pentagon chaplain made the same claim and dismissed our concerns by stating that Mr. Graham's comments are old news anyway.

That anyone serving in the Pentagon now could claim a lack of knowledge of Mr. Graham's very public, negative comments about Islam and Muslims stretches the limits of credulity. Mr. Graham never retracted his previous bigoted statements ("We're not attacking Islam but Islam has attacked us. The God of Islam is not the same God. He's not the son of God of the Christian or Judeo-Christian faith. It's a different God, and I believe it [Islam] is a very evil and wicked religion."). And, as recently as December 2009, in a CNN interview with Campbell Brown, Mr. Graham reiterated his negative views of Islam and Muslims by stating, "But there are millions of wonderful Muslim people. And I love them. I have friends that are Muslims and I work in those countries. But I don't agree with the teachings of Islam and I find it to be a very violent religion." We have attached an excerpt of the interview transcript, as well as a link of the video, for your information because it contains even more troubling statements by Graham.

The bigoted viewpoints repeatedly expressed by Mr. Graham, without retraction or apology, contradict not only Department of Defense policy but also our overall national policy, as articulated by President Obama. Once again, we hope and pray that the Pentagon Chaplain's Office will reconsider its invitation to Mr. Graham and instead invite more inclusive and honorable clergy persons to speak at the Pentagon.

Respectfully,

Members of the Pentagon Muslim Community

Mark DeMoss, a spokesman for Franklin Graham, has confirmed to the *Associated Press* that Graham has not changed his views on Islam.

## **HUFFPOST POLITICS**

#### Chris Rodda

Senior Research Director, Military Religious Freedom Foundation

Posted: June 13, 2008 05:50 PM

## Christian Ministry Attacks Obama and Lies About Bibles For Our Troops

The almost incomprehensible attack on Barack Obama found below is excerpted from a "Sermon of the Month" by Dr. Cecil Todd, founder of Revival Fires International, a 501(c)3 ministry which, "at the request of the Chief Chaplains of the Pentagon," has been shipping Bibles to Iraq, via military airlift, since 2003. According to a Revival Fires press release this "full Bible is designed and authorized by the Chief Chaplains of the Pentagon." This Pentagon involvement and Bible distribution led Navy chaplain LCDR Brian K. Waite to Revival Fires.

In 2001, LCDR Waite, then a mega-church pastor and reserve chaplain, published a virulently anti-Muslim book titled *Islam Uncovered* -- a book which was pulled from the shelves in 2002 due to plagiarism and faked endorsements. A few months later, Waite was accepted into the Naval Chaplain Corps. As an active duty chaplain, Waite has not only endorsed Revival Fires in uniform on the ministry's website, but appeared on advertisements for, and as a featured speaker at, their 2006 and 2007 campmeetings. He is also scheduled to appear at their 2008 campmeeting, to be held June 24-28. Past speakers at Cecil Todd's campmeetings have included such notables as John Hagee, Rod Parsley, Tim LaHaye, and ex-Judge Roy Moore.

The Military Religious Freedom Foundation (MRFF) recently exposed LCDR Waite's anti-Muslim writings, his plagiarism scandal, his blatant violations of military regulations in endorsing Revival Fires Ministries, and his diploma-mill

educational background. Waite's anti-Muslim ideology led to his dismissal from the faculty of the Graduate Theological Foundation, a civilian institution where he was the director of a Military Ministries doctoral program, but no apparent action by the military.

The following are some excerpts from "Who I Want In The White House!," Cecil Todd's May 2008 "Sermon of the Month."

"Today, a fierce political battle rages across our nation, as once again the American people will be choosing who will lead our country as President, for the next four years!

"The top contenders in this race are Hillary Clinton, Barack Hussein Obama and John McCain -- all three of these Presidential wannabe's are U.S. Senators.

"Many sincere -- seeking Americans are asking 'WHO WOULD BE THE BEST PERSON OF THESE THREE PEOPLE TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD?'"

[...]

"As a minister, I am forbidden by law to tell you how to vote! (I would never do that!) Yet, we all know this law is being broken again and again by many ministers, who are pushing their liberal candidates! I will urge you, 'Do not vote as a Democrat ... and do not vote as a Republican ... BUT AS A CHILD OF GOD BE SURE TO VOTE!'

"As a servant of the most high God, I beg you, 'Do not vote for a 'baby-killer,' or a promoter of the homosexual life-style or someone who will sell-out our freedoms as a nation and as Christians! That does narrow down the candidates!"

"There are those today (even some who are Christians!) who mistakenly say, 'Christians shouldn't get involved in politics!' For many years this was my position. However, while we were silent, some politicians and the liberal courts stole prayer, Bible reading, the Ten Commandments from our public schools and many more of our freedoms!

"I believe the 'freedom-stealers' have used the mis-application of our First Amendment to try and silence our tongues!

"Our First Amendment actually says, 'Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, OR PROHIBITING THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF!'

"This amendment is very plain to most freedom-loving Americans! In my opinion, these enemies of freedom have twisted this amendment to advance their social and political agenda and to try and 'shut the mouths' of the people like us who want to stand up for what our country stands for!

"While we were sleeping instead of weeping ... while we were playing instead of praying ... while we were feasting instead of fasting, the enemies of freedom have come in and stolen our precious God-given liberties!

"I'm convinced the separation of Church and State will come at the rapture -- when Jesus comes back! If we don't have a rapture real soon, I'm afraid our nation will have a 'rupture!'

"Until then, should we mix Christianity and politics? With so much corruption, lying, deceit and lack of Christian principles and morality in our government, there is no place where Christianity is needed more! We must have more of 'God in our Government', more of 'Christ in our Congress' and 'less sin in our Senate!'"

[...]

"I WANT SOMEONE IN THE WHITE-HOUSE WHO WILL

#### EXPOSE THE WICKED AGENDA OF THE RADICAL MUSLIMS!

"Jesus said it plain -- 'I am the way, the truth and the life ... no one comes to the Father, but by me!' (John 14:6)

"The Muslims tell us 'Mohamed is the only way!' But when Mohamed died, he was buried and his flesh and bones rotted in the grave! However, when Jesus died, He was buried, but the third day, He arose! He lives! He lives! Jesus says, 'I am He that lives and was dead and Behold, I am alive forevermore; and I have the keys of death and hell!' (Rev. 1:18)

"Country after country have already been taken over by these radical Muslims! They lost their freedom of speech, their freedom to vote and their freedom to assemble and worship as a Christian! If we don't use it -- we will lose it! We are on a countdown to Global War ... A nuclear showdown with Iran is coming ... this show-down will affect every person on planet Earth!

"Christians in Muslim nations are now persecuted and murdered! The women and young girls are raped and used to satisfy the sexual desires of their leaders. It is common for some Muslim clerics to have several women and girls as their wives!

"And the ultimate desire of the Muslims is to make the United States a Muslim nation! And today, our nation is fast embracing the Muslim religion! Muslims now get special privileges in many of our public schools and colleges ... they have become school board members ... elected to public office as Alderman and Councilmen in our cities, some are even Senators and Congressmen! Their clerics lead in prayer in the U.S. Congress and Senate in Washington, D.C.

"Now -- **GOD FORBID --** We have one of our Presidential candidates who was raised a Muslim ... he was trained in a Muslim school -- he will rarely (if ever!) pledge to our flag if he can avoid it. He is never seen wearing an

American Flag on his lapel -- and his middle name is 'Hussein!' And yet he wants to be President of these United States! I say, 'He doesn't qualify to be a dog-catcher!' And his wife appears to be less patriotic then he is!

**HERE'S MORE DISTURBING INFORMATION!** He doesn't want his middle name used -- ('Hussein'). Why not just use the first letter of his first name (Barack), and the first letter (Obama), of his last name! That would be 'B.O!' That means, **'HE STINKS!'** Perhaps, if we would just add the word 'nation' to his last name, we would get the true meaning of who he is -- **'OBAMA-NATION!'** That's something to think about.

"He is a good talker -- most politicians are! Some politicians have given new meaning to the word 'air-bag!' But never listen to what a politician says! They will say what you want to hear to get your vote! But after they get into office they do as they please!

"BARACK 'HUSSEIN' OBAMA'S voting record is more liberal than Ted Kennedy's! That should tell you what to expect from an Obama Presidency!

"If Obama is not a Muslim, why are so many Muslims (some are even suspected terrorists!) supporting and backing Obama for President? If he is truly a Christian (as he claims!) would these Muslims be supporting him? You know the answer!

"Be informed ... a Muslim is taught it is alright to lie, if it will advance the Muslim agenda! Mark my words, 'The Muslims' will lie again and again to get their man (or woman) in a position of power and influence!

"Why is Obama pushing so hard to bring our troops home? Why is that so important to him and his supporters? I believe I know why ... the evidence is in, I believe OBAMA IS STILL A MUSLIM IN HIS HEART! He doesn't want his Muslim brothers and sisters killed! In my opinion -- Barack 'Hussein' Obama is posing as a Christian to get your vote!

"If Obama does get into office you will see! Mark my words, if that happens we will have 'hell to pay!'

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, we have at least 35 cities across America with 'HOME-GROWN' ISLAMIC TERRORIST in training! IN TRAINING FOR WHAT? TO ATTACK AND BRING DOWN OUR COUNTRY! THEY ARE PREPARING TO ATTACK NOW! My sources say, they have guns, plenty of ammunition, dynamite, machine guns, AK-47's and high-powered rifles! I am now informed that two of the nineteen Muslim terrorist who attacked us on 9-11 were from one of these 'Muslim terrorist training camps!'

These 'Home-Grown' terrorists compounds are located all over the U.S. You would probably be shocked to know how close they are to you. They are in Texas, Oklahoma, Alabama, Colorado, Georgia, California, Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina, West Virginia, Maryland, New York, Washington State, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and several other cities! (I have a map that shows the location of all 35 cities across America where these radical Muslims are in training --plus, much more information about this! Write or call our Revival Fires office for this map and this shocking information!) You will be shaken to your toes! You will be driven to your knees! You will say with me and millions of others --

## "WAKE-UP AMERICA! WAKE-UP AND LOOK-UP! BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

"I sure don't want a Muslim or a Muslim sympathizer in the White House, do you? I want someone who will expose this awful threat and do something about this planned Muslim take-over of our country!"

In a Memorial Day message on the Revival Fires International website, evangelist Tim Todd, son of Revival Fires founder Cecil Todd, urged his followers to "make an eternal investment into the lives of our U.S. Armed Forces serving in Iraq and

Afghanistan" by donating money to send Bibles to the troops.

Tim Todd explained why private donations for military Bibles are so desperately needed: "Our government no longer provides Bibles for our troops! Because of the foolish 'separation of church and state' battle going on in this country, our military stopped this years ago."

