

Rights for Some

The Erosion of Democracy

Revised version of print edition - see note

Jean Hardisty

Introduction¹

Right-wing leaders often appropriate progressive themes by calling for rule by “the people,” equal opportunity, and “equality” feminism. Their rhetoric has convinced many voters that the Right offers a more fair and direct form of democratic representation than that offered by liberals and progressives.² But an accurate analysis of the Right’s agenda reveals that, while it embraces the rhetoric of democracy, it promotes a constricted, shrunken version of democracy. This version resembles how the United States was governed before the New Deal reforms of the 1930s and 1940s. By defining democracy in its narrowest sense, the contemporary Right claims the mantle of democracy, even though, since the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, its campaigns, policies, and initiatives have attacked democratic principles and undermined democratic practices.

Progressives have a gut-level understanding that the Right is antidemocratic, so when we fight the Right’s agenda, we often say we are “defending democracy.” But what exactly do we mean by that? And what is the Right’s overarching vision, and how does that vision alter democracy as progressives define it?

What is Democracy?

Democracy has no single definition. It is a fluid concept that can describe a political system in which very few hold power and each person is responsible for his or her own welfare, or a more egalitarian and

inclusive political system in which decision-making is broad-based and the members’ needs are met. Historically the Right has promoted the former version of democracy and progressives the latter. In its most narrow definition, democracy simply offers citizens the right to vote. Unfortunately, political commentators, the State Department and school textbooks use this narrow definition widely.

Despite the United States’ blatant shortcomings—from institutional racism to systematic government violations of civil liberties—certain characteristics are now widely accepted in the consciousness of much of the U.S. public as constituting “our system of democracy.” These characteristics include: the right to vote and have that vote counted; the right to hold and express individual opinions; an independent judiciary; and freedom of religion. Each characteristic has seldom been a reality. Nevertheless, they remain the popular image of U.S. democracy. Progressives often appeal to each of these standards in order to defend individual rights and liberties from governmental abuses.³

But a truly inspiring vision of democracy is a society that provides equal protection under the law, equal access to economic opportunities, and equal guarantee of individual rights. For those less able to compete for a good life, government provides a social safety net, paid for by all the members of the society. Full membership in society is open to all. There is no “fence” around the society to legitimize those within and allow them to forget and ignore those outside. White male property owners are not

more deserving than mothers who receive welfare or children with physical disabilities. Government does more than simply represent and carry out the will of the voting public; its role extends to helping people to strive for better lives.⁴ Social justice activists consistently work to push U.S. society to reach this democratic potential by efforts to expand rights and protections for everyone—not just the privileged—demanding that government uphold the individual liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, and fighting for a meaningful social safety net.

While the Right (including the New Right, the Christian Right, and the secular right wing of the Republican Party) opposes every assumption and program promoted by liberals and progressives, it supports “democracy”—the most rosy, popular view of U.S. democracy. This version of democracy is a matter of form rather than substance. That is, so long as the vote is in place and representative political bodies are present, it is acceptable for elites to dominate decision-making and for gross inequalities of power and wealth, lack of mass participation, and inadequate protection of minority groups to exist.⁵

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From the Editor

The United States celebrated the victory of “democracy” with the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. The “evil empire” of godless communism had been defeated. Some academics even went so far as to declare that “democracy” was now so obviously superior as a system of organizing society that we have reached “the end of history.” But the promotion of “democracy,” whether abroad or at home, has only occasionally challenged existing economic, social, and political inequalities within the United States and between the industrialized nations and the Third World. Too often the “democracy” that is promoted is in fact polyarchy—a system in which, as one critic argues, the ruling class holds power, and mass participation is limited to selecting leaders in elections that are administered by competing elites.

As progressives in the US we are justly concerned with the erosion of democracy. Here in the United States, Jean Hardisty argues, the Right is firmly behind the limitation and contraction of democracy, even as it cloaks its discourse and agenda in a democratic garb. A combination of institutional racism, corporate financial influence, the assault on civil rights and New Deal gains, and the reining in of the judiciary have effectively incarcerated the promise of democracy within the confines of polyarchy.

Defending democracy at an immediate level means putting the brakes on the Right’s assault on democratic principles, practices, and policies, but for us as progressives it must go much further. We need to be proactively engaged in deepening and broadening democracy; we must work from the very local and even personal levels, by building democratic family and community structures, to the global level, by building a transnational democratic order that reverses the current march of global exploitation. These are not mutually exclusive. In fact, they are fundamentally interconnected. Meaningful democratic structures and relations at any one level cannot exist without the same at all others. For this, we need to build coalitions embedded in the foundations of human rights and dignity across lines of race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and age—within the United States and beyond.



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The Right, using this version of democracy, declares its ideology and agenda to be “for the average working person.” The Right’s leaders use rhetoric such as “returning power to the people” or “taking our country back” to emphasize their “democratic” credentials.

But this is a dodge that intentionally misleads the public. Rightist leaders borrow the language of an expansive, progressive vision of democracy, while pursuing a constricted and reactionary version of democracy. Only occasionally does a marginal figure such as Pat Buchanan confess his doubts about democracy and his suspicions of “the people.”⁶

What can People expect from Democracy today?

The expansive view of democracy grew in popularity during the 1960s and 1970s, as activists pressed demands on the government for services, protections and relief in economic, social, and political areas. Many White voters, educated by the Civil Rights Movement, began to imagine a more inclusive version of democracy in which members of the society were not placed “outside the fence” because of their race. Many people began to see *de facto* racial segregation, slum housing conditions, unemployment, and widespread hunger and malnutrition as affronts to democracy. All three branches of government—the Congress, the Executive branch, and the Judiciary—responded to popular pressure by taking some responsibility for the poverty and the other forms of oppression in which a large portion of people in this country lived.

Precedent existed for government to assist those living in poverty: President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal of the 1930s and 1940s. In many cases during the Roosevelt Administrations, government acknowledged such needs and then a joint force of government, the non-profit sector, and occasionally business tried to address them. The backlash was immediate and vicious. Roosevelt and his New Deal policies came under sustained and sometimes vicious attacks from the

Right of the 1930s and 1940s—the Old Right. Its principal weapon was the accusation that an expanded government was socialistic and that liberal government programs were the work of “domestic communists.” But, despite the Right’s attacks, FDR was re-elected three times, finally dying in office.

The Old Right’s opposition to “government interference” remained strong in the 1950s, when the *National Review* magazine played a leading role in critiquing govern-

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ment programs. Wisconsin’s Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy promoted the Old Right’s anti-communist paranoia with his Senate Internal Security Committee Hearings, creating a climate of fear and red-baiting that ruined hundreds of lives. But the popular movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which mobilized large numbers of people to exert demands on government, lessened the Old Right’s effectiveness. Liberal reformers who were elected to Congress refined New Deal programs. The Civil Rights and the Anti-Vietnam War Movements mounted serious challenges to the *status quo*. Liberation movements generated

a drumbeat of demands for expanded rights, as they mobilized to bring more people “inside the fence” of democracy, and leave fewer and fewer people disenfranchised, marginalized, and “outside the fence.” In the 1960s and 1970s, many people’s expectations of their government were perhaps higher even than during the New Deal.

In the 1970s, the new leaders of the Right responded by abandoning the Old Right’s identity and fashioning a new style and a new name—the New Right.⁷ Continuing its attack on the legitimacy of any federal government program that addressed social justice issues, the New Right dropped the explicit promotion of racial bigotry. It attacked liberalism as a tax-and-spend ideology that created inefficient government programs that were causing, not ameliorating, the country’s problems. Using high-tech methods, simplistic language, and outrageous accusations, it demonstrated its muscle by defeating six of seven sitting liberal Democratic senators in the 1980 election. Under the protection of Ronald Reagan, its charismatic standard-bearer, the New Right took control of the Republican Party while simultaneously courting conservative evangelical Christians with a program of “family values” and minimal government.

How the Right portrays itself as Democratic

In the 1970s the New Right set out its ideology with shameless clarity. Calling itself a “revolutionary” movement, its leaders declared that they were going to take the country back from the liberals, feminists, and secular humanists who “controlled” the national agenda. In a book that could serve as the manifesto of the New Right, *The New Right: We’re Ready to Lead!*, Richard Viguerie states, “One of the biggest lies of 20th century American politics is that liberals care about people and conservatives don’t. This is a bum rap put on us by liberals. I suggest it’s conservatives who, by their actions, show real love and compassion for their fellow men.”⁸ The New Right repackaged the agenda of the Old Right, while

denying that the movement was racist. The New Right's leaders sought to leave behind the Old Right's tainted association with the KKK, White Citizens' Councils, neo-Nazi antisemites, and even the less racist John Birch Society, while simultaneously positioning themselves well to the right of traditional Republican conservatives.⁹

To become a mass-based social and political movement, however, the New Right needed to attract a following outside of the Republican Party. Republicans have for decades had a reputation as the party of White country club members and big business, but at various times it has successfully painted itself as the party of "the common man." Two constituencies were available for the New Right's recruitment: voters who had supported the presidential candidacy of George Wallace, the White supremacist Democratic governor of Alabama who is sometimes called the father of the conservative movement, and conservative Christian evangelicals and fundamentalists across the country.

In recruiting these new constituencies, the New Right's leaders struck an aggressively populist tone, despite an agenda that served the interests of business and the wealthy. As Chip Berlet and Matt Lyons describe in their book, *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort*, "...[T]he grievances of many White middle- and working-class people—both a legitimate sense of injury and angry scapegoating generated by the erosion of traditional privileges—could be harnessed to benefit wealthy elites and intensify disempowerment and inequality for millions of people."¹⁰

As is so often true of right-wing populism, rhetoric about "the people" masks the interests of the ruling class. The changes the Right pursued in the tax code throughout the 1980s and 1990s served the standard Republican constituency of corporate leaders, captains of finance, businessmen and venture capitalists. But, by presenting themselves as anti-elite defenders of average people, the leaders of the New Right cam-

ouflaged the movement's actual class interests. By pursuing strategies such as tax protests, citizen-initiated ballot referenda, and deregulation, which appear to favor "average people" over elites, the Right has cloaked itself in the mantle of populism. It thereby claims to be more democratic than its liberal opposition.

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The Realities of Right-wing Populism

Ballot Initiatives

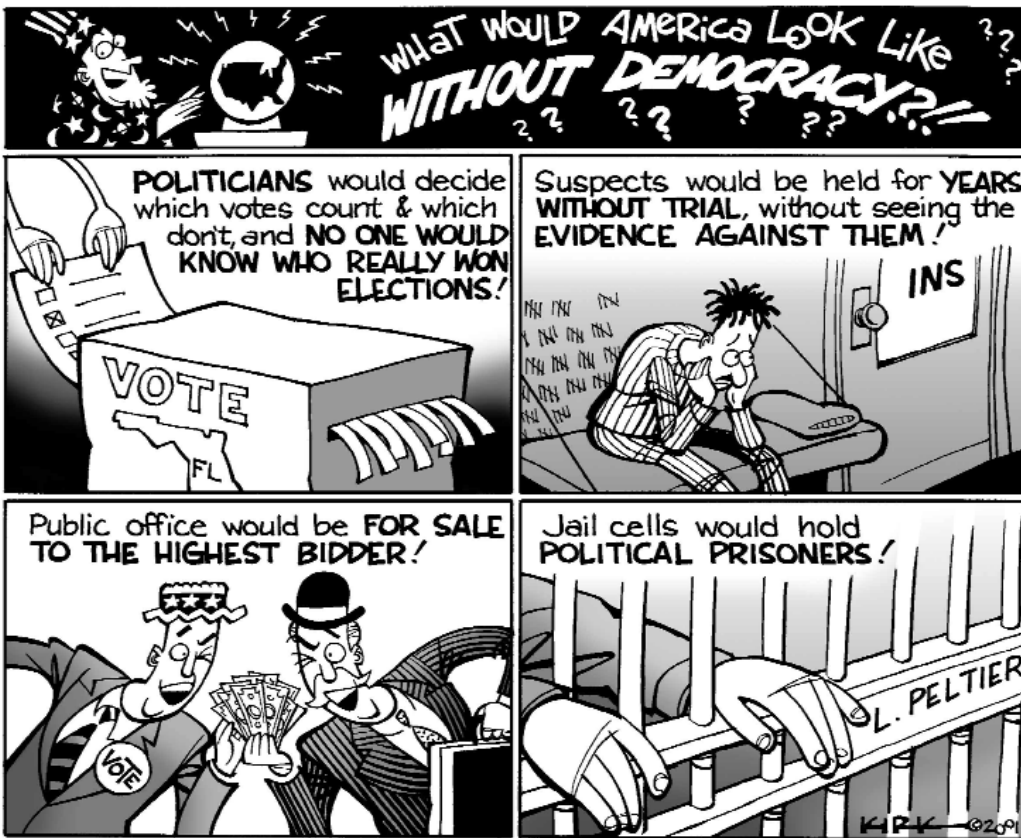
The New Right launched itself as a movement with California's Proposition 13, an antitax crusade. Tax cutting as an issue has had long political legs. It continues as a central plank in the Right's agenda. Proposition 13 illustrates how the Right spins its activism to give it a populist

appearance while it actually aims to shrink government's ability to meet people's needs. A 1978 tax reduction ballot initiative, it capped property tax rates and severely limited the state's revenues. Its right-wing backers promoted it as "direct democracy" (ballot initiatives) challenging "runaway government" (taxes for government programs).

No U.S. political movement has made greater use of the "populist" political options of state-level ballot initiatives and referenda than has the contemporary Right. If ballot initiatives were indeed a populist means of passing legislation (implying a more direct form of democratic expression), the Right would have a legitimate claim. But ballot initiatives are no more "pure" as an expression of public opinion than the average law passed by a state legislature or by Congress. In both cases, interest groups line up to influence the formulation of the proposed law, to aggressively sell it to the voting public, and to benefit from the outcome. Referenda are formulated by a small number of people who have the opportunity to manipulate language to make their initiative look more broadly appealing than its actual content warrants. They use their political skill and connections to mobilize the "initiative campaign industry"—money, the media, direct mail, negative advertising, paid signature gathering, and PR firms—to reach various like-minded groups and individuals.¹¹ All this is similar to the process used by legislators.

In the case of initiatives to limit taxes, the Right benefits from the fact that, in the American imagination, tax resistance is often tied to democratic self-governance. It is associated with the Boston Tea Party's defiance of British "taxation without representation" and captures popular approval because it is always presented as righteous indignation over "tax robbery" and the misuse of public funds.

Howard Jarvis, the architect of Proposition 13, presented his ballot initiative as "a people's movement." Nothing could sound more democratic. But the way the Right promoted Proposition 13 and its effect are anything but democratic. Propo-



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open democracy, the Right abandons its populist rhetoric and digs in its heels. The most common and widely accepted critique of contemporary U.S. democracy is that money and “special interests” play too large a role in influencing elections and legislation. Volumes have been written about how money corrupts the “will of the people.” When it is to the Right’s advantage, such as when Al Gore engaged in questionable fundraising policies during his Vice-Presidential tenure, the Right’s leadership is vocal in its criticism of the role of money in politics. When it comes to an actual solution, such as campaign finance reform, the Right is firmly opposed.

Because the public is increasingly aware of the role of money in politics, it was heartening, but not surprising, that Senator John McCain (R-AZ) struck a popular chord when he centered his 2000

sition 13 and many similar initiatives in other states have proved to be a power play by the joint interests of small business, large corporations and wealthy individuals.

