FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

PRA has monitored and analyzed the U.S. Political Right for almost 25 years. Because of the powerful ascension of the ideas of the Right into mainstream electoral politics, this has been a uniquely dangerous time for democracy in the United States.

The growing power of the Right in the electoral sphere has alarmed all of us who work for social justice. The neoconservative doctrine of pre-emptive war, the use of distorted evidence and the rule of fear have scarred our citizenry; an alliance of the Christian Right and adventurist neoconservatives populates all levels of government, nationally and locally. And their decisions have global as well as national reverberations.

The systemic undermining of rights and policies that progressive social movements labored for a century to achieve is well underway, including a sweeping privatization of public goods and services unimaginable 30 years ago. Right-wing ideas such as dismantling Social Security, supporting federal funding for faith-based programs, and privatizing public education are now seen as feasible policy alternatives. Waves of xenophobia surge as the “war on terror” is invoked to justify detention without trial and the mass deportation of immigrants. Trampling on peoples’ civil liberties has become routine, as have divisive gay-bashing initiatives such as the federal marriage amendment. The tentacles of the U.S. Right have a global reach: for example, foreign groups receiving U.S. foreign aid are forbidden from even mentioning abortion.

PRA has acted as a research center, information clearinghouse, publisher, and early-warning system for activists, educators, journalists and the general public for many years. Unraveling and understanding the operations of the U.S. Right are urgent tasks for all of us who seek a more just world, both nationally and internationally. In my opinion, the work of PRA has never been more urgently needed.

Like a 21st century Janus, PRA is engaged both in the urgent task of unmasking and challenging the U.S. Political Right and in the all-important process of helping to build the progressive movement. I invite you to read our Annual Report, which highlights PRA’s just completed Long Range Plan, recent initiatives, and our resources.

As PRA’s new Executive Director, I look forward to leading the organization into the future, with its emboldened and ambitious new vision. I am confident to take on this challenge knowing that you will be partners in our struggle to resist the Right.

Roberta Salper
Executive Director
FROM THE CHAIR OF THE BOARD

Dear PRA Friends and Supporters:

Over the last two years I’ve had the honor of serving as Chairperson of Political Research Associates’ Board of Directors. During this period we faced great challenges, which clearly transcended into great opportunities for the future.

The most daunting challenge was replacing PRA Founder and President Jean Hardisty. As many of you know, Jean gave her heart and soul to PRA for well over two decades. What was once Midwest Research, founded in Chicago in 1981, later became Political Research Associates, which took root in Boston in 1987. Jean’s leadership ensured that PRA had a unique mission and her detail to scholarship ensured that the organization’s publications were always above reproach.

Coinciding with Jean’s imminent departure and in anticipation of PRA’s 25th anniversary, the board and staff embarked upon a year-long strategic planning process. It was timely to reflect upon the past, the present, and look toward a more robust future. This process was enriching. For it blended together the board and the staff into a process that ultimately made the organization stronger through coalition building, advocacy and training, and ensuring that our voice resonates with those sectors that are often marginalized, but whose work and message need our support. In many respects, this process provided us the wherewithal to embark upon a new path, for we were fortified with both experience and wisdom.

Soon thereafter, the board launched a national search for a new Executive Director — and we were heartened to learn so many passionate people were interested in leading PRA. We aggressively winnowed the pool down and ultimately chose Dr. Roberta Salper, who devoted much of her career to academia and progressive causes. We’re grateful that our search led us to such a fine candidate. Roberta brings a unique blend of skills to the challenges before PRA, including writing, administration, and fundraising. Her credentials are only matched by the passion and enthusiasm she brings forth toward achieving PRA’s full potential.

So as I prepare to step down as Board Chair I know PRA is blessed with new leadership and I encourage each of you in the coming months to rededicate yourself to PRA’s mission and leadership, for the future holds many great opportunities.

It has been a true honor and I extend my best wishes to the Rev. Dr. Katherine Ragsdale and Vivien Labaton, the new Board Co-Chairs. Clearly, change is evidenced by growth.

Michael Chapman
PRA Board Chairperson, 2002-2004

OUR NEW VISION

Since PRA began in 1981, we have built our reputation on our knowledge of the Political Right as a social movement. The Right today is more powerful, more resilient, and its influence on mainstream opinions and public policies more threatening than ever before. Mindful of these changing conditions and needs in the 21st Century, PRA launched a Long-Range Planning (LRP) process at the end of 2002. Working with the Interaction Institute for Social Change in Cambridge, the Staff and Board of PRA engaged in a year-long process of exploration and analysis of our mission and goals, from the perspective of our accomplishments over the last 23 years and the needs and challenges for the future. This rewarding process resulted in an outline of strategic goals, objectives and initial action plans for the next 3-5 years.