This is an outright lie, as evidenced by many recent Department of Defense contracts for the purchase of Bibles. Topping the list of Bible contractors are the International Bible Society, with over \$450,000 in DoD contracts for Bibles between 2002 and 2007, and Tammy's Bible and Book Store, with close to \$300,000 during this same period. Countless smaller contracts, ranging from a few thousand to tens of thousands of dollars, have been awarded to various Christian book dealers and distributors for Bibles and other Christian books.

Todd continued: "However, the U.S. military does give a copy of the Koran to all of our soldiers so they can 'know their enemy.' I say we need to give our soldiers a copy of the Bible so they can 'know their savior!!!"

Here, too, a simple search of DoD contracts is all that's needed to dispute Tim Todd's claim. If Qur'ans were being given to all of our troops, as Todd would have his readers believe, there would be some record of their purchase, but there isn't. The only government agency to buy the Qur'an in bulk has been the Justice Department, for the use of the F.B.I. There hasn't been a single such DoD contract for the purchase of Qur'ans.

Is there really a Bible shortage among our troops? It certainly doesn't appear so. If the numbers of Bibles claimed to have been shipped to Iraq by all of the organizations sending them were added up, there have actually been more Bibles shipped than troops deployed. And, in addition to the large number of Bibles purchased by the DoD and those sent to Iraq by private organizations, Bibles are freely distributed to untold thousands of basic trainees by ministries such as Campus Crusade for Christ before they're deployed. In fact, so many groups have been distributing Bibles to our soldiers that Eric Horner Ministries, which hands

out camouflage covered New Testaments from the International Bible Society, reported in March 2007: "We recently visited Ft Jackson SC for a concert and gave out around 250 copies of the New Testament with Psalms and Proverbs to our young soldiers. We had hoped to give out more but we learned there had just been a group on base handing them out as well."

But, while plenty of Bibles seem to be available to those who want them, ministries like Revival Fires have "made it a top priority to see to it that *every* soldier on foreign soil receives a copy of the Word of God!" -- whether they want one or not. Other organizations have similar evangelistic goals, but Revival Fires is one of the few to have a formal relationship with the U.S. military, shipping, "at the request of the Chief Chaplains of the Pentagon," Bibles "designed and authorized by the Chief Chaplains of the Pentagon" via military airlift to Iraq, and using an active duty U.S. military chaplain to endorse and raise money for their organization.



#### AGAINST ALL ENEMIES, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC

Chris Rodda

#### Top 10 Ways to Convince the Muslims We're on a Crusade

### 10. Have Top US Military Officers, Defense Department Officials, and Politicians Say We're in a Religious War.

We couldn't have gotten off to a better start on winning hearts and minds back in 2003, when US Army Lt Gen William "Jerry" Boykin decided to go on a speaking tour of churches, publicly proclaiming in uniform that the global war on terrorism (GWOT) was really a battle between Satan and Christians, and making comments like, "We in the Army of God, in the House of God, the Kingdom of God have been raised for such a time as this." Of course, Boykin knew what he was talking about. After all, a decade earlier he had captured the dangerous Somali warlord Osman Atto and was very clear about the reason that happened—"I knew that my God was a real God, and his was an idol."

President Bush, in spite of the fact that Boykin believed he was "in the White House because God put him there," wasn't too pleased with these remarks, but still, the general's friends stood by him—friends like then-Cong. Robin Hayes (R-NC), who, speaking at a Rotary Club meeting in his hometown a few years later, pronounced that stability in Iraq ultimately depended on "spreading the message of Jesus Christ, the message of peace on earth, good will towards men," and "everything depends on everyone learning about the birth of the Savior."<sup>1</sup>

While few such statements have been as overt or widely publicized as those of Boykin and Hayes, plenty of other military leaders and policy makers are on record espousing similar views. When asked what effect such statements have on the US military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, a retired Air Force officer appearing on MSNBC in a segment about the remarks of Congressman Hayes answered:

Well, it's not helpful if this stuff gets back to the Iraqis, and of course in the days of the internet and the blogosphere out there it's likely that it could. And you

know our troops have enough problems over there just doing their jobs. Having to defend what a U.S. congressman might say, because you know, when you bring up the idea of proselytizing Christianity, to a lot of Muslims, that's very offensive, and if we can keep religion out of what we're trying to do over there, which is very difficult, it would be a lot easier for our troops. . . . If you're trying to be a unit trainer to, say, an Iraqi battalion and the battalion religious advisor, the imam, would come in and say look what a congressman said, it just takes away from what we're trying to do.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, some representatives of our government continue to present the war on terror as a spiritual battle, promoting the specious notion that victory in Iraq and Afghanistan is somehow necessary to preserve our own religious freedom here in America. "Thomas Jefferson would understand the threat we face today—tyranny in the name of religion," asserted a top Army official at a West Point graduation ceremony. "Your sons and daughters are fighting to protect our citizens . . . from zealots who would restrain, molest, burden, and cause to suffer those who do not share their religious beliefs, deny us, whom they call infidels, our unalienable rights." And, finding it vitally important for Congress to recognize "the importance of Christmas and the Christian faith," another congressman made his case: "American men and women in uniform are fighting a battle across the world so that all Americans might continue to freely exercise their faith." As of yet, nobody making such statements has offered any explanation of *how* the outcome of this war could possibly affect the free exercise of religion by Americans.

## 9. Have Top US Military Officers Appear in a Video Showing Just How Christian the Pentagon Is.

In addition to providing propaganda material to our enemies, public endorsements of Christianity by US military leaders can also cause concern among our Muslim allies. It might have seemed like a good idea at the time, but the situation became very awkward for Air Force Maj Gen Pete Sutton shortly after he appeared in a promotional video for the Christian Embassy.<sup>5</sup> Dressed in uniform and using their official titles, several high-ranking military officers and DOD civilians gave testimonials and made statements such as "we're the aroma of Jesus Christ," which were publicly available on the Christian Embassy's Web site. What Sutton didn't know when he appeared in this video was that he would soon be assigned as the US European Command's chief of defense cooperation to Turkey, a country in which religion and government are strictly separated. According to the DOD Inspector General's report on the investigation of allegations relating to the video:

Maj Gen Sutton testified that while in Turkey in his current duty position, his Turkish driver approached him with an article in the Turkish newspaper 'Sabah.' That article featured a photograph of Maj Gen Sutton in uniform and described him as a member of a radical fundamentalist sect. The article in the online edition of Sabah also included still photographs taken from the Christian Embassy video. Maj Gen Sutton's duties in Ankara included establishing good relations with his counterparts on the Turkish General Staff. Maj Gen Sutton testified

that Turkey is a predominantly Muslim nation, with religious matters being kept strictly separate from matters of state. He said that when the article was published in Sabah, it caused his Turkish counterparts concern, and a number of Turkish general officers asked him to explain his participation in the video.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no shortage of uniformed military personnel endorsing fundamentalist Christian organizations and military ministries, some of which have clearly publicized missions that include proselytizing Muslims. These videos are easily found on the Internet, providing plenty of potential propaganda material for recruiting by extremists.

## 8. Plant Crosses in Muslim Lands and Make Sure They're Big Enough to Be Visible from Really Far Away.

As Gen Norman Schwarzkopf recounted in his autobiography, *It Doesn't Take a Hero*, back in 1990, when US troops were deployed to Saudi Arabia for Operation Desert Shield, an attempt by a Christian missionary organization to use the military to proselytize Saudi Muslims led the Pentagon to issue strict guidelines on religious activities and displays of religion in the region. It was left to the discretion of individual company commanders to determine how visible religious services should be, depending on their particular location's proximity to Saudi populations. In some cases, decisions were made not to display crucifixes or other religious symbols, even at worship services. There were a few complaints about these decisions, but the majority of the troops willingly complied, understanding that these decisions were being made for their own security. According to General Schwarzkopf, even his request that chaplains refrain from wearing crosses on their uniforms received an unexpectedly positive reaction, with the chaplains not only agreeing with the policy, but also going a step further by calling themselves "morale officers" rather than chaplains.

But now, in Iraq and Afghanistan, General Schwarzkopf's commonsense policies and priority of keeping the troops safe have been replaced by a flaunting of Christianity by Christian troops and chaplains who feel that nothing comes before their right to exercise their religion, even if it means putting the safety of their fellow troops at risk. Numerous photos, some posted on official military Web sites, show conspicuously displayed Christian symbols, such as large crosses, being erected on and around our military bases in Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup>

Large Christian murals have been painted on the outside of the T-barriers surrounding a chapel on Forward Operating Base (FOB) Warhorse in Iraq. In addition to being a highly visible display of Christianity to Iraqis on the base, photos of these murals were posted on an official military Web site. It is even more important that the regulation prohibiting displays of any particular religion on the grounds of an Army chapel—a regulation that protects the religious freedom of our Soldiers by keeping chapels neutral and welcoming Soldiers of all faiths—be strictly enforced on our bases in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet there is clear and credible evidence that those in charge routinely overlook such regulations.

## 7. Paint Crosses and Christian Messages on Military Vehicles and Drive Them through Iraq.

For those Iraqis who may not see the overt stationary displays of Christianity on and near US military bases in their country, there have been plenty of mobile Christian messages painted on our tanks and other vehicles that patrol their streets.

The title of Jeff Sharlet's May 2009 *Harper's Magazine* cover story, "Jesus Killed Mohammed: The Crusade for a Christian Military," actually comes from one such vehicular message—the words "Jesus killed Mohammed" were painted in *large red Arabic lettering* on a Bradley fighting vehicle, drawing fire from nearly every doorway as it was driven through Samarra. Other vehicles have sported everything from the Islamic crescent overlaid with the internationally recognized red circle and slash "no" sign to large crucifixes hanging from gun barrels. A military public relations office even officially released a photo of the tank named "New Testament."

## 6. Make Sure That Our Christian Soldiers and Chaplains See the War As a Way to Fulfill the Great Commission.

To many fundamentalist Christians, the "Great Commission" from Matthew 28:19—"Go and make disciples of all nations"—trumps all man-made laws, including military regulations. It's hard to find a military ministry whose mission statement doesn't, in one way or another, include fulfilling the Great Commission. Thus, it is not surprising that many service members who've been influenced by these military ministries are conflicted about their mission, a conflict often leading some of these service members to disregard the military's prohibition on proselytizing.

Campus Crusade for Christ's (CCC) Military Ministry, <sup>10</sup> a parachurch ministry active at all of the largest US military training installations, the service academies, and on ROTC campuses, frequently states its goal of turning the US military into a force of "government-paid missionaries for Christ." The vision statement of another organization, Military Missions Network, <sup>11</sup> is "an expanding global network of kingdom-minded movements of evangelism and discipleship reaching the world through the military of the world."

