SHMATE
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FOCUS
THE RIGHT

ROOTS OF THE NEW RIGHT
THE FAR RIGHT
THE NEW RIGHT
FAMILY ISSUES
CIVIL LIBERTIES
USING THE JEWS
CREATIONISM
CEDARTOWN AND THE KLAN
DIRECT MAIL FUNDING
ABORTION
PRIVATE SPIES
PORNOGRAPHY
LYNDON LAROUCHE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE RIGHT

CO-EDITOR
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FEATURING: RUSS BELLANT, CHIP BERLET, SANDY BERMAN, STEVE FANKUCHEN, ANNE FINGER, JEAN HARDISTY, LEE JAFFE, JEANNIE KAMINS, LYNN WELLS, LENNY ZESKIND

THE ART OF JEANNIE KAMINS
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STEVIE FANKUCHEN
Publisher/Editor

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GRAPHICS CREDITS

Jeanie Kamins is a political artist whose primary medium is fabrics. Her recent satirical works on the politics of Canada has been noted in the Canadian Press. SHMATE is pleased to present fifteen of Kamins' fabric designs, as well as cartoons and pen and ink drawings. Some of her work is available on postcards. Photography of her work is by Henri Robideau. Those interested can contact her through her mailing address: 3281 West 3rd Ave., Vancouver, B.C. CANADA V6K 1N5

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RIGHT IS WRONG

Pig! Conservative! Rightist! Fascist! Reactionary! Reaganite! Nazi! How often have we heard these terms used interchangeably? Too often progressives substitute epithet, stereotype, and simplistic assertion for analysis and precision, when it comes to discussing the Right. In planning this issue of SHMATE, one of the central tasks has been to get past rhetoric, to carefully describe and analyze, rather than to merely make assertions and call names. In addition it has been a priority to use language that is clear and free of Leftist jargon, since this SHMATE is intended as a tool for progressives to use outside of meetings and coffeehouses, a tool to be used not so much for talking with each other as for talking with those whom we ordinarily only talk about.

Most of what is written about the Right comes from New York City, Greater Boston, or the Bay Area, where folks, by and large, do not have to deal with the Right very much. Therefore, in order to provide greater perspective to the subject, this SHMATE is being co-edited in Missouri. In addition only one of the authors is based in any of those three regions.

When I first conceived this issue of SHMATE, I decided it was imperative to have a co-editor. The subject matter was simply too important to leave in the hands of one person. So I approached the staff of The Hammer, an anti-racist, anti-fascist magazine published in Kansas City, Missouri. I was attracted to The Hammer for several reasons. First, the articles were well researched and documented. Second, the magazine was delightfully free of rhetoric and jargon. Third, it had a distinct Jewish consciousness. One of their staff, Lenny Zeskind, agreed to work on this issue of SHMATE with me. I cannot praise Lenny and The Hammer too highly for this non-sectarian devotion to principle. Rather than viewing what SHMATE was trying to do in a competitive manner, they joined in a common struggle, knowing that it would probably be of no particular advantage to their own organization. If such an attitude were the rule among progressives, rather than the extremely rare exception it is, we’d all be much better off today.

In working with Lenny Zeskind I have been very fortunate to have a co-editor of great intelligence, ability, commitment, and integrity. To him should go the credit for much of the substance of this issue.

This SHMATE is designed to be an in-depth overview, a contradiction necessitated by the limitations of a small magazine. We have tried to describe the Right in all its divisions, variations, and contradictions, rather than as the monolithic juggernaut proclaimed by its leaders and often tacitly accepted by progressives. In order to work effectively for what we believe in, it is necessary that we know the reality of what we are up against, who the Right is, where the power lies, and how it is organized. It is also absolutely imperative we understand that the Right has articulated the real aspirations and fears of many people, and that most folks who support or are aghastic about the Right are decent people with legitimate concerns.

There is a tendency by many to view the Right as a collection of often bizarre beliefs promulgated by a bunch of mean-spirited, cranky old men. Frequently we approach it as a quirky phenomenon. Clearly there is much, at least from “our” perspective, to support such a view.

- The Justice Department proposes a $500,000 grant to identify future criminals on the basis of the shapes of toes and earlobes of children between the ages of nine and twelve.
- The General Services Administration builds locked sheds over the sidewalk heating grates in Washington, so the homeless can’t stay over them to keep warm.
- Donald Wildmon, Executive Director of the National Federation For Decency writes in a USA TODAY column that the “Media Elite is overtly anti-Christian”, because he has concluded that 59% of the T.V. elite were raised in Jewish homes.
- A Northern California high school bans the American Heritage Dictionary.
- The President states that the answers to all our problems are in the Bible.