Proposition 13 was built on widespread dissatisfaction in California in the mid-1970s, when an unresponsive state legislature seemed unwilling to counter a trend of rising property taxes. Most journalists and scholars who studied the success of Proposition 13 concluded that it was an expression of popular will that was not underwritten by special interests.¹² But in his 1998 reassessment, Daniel A. Smith presents convincing evidence that the forces behind Proposition 13 were not grassroots citizens, but right-wing “populist entrepreneur” Howard Jarvis, the business community, and real estate interests.¹³

Proposition 13 is just one example of the many state-level ballot initiatives that the Right has sponsored in the last 20 years. Right-wing referenda that specifically deprive minority group rights include ones that attack prisoners’ rights, bilingual edu-

cation, lesbian and gay rights, affirmative action, and immigrant rights. Other right-wing referenda, such as those that diminish abortion rights and support the death penalty, reflect long-standing right-wing causes that violate individual rights.

Further, the Right often uses deception to woo the voters to its initiatives. Slogans such as “No Special Rights” used to promote antigay initiatives, or the use of “civil rights” in the title of referenda that overturn affirmative action programs, or the message that “English is the key to opportunity” to promote propositions eliminating bilingual education all illustrate the Right’s co-optation of the language of equality in its campaigns to undo gains minorities have made. Clearly, the Right’s use of deceptive rhetoric violates the spirit of democracy, if not the letter of election laws.

Campaign Finance Reform

When presented with an opportunity to take political action that could actually promote a more accountable and

presidential primary campaign on the theme of campaign finance reform. But McCain hit a brick wall of resistance from the Republican leadership, which rejected his message of campaign finance reform. This was not a new rejection. Led by the Party’s right wing, Republicans at the federal and state level have effectively stonewalled on the subject of campaign finance reform for over 20 years and still oppose many of the reforms suggested by its advocates.

Politicians in both parties have long accepted money and worked for the interests of the donors. Democrats and Republicans alike are beholden to individual and corporate donations to finance the campaigns that allow them to stay in office or run for office. But the right wing of the Republican Party has resisted, and blocked, the reform of the system that makes politicians dependent on private money, and, thus, the resulting need for politicians to deliver favorable legislation to those who make major donations. And, although campaign finance reform alone will not

ensure an open democratic political system, without it, those with money will certainly continue to exercise disproportionate power.

Clearly the ability of business interests, corporations, and wealthy individuals to obtain special government access and influence is patently antidemocratic. Following the Watergate scandal in the 1970s, Congress passed a clean-elections law, the Federal Election Campaign Act, which covers both candidates and political parties. It limits individual donations to \$1,000 for any one candidate and provides matching funds for parties whose presidential candidates received 5% of the popular vote in the previous election.¹⁴

Because Republican and Democratic politicians at the federal level thwarted further efforts in the 1980s, activists began to work for clean-elections laws at the state level. If a candidate consents to private fundraising restrictions, public funding of campaign races is now available in Maine (1996), Vermont (1997), Arizona (1998) and Massachusetts (1998), and activists are pursuing this reform in 6 other states. Thus, campaign finance reform activists have put the issue on the table for public debate and have raised the public's awareness of the role of money in undermining democratic principles and practices. But campaign finance reform laws can be nullified if the state legislature refuses to grant the funds to underwrite them, as it has in Massachusetts, or are voluntary, as is usually true. Even in their weak forms, nearly all Republicans and many Democrats have fought campaign finance reform laws at every step. For instance, 38 of 50 Republican Senators and 3 of 50 Democrats opposed the campaign finance reform bill, which passed the Senate in early 2001 with a vote of 59-41.

Narrowing Rights for Some of "The People"

At every step, the Right—both the Old Right and the contemporary Right—has opposed across the board democratic guarantees of equal treatment for all, without regard to race, ethnicity, religion, gen-

der, sexual orientation, and disability. While claiming to speak for "the people," the Right's leaders have for decades supported full rights of some people and opposed full rights for others. An early example is the New Right's opposition to a guarantee of equal legal, political, and economic rights for women when it organized a vicious and effective campaign against the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). This anti-ERA position was characteristic of the Right's historical opposition to many other civil rights issues.

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States' Rights

For decades, the Right has argued that the Constitution supports "states' rights"—the idea that the federal government has very limited authority vis-à-vis the states and that most decisions should (constitutionally) stay at the state level. The "states' rights" slogan has an ignoble history. Southern politicians widely used it as a code for "White rights," opposing federal civil rights policies. When the New Right realized it could capitalize on many White Americans' impatience with antiracist programs, it retained the Old Right's arguments and courted Southern Democrats into the Republican Party.

States' rights allow states to preserve

their "right" to discriminate. For example, the rights of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people are unevenly protected across the states, as are the rights of welfare recipients and prisoners. When the protection of the rights of unpopular groups is handed to the states, they are likely to follow more conservative social and political attitudes.

The "Colorblind" Paradigm

The New Right's leadership crafted a rationale for its "benign neglect" of civil rights enforcement and its trust in the states to police civil rights enforcement. This rationale, adopted and promoted by the Reagan Administration, differed from the Old Right's White supremacist position and provided a new analysis of race in America. In books and speeches throughout the 1980s, the leaders and ideologues of the New Right "embraced" the Civil Rights Movement, claiming that, thanks to the Civil Rights Movement, legal segregation was now overturned. This was in keeping with a widespread acceptance among Whites that segregation's time had passed and it should not be restored. Asserting that the Civil Rights Movement had accomplished its goals, the New Right opposed programs developed in the course of that correction as irrelevant and, in most cases, unfair to White people in the present "post-civil rights" period in which there is "no longer racial discrimination." The only fair current policies, therefore, are "colorblind" ones that do not unfairly discriminate against Whites.

The Right's claim that racial discrimination is a thing of the past serves as a sleight of hand that masks its attack on civil rights. Republican rightists in the House and Senate resisted the reauthorization of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by claiming that it was no longer needed. Similarly, rightists during the Reagan Administration popularized the argument that affirmative action resulted in the unfair treatment of Whites. Nathan Glazer and other neoconservative rightists argued that, because affirmative action was "discriminatory," it was contrary to the goals of the Civil Rights Movement.¹⁵ By claim-

ing that racial discrimination was a thing of the past, Glazer turned the civil rights argument for fairness and equality on its head—a common right-wing strategy. To this day, the attack on affirmative action is mounted on the basis of “colorblind fairness.”¹⁶

Opposing Civil Rights

But the actions and non-actions of the Reagan Administration demonstrate a far deeper anti-civil rights agenda. Reagan was lukewarm to the idea of a Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday; he signed a bill in 1983 only after much public pressure and two major civil rights marches. Reagan’s foreign policy initiatives on South Africa reflected a soft approach to apartheid, pressuring for “constructive engagement” instead of economic sanctions. Even when a sanctions bill finally passed in 1986, he vetoed it, only to have Congress override his veto. These are just some of the negative, stonewalling policies that the Reagan-era New Right pursued in the area of civil rights.

New Rightists filled the bureaucracy of the Reagan Administration and gutted the federal government’s bastions of equal protection. Under the leadership of Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, the Civil Rights Division aban-

doned its practice of entertaining charges of systemic discrimination. At the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Chairman Clarence Thomas failed to pursue 1,700 complaints of race and gender discrimination and did not pursue class action suits. Reagan appointee Linda Chavez dramatically reversed the gains of the Civil Rights Commission, decreasing its productivity, and marching lockstep with Reagan’s anti-civil rights agenda.

The Right has used the “colorblind” rationale to justify a number of *proactive* anti-civil rights initiatives. For example, the Republican right wing has targeted civil rights and antipoverty programs for annihilation. Often the Right calls the attack a “reform,” such as the Right’s “welfare reform” campaign. In this case, the Right mobilized public anger against the expenditure of (White) taxpayer money to support the poor by stereotyping welfare recipients as “welfare queens” who were described as lazy, sexually promiscuous, immoral, and cheating the taxpayers who fed them.¹⁷ Right-wing welfare opponents nearly always depicted the stereotyped “welfare queen” as a Black woman, although African American women were only 37% of welfare recipients.¹⁸

Rightist Senators and Representatives

have relied on a number of books to justify cuts that shredded the poverty programs, including: George Gilder’s *Wealth and Poverty* (1981); Charles Murray’s *Losing Ground* (1984); Dinesh D’Souza’s *The End of Racism* (1995); and the late Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray’s *The Bell Curve* (1994). Funded by conservative backers and aggressively marketed to conservative audiences as scholarly research, these books received wide attention from the mainstream press. Gilder and Murray developed the right-wing argument that poverty programs do more harm than good in poor communities (read “communities of color”) by fostering “dependency” and a sense of victimization. *The Bell Curve* made the case for the far right message of White superiority.

The success of these right-wing ideologies is due not to their scholarship, which has been systematically discredited, but to the timeliness of their publications. Theirs are politically expedient, not objectively researched, works that appeared when needed to support and justify the successful campaigns mounted by rightist Republicans and conservative Democrats to dismantle affirmative action, compensatory education and public welfare programs. Their analysis allows Whites to focus on liberal policies and on the poor themselves as the sources of social problems, rather than on racism, redlining, the relocation of jobs to the suburbs, or on substandard housing, poor educational facilities, and other institutional causes of poverty.

Opposing Immigrant Rights

In several other areas, the New Right and the Reagan Administration attacked the civil rights gains of people of color while claiming not to be racist. The Right both spawned and supported a number of organizations seeking to severely limit the rights of immigrants, 85% of whom are people of color. Using images of people of color as a code to communicate racist messages, these well-financed organizations have made progress in increasing anti-immigrant prejudices by promoting scapegoating and



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stereotyping of immigrants of color. Their messages include: immigrants are not assimilating; they are often criminals; and they have too many children, and so harm the environment and disproportionately use social services, paid for by White Americans.¹⁹

In 1994 Alan Nelson, a former Director under Reagan of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), authored California's Proposition 187. It mandated that teachers, doctors, social workers, and police check the immigration status of all persons seeking access to publicly funded education and health services and deny services to undocumented immigrants. The Proposition passed, with backing from a local organization called Save Our State (SOS). The campaign for Proposition 187 was closely tied to the reelection campaign of conservative Republican Governor Pete Wilson.

The Right's anti-immigrant sentiment swept into Congress in 1994 with the arrival of a Republican majority headed by Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and his "Contract With America." In 1996, a "new Republican"-controlled Congress enacted three laws that directly affected immigrants: the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA or the "Welfare Reform" Act), and the Anti-Terrorist and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA). In each case, legal as well as undocumented immigrants were stripped of fundamental individual rights and benefits such as Supplemental Security Income (SSI), food stamps, and due process rights, and many were subject to long-term detention and deportation as a result of any number of past offenses.²⁰ Immigrants' rights groups have organized the "Fix '96" campaign to reverse some of the three 1996 Acts' most extreme measures with limited success.

Some other right-wing groups have sought to promote English as the only offi-

cial language and have been successful in 26 states. They have also opposed bilingual education for which California millionaire activist Ron Unz has provided exceptional leadership and money. His support was crucial in California to the 1998 passage of Proposition 227, which virtually outlawed bilingual education, and provided that

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children be taught in English, with sheltered immersion to last no longer than one year. In 2000, a second proposition banning bilingual education was passed in Arizona. Titled "English for the Children," Proposition 203 was 99% funded by Ron Unz.²¹

Curtailing Voting Rights

Over time, opponents of civil rights legislation have whittled away at attempts to correct voting inequities. The 1982 Voting Rights Act required the creation of new congressional districts to enable more racial minorities to elect candidates of their choice.

These "majority-minority" districts made it possible for 17 new Black representatives to be elected to the U.S. Congress in 1992, mostly from the South. Almost immediately, opponents to the creation of these new districts began to file suits in federal court, and by 1996, the courts had declared many of these district boundaries unconstitutional.

When many incumbent Blacks succeeded in getting re-elected in their new, White-majority districts, rightist critics made the spurious claim that this meant "majority-minority" districts were unnecessary. Despite these attempts, a 2001 U.S. Supreme Court decision declared such redistricting was allowable if done for political, not racial, motives, and the redistricting stands.²²

The Right has also limited voting rights through its campaigns for "law and order" and a "war on drugs." These dual efforts have resulted in a record number of felony convictions, many for relatively minor drug offenses. Arrest rates for drug offenses are six times higher for African Americans than for Whites even though their drug use rates are virtually the same. In 14 states, a felony conviction deprives the ex-prisoner or parolee of the right to vote *during his or her lifetime*. As a result, the rate of Black voter disenfranchisement is seven times the national average. Almost three-quarters of felons who have lost the right to vote are either on probation or have completed their sentence.

In a recent study conducted jointly by Human Rights Watch and The Sentencing Project, the authors conclude,

[T]he restrictions on voting by ex-felons clash with longstanding notions of justice—that once offenders have paid their debt to society, they are free to resume a normal life in the community. Even denying the right to vote to prisoners is problematic. No other country bars ex-offenders from voting for life or has such a significant percentage of its citizens who cannot vote as a result of felony convictions.²³

All of the policies described here disproportionately harm people of color, and yet the Right asserts that they have nothing to do with race. Using the language of equality and concept of colorblindness, the Right has systematically excluded people of color from the benefits of democracy.

Reining In the Independent Judiciary

One of the most insidious of the Right's campaigns has been its support for the appointment and election of federal and state judges who support its conservative "colorblind" agenda. The Right attacks judges who hand down decisions that it opposes, using the code phrase "judicial activism" to smear judicial opinions it deems too liberal.

It has opposed appointments of candidates on purely political grounds and systematically blocked the confirmation of President Bill Clinton's judicial appointments, thereby creating a severe shortage of judges. The Right has disproportionately blocked the nomination of White women and people of color to the judiciary. On the other hand, the Right supported the appointment of the same Roy Moore to Alabama Supreme Court Chief Justice who also made headlines by displaying a tablet of the Ten Commandments behind his bench.

When narrow political litmus tests are applied in judicial appointments, the judiciary's decisions begin to reflect the opinions and attitudes of those who hold the power of appointment, rather than reflecting careful and considered judgments of the legal issues at hand. We have recently witnessed the consequence of ultraconservative appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court, when the Court handed down a 5-4 decision in the case of *Bush v. Gore* (the presidential election vote-count decision), a decision that was criticized as politically motivated by many legal scholars and by Justice Stevens in his dissent.

In 1995 the Right led an attack on the independence of the federal courts by successfully shepherding through Congress the Prison Litigation Reform Act, which

placed limits on the discretion of the federal courts in their role as overseer of prisoners' rights. In many prisoners' rights cases, prisoners are seeking redress for violations involving rape and sexual abuse, physical abuse, squalid conditions, and lack of medical care in prison. And Congress disallowed federal immigration judges from considering deportation cases under IIRIRA.

