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Minutes With Kristen

ADF's Enduring Commitment To Free Speech

By Kristen Waggoner, CEO, President & General Counsel

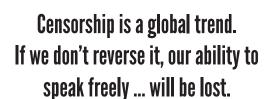
recently toured a law school with my oldest son, who will soon begin studying to become an attorney. As we walked through the library, I trailed behind him and his wife, making sure they were front and center with the assistant dean as he pointed out highlights along the way.

As we passed a row of study cubicles, I froze. On a student's open laptop, I could see the words: Reed v. Town of Gilbert. "That's our case!" I exclaimed. The young woman at the cubicle looked up in surprise. We chatted for a second, and I asked if she was reading about the case for class. "Oh, yeah," she said. "It's required reading." This law student clearly understood that our free speech case was important.

She was right.

The *Reed* case goes back to 2007, when a sign code in Gilbert, Arizona, restricted a church's right to post outdoor signs inviting the public to its

Sunday services. The code treated churches unequally, allowing other types of signs to be bigger and stay up much longer than the church's sign. It was wrong — and unconstitutional. Alliance Defending Freedom sued on





Kristen Waggoner

behalf of the pastor, Clyde Reed. In 2015, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that religious speech is entitled to the same protection as nonreligious speech.

That case stands in a long line of ADF initiatives to protect free speech — with clients like Jack Phillips,

> Lorie Smith, and The Babylon Bee. Over the last decade or so, roughly half of our Supreme Court victories have involved defending this fundamental right.

ree speech is core to who we are. But the need

to protect it hasn't gone away. It's only increased. Today, Colorado is censoring Christian counselors like Kaley Chiles, dictating what they can and can't say to children struggling with issues like gender and sexuality. With ADF's help, Kaley is challenging Colorado's law, and her case will be heard at the Supreme Court this fall. (Read more on page 8.)

Censorship is also growing worse abroad. In February, Vice President J.D. Vance raised this concern in a speech to European leaders. He cited the case of ADF client Adam Smith-Connor, a British army veteran who was convicted for silently praying outside an abortion facility.

Censorship is a global trend. If we don't reverse it, our ability to speak freely — something we've taken for granted for generations — will be lost.

That's why I'm thrilled about ADF's new Center for Free Speech. Responding to the needs of the moment, this dedicated team of attorneys will broaden ADF's work defending free speech and holding governments and corporations accountable for unlawfully censoring or punishing speech. You can learn more about the Center's work on page 5. 🔺



Pastor Clyde Reed and his wife, Ann.

News & Quick Takes

Case Updates From Around The World

Ohio

A Christian organization that cares for youth female sex trafficking survivors across the state of Ohio is suing county officials for excluding the ministry from a public program.



Founded in 2008, Gracehaven conducts sex trafficking prevention and rehabilitation work through a variety of programs and services, including three therapeutic group homes. Most girls are placed in Gracehaven's group homes through the foster care system, which is administered at the county level.

For seven years, the ministry contracted with Montgomery County to receive public funds for foster care services.

But in 2024, the county refused to renew the contract because Gracehaven employs only those who share its Christian mission. Since then, lower-level county employees have tried to refer 14 girls to Gracehaven, but the ministry is unable to accept those placements without a contract.

In December, ADF attorneys filed a lawsuit against the county on behalf of Gracehaven for its unlawful discrimination.

As we help these girls work through their pain and trauma ... our ability to hire like-minded people of faith to carry out our mission is essential.



Scott Arnold, Director, Gracehaven



Georgia

To settle a lawsuit brought by ADF attorneys, Georgia officials have agreed to allow Luther Rice College & Seminary to participate in the state's student financial aid programs. ADF had filed the lawsuit two months before, challenging state officials for excluding the Atlanta-area Christian college from participating in financial aid programs widely available to other colleges.

While the state allowed private and religious colleges to participate in such programs, Georgia excluded schools that state officials considered a "school or college of theology or divinity." The state barred Luther Rice because it has a religious mission, awards religious degrees, and teaches all of its courses from a Christian perspective.

"This endeavor was not just an opportunity to defend our religious freedom, but it was also an opportunity to demonstrate the value of a Christian education," said Dr. Steven Steinhilber, president of Luther Rice.

While violent mobs disrupt events to shut down speech they don't like, it's a welcome sign to see the University of Memphis stand up to cancel culture.



Mathew Hoffmann, ADF Legal Counsel

Tennessee

In response to a demand letter from ADF attorneys, University of Memphis officials agreed to reschedule a Turning Point USA event that was shut down by a student mob nearly a year before.

In March 2024, TPUSA sponsored an on-campus event featuring Kyle Rittenhouse addressing the importance of individual rights and self-defense. But the university interfered with the ticketing system, allowing disruptors to reserve most of the tickets. During the event, students loudly heckled Rittenhouse, forcing him to end his speech early before his security team escorted him out of the building.

The university welcomed Rittenhouse back to campus in February, making a statement in advance about the importance of respectful discourse and its policy against disruption. The university also provided a ticket system that reserved half of the seats for TPUSA members. The event faced no interruptions.

Barbados

A proposed law in Barbados threatens citizens with a seven-year prison sentence for causing "annoyance" or "emotional distress" in online activities.

The Cybercrime Bill would make it a crime to "publish, broadcast, or transmit data that is offensive" or share images or words that are "likely to cause or subject a person to ridicule, contempt, or embarrassment."

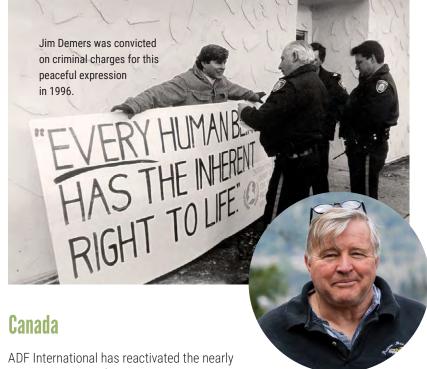
In response to national criticism, a Joint Select Committee reviewed the bill. But rather than improve the bill, the committee recommended harsher penalties, including sentences of up to 10 years in prison.

ADF International is conducting international advocacy to oppose the adoption of the censorial bill. Speaking before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in Washington, D.C., Julio Pohl, legal counsel for ADF International, called the bill "absurd."

"Core to the free interchange of ideas is the ability to voice views in the digital marketplace that may offend someone," he said. "The sweeping criminalization of online expression will engender large-scale free speech violations for Barbados."