Our evaluation process included the valuable input from three retreats cosponsored by PRA and the Highlander Research and Education Center in 2002 and 2003, which brought together a diverse group of progressive activists and movement-builders from across the country. These discussions helped inform and guide PRA’s strategic thinking throughout the LRP process, including the need to broaden our analysis to include the influence of powerful systemic institutional, economic, and social forces, and to make our research more strategic and more accessible to a wider audience.

We will engage in and frame our research on the Right in the larger context of systemic political and economic oppression and thereby deepen the analysis for the organizations and individuals who depend on PRA for information and guidance. We will actively explore and expand opportunities for participation in strategic alliances, coalitions and networks, to ensure that activist collaborations and partnerships help provide input to, and help set PRA’s research direction. At the same time, we are committed to making our research and analysis accessible to multiple audiences, including the use of popular education techniques in our trainings, workshops and presentations. We believe these changes will make PRA stronger, more strategic, and more able to support progressive movement building and social change into the future.
PRA’S LONG RANGE AGENDA

Our Long-Range Planning resulted in the following key goals:

1. Expanding our Vision
   ◗ Broaden the focus of our research and analysis, continue to highlight the Right, but also incorporate the effects of other political, social, and economic forces that support Rightist and anti-democratic policies and ideologies, both domestically and internationally.

2. Improving our Capacity to Support Movement-Building
   ◗ Increase our participation in strategic alliances, coalitions, and networks within the progressive movement, particularly with grassroots activist organizations.
   ◗ Increase our capacity to provide trainings, technical assistance and support to activists on the ground by using popular education techniques.

3. Building the Core Identity of PRA and Expanding PRA’s Influence and Visibility
   ◗ Improve our communications capacity through new technologies.
   ◗ Improve our capacity to distribute information through mainstream, alternative, and community media sources.
   ◗ Develop better mechanisms to solicit input and to disseminate our research information.

Political Research Associates welcomes Dr. Roberta L. Salper as its new Executive Director. Coming onboard in July of 2004, Dr. Salper succeeds PRA founder Dr. Jean Hardisty, who is transitioning from PRA after 23 years of exceptional leadership.

Dr. Salper comes to Political Research Associates with many years of experience in academia and progressive policy reform work. Among her most recent academic appointments were Dean of the School of Liberal Arts at Southern New Hampshire University and Director of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Pennsylvania State University-Erie.

At the beginning of her career, as Assistant Professor of Hispanic Literatures at University of Pittsburgh, Dr. Salper taught the University’s first class in the emerging field of Women’s Studies. She was the founding Director of the first full-fledged Women’s Studies Program at San Diego State. She has also taught Women’s Studies and Hispanic Literature and Culture at the State University of New York, Old Westbury and Pennsylvania State University-Erie.

Dr. Salper served for many years as a member of the Board of Directors of International Voluntary Services in Washington, D.C. In addition to an early anthology (1972) and numerous articles on the Women’s Movement and the development of Women’s Studies, her areas of research and publication include gender and cultural analysis of the Caribbean and modern Spain. Roberta is bilingual (Spanish) and has lived and traveled widely throughout Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean. She holds a PhD in Romance Languages and Literatures from Harvard University.

Dr. Salper is excited about the opportunity to take the helm at PRA and help implement its just completed Long Range Plan.

“Political Research Associates does in quite the same way... Many of the developments on the Right that PRA warned about over the last twenty years are now, unfortunately, a reality we have to deal with. The United States is at a crucial juncture as we advance toward the November elections, and the work that Political Research Associates does is needed more than ever. I am delighted to have a role in this unique organization.”

Dr. Roberta L. Salper
July, 2004
Over the last 2 years, with funding from the Ford Foundation, PRA researcher Pam Chamberlain studied the level and nature of campus activism across the U.S. The report, Deliberate Differences, uses social movement theory to examine both conservative and progressive campus activism, activists, and their organizations and also observes the effect of rightist and leftist social movements from the larger society on student groups. Beginning in September 2002, Pam Chamberlain and other PRA staff compiled an advisory committee of experts, conducted an in-depth literature review, interviewed representatives from 20 major universities, and 20 more graduates who are now interns or staffers at movement organizations across the country.

In November 2003 PRA held a two-day symposium on the initial findings at Simmons College in Boston, attended by members of the advisory committee and representatives from 8 representative schools, and 20 more graduates who are now interns or staffers at movement organizations around the country. The report uncovered a lack of mentors on campus who could help students hone their organizing skills and analyzes why this is so. It documents the existence of a leadership pipeline for both progressive and conservative students who seek movement jobs after graduation, but national conservative organizations appear to have a more visible and strategic plan.

