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Constructing Homophobia *Colorado's Right-Wing Attack on Homosexuals*

An eerie unease hangs in the air in Colorado. For lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals, nagging questions pervade everyday life: Did the kindly person who just gave me her parking place vote for Amendment 2? Did my landlord vote for the amendment, knowing that I am gay? Will gay rights be pushed back to the days before Stonewall? Who or what is behind this hate?

Amendment 2 is a ballot initiative that seeks to amend the Colorado Constitution. It reads:

Neither the State of Colorado, through any of its branches or departments, nor any of its agencies, political subdivisions, municipalities or school districts, shall enact, adopt or enforce any statute, regulation, ordinance or policy whereby homosexual, lesbian, or bisexual orientation, conduct, practices or relationships shall constitute or otherwise be the basis of, or entitle any person or class of persons to have or claim any minority status, quota preferences, protected status or claim of discrimination. This Section of the (Colorado) Constitution shall be self-executing.

The amendment was passed by a majority of Colorado voters in November 1992, and was to take effect on January 15, 1993. The American Civil Liberties Union, Lambda Legal Defense Fund, the cities of Boulder, Aspen, and Denver, and individual plaintiffs joined forces under the leadership of attorney Jean Dubofsky, a former Colorado Supreme Judicial Court judge, and filed a motion in Denver District Court seeking to en-

**“History, despite its wrenching pain,
Cannot be un-lived, but if faced
With courage, need not be lived again.”**

—“ON THE PULSE OF MORNING,” MAYA ANGELOU

join the governor and state of Colorado from enforcing Amendment 2. On January 15, 1993, Judge Jeffrey Bayless granted a preliminary injunction, giving the plaintiffs the first victory in a legal struggle over the constitutionality of Amendment 2 that may eventually reach the U.S. Supreme Court.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO COLORADO'S AMENDMENT 2

The gay rights movement in the U.S. began in New York City on June 27, 1969, when police raided a Greenwich Village bar, the Stonewall Inn, and bar patrons rebelled in protest. During 1976, in Dade County, Florida, Anita Bryant led the first religious campaign against gay rights. Bryant's campaign (run by

Bryant, her husband Bob Green, and a political operative named Ed Rowe, who went on to head the Church League of America briefly and later, Christian Mandate) was in opposition to a vote by the Dade County commissioners to prohibit discrimination against gay men and lesbians in housing, public accommodation, and employment. Bryant promoted a successful referendum to repeal the commissioners' vote, and her campaign gained strength and notoriety.

In 1977, Anita Bryant inspired a similar campaign in California, where State Sen. John Briggs, who had worked with Bryant in Miami, sponsored the “California Defend Our Children Initiative,” a binding initiative on the general election ballot in November 1978. The initiative provided for charges against school teachers and others advocating, encouraging, or publicly and “indiscreetly” engaging in homosexuality. It prohibited the hiring and required the firing of homosexuals if the school board deemed them unfit. This was in reaction to a 1975 California law preventing local school boards from firing teachers for homosexuality. California Defend Our Children, the organizing group supporting the initiative, was chaired by State Sen. John Briggs. Rev. Louis Sheldon, now head of the Anaheim-based organization Traditional Values, was executive director. The initiative failed, but Rev. Louis Sheldon would remain extremely

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active in anti-homosexual organizing. That same year, David A. Noebel, later to head Summit Ministries of Colorado, published *The Homosexual Revolution*, which he dedicated to Anita Bryant.

Bryant's anti-homosexual campaign ended in 1979 with the collapse of her two organizations, Anita Bryant Ministries and Protect America's Children, which were hampered by a lack of political sophistication. Contemporary techniques in influencing the political system—direct mail, computer technology, religious television ministries—were not available to Bryant. Although U.S. history is dotted with right-wing movements led by preachers (such as Father Charles Coughlin, who used radio to enormous effect), at that time few religious fundamentalists and evangelicals were interested in the political sphere. Bryant herself was plagued by personal problems, such as divorce, and her organizations were unable to respond effectively to a boycott mounted against Florida's orange industry, for which Bryant was a major spokesperson. Her

organizations collapsed because they were unable to expand their base through direct mail and fundraising, to use the media to build that base, or to use the political system for their own religious ends. With the creation of the New Right at the end of the 1970s, a political movement was born that incorporated conservative fundamentalists and evangelicals as full partners. Now there were tremendous political resources available to the religious right, and the success and influence of religious fundamentalists in the spheres of public policy and popular opinion improved dramatically.

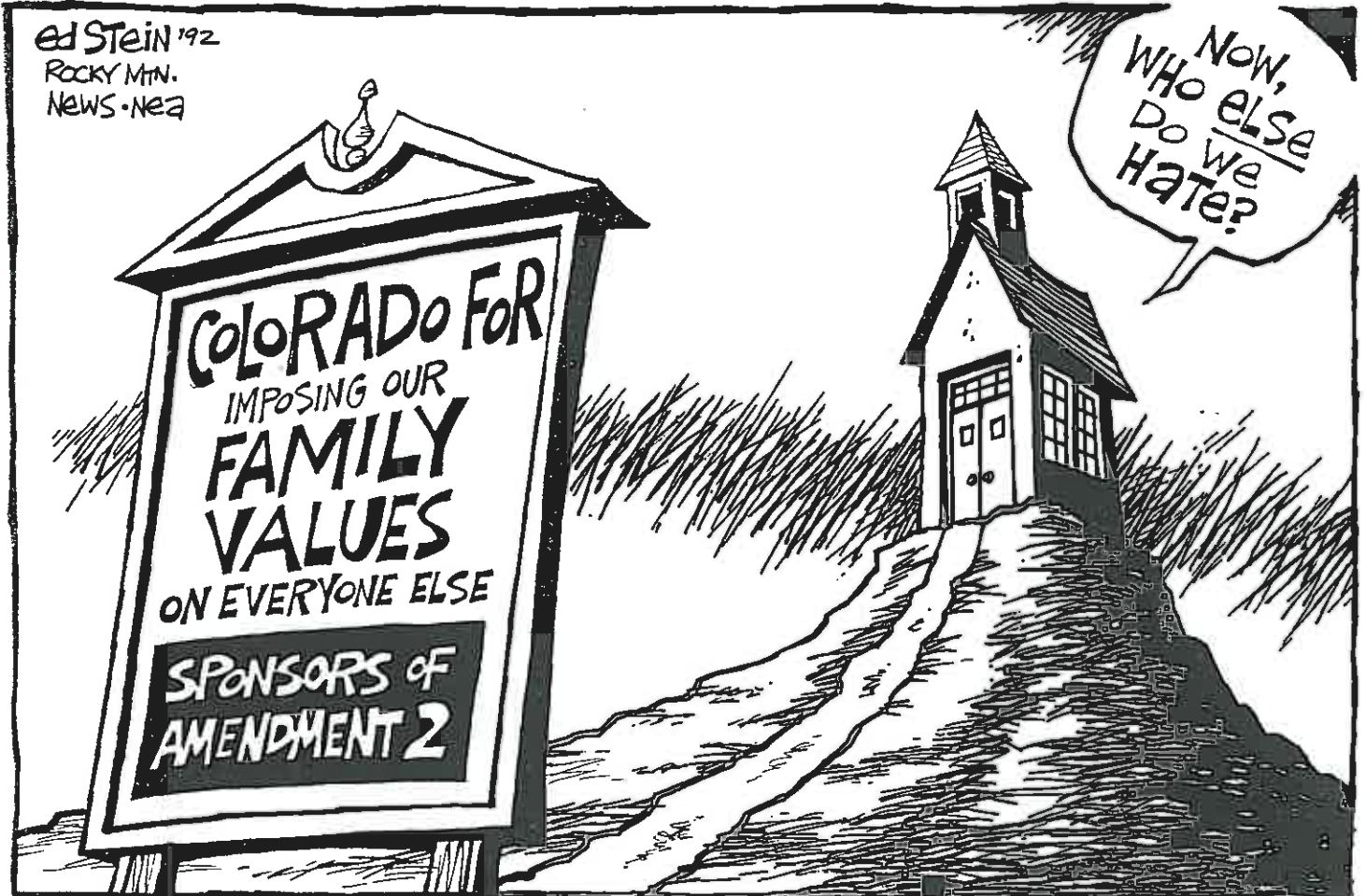
Under the benign influence of the Reagan administration, the New Right and its religious right component flourished. Several major leaders emerged, their individual fortunes rising and falling, but their collective political clout reaching into new spheres of influence, especially the political sphere. A focus of attention that emerged with the advent of the New Right was a rollback of gains made by the gay rights movement.

THE SECOND RIGHT-WING ANTI-HOMOSEXUAL CAMPAIGN

The "second" anti-homosexual campaign, born within the New Right in the early 1980s, has been a far more sophisticated one. It has been planned at the national level, carried out by at least fifteen large national organizations using the most refined computer technology, showing an understanding of the political system, and therefore exerting influence only dreamed of by the first movement.