ADF International legal counsel Julio Pohl (far left) alongside Barbados citizens and presenters at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights hearing.



ADF International has reactivated the nearly 30-year-old case of a Canadian citizen who was criminally convicted for peacefully expressing his pro-life views.

Jim Demers stood silently on a public sidewalk outside an abortion facility in 1996, holding a sign that quoted the American Convention on Human Rights: "Every person has the right to have his life respected. This right shall be protected by law and, in general, from the moment of conception."

Demers did not speak to or interact with any members of the public or staff at the abortion facility, nor did he obstruct access. But he was arrested, placed in jail for seven weeks alongside violent criminals, and was ultimately convicted on criminal charges for his peaceful expression.

Demers appealed his conviction to the Inter-

American Commission on Human Rights in 2004. The Commission admitted his case in 2006 but has yet to rule on it. ADF International is calling on the Commission to finally rule that Canadian authorities violated his rights.

I have dedicated my life to speaking out in defense of the unborn, and because of this, I was criminally convicted.

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Jim Demers

Brazil

The Brazilian Supreme Court unanimously voted to continue allowing religious symbols in public spaces, in line with a legal brief filed by ADF International.

All 11 justices affirmed that displaying symbols such as crucifixes and

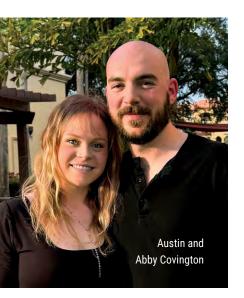
images in public spaces does not conflict with the secular nature of the Brazilian state. The court cited an amicus brief submitted by ADF International as part of the concurring opinions.

The case began when a Brazilian citizen issued a complaint claiming he suffered "hurt emotions" due to the presence of religious symbols in public buildings. The Federal Public

Ministry supported the claim, but trial and appeals courts dismissed the case. The Supreme Court's ruling finalizes the legal position in favor of religious symbols in all state and federal public entities.

"This ruling is a resounding victory for religious freedom in Brazil," says Tomás Henríquez, director of advocacy for Latin America & the Caribbean for ADF International. "Hurt emotions' are no justification for banning religious symbols."





A bby Covington knows that her family wouldn't be here today without adoption.

Her mother had been adopted as a child — a piece of her family's history that played an integral role in God's calling for Abby's life. Years later, a mother of three herself, Abby felt burdened for women facing unplanned pregnancies.

Recognizing that one of the best ways to

help these women would be to help their babies, Abby and her husband, Austin, decided to pursue adoption.

After an extensive screening process, the Covingtons were cleared to adopt in all 50 states. Abby chronicled her family's journey on Facebook and Instagram. She also encouraged expectant mothers to connect with her if they were seeking an adoptive family for their baby.

"If you're an expectant mother, I want to say we are praying for you and baby," she wrote in a detailed post introducing her family. "God has given us the desire to support an expecting mother who will choose life for her baby through the gift of adoption!"

The post garnered the attention of online trolls, and Abby was bombarded with hateful comments about her religious beliefs and pro-life views. She deleted the post. Two days later, she attempted to log back in to her Facebook account. It didn't work. To her shock, Facebook had suspended her account for "human exploitation."

Abby had no idea how her post could have been misconstrued in this way. She had hoped to empower women to choose life for their children, not to harm anyone.

She tried to appeal the decision. But then, Meta — the parent company of Facebook and Instagram — permanently banned *all* her accounts, including the one she used for her small business.

Alliance Defending Freedom attorneys stepped in, sending a letter to Meta outlining its egregious violation of Abby's speech. Days after the letter was sent, her accounts were restored.

When the people are powerless to speak, tyranny takes root.

66

Phil Sechler

Center for Free Speech team members (from left) Mathew Hoffmann, Phil Sechler, Olga Ivashina, and Logan Spena.

A bby's situation isn't an isolated incident. Businesses have been targeting and silencing speech for years — specifically voices like hers.

"Christians, pro-life voices — we see them being targeted a lot," says Phil Sechler, senior counsel and director of ADF's new Center for Free Speech. "A lot of conservative voices are being deplatformed."

With the help of a team of dedicated attorneys, ADF created the Center to hold these censors to account. Launched in December, its mission is to defend every person's right to speak freely and to stop the government and powerful corporations that are trying to unlawfully censor or punish others because of their views.

In a world experiencing mounting censorship, Sechler says, protecting free speech is critical.

"Speech is an intrinsic part of what it means to be human and indispensable to a free society," he says. "History shows what happens in the absence of free speech; dictators and totalitarian regimes use censorship to oppress people. When the people are powerless to speak, tyranny takes root."

History shows what happens in the absence of free speech; dictators and totalitarian regimes use censorship to oppress people.

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Phil Sechler

The Center for Free Speech is an extension of the work ADF has championed for decades — fighting against government attempts to silence or compel speech.

But now, with private companies taking on the censorship mantle, "it really happens in the dark," Sechler says. "[Someone] will wake up one day, and they'll go to their [social media] account, and they can't get in. It'll say, 'Your account has been disabled.""

As more of this speech suppression occurs, ADF has seen an increasing number of requests for help. And while the covert nature of this censorship can make it difficult to track, Sechler says that ADF's robust legal intake

operation has helped shed light on trends that others might miss.

"Even if it's on a systematic global basis, nobody knows unless you have an intake operation like we do," Sechler says. "There's no mechanism to collect these kinds of censorship actions. That's the cool thing about ADF. Because of our intake, we see patterns others can't."

The high volume of requests has allowed the Center to hit the ground running in the months since its launch.

Cases To Watch

Recently, the Center for Free Speech has challenged private and public censors in several cases, including:

Holy Sexuality v. Asana, in which a California software company denied its nonprofit discount to a Christian ministry solely because of its religious views.

Studnicki v. Sage Publications, challenging a publisher that retracted articles written by nationally recognized scientists due to the authors' pro-life affiliations.

Babylon Bee v. Bonta, in which two California laws censor online political content, including parody, threatening outlets like Christian satire website The Babylon Bee and the online video-sharing platform Rumble.

There have been early signs of progress, like the successful restoration of Abby Covington's social media accounts. And in The Babylon Bee's case (see box above), California officials agreed not to enforce its two censorship laws after a federal district court ruled that one of them likely violates the First Amendment.

Still, Sechler underscores the need for vigilance. These threats to speech aren't going away anytime soon, he says.

"Many Big Tech companies and social media platforms resist Christian and other conservative viewpoints," Sechler says. "So, we do need to hold these private actors who have so much power to control communication to account."