Conservative and progressive goals on campus differ; progressive students tend to organize around separate issues, while the fewer conservative groups cover a range of issues in debating political ideas, preferring instead to mobilize and organize those with similar beliefs.

To order a copy or for more information, check out our website at: www.publiceye.org.

The Board and Staff of Political Research Associates are grateful to Dr. Jean Hardisty, PRA’s founder, for 23 years of exceptional leadership, analysis, and activism. Because of Jean, we are all more deeply informed and aware of the Right. Recognizing the emergent threat of the New Right, Jean Hardisty founded PRA as Midwest Research in Chicago in 1981 with a staff of three on a shoe string budget. Under her leadership, PRA evolved into a nationally reputable research center for resource information on the U.S. Political Right. Jean has been a tireless activist and movement-builder, supporting social change through a myriad of activities— as a teacher, speaker, author and mentor. Her passion revolves around her commitment to social justice and philanthropy. Staff at foundations, activists, donors, and researchers have all benefited from Jean’s prescient insights and analysis.

As Dr. Jean Hardisty transitions from PRA, she will continue to partner with us in her research and public education work in the field of conservatism and the Right. In 2005, she will be heading a collaborative research project with Kaaryn Gustafson and the Women of Color Resource Center, to explore the intellectual roots of the promotion of marriage as a cure for poverty among women and children. The project will examine the efficacy of government-funded programs promoting marriage and fatherhood, particularly its actual effect on addressing the needs of low-income women and children. Jean Hardisty has also been named a Senior Scholar at the Wellesley Centers for Women. She will join a distinguished group of authors and researchers working on issues of social justice and social change.

On June 9, 2004, at a celebration attended by over 200 friends and supporters, PRA proudly launched the Jean Hardisty Legacy Fund for Action Research as a way to honor Jean and to perpetuate the legacy of her work supporting the progressive movement. The Legacy Fund supports, on an annual basis, action research projects that reflect the values and issues Jean cares about, including: welfare, civil rights, women’s rights, and LGBT rights. For more information on Jean Hardisty and the Legacy Fund, please check the link at: www.publiceye.org/legacy.

Why read Deliberate Differences? There is so much more to young people’s engagement with politics than the ‘youth vote.’ This report increases our knowledge about how different groups of college students actually engage in political work, based on their political ideas. PRA found some surprises!”

“Why read Deliberate Differences? There is so much more to young people’s engagement with politics than the ‘youth vote.’ This report increases our knowledge about how different groups of college students actually engage in political work, based on their political ideas. PRA found some surprises!”

Pam Chamberlain
PRA Researcher
Author of Deliberate Differences

Jean Hardisty, August 2004

“I look forward to a slower pace of life, but will continue my research in the field of conservatism and the Right... I also thank PRA for 23 wonderful years of collegial work to expose the Right’s threat to democracy. My commitment to our work remains as firm as ever. I am sure that yours does as well.”

Political Research Associates
ANNUAL REPORT 2003-2004

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PRA Completes Latest Activist Resource Kit, Defending Justice

Since 1999, PRA has published and distributed a series of Activist Resource Kits (ARKs). Each ARK focuses on helping activists understand the Right’s agenda and policies on a particular issue and how it has gained influence on that issue. The ARKs provide valuable technical assistance and information on the nature and substance of the right-wing agenda; who is involved; how the Right frames these issues; and how progressive groups could challenge them.

The topics reflect the areas where the communities are facing the greatest threat and attack from the Right. They include Defending Public Education (1999), Defending Democracy (2000), Defending Reproductive Rights (2001), and Defending Immigrant Rights (2002).

In response to the extraordinary growth of the prison industry and incarceration rates particularly of people of color, and the incarceration of immigrants as part of the war on terrorism, our newest ARK, Defending Justice examines the intersections between the Right’s agenda and the Criminal Justice system. It also analyzes the political, social, and economic forces that help support and strengthen the current Criminal Justice system. Through articles, fact sheets, directories, and more, Defending Justice analyzes and critiques the origins, ideology, and tactics of the Tough on Crime movement. The publication includes chapters on Terrorism/Youth/Drugs; Criminalizing the Reservation; Anti-sovereignty Movement; Faith and Religion in Prisons; Women, Reproductive Rights, and Punishment; Victims’ Rights Movement; Profiting off of Incarcerations; and Building a Conservative Judicial and Legal Infrastructure.