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Perhaps the most egregious example of judicial interference is the "three strikes and you're out" laws now on the books in 26 states. In California, where the law is most indiscriminate, a prison term of 25 years to life is mandatory for any third crime after convictions for two felonies. Many crimes, including petty theft and assault, can be charged as either misdemeanors or felonies, giving prosecutors, not judges, discretion in sentencing in these cases. Trial judges are thus required to impose unjust punishments that violate common sense and their own judicial judgment. As is true of much of the judicial and prison systems, the three strikes laws disproportionately harm people of color. In California, African Americans account for half of all three-strikes sentences, although they represent only about 12 percent of the population.²⁴

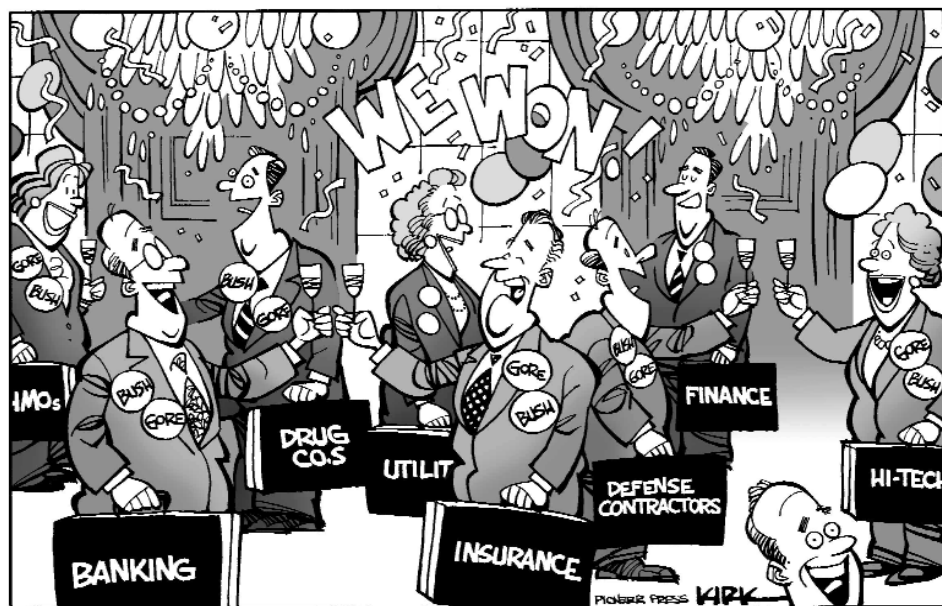
Redistributing Wealth—Upward

For most Americans, and internationally, "democracy" suggests a large middle class, created and sustained by a system of equal economic opportunity. The middle class dominates the cultural life of U.S. television, radio and newspaper. The media represents middle class Americans as having relatively stable jobs and owning their own homes, televisions, cars and other symbols of economic security.

In many ways, this snapshot of the middle class has become a myth, as many "middle class" people must now work two or more jobs to maintain their lifestyle. They may lack health insurance, daycare for their children, or the means to send their children to college. They may live on credit card debt and have little or no savings. But the predominance of the myth of the middle class has given U.S. democracy a somewhat undeserved reputation as a place with, unlike many other countries, a relatively equal distribution of wealth. The U.S. is "democratic" because, though some are poor and some are very wealthy, the vast majority of people are middle class.

Here again, the Right has a consistent record of opposing the relative economic equality associated with democracy by promoting policies that favor the wealthy and business/industrial/corporate interests. The Reagan Administration devoted nearly 2 of its 8 years in office to restructuring the tax code. It lowered the taxes of the wealthy and drastically reduced most corporate taxes. Breaks for poor people, introduced by Democratic administrations to help moderate the economic gap between the poor and the middle class—such as federally subsidized housing and general relief welfare programs—came under attack from the Right and were, for the most part, eliminated.

The Reagan Administration implemented the famous "trickle-down" theory, which asserted that if businesses, corporations, and upper-income people prosper, the prosperity will "trickle down" to the middle class and the working poor through better



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jobs and higher wages. The Administration used the theory to justify its tax breaks for the rich and corporations, who allegedly would spend their new-found money in ways that would stimulate the economy and benefit all. The actual result defied the theory. The federal debt nearly tripled, creating a sucker punch aimed at the poor and the working poor. The huge deficits created by the tax cuts made it “necessary” to cut existing social programs intended to address those most in need, and to decrease the economic gap between rich and poor. Instead that gap dramatically increased.

The Right’s leaders argue that its policies created the 1990s economic boom and that, as a movement, it is responsible for freeing the economy from government control and allowing the market to do a far better job of regulating the economy and creating prosperity than any government intervention could do. But privatization and deregulation disproportionately benefit owners and severely curtail the government’s ability to monitor private economic activity for its negative effect on non-owners. The result is to give free rein to private-sector pursuit of corporate profits.

Promoting Privatization and Deregulation

Privatization and deregulation have been among the Right’s most antidemocratic

legacies, and have been largely accomplished with the complicity of centrists and even liberal Democrats. An excellent example of the Right’s attack on the federal government’s power to look after the greater public welfare is the 1996 Telecommunications Act, passed by a Republican Congress and signed by President Bill Clinton. The bill’s stated intent was to support competition by suspending government regulation in the telephone and broadcasting industries. It rested on the bogus idea that deregulation is antimonopolistic and benefits the consumer by increasing competition thereby lowering prices. But, as most often results from deregulation, a spate of buyouts and mergers occurred, creating in 2001 less competition and higher telephone and cable rates.

The Right rationalizes its commitment to eliminating any government role in the free market by asserting that the free market is more democratic than democratically elected governments. And, by the early 21st century, this has become centrist economic orthodoxy. Such myths now dominate public consciousness. Most often-repeated is the notion that stock ownership has become so widespread as to be almost universal and that the stock market rise of the 1990s has accomplished a redistribution of wealth far more efficiently than any monetary program the federal gov-

ernment could have implemented. Rightist commentators also assert that unions which “force” workers to contribute to “no-option” pension systems (designed to provide for worker retirements) are, by contrast, antidemocratic. They tout stock options as the “best” employment benefits, noting that, while job security may be shaky, the stock market is trustworthy and will continue to deliver profits.

The facts, however, tell a different tale. The richest 10% in the United States now own nearly 80% of all stocks, mutual funds and retirement accounts. And since this same group owns over 70% of the net worth in this country, one could hardly argue that stock ownership has made a dent in the unequal distribution of wealth.²⁵ In addition, the growing economic gap between the haves and have-nots in the United States is indisputable. Between 1977 and 1999, family after-tax income for the top 1% grew by 115%, while the bottom 20% watched their incomes decline by 9%. Between 1990 and 1998, the average weekly earnings of production workers in the United States rose 6% above inflation, while the pay for CEOs rose 420%.²⁶

An economy with such multiple indicators of vast inequality does not resemble the myth of American democracy as a system that fosters economic equality. The Right favors the notion of “equal opportunity” within a free market system, asserting that the free market is the great economic equalizer. But when there is no safety net and human service programs are cut to the bone, “equal opportunity” becomes a sham. The economic system becomes one in which only the most able, well connected, and ruthless prosper.

Current Strains on Democracy

The resurgence of a powerful Right Wing has had an enormous impact on what our government does for people and what people can rightfully expect from our government. But other factors are also stressing U.S. democracy and its ability to serve all of us. Struggling with old and new prejudices, our culture continues to suffer from

persistent racism, sexism, and homophobia. The increasing globalization of our economic system and the technologies that support it put strains on how we think about doing business, and, indeed, challenge the very notion of a sovereign state. As we move towards a monopoly media, we lose the benefits of lively, accessible debate that are so essential to a successful democracy. The inability of centrist, liberal, and progressive forces to command widespread support and to state clearly their core values and vision also contribute to a lack of real alternatives for the voting public. While the Right did not invent these phenomena, it has certainly learned how to capitalize on them.

Conclusion

Looking at these instances of the Right's recent choices of issues and tactics we have seen irrefutably that the Right is anti-democratic. Its agenda is to shrink democracy by severely limiting government's ability to provide social services, by allowing big monied interests to control elections and influence our representatives, by rolling back the gains of a range of human rights movements, and by undermining judicial independence. As the George W. Bush Administration completes and surpasses the agenda of the Reagan Administration, we will see a further contraction of democracy and more and more people placed "outside the fence."

This should come as no surprise. The Right's leadership has openly advertised its vision for the future of the country for over 20 years. The examples listed here are only some of the ways in which the Right is challenging democratic principles and practice. There are, unfortunately, many more. The Right is simultaneously moving ahead on many fronts, and this assault affects us everywhere—in our city halls, schools, courts, homes, and wallets. While it is valuable to acknowledge our separate situations, it is also useful to recognize the connections across the issues that concern us, remembering the adage that an attack on one is an attack on all. The Right strategically connects its campaigns addressing

race, gender and sexual orientation under the umbrella of promoting "traditional family values." This strategy allows for an attack on one group to spill over and affect other groups.

Today's Right is firmly embedded in the center of the Republican Party, welcomed in by the language of a better future for the average person and wrapped in the colors of the flag. If we continue to uncover the anti-democratic trends of the Right, we can see that although the rhetoric and tactics of the Old Right have changed, much of their legacy remains, and not just in the cries from the Far Right. We need to see the Right's agenda very clearly, identify its antidemocratic core, and challenge its campaigns as they appear. Only then, we will be able to reassert the vision of an expanded democracy that reflects a commitment to meet the needs of us all.

For research assistance, Jean Hardisty would like to thank Pam Chamberlain and Betty Furdon; and for editing assistance, Elly Bulkin, Nikhil Aziz, Denise Bergman, Kate Cloud, Ruth Hubbard, Rosario Morales, Mitra Rastegar, and Sunny Robinson.

End Notes

- 1 A slightly different version of this article appears in *Defending Democracy: An Activist Resource Kit* (Somerville: Political Research Associates, 2001).
- 2 Because the Right has demonized these terms, we need to define them for ourselves again. Here we use the term "liberal" to refer to those who favor the reform of social and economic inequities and "progressive" to describe those who once called themselves leftists, those who seek more radical change. Using these definitions, a progressive perspective informs this article.
- 3 In the United States, the understanding of the theory of democracy stems from the writings of Benedict de Spinoza, a 17th century Dutch theorist of democracy; John Locke, a British philosopher who wrote about democratic self-government as a political ideal; and John Stuart Mill, 19th century English economist and political theorist who expanded Locke's ideas to include individual freedoms. See: Benedict de Spinoza, *A Political Treatise* (1677); John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government* (1690); and John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1859). Modern democratic theorists have updated the work of these thinkers and have identified race and gender as illegitimate criteria for excluding a person from his or her democratic rights.
- 4 For a discussion of this expanded view of democracy, see: Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty" in Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).
- 5 Robert Dahl described this view of democracy in detail (and approvingly) in his book, *Polyarchy*. The working definition of polyarchy is: officials, chosen fairly through elections, make policy decisions on behalf of citizens they

represent. This view of democracy is widely accepted throughout academia and in the State Department's classification of third world countries as "democracies."

- 6 "If the people are corrupt, the more democracy, the worse the government." Patrick Buchanan, *Washington Inquirer*, January 18, 1991.
- 7 Though most of the New Right's leaders were young Republicans who had been burned by the failed candidacy of Barry Goldwater, old-timer William F. Buckley, Jr. played a central role in crafting a "fusion" politics that united several conservative ideologies.
- 8 Richard Viguerie, *The New Right: We're Ready to Lead!* (Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1980), p. 214.
- 9 Paul Weyrich, one of the most prominent New Right leaders, wrote in March 1984, "Conservative in the black community means racist and that is understandable. The leadership on the right, however, bears no resemblance to the reactionary Southern icons of the past. ... I am sure there are people who call themselves conservatives who are prejudiced. But the leaders are far from it." Paul Weyrich, "It Would Help If They Really Knew Us." *Conservative Digest*, vol. 10, no. 3 (March 1984), p. 44.
- 10 Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000), p. 227.
- 11 David S. Broder, *Democracy Derailed: Initiative Campaigns and the Power of Money* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 2000), pp. 1-21.
- 12 Jack Citrin, "Who's the Boss? Direct Democracy and Popular Control of Government," in Stephen Craig, ed., *Broken Contract? Changing Relationships Between Americans and Their Government* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 268-93, and Clarence Lo, *Small Property Versus Big Government* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. xi, xiv.
- 13 Daniel A. Smith, *Tax Crusaders and the Politics of Direct Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 52-85.
- 14 Primaries and final elections differ. Individual candidates receive matching funds in federal primary elections if they raise \$5000 in each of 20 states. Political parties receive matching funds if they make a showing of 5% or better in the previous presidential election.
- 15 Nathan Glazer, *Affirmative Discrimination* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).
- 16 In 1998 Glazer entered the public debate again, with his book *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), defending affirmative action with the very arguments he had rejected and disdained in *Affirmative Discrimination*.
- 17 The chronology of the development and marketing of this stereotype by right wing organizations is documented in Lucy Williams, "Decades of Distortion: The Right's 30 Year Assault on Welfare." (Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates, 1997). Also see: Gwendolyn Mink, ed., *Whose Welfare?* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).
- 18 Staff of House Committee on Ways and Means, 104th Cong., 2nd Session., "Background Material and Data on Programs Within the Jurisdiction of the Comm. On Ways and Means," 1996, p. 474.
- 19 Doug Brugge, "Pulling Up The Ladder: The Anti-Immigrant Backlash." *The Public Eye*, vol. 9, no. 2, Summer 1995, pp. 1-10.
- 20 The Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act greatly expanded the list of crimes leading to deportation and permanently barred the re-entry of non-citizen immigrants convicted of aggravated felonies, without any right to apply for a waiver. The law allows for the use of secret evidence in any deportation cases where the

government asserts that the immigrant has engaged in terrorist activity. These cases overwhelmingly have targeted Arab-Americans. Deportees from countries with which the US has no diplomatic ties have been held in detention centers indefinitely. The Act also calls for the mandatory detention of asylum seekers arriving in the US without valid documentation until they establish a "credible fear of persecution." The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) tied eligibility for a range of federal means-tested benefits to citizenship. With few exceptions, non-citizens, including legal permanent residents, were excluded from Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and food stamps unless they had proof of working for at least 40 quarters in the US. Immigrants entering after the passage of the law were ineligible for these benefits for five years. PRWORA authorized states to discriminate against non-citizen immigrants in administration of federal benefits, including Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) and Medicaid. It greatly limited states' ability to provide many services to undocumented immigrants, requiring reporting of the

immigration status of those receiving such services. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) dramatically increased the number of Border Patrol officers, their support personnel and INS investigators. It tightened security on the borders and at ports of entry and increased penalties for smuggling immigrants, using fraudulent documents or overstaying visas. Those in the country without proper documentation for over a year were barred from reentry for 10 years. IIRIRA increased the earning requirements of new immigrants sponsors, requiring them to sign Affidavits of Support. These sponsors' income is counted towards calculating the immigrants' eligibility for federal means-tested benefits, even after such immigrants have passed the 5-year bar. Receiving any public benefits puts immigrants at risk of being considered "public charges" and losing the right to reenter the country or become a legal permanent resident.

21 James Crawford, "Bilingual Education: Strike Two" *Rethinking Schools*, vol. 15, no. 2, Winter 2000/2001, pp. 3, 8. Also see: Crawford, *Bilingual Education: His-*

tory, Politics, Theory and Practice (Bilingual Education Services, 4th ed., 1999); and Crawford, *At War With Diversity: U.S. Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety* (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2000).

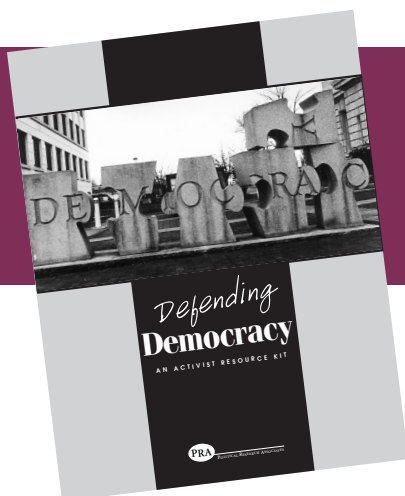
22 Hunt v. Cromatie, US 99-1894, decided April 18, 2001, slip opinion.

23 Marc Mauer and Jamie Fellner, "Losing the Vote: The Impact of Felony Disenfranchisement Laws in the United States" (Human Rights Watch and The Sentencing Project, October 1998). Also see: Tamar Lewin, "Crime Costs Many Black Men the Vote," *New York Times*, October 23, 1998, p. A12.

24 Mark Riley, "Tough Approach Strikes Out in US," *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 18, 2000.

25 Chuck Collins, Chris Hartman, and Holly Sklar, "Divided Decade: Economic Disparity at the Century's Turn," (Boston: United for a Fair Economy 1999), pp. 2-4.