Christians in particular should take this threat to speech to heart, he says, since speech is a fundamental aspect of the believer's faith and witness.

"If we are called to be voices of our faith and to minister to others, you can't really do that effectively if your voice is taken away."

Growing up in Utah as a seventh-generation Mormon, Corey Miller was steeped in the church's distinctive traditions and culture and saw no reason to question his faith.

He faithfully attended Sunday school, where he sang songs about the church's then-prophet and received a "Choose the Right" ring designed to remind children to make good choices.

Despite his heritage, Miller didn't consider himself to be the "best showcase for a Mormon." As a teen, he stopped attending church and began experimenting with drugs and alcohol, though he still believed Mormonism to be the "one true religion."

That began to change when a friend invited him to a Christian camp in high school. Enticed by the friend's promise of a summer at the beach in Santa Cruz, California, Corey

was more than happy to agree to the single stipulation that he and his friend attend a week-long Christian camp.

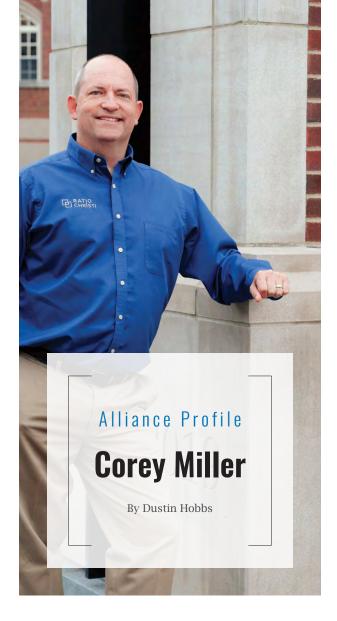
That week, "looking for girls and a good time," Miller was instead struck by the camp speaker's powerful words and Gospel message. "I had the hell scared out of me and heaven into me," he says. He also received his first view of what true grace, mercy, and Christian fellowship looked like.

Returning home with a desire to grow in his newfound Christian faith, he began to take a critical eye to the Book of Mormon and then applied that same rational approach to the Bible itself. His studies led to a lifelong love of apologetics.

The university is the most influential institution in civilization.

66

Corey Miller



Miller's first brush with the culture-shaping power of academia came when he was a student at a local community college. When he spoke in class about Jesus fulfilling messianic prophecy, his professor cut him off, kicked him out of class, and gave him an F for the course.

With the help of an attorney, Miller's participation in the class was restored, but he saw the powerful influence that professors can have over their students. Eventually, he realized God could use him to counter this secular influence if he could work from the "inside" as a professor himself.

He went on to teach nearly 100 college courses and, in the process, realized his goal to make a difference in one of the most hostile environments for Christians. Now he helps students embrace and

defend Christianity on university campuses throughout the world.

In 2015 Miller became president of Ratio Christi, an international apologetics organization that equips university students with historical, philosophical, and scientific reasons for following Jesus.

The group's effort to influence the culture by changing hearts and minds at the university is exactly what his faith background had prepared him to do, he says. And since their work often requires legal assistance, he says they've developed a "fantastic relationship" with Alliance Defending Freedom over the years.

ADF has represented Ratio Christi chapters across the country, successfully defending them against universities that have discriminated against the group's religious beliefs. His own experiences have shown him how vital that defense — and the work of Ratio Christi — are.

"The university is the most influential institution in civilization," he says. "As goes the university, so goes the culture." \bigstar

Case Explainer

Supreme Court Hearing Three ADF Cases

By Charles Snow

Every year, 7,000 to 8,000 cases are appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The court grants about 1% of those cases. By God's grace, Alliance Defending Freedom currently has three cases pending before the court. Learn what's at stake in each case:

Medina v. Planned Parenthood South Atlantic

Can states direct Medicaid funds away from abortion giants?

ADF attorneys represent the director of the South Carolina Department of Health and Human Services in a case that could decide whether pro-life states can direct Medicaid funding away from abortion facilities like Planned Parenthood.

The federal government invites states to administer Medicaid plans, and states then decide which medical providers are qualified to provide and receive payment for certain services. South Carolina law prohibits the use of taxpayer funds to pay for abortions.

After South Carolina determined that Planned Parenthood was not qualified to receive taxpayer funding under its Medicaid program, a federal district court forced the state to permanently restore Planned Parenthood's Medicaid funding.

ADF argued the case before the Supreme Court on April 2.

Oklahoma Statewide Charter School Board v. Drummond

Can a school be disqualified from a state program simply because it's religious?

When St. Isidore of Seville Catholic Virtual School applied to participate in Oklahoma's charter school program, the school projected an initial enrollment of 500 students, half of whom would be economically disadvantaged.

The Statewide Charter School Board approved the application, but the Oklahoma attorney general disagreed with the decision and sued the board. Then the state supreme court ruled that St. Isidore could not participate in Oklahoma's charter school program because the school is religious.

The U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly held that a state violates the First Amendment if it excludes religious groups from public programs solely because of their religious character.

ADF attorneys representing the board appealed the Oklahoma Supreme Court decision to the U.S. Supreme Court and argued the case before the high court on April 30.

Chiles v. Salazar

Can Colorado silence counselors who won't push gender ideology?

ADF attorneys represent Kaley Chiles, a counselor who helps clients with various issues, including gender identity. Many of her clients come to her because they share her Christian worldview and faith-based values. Yet Colorado law censors Kaley because the government does not like the views she expresses.

Colorado's law prohibits licensed counselors from having certain conversations with young people about gender identity. The law allows conversations that aim to steer them toward a gender identity different from their sex, but it prohibits conversations aimed at helping those who want to become comfortable with their biological sex.

The law threatens severe penalties to counselors who violate it, including suspension and even revocation of the counselor's license.

This one-sided censorship comes amid a growing national mental health crisis and prevents many Colorado children from obtaining the counseling that they desire.

The Supreme Court will hear oral argument in this case in the fall. $\begin{subarray}{c} \end{subarray}$



Cover Story

No Good Deed

A Teacher's Kindness Ends His Career – But His Case Brings Hope To Educators Nationwide

By Chris Potts

Halloween 2018 featured an abbreviated schedule at Virginia's West Point High School, and teacher Peter Vlaming had planned a typically fun activity for his French class — an easy way for students to commemorate the holiday while "visiting" a country 4,000 miles away.

To make the trip, they had only to slip on some virtual reality goggles, programmed to give a realistic

tour of the Paris Catacombs, an underground maze of tunnels filled with skeletal remains from the city's overflowing cemeteries.