PRA always conscientiously involves our stakeholders in our research projects. With this goal in mind, Palak Shah, lead researcher on the Activist Resource Kit, organized an advisory committee of 30 criminal justice researchers, advocates, and community organizers from around the country. The committee members represent a range of expertise and experiences, from organizations such as Critical Resistance, Applied Research Center, Families for Freedom, the Sentencing Project, and Families Against Mandatory Minimums. They were regularly consulted to determine the project’s topic areas, while providing key content and editing advice. Many also contributed original articles and documented case studies.

Defending Justice will be available in early 2005.

PRA Provides Public Education Resources

PRA is dedicated to providing research and analysis of the array of right-wing movements in the United States. Our research conscientiously monitors publications, conferences, web sites, and activities of the full spectrum of the U.S. Political Right, from the Christian Right’s political agenda, to the militarism and world view of neoconservatives, to the hateful and the racist propaganda of nativist anti-immigrant groups. As an “intermediary” organization, we aim to disseminate important information and analysis to activists, journalists, academics, and the general public through our speaking engagements, publications, technical assistance/media requests, and our research library. The core of our mission is public education. As part of our Long Range Planning goals, PRA will utilize new ways to disseminate this information to a wider audience. Examples of our recent activities include:

**Speaking Engagements**

During her transition, Jean Hardisty continued her political education speaking engagements across the country, particularly with donors and foundations, on the relationship between strategic philanthropy and progressive movement-building. In 2003, she spoke at the Caroline and Sigmund Schott Foundation in Boston, and the Ford Foundation in New York, the Liberty Hill Foundation in Los Angeles and the Marguerite Casey Foundation in Seattle. More recently in 2004, Jean Hardisty was a respondent at a funders briefing for the release of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy’s (NCRP) latest report on conservative foundations’ strategic support to right-wing public policy advocacy think tanks. The NCRP Report confirmed Jean’s earlier analysis of conservative foundations’ strategic focus to support the Right’s infrastructure and movement building.

Chip Berlet, our Senior Analyst, spoke at numerous venues in the past year, from activist meetings, to scholarly conferences and religious institutions. In June of 2003, he gave a keynote speech on “How the Right gained power in the United States” at the annual Z Media Institute, attended by over 100 media activists from around the world. The speech was recorded by David Baranski, who later distributed it throughout his Alternative Radio network to over 100 worldwide stations. In November of 2003, Chip spoke at the American Radioforma Conference in Philadelphia in July of 2004.

**Our research conscientiously monitors publications, conferences, web sites, and activities of the full spectrum of the U.S. Political Right, from the Christian Right’s political agenda, to the militarism and world view of neoconservatives, to the hateful and the racist propaganda of nativist anti-immigrant groups.**
about the role of apocalyptic beliefs in xenophobic religious fundamentalist movements at a meeting organized by the Interfaith Communities United for Justice and Peace in Los Angeles.

PRA also targets our trainings and education efforts to populations who are most affected by the policies of the Right. For example, PRA’s Director of Research Nikhil Aziz has organized and conducted a series of workshops on understanding the political Right, using a version of PRA’s Right-wing 101 slide presentation, at the Creating Change Conference organized by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and at the East Coast Pan-Asian LGBT Conference in New York City in March of 2004. In July of 2004, Pam Chamberlain, PRA researcher for the Education ARK, organized and facilitated an interactive workshop on privatization movement in education at the National Coalition of Education Activists Conference in Philadelphia, highlighting the anti-privatization campaigns in Philadelphia and Massachusetts. The audience was entirely from urban districts with a majority made up of people of color, reflecting the constituencies hit the hardest by the Right’s policies.

PRA Publications and Articles

The Public Eye, our signature periodical, features in-depth articles on issues and perspectives pertaining to the U.S. Political Right which are under-represented in other media outlets. It is distributed to more than 1,400 subscribers and key contacts among progressive activists, journalists, policy makers, and academics. In 2003, we featured articles about the Right’s attacks on the “Safe Schools” project (educational programs to address the problem of homophobic harassment in the public schools) and about the role of racism in U.S. foreign policy and America’s militaristic “War on Terrorism” targeting non-citizens and immigrants of color. The winter issue featured an analysis of the African American anti-abortion movement, led by Black conservatives. More recently, as part of our expanded analytical lens touching on international issues, we featured articles on the roots of corporate globalization in IMF/World Bank policies.

In addition to articles in PRA publications, staff members regularly author articles in books, magazines, and newsletters published by other organizations as ways to increase our dissemination of PRA research information, particularly partnering with allied organizations. Examples of such collaborative publications included Jean Hardisty’s article on Bush’s family-values initiative on welfare reform in Response Magazine (2003); Nikhil Aziz and Chip Berlet’s article on “Culture, Religion, Apocalypses, and Middle East Foreign Policy” in Foreign Policy in Focus (2003); and Chip Berlet’s article on relations between U.S. Christian Evangelicals and Israel in Bitterlemon International (2004).