Unfortunately, the reality is otherwise. The Right is not a collection of quirky phenomena. Thought not a monolithic entity, it is, nonetheless, highly organized and programmatic. It is that which SHMATE will examine in the following pages. Basically the discussion is divided into three approaches: a history of the Right, a survey from the conservative to the radical and fascist Right, and a series of specific topics focused on by the Right. In a volume the length of SHMATE, a choice had to be made between a smorgasbord coverage of specific topics and a more intensive but less extensive approach. It was more fitting for the purposes of this issue and the nature of SHMATE’s readership to choose depth over breadth. Thus the topics are intended as exemplary rather than exhaustive. In
addition, the decision was made to focus on less well-known material and to provide perspective by tying together more accessible and familiar subjects. It is also appropriate to note that one of the factors in selection is the belief of the editors that the danger from the integrated agenda of the Right is distinctly greater than the danger posed to any specific classification of people by any component element of the Right.

Similarly, each individual article covers only limited aspects of the subjects under discussion. Choices had to be made, and priority was given to new information and new perspectives rather than a replay or summing up of more readily available material. Even so, important subjects could only be given a cursory examination. To understand the problematic nature of such choices, consider the following items which are not covered in our relevant articles:

CIVIL LIBERTIES
- Ed Meese, the Attorney General, rode to fame as a prosecutor of Free Speech Movement and Peoples Park defendants. He has also been linked to Garden Plot/Cable Splicer, a Military Intelligence program of surveillance and disruption of civil rights and anti-war groups, a program which included contingency plans for a military takeover of this country.
- Several important objects of censorship attempts are, according to the American Library Association, Caught in the Rye, 1984, The Grapes of Wrath, Lord of the Flies, and Brave New World.

WHAT DID YOU DO IN SCHOOL TODAY, DEAR?...

WELL, WE WERE ALL FINGERPRINTED, THEN OUR PHOTOS WERE TAKEN FOR I.D. CARDS, THEN WE HAD TO REPORT ON HOW YOU AND DADDY VOTED... OH, WE SPENT A FEW MINUTES TALKING ON "FREEDOM IN AMERICA".

- Jesse Helms tried to take over C.B.S. in an attempt to intimidate the media from criticizing the Right.
- Justice Harry Blackmun, a Nixon appointee, publicly condemns the Supreme Court for "... moving to the right ... by hook or by crook."
- Several government agencies have intentionally exposed large numbers of American citizens to various biological and chemical agents. Neither the scope, effects, current manifestations, nor implications of these programs have been brought out.

PORNOGRAPHY
- Mention is made of a Justice Department grant to Judith Reisman to pursue her belief that pornography causes bodily chemical changes, which cause "out of wedlock births, ... divorce [and] homosexuality." But there is no examination of the fact that Ed Meese, while running the Justice Department, was also a member of the National Advisory Board of American University on whose staff Reisman was placed.

PRIVATE SPIES
- While John Rees is described as a major spy, the implications are not discussed of N.B.C. News Producer Patricia Lynch using Rees as an example of a legitimate journalist in a Columbia Journalism Review article on people masquerading as journalists.

ROOTS OF THE NEW RIGHT
- While the programmatic perspective is carefully delineated, organizational material is limited.
- The radical Right is hardly dealt with.
- The influence of "intellectual" outfits such as the Harriman and Carnegie-financed Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory — a eugenics organization designed to prove the superiority of "whites" over Jews, Blacks, and other "races" — is not discussed.
- The active collaboration of American corporations and churches with the German Nazis before, during, and after the War is not detailed or analyzed.

LYNDON LAROUCHE
- The article concentrates on one aspect of LaRouche, his relationship to the electoral politics of the Democrats and Republicans. Little material is developed concerning the multitude of other activities of his people, from providing "information" tables at Waldbaum's and the airport, to masquerading as well-known journalists and Congressional aides in order to discredit and sow distrust among critics of his organization and policies.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE
Mention is made of the relationship of LaRouche and former C.I.A. Deputy Director Bobby Inman, as well as of LaRouche's passionate support for Reagan's Star Wars Plan. But there is no exploration of the implications of Inman now functioning as Director of the Micro-Electronics and Computer Technology Corporation, the new research and development consortium of the pre-eminent American computer companies, an outfit indispensable to the creation of Star Wars technology.