Wearing the goggles, students could "walk" through the tunnels, relying on a partner to ensure they didn't bump into walls and lockers. Leading them into the halls outside their classroom, Peter watched as the students felt their way, laughing and trying to describe what they were seeing.

The partner of one girl wasn't paying close attention; Peter saw the young lady heading straight for a wall. "Don't let her hit the wall!" he called.

Instantly, he heard gasps. "He said 'her!" Whispering. "What are you going to do?" students asked the girl as she pulled the goggles from her face. Peter sensed that a spark had landed on a powder keg.

This was a girl who'd told him — and school officials — that she wanted to be treated like a boy. And those administrators, and every student in his class, knew that Peter's Christian faith limited how far he could go with that.

After the activity, the girl confronted him. "You

may have your religion, Mr. Vlaming, but you could still respect me for who I am!"

"I'm sorry," he told her. "This is not easy." She stormed out of the classroom, and he knew it was about to get much harder.

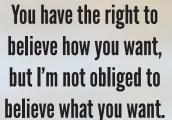
There was a price to be paid. For, even without the goggles, Peter Vlaming saw a reality much different from the one being embraced by all around him.

Reality has always been important to Peter. Growing up on Chicago's south side, he was raised in a family for whom Catholicism was more a cherished tradition than a deep conviction. Yet Peter himself "can't think of a moment where I didn't believe in God."

Not everyone in his life nurtured that belief, but one day, when still a young boy, he stood looking at the trees in his front yard. His eyes went to the sky. "I thought, 'You'd have to be a fool to think

that we're just here and that all this just ... happened. There *is* a Creator God. There's just no doubt."

His conviction led him into a Bible study with some friends and a growing understanding of both who Jesus is "and how reasonable the Gospel is." He realized that such beliefs required a commitment. "It's not just lip service," he says.

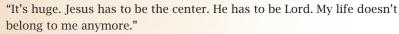


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Peter Vlaming







Studying French at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, he completed his last year at La Sorbonne. At both schools, he was active in InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, and after graduation, he worked on the ministry's staff before completing his studies at a French seminary. A church internship in the south of France led to his first pastorate — and to Nathalie, the French woman he would marry.

The marriage blossomed, but the pastorate didn't; Peter inherited some ongoing congregational conflicts and soon found himself looking for a new opportunity. He remembered an American pastor he'd met, who'd mentioned another internship opening with a congregation in Virginia. Before long, Peter was serving as a pastoral intern at a church in Williamsburg.

When the internship ended, the Vlamings made plans to return to France. But there were delays, and Peter began taking odd jobs to support his fast-growing family. A local high school principal invited him to teach

French, and, though Peter still felt called to pastor, the Lord nudged him to seize the opportunity.

"This is the open door I'm giving you," he sensed the Lord saying.
"You need to go through it."

Peter didn't need much prodding. An offer to teach his favorite tongue? That principal was speaking his language.

E language was just really interesting," Peter says. Being able to communicate in another tongue "allows you to enter into another culture in a way that you can't otherwise."

"It just *sounded* cool," he says. "French was, and still is, synonymous with a certain cultural sophistication: history, philosophers, arts and

architecture and fine food and even fashion. I thought, 'Well, if I could have a *veneer* of sophistication, that's good.'"

Peter quickly established himself, both in Williamsburg and nearby West Point, where he transferred a few years later, as a talented, gregarious, and thoughtful colleague. In addition to teaching, he drove school buses, refereed high school wrestling matches, coached the girls' soccer team, and administered a benevolence fund for fellow teachers dealing with tragedies or celebrating life events. He even arranged staff gifts for birthdays and weddings.

birthdays and weddings.

Peter Vlaming at La Sorbonne in Paris, where he completed his last year of college.





"I wasn't just hunkered down in my room," he says. "I connected with my coworkers, with the administration." It was his way of ministering without being "in ministry." "OK," he remembers telling himself, "I'm not a pastor right now, but I don't want to just bide my time. If I'm going to be here, let's do it right. Let's serve where I can."

More than anything, though, Peter enjoyed the young people.

"I like high school and middle school kids," he says.

"I'd like to think that they knew that. I had a great high school experience myself — it was a blessed, wonderful time in my life — and I wanted to facilitate that for my students. And the Lord did give me a lot of opportunities to witness to them."

But he also knew that the teens he interacted with in class every day were fast being engulfed by some radical social changes, including, particularly, an enthusiasm for gender ideology.

"This thing was coming on really fast in American culture," Peter says, "forcing us to speak a certain way and condemning anyone who wasn't on board." He was among those not on board, and while he wasn't making a big deal about it, Peter says, "the absurdity of it was boiling to the surface, and the kids knew.

"You don't realize how much kids understand 'the game' and know they can get you in trouble. It's very exciting for them: the cusp of a new thing, who can play the game right. They sense when you're not really on board, and I knew that, sooner or later, I was going to be denounced.

"I had a French Bible on my desk," he says, "and they all knew I was a Christian." Many, he guessed, were anticipating the collision, already wondering, "What is Mr. Vlaming going to do?"

Mr. Vlaming was wondering, too.

This is a corruption of children. It's going to *destroy* them. And everyone seems to be playing ball.



Peter Vlaming

For Peter, the transgender issue was like a cultural Doppler effect, growing louder every day. It began to crescendo one summer at French Academy, a month-long program during which the state's most promising student Francophiles immerse themselves in a series of language-related classes and activities. At an introductory session with other instructors, a program director announced that a boy identifying as a girl would be attending.

"It was the first time I heard someone say, in an official capacity, 'We will not use male pronouns to refer to this person. "She" will be accepted.' I look around, and everyone





in the room is nodding." Peter immediately thought: "This person just told us what we have to believe — through our speech — regarding this person. Not just a guideline ... a directive. It says I cannot act according to reality that I have to play along with this. This is totalitarian."

He took the director aside to share his concerns.

"Listen," Peter said, "I'm coming from a theological perspective, where boys can't be girls. So, I'm going to respect this kid, who's created by God, just like everyone here. I'll respect and teach him, and I'll have good rapport. But don't tell me that I have to refer to him as 'her.' That's something else."

Though no conflicts came up during the Academy, Peter saw the problem rapidly

growing. Year by year, "ideologies related to everything sexual were gaining ground. It was quite scary."

"It's not just a lie," he realized. "This is a corruption of children. It's going to destroy them. And everyone seems to be playing ball."