The effects of this new sophistication are:

- to make local anti-homosexual campaigns appear to be exclusively grassroots efforts, when they are guided by major national organizations
- to increase the effect of each New Right organization's efforts by building networks and coalitions among the organizations and by coordinating political campaigns



- to camouflage the religious content of the organizing and create the more secular theme of "defense of the family"

- to pursue the anti-homosexual campaign under the slogan "no special rights," despite that slogan's inaccuracy.

THE ANTI-HOMOSEXUAL CAMPAIGN OF THE EARLY 1980s

The opening of the second anti-homosexual campaign can be traced to three events:

1) The 1982 publication of Enrique T. Rueda's massive *The Homosexual Network* (Old Greenwich, CT: Devin Adair Co.)

2) The onset of the AIDS epidemic, which in its earliest days in the U.S., was almost exclusively confined to the gay male community (For an account of the earliest days of the AIDS epidemic, see Randy Shilts, *And The Band Played On* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.)

3) The work of anti-gay activist Dr. Paul Cameron, director in the early 1980s of the Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality in Lincoln, Nebraska, and now chairperson of the Family Research Institute in Washington, D.C. Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation would prove an early supporter of Dr. Cameron: FCF distributed copies of Cameron's Model Sexuality Statute in 1983.

Enrique Rueda's massive book, *The Homosexual Network*, is a thorough examination of the organizations, activities, and ideology of the gay rights movement. The book does not discuss AIDS, and much of its critique of homosexual organizations is directed at their *liberalism*. Rueda, a native of Cuba and a Catholic theologian, is also interested in the moral dimension of homosexuality and its offense against the church.

In 1987, the Free Congress Foundation, which had sponsored Rueda's book, developed a new condensation that updated the critique of homosexuality to include the AIDS crisis. This book, *Gays, AIDS and You*, by Michael Schwartz and Enrique Rueda, stands as a seminal work in the right's analysis of

homosexuality in the context of the AIDS crisis. A quote from the introduction illustrates the significance of this book to an understanding of Colorado's Amendment 2:

For the homosexual movement is nothing less than an attack on our traditional, pro-family values. And now this movement is using the AIDS crisis to pursue its political agenda. This in turn, threatens not only our values but our lives....

They are loved by God as much as anyone else. This we believe while affirming the disordered nature of their sexual condition and the evil nature of the acts this condition leads to, and while fully committed to the proposition that homosexuals should *not* be entitled to special treatment under the law. That would be tantamount to rewarding evil.

It is significant that Rueda wrote his two important critiques of the gay rights movement at the suggestion of, and under the sponsorship of, Paul Weyrich and the Free Congress Foundation, which Weyrich directs. FCF's early and important work on the issue of homosexuality foreshadowed a national campaign to highlight homosexuality as a threat to the well-being of Americans.

Paul Weyrich is a founder and central leader of the New Right. He was more astute than many in the New Right in his early appreciation of the potential of anti-gay themes in building the success of the New Right. But he was not alone in understanding the appeal of this issue in right-wing organizing. As early as 1978, Tim LaHaye, "family counselor," husband of Beverly LaHaye (head of Concerned Women for America), and prominent leader in both the pro-family and religious right components of the New Right, wrote *The Unhappy Gays* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1978).

In 1983, Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority sent out at least three mailings that highlighted the threats of homosexuality and AIDS.

In a similar vein, Robert G. Grant's organization, Christian Voice, used the

threat of homosexuality as a major theme in a fundraising letter that began, "I am rushing you this urgent letter because the children in your neighborhood are in danger."

Phyllis Schlafly, head of Eagle Forum and grande dame of the pro-family movement, made heavy use of the accusation of lesbianism in her early 1980s attacks on Equal Rights Amendment organizers. She argued that the ERA would promote gay rights, leading, for example, to the legitimization of same-sex marriages, the protection of gay and lesbian rights in the military, the protection of the rights of persons with AIDS, and the voiding of sodomy laws.

Dr. Paul Cameron is a tireless anti-gay activist who has played an important role in encouraging punitive measures against people with AIDS. In 1983 the American Psychological Association dropped Cameron from its membership rolls "for a violation of the Preamble to the *Ethical Principles of Psychologists*." Despite being discredited by reputable social scientists, Cameron has served as an "expert" on homosexuality at numerous right-wing and religious right conferences, and was hired as a consultant on AIDS by California Assemblyman William Dannemeyer.

As the 1980s unfolded and the New Right achieved substantial gains on economic, military, and foreign policy issues, its religious right and pro-family sectors devoted their most passionate organizing to the anti-abortion crusade, where there were significant successes. The campaign against homosexuality was not a major focus in the mid 1980s, though it was never repudiated as a goal of right-wing organizing. A shared alarm and loathing over the gains of the gay rights movement was understood within the New Right.

THE CURRENT ANTI-HOMOSEXUAL CAMPAIGN

In the late 1980s, three issues reinvigorated the New Right's anti-homosexual activism and focussed added attention at the national level. The first issue was the promotion of school curriculum reform to reflect a greater acceptance of gay

men and lesbians (e.g., Project 10 in southern California). The second was the religious and political right's objection to public funding for homoerotic art. The third issue was the passage of gay rights ordinances, bills, and initiatives in the local sphere and in state legislatures. According to People for the American Way, nineteen states and more than one hundred cities and counties now have laws or executive orders protecting gay and lesbian rights.

It is commonly thought that the local responses to each of these three gay rights issues are grassroots efforts, mounted by outraged citizens stirred to action by local manifestations of "gay power." In fact, while local groups did and do exist, their power and effectiveness is enormously enhanced by the technical assistance provided by *national* New Right organizations.

Colorado provides a case study of the effective involvement of national right-wing groups at the local level. Colorado for Family Values, the local group which sponsored Amendment 2, was founded by Coloradans Kevin Tebedo and Tony Marco, and is headed by Colorado Springs car dealer Will Perkins. It promotes itself as a grassroots group, but its tactics, success, and power are largely the result of support from a national anti-homosexual campaign mounted by the New Right. Five of the national organizations active in this campaign are represented on the executive and advisory boards of CFV. The national New Right organizations represented on the advisory board of CFV are Focus on the Family, Summit Ministries, Concerned Women for America, Eagle Forum, and Traditional Values. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition is not officially represented on the board of CFV, but has a strong presence in Colorado and is ubiquitous in anti-homosexual organizing nationally. Many other New Right and "old right" organizations are climbing on the anti-homosexual bandwagon as the issue becomes more prominent.

Colorado for Family Values has maintained adamantly that its strategy was not coordinated by national religious or political groups. However, according to People for the American Way,

a Washington, D.C., organization that monitors the right wing, "...the Religious Right's anti-gay vendetta is not, as its leaders often claim, a spontaneous outpouring of concern about gay issues. There is a carefully orchestrated political effort, with a unified set of messages and tactics, that is deliberately designed to foster division and intolerance." A review of the national organizations involved with Colorado's Amendment 2 will support this analysis.

Key Homophobic Groups Active in Colorado

REV. LOUIS SHELDON'S TRADITIONAL VALUES

Traditional Values (often called the Traditional Values Coalition) is headed by Rev. Louis Sheldon and is based in Anaheim, California. Rev. Louis Sheldon and his organization have taken leadership within the religious right's anti-homosexual campaign. In October 1989, Rev. Louis Sheldon led the "West Coast Symposium on Homosexuality and Public Policy Implications" in Orange, California. Two of the featured speakers were Roger Magnuson, Esq., author of *Are Gay Rights Right?*, and Congressman William Dannemeyer, author of *Shadow in the Land: Homosexuality in America*.

Building on the success of the west coast symposium, Rev. Louis Sheldon convened a January 1990 conference in Washington, D.C., that was billed as a "national summit meeting on homosexuality." One of the two dominant themes of the conference was that homosexuals have, since the 1960s, been seeking "special protection over and above the equal rights already given to all Americans." This theme would later appear in Colorado as the central theme of the Colorado for Family Values' promotion of Amendment 2.

Rev. Louis Sheldon was an aide to Pat Robertson in 1987, and he shares much of Robertson's interest in the legal codification of moral issues. In 1988, Sheldon led the opposition to Project 10, a counseling program for gay adolescents in the Los Angeles school system.

In 1986 and 1988, his zeal against homosexuals led him to endorse the California anti-homosexual initiatives sponsored by far-right extremist Lyndon LaRouche. The initiatives sought, in effect, to require quarantine for people with AIDS. Sheldon himself has advocated establishing "cities of refuge" for people with the HIV infection. In 1991, Sheldon submitted to the California attorney general a constitutional amendment, that would bar civil rights laws from protecting homosexuals, unless approved by a two-thirds vote of the California voters. Sheldon has recently announced his intention to pursue in California an initiative modeled on Colorado's Amendment 2.