The implications are not pursued of the fact that Nazi V-2 rocket scientist Kraft Ehricke, brought into this country by the American government, has supported LaRouche as a contributor of his magazine, *Fusion*.

**CREATIONISM**

Though the attempt to define creationism as science is discussed, the broader attack on the "evils" of secular humanism in schools is hardly mentioned. For instance, one section of a recent Congressional Bill approving $75 million for magnet schools in districts with desegregation plans states, "Grants under this title may not be used for... courses of instruction the substance of which is secular humanism."

To put it in the perspective of Robert Simonds, President of the National Association of Christian Educators, "This battle is... AMERICA'S LAST GREAT WAR... The combatants are 'secular humanism' and 'Christianity'. Atheism, in the cloak of an acceptable 'humanitarian' religious philosophy, has been subtly introduced into the traditional Christian American culture through the public school system. The battle is for the minds of our youth... The National Association of Christian Educators is a group of professional educators in our schools. There are estimated to be over 500,000 born-again Christians working from 'inside' of the system to change it and return the Christian ethic of morality and excellence to education."

**ABORTION**

While the year-long failure of the Justice Department to involve itself in seeking out the bombers of two dozen abortion clinics is mentioned, an analysis of this in light of the Government's massive reaction to any "leftist" bombing is not undertaken.

A number of organizations of significance in the Right are, if noted at all, barely mentioned. H. L. Richardson's and Richard Viguerie's right-wing alternative to the National Rifle Association, Gun Owners of America, claims 200,000 members. The anti-union National Right To Work Committee operates on a multi-million dollar budget, focusing on sophisticated magazine advertising, computer letters, and anti-union legislation. Reed Irvine's *Accuracy in Media* works to "expose" alleged pervasive left-wing bias in the media. Roger Pearson's *World Anti-Communist League* ties together right-wing groups across national boundaries, with a special affinity for the Nationalist Chinese Kuomintang. Phyllis Schlafly's 50,000 member *Eagle Forum* is a John Birch Society spinoff designed to serve as an alternative to the feminist women's movement. Old Right Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade now works to bring the issues of the New Right to old line anti-communists. Mixing religion with politics is the *modus operandi* of the soul-savers of the Crusade For Christ, an organization which took in $30 million by mid-1983. The Catholic and Mormon Churches support various right-wing causes through threats and untold millions of tax-exempt dollars.
ing their children, families, and friends in the process — are likely to feel right at home with efforts to organize the social, ethical, and political life of the nation as a whole on an authoritarian basis. Moreover, the history of our lifetime, from Germany to Jonestown, makes it abundantly clear that even ordinary people will commit acts of abominable violence that go against their own standards of right and wrong, when they are part of an authoritarian system and can thus absolve themselves of individual responsibility.

Another important issue not covered is the ongoing relationship of American leaders — political, economic, military, and religious — to the Nazis (the orginal variety). Some of the economic connections have become known, how top American corporations and banking interests dealt with Germany during the Second World War. Such treason, instead of being punished, usually resulted in enhanced positions of power for those corporations and their leaders. (One can't help but compare the fate of the giants of industry, who traded with the enemy, to that of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who, even granting the worst prosecution scenario only passed information on to one of the Allies.)

We wish for a situation so confused and chaotic which will allow us to so intensify our assault against our enemy, to that of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who, even granting the worst prosecution scenario only passed information on to one of the Allies.)

While the tip of the iceberg on economic collaboration is now clearly visible, it is only surfacing regarding the religious and military communities. Several recent deportation cases have begun to shed some light on the former. The military, however, has managed to avoid scrutiny on its wholesale importation of Nazis into this country after the War and the continuing influence of those people to this day. Let me make it clear: we are not talking about Germans or “innocent” run-of-the-mill party members, but about influential Nazis, including some tried in the War Crimes Tribunals. (An April 1985 article by Linda Hunt in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists does an excellent job of breaching the wall of secrecy surrounding the military and the Nazis.)

What makes the question of collaboration with the Nazis relevant today is not simply a desire for justice, but the fact that many of the people involved are still in positions of influence, and the attitudes which allowed this to happen have now become institutionalized. No wonder President Reagan stated recently that there were no Nazis left, that it was time to forget, time to close the book on World War II and the Holocaust. No wonder he would choose to close the book by paying tribute at a cemetery containing S.S. butchers! The only real wonder is that there are so many Americans, especially Jews who are surprised by Reagan’s actions.