Describing the duties of a CCC Military Ministry position at Lackland Air Force Base and Fort Sam Houston in Texas, for example, the organization's Web site stated, "Responsibilities include working with Chaplains and Military personnel to bring lost soldiers closer to Christ, build them in their faith and send them out into the world as government paid missionaries." <sup>12</sup>

CCC's Valor ministry,<sup>13</sup> which primarily targets future officers on ROTC campuses, states, "The Valor ROTC cadet and midshipman ministry reaches our future military leaders at their initial entry points on college campuses, helps them grow in their faith, then sends them to their first duty assignments throughout the world as 'government-paid missionaries for Christ.'"<sup>14</sup>

In a promotional video filmed at the US Air Force Academy, a USAFA CCC program director pronounced that CCC's purpose is to "make Jesus Christ the issue at the Academy," and for the cadets to be "government paid missionaries" by the time they leave.<sup>15</sup>

According to a CCC Military Ministry instructional publication uncovered in 2007, CCC's mission is not simply to provide Bible studies to allow Christians in the military to exercise their religion, as its defenders claim. The instructions state, "We should never be satisfied with just having Bible studies of like-minded believers. We need to take seriously the Great Commission." <sup>16</sup>

Whatever one's position on the issue of evangelism, the undeniable fact is that all of the above quotes, as well as the video filmed at the Air Force Academy, were found on the Internet, which, of course, means that any extremist looking for recruiting tools could also find this easily accessible "evidence" that the US military is being groomed to be a force of crusaders.

### 5. Post Photos on the Internet of US Soldiers with Their Rifles and Bibles.

CCC's indoctrination of basic trainees at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, the Army's largest basic training installation, is a program called "God's Basic Training," in which the recruits are taught that "The Military = 'God's Ministers" and that one of their responsibilities is "to punish those who do evil" as "God's servant, an angel of wrath." <sup>17</sup>

Until being exposed (and taken down), the Fort Jackson CCC Military Ministry had a Web site containing not only its Bible study materials, but also numerous photos of smiling trainees posed with their rifles and Bibles. <sup>18</sup> Obviously, no explanation is necessary to see the propaganda value of photos like these.

## 4. Invite Virulently Anti-Muslim Speakers to Lecture at Our Military Colleges and Service Academies.

In June 2007, anti-Muslim activist Brigitte Gabriel, author of *Because They Hate*, was allowed to deliver a lecture at the Joint Forces Staff College (JFSC).<sup>19</sup> In February 2008, the 3 Ex-Terrorists,<sup>20</sup> a trio of self-proclaimed former Muslim terrorists turned fundamentalist Christians, appeared at the US Air Force Academy's 50th Annual Academy Assembly, in spite of the fact that their claims about their terrorist pasts have long been questioned by both academics and terrorism experts.<sup>21</sup>

Gabriel's JFSC lecture, which was broadcast to the world on C-SPAN, eventually ended up on YouTube,<sup>22</sup> and articles about the ex-terrorists' Air Force Academy presentation, which included details such as Walid Shoebat's pronouncement that converting Muslims to Christianity was a good way to defeat terrorism, also ended up online,<sup>23</sup> providing yet more "evidence" to extremists that the US military's training includes teaching cadets, officers, and senior noncommissioned officers (NCO) that Islam is evil and must be stopped.

## 3. Have a Christian TV Network Broadcast to the World That the Military Is Helping Missionaries Convert Muslims.

Travel the Road, a popular Christian reality TV series that airs on the Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), follows the exploits of two "extreme" missionaries who travel to remote, and often dangerous, parts of the world to fulfill their two-part mission to "(1) Vigorously spread the gospel to people who are either cut off from active mission work, or have never heard the gospel," and "(2) Produce dynamic media content to display the life of missions, and thus, through these episodic series electrify a new generation to accomplish the Great Commission."

The second season of the series ended with three episodes filmed in Afghanistan. To film these episodes, the missionaries were embedded with US troops as "journalists," staying on US military bases and accompanying and filming troops on patrols—all for the purposes of evangelizing Afghan Muslims and producing a television show promoting the Christian religion. As the first of the program's three Afghanistan episodes clearly showed, these missionaries were able to waltz into Afghanistan without any of the advance approval and planning required for embedded journalists and, within two days, be embedded with an Army unit.

A question that many will ask is whether or not the Army knew what these missionaries were up to. According to ABC News *Nightline*, which did a segment on the embedded missionaries, the answer from one of the missionaries was yes: "They knew what we were doing. We told them that we were born again Christians, we're here doing ministry, we shoot for this TV station and we want to embed and see what it was like."<sup>24</sup>

USCENTCOM's General Order 1A (now GO-1B) prohibits any and all proselytizing in its area of responsibility (AOR) and applies to civilians accompanying US troops as well as military personnel. Yet despite this directive, the US Army facilitated the evangelizing of Afghans by these Christian missionaries, which included the distribution of New Testaments in the Dari language. Numerous Soldiers and NCOs, as well as several officers, including one general, appeared in the program.<sup>25</sup>

While the Army's participation in the *Travel the Road* program is certainly one of the most prominent examples of broadcasting to the world that the US military was aiding missionaries who were trying to convert Muslims, it is regrettably not the only example.

In September 2008, the Discovery Channel's Military Channel aired a two-hour program titled *God's Soldier*. Filmed at FOB McHenry in Hawijah, Iraq, the program's credits identified that it had been "produced with the full co-operation of the 2-27 Infantry Battalion 'Wolfhounds.'" The co-producer of the program was Jerusalem Productions, a British production company whose "primary aim is to increase understanding and knowledge of the Christian religion and to promote Christian values, via the broadcast media, to as wide an audience as possible."

Bible verse text captions appearing between segments of the program included "I did not come to bring peace, but the sword" and "put on the full armor of God so that when the day of evil comes, you may stand your ground."

This was one of the prayers uttered by the program's star, CPT Charles Popov, an evangelical Christian Army chaplain, during a scene in which he was blessing a group of Soldiers about to go out on a patrol: "I pray that you would give them the ability to exterminate the enemy and to accomplish the task that they've been sent forth by God and country to do. In Christ's name I pray. Amen." That prayer was followed by a scene in which the chaplain, sounding an awful lot like the Campus Crusade Bible study described earlier, said to the Soldiers: "Every soldier should know Romans 13, that the government is set up by God, and the magistrate, or the one who wields the sword—you have not swords but 50 cals and [unintelligible] like that—does not yield it in vain because the magistrate has been called, as you, to execute wrath upon those who do evil."

The scene that tops them all, however, is one in which Popov is setting up a nativity pageant for Christmas—using the unit's Iraqi interpreters to play some of the roles. The chaplain described this as some sort of cultural exchange, with US troops recognizing Ramadan, and Muslim interpreters, in turn, celebrating Christmas. The notion of this merely being a harmless cultural exchange is absurd. US Soldiers participating in a Muslim religious observance are not risking death by doing so, while Muslims, in a country where many consider converting to Christianity a death penalty offense, are. Broadcasting to the world via the Discovery Channel that US Army personnel were putting Muslims in a Christmas pageant not only provides more fodder for radical Islam extremists, but also exposes the Iraqis who are helping the US military to grave danger.<sup>26</sup>

## 2. Make Sure Bibles and Evangelizing Materials Sent to Muslim Lands Have Official US Military Emblems on Them.

It's not hard to imagine what message is being communicated to the Iraqis and Afghans when hundreds of thousands of Bibles with official US military emblems show up in their countries. Some of these military Bibles are produced by private organizations, and others are officially authorized by the military. One of the officially distributed editions has both the Multi-National Corps-Iraq and I Corps seals imprinted on a camouflage background cover. And it doesn't stop with Bibles.<sup>27</sup>

A chief warrant officer from the 101st Airborne Division, for example, referring to a special military edition of a Bible study daily devotional published and donated by Bible Pathways Ministries, told Mission Network News that "the soldiers who are patrolling and walking the streets are taking along this copy, and they're using it to minister to the local residents," and that his "division is also getting ready to head toward Afghanistan, so there will be copies heading out with the soldiers." Just like the many civilian missionaries who see the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as a window of opportunity to evangelize Muslims, the warrant officer continued, "The soldiers are being placed in strategic

places with a purpose. They're continuing to spread the Word." This daily devotional, admittedly being used by the 101st Airborne Division "to minister to the local residents," has the official military branch seals on its cover, giving the impression that it is an official US military publication. And while these logos are sometimes used without permission and may have been on this particular book, the Iraqis and Afghans don't know that. <sup>28</sup>

The chiefs of chaplains even designed one of the Bibles sporting the official military logos. An organization called Revival Fires Ministries has, "at the request of the Chief Chaplains of the Pentagon," been promoting, collecting money for, and shipping these Bibles to Iraq since 2003. A formal arrangement between the Pentagon and Revival Fires has allowed these Bibles to be shipped via military airlift.

To promote these Bibles, a Navy chaplain, whose own anti-Muslim book was taken off the market when it was revealed that much of its content had been plagiarized and some of the endorsements on its cover fabricated, has improperly appeared in uniform at three of Revival Fires' rancorously anti-Muslim camp meetings<sup>29</sup> and also endorses the ministry on the Web sites of both its founder, Cecil Todd, and his son, evangelist Tim Todd. At one point, the chaplain's photo and endorsement appeared right next to the following statement on the younger Todd's Web site: "We must let the Muslims, the Hare Krishnas, the Hindus, the Buddhists and all other cults and false religions know, 'You are welcome to live in America . . . but this is a Christian nation . . . this is God's country! If you don't like our emphasis on Christ, prayer and the Holy Bible, you are free to leave anytime!"

### 1. Send Lots of Arabic, Dari, and Pashtu Language Bibles to Convert the Muslims.

Arguably worse than any English language Bibles stamped with official US military emblems are the countless thousands of Arabic, Dari, and Pashtu Bibles making their way into Iraq and Afghanistan, often with the help of US military personnel.

In his autobiography, General Schwarzkopf recounted his 1990 run-in with one fundamentalist Christian organization—an incident that made it clear that the Saudis' fears and complaints of Christian proselytizing were not unfounded. While some of the Saudis' fears, as the general explained, had resulted from Iraqi propaganda about American troops disrespecting Islamic shrines, the attempt by this religious organization to get US troops to distribute tens of thousands of Arabic language New Testaments to Muslims was real.

The Saudi concern about religious pollution seemed overblown to me but understandable, and on a few occasions I agreed they really did have a gripe. There was a fundamentalist Christian group in North Carolina called Samaritan's Purse that had the bright idea of sending unsolicited copies of the New Testament in Arabic to our troops. A little note with each book read: "Enclosed is a copy of the New Testament in the Arab language. You may want to get a Saudi friend to help you to read it." One

day Khalid<sup>31</sup> handed me a copy. "What is this all about?" he asked mildly. This time he didn't need to protest—he knew how dismayed I'd be.