One spring day, almost a year later, Peter came up to bat.

he student was one of Peter's favorites — bright, witty, particularly good at French. She was 14 years old. Just before the end of her second year in his class, she passed along a handwritten note, explaining that she had decided to transition, had adopted a boy's name, and wanted to adopt a male name for the next year's French class. Peter was OK with that — many students used French nicknames in class — and told her so.

What he couldn't do — wouldn't do — was refer to her as a "he" or "him" when using third-person pronouns. Calling her by a preferred name was one thing. But using

the pronouns, Peter felt, was

By October of the next semester, the girl had noticed his distinction, and called him on it: "Mr. Vlaming, I hear that you're not totally on board with my transition."

"Hold on," Peter said.

more than indulging her preferences. It was a bow to a contrary worldview and acquiescing to an idea of reality that violated the teachings of Scripture.

"Let's get some things straight." He told her how much he liked her as a student and how glad he was to have her in his class. But: "you've made a decision that's not a simple one, and you've got to give me some grace in navigating this." The girl seemed to understand that, and they parted, Peter felt, on good terms.

Still, he called her mother to clarify things. She proved considerably cooler. "Look," he finally told her, "You have the right to believe how you want, but I'm not obliged to believe what you want." Hanging up, he knew he'd better alert administrators to how things stood.

Next day, he updated the assistant principal. "This isn't going to go away," she warned him. If he

Peter Vlaming





maintained his position, "you're going to have to think about eventually teaching in a private school."

Shortly after, the principal himself put things plainly: if Peter didn't use the pronouns his student wanted — in or out of the girl's presence — he'd be fired.

Peter didn't reply — he had to get to class. It was Halloween, and he had a special activity planned.

Things moved fast, after the incident in the hallway. Daughter called Mom. Mom contacted the principal. The principal called the district superintendent. The superintendent placed Peter on administrative leave and reaffirmed the principal's ultimatum: go out of his way to publicly and privately use the student's desired pronouns — or be fired. Peter took some time to think and pray about it.

"The Lord made it clear to me that I needed to make a stand — that it would be a compromise to do anything else," he says. "It would be a bad witness to all my students and coworkers for me just to go along."

"God," he prayed, "help me carry this cross as far as I have to."

A month later, a capacity crowd filled the campus music room where the school board met for four hours before passing sentence. A handful of Peter's students found their way inside to support him, but the West Point principal lowered the boom. He said refusing to use the girl's preferred pronouns was "the worst thing anyone could do to a student." (Ironically, the principal himself then proceeded to refer to the girl several times as "her.")

"There's a spiritual blindness over people," Peter says. "[They're] not just confused or trying to be nice. They really think that, in order for the world to be a

better place, everyone must fall in step with this ideology that leads to destroying kids."

At meeting's end, the school board voted unanimously to fire Peter for "harassment and discrimination" against the student. He never returned to his West Point classroom.

Three students and one parent spoke up for him at the hearing. The one teacher he approached with a request to testify refused, though the teacher's public show of support would likely have held enormous weight.

"Other teachers were probably fearful of being too vocal about their support," says Paul Nichols, superintendent of another Virginia school district and a close friend of Peter's. "I don't think a show of support for him would have necessarily caused a teacher to be fired. But ... it's easier to go along."

Curiously, those same teachers offered no objection the next day, when an estimated half of the students at West Point High walked out of their classrooms to protest Peter's firing. Many expressed genuine surprise that Peter had been terminated for his beliefs.

And even more astonishment, perhaps, at the price he was willing to pay for them.

The Lord made it clear to me that I needed to make a stand — that it would be a compromise to do anything else.

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Peter Vlaming



The months that followed proved difficult. Peter took every odd job he could find to feed his family. No other public school would hire him, and no private school could pay enough for him to provide for his wife and four children.

The night of the school board vote, a friend launched a GoFundMe fundraiser on the Vlamings' behalf; enough money poured in for the family to eat and keep up their house payments. Cards and letters of encouragement also kept coming from all over the country — strangers who promised to pray and often included a check to help. Some were members of school boards.

"Please keep me up to date with this," one said. "You don't know how many people are pulling for you."

"I have been praying earnestly for you," wrote his Anglican bishop. "The cost of your obedience to Christ has been high. But the Lord is your vindicator.... He will honor your obedience."

Justice became an important objective for Peter, who saw the same kinds of things happening to other

educators coast to coast. "It seemed like there was no stopping it," he says, but "I knew our case was solid. You cannot tell people what they have to believe.

"You don't get to beat me up and then have me go away quietly. What you're doing we don't do in America ... so, if I can throw a wrench in the works for this totalitarian madness, I'm in."

He would need a lawyer. He had a good one in a local attorney, Shawn Voyles, but it soon became clear that he would need the resources of a much larger firm. West Point had hired one of the largest in the country. Peter asked Alliance Defending Freedom to take them on.

ADF was willing, but Caleb Dalton, senior counsel with the ministry's Center for Academic Freedom, warned Peter of the risk. "If you do this," he said, "it's probably going to take a long time — and you might not get a dime." Peter assured him that he wanted justice — not a windfall.

But getting what he wanted wouldn't be a breeze.

t that time — six years ago — "this LGBT agenda felt like a tsunami coming," Dalton remembers. "Not many people were willing to stand up." A county circuit court judge quickly made it clear why. When West Point's attorneys asked for an immediate dismissal of Peter's case, Dalton presented arguments for why their request should not be granted.

He'd barely finished when the judge ruled in favor of West Point. No explanation. No written opinion. Just ... done.

Peter and his attorneys opted to appeal his case to the Virginia Supreme Court, presenting their arguments under the Virginia constitution — based on statutes written by no less than Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Then everyone waited. And waited.

"The court took over a year after the argument to decide the case," Dalton says, "the longest time they've taken in modern history. They did a deep dive into the

The court took over a year after the argument to decide the case ... the longest time they've taken in modern history.

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Caleb Dalton, ADF Senior Counsel

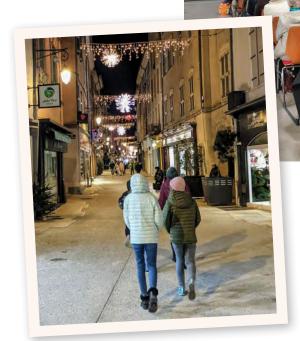
history of the meaning of Virginia's free exercise clause, and on how it should be faithfully applied."

In the end, the justices found that Virginia law actually provides stronger First Amendment

protections than even the federal constitution. Six years after his firing, the court ruled for Peter. Afterward, West Point agreed to pay him well over half a million dollars.