Barbara Sheldon, chairwoman of the Traditional Values Coalition of Colorado, is on the executive board of Colorado for Family Values. She is not related to Rev. Louis Sheldon.

FOCUS ON THE FAMILY

It is widely agreed that the 1991 arrival in Colorado Springs of Dr. James Dobson and his organization, Focus on the Family, was an important catalyst for Colorado Springs' local anti-homosexual organization, Colorado for Family Values. CFV had already led a successful campaign against a local gay rights ordinance. Focus on the Family, however, brought to Colorado Springs a tremendous influx of resources and sophisticated political experience: it arrived with 750 employees (and has since added another three hundred) and an annual budget of nearly \$70 million, including a \$4 million grant from the El Pomar Foundation to buy fifty acres in Colorado Springs. Focus on the Family is indeed a national organization. While it has no official ties to CFV, it has offered "advice" to CFV, and several Focus on the Family employees, such as public policy representative Randy Hicks, sit on CFV advisory boards. Focus on the Family has given an in-kind donation worth eight thousand dollars to Colorado for Family Values.

Dr. Dobson's background is in pediatrics and he is best known as an advocate of traditional discipline and

corporal punishment for children. However, his organization has also been heavily involved in anti-homosexual organizing. In 1988, Focus on the Family merged with the Washington, D.C.-based Family Research Council, headed by Gary L. Bauer. The Family Research Council distributed a "homosexual packet," available through Focus on the Family, which contained the lengthy document, *The Homosexual Agenda: Changing Your Community and Nation*. This detailed guide includes a section titled "Starting An Initiative." In October 1992, the Family Research Council separated from Focus on the Family after warnings from the Internal Revenue Service that the Council's lobbying activities were endangering Focus on the Family's tax-exempt status.

In keeping with the Family Research Council's anti-gay organizing, Focus on the Family's newsletters have shown an increase in anti-gay articles over the last several years. For instance, in the May 1990 *Focus on the Family* newsletter, Dr.

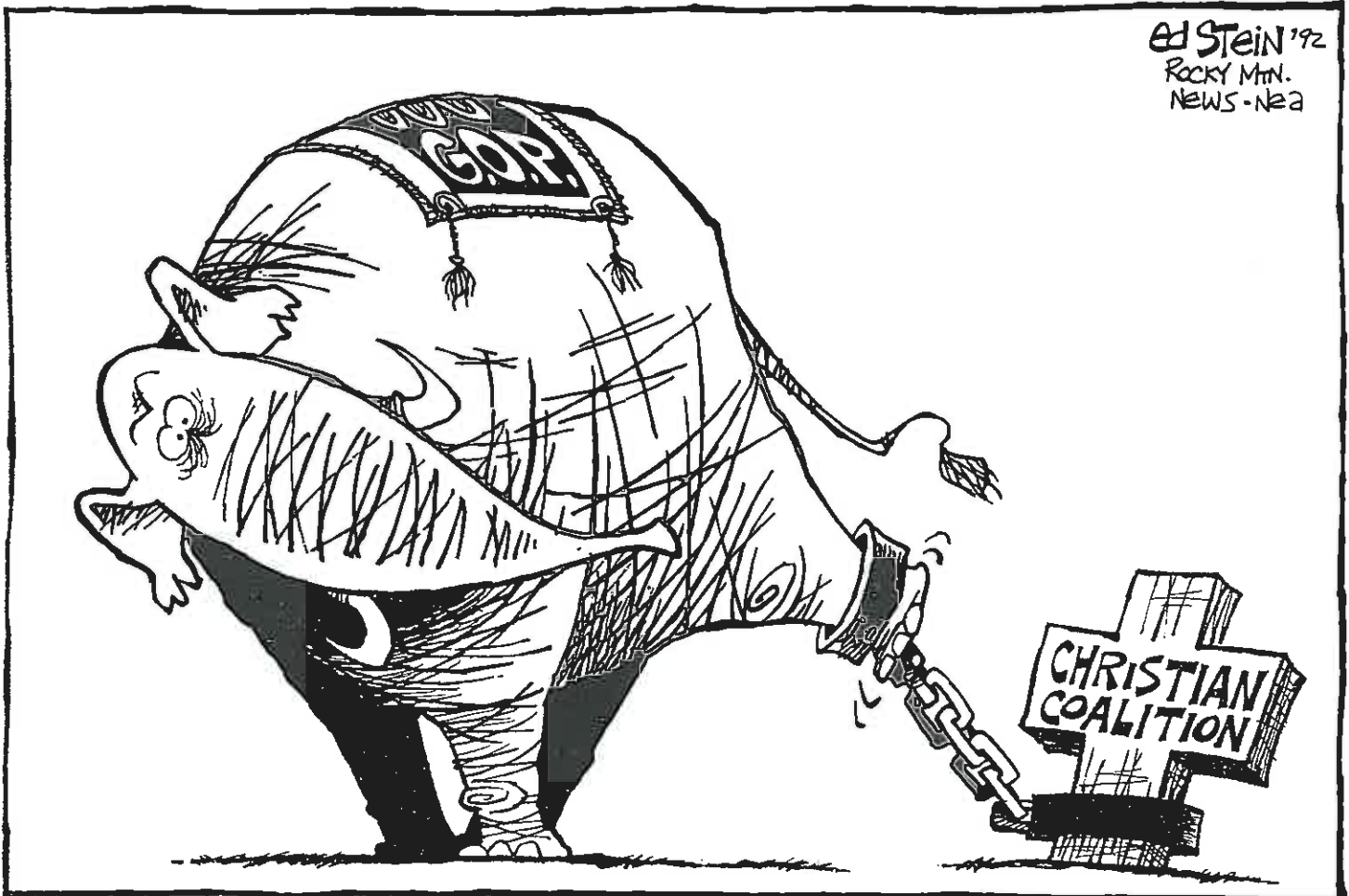
Dobson himself began a column with the statement, "I am familiar with the widespread effort to redefine the family. It is motivated by homosexual activists and others who see the traditional family as a barrier to the social engineering they hope to accomplish." A March 1991 article in the newsletter uses this argument against treating gays equally: "There are people in our society who find sexual satisfaction from engaging in intercourse with animals... Would anyone suggest that these groups deserve special protection?"

SUMMIT MINISTRIES

Summit Ministries of Manitou Springs, Colorado, is a little-known religious right organization whose work is national in scope. It is a thirty-year-old Christian organization specializing in educational materials and summer youth retreats. Its president is Rev. David A. Noebel, formerly a prominent preacher in Rev. Billy

James Hargis's Christian Crusade. As early as 1977, Noebel authored *The Homosexual Revolution*, in which he claims that "homosexuality rapidly is becoming one of America's most serious social problems." He has also written several books claiming that rock'n'roll and soul music are communist plots to corrupt U.S. youth. Summit Ministries later published *AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome: A Special Report*, co-authored by David Noebel, Wayne C. Lutton, and Paul Cameron. For the last several years, virtually every issue of *The Journal*, Summit Ministries' monthly newsletter, has contained several anti-homosexual entries. Summit Ministries has just published Noebel's new book, *Understanding the Times: The Story of the Biblical Christian, Marxist/Leninist and Secular Humanist Worldviews*.

Noebel's background with Rev. Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade helps to explain the historical friendly relationship between Summit Ministries and the John Birch Society. Both the Chris-



tian Crusade and the John Birch Society represent a political sector known in political science literature as the "old right." Born out of the conviction that communism was rampant in the United States, both organizations believed that the civil rights movement was manipulated by communists, that the National Council of Churches promoted communism, and that the United Nations was controlled by communists. In 1962, Rev. Billy James Hargis purchased an old resort hotel in Manitou Springs, which was renamed The Summit. The Summit became a retreat and anti-communism summer college.

Summit's relationship with the John Birch Society is deeper than mere ideological affinity. In fact, in 1983, a donor responding to a John Birch Society fundraising letter sent a check to Robert Welch of JBS, and received a thank-you letter from Welch. The check, however, was made out to Summit Ministries. Rev. David Noebel was a member of the John Birch Society until at least 1987, and for many years, Summit Ministries took out full-page advertisements for its summer youth retreats in *Review of the News and American Opinion*, two John Birch Society publications.

Summit Ministries is also politically close to Dr. James Dobson and Focus on the Family. Dr. Dobson, especially since moving to Colorado, leads seminars at Summit Ministries, and his endorsement of Summit's work was prominent in Summit's material promoting its thirtieth anniversary.

David Noebel is on the advisory board of Colorado for Family Values.

BEVERLY LAHAYE'S CONCERNED WOMEN FOR AMERICA

Touting itself as the largest women's organization in America, Concerned Women for America claims a membership of 500,000, a number disputed by many. CWA was founded in 1979 as "the Christian women's answer to the National Organization for Women." It is based in Washington, D.C., and organizes its member chapters through prayer circles and LaHaye's monthly newsletter. CWA distributes a pamphlet titled *The Hidden Homosexual Agenda* that condemns the homosexual agenda

for seeking "to take away the right of those who believe that homosexuality is wrong and immoral to voice that opinion."