This was the incident that, as mentioned earlier, led to the implementation of strict guidelines on religious activities of military personnel in Muslim countries.

A recent al-Jazeera English news report showed US troops at Bagram Airfield in Afghanistan discussing the distribution of Dari and Pashtu language Bibles to the local Afghans.<sup>32</sup> While the US military claimed that these Bibles were destroyed and that this was an isolated incident, countless other examples seem to indicate that these incidents are anything but isolated.

In the newsletter of the International Ministerial Fellowship (IMF), an Army chaplain described the evangelizing he was doing while passing out food in the predominantly Sunni village of Ad Dawr: "I am able to give them tracts on how to be saved, printed in Arabic. I wish I had enough Arabic Bibles to give them as well. The issue of mailing Arabic Bibles into Iraq from the U.S. is difficult (given the current postal regulations prohibiting all religious materials contrary to Islam except for personal use of the soldiers). But the hunger for the Word of God in Iraq is very great, as I have witnessed first-hand." 33

Another Army chaplain, in an article titled "Kingdom Building in Combat Boots," wrote: "But the most amazing thing is that I was constantly led to stop and talk with Iraqis working at the Coalition Provisional Authority. I learned their names, became a part of their lives, and shared Jesus Christ by distributing DVDs and Arabic Bibles." <sup>34</sup>

And here's one from a private organization, boasting of the help it gets from military personnel to distribute its Bibles: "OnlyOneCross.com recently sent a case of Arabic Bibles to a Brother who is working in a detention center in Iraq." 35

Another organization, the Salvation Evangelistic Association, now has the Soldiers they converted at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, distributing the Arabic Bibles for them: "Many young men in training at Fort Leonard Wood were converted to Christ. The Lord led us on to preaching in Army camps in the US, Korea, and the Philippines. We are now supplying Arabic Bibles for distribution by our troops in Iraq." 36

Then there was a lieutenant colonel, whose religious zeal was so extreme that a missionary had to explain to him that he was putting his troops at risk. The missionary's organization had already shipped 20,000 Arabic-language "Soul-Winning Booklets" into theater with more on the way. The lieutenant colonel, who knew the missionary from the states, had gone to his hotel with 15–20 armed troops and literally blocked off an entire city block with tanks and Humvees to secure the area. He offered to use his troops to protect the missionaries who were there on an evangelical mission to convert the Muslims. The missionary later remarked, "I had to tell [the lieutenant colonel] that it would probably be best if he and his unit left as soon as possible. . . . The Iraqi people in the hotel and those on the street were to say the least, very concerned. I did not want to bring that much attention to the hotel for fear that the terrorists would target the area as well." 37

In a video from Soldiers Bible Ministry, an Army chaplain boasts about managing to get Swahili Bibles into Iraq to evangelize Muslim workers from Uganda employed by the US military, in spite of the regulations prohibiting this. Referring to this shipment of Bibles, the chaplain said, "Actually, they're in Baghdad right now. Somehow the enemy tried to get 'em hung up there. There was a threat they were gonna get shipped back to the States and all that. We prayed, and they're gonna be picked up in a couple of days. God raised someone up right there in Baghdad that's gonna go—a Christian colonel that's stationed there in Baghdad, and he's gonna go and get the Bibles."<sup>38</sup> Despite its disregard of military regulations, Soldiers Bible Ministry is officially endorsed by the Army's chief of chaplains, with the following statement on his Web site: "Thanks so much for your invaluable ministry of the Word to our Soldiers."<sup>39</sup>

In addition to Bibles, other Arabic language Christian books are being shipped into Iraq for distribution by our troops. The January 2009 newsletter of Worldwide Military Baptist Missions, for example, included photos of its English-Arabic proselytizing materials, an English-Arabic New Testament, and an English-Arabic Gospel of John. This is from the caption for these photos: "In 2008, we shipped over 226,000 gospel tracts, 21,000 Bibles, New Testaments and gospels of John (to include English-Arabic ones!) and 404 'discipleship kits' to service members & churches for use in war zones, on ships and near military bases around the world."

Clearly, converting the Iraqis and Afghans is a pet project of numerous private organizations, some with the help of the military, as well as military personnel and military ministries. In one case, a DOD-authorized chaplain endorsing agency actually set up a well-organized network of 40 of its chaplains in Iraq to receive and distribute Arabic Bibles and an Arabic gospel tract titled "Who Is Jesus" for a private missionary organization. <sup>41</sup> All of these groups and individuals have found ways to circumvent the prohibition on sending religious materials contrary to Islam into the region. There are literally thousands of people involved, and hundreds of thousands of Arabic and other native language Bibles, tracts, videos, and audio cassettes have made their way into Iraq and Afghanistan, along with Christian comic books, coloring books, and other materials to evangelize Muslim children. The line between joining the military and joining the ministry has seemingly become increasingly blurred for many.

#### Joining the Military = Joining the Ministry

To Campus Crusade for Christ, basic training installations and the military service academies are "gateways"—the places that young and vulnerable military personnel pass through early in their careers. This was the explanation of its gateway strategy that appeared on CCC's Military Ministry Web site: "Young recruits are under great pressure as they enter the military at their initial training gateways. The demands of drill instructors push recruits and new cadets to the edge. This is why they are most open to the 'good news.' We target specific locations, like Lackland AFB and Fort Jackson, where large numbers

of military members transition early in their career. These sites are excellent locations to pursue our strategic goals."<sup>42</sup>

According to CCC's executive director, "We must pursue our particular means for transforming the nation—through the military. And the military may well be the most influential way to affect that spiritual superstructure. Militaries exercise, generally speaking, the most intensive and purposeful indoctrination program of citizens."

At Fort Jackson, the largest Army basic training installation, trainees attending CCC's "God's Basic Training" Bible studies are taught that by joining the military, they've become ministers of God. This is also taught by CCC's Valor ministry, which targets future officers on ROTC campuses.

A Valor ministry video titled "God and the Military" is a presentation given at Texas A&M by a Texas pastor to an audience of cadets and an assortment of officers from the various branches of the military. The pastor's presentation opens:

I, a number of years ago, was speaking at the University of North Texas—it happens to be my alma mater, up in Denton, Texas—and I was speaking to an ROTC group up there and when I stepped in I said, "It's good to be speaking to all you men and women who are in the ministry," and they all kind of looked at me, and I think they wondered if maybe I had found the wrong room, or if they were in the wrong room, and I assured them that I was speaking to men and women in the ministry, these that were going to be future officers.<sup>44</sup>

The stated mission of CCC's ministry for enlisted personnel is "Evangelize and Disciple All Enlisted Members of the US Military. Utilize Ministry at each basic training center and beyond. Transform our culture through the US Military."

Cadence International<sup>46</sup> is another large military ministry that targets young service members, seeing those who are likely to be deployed to war zones as low-hanging fruit. One of the reasons given by Cadence for the success of its "strategic ministry" "Deployment and possibly deadly combat are ever-present possibilities. They are shaken. Shaken people are usually more ready to hear about God than those who are at ease, making them more responsive to the gospel."<sup>47</sup>

Organizations like CCC's Military Ministry and Cadence could not succeed in their goals without the sanction and aid of the military commanders who allow them to conduct their missionary recruiting activities on their installations. And there is no shortage of military officers who not only condone but also participate in and promote these activities. The Officers' Christian Fellowship, an organization consisting of over 15,000 officers and operating on virtually every US military installation worldwide, which has frequently stated its goal to "create a spiritually transformed US military with Ambassadors for Christ in uniform, empowered by the Holy Spirit," has actually partnered with CCC's Military Ministry.

In addition to the military-wide organizations like Campus Crusade, there are also a number of coercive religious programs on individual bases. A basic training schedule from Fort Leonard Wood described "Free Day Away," a

program attended by all trainees during their fifth week of training, as follows: "Soldiers spend the day away from Fort Leonard Wood and training in the town of Lebanon. Free Day Away is designed as a stress relief that helps soldiers return to training re-motivated and rejuvenated."

Omitted from this event description was that this day was actually spent at the Tabernacle Baptist Church and included a fundamentalist religious service. All facilities that the trainees were permitted to go to during this free time (a bowling alley, a convenience store, etc.) are owned by the church. Numerous Soldiers have reported that they were unaware that this part of their "training" was run by a church until they were being loaded onto the church's buses that came to pick them up, and those who wanted to opt out of the church service once they were there were not permitted to do so.

While claims are made that Free Day Away and other religious programs and events conducted at basic training installations are not mandatory, these words make little or no difference to the trainees. As anyone who has gone through basic training is well aware, no trainee wants to stand out, and almost none would risk being singled out as different or difficult by speaking up and telling their drill sergeant that they don't want to attend a program or event because it goes against their religious beliefs.

#### Spiritual Fitness

"Spiritual fitness" is the military's new code phrase for promoting religion, and the religion being promoted is Christianity. There are spiritual fitness centers, spiritual fitness programs, spiritual fitness concerts, spiritual fitness runs and walks, and so forth.

This year, for example, Fort Eustis, Virginia, and Fort Lee, Virginia, have been holding a spiritual fitness concert series. At Fort Eustis, it's actually called the "Commanding General's Spiritual Fitness Concert Series." This is a Christian concert series. All of the performers are Christian recording artists. Photos from one of the Fort Lee concerts show crosses everywhere, and one photo's caption even says that the performer "took a moment to read a Bible passage" during her set. <sup>49</sup> In some cases, attendance at Christian concerts held at basic training installations has been mandatory for the Soldiers in training. <sup>50</sup>

In March 2008, a program was presented at a commander's call at RAF Lakenheath, England. This commander's call was mandatory for an estimated 1,000 service members, and the PowerPoint version of the presentation was e-mailed to an additional 4,000–5,000 members. The "spiritual fitness" segment of this presentation was titled "A New Approach to Suicide Prevention: Developing Purpose-Driven Airmen," a takeoff on Rick Warren's *The Purpose Driven Life*. The presentation also incorporated creationism into suicide prevention. One slide, titled "Contrasting Theories of Hope, 2 Ultimate Theories Explaining Our Existence," has two columns, the first titled "Chance," and the second "Design," comparing Charles Darwin and "Random/Chaos" to God and "Purpose/Design." Darwin, creationism, and religion are also part of a

chart comparing the former Soviet Union to the United States, which concludes that "Naturalism/Evolution/Atheism" lead to people being "in bondage" and having "no hope," while theism leads to "People of Freedom" and "People of Hope/Destiny." <sup>51</sup>

## **Strong Bonds**

Strong Bonds is an Army-wide evangelistic Christian program operating under the guise of a predeployment and postdeployment family wellness and marriage-training program. Strong Bonds events are typically held at ski lodges, beach resorts, and other attractive vacation spots, luring Soldiers who would never attend a religious retreat to sign up for the free vacation.