26 Ibid., p. 8.



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WITH THE PRESIDENCY OF GEORGE W. BUSH, the U.S. political Right is escalating its attack on a whole range of hard-won rights and protections. Based on PRA's twenty years monitoring the Right, *Defending Democracy: An Activist Resource Kit* documents how the Right's campaigns and policies have eroded democratic values and goals and provides tools to respond to this threat effectively.

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Book Review

Arlene Stein

The Stranger Next Door: The Story of a Small Community's Battle over Sex, Faith, and Civil Rights

(Boston: Beacon Press, 2001) hb, 267 pp, with appendices, notes, and index.

Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney

Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America

(New York: Touchstone Books, June 2001) pbk, 716 pp., with notes, bibliography, and index.

Holly J. Pruet

Holly J. Pruet is a freelance writer and organizational consultant who served as deputy campaign manager to defeat the Oregon Citizens Alliance's 1994 antigay Ballot Measure 13.

How do we tell our own history? The answer that emerges from *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* is: often, not very well.

Authors Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, journalists with the *New York Times*, describe *Out for Good* as the definitive—yet “not intended to be comprehensive”—history of the modern gay rights movement. Rich with scene-setting details and engaging, gossipy portraits of their cast of characters, their 716 pages are devoid of reflection and analysis. Their editorial choices say perhaps as much about the politics, class, gender, and race of a dominant segment of the national movement as their undeniably commanding narrative does.

Sociologist Arlene Stein, in *The Stranger Next Door: The Story of a Small Community's Battle over Sex, Faith, and Civil Rights*, takes a different approach to considering the same movement. Both sets of authors draw on extensive field research. The Clendinen/Nagourney team spent 7 years conducting 700 interviews with 330 subjects; Stein interviewed 50 people over the course of 2 years. Both rely also on archival materials, secondary sources, and media reports. But while Clendinen and Nagourney attempt to cover 20 years across an entire country, Stein focuses on one small town at one moment in time.

In some ways, despite the differences in framework and focus, Stein picks up where Clendinen and Nagourney leave off. *Out for Good*, begun in 1992 as an article that served as “kind of a coming out piece” for Clendinen, covers the 20 years between the Stonewall riots in 1969 and the full-blown impact of AIDS, symbolized by the death of Sheldon Andelson, a wealthy Los Angeles “A-Gay” who is eulogized by Ted Kennedy and Jerry Brown in the book's closing pages. One year later, in 1989, the Christian Coalition was founded. The implications of this, entirely absent from *Out for Good*, are examined in intimate detail by Stein.

Clendinen and Nagourney promise to reveal “the great shaping tensions of the movement.” *Out for Good* delivers tensions aplenty. At times a virtual flowchart of who slept with whom and which drugs were consumed where, the book depicts the brutally personal nature of the debates, alliances, and power grabs that mark the movement. Beyond the personality politics, certain themes recur. Sexual liberation versus civil rights. Men versus women. Top-

down, corporate-style organization versus rowdy street activism. Impatient new organizers—“not building on history but discarding it”—ousting their movement elders who'd been established such a very short time themselves. Assimilation or social change.

These themes form the discreet scaffolding of a story constructed on a few, ultra-urban sets: New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Washington D.C., with brief forays into a handful of other cities. There are very occasional detours into lesbian organizing: the rise and fall of the Furies collective, the battle over lesbian inclusion in the National Organization for Women, the battle over transsexual inclusion at the first West Coast Lesbian Conference. Otherwise, this is the story of major political milestones in what proves to be Clendinen and Nagourney's primary, though unacknowledged, interest: the development of a “gay vote.”

The epilogue of *Out for Good*, written in 1998, finds Bill Clinton at the Palace Theater in Hollywood, May 1992, in front of a crowd of 500 gay men who would raise \$100,000 for him that night. At that time the gay rights movement chronicled by Clendinen and Nagourney was, they believe, “in eclipse, overtaken by the ruder and more urgent AIDS movement. It would return later,...by the end of the 1990s.” While the losses exacted by the AIDS epidemic remain incalculable, Clendinen and Nagourney's assertion that “No other movement, certainly, has paid so heavy a price for the freedom won” reflects the same self-referential perspective that allows them to ignore the movement that was forming outside the major cities, and indeed, grew stronger there during the 1990s.

This is the movement that Stein examines. *The Stranger Next Door* is a story of the margins, not the main stages. It details the struggles of 'Timbertown,' her pseudonym for one of the three dozen small towns and eight counties in Oregon rocked by anti-gay ballot measures in 1993. Sponsored by the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) after the statewide defeat of a similar initiative in 1992, these unenforceable measures were designed to build a political base for victory in the general election of 1994.

Stein credits Sara Diamond, Didi Herman, Linda Kintz, and Suzanne Pharr for her understanding of the "blend of values and interests" at stake in this small town's conflict over gay rights, an understanding that bridges the "culture war" and material-forces explanations popularized by other observers. She treats Timbertown as a case study in "how cultural conflict emerges in the context of everyday life."

Presenting herself honestly as "other"—out as a Jew and an academic if not as a lesbian—Stein enters Timbertown in the aftermath of the election, meeting with local OCA members and local gay rights supporters to investigate "how sexuality became a resonant symbol upon which a population of citizens projected a host of anxieties about the changing world around them, how that divided a small community, and what that tells us about our ability to live with difference."

Stein loads *The Stranger Next Door* with vivid detail and interesting anecdotes that help buoy the narrative amidst the heavy flotsam of academic references and sociologist-speak. Like Clendinen and Nagourney, she risks caricature by painting a picture of a larger scene with only a few "representative" subjects (like the big haired, blue eye-shadowed "Martha Stewart" of the born again set featured in a chapter titled "Decorating for Jesus"). All three authors elevate the words and deeds of identifiable actors over the less visible glue that often

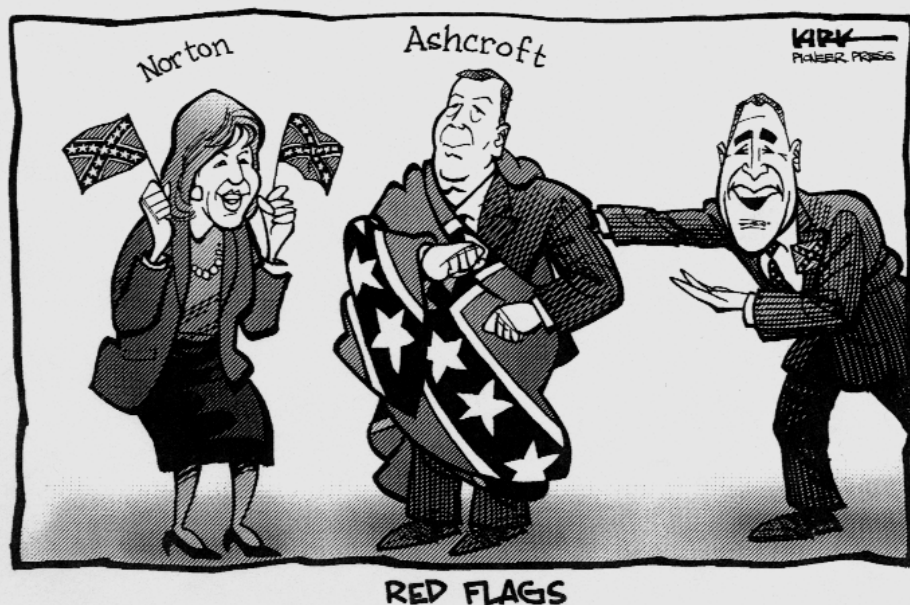
holds movement together: the ideas, analysis, resources, and support spread through grassroots connections and behind-the-scenes organizers like Oregon's Rural Organizing Project. In her survey of one small town lacking a visible gay and lesbian community, Stein finds that the campaign surfaces many of the same tensions documented in the big-city movement of Clendinen and Nagourney. Stein critiques the assimilationist attempt "to cleanse homosexuality of its sexual connotations." In the chapter "I Shout, Therefore I Am," she describes the contest over greater victimhood that escalated as each side likened the other to the Nazis and the Klan.

Stein manages to produce a nuanced portrait of Timbertown's Christian Right, empathizing with the doubts she was surprised they chose to reveal to her. "Rather than announce a sense of certainty and moral fortitude," she finds, "the campaign seemed to do quite the opposite: it revealed a pervasive underlying sense of insecurity, placelessness, and existential mistrust." These fundamental features of today's American landscape are a challenge to progressives, who, Stein believes, are still less effective than the Christian Right—however weakened—in answering this call.

Clendinen and Nagourney, while calling the gay rights movement "the last great struggle for equal rights in American history to this point," fail to fully contextualize this liberation effort among others, nor do they explore what the gay rights movement has to offer a broader quest for justice for all. Stein, though far less ambitious in the scope of her story telling, asks some of the bigger questions: "How do we live in a contested moral order? And how do we live with the strangers in our midst?"

The Timbertown experience, Stein believes, shows the dead ends offered by trying to expel the "other"—and by trying to assimilate to become "just like" the norm. Her solution is a small one, not suited to the checkbooks, mass demos, electoral campaigns, and lobbying efforts depicted as "the movement" in *Out for Good*—nor likely to result in the sweeping changes sought by some of those tactics.

Stein's solution taps into the same impulse that urges gay men and lesbians to come out. "Only if we can truly see the 'other' and listen to him or her can dialogue take the place of conflict," she concludes. "[It] is the very test of our humanity."



Resources

Right-Wing Groups and Ideologies

A Brief Preface

*You must remember this,
A list is just a list,
A file is just a file...*

A apologies to the lyricist and to Sam. A list does not imply a conspiracy, a file is not a critique, and a database is not an analysis. This annotated list is designed as a reference guide for anyone who may easily be confused by the enormous number of unfamiliar or similar sounding names that surface when one begins to study the U.S. political right and what has come to be known as the Culture Wars.

There is confusion and honest disagreement over terminology when discussing right-wing movements and the Culture Wars. For instance, Political Research Associates (PRA) does not call the Christian Coalition "far right" and avoids the terms "radical right" and "religious political extremist." These terms reflect a specific school of social science analysis that has been persuasively challenged by more nuanced research. The Institute for First Amendment Studies prefers the term "hard right." Some look at the Christian Right and divide it into conservatives and theocratic nationalists. Others use many of these terms interchangeably.

At PRA we see the American political right as divided into three key segments: the traditional conservative Right; the more aggressive Christian Right; and the xenophobic Right ranging from right-wing populists to far-right groups such as the KKK or neonazis that are based on theories of biological determinism or promote right-wing revolution. While there is some ideological and membership overlap at the edges of these three segments, they are viewed here as discrete social/political movements. In

addition, we further subdivide the Right into the Hard Right, Old Right, New Right, ultraconservatives, reactionaries, right-wing libertarians, neoconservatives, paleoconservatives, and many more categories.

We have included in this directory both groups and a few individuals we describe as ideologues. By ideologue we mean a leader who shapes policy through their intellectual labor or who create consensus or coalition through networking or serving as movement gatekeepers. They are important even if they are not linked to a particular institution.

It is a mistake to conclude that all the groups or individuals listed below work together. For instance, the conservative Heritage Foundation is a long-standing critic of the far-right LaRouche Network. Some traditional conservatives are offended by the sweeping changes proposed by the more reactionary and ultraconservative activist Right. The Far Right views both the Christian Right and conservatives as weak-willed or active agents of the global conspiracy to "enslave" patriotic White Americans.

It is unfair to conclude that every group or individual listed is primarily identified as right wing. Some groups are listed because their proposals regarding obscenity or depiction of violence have come into conflict with the artistic community. Some moderate conservative groups are listed because a small portion of their agenda includes issues such as opposition to abortion, or stereotyping of gays and lesbians. Not every idea promoted by every group listed here will be found objectionable by a reader concerned about potential infringements on civil rights and civil liberties by hard-right religious and secular groups. Some proposals by the groups listed may appeal to individuals across the political spectrum. Far-right groups such as the LaRouche network, Liberty Lobby, and the Christian Identity movement are listed because they attempt to join more moderate right-wing populist and conservative coalitions. Some groups are listed because some have con-

fused or conflated them with other groups.

Addresses and phone numbers are provided for selected influential groups and publications when readily available, but some groups listed will be defunct by the time you read this. Addresses and phone numbers change regularly. It pays to double check to be sure the information is current.

Finally, the First Amendment means what it says, and PRA does not advocate demonizing, censoring, or abridging the rights of any groups or individuals based on their beliefs.

Chip Berlet
Senior Analyst

Political Research Associates

Right Wing Groups

Accuracy in Academia

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www.academia.org

Reactionary watchdog group fighting perceived liberal bias in academia. Run by Reed Irvine. Publishes Campus Report. See *Accuracy in Media*.

Accuracy in Media

4455 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 330,
Washington, DC 20008, 202/364-4401,
www.aim.org

Reactionary watchdog group fighting perceived liberal bias in the media. Run by Reed Irvine. Publishes AIM Report. See *Accuracy in Academia*.

American Center for Law & Justice

PO Box 64429, Virginia Beach, VA 23467,
757/226-2489, www.aclj.org

Legal action in support of Christian principles. Founded by Pat Robertson in 1990. Headed by Jay Sekulow. Has multiple offices.

American Civil Rights Institute

PO Box 188350, Sacramento, CA 95818,
916/444-2778, www.acri.org

Founded by Ward Connerly in 1997, ACRI uses encoded language to oppose affirmative action. Connerly and ACRI led the Proposition 209 effort in California, which dismantled affirmative action programs in the state.

American Conservative Union

1007 Cameron St., Alexandria, VA 22314,
800/ACU-7345, 703/836-8602,
www.conservative.org

Central clearinghouse for networking conservatives loyal to the Old Right "Taft Wing" of the Republican Party.

American Council on Science & Health

1995 Broadway, 2nd Floor, New York, NY
10023, 212/362-7044, www.acsh.org

Challenges strict environmental regulations. Member, Earth Day Alternatives coalition in 1990.

American Family Association

PO Drawer 2440, 107 Parkgate, Tupelo, MS
38803, 662/844-5036, www.afa.net

Specializes in leading corporate boycotts. The AFA's main interests are in fighting pornography, depictions of sexuality, and positive portrayals of gays in art and media. Publishes *AFA Journal*.

American Immigration Control Foundation

PO Box 525, Monterey, VA 24465,
540/468-2022,
<http://personal.cfu.com/~aicfndn/>

Opposes "pro-alien special interest groups" by working "to counter the well-heeled propaganda campaign of anti-American special interests."

American Legislative Exchange Council

910 17th St., NW, 5th Floor, Washington, DC
20006, 202/466-3800, www.alec.org

An extremely influential think-tank and network that mobilizes and trains conservative state legislators, and provides drafts of proposed state legislation.

American Life League, Inc.

PO Box 1350, Stafford, VA 22555,
540/659-4171, www.all.org

Opposes abortion rights. Publishes *communiqué*, a newsletter prepared by Judith A. Brown.

American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property

PO Box 341, Hanover, PA 17331,
717/225-7147, www.tfp.org

Global network promotes a return to Catholic patriarchal oligarchy. Promotes the historical period of the Spanish Inquisition. Even some Catholic conservatives have written about TFP's embrace of elements of fascism. Publishes *Crusade Magazine*.

American Spectator

2020 N. 14th St., Ste. 750, Arlington, VA
22201, 703/243-3733, www.amspec.org

A monthly magazine where neoconservatives and their allies attack liberals with snide broadsides. Edited by R. Emmett Tyrrell.

Americans for Truth Project

PO Box 45252, Washington, DC 20026-5252,
703/491-7975, www.americansfortruth.com

Produces many antigay publications including the Lambda Report (now an online journal) which is dedicated to "Exposing and Opposing the 'Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender' Movement in American Politics & Culture." Headed by Peter LaBarbera who was previously associated with the Springs of Life Church which produced *The Gay Agenda* video series in the early 1990s. AFTP is a project of Kerusso Ministries which was founded by former homosexual Michael Johnston.