CWA's most recent anti-homosexual pamphlet is *The Homosexual Deception: Making Sin A Civil Right*. It is a reprint of a treatise by Tony Marco, co-founder of Colorado for Family Values, that CFV filed with the state of Colorado as evidence supporting the correctness of Amendment 2. Here, to give a local activist his due, we see the local group creating material that is then used by a national group—a reversal of the usual pattern.

Concerned Women for America is represented on the CFV advisory board by the president of its Colorado chapter, Bert Nelson.

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY'S EAGLE FORUM

Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, based in Alton, Illinois, is another national organization whose local affiliate is represented on the advisory board of Colorado for Family Values. Phyllis Schlafly is perhaps best known for her successful campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment. During that campaign she used the threat of homosexual and lesbian privileges as a central argument to support her opposition to the ERA. Eagle Forum continues to oppose gay and lesbian rights.

Other National Groups Prominent in the Right-Wing Anti-Homosexual Campaign

PAT ROBERTSON'S CHRISTIAN COALITION

Rev. Pat Robertson, longtime host of the cable television program "The 700 Club," and prominent leader of the religious right, ran unsuccessfully in the Republican presidential primary in 1988. In October 1989, Robertson used the 1.9 million names he had collected from his 1988 campaign to identify 175,000 key activists and donors, and launch the Christian

Coalition. The new Coalition's stated goal was "to build the most powerful political force in American politics."

The 175,000 activists were contacted and urged to establish chapters of the Christian Coalition in their precincts. Five goals were identified: 1) build a grassroots network using professional field organizers and training schools, 2) construct a lobbying organization to work at the national and state levels in every state and in Washington, D.C., 3) create a mass media outreach program, 4) build a legal arm to defend the gains made in state legislatures from challenge by the American Civil Liberties Union, and 5) build a prayer network to unite all evangelical and pro-family voters. Paul Weyrich of the Free Congress Foundation was an early endorser of the Christian Coalition.

The Christian Coalition's training tapes teach activists to fight those forces pursuing "an agenda of chaos." An early videotape distributed by the Christian Coalition used homosexual scenes to illustrate the moral decline of America; opposition to homosexuality has always been a commitment of the Christian Coalition. However, it was the 1990 political battle over a gay rights initiative in Broward County, Florida, that moved the anti-homosexual agenda to prominence within the organization. In its literature, the Christian Coalition took credit for "spearheading" the defeat. It claims to have "led the charge and won a major political victory." Robertson calls on Christian Coalition members to "duplicate this success in your city and state and throughout the nation."

By 1992, the organization had grown dramatically. Ralph Reed, its executive director, claimed 250,000 members in forty-nine states and \$13 million in the bank. The Christian Coalition launched an election year get-out-the-vote effort which included "in-pew" registration at churches, the distribution of up to 40 million "voter guides," and the use of computer-assisted telephone banks to help elect favored candidates in key races.

Reed's tactics are self-confessedly surreptitious. "I want to be invisible," he told one reporter. "I do guerrilla warfare. I paint my face and travel at

night. You don't know it's over until you're in a body bag. You don't know until election night."

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the Christian Coalition overwhelmingly has targeted local Republican Party precinct and county organizations for takeover. It works closely with Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation, which was founded in 1974 with money from the Coors family and its foundation. County Christian Coalition chapters have been directed to subscribe to Weyrich's National Empowerment Television (NET) satellite program. Ralph Reed is on the NET board.

Colorado for Family Values is not an affiliate of, nor is it funded by, the Christian Coalition (unlike the group that led the anti-homosexual initiative campaign in Oregon, the Oregon Citizens Alliance); the link between the Christian Coalition and Colorado's

Amendment 2 is an indirect one. The National Legal Foundation of Chesapeake, Virginia (a conservative Christian legal organization founded by Pat Robertson, and funded by Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, but no longer affiliated with Robertson), gave advice to Colorado for Family Values as early as 1991, long before Amendment 2 was on the ballot. The consultation was intended to help CFV formulate ballot language that would survive legal and political challenges. By the end of 1992, the National Legal Foundation had taken over much of the legal work of CFV.

THE BEREAN LEAGUE

The Berean League, based in St. Paul, Minnesota, has published Roger J. Magnuson's much-cited book *Are Gay Rights Right?* This discredited work was used by Tony Marco in the treatise he

wrote for Colorado for Family Values. In addition to publishing Magnuson's book, the Berean League developed a successful campaign to oppose a local civil rights ordinance for gay men and lesbians. On the basis of that success, it began to conduct workshops at national conferences on "Strategies for Defeating Homosexual Privilege Proposals."

A Christian organization, the Berean League states in its promotional literature that "the League's authority is Scripture." Recently, it has issued a "Background" report titled *Some Things You May Not Know About Homosexuality*. An inflammatory three-page document, it was circulated in Oregon as a tool to organize support for Oregon's 1992 anti-homosexual Measure 9, the Abnormal Behavior Initiative.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION

Headed by Rev. Donald Wildmon and based in Tupelo, Mississippi, the American Family Association has an annual budget of five million dollars, and focuses primarily on profanity, adultery, homosexuality, and other forms of anti-Christian behavior and language on television. An earlier Wildmon organization was called CLEAR-TV (Christian Leaders for Responsible Television) and was based in Wheaton, Illinois. Wildmon has specialized in boycotting the corporate sponsors of shows which he dislikes. He called for a boycott of American Express because it sponsored the television program "L.A. Law," which ran an episode featuring a bisexual woman kissing another woman. Wildmon opposes even the depiction of homosexuality. One of his "top goals" for 1989 was to force off the air three TV shows ("Heartbeat," "Hooperman," and "thirtysomething") that, he said, "promote the homosexual lifestyle and portray practicing homosexuals in a positive light." Wildmon was accused of anti-Semitism for inflammatory comments he made during his campaign against the film *The Last Temptation of Christ*.

THE RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE

The Rutherford Institute, based in Manassas, Virginia, and founded and headed by John W. Whitehead, is a non-

Oregon's Measure 9

The homophobic Measure 9 in Oregon (also known as the Abnormal Behavior Initiative) was narrowly defeated last fall although early polls showed widespread opposition, as did early polls in Colorado, which suggests there is a gap between poll results and actual voting when voters face issues or candidates labelled as prejudiced. Measure 9 would have amended the state constitution to forbid state agencies and schools to allow any program that would "promote, encourage, or facilitate homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism, or masochism." The law also mandated that the state promote a model of sexuality that considered the listed activities to be "abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse."

The initiative was sponsored by the No Special Rights Committee, an arm of the right-wing Oregon Citizens Alliance, which formed in 1987 as a "family values," anti-choice movement to network activists who had attempted to unseat Oregon's pro-choice senator, Bob Packwood. OCA later became a state chapter of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, which OCA chairman Lon Mabon praised as having "the same vision and aggressive spirit as OCA."

OCA suffered another setback on November 12, 1992 when Oregon's appellate court overturned OCA's earlier and successful Ballot Measure 8, which revoked a governor's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Still, the recently defeated Measure 9 passed in 20 of Oregon's 36 counties, and OCA is expected to continue to push the state's political agenda to the right as it expands from its base of well-organized right-wing fundamentalist and evangelical Christians to a larger pool of disgruntled and economically stressed Oregonians. —C.B.

profit, legal defense organization associated with the far-right fringe of the religious right. Speakers listed in its Speakers Bureau include R. J. Rushdoony, a prominent Christian Reconstructionist. Reconstructionists believe that the text of the Bible provides the only legitimate basis for civil law. The most zealous wing of Reconstructionism has called for the death penalty for homosexuals, adulterers, and recalcitrant children. In 1992, the Rutherford Institute spearheaded a suit in Hawaii to block implementation of that state's new gay rights law.

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

The John Birch Society is another national organization with a prominent anti-homosexual agenda. JBS is not properly categorized as a New Right organization, but is best seen as "old right." Historically, the John Birch Society has existed as an isolationist, anti-communist organization. It was founded near the end of the McCarthy era, and expanded on Sen. Joseph McCarthy's conspiracy theory of communist penetration of the United States. Since the death of its founder, Robert Welch, the JBS has moved from Belmont, Massachusetts, to Appleton, Wisconsin. Its recent concerns have been family issues, AIDS, U.S. internationalist foreign policy, opposition to government regulations, and the right to bear arms. High on its list of concerns within family issues is homosexuality. The September and October 1992 issues of its publication, *New American* (published immediately before the November votes on anti-gay initiatives in Colorado and Oregon), carried anti-homosexual stories. The October story was a two-page article supporting Oregon's Abnormal Behavior Initiative.