The materials officially authorized by the Army for Strong Bonds are not religious, but there's a loophole. These authorized materials are only required to be used for a minimal number of the mandatory training hours, leaving the remaining mandatory training hours open for other materials selected by the chaplain running the retreat. In some cases, the chaplains do stick to the authorized materials and keep the program nonreligious, but this is not the norm.

At one Strong Bonds weekend, the attendees, upon arrival, were handed a camouflage box called "Every Soldier's Battle Kit." This kit was imprinted with the name New Life Ministries and the ministry's phone number and Web site, and contained *The Life Recovery Bible* and four volumes by a Christian author. They were also given several Christian devotional books and *The Five Love Languages* by pastor Gary Chapman, who is described on his Web site as "the leading author in biblical marriage counseling." Pastor Chapman's book was used as the core of the Saturday portion of the training, at which a video of Chapman, full of Bible verses and a call to "love your partner like Jesus loved the church," was also shown. 52

DOD contracts also show the frequent hiring of Christian entertainers and speakers for Strong Bonds events. One base, for example, contracted, at a cost of \$38,269, an organization called Unlimited Potential, Inc. <sup>53</sup> to provide "social services" for a Strong Bonds event. Unlimited Potential, Inc. is an evangelical baseball ministry that has a military ministry whose mission is "to assist commanders and chaplains in providing religious support to military service members and their families by sharing the life-changing Gospel of Jesus Christ through the medium of baseball" and "to use our God-given abilities in baseball to reach those who do not have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ." This same ministry has been "serving Christ through baseball" at a number of other Army bases in the United States, as well as many bases overseas.

### Godspam

The use of official military e-mail to send religious messages is another ongoing problem. These e-mails range in content from Bible verses and

evangelistic Christian messages to "invitations" from superiors to worship services and Bible studies.

One recent e-mail, widely distributed to an Air Force installation's e-mail list, contained an essay by the executive director of the Officers' Christian Fellowship. The essay began by posing the question, "Why do you serve in our military?" The answer was:

We serve our Lord by serving our nation, our family or prospective future family, and so that we have something that we can share with God's people in need. But what is the greatest need? Why do we serve our God as Joshua exhorted? We serve our God because of what Jesus did for us on the Cross. We are blessed to be able, through our lives in the military, to demonstrate the message of salvation to those who have not heard or received it. It was by God's grace through faith that we were brought fully into His family and presence. Our love for Him motivates us to serve Him in our military, to serve and work for our families, and to serve and work to enable the message of salvation to reach those who have yet to accept Him as Lord and Savior.

In another recent case, an Air Force colonel sent out an e-mail to a large number of subordinates containing a link to an "inspirational" video. Not only was the video an overt promotion of Christianity, but the Web site linked to was a far right Catholic Web site containing material attacking the president and vice president of the United States, including an image of the president depicted as Adolf Hitler.<sup>54</sup>

Often, command staff and NCOs forward religious e-mails to a base or a unit on behalf of a chaplain. A recent example of this was a flyer for a Bible study titled "Moses the Leader: How Would You Like to Lead 1,000,000 Whiners?" Numerous recipients of this e-mail complained about its negative stereotype of Jews, as well as the fact that it was e-mailed to the base e-mail list by command staff.

Occasionally, officers and NCOs send out e-mails inviting their subordinates to religious events that they themselves are hosting, putting the recipients in the position of wondering if not attending their superior's religious event will negatively affect their career, and if those who do attend will be shown favoritism.

For example, the Soldiers of a platoon in Iraq recently received an e-mail that had a flyer<sup>55</sup> attached to it for a Christian men's conference being hosted by their platoon sergeant. The flyer had the unit and division emblems on it, and the sender of the e-mail, an E-7, listed himself as a minister and the host of the event.

This platoon sergeant had been sending out religious e-mails almost daily, including one with an attachment titled "Psalm 23 (For the Work Place)," which began, "The Lord is my real boss, and I shall not want," and ended with, "When it's all said and done, I'll be working for Him a whole lot longer and for that, I BLESS HIS NAME!!!!!!" Another contained several Bible verses, preceded by the following statement: "There are many things that work to keep us from completing our life-missions. Over the years, I've debated whether the worst enemy is procrastination or discouragement. If Satan can't get us to put off our life missions, then he'll try to get us to quit altogether."

## Overt Promotions of Christianity in Military Publications

Numerous chaplains, as well as a few commanders and other officers and NCOs, are taking advantage of their military base newspapers and unit newsletters as another forum for promoting Christianity. While some would argue that protection of free speech applies and that anyone can publish virtually anything anywhere, when the publication is an officially sponsored base newspaper and the authors are members of the military, the perception is an official endorsement of these religious messages.

In an article titled "Living in Victory," a publication of the Louisiana National Guard, one chaplain explained how having Jesus as "your reference point to victory is crucial," how "victory is not something that is ahead of us, but has already been accomplished by Jesus' completed victory on the cross," and why "when you experience defeat, it just shows you that you need to quickly get your branch reconnected to the Vine, who is the Victorious Life of Christ in you." He summed up his piece by telling the troops that they "are Champions 'in Jesus Christ.'"57

In a column about Independence Day in a Marine unit newsletter, the chaplain got off to a good start, explaining in his opening paragraph how our independence from England led to "people having the right to worship in accordance with their own faith tradition," and that the First Amendment is "the reason the military has chaplains to uphold every service member's . . . right to worship in accordance to their particular faith group tradition." The rest of his article, however, was all about promoting one "particular faith group tradition"—his.

I always remind people that we live in a fallen world, darkened by sin and evil because mankind wanted their independence from God. I also remind people of the incredible cost our Heavenly Father paid with the sacrifice of his one and only Son who died in our place in order that whomever [sic] would believe in Him would not perish but have everlasting life (John 3:16). In other words, our Heavenly Father through his Son paid the ultimate price, even death on a cross in order that whomever [sic] would believe could live a life independent from sin. Therefore, because of this great sacrifice paid by the Son of God any and every person can walk in victory beyond the struggles, skeletons in one's closet, and temptations that can keep us from being men and women of honor, courage and commitment.<sup>58</sup>

Writing about the upcoming move of the headquarters of an Air National Guard fighter wing, a chaplain assistant compared the move to Moses, the tabernacle, and the Christian Holy Spirit. She wrote:

I have been studying about the life of Moses and recently studied how the Israelites set up the tabernacle. I won't go into all of the details about the tabernacle, but I do want to tell you about the "cloud" since I found the cloud to be very interesting and perfect for our upcoming Wing HQ move....

The cloud was a gift to the Israelites that the Lord had given to them for protection from the hot and cold. This cloud is like the Christian Holy Spirit that we have available to us today. The cloud was a gift and the Holy Spirit is a gift that all human beings can receive. The Holy Spirit helps us to make decisions and enables us to know when we need to move just like the cloud did for the Israelites.<sup>59</sup>

Sometimes, in addition to promoting Christianity, the articles get political, as in this example from one Army base newspaper. In an article titled "Virtue of Truth," the chaplain condemns all the "sins" of our "progressive" culture—freedom of choice, gay marriage, and so forth. He then injects the word "progressive" into a quote from the apostle John, a word that appears nowhere in the Bible verse he quotes, and adds the word "progressive" again before a quote from Pope John Paul II, although that word was not used by the late pontiff.

At the heart of all sin is pride. This is the kind of pride that makes itself the arbiter of right and wrong. This is good to remember in an age when euthanasia is called mercy, suicide termed "creative medicine" and abortion described as "freedom of choice." All three are really murder.

Today, marriage is too often considered outdated as an institution and divorce is considered the better option. Even more disturbing, opposition to same-sex marriage is thought to be bigoted and intolerant. This makes adultery and sodomy very uncomfortable terms in some people's lexicon.

In contrast with today's attitudes, the apostle John reminds us: "Anyone who is so 'progressive' as not to remain in the teaching of the Christ does not have God; whoever remains in the teaching has the Father and the Son" (2 John 9).60

The last example comes from an article titled "The Opportunity to Follow Is Afforded to Us All," written by an Air Force master sergeant:

There's a tremendous biblical illustration of the ever-present duplicitous nature of followership between leading and accepting and executing orders.

This passage tells of a military leader in command of 100 followers. One day this leader, who is not a religious man, compassionately sends messengers to ask Jesus to pray for a dying subordinate. Jesus, so motivated by this compassionate appeal, deviates from his intended course to visit this kindhearted leader. However, just prior to Jesus' arrival to the installation, the leader sends his followers to stop Jesus from coming to his installation, deeming himself not worthy of hosting such an esteemed visitor. This is where the leader communicates through his followers the most convicting principle of true followership. His principled statement is, "I know authority because I am under the authority of my superior officers, and I have authority over my soldiers. I only need to say, 'Go,' and they go, or 'Come,' and they come." This very powerful confession prompts Jesus to clearly identify the next principle of responsible followership. The scripture reads, "when Jesus heard this, he was amazed and said to the crowd following him, 'I tell you, I have not seen faith, or confidence, like this in all the land . . . 'The leader's statement truly reflects the heart of followership. Followership is firmly rooted in confident obedience. And followership and leadership are transitional meaning to pass back and forth between positions. This compassionate military leader knew that even though he was not a religious man, demonstrating his willingness to follow Jesus' command without question would save his follower's life. 61

The master sergeant who wrote the above is from the wing's Equal Opportunity Office—the very office where an Airman would go for help if he or she had a complaint about an inappropriate promotion of religion, like this article written by this master sergeant.

### Religious Programs for Military Children

Nobody would disagree that military personnel and their families should have the opportunity to worship as they choose. This is the justification for the military providing chaplains and chapels, and it is a reasonable one. But just how much support of religion is necessary to ensure this access to worship opportunities?

Countless DOD contracts show that what the government is providing for religion on military bases goes far beyond chaplains and chapels and, in many cases, far beyond what would be available to most civilians in their communities or towns. If a civilian church doesn't happen to have any talented musicians in its congregation, for example, the congregation might have to deal with having less than professional quality music at their services. Not so in military chapels. If chapels want better music, they hire professional musicians and music directors, contracted by the DOD. If a civilian church wants to start a youth program or provide religious education classes, it might have to find volunteers to run them. Military chapels hire base religious education directors, also paid for with DOD contracts.