Americans United for Life

310 South Peoria St., Ste. 300, Chicago, IL
0607-3534, 312/492-7234,
www.unitedforlife.org

Opposes abortion rights.

Blue Ribbon Coalition

PO Box 1427, Idaho Falls, ID 83403-1427,
208/524-3946,
www.off-road.com/4x4web/land/bluerib.html

Off-road vehicle enthusiasts and corporate extractive industry supporters who challenge the environmental movement.

Campus Crusade for Christ International

100 Lake Hart Dr., Orlando, FL 32832,
407/826-2000, www.ccci.org

An influential Christian Right ministry on numerous college campuses in the United States and around the world. Dr. Bill Bright runs the Campus Crusade.

Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation

PO Box 11321, St. Louis, MO 63105,
314/727-6279, www.mindszenty.org

Established to fight communism, the predominantly Catholic group in recent years has detected the seeds of communism in various feminist and peace movements.

Catholic League for Religious & Civil Rights

450 Seventh Ave., New York, NY 10022,
212/371-3191, www.catholicleague.org

Dr. William A. Donohue oversees this group that appears to believe that Catholic religious and civil rights are incompatible with full rights and equality for women and homosexuals. Seeks constraints or codes that would affect free expression and the arts.

Catholics United for the Faith

827 N. 4th St., Steubenville, OH 43952,
800/693-2484, www.cuf.org

Promotes orthodox Catholicism against liberal inroads.

Cato Institute

1000 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington,
DC 20001, 202/842-0200, www.cato.org

Influential libertarian public policy research center. Founded in 1977.

Center for Equal Opportunity

815 15th St., NW, Ste. 928, Washington, DC
20005, 202/639-0803, www.ceousa.org

Former Reagan appointee and George W. Bush's initial pick for Secretary of Labor, Linda Chavez is president of the Center. Abigail Thernstrom and Ron Unz (author of the antibilingual Proposition 227 in California) are on the board. Published a Parents Guide to Bilingual Education that educates parents to "learn how to remove their children from harmful [bilingual education] programs."

Center for Individual Rights

1233 20th St., NW, Ste. 300, Washington, DC
20036, 202/833-8400, www.cir-usa.org

Objects to campus codes attempting to regulate actions based on racist, sexist, or homophobic motivations. Challenges strict environmental regulations. Opposes affirmative action.

Center for Libertarian Studies

851 Burlway, Ste. 202, Burlingame, CA
94011, 800/325-7257,
www.libertarianstudies.org

Paleoconservative think-tank. Publishes Triple R (formerly the Rothbard Rockwell Report), edited by Llewellyn Rockwell, Jr.

Center for Reclaiming America

PO Box 632, Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33302,
877/725-8872, www.reclaimamerica.org

An "outreach" of Coral Ridge Ministries. CRA seeks to "reclaim America for Christ." Led by Dr. D. James Kennedy.

Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise

12500 NE 10th Pl., Bellevue, WA 98005,
425/455-5038, www.cdfc.org

Militant rhetoric opposing the plans of environmental activists. Founded by fundraiser Alan Gottlieb and directed by Ron Arnold, who co-authored the book, *Trashing the Economy: How Runaway Environmentalism is Wrecking America*.

Center for the Study of Popular Culture

PO Box 67398, Los Angeles, CA 90067,
800/752-6562, www.cspc.org

Former leftists David Horowitz and Peter Collier publish *Heterodoxy*, a newspaper-format

monthly they call "articles and animadversions on political correctness and other follies." Horowitz frequently appears on TV and radio to denounce the left and attack it for various "falsehoods." He wrote *Hating Whitey* and has purchased antireparation ads in college newspapers.

Charisma

600 Rinehart Rd., Lake Mary, FL 32746,
407/333-0600, www.charismamag.com

Glossy monthly of the Christian Right.

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade

P.O. Box 129, Manitou Springs, CO 80829,
719/685-9043

For over 45 years this ministry, founded by Fred Schwarz, M.D., has fought communism and internal subversion. Schwarz retired in 1998 and David Noebel of Summit Ministries took the reins. Publishes Schwarz Report and Christian Anti-Communism Crusade newsletter. Promotes conspiracy theories about the origin and spread of AIDS.

Christian Coalition

499 So. Capitol St. SW, Ste. 615, Washington, DC 20003, 202/479-6900, www.cc.org

The largest Christian Right group seeking to mobilize grassroots constituencies. Founded in 1989 by Pat Robertson. Other Robertson groups include the 700 Club, Regent University, and the Christian Broadcast Network.

Christian Identity

Not a single group, but a religious-political movement with a vindictive anti-Jewish and racist theology. Believes that Africans and African-Americans are "subhuman," and that Jews are the "spawn of Satan." Not to be confused with Christian Reconstructionism.

Christian Reconstructionism

Not a single group. The theocratic ideology that proposes replacing civil and criminal law with Biblical law. Leading advocates include the late R.J. Rushdoony and Gary North. Not to be confused with Christian Identity.

Christian Voice

One Cathedral Pl., Washington, DC 20069,
703/548-1421

Led by Robert Grant, Christian Voice lobbies against gay rights.

Citizens for Excellence in Education

See National Association of Christian Educators.

Coalition on Revival

P.O. Box 1139, Murphys, CA 95247,
209/728-2582, www.reformation.net

A modern reformationist movement founded and led by Jay H. Grimstead. COR represents the intersection of Christian Reconstructionism with the more conventional Christian Right.

College Republican National Committee

600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003, 202/608-1411, www.crnc.org

Sometimes takes positions that are far to the right of the Republican Party leadership.

Colorado for Family Values

3709 Parkmoor Dr., Ste. 103, Colorado Springs, CO 80917, 719/573-4229

Organized the campaign to enact Colorado's antigay Amendment Two, which was struck down because it infringed on the constitutional rights of gays and lesbians. Founded and led by Kevin Tebedo and Tony Marco.

Competitive Enterprise Institute

1001 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 1250, Washington, DC 20036, 202/331-1010,
www.cei.org

Challenges environmental regulations. Coordinates Earth Day Alternatives coalition.

Concerned Women for America

1015 15th St., NW, Ste. 1100, Washington, DC 20005, 800/458-8797, 202/488-7000,
www.cwfa.org

The nation's largest conservative Christian women's organization with chapters in 50 states. Founded by Beverly LaHaye, it considers high levels of defense spending and aggressive anticommunism to be integral to defending traditional family values.

Conservative Caucus

450 Maple Ave. E., Ste. 309, Vienna, VA 22180, 703/938-9626,
www.conservativeusa.org

Small but vocal group which opposed "the Clintonista plan to governmentalize U.S. medicine" and sponsors "Hillary Watch" tracking Senator Clinton "and her radical agenda." Also wants to stop DC statehood, block taxpayer subsidies to homosexuals, abolish the IRS and terminate the income tax. Founded and led by Howard Phillips.

Constitution Party

23 North Lime St., Lancaster, PA 17602,
717/390-1993, www.constitutionparty.com

Ultraconservative political party founded in 1992, formerly U.S. Taxpayers Party. Howard Phillips was its presidential candidate in the 1996 and 2000 elections. Constitution Party is explicitly antitax, antigovernment, anti-abortion. Seeks to abolish the IRS, close down the Department of Education and terminate federal funding for Planned Parenthood, AIDS education, and the National Endowment for the Arts.

Coral Ridge Ministries

5554 N. Federal Hwy, Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33308, 954/772-0404, www.coralridge.org

Major Christian right ministry led by D. James Kennedy, who was on the founding

Board of Directors of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. Seeks the "application of biblical principles to all spheres of our culture and to all of life." Affiliated with the Center for Reclaiming America.

Council for National Policy

3030 Clarendon Blvd., Ste. 340, Arlington, VA 22201, 703/525-8822

Policy and fundraising organization that brings together conservative and right-wing activists from many different groups. Usually refuses public comment about its meetings and other activities. Tim LaHaye was the founder and first president.

Eagle Forum

P.O. Box 618, Alton, IL 62002,
618/462-5415, www.eagleforum.org

Founded and led by Phyllis Schlafly, its best-known campaign was against the ERA. Antifeminist. Opposes comprehensive sexuality education. Publishes *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*.

Education Research Analysts

P.O. Box 7518, Longview, TX 75607,
903/753-5993,
<http://members.aol.com/txtbkrevws/>

Reviews Texas school textbooks for signs of liberal permissiveness, antipatriotic sentiments or other ideas that threaten the "American way of life." Run by Mel and Norma Gabler.

English First

8001 Forbes Pl., Ste. 102, Springfield, VA 22151, 703/321-8818, www.englishfirst.org

Opposes bilingualism. Founded in 1986. Seeks to pass English Only amendments at the state and federal level. Considered politically to the right of U.S. English. Home to Larry Pratt (Gun Owners of America). The organization's strategy is to move all 50 state legislatures to pass English Only laws in order to ratify an amendment to the U.S. constitution.

Exodus International

P.O. Box 77652, Seattle, WA 98177,
206/784-7799, www.exodusintl.org

The largest "gay reclamation" ministry, Exodus International promotes the conversion of gay men and lesbians to heterosexuals through therapy and submission to Jesus Christ. It describes itself as a "world-wide network of Christian organizations which minister to those overcoming homosexuality and other life-dominating sexual problems."

Family Research Council

801 G St., NW, Washington, DC 20001,
202/393-2100, www.frc.org

Influential think tank and lobbying group. Led by Gary L. Bauer, FRC was a division of James Dobson's Focus on the Family from 1988 until October 1992, when IRS concerns about the group's lobbying led to an amicable administrative separation.

The Federalist Society

1015 18th St., Washington, DC 20036,
202/822-8138, www.fed-soc.org

Conservative institute concerned with the law.

Federation for American Immigration Reform

1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 400,
Washington, DC 20009, 202/328-7004,
www.fairus.org

Nativism packaged to appeal to a broader political constituency. Typical rhetoric from fundraising appeal: "There is no end to the ingenuity of illegal aliens when it comes to eluding our immigration authorities." Founded by John Tanton. Not to be confused with the other FAIR, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting.

Focus on the Family

8605 Explorer Dr., Colorado Springs, CO
80995, 719/531-3400, 800/232-6459,
www.fotf.org

Influential profamily organization. Seeks to defend family, faith and traditional values. Founded and led by family counselor James Dobson, Ph.D. The organization has grown so large it has its own zip code.

Free Congress Foundation

717 Second St., NE, Washington, DC 20002,
202/546-3000, www.freecongress.org

Run by New Right strategist Paul Weyrich, FCF evolved from the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress and Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, and was founded by Colorado beer magnate Joe Coors. Other groups affiliated with FCF include Free Congress Political Action Committee. Publishes *Empowerment!*

Guns Owners of America

8001 Forbes Pl., #102, Springfield, VA 22151,
703/321-8585, www.gunowners.org

Progun ownership group that is to the right of the NRA. Larry Pratt is Executive Director.

Heritage Foundation

214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC
20002, 202/546-4400, www.heritage.org

One of the most influential think-tanks linking the Old and New Right. Focuses on economic issues, "government waste," foreign policy, and military issues. Challenges strict environmental regulations. Publishes *Policy Review*.

Hillsdale College

33 East College, Hillsdale, MI 49242,
517/437-7341, www.hillsdale.edu

Ultraconservative college. See also Shavano Institute.

Human Life International

4 Family Life Lane, Front Royal, VA 22630,
540/635-7884, www.hli.org

Promotes a wide range of right-wing political and economic goals as part of its anti-abortion agenda. Ideologically aligned with an orthodox Catholic perspective.

Independent Women's Forum

PO Box 3058, Arlington, VA 22203,
800/224-6000, info@iuf.org, www.iuf.org

Antifeminist women's organization. "Provides a forum for American women who believe in individual freedom and personal responsibility." Publications include *The Women's Quarterly* and *Ex-Femina*.

Institute for Creation Research

ICR Graduate School, 10946 Woodside Ave.
North, Santee, CA 92071, 619/448-0900,
www.icr.org

Seeks full integration of science and the Bible to "see science return to its rightful God-glorifying position." Website includes list of "creation scientists." Produces periodicals, research papers and videos for pastors, teachers and others.

Institute on Religion and Democracy

1110 Vermont Ave. NW, Ste. 1180,
Washington, DC 20005, 202/969-8430,
www.ird-renew.org

Regards the National Council of Churches as manipulated by Marxist ideologues. Condemns liberation theology. Trivializes attempts to deal with sexism, racism, homophobia, and classism within organized religion.

Intercollegiate Studies Institute

PO Box 4431, Wilmington, DE 19807-0431,
800/526-7022, www.isi.org

A mainstay of the Old Right, the Institute publishes the monthly *CAMPUS: America's Student Newspaper*; *Intercollegiate Review*; *ISI Update*; *Political Science Review*; and the quarterly journal *Modern Age*. Opposes multiculturalism and all forms of liberalism.

Jerry Falwell Ministries

Jerry Falwell, Lynchburg, VA 24514,
804/237-0770, www.falwell.com

Jerry Falwell is one of the most influential Christian Right televangelists who started the Moral Majority, then replaced it after a brief hiatus with the Liberty Alliance. He also founded Liberty University.

John Birch Society

PO Box 8040, Appleton, WI 54913,
920/749-3780, www.jbs.org

Ultraconservative and reactionary membership organization that promotes the theory that the New World Order is the function of centuries-old conspiracy of financial elites networked through the Trilateral Commission,

Council on Foreign Relations, and other similar groups. Publishes *The New American*. Founded and led by Robert Welch until his death.

LaRouche Network

PO Box 889, Leesburg, VA, 20178,
703/777-9451, 888/347-3258

Far-right group run by the neofascist Lyndon LaRouche. LaRouche publications include *The New Federalist* and *Executive Intelligence Review*; other LaRouche groups include the Club of Life and the Schiller Institute.

Leadership Institute

Steven P.J. Wood Building, 1101 N. Highland
St., Arlington, VA 22201, 703/247-2000,
www.leadershipinstitute.org

Conservative training ground for right-wing youth. Includes an employment placement service and intern program that places institute attendees in prominent right-wing organizations. Founded in 1979 by Morton C. Blackwell to "identify, recruit, train and place conservatives."

Liberty Lobby

300 Independence Ave., SE, Washington, DC
20003, 202/544-1794, www.spotlight.org

Far-right think-tank. While calling itself a populist group defending family values and American patriotism, Liberty Lobby is a major source of bigotry against Jews. Liberty Lobby publishes *The Spotlight*, a newspaper with a circulation of over 100,000.

Liberty University

1971 University Blvd., Lynchburg, VA 24502,
804/582-2000, www.liberty.edu

Jerry Falwell, former head of the now-defunct Moral Majority, is founder and chancellor of Liberty University. See Jerry Falwell Ministries.

Media Research Center

325 S. Patrick St., Alexandria, VA 22314,
703/683-9733, www.mediaresearch.org

Opposes any traces of liberalism on TV or in films. Publications include *Magazine Watch* and *MediaNomics*.

Morality in Media

475 Riverside Dr., Ste. 239, New York, NY
10115, 212/870-3222,
www.moralityinmedia.org

Founded in 1962, now headed by Kevin M. Beattie, the group opposes all forms of what it considers pornography and obscenity.

National Association of Christian Educators (NACE)/Citizens for Excellence in Education (CEE)

PO Box 3200, Costa Mesa, CA 92628,
949/251-9333, www.nace-cee.org

Both groups are headed by Robert L. Simonds, who is on the Coalition on Revival

(COR) Steering Committee. NACE works closely with COR. NACE's purpose is "to reclaim our Christian heritage in our public schools." CEE is a division of NACE. Argues that students in public schools are "being taught a socialist global worldview, and being indoctrinated with new age, atheistic and value-free ideologies." Together, both groups publish the *Educational Newslite* newsletter.