Peter was watching the court's website the morning the decision came out.

"'It's happened,' I thought. 'After all this time. The Lord has given us victory in the land of the living.' I knew the Lord is our vindicator, and everything would be put right in the end ... but that we could see justice, at least partially, now, was what I was praying for."



Top: Peter preaches to a crowd gathered for an annual city-wide Sunday service in Montélimar, France. **Left:** Peter's daughters lead the way in a family walk down their street in Montélimar at Christmastime.

"As lovingly as possible, he stood up for the truth," Dalton says, "in a way that cost him dearly. That's not something that you see every day.

"Peter was one of the first to step up and do this. At the beginning, he felt alone, but I think he inspired others to stand up and do what's right." Just how many others is hard to gauge, Dalton says; Peter's case has already been cited a few times, but it's probably having a dampening effect, too, on unconstitutional policies — with many school boards undoubtedly being warned of the precedent as they consider pursuing their own personnel the way West Point went after Peter.

Fundamentally, Dalton says, these cases come down to punishing teachers for genuinely caring about the children in their classroom.

"This entire case was motivated out of Peter's desire to love his students," Dalton says, "and for him, loving meant that he couldn't tell a lie. He was gracious, but he couldn't in good conscience tell this girl that she's something different than what God made her."

Or, in good conscience, put his faith in anything but the God who made him.

"I felt as though, while it was difficult, the Lord was giving me an opportunity to trust Him," Peter says. "I had to take a stand. 'If I have to die on a hill,' I thought, 'this is the hill I get to die on."

It turned out to be a remarkably short distance, from the catacombs of Paris to the top of that hill. Peter didn't even need goggles.

He's always had a pretty clear eye for reality. 🚣

As lovingly as possible, he stood up for the truth, in a way that cost him dearly.

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Caleb Dalton, ADF Senior Counsel

The Vlamings live in France now; they moved back four years ago. The Lord who led them to the U.S., Peter says, affirmed His ministerial calling and guided them back to France. "It was the same message: 'Don't forget your vocation. It's time to go back.'" Peter now works as an editor at a Christian publishing house and preaches regularly in churches in the city where they live.

"I'm sure he's very pleased with the results," Nichols says, "but he's not looking to come back and do a victory celebration. He's been very humble all the way through this. He's an excellent teacher and a wonderful gentleman ... the way that he had conversations with the young lady showed his respect for her.

"But he realized that there's a place where you draw the line in the sand. It came to that point where they expected him to walk over his line — and he just refused," Nichols says. "I think he realized that what he did could make a huge difference for others in the future."

My View

Shut Down

I Was Kicked Out Of A California Library For Speaking The Truth About Gender

By Sophia Lorey

Most people fear public speaking. I enjoy it.

y parents joke that I came out of the womb talking and never stopped. I've always loved to talk, and speaking to a group came naturally to me. While school recitations, speech meets, and spelling bees made my classmates anxious, I lived for those moments. In front of an audience, whether it's 10 people or 10,000, I feel at home.

That's why I knew something was wrong when I was nervous at a podium for the first time.

I'm no stranger to a tough crowd. I testify before politicians who disagree with me all the time in my role as outreach director at California Family Council. But this was different.

In 2023, parental rights group Moms for Liberty invited me to speak at an event they'd organized on fairness in women's sports. As a former college athlete, I'd love to lace up my soccer cleats and play just one more game. But now that my soccer days are over, I advocate for the next generation of female athletes in my home state. I happily accepted the invitation.

My heart breaks when I think of young women who are robbed of the opportunities and life lessons that I had, because the 17 years I competed on a level playing field transformed my life. I learned through soccer to channel negative feedback into motivation to be at the top of my game. I discovered the value of camaraderie as I faced the highs and lows of the season with my teammates.

I had dreamed of playing college soccer since I was 10 years old, and I'll never forget the moment I was offered a scholarship to play soccer at Vanguard University of Southern California. It was amazing to realize, in that moment, that my years of hard work had paid off.



In my peak physical shape ... I was no match for my teenage brothers, who could beat me effortlessly.

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Sophia Lorey

Yet, in my peak physical shape — when I scored in the top three for fitness on my college soccer team — I was no match for my teenage brothers, who could beat me effortlessly. Had I been forced to compete against men, I might have learned a different lesson: that no matter how hard I trained, I could never win.

I'd planned to tell my story when I walked into the California library room that Moms for Liberty had reserved for their event. As the first speaker in the lineup, I scanned the room as I began to address the crowd. I saw people wrapped in transgender flags, and most wore masks to hide their identity — not quite the audience I had expected.



Barely a minute into my remarks, a man started to shout over me when I said that men don't belong in women's sports. And then, to my surprise, the library manager — a government official — joined in interrupting my speech and took the side of the heckler. He claimed that I was not allowed to use the word "men" to refer to males competing in women's sports, and that I could only continue speaking if I referred to the men as "transgender women."

His demand not only contradicted science and violated my belief that God created us male and female; it also undermined my entire message. I couldn't defend women's sports with words that implied men can become women.

Knowing that the library manager would police my words and allow others to shout over me, I suddenly felt an uncharacteristic tinge of nerves. I continued to peacefully express my view in my terms, but I didn't get very far.

More attendees began shouting, growing louder and more disruptive. Instead of stopping the heckling, the library manager cut me off, ended my presentation, and ordered me to leave the room a few minutes later. Not long after, he kicked out the other speakers Moms for Liberty had invited. Like female athletes on an unfair playing field, we were sidelined in our own event.

But under the First Amendment, government officials like the library manager don't get to referee the content of our speech. And I'm not the sort of person who remains on the sidelines.

Though forced to leave the library that day, I was determined not to let the hostile crowd and library manager get the final say. I worked with California Family Council to share a video of my experience, and it went viral, gaining millions of views overnight. Suddenly, my interrupted speech at a local event captured the attention of people across the nation.

In the days and months that followed, I shared my story on national TV news programs, on podcasts, and in online articles. Then, through ADF, I joined Moms for Liberty in filing a lawsuit to hold the library accountable.

Barely a minute into my remarks, a man started to shout over me when I said that men don't belong in women's sports.

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Sophia Lorey

Taking a stand for free speech was important to me as a Californian, an American, and a Christian. I wanted people in California and across the nation to know that whether you live in a red or blue state, we all have the same right under the Constitution to say what we believe. But our God-given rights don't defend themselves.