LYNDON LAROCHE: A SPECIAL CASE

Lyndon LaRouche is a far-right political extremist who is now serving a fifteen year sentence in federal prison for mail fraud and tax evasion. LaRouche runs a vast empire of organizations with ideological positions that exactly mimic his bizarre conspiracy theories. His followers are seen in airports and on street corners, often campaigning to free

LaRouche from jail or attacking the organization's mortal enemy—Henry Kissinger. LaRouche's many organizations have always incorporated sexual themes into their analysis, and have been obsessed with AIDS since the pandemic began. LaRouche has conducted a long-running and fanatical campaign against homosexuality. Most recently, LaRouche spearheaded Proposition 64 in California, which would have established restrictive public health policies regarding AIDS. Proposition 64 was opposed by virtually all public health officials and elected officials (one exception was legislator William Dannemeyer). A public health specialist for the California Medical Association described Proposition 64 as "absolute hysteria and calculated deception." LaRouche organizers continue to peddle hysteria over AIDS and homosexuality. Their embrace of anti-Jewish and other scapegoating conspiracy theories and use of demagoguery add a firm base to the claim that the LaRouchians are a neo-fascist movement. Many New Right groups avoid any official alliance with the LaRouchians.

Analyzing the Anti-Homosexual Campaign's Coordination & Networking

Since its earliest days in the late 1970s, the New Right has been a political and religious movement that has self-consciously networked among its members. The Religious Roundtable, the Free Congress Foundation, the Heritage Foundation, Christian Voice, the Conservative Caucus, the Moral Majority, Eagle Forum, and Concerned Women for America, among others, have held frequent conferences, published in each other's journals and newsletters, and promoted legislation within the context of a sympathetic Republican administration.

The anti-homosexual campaign nests within a sector of the New Right known as the pro-family movement. The major national gathering for the pro-family movement is the Family Forum conference, held annually since 1981. The conference has usually been sponsored by Paul Weyrich's Free Congress

Foundation and Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. These conferences are symptomatic of the coordination and networking among the New Right leadership. The issues of concern to the pro-family movement are aptly described in a 1984 promotional letter for Family Forum III. They are "important moral issues such as: the economic survival of the family, parents' rights in education, the homosexual movement, personal charity, child pornography, and abortion."

Reflecting the New Right leadership's shared opposition to homosexuality, the Family Forum conferences nearly always feature an anti-homosexual speaker. With the arrival of the AIDS epidemic, and the publication of *Gays, AIDS and You*, sponsored by the Free Congress Foundation, the anti-homosexual profile became much higher. We see the fruits of a decade of organizing by the pro-family movement of the New Right in the many challenges to gay rights bills and initiatives, and most recently in the anti-gay initiatives in Colorado and Oregon.

The analysis underlying the pro-family movement's morality is a fervent distrust and irrational hatred of "secular humanism," which is used as a shorthand for all that is evil and opposed to God. This distrust of secular humanism can be traced to the U.S. American nativist right at the turn of the century, which believed secular humanists were engaged in a conspiracy to undermine the United States. The purported conspiracy was linked, from its beginning, to an extreme fear of communism and its undermining effect on Christianity and the Christian family. Today, a major focus of the New Right, and particularly of the pro-family movement, is unrelenting opposition to the perceived secular humanist conspiracy. As Paul Weyrich describes it, "Well, first of all, from our point of view, this is really the most significant battle of the age-old conflict between good and evil, between the forces of God and the forces against God, that we have seen in our country."

For a better understanding of how fear of secular humanism serves as the theoretical basis for right-wing organizing, see *The Public Eye*, December 1992.

CAMOUFLAGE OF THE CHRISTIAN AGENDA

In the discussion above, three of the four national New Right organizations playing the highest profile role in organizing support for Colorado's Amendment 2 are explicitly Christian organizations. However, the association of anti-homosexual organizing with religious (specifically Christian) principles is highlighted only when activists are targeting fellow Christians in order to recruit or educate them. When organizing in the wider political arena, anti-homosexual organizing is cast in the secular terms of "family values" and "defense of the family."

This is an important aspect of the religious right's organizing style. Since the mid 1980s, when the heavy-handed style of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority lost popularity, the Christian right has cast its campaigns in terms not so obviously linked to the Bible.

Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition refers to the soft-peddling of the religious message in his own organization's work as conducting a "stealth campaign."

In the case of the anti-homosexual campaign, the religious right has dwelt on calumnious depictions of predatory behavior by homosexuals. Various anti-gay campaigns have accused homosexuals of eating feces, molesting children, and destroying the family. Many of these characterizations are "documented" by the work of Dr. Paul Cameron and Roger J. Magnuson. Oregon's 1992 anti-gay initiative (which was rejected by the voters) equates homosexuality with "pedophilia, sadism or masochism." While it is only in explicitly religious attacks on homosexuals that homosexuality is equated with Satan, that connection is uncontroversial among many involved in organizing against homosexuals.

Though the religious basis of this anti-homosexual fervor often is not mentioned, occasionally this bias becomes clear. On February 10, 1992, Bill McCartney, head football coach at the University of Colorado at Boulder, said at a press conference that homosexuality is a "sin" that is "an abomination of

almighty God." McCartney is a member of the advisory board of Colorado for Family Values. Former U.S. Representative William Armstrong, who describes himself as having had a "life-changing experience" when he became religious, is chairman of the advisory board of CFV.

But the clearest revelation of the religious basis for the work of CFV is a talk given by Kevin Tebedo, CFV executive director, at the First Congregational Church in Colorado Springs on August 23, 1992. In this setting, Tebedo states that Amendment 2 "is about authority." He goes on to say, "It's about whose authority takes precedence in the society in which we live...is it the authority of God? The authority of the supreme King of Kings and Lord of Lords? You see, we say we should have the separation of church and state, but you see, Jesus Christ is the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords. That is politics; that is rule; that is authority."

In spite of the obvious preeminence of Christian principles in the values of its national organizational supporters and some of its advisory board members, the literature of Colorado for Family Values does not refer to Christianity, biblical admonitions regarding homosexuality, or religious principles. A large CFV packet of information dated January 9, 1992, does not mention a religious basis for CFV's work. Finally, there is no

mention of religion in the CFV Mission Statement.

THE HISTORY OF "NO SPECIAL RIGHTS"

Another area of deception in the public face of the anti-homosexual campaign is its assertion that lesbians and gay men are seeking "special rights" or "special protections." This was the guiding premise behind Anita Bryant's campaign, was raised again by Enrique Rueda in *The Homosexual Network and Gays, AIDS and You*, and eventually emerged as the slogan of the national anti-homosexual campaign. In the case of Colorado's Amendment 2, the slogan was the dominant theme of CFV's advertising and promotion.

The use of "no special rights" is purposefully misleading. Gay rights initiatives do not provide "special rights," but a guarantee of equal rights for lesbians and gay men. Amendment 2 would deny equal protection against discrimination only to this group. CFV's decision to use "no special rights" only in its public materials and not in the legal language of the amendment itself was made on the advice of the National Legal Foundation. A June 1991 letter from Brian McCormick of NLF advises CFV to stay away from the "no special rights" language in its legal formula-



tions, but to use it as the centerpiece of its public campaign. Coloradans were bombarded with advertisements and flyers all drumming home the message that Amendment 2 did nothing but reverse the unfair granting of "special rights" through gay rights initiatives.

Future anti-gay initiatives will undoubtedly continue the use of the "no special rights" slogan because the cohesiveness of the right's anti-homosexual campaign virtually guarantees that local initiatives will follow the lead of national organizations.

LEGAL ISSUES RAISED BY AMENDMENT 2

After the voters in Colorado approved Amendment 2 by majority vote, a preliminary injunction was successfully sought by a group of plaintiffs that included individuals, gay rights organizations, and the three Colorado cities—Denver, Aspen and Boulder—that had existing gay rights ordinances. The injunction was requested on the grounds that Amendment 2 would deprive gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals of any legal remedy for acts of discrimination against them, and deprive the state and all local governments from enacting any statutes, ordinances, or policies that prevent discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Discrimination may occur in such areas as insurance, employment, housing, and accommodation.

The plaintiffs faced the difficult burden of overcoming the "presumption of constitutionality" granted to any successful amendment. They also needed to prove that there was a reasonable likelihood that they would prevail on the merits of their case. The plaintiffs argued that the amendment denied fundamental constitutional rights and also violated the constitutional guarantee of equal protection because there was no rational relationship between its provisions and the accomplishment of a legitimate public goal. To prevail, the plaintiffs needed to establish that such a denial of rights would create real, immediate, and irreparable harm to lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals.

Colorado District Court Judge Jef-

frey Bayless determined that there was a reasonable probability that the amendment denied the plaintiffs a fundamental right—the right to participate in the governmental process—and that the amendment could be upheld only if the defendants could show that it furthered a compelling governmental purpose.