National Association of Evangelicals

1001 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 522,
Washington, DC 20036, 202/789-1011,
www.nae.net

A large and influential group that represents conservative evangelicals in Washington, DC.

National Association for the Research and Therapy of Homosexuality

16633 Ventura Blvd., Ste. 1340, Encino, CA
91436, 818/789-4440, www.narth.com

Secular exgay organization comprised of psychoanalysts, psychiatrists and others who advocate for homosexuals to convert to heterosexuality.

National Committee of Catholic Laymen

215 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016,
212/685-5210

Publishes *Catholic Eye*, a conservative Catholic newsletter. Related to Human Life Foundation, Inc. and connected to the *National Review*.

One Nation/One California

English for the Children, 555 Bryant St.,
#371, Palo Alto, CA 943011, 650/853-0360,
www.onenation.org

Millionaire Ron Unz's organization through which he ran the antibilingual education campaign Proposition 227 in California.

Operation Rescue

PO Box 740066, Dallas, TX 75374,
972/494-5316, www.orn.org

Aggressively fights abortion rights with militant clinic actions that cross the line from civil disobedience to assault. Founded in Binghamton, NY. Headed by Philip (Flip) Benham.

Opus Dei

524 North Ave., Ste. 200, New Rochelle, NY
10801, 914/235-1201, www.opusdei.org

Reactionary fundamentalist Catholic lay society. Extremely influential within the central administration of the Roman Catholic Church.

Oregon Citizen's Alliance

PO Box 9276, Brooks, OR 97305,
503/463-0653,
www.oregoncitizensalliance.org

Started by Lon Mabon, the OCA sponsored the antigay Oregon Abnormal Behavior and Student Protection Act Initiatives. Mabon was

briefly head of the Oregon chapter of the Christian Coalition. OCA has been active in nearby states trying to organize similar groups.

Pacific Legal Foundation

10360 Old Placerville Road, Ste. 100,
Sacramento, CA 95827, 916/362-2833,
www.pacificlegal.org

Conservative legal foundation. Challenges environmental regulations.

Parents and Friends of Ex-Gays (P-FOX)

1401 1/2 King St., Alexandria, VA 22314,
703/739-8220, www.pfox.org

Christ-centered network of "parents, friends and family of loved ones struggling with homosexuality." Advocates for lesbians and gay men to convert to heterosexuality through religious conversion.

Parents' Music Resource Center

PO Box 815, McLean, VA 22101,
703/748-3130

Seeks constraints or codes that would affect free expression and the arts. Supports parental warning system for music it finds offensive. Some fear this would lead to censorship. Among the founders were: Tipper Gore, wife of former Vice President Albert Gore; Susan Baker, wife of former Secretary of State James Baker; Georgie Packwood, wife of former Senator Robert Packwood; and Nancy Thurmond, wife of South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond.

Pioneer Fund

1204 Third Ave., Ste. 150, New York, NY
10021, 212/696-8635, www.pioneerfund.org

Funds research in a pattern that suggests a problematic concern with biologically-determinate racial nationalism. Stated goal is to aid "research and study into the problems of human race betterment with special reference to the people of the United States."

Pioneer Institute

85 Devonshire St., 8th Floor, Boston, MA
02109, 617/723-2277,
www.pioneerinstitute.org

Conservative state think-tank promoting free market solutions to social problems. Founded in 1988 by Lovett C. Peters, "a Boston businessman, philanthropist, and trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and Hillsdale College."

Plymouth Rock Foundation

1120 Long Pond Rd., Plymouth, MA 02360,
508/833-1189, 800/210-1620,
www.plymrock.org

Rus Walton leads a campaign to promote the idea that America was meant to be a Christian nation in an effort to "reclaim America for Jesus Christ."

Political Economy Research Center

502 S. 19th Ave., Ste. 211, Bozeman, MT
59718, 406/587-9591, www.perc.org

Conservative think-tank. Challenges strict environmental regulations.

Populist Party

Repeated schisms make it difficult to track, but essentially an electoral formation that promotes a hard right-wing version of populism regarding government bureaucracy, mixed with nativism that in some instances embraces theories of racism and fascism.

Pro-Life Action League

6160 N. Cicero Ave., Ste. 600, Chicago, IL
60646, 773/777-2900, www.prolifeaction.org

Director Joseph M. Scheidler is author of *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion*. Promotes militant direct action.

Project Reality

PO Box 97, Golf, IL 60029, 874/729-3298,
www.projectreality.org

Produces the abstinence-only curricula *Choosing the Best* and *Facing Reality*. Director is Kathleen M. Sullivan. Original name of Project Reality was Project Respect, which was a subsidiary of the Committee on the Status of Women, run by Sullivan. Project Respect originally promoted Sex Respect, an abstinence-only curriculum now handled by Respect, Inc. (Not to be confused with Respect, Inc., despite earlier ties.)

Project Respect

Renamed. See Project Reality.

Promise Keepers

P.O. Box 103001, Denver, CO 80250-3001,
800/888-7595, www.promisekeepers.org

Mass-based Christian men's movement. Founded by University of Colorado football coach Bill McCartney in 1990. While projecting an image of spirituality, leaders of Promise Keepers seem bent on gaining social and political power. Promise Keepers say men should "reclaim" authority from their wives.

Reason Foundation

3415 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Ste. 400, Los Angeles,
CA 90034, 310/391-2245, www.reason.org

Conservative libertarian think-tank. Challenges strict environmental regulations.

Respect, Inc.

PO Box 349, Bradley, IL 60915,
815/932-8389, www.sexrespect.com

Produces *Sex Respect* abstinence-only curriculum designed to replace comprehensive sexuality education courses. Early workbook written by Coleen Kelly Mast.

Rockford Institute

928 North Main St., Rockford, IL 61103,
815/964-5819, www.rockfordinstitute.org

Paleoconservative think-tank. Publications of the Rockford Institute, which is led by Allan Carlson, include: *The Family in America*, and *Chronicles* (formerly *Chronicles of Culture*). A main concern is the erosion of traditional values resulting from an increasingly pluralistic society.

Rutherford Institute

PO Box 7482, Charlottesville, VA 22906-7482,
804/978-3888, www.rutherford.org

Founded by John W. Whitehead, the Rutherford Institute distributes tapes from the late Reconstructionist leader R.J. Rushdoony and ultraconservatives such as Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum, among others. Promotes the secular humanism conspiracy theory. Recently has moderated its public image.

Scaife Foundations

One Oxford Center, 301 Grand St., Ste. 3900,
Pittsburgh, PA 15219, 412/392-2900,
www.scaife.com

Four family foundations: Sarah Scaife Foundation, Scaife Family Foundation, Allegheny Foundation and the Carthage Foundation. All are leading funders of conservative and ultraconservative causes.

Shavano Institute

Hillsdale College, 33 E. College St., Hillsdale,
MI 49242, 517/437-7341, 800/437-2268

Hosted by Hillsdale College. Conservative think tank and policy analysis group.

Smith Richardson Foundation

60 Jessup Road, Westport, CT 06880,
203/222-6222, www.srf.org

Leading funder of conservative and ultraconservative causes.

State Policy Network

6255 Arlington Blvd., Richmond, CA
94805-1601, 510/965-9700, www.spn.org

A loosely-knit network of conservative state think-tanks, networks, and legal foundations. The State Policy Network replaced an earlier network called the Madison Group.

Summit Ministries

Box 207, Manitou Springs, CO 80829,
719/685-9103, www.summit.org

Led by David Noebel, formerly of Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade. Summit publishes *The Summit Journal*. Noebel is author of a textbook used by the Christian Right: *Understanding the Times: The Story of the Biblical Christian, Marxist/Leninist and Secular Humanist World View News*.

Teen Aid, Inc.

723 E. Jackson, Spokane, WA 99207,
509/466-8679, 800/357-2868,
www.teen-aid.org

"An organization which develops, promotes, and provides family life education materials that focus on premarital abstinence and parent/teen communication." Opposes comprehensive sexuality education, publishes *Me, My World, My Future* among other abstinence-only curricula.

Tim LaHaye Ministries

PO Box 2700, Washington, DC 20013,
703/830-4898, www.timlahaye.com

Led by Tim LaHaye, a former leader of Moral Majority and the Council for National Policy. Publishes *Pre-Trib Perspectives*.

Traditional Values Coalition

100 South Anaheim Blvd., Ste. 350,
Anaheim, CA 92805, 714/520-0300,
www.traditionalvalues.org

Founded and led by Rev. Louis P. Sheldon, TVC is active in supporting antigay initiatives and opposes school-based counseling programs for gay and lesbian teens. Roger Magnuson, author of *Are Gay Rights Right?*, is a frequent contributor to the TVC newsletter.

U.S. English

1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Ste. 1100,
Washington, DC 20006, 202/833-0100,
www.us-english.org

Opposes bilingualism. Founded in 1983 by Senator S. I. Hayakawa and Dr. John Tanton. Tanton chaired U.S. English until he departed after a scandalous memo was leaked. The memo also led to Linda Chavez resigning from her position as Director. Their goal is to make English the only legitimate language of government at all levels. It has two arms: U.S. English Inc., which lobbies at the state and federal level to abolish bilingual education, as well as to make English the only language used in government business; and the U.S. English Foundation, a non-profit organization that shares the same goals.

U.S. Taxpayers Party

See Constitution Party.

Young America's Foundation

110 Elden St., Herndon, VA 20170,
800/292-9231, www.yaf.org

Influential right-wing youth organization. Established by friends and former leaders of Young Americans for Freedom.

Young Americans for Freedom

PO Box 3951, Wilmington, DE 19807,
877/YAF-2170, www.yaf.com

National organization of ultraconservative college students.

RIGHT WING IDEOLOGUES

Samuel Blumenfeld

A prolific writer currently writing weekly articles for *WorldNetDaily.com*. Is also author of *NEA: Trojan Horse in American Education*, a major source of the theory that the National Education Association is part of an immense secular humanist conspiracy. Previously published the Blumenfeld Education Report. Back issues will be available on CD-rom, through his commercial website, <http://www.alpha-phonics.com/>.

Patrick Buchanan

Xenophobic economic nationalist and populist. Left the Republican Party during the 2000 presidential election and ran on the Reform Party ticket with Lenora Fulani, from the New Alliance Party.

Linda Chavez

See Center for Equal Opportunity.

Ward Connerly

Member of the University of California Board of Regents, African-American conservative, and proponent of California's anti-affirmative action Proposition 209. See American Civil Rights Institute.

Holly Coors

Of the Adolph Coors Foundation. On the Heritage Foundation Board of Trustees since 1998. President and Founder of Women of Our Hemisphere Achieving Together.

James Dobson

See Family Research Council and Focus on the Family.

Dinesh D'Souza

A founder of the right-wing student paper, the *Dartmouth Review*, later served as senior domestic policy analyst in the White House from 1987 to 1988. A research scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, and author of numerous books, including *The Virtue of Prosperity* and *The End of Racism*. Opposes affirmative action.

Jerry Falwell

Televangelist and founder of now-defunct Moral Majority. See Coral Ridge Ministries and Liberty University.

Steve Forbes

Editor of *Forbes* magazine and 1996 Republican presidential primary candidate who advocated for a flat tax. Founded Americans for Hope, Growth and Opportunity.

Samuel T. Francis

Isolationist concerned about promoting White culture as cornerstone of U.S. national sovereignty. Authored the security section of the Heritage Foundation's Reagan transition study,

and became legislative assistant for national security to ultraconservative Senator John P. East. Has written for the *Washington Times* during 1980s, for Rockford Institute's *Chronicles* during 1990s and *New American*. Has served as cochairman to American Immigration Control Foundation and board member of Council of Conservative Citizens.

David Horowitz

See Center for the Study of Popular Culture.

Dr. D. James Kennedy

Influential in the Protestant theocratic right. See Center for Reclaiming America and Coral Ridge Ministries.

Beverly LaHaye

See Concerned Women for America.

Tim LaHaye

See Tim LaHaye Ministries and Council for National Policy.

Rev. Sun Myung Moon

Leader of the Unification Church, which promoted Moon as a successor to Jesus and maintained a dictatorial internal structure to build, in Moon's words, "an automatic theocracy to rule the world." Cultivated ties with Christian Right and ultraconservative leaders in the United States, the Reagan administration and the World Anti-Communist League.

Reed Irvine

See Accuracy in Academia and Accuracy in Media.

Grover Norquist

President of Americans for Tax Reform and arguably Washington's leading right-wing strategist. He helped design former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich's 1994 Contract with America.

Marvin Olasky

One of President George W. Bush's most influential advisors. Author of *Compassionate Conservatism: What it is, What it Does and How it Can Transform America*. Coined the concept "compassionate conservatism," the basis of Bush's faith-based initiative. Professor of journalism at the University of Texas at Austin and editor of *World*.

Howard Phillips

See Conservative Caucus and Constitution Party.

Larry Pratt

See English First and Guns Owners of America.

Pat Robertson

See American Center for Law & Justice and Christian Coalition.

R.J. Rushdoony

Late leader of Christian Reconstructionist

theology and founder of the Chalcedon Foundation. See Christian Reconstructionism and Rutherford Institute.

Richard M. Scaife

Multimillionaire heir to the Mellon family fortune and a major ultraconservative funder of right-wing causes. Controls three foundations, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Carthage Foundation and Allegheny Foundation. Vice Chairman of the Heritage Foundation Board of Trustees. See Scaife Foundations.

Francis A. Schaeffer

Evangelical activist and a pioneer of dominion theology. Argued against secular humanism and abortion, and challenged Christians to take control of a sinful society. Influenced many early Christian Right activists, including Tim LaHaye, John W. Whitehead, Randall Terry and Jerry Falwell. Founder of the L'Abri Fellowship in Switzerland, and author of *How Should We Then Live?* and *Whatever Happened to the Human Race?*.

Phyllis Schlafly

See the Eagle Forum and the Rutherford Institute.

Rev. Lou Sheldon

Was appointed by George W. Bush to a religious advisory council to help implement Bush's faith-based initiative. See Traditional Values Coalition.

Christina Hoff Sommers

W. H. Brady Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, formerly a professor at Clark University. Author of *Who Stole Feminism? How Women Have Betrayed Women* and *The War Against Boys*. Claims that most feminist battles have been won and women are achieving as much or more than men are.

John Tanton

Editor and publisher of *The Social Contract*. Founded U.S. English and Federation for American Immigration Reform (see above). Formerly president of the Northern Michigan Planned Parenthood chapter. From 1971-1975 he was chairman of the Sierra Club National Population Committee and from 1975-1977 he was president of Zero Population Growth.

Randall Terry

Militant antichoice activist and founder and former leader of Operation Rescue (see above). Founded Christian Leadership Institute "to identify, equip and raise up men who will rebuild American institutions on the Ten Commandments." Hosts "Randall Terry Live," a daily radio program.

Abigail Thernstrom

A Senior Fellow at the Manhattan Institute in New York, a commissioner on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education.

Co-author with husband, Stephan Thernstrom, of *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible*. Opponent of race-based programs, including affirmative action. See Center for Equal Opportunity.

Ron Unz

See Center for Equal Opportunity and One Nation/One California.

Paul Weyrich

See Free Congress Foundation. Also leader of Coalitions for America.

John W. Whitehead

See the Rutherford Institute.

Note: A slightly different version of this list appears in Defending Democracy: An Activist Resource Kit (Somerville: Political Research Associates, 2001).