And, while the contracting of these religious "service providers" is in itself highly questionable, the larger problem is that these contracts are almost exclusively open only to Christians. Contract descriptions, in complete disregard of the Constitution's "no religious test" clause, make this abundantly clear by including requirements such as "contractor shall ensure all programs and activities are inclusive of all Christian traditions," and the contractor will "use a variety of communications medium that shall appeal to a diverse group of youth, such as music, skits, games, humor, and a clear, concise, relevant presentation of the Gospel." 62

The most egregious practices are found in the programs for the children of military personnel. These youth programs, many funded by DOD contracts, are designed to target and evangelize the "unchurched" among our military youth. The tactics employed by these government-contracted Christian ministries to achieve this goal range from luring teenagers with irresistible events and activities to infiltrating the off-post public middle and high schools attended by military children. One of these organizations, Youth for Christ Military Youth Ministry, actually goes as far as stalking military children, following their school buses to find out where they live and what schools they go to.

Incredibly, even the job descriptions in some DOD contracts make it clear that stalking kids is expected. One recently posted Army base position required that the contractor target "locations and activities where youth live and spend time, such as neighborhood community centers, school and sports and recreational activities, etc." to draw in "youth that are not regularly affiliated with established chapel congregational youth programs."<sup>63</sup>

According to a video interview<sup>64</sup> of Fort Riley's religious education director about one of the base's exclusively Christian youth programs, the mission of the program, called Spiritual Rangers, is "to train young men to be Godly leaders by instilling in them biblical character, values and principles and thus giving them a sense of what it truly means to be a man." This video, which was aired

on the base's local cable access channel, described a program where teenage boys get to do things like using the base's close combat tactical trainer, engagement skills trainer, and helicopter flight simulator—in other words, the coolest video games *ever*! And all a kid on Fort Riley has to do to play them is hang out with the "godly" men and memorize some scripture.

Military Community Youth Ministries (MCYM),<sup>65</sup> whose Club Beyond program "seeks to celebrate life with military kids and introduce them to the Lifegiver, Jesus Christ," has received millions of dollars in DOD contracts and operates on dozens of US military bases, both overseas and in the United States.

MCYM's Contracting Officer's Performance Evaluation, a form to be filled out each year by a "person duly appointed with the authority to enter into and to administer contracts on behalf of the government" at the installations where the organization is contracted, not only shows that MCYM's mission is to target non-Christian children, but also that the contracting officer actually rates MCYM on its success in this constitutional violation. These are two of the questions on the evaluation form:

- 1. MCYM staff are expected to conduct outreach ministry to teens who have no relationship with the chapel or established churches. What is your assessment of this ministry objective?
- 2. MCYM staff are expected to present the Gospel to teens with due respect to their spiritual traditions, i.e. to engage in evangelism but not proselytization. This means that they are not to endorse a particular theology or denomination or creed excepting that which is generally accepted as representing the principle tenents [sic] of the Christian faith with a focus on introducing teens to Jesus Christ and to help teens develop in their faith in God. What is your assessment of this ministry objective?<sup>66</sup>

Saying that they "engage in evangelism but not proselytization" is questionable at best. MCYM narrowly defines refraining from proselytization as not trying to convert someone from one Christian denomination to another and places no restrictions on evangelizing those teenagers who need some "introducing" to Jesus Christ.

One of MCYM's "partner" organizations is Youth for Christ's Military Youth Ministry. Actually, Youth for Christ (YFC) and MCYM are one and the same. Both have the same address and phone number, and the YFC Military Youth Ministry mission statement states only one mission—to partner with MCYM: "The Mission of Youth For Christ Military Youth Ministry is to partner with Military Community Youth Ministries (MCYM) in assisting and equipping Commanders, Chaplains, Parents, Volunteers and local Youth for Christ (YFC) chapters on behalf of reaching military teens with the Good News of Jesus Christ."

YFC Military Youth Ministry is just the arm of MCYM that goes after military children who attend off-post public schools, and its first step in obtaining a contract from the military is to convince a chaplain that his or her base needs its services. To do this convincing, YFC provides a fill-in-the-blank

template for a YFC "steering committee" to write up an assessment to present to the installation chaplain. The first part of completing this assessment is for the YFC steering committee to attempt to get a meeting with the local high school principal. This is done with a cold call to the principal in which committee members say, according to the script provided by YFC, that they are assisting the base chaplains, even though this phone call appears to be made prior to approaching the chaplains:

approaching	the chaplains:
is and I am : facts concer	then you call the principle [sic] of the local high school: Hello my name assisting the chaplains of Fort by putting together several rning adolescent culture and youth serving organizations in our com-uld I drop by and ask a few questions?
	w more sections of YFC's assessment template, including the ir ssentially stalk the children by following their public school buses
spoke with to allow me support stu- an "as invit	High School. The principle [sic] is I and he indicated that he would be willing/unwilling campus access. He did indicate that he would be glad to allow me to dents by attending practices, games, rehearsals and school activities on ed" basis. My general impression is that and ne to develop my relationships at the High School.
b	Middle School. The principle [sic] is
ACCESSN	MENT [sic]:
6. Demogr	aphics
buses aroun route to the Students are borhoods. S with slightly	hool: This is a completely unscientific measurement but I followed the d for three days. Each morning four buses leave the installation in [sic] high school. There are approximately students on these buses. e primarily picked up in the, and neightudents appeared to be equally spread over the four different grade levels more/less 9th and 10th graders.
h Middle!	School: See a above 68

b. Middle School: See a above. oo

Like MCYM, Malachi Youth Ministries, <sup>69</sup> the youth division of Cadence International, is funded by DOD contracts. In addition to teenagers, Cadence International also targets the younger children of military personnel, partnering with Child Evangelism Fellowship (CEF) "to anchor children in the hope of Jesus and lead them to living fully devoted to Him" by getting the elementary school children into Good News Clubs on their bases and in their schools.<sup>70</sup>

Cadence and CEF have the "mutual goal of reaching every child of the US military around the world," and clearly they will have the support and aid of the military itself to achieve this goal, based on statements like this one from the deputy installation chaplain at one large Army base, who, in a video promoting CEF, proclaimed, "The harvest is ready, and I mean it's out there in more abundance than we have ability to harvest."

## **Religious Tests**

In addition to the unconstitutional "religious tests" found in job requirements for DOD contracts, there are a number of service members who have expressed concerns about the requirement to disclose their religion on forms whose purposes would include no legitimate reason to contain any information about their religion. Two examples are the Army Officer Record Brief (ORB) and the Air Force Single Unit Retrieval Format (SURF). The ORB and the SURF are forms whose purpose is to provide information on the career history, education, and special skills of officers. The information contained in these forms is used for job placement, award nominations, applications to military training programs and colleges, and so forth. The religion of an officer should never be a factor in career decisions or recommendations, yet the Army's ORB now contains a block for the officer's religion, and the Air Force's SURF, a recently implemented electronic form, also lists the officer's religion.

## Fear of Making Complaints through Military Channels

The almost universal problem faced by military personnel who encounter any of the problems listed above is the fear of what might happen if they report a violation of regulations or bring a complaint to their superiors or the Equal Opportunity Office. Service members who fear harassment from both peers and superiors, negative effects on their careers, and occasionally even physical harm often refrain from reporting violations of regulations regarding religion, even when those violations are personally impacting their or their family's lives. Few ever decide to file official complaints, allowing military spokespersons, when an issue is reported or uncovered, to say that it was an isolated incident and to quickly point out how few official complaints have been filed. Clearly, the number of official complaints filed, usually said to be less than 100, is unrealistically small given that over 15,000 service members have contacted the Military Religious Freedom Foundation for assistance from 2005 to 2009. The disparity in these numbers is something that cannot be ignored.

#### Recommendations

After dealing with thousands of service members and carefully examining virtually every military regulation that would apply to their concerns and complaints, the Military Religious Freedom Foundation has concluded that there are very few situations in which the existing regulations are the problem. The problem is that these existing regulations are not being followed or enforced.

One important exception, however, relating to the proselytizing of Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan, must be noted here. Because CENTCOM's General Order 1B, in its list of prohibited activities in the CENTCOM AOR, lists only "proselytizing" of any religion" as being prohibited, Christian military personnel

intent on converting Muslims are getting around this crucial prohibition. How? By saying that the order only prohibits proselytizing, but not evangelizing, and claiming that activities such as distributing Arabic and other native-language Bibles are merely evangelizing and thus do not violate the order. Simply changing the wording of GO-1B to "evangelizing or proselytizing of any religion" would leave no loophole for those who rely on semantics to continue their attempts to convert the Iraqis and Afghans to Christianity.

## Setting the Record Straight Regarding the Military Chaplaincy

Ever since chaplains praying in Jesus' name at nonreligious military functions and ceremonies became a hot-button issue, a distorted version of the history of the chaplaincy has emerged. This altered history of the chaplaincy has one purpose—to make it appear that the military chaplaincy has existed continuously since the Revolutionary War, with no problems or objections until recent years. This is accomplished by simply leaving a few minor gaps in the history, such as most of the nineteenth century.

MYTH: The chaplaincy has been an essential part of the military since the Revolutionary War.

FACT: The military chaplaincy was almost nonexistent between the end of the Revolutionary War and the Civil War.

There really wasn't much of a military chaplaincy at all during the War of 1812 or up through and including the Mexican-American War. Naval commanders were authorized to appoint chaplains, but many of these were not ordained ministers, and their purpose was as much to be instructors in everything from reading and writing to navigational skills as it was to be preachers. Some officers even saw their authority to appoint chaplains as a way to get a personal secretary and chose them for their ability to perform that job, with little regard for their religious qualifications.

During the War of 1812, there was only one Army chaplain for as many as 8,000 men, and, with the exception of the 1818 appointment of a chaplain at West Point who doubled as a professor of history, geography, and ethics, there were no new Army chaplains until 1838, when a small number of post chaplains were authorized. But these post chaplains were not members of the military. They were civilian employees hired by the post's administrators, and like their counterparts in the Navy, they were hired mainly as teachers and also served as everything from librarians to mess officers to defense counsel during courts-martial. Post chaplains, since they were not in the military, were not assigned to a military unit, but to their post, so when the Mexican-American War began, they did not accompany the troops.

In 1847, Congress passed a law transferring control over post chaplains from the post administrators to the secretary of war, giving the secretary of war

the authority to require a chaplain to accompany his post's troops into the field whenever a majority of the troops were deployed. Those chaplains who refused to go were fired. This 1847 law caused a bit of a problem, however, because it neglected to actually give anyone the authority to appoint chaplains. In fact, when President Polk appointed two Catholic priests as "chaplains" in an effort to stop the propaganda that the war was an attack upon the Mexicans' religion, he made them as political appointments rather than chaplain appointments, saying that there was no law authorizing Army chaplains.