Judge Bayless concluded that lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals are an identifiable group that deserves protection. Acknowledging that the constitution cannot control private prejudices, he ruled that legislation must not indirectly "give them effect." Judge Bayless then granted the injunction blocking Amendment 2. His decision was appealed by the state to the Colorado Supreme Court.

CONCLUSION

Homophobia is a bedrock value in our society, one that crosses lines of class, race, and even gender. Our Calvinist attitudes toward sex, based in religious teaching that sex is only for procreation, and a patriarchal culture that is discomfited by any breaking down of rigid sex roles, combine to create a culture that can deal with homosexuality, if at all, only in the artistic and commercial spheres. The lesbian and gay civil rights movement has pushed homosexuality out of the artistic and commercial world and into the political and social sphere. This is almost guaranteed to create a backlash while society absorbs and adjusts to new values.

While that backlash may be inevitable, it can be tamped down or fanned by political forces. This review of the right wing's organizing to promote a backlash against the gay rights movement is a study in *reaction*. Deprived of its old enemies and needing a new issue to promote, the right's anti-homosexual organizing is rank opportunism. The anti-gay backlash is in large part a creation of the right. It is generating funds, keeping right-wing organizations that were in danger of complete eclipse alive with an infusion of new support, and generating the all-important evidence of political power—media attention.

The threat this backlash represents

is very real. Violence is its most blatant manifestation, but the litany of pain and waste caused by homophobia includes more subtle attacks on gay men and lesbians as well. Furthermore, confronting the backlash distracts time, energy, and money from the work necessary to bring about equal rights for lesbians and gay men.

In the case of Colorado's Amendment 2, it would be comforting to think that the people who voted for the amendment were simply misled, and believed they were opposing special rights for homosexuals. While that deception was promoted by Colorado for Family Values, the vote also reflects the deep-seated persistence of homophobia in our society. The skillful manipulation of homophobia by the right wing creates anti-gay sentiment and actions that bolster and promote intolerance.

In the United States we must decide what role the church and religious tenets are going to play, especially when those tenets are in conflict with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. It is not an attack on Christianity or religion to question the propriety of imposing biblical law on a secular society. If ours is a society in which church and state are separate, then the prohibitions of church dogma cannot overrule the protections provided by the Constitution. And the Constitution, to paraphrase Mr. Justice McKenna in the 1910 case of *Weems v. U.S.*, is *progressive*—it is not fastened to the obsolete but may acquire new meaning as public opinion becomes enlightened by a humane justice.

—by Jean Hardisty

(Call for information on footnotes for this article.)

PRA was retained by the law firm of Jean E. Dubofsky, P.C., to provide research assistance for the lawsuit sponsored by the Colorado Legal Initiatives Project to block Amendment 2 from being implemented. Dr. Hardisty was certified as an expert witness on the political and religious right, and testified at the preliminary injunction hearing.

BOOKS RECEIVED

*A Selected, Annotated List**Barron, Bruce***Heaven on Earth? The Social and Political Agendas of Dominion Theology**

Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992. 238 pages, footnotes, bibliography, and index.

Heaven on Earth? is currently the only full-length book available on dominion (reconstructionist) theology, a Christian philosophy that argues that the legal code of the Old Testament should provide the basis for U.S. civil and criminal law. While Barron provides a readable explanation of the movement (and particularly of its theology), his analysis of its social and political agendas is uncritical and sympathetic.

*Bischof, Gunter, and Stephen E. Ambrose, eds.***Eisenhower and the German POWs: Facts Against Falsehood**

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State U. Press, 1992. 258 pages, footnotes, bibliography, and index.

Eisenhower and the German POWs is a comprehensive refutation of James Bacque's *Other Losses: An Investigation into the Mass Deaths of German Prisoners of War at the Hands of the French and Americans After World War II*, which asserted that Eisenhower deliberately allowed up to one million German POWs to starve to death. In the U.S., the most tireless promoters of Bacque's book have been the holocaust denial industry.

*Carrere d'Encausse, Helene, trans. Franklin Philip***The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations**

New York: Basic Books, 1993. 292 pages, footnotes, brief bibliography, and index.

In this much-discussed book, Carrere d'Encausse, a harsh critic of the former Soviet Union, argues that the dissolution of the USSR was brought about by the surge of nationalism in its constituent republics. Although readable and sometimes valuable, the analysis trivializes the dangers of resurgent nationalism in the former republics, particularly the western republics (Ukraine, the Baltic nations), and at times misstates their history.

*Clayton, Susan D., and Faye J. Crosby***Justice, Gender, and Affirmative Action**

Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 1992. 152 pages, footnotes and index.

Clayton and Crosby, two academic psychologists, argue that affirmative action is essential to the creation of a just society. They develop a theory of "denial of personal disadvantage," which holds that members of disadvantaged groups often incorrectly believe that they are not subject to problems, such as sex discrimination, that affect their group as a whole. The authors argue that affirmative action provides a much-needed proactive mechanism for preventing discrimination that is more effective than relying on individual complaints.

*Coontz, Stephanie***The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap**

New York: Basic Books, 1992. 391 pages, footnotes, selected bibliography, and index.

An interesting, readable book packed with statistics that contradict many myths about families in the U.S. The book is organized around a series of such myths: We Always Stood on Our Own Two Feet—Self-reliance and the American Family; A Man's Home Is His Castle—The Family and Outside Intervention; and Pregnant Girls, Wilding Boys, Crack Babies, and the Underclass—The Myth of Black Family Collapse, among others. The book's broad focus is both a strength and a weakness: the book's generalizations, while often helpful, are occasionally shallow and sometimes ignore the experiences of non-white families.

*Greenfield, Liah***Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity**

Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1992. 581 pages, footnotes and index.

In this well-written book, Greenfield identifies two strains of nationalism: individualistic-libertarian (which leads to democratic states) and collectivistic-authoritarian (which leads to authoritarian states, sometimes defined ethnically). The distinction is reminiscent of Jeanne

Kirkpatrick's reading of Hannah Arendt. Greenfield also equates democracy with nationalism (a questionable assumption), and as the author herself points out, ethnicity does not receive the attention it needs in this book.

*Mommsen, Hans***From Weimar to Auschwitz**

Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1991. 367 pages, footnotes and index.

In this interesting, difficult, historical work, Mommsen looks at the transition from Weimar democracy to Nazism, exploring the roles youth rebellion, class conflict, and political stagnation played in Hitler's rise to power. His essays on German resistance to Hitler and on the final solution combine a precise command of historical detail with a compelling moral sense.

*Sen, Amartya***Inequality Reexamined**

Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1992. 207 pages, index and bibliography.

Strongly influenced by both Rawls and Nozick, Sen asks here, not why or how equality, but, "Equality of what?" Sen relies heavily on economic theory for his answers, which makes for difficult reading. While Sen may not be unsympathetic to egalitarianism, he dismisses such phrases as "the equality of man" as meaningless propaganda, self-evidently untrue.

*Usborne, Cornelia***The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties**

Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 1992. 304 pages, illustrations, footnotes, bibliography, and index.

Since the subtitle makes clear that this interesting, worthwhile book has a narrower scope than the primary title implies, it is perhaps unfair to criticize *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany* for topics it does not address, such as homosexuality and the male body. But these omissions, and other, less defensible ones (such as the racial politics of the female body or the role of racism and classism in the left's support of racial eugenics) undermine the work's analysis.

Overcoming Violence *Pride Becomes a Movement*

Margaret Cruikshank
**The Gay and Lesbian
Liberation Movement**

Routledge, New York, 1992. 199 pp. plus footnotes, bibliography, and index.

Gary David Comstock
**Violence Against Lesbians
and Gay Men**

Columbia University Press, New York, 1991. 140 pp. plus appendices, footnotes, bibliography, and index.

Ruthann Robson
**Lesbian (Out)law: Survival
Under the Rule of Law**

Firebrand Books, Ithaca, New York, 1992. 185 pp. with footnotes.

Readers who want to defend and advance the gay and lesbian rights movement will find these three recent books particularly helpful. They document the conditions under which lesbians and gay men struggle for liberation. To read about those conditions and the struggle to overcome them evokes echoes of the movements of other despised and oppressed people. The gay and lesbian liberation movement began with a change of self-image. All three books argue that gay pride is the spark that unlocked the anger and courage necessary to build a movement.

But a stronger theme is that violence directed at gay men and lesbians has terrorized their lives and remains a constant threat today. It is painful to read account after account of verbal threats, harassment, gay bashing, and murder—all still sometimes either condoned or ignored by the police and the courts. It is chilling to relive the 1978 murders of San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and supervisor Harvey Milk, and to be reminded that those murders occurred soon after the electoral defeat of the anti-gay Briggs Amendment in California. Fifteen years later, more anti-gay initiatives appeal to the voters' meanest instincts. And in spite of enormous progress made by the gay rights movement since 1978, passionate and violent

homophobia still makes gay people the group most often victimized by hate crimes.