Groups Defending Democracy and Diversity from Right-Wing Attack

This list of *Groups Defending Democracy and Diversity from Right-Wing Attack* was created to aid you in gathering information for organizing in your community. We have listed organizations that in some component of their work deal directly with and have resources about challenging the Right. These organizations either monitor and analyze right-wing groups or movements, are directly affected by and working against certain right-wing campaigns, or have published material on understanding and challenging sectors of the Right. National, regional and local organizations are all included in this list, as are groups working on single issues or on a broad range of social justice causes. While some organizations that are primarily online resources have been listed here, links to more online resources and directories are listed on our website, www.publiceye.org, under the red "Links" icon. Organizations with international scope can also be found there. We strongly encourage you to visit our website.

As with many of our projects at PRA, this is a work in progress. We apologize for any oversights and welcome suggestions for changes, corrections or additions.

If you are interested in connecting with social justice organizations defending democratic principles and practices, see

our more extensive listings on our website, www.publiceye.org, at "Building Equality & Democracy" under the red "Links" icon.

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

4201 Connecticut Ave., NW, #300,
Washington, DC 20008, 202/244-2990,
www.adc.org

National nonsectarian civil rights organization committed to defending the rights of people of Arab descent. Produces periodic reports on incidents of violence and the nature of anti-Arab prejudice. Publishes a bimonthly newsletter, the *ADC Times*.

American Civil Liberties Union

125 Broad St., 18th Floor, New York, NY
10004, 212/549-2500, www.aclu.org

National membership organization, many local chapters. Interested in the threat to civil liberties posed by aspects of the Religious Right, including school prayer, school vouchers, equal educational and employment opportunity (on the basis of sex, race, and national origin), reproductive freedom, welfare reform, pornography, the NEA, capital punishment, the war on drugs, and AIDS policy. Series of books on constitutional rights, some available in bookstores. Write for full list.

American Jewish Committee

Jacob Blaustein Building, 165 E. 56th St.,
New York, NY 10022, 212/751-4000,
www.ajc.org

National membership organization with many local chapters and international offices. Protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and antisemitism. Examines rise of the Religious Right and the Far Right, especially armed militias. Publications and programs on hate on internet and talk radio; Christian Identity; militia movement; Holocaust denial; bigotry on campus; Louis Farrakhan. Original publisher of *Commentary*, a leading neoconservative publication now published independently.

American Jewish Congress

15 E. 84th St., New York, NY 10028,
212/879-4500, www.ajcongress.org

National membership organization with local chapters. Coordinated publication of instructive pamphlet: *Religion in the Public Schools: A Joint Statement of Current Law* endorsed by a wide range of religious and secular groups. Many other useful publications.

American Library Association

Intellectual Freedom Committee, 50 E. Huron,
Chicago, IL 60611, 800/545-2433,
www.ala.org

Monitors censorship, school curricula, library protests, legal decisions. Frequently

covers local campaigns by religious and political Right. Publishes *Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom*.

Americans for Religious Liberty

PO Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916,
301/598-2447

Public interest educational organization with national scope dedicated to preserving the American tradition of religious, intellectual, and personal freedom in a secular, democratic state. Publishes a newsletter, the *Voice of Reason*. Several books and pamphlets available.

Americans United for Separation of Church and State

518 C St., NE, Washington, DC 20002,
202/466-3234, www.au.org

National membership organization. Several state and local chapters. Monitors the Religious Right and promotes church-state separation. Opposes public funding of parochial schools. Supports religiously neutral public education. Several pamphlets available on church/state topics, and packets of articles on the Religious Right in politics, and on school vouchers. Write for information. Resources include a monthly magazine, *Church & State* and a videotape, *Religious Freedom: Made in the U.S.A.*

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

823 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017,
212/490-2525, www.adl.org

Largest and most frequently cited resource on anti-Jewish bigotry and prejudice. National organization with many regional offices. Print and electronic media resources are extensive. Special reports on Skinheads, the Ku Klux Klan, Identity Churches, Liberty Lobby, LaRouche, and many other topics. Call for current availability and pricing. Publishes two newsletters, *ADL On The Frontline* and *Law Enforcement Bulletin*.

Boston Coalition for Freedom of Expression

c/o Mobius Gallery, 354 Congress St., Boston,
MA 02210, 617/542-7416,
www.ultranet.com/~kyp/bcfe.html

Local alliance of writers, artists, arts administrators, educators, and citizens concerned about censorship, arts advocacy, and the right of all segments of society to be heard.

Catholics for a Free Choice

1436 U St., NW, Ste. 301, Washington, DC
20009, 202/986-6093, www.cath4choice.org

Research, policy analysis, education, and advocacy on issues of gender equality and reproductive health. Many publications in English, Spanish and Portuguese. Excellent book on the Catholic Right, with updates. Works both nationally and internationally.

Center for Democracy Studies

177 E. 87th St., Ste. 501, New York, NY
10128, 212/423-9237, www.cdsresearch.org

Founded in 1996 as a project of The Nation Institute. Conducts strategic research into right-wing and antidemocratic movements in areas including: affirmative action, reproductive rights, gender equality, education, separation of church and state, law and democracy, and the militias. Intensive research on Promise Keepers. Publishes *PKWatch* newsletter. It has also produced a video as well as a detailed report on Promise Keepers. Copublisher with Political Research Associates and Equal Partners in Faith of *Challenging the Promise Keepers: An Organizer's Information Packet*.

Center for Democratic Renewal

PO Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302,
404/221-0025, www.thecdr.org

Community-based coalition fighting hate group activity. Has numerous local affiliates. Write for complete resource list. Every civil rights or human relations office should have a copy of the handbook *When Hate Groups Come to Town* to provide a ready response to incidents of hate-motivated violence or intimidation. Extensive list of publications.

Center for Media and Democracy

520 University Ave. #301, WI 53703,
608/260-9713, www.prwatch.org

Nonprofit, public interest organization dedicated to investigative reporting on the public relations industry. Serves journalists, researchers and others seeking to recognize and combat manipulative and misleading PR practices. Publishes an excellent newsletter, *PRWatch*.

Center for New Community

PO Box 346066, Chicago, IL 60634,
708/848-0319, www.newcomm.org

A faith-based, rural-urban initiative with a mission to revitalize congregations and communities for genuine social, economic, and political democracy. The Center's "Building Democracy" project is aimed at countering far-right, antidemocratic movements in the Midwest, and is carried out through monitoring activities and education and organizing initiatives.

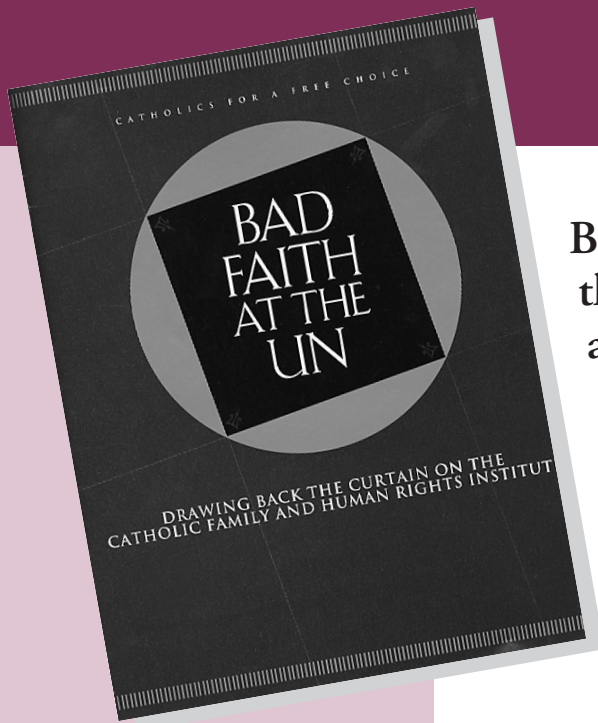
Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences,
California State University, 5500 University
Parkway, San Bernardino, CA 92407,
www.hatemonitor.org

National research and policy center that examines the ways that bigotry, advocacy of extreme methods, or the use of terrorism deny civil or human rights to people on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability or other relevant status characteristic. Seeks to aid scholars, community

Resources continued on page 24

Conservative Catholic Mayhem at the United Nations *Uncovered*



Bad Faith at the UN: Drawing Back the Curtain on the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute

Bad Faith at the UN examines the history, activities and finances of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute (CAFHRI), a conservative, anti-reproductive rights Catholic organization that lobbies the UN. Among the key findings:

- CAFHRI was established by Human Life International (HLI), an anti-abortion organization that was denied UN accreditation.
- CAFHRI has applied for special nongovernmental organization (NGO) status at the UN but its spokespeople and literature routinely disparage and denigrate the UN and its work.
- CAFHRI sought to hide the fact that its primary purpose is to serve as a resource for the Holy See at the UN.

Includes appendices of original court documents.

To Order, Contact:

Catholics for a Free Choice
1436 U St., NW Suite 301
Washington, DC 20009-3997

Tel: 202-986-6093

Fax: 202-332-7995

Email: cffc@catholicsforchoice.org

Url: www.catholicsforchoice.org

Only \$10.00 a copy.

Resources *continued from page 22*

activists, government officials, law enforcement, the media and others with objective information to aid them in their examination and implementation of law and policy.

Citizens Project

PO Box 2085, Colorado Springs, CO 80901, 719/520-9899, www.citproj.pppages.com

Researches the Religious Right, especially in Colorado. Took a strong stand in exposing theocratic bigotry behind Colorado's Amendment 2. Publishes a newsletter, *Freedom Watch*.

Clearinghouse on Environmental Advocacy and Research (CLEAR)

503/236-8788, ehaden@earthlink.net,
Archive of old website at
www.eug.org/pub/home/clear/clear.html

Works to expose corporate agenda of the Wise Use movement. Currently exists as an email newsletter, A Clear View. To subscribe send email to: list_requests@c-t-g.com and type "subscribe CLEAR_View" in body of message.

DataCenter

1904 Franklin St., Ste. 900, Oakland, CA 94612, 800/735-3741, www.igc.org/datacenter/

Research by contract into a variety of topics with special expertise in corporations and current political issues. Serves organizations throughout the country. Large collection of clippings and specialized computer skills for searching electronic databases. Write for complete resource list.

Equal Partners in Faith

2026 P St., NW, Washington, DC 20026, 202/296-4672 x14, www.us.net/epf

A national coalition of clergy and faith-based activists committed to equality among all people concerned about the Promise Keepers' use of Christian teachings to create a divisive and potentially dangerous message. Copublishes with Political Research Associates and the Center for Democracy Studies of *Challenging the Promise Keepers: An Organizer's Information Packet*. Also copublished *Challenging the Ex-Gay Movement* with PRA and NGLTF.

Facing History and Ourselves

16 Hurd Rd., Brookline, MA 02445, 617/232-1595, www.facing.org

Publishes high school curricula on the Holocaust, slavery, Armenian genocide, and theory of prejudice and violence. Addresses a broad range of human rights issues.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR)

130 W. 25th St., New York, NY 10001, 212/633-6700, www.fair.org

National mediawatch group. Publishes *Extra!*, a bimonthly magazine that examines

biased reporting, censored news, media mergers, press/state cronyism, the power of corporate owners and advertisers, and right-wing influences in the media. Write for publications list.

The Fight the Right Network

PO Box 2084, Philadelphia, PA 19103-0084, 215/389-1400

A regional organization that has various projects that work to oppose "the political ascendancy of theocrats and fascists."

Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD)

248 W. 35th St., 8th Floor, New York, NY 10001, 800/GAYMEDIA

8455 Beverly Blvd., Ste. 305, Los Angeles, CA 90048, 323/658-6775, www.glaad.org

National organization that promotes fair, accurate, and inclusive representation of individuals and events in all media as a means of challenging homophobia and all forms of discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity. Publishes a newsletter: *GLAAD Bulletin*.

Holocaust Survivors & Friends in Pursuit of Justice

800 New Loudon Rd., #400, Latham, NY 12110, 518/785-0035, www.holocausteducation.org

Publishes materials refuting Holocaust deniers and "historical revisionists." Coordinates survivor lectures and exhibits. Provides services mostly to upstate New York.

Independent Media Institute

77 Federal St., San Francisco, 2nd Floor, CA 94107, 415/284-1420, www.independentmedia.org

National electronic news service and information clearinghouse for editors, journalists, and activists on the myriad aspects of the culture war, particularly attacks on freedom of expression.

Institute for Democracy Studies

177 East 87th St., Ste. 501, New York, NY 10128, 212/423-9237, www.institutefordemocracy.org

The Institute for Democracy Studies is a nonprofit, tax-exempt research and educational center devoted to the study of antidemocratic religious and political movements and organizations in the United States and internationally. Has programs on Law and Democracy, Religion and Democracy and Reproductive Rights and Democracy.

Institute for First Amendment Studies

PO Box 589, Great Barrington, MA 01230, 413/274-0012, www.ifas.org

Tracks the Religious Right and covers separation of church and state issues. Reliable expertise on Religious Right and reconstruction-

ism. Provides speakers, available for talk shows & interviews. Publishes the *Freedom Writer*.

Institute for the Study of Academic Racism at Ferris State University

PO Box 510, Big Rapids, MI 49307, 231/591-3612, www.ferris.edu/htmls/othersrv/isar/homepage.htm

A nonprofit educational foundation that monitors academic racism and serves as a resource center for scholars, legislators, civil rights organizations, and journalists. Mostly an online resource.

The Interfaith Alliance

1012 14th St., NW, Ste. 700, Washington, DC 20005, 202/639-6370, www.interfaithalliance.org

National alliance of religious leaders concerned about the narrow vision of the Religious Right. Promotes positive role of faith as a healing and constructive force in public life.

Institute for Public Accuracy

65 Ninth St., Ste. 3, San Francisco, CA 94103, 415/552-5378, www.accuracy.org

Challenges the assertions of right-wing think-tanks like the Heritage Foundation that have enormous impact on news coverage and political discourse in the United States. A nationwide consortium, IPA has a roster of 200 researchers and analysts, serves as a resource for media professionals, and helps bring other voices to the mass-media table by building communication with alternative media outlets and grassroots activists.

Montana Human Rights Network

PO Box 1222, Helena, MT 59624, 406/442-5506, www.mhrn.org

Frontline human rights group in the heart of militia country. Coordinates Montana Youth Action Network. Publications include, two quarterlies: *Network News* and *Newsflash*, and a compilation of essays by progressive leaders in Montana, *Provocateur*.

National Campaign for Freedom of Expression

1429 G St., NW PMB #416, Washington, DC 20005-2009, 202/393-2787, www.ncfe.net

Focuses on challenges to artistic expression. Published *A Guide for Understanding, Preparing for, and Responding to Challenges to Freedom of Artistic Expression*. Publishes the *NCFE Bulletin* quarterly.

National Center for the Pro-Choice Majority

PO Box 1315, Hightstown, NJ 08520, 609/443-8780

Works for reproductive freedom. Monitors the actions and the individuals who are engaged in harassment and intimidation of abortion providers and the women who need their ser-

vices. Provides resources to providers and to the prochoice community in an effort to responsibly educate the public, legislators, law enforcement personnel, and the media.

National Coalition Against Censorship

275 Seventh Ave., 20th Floor, New York, NY 10001, 212/807-6222, www.ncac.org

Alliance of religious, educational, professional, artistic, labor and civil rights groups that works to educate about the dangers of censorship and how to oppose it. Publishes a newsletter, *Censorship News*.

National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy

2001 S St., NW Ste. 620, Washington, DC 20009, 202/387-9177, www.ncrp.org

Seeks to make philanthropy more responsive to people with the least wealth, more open and accountable and more relevant to critical public needs. Published an excellent study titled *Moving a Public Policy Agenda: the Strategic Philanthropy of Conservative Foundations* which documents the role and work that key institutions and groups have played in developing the institutional base of American conservatism. Publishes a quarterly newsletter, *NCRP News*.