"[THE GERMAN SOLDIERS OF WORLD WAR II] WERE VICTIMS JUST AS SURELY AS THE VICTIMS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS."

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A few quotes from Robert Simonds, President of the National Association of Christian Educators. “Christians find themselves in ‘cultural shock’ in their own country. How can anyone say, ‘Any child who believes in God is sick and needs psychiatric care.’ That blows our mind — yet that’s what . . . is taught by the teachers union, NEA . . . America is pluralistic. We wish it were all Christian . . . The humanist or worldly person is basically EGO, or self-oriented. The Christian person or follower of God is other person oriented . . . All belief systems fit into one of these two diametrically opposite camps . . . All Christians who know the teachings of Jesus Christ . . . realize that evangelicalism is NOT an option for Christians. It is a comand.”

Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority are mentioned in several articles. However, as with other parts of the religious Right, they are not covered separately, since material on them is readily available elsewhere. Nonetheless a few items from the February, 1985, issue of Moral Majority Report (a million copies printed) are appropriate to remind us of the nature of their movement.

- “The other day, the United States deported to the Soviet Union a 77 year-old Ukrainian immigrant, already close to death, for crimes he allegedly committed, while a guard at one of the Nazi death camps 40 years ago. Our aggrieved sense of justice would not permit us to allow this dying old man to answer to his conscience and his God for what he had done . . . Something is terribly amiss when we can be so caught up in remorse over crimes committed in East Europe four decades ago, while overlooking the holocaust [abortion — ed.] going on within our land.”

- “By holding debates in Jewish synagogues and Jewish community centers and by placing ads in Jewish newspapers across America, the Democrats, with the help of Norman Lear, were able to drive a wedge between the Jewish community and the Republican party . . . [Irving Kristol] says it is of critical importance that the Jewish voter recognize the leadership of the Christian conservative movement, particularly Dr. Falwell, has no interest whatsoever in a “Christianized” America . . .

- “. . . the Soviets have cheated on every arms treaty ever signed with the United States . . . ‘A two-layer [Star Wars] system will be enough to protect 90%-99% of the nation’s population.’ . . . . . . . what can the Soviets possibly offer us to give up [Star Wars]? If they reduce their missiles by 20%, they still have an 80% balance of terror.’”

- “In a stunning ‘Open Letter To The Religious Jewish Community’ . . . international author-

W hen I began this issue of SHMATE, I thought a co-editor would make the job twice as easy. Instead, I discovered it simply drove two people nuts instead of the usual one. And yet the task we set out to do was really quite simple when compared to what must follow — a realistic prescription for dealing with not just the Right, but also those fears and frustrated aspirations which the Right has been so successfully exploiting. If you can’t tell the players without a scorecard, then, if we have done our job, you now know who’s on first. But the game still needs to be played out, and we don’t have the heavy hitters, nor are we the sentimental favorites. Thus, we will have to try even harder, always remembering that the game is not played in the stands. Nothing will be accomplished if we merely sit at home or in coffeehouses bemoaning the state of affairs. We will not prevent the expansion of the Right by reading — or publishing — small magazines of progressive Jewish thought. What we must do is get off our individual and collective tuchus. We will have to remember that many decent folks disagree with us. We will have to keep in mind that the Sixties and Seventies were the exception and not the rule in the political and social life of the United States. The changes we made were exactly that, changes. Our attempt to incorporate our values into the institutions and lifestyle of America was the product of ethical, demographic, and economic imperatives, not that of habit and continuity. Thus it should not be surprising that, having lost our momentum, many are returning to the way things were or, at least, toward a popular perception of the way things were supposed to have been. It remains for us again to seize the initiative — to vote with our feet, take real risks, and make real sacrifices, and not naively, indignantly, and self-righteously kvetch on and on.

STEVE FANKUCHEN
On March 28 I drew the short straw from my neighborhood arsonist. By the time the fire, water, and smoke cleared, I lost, along with many of my personal possessions, about 1500 back issues of SHMATE. There are several implications for the magazine. First, the availability of back issues is tenuous. Issue #1 is gone. Issues #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #9, and #10 are available for now. Issues #7 and #8 are available only to subscribers. Second, the several thousand dollars worth of SHMATE ashes is significant for an operation such as this one. For those of you new to the magazine, let me note the following: SHMATE is produced by an unpaid staff of one — myself. The income has, with recent issues, increased to the point where it is tenuous. For those of you to whom donations are of interest to you, then support it generally. For those of you to whom I did not reply, my sincere apologies.