Throughout the legal process, I took comfort in the words of Jesus in John 16:33: "Take heart. I have overcome the world." Regardless of the lawsuit's outcome, I felt God was calling me to do my part. When we're free to publicly share the truth — even if it's as simple as saying men are men and women are women — we're free to witness to Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life. Everyone deserves that freedom.

Eight months later, I was back at the library podium. As part of the settlement in our lawsuit, the library agreed to adopt policies that complied with the First Amendment and invited Moms for Liberty to redo the event that had been shut down. This time, I spoke to a mostly supportive audience.

"Men don't belong in women's sports," I said, without interruption. "And no one can tell us not to say that."



Sophia Lorey speaks at a February rally supporting female sports in California. The event followed an announcement by the California Interscholastic Federation that it would not comply with President Trump's executive order to protect female sports.

0 & A

Mayra Rodriguez

I Know What Planned Parenthood Is All About

By Chris Potts

Ayra Rodriguez spent her childhood in Mexico City, but attended high school in the U.S. She was working on her college degree when a friend suggested she take a job with Planned Parenthood. The organization, the friend said, was looking for employees who spoke Spanish and wanted to help women with neonatal issues.

That was in 2000, and Mayra stayed with the company for 17 years. Eventually, she became a director for several of their facilities and gradually saw many things that opened her eyes to what Planned Parenthood was really about. When she threatened to expose what the company was doing, she was fired. She filed suit for illegal termination, and in 2019 settled the case on favorable terms.

Today, she works with And Then There Were None, a ministry dedicated to helping abortion workers quit the industry. She is also an outspoken supporter of Alliance Defending Freedom in its efforts to expose and oppose the brutal work of Planned Parenthood and other abortion activists.

F&J: What made the prospect of working at Planned Parenthood seem so attractive?

MR: I didn't know much about abortion or Planned Parenthood, just that they helped women with birth control and reproductive challenges. When they said, "We want you to go into the Hispanic community," I thought, "Well, they're helping my people ... and women. What's not to like about that?" That's how I started. It was a nine-to-five job, with weekends and holidays off. I was starting a family. So, I was like, "This is great. The American Dream — for a Mexican!"

From the beginning, when I was asked about abortion, my answer was, "I'll never have one. But if someone else does, that's her problem. It's her body and her choice." That's how I thought, for many years. I didn't want to be involved in abortions. I avoided having to actually work in the [treatment rooms] of any abortion facility. I would go and help at the front desk, help do lab work, but I avoided anything to do with abortion until I became a director.



F&J: How did Planned Parenthood's use of federal Title X funding change your perception of the company? [Note: At the time Mayra worked for Planned Parenthood, Title X offered federal financial support to reproductive care facilities, on the strict condition that they not offer, facilitate, or refer patients for abortions.]

MR: It's almost impossible to separate Title X funding at the same location where you do abortion. There were all these schemes they were doing. Their excuse was, "The abortions are done on Fridays, and Title X is Monday through Thursday." They'd take phone calls Monday through Thursday from abortion patients. Women who had issues with their abortion drugs would walk in — which means you're using the facility for abortion patients. You're using the practitioners from Title X to answer questions from abortion patients, taking afterhours and emergency calls every night.

I said, "You're using Title X funding for an abortion patient." They said, "Well, we're *transitioning* her to be a Title X patient." It doesn't work that way, and I complained. That was my first time bumping heads with a supervisor.

F&J: Did you have other concerns?

MR: I started noticing when I took over the facility the number of [abortion] complications that didn't get reported. As a center director, I was responsible for reporting those. [They changed that], and now the medical director — the actual abortionist — was in charge. I was like, "How is that possible? He's the one who *did* the complication."

I never got to see his report to the health department. He just said, "Don't worry about it." Perforated uteruses were happening almost daily. We had a lot of patients showing up in the emergency room with baby pieces still inside them. I was trained to say, "Tell them it's a miscarriage. You don't have to tell them it's an abortion." But I remember the phone calls. Young girls [who had taken our abortion drugs] crying, in excruciating pain. "You never told me it was going to hurt this much. I'm bleeding so much! I'm dying!" I was trained to tell them, "Take it easy for the next three days."

Honestly, I was not told that's how it goes. You don't know, until you're inside the abortion facility, seeing it. I sent a message to my supervisor, saying, "This has to stop. You do something, or I will. I will go to the health department, I will go to the medical board, but this *has* to stop." And they fired me.

F&J: Planned Parenthood offers other services — but what's the company really about?

MR: Planned Parenthood exists for abortions. When I started, we were doing colonoscopies, cryosurgery, tests

to determine cervical cancer on patients. I suggested expanding those services, but they said, "No, there's no money in that." It was all about how to expand abortions, how to make them faster, how to make it so we can see more abortion patients every day. They don't care about people. It's just a corporation that makes multimillion dollars globally profiting from women and babies.

F&J: How did all this impact your faith?

MR: I'm a Christian, and my faith is important to me. I was raised in — and I'm still very active in — the Catholic church. It's by the faith of many people praying for me that I'm here today. But, through the years, I drifted from my faith, little by little. I remember making excuses to my mother. "I don't do abortions, Mom. I'm on the other side — the good side of Planned Parenthood." I used my two years during the lawsuit to get healing ... going back to my religion, to my faith. And now, literally everything I do is because of Him — for His glory, and because it's the *right side* of things.

I sent a message to my supervisor, saying, 'This has to stop. You do something, or I will.'



Mayra Rodriguez

F&J: Talk about the work of And Then There Were None.

MR: And Then There Were None is an organization started by Abby Johnson, another former director for Planned Parenthood. We help abortion workers leave the industry and find a right path where they can still help women. The point is to help them heal the trauma, to guide them into the love of God and follow Jesus. So far, we've worked with over 700 former abortion workers in the United States. We help them with counseling, financial coaching, schooling, finding grants or scholarships, or pursuing their certifications.

F&J: Why is it important to you to support ADF?

MR: It's important what ADF does — having someone who will protect our freedom, especially in a country where many of us moved to find that freedom. Right now, in England, they're trying to prevent people from praying outside abortion centers. I have seen what praying on the sidewalk does to help women, and I know ADF is making sure that all of those freedoms and rights are protected.



Addressing the joint session of Congress for the first time in his second term, President Trump highlighted many early victories for his administration. Those wins include executive orders seeking to protect children from harmful and irreversible gender transition surgeries and drugs, to safeguard an equal playing field in women's sports, and more.

Among those historic achievements, the president also called attention to his efforts to end a unique threat to fundamental freedoms of speech and religion that has taken over vast segments of American society over the past several years.