Then there is the discrimination, the exclusion, and the double standards that lesbians and gay men face daily within the legal system. Housing and employment discrimination have been taken on by the gay rights movement, but reforms have been piecemeal. The recent uproar over President Clinton's attempt to legalize the presence of gays in the military reveals the fragility of these reforms. In the attempts of lesbians and gay men to achieve legal recognition for their families, each slight advance is followed by backlash and retreat. Lesbians are still losing custody of their children, and the 1986 Hardwick Supreme Court decision, upholding the right of states to outlaw the private practice of homosexual sodomy, is still the law of the land.

The role played by the right wing, especially the Christian right, in promoting homophobia is a crucial part of the history of the lesbian and gay rights movement. We look forward to the day when a well-researched book devoted specifically to that topic can be featured in *The Public Eye's* book review section.

Margaret Cruikshank's *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* is one of a series edited by Roger S. Gottlieb called Revolutionary Thought/Radical Movements. Cruikshank's excellent account of the movement is more than a dry historical narration. Designed for students who know little of the movement's history, it captures its complexity, including the oppression that led to the 1969 Stonewall riot, the spirit that created the movement, and the homophobia that prevents gays, lesbians and bisexuals from living as equal citizens.

One strength of the book is its subtle marriage of an objective academic style with the author's self-confessed point of view. An important advantage of

Cruikshank's point of view as a woman is that the book gives lesbians a full role in the history of the movement and appreciates the conditions of invisibility and patriarchal dominance that they face. Another strength is Cruikshank's willingness to take on sex and sexuality in a sensible discussion that begins from the premise that "gay sex is just sex." All this is done in an easy-reading style that makes the book accessible and useful to anyone interested in a comprehensive overview of the gay rights movement.

Ironically, its accessibility is also the source of one weakness. Cruikshank draws much of her information from the gay press, and is careful to footnote her sources within the body of the text. Too often, however, the underlying source is not noted. One example is a discussion of a Justice Department report that was ignored by the Reagan administration. The footnote gives the source of this story in the gay press, but not the name of the report. This sort of oversight limits the book's usefulness for those who want to conduct further research, even though there is such poor coverage of gay and lesbian news events in the mainstream media that anecdotes, oral accounts, and letters to the editor are often the only sources of information.

Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men is a dissertation-turned-book on the subject of physical violence. Gary Comstock's research is exhaustive and meticulous, no small feat when hard data is so sparse and studies are difficult to compare because data collection is new and uncoordinated. Comstock has made an important addition to that data with his own study, which when combined with the other data he reviewed, allows him to reach conclusions and make generalizations.

Some of Comstock's most disheartening findings are that anti-gay violence is unusually brutal, especially in the case of murder, that lesbians of color and gay men of color suffer more violence than

others, and that perpetrators are often "just average kids" who are engaging in a kind of socially sanctioned "sport." Adventure, excitement, and the relief of boredom seem the primary motivations of young attackers; older attackers seem more often to be defending their place in a social order that condemns homosexuality.

In his analysis Comstock points to gender role socialization as the principal cause of teenage gay bashing. Because young men are encouraged to show skills in dominance and violence at the very time that they lack any real power, conditions are ripe for "mastery" to be shown through violence against vulnerable victims, such as marginalized gays. In the case of older perpetrators, Comstock speculates that, ironically, the success of gay men and lesbians is what infuriates their attackers, who see the lesbian or gay man as a threat to their own status.

In a closing chapter that strays from the dissertation mold, Comstock attempts to draw parallels between the context of the condemnation of homosexuality found in the book of Leviticus and the context of contemporary gay bashing. His prescription for tolerance and support for lesbians and gay men by organized religion is a plaintive call for Christians and Jews to heed the ethical norm of the Exodus story—to see those least favored socially as those most deserving deliverance from slavery to freedom.

Ruthann Robson's *Lesbian (Out)law: Survival Under the Rule of Law* is a provocative cry of resistance from within the legal sys-

tem. A lawyer and law school professor, she is nonetheless a lesbian first and foremost. She is a woman trying to serve both the rule of law, which she clearly respects on an intellectual level, and her commitment to the survival of her community—lesbians. The two goals often seem mutually exclusive, and the reader watches with great sympathy as the tortured twists required to humanize the practice of the law turn back upon themselves in an attempt to force a square peg into a round hole. For women who have been "domesticated" by their professional training, yet have not been stripped of deep political and emotional commitments to fairness, kindness, and equity, this book will strike a chord. This conflict between the search for a good society and the distrust of society felt by members of an outcast group is often at the heart of identity politics.

Robson is neither a radical lesbian who embraces separatism, nor a liberal lesbian who wants to work in coalition with feminists. She is trying to find a third path—a legal theory that puts lesbians first, at the center of the law. She knows that in many cases the rule of law can be turned to the service of lesbians, but that more often it is the instrument of their persecution or prosecution. She wants to create a rule of law that *cannot* be used that way.

It is clear throughout the book that Robson's political commitments are broad. She has put her career in the service of those less advantaged. The absence of explicit discussions of class and race, however, needlessly deprive the book of a richness and complexity that would have raised the level of its discourse.

—by Jean Hardisty

Eye Lashes

THE RIGHT LOOKS AT THE WORLD:

"With Communism all but vanquished, Catholicism remains threatened by an even more formidable enemy: Western liberal culture."

—Robert Moynihan, Dec. 1992, in a letter introducing *Catholic World Report*, to be published by Ignatius Press.

PRA LOOKS AT THE RIGHT:

There's a man in D.C. named Paul Weyrich.*

The thought of gay rights makes him QUITE sick.

While promoting legislation To allow discrimination, He still claims not to be homophobic.

* Pronounced Why-rick. (A leader of the New Right, Weyrich helped establish the Heritage Foundation and now heads the Free Congress Foundation, a key organization opposing civil rights for gay men and lesbians.)

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RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE EXPANDS

The Rutherford Institute, founded and led by John Whitehead, announced recently that it has opened regional offices in California, Kansas, Texas, and Michigan, in response to a greatly increased caseload. The organization provides legal representation in cases involving pornography, abortion, and homosexual rights. Whitehead believes "there can be no solution to problems, both individual and social, other than the Bible offers." R.J. Rushdoony, a leader of the theocratic Christian Reconstructionist movement, has close ties to the Institute. Christian Reconstructionists believe U.S. law should be modeled more closely on biblical provisions. Some believe biblical law should be adopted in its entirety, including the imposition of capital punishment for many biblical offenses, such as homosexuality, adultery, witchcraft, and recalcitrance in children. With Rushdoony, Phyllis Schlafly also serves on the Rutherford Institute's Speakers Bureau.



UPDATE ON NEW DIMENSIONS AND BETWEEN THE LINES

Dimensions magazine (formerly *New Dimensions*), which we reported on in our first issue, continues to undergo changes. John Elvin is the magazine's new editor, and is also the new editor of *between the lines*, which describes itself as a watchdog of the dominant media culture. *Between the lines* also introduced recently a new, exclusive column by Don Kowet, formerly with the *Washington Times* newspaper, which was founded and is controlled by the organization of Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

Between the lines has also announced the return of the *Pink Sheet on the Left*, a publication that will "closely scrutinize the personalities and policies of the Clinton era and serve as a guide for readers in combatting the erosion of the traditional American way of life."

Pink Sheet on the Left was founded by editor Phillip Abbott Luce and publisher Tom Phillips in 1971. In 1981, the magazine changed its name to *The American Sentinel*.

CULTURE WAR DECLARED ON SMITHSONIAN

Dimensions magazine recently announced the formation of the Washington Investigative Network (WIN), whose purpose is to investigate and expose "bizarre," government-funded, liberal cultural programs. Now, *between the lines* reports that the Smithsonian Institution is to be WIN's first target in its Culture War Project. "The Smithsonian is a glaring symbol of the very real Culture War that is going on in America today," explains *between the lines* in a special "Action File" update promoting WIN. "It used to be a good place to take your kids," grouses the newsletter. "Now, God knows what sort of moronic Performance Art [or] other leftist activist nonsense you'll encounter. Besides that, a squad of Political Correctness Police on the museum staff have gone through and removed or corrected exhibits that don't jibe with their propaganda agenda."

ACCURACY IN MEDIA GOES TO MOSCOW

Reed Irvine's Accuracy in Media has announced that it will be sponsoring the work of a "distinguished researcher on Soviet espionage, on a special investigative 'Mission to Moscow.'" The researcher will examine Soviet documents for evidence of disinformation campaigns and for evidence of any co-optation of U.S. journalists. Philip Averbeck, Massachusetts coordinator for Accuracy in Media and a strong promoter of the project, announced, "I am confident that as the years go by, we will learn from the Soviet archives that dozens of respected American journalists were in fact secret agents of the USSR."