The total number of Army chaplains during the Mexican-American War was 15, including the two Catholic priests who weren't actually chaplains. The chaplaincy grew much larger during the Civil War, of course, with the appointment of a chaplain for each regiment. But when the war ended, the chaplaincy was reduced to the 30 post chaplains authorized in 1838, even though the regular Army was twice the size it had been in 1838. Six additional chaplains were authorized for the six black regiments of the regular Army, but this was reduced to four in 1869. The number of chaplains authorized for the Army would remain 34 until 1898.

MYTH: There were no problems with or objections to chaplains until recent years. FACT: There was a widespread campaign to completely abolish the chaplaincy in the mid-1800s.

By the late 1840s, opposition to government-paid chaplains was growing, and a vigorous campaign to abolish both the military and congressional chaplaincies would go on for well over a decade, supported by both members of the military and civilians, including churches and religious leaders. Hundreds of petitions, signed by thousands of Americans, were sent to Congress during the 1840s and 1850s calling for an end to all government-paid chaplains. A large part of the American public of the mid-1800s objected to chaplaincy establishments on constitutional grounds; religious organizations objected to them on both religious and constitutional grounds; and military personnel, including chaplains, had complaints of religious coercion and discrimination uncannily similar to those heard today.

Take, for example, the following statement, which was written in 1858: "Mr. Hamlin presented the memorial of Joseph Stockbridge, a chaplain in the navy, praying the enactment of a law to protect chaplains in the performance of divine service on shipboard, according to the practices and customs of the churches of which they may be members." Given the current disputes over chaplains' prayers, this statement could just as easily be from 2010.

A common complaint in the military during the nineteenth century was the takeover of the chaplaincy by Episcopalians. Once the Episcopalians gained control, all members of the military, regardless of their religion or denomination, began to be forced or coerced to attend Episcopalian worship services, and non-Episcopalian chaplains were being forced to perform these services.

While the particular "bully" denomination may have changed since the petition of the naval officers in 1858, the issue has not. In the mid-1800s it was the

Episcopalians; in 2010 it's fundamentalist Protestants. And, as in the mid-1880s, this is also not an issue of Christians versus non-Christians. The overwhelming majority of the petitions received by the Congresses of the 1840s and 1850s were written and signed by Christians and Christian religious organizations, just as the majority of complaints received by the Military Religious Freedom Foundation—96 percent of them—are from self-identified Christians, both Protestant and Catholic.

Beginning in 1848, hundreds of petitions poured into both houses of Congress. The first of these petitions to be presented in the Senate was from a Baptist association in North Carolina:

Mr. Badger presented the memorial, petition, and remonstrance of the ministers and delegates representing the churches which compose the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association, assembled in Conference with the Baptist Church at Great Swamp, Pitt County, North Carolina praying that Congress will abolish all laws or resolutions now in force respecting the establishment of religion, whereby Chaplains to Congress, the army, and navy, are employed and paid to exercise their religious functions.

Mr. Badger said he wished it to be understood that he did not concur in the object of this memorial. He thought the petitioners were entirely wrong. But as the petition was couched in respectful language, he would ask for its reading and would then move that it be laid on the table and printed.<sup>73</sup>

Five years later, as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Badger, a devout Episcopalian, would write a very pro-Christian report dismissing the countless petitions received by that time to abolish the chaplaincy—a report that is frequently quoted by today's Christian nationalists to show just how very religious and pro-Christian Congress was in the nineteenth century. These historical revisionists simply neglect to mention that Badger's report, and a similar report written a year later by an equally religious member of a House committee, 74 had anything to do with a campaign to abolish the chaplaincy. Acknowledging the historical context of these reports would, of course, contradict their claims that there were no complaints or questions about the constitutionality of government religious establishments until modern-day secularists decided to wage a war on Christianity.

Obviously, Senator Badger, who had already stated in 1848 that he "did not concur in the object" of the Baptists' petition to abolish the chaplaincy, was not someone who was going to be objective in considering the many similar petitions he was asked to report on in 1853. So it was no big surprise that Badger's report dismissed the petitions, stating that "the whole view of the petitioners seems founded upon mistaken conceptions of the meaning of the Constitution," and that the Founding Fathers "did not intend to spread over all the public authorities and the whole public action of the nation the dead and revolting spectacle of atheistical apathy." <sup>75</sup>

In 1860, Congress addressed the issue of commanders forcing chaplains to conduct worship services of a faith tradition other than their own with a provision stating, "Every chaplain shall be permitted to conduct public worship according to

the manner and forms of the church of which he may be a member."<sup>76</sup> They did not, however, address the issue of the hijacking of the chaplaincy of one denomination, even though an investigation had shown the complaints to be valid.

Instead of moving forward, Congress soon took a giant step backwards, mandating in August 1861, in the act that authorized the appointment of regimental chaplains for the Union Army, that all chaplains be Christians. A similar provision was in the act for the regular Army—the act passed in July 1861 authorizing the president to raise a volunteer force stated that a chaplain "must be a regular ordained minister of a Christian denomination." No prior legislation authorizing chaplains had ever mandated that chaplains had to be of a particular religion or even that they had to be ordained ministers. Apparently, the earlier Congresses were familiar with that pesky "no religious test" clause in the Constitution, applying it even to the office of chaplain. The criteria for a chaplain in the 1838 law authorizing post chaplains, for example, was simply that "such person as they may think proper to officiate as chaplain."

But the 1861 law requiring chaplains to be Christians was quickly and successfully challenged. The usual practice at the time for appointing Army chaplains was for each regiment to elect its own chaplain, and a regiment from Pennsylvania had elected a Jewish cantor. When the Young Men's Christian Association exposed this grievous violation of the 1861 chaplain law, the Jewish chaplain resigned rather than face the humiliation of losing his commission. But the regiment decided to test the constitutionality of the law. This time they chose a rabbi, knowing full well that his application for a commission would be denied. After a public outcry over the denial of the rabbi's commission, which included numerous petitions from Jewish organizations, groups of citizens, and even the members of one state legislature, the provision requiring chaplains to be Christians was repealed. A few months later, in September 1862, President Lincoln legally commissioned the first Jewish chaplain.

Another issue during the mid-nineteenth-century chaplain battle was over a naval regulation from 1800 giving commanders the authority to force their subordinates to attend religious services. It had been enacted during the very religious Adams administration and remained in force in 1858. This example is often used by historical revisionists to show that "it is simply inconceivable that the members of the First Congress, who drafted the Establishment Clause, thought it to prohibit chaplain-led prayer at military ceremonies, having passed legislation not only approving that practice, but indeed requiring service members to attend divine services." However, what these revisionists fail to mention is that, in 1858, this act was protested by a group of naval officers who successfully petitioned Congress to amend it to make religious services optional.

As already mentioned, most of the protests against government-paid chaplains came from Christians, and it's absolutely remarkable how similar the opinions of these nineteenth century Christians were to those of the modernday "secularists" who are currently trying to destroy Christianity. The following was written by Rev. William Anderson Scott, one of the most prominent Presbyterian ministers of his day, in his 1859 book *The Bible and Politics*. Reverend

Scott's book was written in large part to refute the arguments being used by those who wanted the Bible in public schools, another issue that is far from new, but it also addressed the issue of government-paid chaplains, including the following from a section on military chaplains:

Is it constitutional to take the public money to pay a chaplain for religious services that are not acceptable to a majority of the rank and file of the army? I do not think so. If the majority of a regiment, or of the men on board a man-of-war, should elect a chaplain, then, possibly, the Government might make an appropriation to pay him, though I doubt whether this is constitutional, and I do not believe it the best way. I believe that the supplying of religious consolations to the members of our Legislature, and to the officers and men of our army and navy, according to our organic laws, should be left to themselves, just as it is to our merchant ships and to our frontier settlements—that is, to their own voluntary support. Our blacksmiths, police officers, Front-street merchants, lawyers and physicians all need the blessings of religion; but they must provide for their own individual wants. And, in the same way, I would leave the army and the navy and the legislatures, and I would do so the more readily, because the different churches and voluntary religious societies would then all stand truly on an equality, and hold themselves ready to help in furnishing such supplies. Suppose a regiment is ordered to the wilderness, let the men elect a chaplain and pay him themselves. Then they will be more likely to profit by his services. Or let a missionary society, by the vote of the citizen soldiers, be asked to send them a minister of religion. If the government appoints a Protestant chaplain, is it a disobedience of orders for a Catholic to refuse to accept of his services? I see nothing but difficulty and the engendering of constant sectarian feuds and bad feeling, if the Federal Government touches anything that is religious.83

Clearly, this nineteenth century Presbyterian minister must have been trying to destroy Christianity and turn the military into a bunch of atheists.

# What Would the Founding Father of the US Military Think?

The version of history in which the inconvenient events of the 1800s are simply ignored typically begins with the many instances of George Washington issuing orders regarding chaplains and religious services and usually includes his 1776 directive for each regiment to procure a chaplain. What's omitted is that a year later, when Congress wanted to cut the number of chaplains from one per regiment to one per brigade, an act that would put many regiments under chaplains who were not of similar beliefs to the Soldiers, Washington and his generals strongly objected.

This is what Washington wrote to the Continental Congress in 1777 on behalf of his generals:

It has been suggested, that it has a tendency to introduce religious disputes into the Army, which above all things should be avoided, and in many instances would compel men to a mode of Worship which they do not profess. The old Establishment gives every Regiment an Opportunity of having a Chaplain of their own religious Sentiments, it is founded on a plan of a more generous

toleration, and the choice of the Chaplains to officiate, has been generally in the Regiments. Supposing one Chaplain could do the duties of a Brigade, (which supposition However is inadmissible, when we view things in practice) that being composed of four or five, perhaps in some instances, Six Regiments, there might be so many different modes of Worship. I have mentioned the Opinion of the Officers and these hints to Congress upon this Subject; from a principle of duty and because I am well assured, it is most foreign to their wishes or intention to excite by any act, the smallest uneasiness and jealousy among the Troops." (emphasis added)

Washington and his generals worried about the "smallest uneasiness" over religion and objected to anything that would "compel men to a mode of worship that they didn't profess." What would they have to say about what's going on in today's military? Regardless of the side one happens to be on, few would disagree that the current issues are causing far more than the "smallest uneasiness."