"We've ended the tyranny of socalled diversity, equity, and inclusion policies all across the entire federal government and, indeed, the private sector and our military," said Trump. "And our country will be woke no longer."

To understand DEI — and why the president went so far as to call it "tyranny" — consider this quote from DEI advocate Ibram X. Kendi: "The only remedy to past discrimination

is present discrimination. The only remedy to present discrimination is future discrimination."

Two wrongs don't make a right. And no company, school, church, or person can undo the sins of the past by sinning in the present. Yet that is exactly the promise held out by DEI, which treats people according to their skin color or sex rather than as individuals uniquely crafted in the image of God.

Or, as Chief Justice John Roberts wrote in a U.S. Supreme Court decision: "The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race."

Despite the onslaught of pro-DEI messaging over the past several years, most Americans resonate with Roberts' view over Kendi's. It's no surprise that the electorate pulled the lever for a presidential ticket that repeatedly promised to do away with DEI on the campaign trail.

By the time Trump was sworn in, DEI was on a losing streak in both the courtroom and the court of public opinion. The rejection of DEI has even spread to college campuses like the University of Michigan, which recently scrapped a nearly 10-year, \$250 million investment in divisive DEI policies.

The first major legal loss for DEI came in the summer of 2023. That's when the Supreme Court handed down its landmark decision in *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. Harvard* that nixed race-conscious practices in college admissions. By affirming that such discrimination violates constitutional freedoms and Civil Rights protections, the ruling sparked what *The Wall Street Journal* has described as a full-scale "legal assault" on DEI.

DEI also lost big at the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit in late 2024. In that decision, the court considered a 2020 Nasdaq rule that forced the nearly 3,000 companies

The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race.



Chief Justice John Roberts

Now, every company and institution has a golden opportunity to recover a true vision of equality, rooted not in DEI but in the *imago Dei*.



Jay Hobbs

on its exchange — including Apple, Microsoft, and Google's parent company, Alphabet — to adopt discriminatory diversity quotas for their board members or report on why they failed to meet those quotas.

These losses underscore the core problem with DEI. It's simply discrimination with a new coat of paint. And that's why the president wasted no time signing a series of executive orders rooting out DEI from the federal government, the military, and the private sector.

In doing so, Trump tasked federal agencies and entities including U.S. Attorney General Pam Bondi with compiling lists of companies, nonprofits, and educational institutions receiving federal dollars that were still discriminating under the guise of DEI and related policies.

It's clear that the president means business. Many corporate leaders saw the collapse of DEI coming and had already ditched the destructive ideology by the time Trump signed his orders. That list includes household names like Meta, Amazon, John Deere, McDonald's, and Walmart.

Leaders at these kitchentable American brands made the right choice to ditch DEI before making themselves a public target of an administration determined to end this form of discrimination. To encourage

these companies to stay the course, ADF and our coalition of like-minded shareholder advocates have publicly congratulated companies like Walmart that put their employees, customers, and shareholders first by dropping DEI.

At the same time, we are working through the shareholder process to hold other publicly traded companies like IBM accountable for their decision to treat some employees worse than others based on race and sex under DEI policies. This shareholder season, ADF's allies have filed 70 resolutions, most of which are authored by ADF, on free speech and religious liberty issues in corporate America, including 14 on DEI. In IBM's case, shareholders are asking the company to report on the effects of a DEI policy that sparked a discrimination lawsuit from the state of Missouri.

Now, every company and institution has a golden opportunity to recover a *true* vision of equality, rooted not in DEI but in the *imago Dei*. No one should be judged, hired, or promoted based on the color of their skin, but rather on the content of their character and the quality of their work.

Jay Hobbs is director of communications and coalitions for Corporate Engagement at Alliance Defending Freedom.



Executive Orders

And How They Influence ADF's Work

Within his first weeks in office, President Trump signed numerous executive orders that support Americans' fundamental freedoms and positively influence Alliance Defending Freedom's work. These orders include:

- Eradicating Anti-Christian Bias
- · Keeping Men Out of Women's Sports
- Ending Radical Indoctrination in K-12 Schooling
- Protecting Children from Chemical and Surgical Mutilation
- Restoring Freedom of Speech and Ending Federal Censorship
- Ending the Weaponization of the Federal Government

These executive orders will help advance priorities that ADF has focused on for years. But this doesn't mean the fight is over. Executive orders do not change state or federal legislation, or actions of the courts. The president's opponents are already challenging these commitments to protect free speech, religious freedom, and biological truth.

ADF must — and will — continue defending Americans' God-given rights in state



legislatures and courts across the country. The ministry looks forward to working alongside the Trump administration on these important issues.

LEARN more about executive orders that impact ADF's work. Visit JoinADF.com/FJ-Orders

FISCAL YEAR-END CHALLENGE

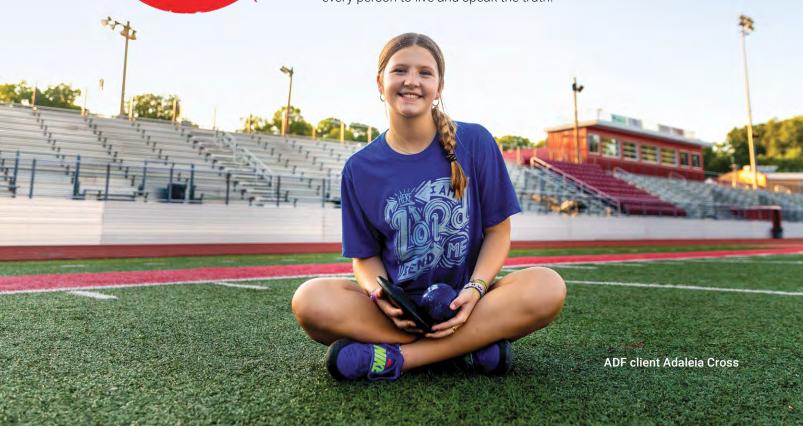
DOUBLE Your Impact to Defend Truth and Freedom



This is a critical moment for freedom.

Right now, Alliance Defending Freedom has more than 1,600 active legal matters in the U.S. alone, contending for your right to faithfully live out the truth. Requests for help continue to flood in.

Your fiscal year-end gift by June 30, DOUBLED by a \$3 million matching grant while funds last, will fuel critical cases, sometimes all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court — and advance the right of every person to live and speak the truth.



Thank you in advance for your fiscal year-end gift!

Your prayerful support is needed now.

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