IHR PUBLICATIONS: ONE DOWN, ONE TO GO

The Institute for Historical Review announced that it has ceased publication of its thirteen-year-old newsletter, and that it will be making substantial changes in its other publication, the *Journal of Historical Review*. IHR is a holocaust revisionist organization that was founded by Willis Carto (who also founded Liberty Lobby, an anti-Semitic group that publishes *Spotlight* newspaper). IHR reports that its revised journal "will continue to feature solid scholarship articles on the Holocaust" but will also "deal less formally with other issues of historical relevance."

ANTI-ABORTION MOVEMENT IN FLORIDA

The American Life League (ALL), a national anti-abortion organization, has reported that special, regional, anti-abortion satellite broadcasts are being aired on Christian radio stations in Florida, where they have generated considerable response. The first broadcasts, according to Steve Wood, president of the Florida Life Center, resulted in three days of jammed telephone lines at the Center as listeners called to request more information. The broadcasts are also credited with helping to mobilize the more than 140,000 Floridians who took part in the 1992 Florida Life Chain, the largest state demonstration in the nation.

Although Florida has so far been the only state to have repeated broadcasts, satellite technology allows these broadcasts, which originate from Dallas, Texas, to be aired in any state. The broadcasts "allow us to link arms with the other Christian broadcasters from a state perspective," says Steve James of Miami's Christian radio station, WMCU. "We form a coalition with the other stations and we are able to keep Christians plugged into what is going on at the the state level." According to Bennett Luke, a Christian radio broadcaster from Florida, "Whichever side of the abortion battle most effectively networks the 50 individual states will win the next phase of the battle."

RESOURCES

continued from page 16

Shipping & handling costs are \$3.00 for the first book and \$0.75 for each additional book. Send book orders to P.O. Box 741, Monroe, ME 04951. If you carry a Visa or Master Card you can place a telephone order by calling 1 800-533-8478 (207 525-0934 if in Maine).

The Women's Project in Arkansas has produced a *Handbook for Victims of Hate Violence*. Although it has a state focus, it is an excellent model for creating a guide for your state. \$1.50 per copy. Also available is *Homophobia: A*

Weapon of Sexism. \$11.95. Both prices include postage. *Transformation*, their newsletter, comes out 6 times per year and costs \$15. The Women's Project, 2224 Main Street, Little Rock, AR 72206 (501) 372-5113 Fax: 372-0009.

People for the American Way carries a large selection of materials on constitutional issues raised by campaigns of the political and religious right:

Attacks on the Freedom to Learn. \$8.95.

Values, Pluralism, and Public Education: A National Conference. \$7.95.

The Witch Hunt Against "Secular Humanism." David Bollier. \$5.95.

Religion, Education and the First Amendment: The Appeal to History. R. Freeman Butts. \$5.95.

The PAW newsletter, *Right-Wing Watch*, has 10 issues yearly, for \$15. People for the American Way, 2000 M Street, N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20036 202 467-4999 Fax: 293-2672.

Institute for First Amendment Studies
P.O. Box 589
Great Barrington, MA 01230
413 274-3786 Fax: 274-0245

Newsletter: *Freedom Writer*. 6 per year, \$30. \$25 yearly membership includes subscription. *Challenging the Christian Right: The Activist's Handbook*. \$20. 3-ring binder (revised edition).

GROUPS FIGHTING HOMOPHOBIA IN COLORADO:

Citizens Project
P.O. Box 2085
Colorado Springs, CO 80901
719 685-9899

Researching the religious right. Active in exposing theocratic bigotry behind Amendment Two. Newsletter: *Freedom Watch*. 6 issues yearly, \$10 outside Colorado.

Colorado Legal Initiatives Project (CLIP)
P.O. Box 4447
Denver, CO 80201-4447
303 830-2100

Sponsors and raises funds for the ongoing lawsuit to block Amendment Two.

Equality Colorado
P.O. Box 300476
Denver, CO 80203
303 839-5540

Education and outreach about the realities of gay and lesbian lives. Buttons and other paraphernalia available. Publishes *Equality in Colorado: Where do we go from here?* Pamphlet. \$1.00.

Ground Zero
P.O. Box 1982
Colorado Springs, CO 80901
719 635-6086

Working on a variety of resource materials relating to homophobia and the religious right.

Essential Reading

UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL & RELIGIOUS RIGHT:

Capps, Walter H. *The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism, and Politics*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1990.

Crawford, Alan. *Thunder on the Right*. New York: Pantheon, 1980.

Himmelstein, Jerome L. *To the Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.

Shilts, Randy. *And the Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Hixson, William B. *Search for the American Right Wing: An Analysis of the Social Science Record, 1955-1987*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Marsden, George M. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991.

BY THE POLITICAL & RELIGIOUS RIGHT:

LaHaye, Tim. *The Battle for the Mind*. Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1980.

---. *The Unhappy Gays*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1978.

---. *What Everyone Should Know About Homosexuality*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1978.

Robertson, Pat. *The New Millennium: Ten Trends That Will Impact You and Your Family by the Year 2000*. Dallas, TX: Word Publishing, 1990.

---. *The New World Order: It Will Change Your Life*. Dallas, TX: Word Publishing, 1991.

Rueda, Enrique T. *The Homosexual Network: Private Lives and Public Policy*. Old Greenwich, CT: Devin Adair Company, 1982.

Rueda, Enrique T. and Schwartz, Michael. *Gays, AIDS and You*. Old Greenwich, CT: Devin Adair Company, 1987.

Schaeffer, Francis A. *A Christian Manifesto*. Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1981.

Schaeffer, Franky. *A Time for Anger: The Myth Of Neutrality*. Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1982.

Thomson, Rosemary. *Withstanding Humanism's Challenge to Families: Anatomy of a White House Conference*. Morton, IL: Traditional Publications, 1981.

Whitehead, John W. *The Stealing of America*. Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1983.

THE PUBLIC EYE Resources

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force is a major national clearinghouse for issues involving homophobia. The NGLTF Anti-Violence Project has a list of *Organizations Working Against Violence* on the state and local level. *Activist Alert* is a monthly one-page news sheet for persons fighting homophobic legislation and other attacks on gay, lesbian and bisexual rights.

The Task Force has hired Scot Nakagawa to coordinate a six-month project providing resources and assistance to activists fighting homophobic initiatives already planned in Arizona, California, Florida, Idaho, Michigan, Ohio, Oregon, and Washington. Nakagawa is a veteran organizer who worked on the successful effort to defeat Oregon's homophobic Measure 9. Nakagawa will update a special edition of the *NGLTF Fight the Right Manual*. Contact NGLTF for publication date and pricing. NGLTF, 1734 14th Street, Washington, D.C. 20009-4309 (202) 332-6483 Fax: 332-0207.

The Center for Democratic Renewal is the largest nationwide community-based coalition fighting hate group activity. Their study, *Quarantines and Death: The Far Right's Homophobic Agenda*, examines the promotion of

gay-bashing by the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, and other far-right groups. \$5.00. Also available—*When Hate Groups Come to Town: A Handbook of Effective Community Responses*. \$18.95. *They Don't All Wear Sheets: A Chronology of Racist and Far Right Violence—1980–1986*. \$6.00. CDR's newsletter, *Monitor*, is bi-monthly and costs \$15 for individuals, \$25 for institutions. Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302 (404) 221-0025.

The Coalition for Human Dignity has published a detailed report on the homophobic initiative Measure 9 in Oregon titled *Rolling Back Civil Rights: A Study of the Oregon Citizen's Alliance*. It provides useful insights into the larger homophobic social movement. \$8.50 includes postage. The Coalition for Human Dignity, P.O. Box 40344, Portland, OR 97240 (503) 227-5033 Fax: 281-5823.

The American Civil Liberties Union sells the publication *Rights of Lesbians and Gay Men* for \$7.95 + 1.50 postage. Send checks to ACLU, Dept. L, P.O. Box 794, Medford, NY, 11763.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences is in its fifth year of The

Fundamentalism Project, a multi-year, interdisciplinary, public policy study funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Annual conferences have been held in Chicago since 1988, and a Fundamentalism Project Newsletter is available from AAAS. A multi-volume series, titled *The Fundamentalism Project Series*, edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, is being published by the University of Chicago Press. For information, call (312) 702-1901.

South End Press publishes several books relevant to the topics discussed in this issue:

Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right. Sara Diamond. \$12.00

The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism. Russ Bellant. \$9.00

Old Nazis, the New Right, and the Republican Party: Domestic Fascist Networks and U.S. Cold War Politics. Russ Bellant. \$11.00

Women, AIDS, & Activism. ACT UP/New York Women and AIDS Book Group. \$9.00

Women Under Attack: Victories, Backlash, and the Fight for Reproductive Freedom. The CARASA Collective, edited by Sue Davis. \$5.00

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The Public Eye

NEWSLETTER

Political Research Associates

678 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 702
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139-3355