National Conference for Community and Justice

475 Park Ave. S., 19th Floor, New York, NY 10016-6901, 212/206-0006, www.nccj.org

Formerly National Conference of Christians and Jews. A nonprofit human relations organization with 65 regional offices dedicated to fighting bias, bigotry and racism. Focuses on interreligious affairs, youth and education, workplace and community relations programs. Resource materials on multicultural education, interreligious relations, and citizenship/pluralism.

National Education Association

1201 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036, 202/833-4000, www.nea.org

The largest teachers union in the United States. Maintains an active Human and Civil Rights Committee. Write for information about resources on combating censorship in schools.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF)

1700 Kalomara Rd., NW, Washington, DC 20009, 202/332-6483, www.nglft.org

Progressive national gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender organization. Along with advocacy at the national level, NGLTF supports state and local activists through its field program. Publishes a number of organizing resources for activists and holds Creating Change, a national annual conference for GLBT activists. Provides policy analysis through its think tank, the Policy Institute.

Northwest Coalition for Human Dignity

PO Box 21428, Seattle, WA 98111, 206/762-5627, www.nwchd.org

Coalition of public, private, and governmental organizations that monitors supremacist groups and activities. Holds an annual conference and symposium on the Far Right and hate crimes. A good resource for activists.

The Pennsylvania Alliance for Democracy

300 N Second St., Ste. 906, Harrisburg, PA 17108-3056, www.padnet.org

A regional alliance engaging in promoting democratic values, including respect for a diverse society, separation of church and state, and individual rights as guaranteed in the Constitution.

People Against Racist Terror

PO Box 1055, Culver City, CA 90232, 310/495-0299, www.antiracist.org

Produces reports with a radical analysis of racism, White supremacy, police abuse, anti-Jewish and anti-Arab activity, and fascism that feature substantial research and an accessible style. Opposes colonialism and supports efforts to free political prisoners. Publishes a newspaper, *Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research & Education*. Previous reports have been collected in the book *White Lies White Power: The Fight Against White Supremacy & Reactionary Violence* by Michael Novick. The southern CA affiliate, and western regional contact of the Anti-Racist Action Network.

People for the American Way

2000 M St., NW, Ste. 400, Washington, DC 20036, 202/467-4999, 800/326-7329, www.pfaw.org

National political action committee. Conducts research, legal and educational work on Religious Right and its allies. Has several reports and press releases on the rise of the Religious Right and homophobic campaigns. Resources include a newsletter, *Right-Wing Watch* and a videotape, *The Religious Right, Then and Now*. Extensive publications list.

Political Ecology Group

965 Mission St., Ste. 218, San Francisco, CA 94103, 415/777-3488, www.igc.org/peg

A multiracial, volunteer based organization working for environmental justice in the San Francisco Bay Area. Brings people together for collaborative action, participatory education, leadership development, and for carrying out campaigns with national and international impact. Published *The Greening of Hate* on the campaign to persuade the Sierra Club to favor immigration restrictions.

Political Research Associates

1310 Broadway, Ste. 201, Somerville, MA 02144, 617/666-5300, www.publiceye.org

Independent research center that monitors and analyzes the US political right. Extensive twenty-year file and publication archive on right-wing movements ranging from New Right to White supremacist groups. Publishes a periodical, *The Public Eye*. Extensive publications list.

The Prejudice Institute

2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218, 410/366-9456, www.prejudiceinstitute.org

A national center with a comprehensive approach to the problems of prejudice and intergroup conflict. Conducts research, consultation, training, education, and operates a clearinghouse for information on current events and model programs of prejudice reduction, prevention, and response. Publishes a newsletter, *Perspectives*.

ProChoice Resource Center

16 Willett Ave., Port Chester, NY 10573, 914/690-0938, 800/733-1973, www.prochoiceresource.org

Helps grassroots organizations in their fight for reproductive freedom in the US. Provides prochoice activists with on-site trainings, technical assistance, publications, and links to local and national prochoice activities. Publishes *ProChoice IDEA: How Grassroots Fought the Opposition—and Won*.

Project Tocsin

6521 Capital Circle, Sacramento, CA 95828, 916/381-3115, www.rthoughtsrfree.org/tocsin/tocsin.htm

Tracks the political activities of the Religious Right in California. Publishes a variety of materials on Christian dominionism and reconstructionism. Also tracks funding of right-wing political candidates.

Public Good Project

PO Box 28547, Bellingham, WA 98228, 360/734-6642, <http://nwccitizen.com/publicgood/>

A research and education project working in the Northwest that focuses on conflicts where democratic values are being challenged.

Rethinking Schools

1001 East Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212, 414/964-9646, www.rethinkingschools.org

A nonprofit, independent newspaper with a national scope advocating the reform of elementary and secondary schools. Emphasis on urban schools and issues of equity and social justice. Published by teachers and educators with contributing writers from around the country. Other publications include: *Rethinking Schools: An Agenda for Change*, *Rethinking*

Resources continued on page 28

Eyes RIGHT

“SAVAGE EXIT.”

“Are you sick and tired of mindless abortion doctors, bushy-legged feminazis, and slack-jawed bleeding-hearts deciding the fate of America’s innocent? Well idle no longer noble soldier!

Savage Exit lets you fight back for fetal rights in thrilling first-person shooter action! Take control of our unborn hero Wade—trapped inside a hostile womb and being assaulted by evil abortionists. Seize their unholy weapons of murder to slice and blast your way out of an inhospitable uterus! Fight through scads of sinister surgeons and an army of ideologue interns in the OR! Hijack an incubator and roll through hospital corridors, bringing the wrath of God upon level after level of heavily-armed security and whining, misguided liberals intent on completing the job your heartless mother left unfinished! Utilize up to twelve different weapons, including the scalpel, the Glock 9mm, the AK-47 Assault Rifle, and the Tongue of Jesus Kerosene Flamethrower to smite the wicked pagan enemy! By the time you’re done with them, the only ‘choice’ they’ll have left is between a faceful of shrapnel and a lakeful of fire.

Savage Exit combines awesome 3D graphics, lightning-fast gameplay, and righteous morality into the most fundamental training for the TRUE children of the Lord!”

“Coming Soon” from Jehovahtek which is apparently “dedicated to developing the coolest games for the most faithful of the flock” and whose “products combine state of the art technology with absolute righteous ideology!”

Source: Jehovahtek Enterprises,
<http://www.geocities.com/jehovahtek/>

“PRIESTLY BURDEN.”

CBN.com calls her “the no-nonsense voice

of common sense morality...passionate about helping others.” In her own words “Teaching, preaching and nagging about morals, values and ethics as a way of having a richer, substantial, meaningful, satisfying life—that’s my mission!”

Talking to the Christian Broadcasting Network’s Sandy Engel, Dr. Laura had this to say: “The Jewish people have the assignment to help perfect the world to help bring the reality of God and God’s nature and character to the earth: you know, an old assignment, an infinite and eternal assignment. And I take it very seriously. When I started reading scriptures—You shall be unto Me a nation of priests—I went, ‘That’s what I’m supposed to do.’ It was an assignment with a tremendous, sometimes unbelievably burdensome, responsibility. That’s where that lies, and I do pray that I can live up to that adequately.”

Source: CBN.com
<http://cbn.com/CC/article/1,1183,PTID2546%7CCHI1401024%7CCHID140278,00.html>

“THE MINNEAPOLIS 12: STANDING UP TO KNAVES WITH KNIVES”

Jan LaRue, senior director of Legal Studies at the Family Research Council (FRC) frets that as “ALA bureaucrats don’t work in libraries—they don’t have to clean up after the porn or be threatened with a knife by a porn-surfing addict who’s been told his time on the computer is up.” So, LaRue and FRC welcomed the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission’s announcement finding probable cause of a sexually hostile work environment for 12 Minneapolis public librarians exposed to internet pornography. FRC said that it “knew it was just a matter of time before some dedicated librarians would stand up to the American Library Association and rescue their library.”

Source: American Family Association Alert, 5/25/01

“JEFFORDS’ SWITCH-HITS HERITAGE HARD.”

Senator Jim Jeffords’ recent decision to go independent has apparently affected the Heritage Foundation’s pocketbook as much as its political and policy preferences. In a let-

ter to supporters, Edwin J. Feulner, the Foundation’s president, emphasizes that it “must step up to the plate and provide the factual ammunition conservatives need to wage their battles for the values and policies we share.... In this moment of increased uncertainty, Heritage will continue to strive for that same level of impact. But, as you might expect, the stunning developments of this week will make the job of The Heritage Foundation more difficult. Your generous financial support will help us to deliver the conservative message more broadly and more effectively.”

Source: Heritage Foundation Email “Fight the Liberal Power Shift,” 5/25/01

“CHRISTIAN PRAYING VS. PAGAN BRAYING.”

Patience Nave, a Christian woman and chair of the school board in Citrus County, Florida evidently lost her patience with Charles Schrader, a Wiccan man who insisted on

Eye LASHES

“A hate crimes education mandate amounts to a license to stigmatize Christian children.”

Source: Concerned Women for America, from a form letter to George W. Bush urging him to see that any hate crimes education provision is dropped from any education bill he signs.

praying along with her and other board members at a recent school board meeting. Barbara Behrendt, of the St. Petersburg Times, reports that "Nave asked a deputy to remove Charles Schrader . . . who has protested the board's decision to open meetings with Christian prayers. When he began to pray over Nave's invocation Tuesday, she excused herself from the prayer and said, 'Mr. Schrader, you are out of order. We have someone else speaking. . . . I'm going to ask you to respect other people.' He refused, saying he had as much right to pray as she did. Deputy Joe Faherty told Schrader that he was violating a statute that forbids disrupting an educational function. He asked Schrader to stop or to leave the meeting. Schrader refused, lying on the floor before the board members and challenging the deputy. 'Am I under arrest?' he asked. 'If I put my hands on you, you will go to jail,' Faherty told him."

Source: Barbara Behrendt, St. Petersburg Times, 5/23/01

"WV REFORM PARTY DECLARES: BOYCOTT 'MILLER BREWING CO!'"

"Since the "Miller Brewing Co." has now sponsored an insert ad in the LA Times tled, "Sporting Life—The Complete Guide to Gay Nightlife in LA," we think it is high time

that every "Mountaineer" of WV, every "Hillbilly" of KY, every "Cracker" of GA, every "Red-Neck" of the South, every "Cowboy" of the West, and every Farmer, Miner, Worker and "Red-Blooded-Manly-American" take a stand—and BOYCOTT all products & services from "Miller Brewing Co."! Treat every product from "Miller Brewing Co." with the same disdain and contempt as you would any product labeled, "Made in China"! Miller Brewing Co. is an affront to the overwhelming majority of Americans who are hardworking and decent family members! They are in open attack on the very fabric of Western Christendom & Culture by pandering to a self-styled special interest group based solely on "sexual practices"!

When any corporation for the sake of greed has to sink to the levels of such perversion and become itself reprobate—what good is it any longer?

Pursuant to the laws of every state, "corporations" are "creatures of the state" and are regulated accordingly. Ample case law shows that corporations are permitted existence for the benefit of the Citizens of the State—therefore when any corporation violates its public trust it should have its "charter" revoked and its assets confiscated and nationalized! Such is the case with "Miller Brewing Co."—

FREE VERSUS

democracy is a process that assumes the majority of people given enough accurate information and access to a free and open debate reach the proper decisions to extend equality preserve liberty and defend freedom

by Chip Berlet

the health & welfare of the nation demands that a limit be set upon such parasitic corporations pandering to such debauchery! Just as no one has the right to poison someone's food or water, nor poison any mind with pornography—neither should any corporation be permitted to undermine the fabric of social order or public health.

Crimes of this magnitude are no different than those who "profit-in-war"—since "Miller Brewing Co." is now profiteering in a "cultural war" against the best interest of this Nation!"

Source:

http://www.iconservative.com/wv_reform_party_declares.htm

Compiled by Nikhil Aziz and Rebecca Sablo.

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Resources continued from page 25

Columbus, Rethinking Our Classrooms, and Classroom Crusades: Responding to the Religious Right's Agenda for Public Schools.

RWWatch

www.topica.com/lists/rwwatch

A project of Organizers' Collaborative (www.organizenow.net). A low-traffic email forum that responds to right-wing campaigns to misrepresent the truth in order to undermine democracy. To subscribe send a blank email to: rwwatch-subscribe@topica.com.

Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS)

130 West 42nd St., Ste. 350, New York, NY 10036-7802, 212/819-9770, www.siecus.org

National organization dedicated to affirming that sexuality is a natural and healthy part of life. Develops, collects, and disseminates information, promotes comprehensive education, and advocates the right of individuals to make responsible sexual choices. Projects have been launched to help communities fight attacks on sexuality education.

Simon Wiesenthal Center

1399 South Roxbury, Los Angeles, CA 90035, 800/900-9036, www.wiesenthal.com

International Jewish human rights organization. Extensive collection on the Holocaust and the dynamics of prejudice. Write or see website for complete resource list. Library open to the public.

South End Press

7 Brookline St. #1, Cambridge, MA 02139, 617/547-4002, 800/533-8478 (for book orders only), www.southendpress.org

Collective nonprofit progressive publisher

with more than 200 titles in print. Titles include: *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*, by Sara Diamond; *Eyes Right! Challenging the Right Wing Backlash*, edited by Chip Berlet; *The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism*, by Russ Bellant; *Old Nazis, The New Right, and the Republican Party: Domestic Fascist Networks and U.S. Cold War Politics*, by Russ Bellant. Call or see website for complete catalogue of publications.

Southerners on New Ground (SONG)

PO Box 3912, Louisville, KY 40201, 502/896-2070,

www.peopleforprogress.net/sng/htm

Seeks to place lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender organizing in an antiracist, class-conscious framework. Integrates work against homophobia into freedom struggles in the south. Provides information for house meetings on the Right, participatory workshops on the economy, and publishes a journal, *SONG*.

Southern Poverty Law Center

400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104, 334/264-0286, www.splcenter.org

National organization. Combats hate, intolerance and discrimination through education and litigation. Has developed a Teaching Tolerance curriculum. Monitors militia and antigovernment groups and has close relationship with government law enforcement agencies. Publishes a newsletter on hate groups, *Intelligence Report*.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Periodicals Collection, 816 State St., Madison, WI, 53706, 608/264-6400, www.shsw.wisc.edu

Has large microfilm collection of obscure

periodicals, including impressive resources on the political Right and Religious Right.

Texas Freedom Network

PO Box 1624, Austin, Texas 78767, 512/322-0545, www.tfn.org

A statewide, nonprofit, nonpartisan alliance that includes over 7500 religious and community leaders. Works to counter the growing social and political influence of the Religious Right in Texas.

Wisconsin Research Center

PO Box 510051, Milwaukee, WI 53203, 414/272-9984, www.wisresearch.com

An information clearinghouse on the Right in Wisconsin. Publishes a quarterly newsletter and maintains a cross-referenced database containing 20,000 documents, which are available to the public on request.

The Womens Project

2224 Main St., Little Rock, AK 72206, 501/372-5113, wproject@aol.com

Focuses on political organizing and strategy. Back issues of newsletter have excellent articles on Religious Right. Publishes a quarterly newsletter, *Transformation*. Also published *In the Time of the Right* by Suzanne Pharr; *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism* also by Suzanne Pharr; *Resource Manual for Women in Arkansas*; and *Handbook for Victims of Hate Violence*. Offers technical assistance on grant writing and organization development to nonprofits. State and regional focus but excellent model.

Note: A slightly different version of this list appears in Defending Democracy: An Activist Resource Kit (Somerville: Political Research Associates, 2001).

The Public Eye

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