PRA Media and Communications Projects

In the past year, PRA staff responded to requests from media and other interested parties at a rate of about 60 a month, primarily via phone or email. We have a reputation among a growing number of journalists and media sources, both mainstream and alternative, as a reliable source of accurate and astute analysis on the Political Right. Calls ranged from mainstream (e.g. ABC, National Public Radio, PBS) to the progressive (The Progressive, The Nation, Pacifica Radio), to the alternative (The Boston Phoenix and Bay Windows).

Examples of PRA staff interviews include: Nikhil Aziz’s interview with the Hartford Advocate on the links between conservative Jews and the Christian Right for a story about Joe Lieberman’s connections to evangelical Christians, and Chip Berlet’s response to numerous calls for information, ranging from the antidemocratic activities of Lyndon LaRouche to apocalyptic aspects of U.S. foreign policy. Chip also helped provide resources and was quoted in an editorial on “Messianic Militarism” and the Bush administration penned by Matthew Rothschild for the Progressive magazine in February of 2003. In addition, he provided background research to many journalists, including the staff of the PBS Program NOW with Bill Moyers. This research was again highlighted after a U.S. General was quoted using apocalyptic language to refer the war in Iraq as a battle between good and evil. In October of 2004, Nikhil Aziz spoke about the Christian Coalition and its influence on U.S. domestic and foreign policies in an interview with a U.S. Persian language station.

We will continue to seek opportunities to increase PRA’s influence and visibility by reaching out to a range of media sources. It’s critically important, for both making our nuanced analysis and perspectives on the U.S. Political Right as they relate to developing events and public policies.

Political Research Associates

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The Right’s successes in mobilizing resentment have confirmed our worst fears and predictions, as evidenced by their success in pushing for reactionary policies, their growth in infrastructure, and their gains at the ballot box. We are challenged by the breadth and the extent of the attack on marginalized groups in this country and how the Right has been successful in mobilizing support for its values and oppressive policies. Our recent long-range planning goals will help guide us in these challenging times, as Political Research Associates marshals new resources, builds strategic alliances, and strengthens relationships with groups who are on the front lines. We invite you to join us in this critical mission to build and revitalize the progressive movement, now and into the future.

PRA STAFF (2004)

Roberta L. Salper, Executive Director
Nikhil Aziz, Associate Director
Chip Berlet, Senior Analyst
Pam Chamberlain, Researcher
Shelly Harter, Data Manager
Tom Louie, Director of Development and Communications
Namorya Nelson, Office Manager/Bookkeeper
Palak Shah, Researcher

“...I have had a most rewarding experience using PRA’s library for my comparative research project on conspiracism and the Right. I found everything I needed in terms of secondary sources (books and articles) from their library. PRA researchers also directed me to all the primary sources I was looking for...”

Jérôme Jamin,
Centre for Ethnic and Migrations Studies, Université de Liège, Belgium
FINANCIALS

PRA currently derives over half of its contributions from individuals. While space limitations do not allow us to print a list of individual supporters, all of us at PRA wish to express our sincere gratitude to those who stand with us. Our work simply would not be possible without your support.

We are also extremely grateful to the foundations that have supported us in the past year. Please note that majority of the foundation support is in the form of general and multiyear grants. This gives us the flexibility to respond to the changing political climate and, especially, the needs of our stakeholders. The following is a list of grant-making institutions that funded PRA in 2003:

- Common Stream
- The Brico Fund
- C.S. Fund
- Chambers Family Fund
- Coydog Foundation
- Ford Foundation
- Funding Exchange
- Gaia Foundation
- Haymarket People’s Fund
- Stephen A. and Diane L. Goldberg Foundation
- Albert A. List Foundation
- Morris Family Foundation
- Public Welfare Foundation
- San Francisco Foundation
- Tides Foundation/Underdog Fund
- Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock

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### FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Summary of PRA Financial Statement for FY2003 (January 1 - December 31)

#### Income

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Grants and contributions</td>
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<td>Program revenue (sales of publications etc.)</td>
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<td>Interest and other</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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#### Expenses

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<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>Staffing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>General and administrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fundraising</td>
<td>$75,439</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$630,713</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Change in net assets: $57,155

Net assets at beginning of year: $670,676

Net assets at end of year: $727,831

Audited Financial Statements prepared by Kenneth Freed and Company, CPA, Boston, MA.