#### Notes

- 1. "Hayes: Most Troops Will Be Home by 2008," Concord Standard and Mount Pleasant Times, 21 December 2006.
- 2. Lt Col Rick Francona, retired US Air Force intelligence officer, appearing on MSNBC, 28 December 2006.
- 3. Pete Geren, then secretary of the Army (commencement remarks, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, 31 May 2008), http://www.army.mil/-news/2008/06/02/9573-west-point-commencement-remarks-by-secretary-of-the-army-pete-geren/. Secretary Geren was also among the civilian DOD officials who appeared in the Christian Embassy video.
- 4. Rep. Trent Franks (R-AZ), remarks on "Religious Freedom," 11 December 2007, Congressional Record, H15291.
- Christian Embassy is the arm of Campus Crusade for Christ operating at the Pentagon. The Christian Embassy promotional video can be viewed at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/ Media\_video/christian-embassy/index.html.
- 6. DOD Inspector General, "Alleged Misconduct by DoD Officials Concerning Christian Embassy," Report No. H06L102270308, 20 July 2007, http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/press-releases/christian\_embassy\_report.pdf.
  - 7. Photos archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 8. "Mural Painter," http://www.riley.army.mil/NewsViewer.aspx?id=579. Photos also archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 9. Photos archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 10. http://www.militaryministry.org/.
  - 11. http://www.militarymissionsnetwork.com.
  - 12. Web page archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 13. http://www.valormovement.com.
  - 14. Web page archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 15. Video at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/video/USAF.mov.
  - 16. Military Ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ, Movement Model of Ministry Volume 2.
- 17. "God's Basic Training" Bible study. Page images archived at http://www.militaryreligious freedom.org/dodspp.
  - 18. Photos archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 19. From Brigitte Gabriel's lecture at the Joint Forces Staff College on 13 June 2007: Questioning a statement in Gabriel's book, a student asked, "Should we resist Muslims who want to seek political office in this nation?" Gabriel replied:

Absolutely. If a Muslim who has—who is—a practicing Muslim who believes the word of the Koran to be the word of Allah, who abides by Islam, who goes to mosque and prays every Friday, who prays five times a day—this practicing Muslim, who believes in the teachings of the Koran, cannot be a loyal citizen to the United States of America. . . . A Muslim is allowed to lie under any situation to make Islam, or for the benefit of Islam in the long run. A Muslim sworn to office can lay his hand on the Koran and say "I swear that I'm telling the truth and nothing but the truth," fully knowing that he is lying because the same Koran that he is swearing on justifies his lying in order to advance the cause of Islam. What is worrisome about that is when we are faced with war and a Muslim political official in office has to make a decision either in the interest of the United States, which is considered infidel according to the teachings of Islam, and our Constitution is incompatible [sic] with Islam—not compatible—that Muslim in office will always have his loyalty to Islam.

Among her many other derogatory statements, Gabriel referred to Dearborn, Michigan, as "Dearbornistan" because of its large Muslim community, and, in a comment about racial profiling, said that American Muslims "are good at nothing but complaining about every single thing."

- 20. http://www.3xterrorists.com.
- 21. Bethany Duemler, "Alleged Ex-PLO Raises Eyebrows," *Chimes* (newspaper of Calvin College, where the 3 Ex-Terrorists appeared), 9 November 2007, http://www-stu.calvin.edu/chimes/article.php?id=3125; "Doubt Cast on Anani's Terrorist Claims," *The Windsor Star*, 20 January 2007, http://www.canada.com/windsorstar/news/story.html?id=4a479502-4490-408e-bdb5-f2638619a62c; and Neil MacFarquhar, "Speakers at Academy Said to Make False Claims," *New York Times*, 7 February 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/07/us/07muslim.html?scp=1&sq=Shoeb at&st=nyt.
- 22. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2WN5rqKkhUU; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ipqO\_ke-NH4; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3l\_Mc-0MaZM; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thfYB-VejSQ; and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XIokAQa1Xs4.
- 23. Maria Luisa Tucker, "Reformed Muslim Terrorists' Preach Christ to College Kids," Village Voice, 19 February 2008, http://www.villagevoice.com/2008-02-19/news/reformed-muslim-terrorists-preach-christ-to-college-kids/1.
  - 24. Video at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MibbDnH8BM.
  - 25. Video at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CFqIPjj3ciU.
  - 26. Video at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UVPcjVvvMQU.
  - 27. Photos of military Bibles archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 28. "Ministry Provides Hope in Second Run of Bible Devotional," Mission Network News, 26 November 2007, http://www.mnnonline.org/article/10592.
- 29. In November 2008, the Military Religious Freedom Foundation wrote to the secretary of defense, calling for the DOD inspector general to promptly initiate an investigation into the background and activities of Navy chaplain LCDR Brian K. Waite and requesting that any existing association between the US military and Revival Fires Ministries be immediately terminated. That letter can be found at <a href="http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/Gates\_Letter.pdf">http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/Gates\_Letter.pdf</a>. Video of Lieutenant Commander Waite at a Revival Fires camp meeting and links to additional information regarding this situation can be found at <a href="http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/newsletters/2008-11/video.html">http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/newsletters/2008-11/video.html</a>. The Web page is also archived at <a href="http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp">http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp</a>.
  - 30. Video at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/Media\_video/al\_jazeera/index.html.
- 31. Lt Gen Khalid Bin Sultan al-Saud, commander of Saudi Arabia's air defense forces, appointed by King Fahd as General Schwarzkopf's counterpart.
  - 32. "IMF Chaplains Serving in Iraq," *Gathering*, Spring 2004, http://www.i-m-f.org/pdfs/Gatherings/Spring2004.pdf.
  - 33 Ibid
- 34. LTC Lyn Brown, "Kingdom Building in Combat Boots," *Heart & Mind*, Bethel Seminary, Summer 2005, http://www.bethel.edu/publications/heartmind/2005-summer/bethel-army-boots/.
  - 35. http://www.onlyonecross.com.
  - 36. http://www.larryclayton.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=27&Itemid=2.
  - 37. http://www.lightsofliberty.us/iraq.html.

- 38. Video at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0B7pBbkZpq0.
- 39. http://soldiersbibleministry.org/Default.aspx?tabid=1783.
- 40. Worldwide Military Baptist Missions "Prayer Letter," archived at http://www.military religiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 41. For numerous reasons in addition to the distribution of Arabic Bibles, the Military Religious Freedom Foundation has demanded that the DOD revoke the ecclesiastical endorsing authority of this endorsing agency. The letter to the secretary of defense and enclosures detailing the reason for this demand can be found at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/press-releases/gates\_letter.html.
  - 42. Web page archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 43. Campus Crusade for Christ Military Ministry Life and Leadership newsletter, October 2005, archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 44. God and the Military, video, filmed in 1997, re-released on DVD in 2005 for distribution by Campus Crusade for Christ Military Ministry.
  - 45. http://www.militaryministry.org/about/strategic-objectives/.
  - 46. http://www.cadence.org.
  - 47. http://www.cadence.org/home/who-we-are/a-strategic-ministry.
- 48. Until January 2009, the Officers' Christian Fellowship's official vision statement was "a spiritually transformed military with ambassadors for Christ in uniform, empowered by the Holy Spirit, living with a passion for God and a compassion for the entire military society." Its mission statement was "Christian officers exercising biblical leadership to raise up a godly military." Examples of the use of these statements are archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 49. Photos archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 50. Several sources confirm that, in some cases, concerts by Eric Horner, a Christian artist who regularly performs at military bases, have been mandatory for basic trainees.
  - 51. http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/powerpoint/Lakenheath.ppt.htm.
  - 52. Report of a US Army major in the National Guard who attended this Strong Bonds event.
  - 53. http://www.fedspending.org.
  - 54. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/15/washington/15video.html.
  - 55. Archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 56. Archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 57. Chaplain Maj. Jeff Mitchell, "Living in Victory," *The Engineer Express*, 225th Engineer Brigade, Louisiana National Guard, 15 July 2009.
  - 58. Chaplain Bailey, 31st Marine Expeditionary Unit newsletter, July 2009.
- 59. MSgt Diane Watters, *In Formation*, newsletter of the 187th Fighter Wing of the Alabama Air National Guard, February/March 2009.
- 60. Chaplain Capt Paul-Anthony Halladay, "Virtue of Truth," *The Guidon*, base newspaper of Fort Leonard Wood, 15 April 2009.
- 61. MSgt Stephen Love, "The Opportunity to Follow Is Afforded to Us All," 460th Space Wing at Buckley Air Force Base, 18 March 2009, http://www.buckley.af.mil/news/story.asp?id=123138478.
- 62. Community-wide Outreach Youth Ministry Program for High School Students, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, Solicitation Number: W9124709T0004, 17 October 2008.
  - 63. Ibid
  - 64. http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/media\_video/spiritual\_rangers/index.html.
  - 65. http://www.mcym.org.
  - 66. Archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 67. http://www.yfcmym.org.
  - 68. Archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
  - 69. http://www.malachi.org.
  - 70. http://www.cefonline.com/content/category/4/102/343/.
  - 71. Video archived at http://www.militaryreligiousfreedom.org/dodspp.
- 72. Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, vol. 50, 35th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, DC: William A. Harris, 1858–59), 53.

- 73. The Congressional Globe, 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., 13 December 1848, 21.
- 74. Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives Made During the First Session of the Thirty-Third Congress, vol. 2, H. Rep. 124 (Washington, DC: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).
- 75. Reports of Committees of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session of the Thirty-Second Congress, 1852-53, S. Rep. 376 (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong, 1853), 4.
- 76. George P. Sanger, ed., *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America*, vol. 12, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1863), 24.
  - 77. Ibid., 37th Cong., 1st Sess., 288.
  - 78. Ibid., 270.
- 79. Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, vol. 5, 25th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1856), 259.
  - 80. Sanger, ed., Statutes at Large, vol. 12, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., 595.
  - 81. Peters, ed., Public Statutes at Large, vol. 2, 45.
- 82. Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, vol. 54, 35th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, DC: James B. Steedman, 1857 [sic]), 792.
- 83. Rev. W. A. Scott, DD, The Bible and Politics: Or, An Humble Plea for Equal, Perfect, Absolute Religious Freedom, and Against All Sectarianism in Our Public Schools (San Francisco: H.H. Bancroft & Co., 1859), 78.
- 84. George Washington to the president of Congress, 8 June 1777, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799*, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 203.

#### About the Author

**Chris Rodda** is the senior research director for the Military Religious Freedom Foundation and a writer on issues related to religion and politics. Focusing for many years on the issue of the politically motivated revisionism and distortion of American history by the Religious Right, she authored the book *Liars For Jesus: The Religious Right's Alternate Version of American History*, vol. 1, the first of a projected three-volume series debunking the historical myths and lies found everywhere from homeschooling textbooks to congressional debates and legislation to Supreme Court opinions. She is a regular contributor at Talk2Action.org and a blogger on the *Huffington Post*.

The Military Religious Freedom Foundation is a 501(c)(3) founded by Mikey Weinstein in 2005. Weinstein is a 1977 graduate of the US Air Force Academy. MRFF does not seek to rid the military of all religion, as its critics would have people believe. In fact, 96 percent of the service members who seek the assistance of MRFF are Christians, and the work of the foundation is endorsed by a number of religious organizations representing a variety of faiths. For more information, visit http://www.militaryreligious freedom.org.