So, where does this leave me? Needing money and having cut myself off from the usual ways of getting it! I suppose I could set up shop as a Cabbage Patch Doll Therapist or sell genuine pieces of the San Andreas Fault to the tourists and just watch the money roll in. But I'm afraid I would be successful, and I hate to think what that would do to my already somewhat cynical appraisal of human nature. Or, perhaps I should follow up the lead of the arson inspector who, after looking at some burnt copies of SHMATE, asked if I had any political enemies who had done this. (Possible, but exceedingly unlikely.) What if I just hinted to the press that this was the work of anti-Semites or, better yet, Arabs. Undoubtedly the donations would come pouring in. I'd get lots of invitations to radio talk shows, paid speaking engagements, six major Jewish organization press conferences, and my own political action committee (RAGPAC).

Or, I could wait for the Messiah. Unfortunately, people in my family don't seem to live that long. So until the Messiah comes, I must count on you to support the magazine. Money! That's what's needed. Not simply to pay the bills, but to guarantee the existence of at least one independent progressive Jewish magazine in this country, one such magazine not financially (and thus, editorially) accountable to advertisers, institutions, angels, or ideology. An independent magazine accountable solely and completely to its independent readers. A magazine which can only exist if you support it. At least until the Messiah comes.

Subscriptions do not and cannot pay for all the costs of a magazine such as SHMATE. Donations, substantial donations, quarterly donations are absolutely necessary. Gift subscriptions, library subs, fundraisers, and bulk orders for your group (10 or more of an issue at a 40% discount) would help. So far I have been unable to afford any paid publicity for the magazine. Thus, SHMATE depends on you, the readers, to spread the word. Think of yourselves as the progressive's low and moderate income answer to Richard Viguerie.

So, if SHMATE doesn't interest you, just forget it. Spend your money on something else. It will not be the end of the world. But if the magazine and what it represents are of interest to you, then support it generously. There's no one else but you folks. As Pacifica is listener-sponsored radio, SHMATE is a reader-sponsored magazine.

STEVE FANKUCHEN
LETTERS

THE VIEW FROM OUT THERE

I am in the midst of gobbling (my habitual SHMATE mode) Issue #10. Its theme, like those of so many other issues, strikes at a nerve center, and the writing is thoughtful and to the point. Also, as on other occasions, I read the letters section with immense pleasure and relief. Every time you or your contributors have infuriated me, I have found a powerful, reasoned, precise retort, or two or three or four. I would have been proud to have written in the subsequent issue. I appreciate this democratic forum.

Daniel Marlin
Berkeley, California

Here is a small contribution to your special issue on 'the Right.' I am a small press publisher with a progressive press, West End Press. Recently I resigned from the COSMEP Board after its failure to take responsible action concerning the publication of an ad from "Truth Missions" in its 1984 catalogue.

Following my resignation, I was treated to a letter from one COSMEP Board member which ended, "I'll submit your name for both the Lenin Peace Prize and the Zionist League Award." I was not particularly surprised by this kind of gutter politics—Neo-Nazi material tends to contaminate those around it with its filth. But it did remind me of the real danger of the "anti-Holocaust" movement, which is that it converts reason to unreason and standards of behavior to indecency.

I grew up in a Right-wing family. I want to warn you to carefully distinguish between those who sow the seeds of hatred and the gullible and often deprived people who follow them. Fascism is not a mental disease. It is a dirty, slick, saleable product; it could not survive without a class of profiteers on human misery. They are the ones to go after—the ones who orchestrate terrorist attacks, while maintaining respectable positions in society. I hope you soberly and clearly locate some of the bodies, and provide us with good documentation. There is a real need for what you call "a tool for progressives."

John Crawford
Minneapolis, Minnesota

I am sorry you are doing that kind of issue [on the Right] — not because it's a topic about politics (we just published The Political Life Of American Jewish Women showing that Jewish women's vote since 1972 has been consistently more liberal than that of Jewish men), but because it's material that is readily available now. Except for the two pieces dealing with the Right and Jews, it seems very redundant. Your foray into a Mother Jones kind of issue will only confuse the readers who want you to be a shmate — a Jewish content mag/rag.

Doris Gold
Fresh Meadows, New York

I think your New Right issue strays from SHMATE's purpose, at least my reason for subscribing—to get the particularly Jewish focus or aspect of current issues.

Rick Schreiber
St. Paul, Minnesota

I am seriously disappointed, perhaps dismayed, by your introduction [to SHMATE #10]. I can accept your fascination with baseball as a bizarre if harmless peccadillo. But denigrating football, now that's a major sin. No wonder you have trouble raising money for SHMATE!

Burton Levine
Hamden, Connecticut

Here is $10 to help support your upcoming issue on the new/old right (read: fascism). Living on a fixed income, I cannot afford more. We are living in scary times and reading your publication helps me remember I am not alone, even if it seems that way out here in the middle of the Pacific and in the middle of a growing web of fundamentalists taking over everything.

I trust that the issue will focus a good deal of attention on the extreme threat the right poses to women/lesbians/feminists. It may be a fatal mistake for all of us as Jews if Jewish men continue to ignore the interconnectedness between our survival and the feminist revolution. Men who are in control of media must commit to a conscious fight against sexism and male privilege. In general, I think your publication makes an attempt at this. However, Issue #10 made the age-old mistake of assuming that what interests men also interests women. I was disgusted at having to plow through 2 pages of father/son/baseball rah-rah/fraternity crap in order to figure out what you (editor) were trying to say. The primary message I got was that you were writing for a male audience and, once again, we were invisible to those we are supporting.

That one piece of editorial garbage would have been enough for me to cancel my subscription were it not for my hunger to read Jewish women writers and the few men who are making attempts at understanding our oppression/revolution. You cannot afford to alienate us, so stop trying to. I also expect your progressive magazine to adopt a progressive policy to avoid publishing anything that is written in sexist language, as this is one of the more powerful/effective forms of oppression: language shapes the very way we conceive of the world.

Linda Rosenberg
Hilo, Hawaii
LETTERS: continued

I really enjoyed your editorial on “Caring” in the Chanukah 1984 issue. For years my wife and I have had a strong disagreement as to the relative progressive merits of baseball. She thinks it’s a silly game that diverts our energies from the struggles of leftist politics. Unfortunately, your insights did not change her opinion one bit.

I agree with all that you say, but two unrelated events have somewhat dampened my enthusiasm toward our “National Pastime.”

First of all, the N.L. Champion San Diego Padres fired pitching coach Norm Sherry after their loss to the Tigers. Sherry, a former Brooklyn Dodger, is Jewish. As you wrote, several members of the Padres are Bircher’s. The official explanation of Sherry’s removal was a personality clash with his pitchers. I have a suspicion that anti-Semitism was at least partially responsible. I was shocked that the press, television, and radio did not play up this angle and demand a full investigation from the League and the Commissioner’s office. (I was ecstatic when the Padres were blown away 4 games to 1 in the series.) Maybe I’ll try to organize a demonstration inside Shea (my wife Shirley included) next year to publicize this injustice. Us Brooklyn Jews much stick together. Hopefully fans throughout the National League will take similar steps.

The only problem with this approach is that the Met’s management has become very un-caring to its fans. Despite an increase of over 500,000 in the 1984 attendance, the Mets saw fit to increase all ticket prices by one dollar for the 1985 season, while not participating in the free-agent draft and cutting some popular, older, higher-salaried players. These actions are bad enough without the Mets asking the city of New York to spend $8 million tax dollars for 50 luxury boxes equipped with color t.v.’s, air conditioning, private toilets, bars, upholstered furniture, etc. etc. etc. As a N.Y.C. taxpayer and paying fan, I am angered at this total disregard of the average ticket-holder. The New York Jets and Giants moved to New Jersey because Shea Stadium is in rotten condition and money could be better used to benefit the masses instead of the privileged few. I guess the Reagan election had a lot to do with this new philosophy.

The logical answer to this dilemma is a joint action at the next Mets-Padres game protesting both the anti-Semitic actions of San Diego and the pandering to the rich and powerful by the Mets. Who knows? This may lead to a new alliance between Jews and the Left. It’s worth a try. Let me know what you think. Even in baseball matters, Jews and the Left can and must work together.

Henry Finkelstein
Brooklyn, New York

Here’s my renewal a little early. I seem to be in pretty good shape for bucks right now, knock wood. I don’t know why and I don’t ask. Hope it helps. I enjoy SHMATE a lot.

Michael Brody
Iowa City, Iowa

Thank you for continuing to publish high quality issues of SHMATE. The ones on “Jewish Identity” and “Caring” were among the best.

Guy Manheimer
San Francisco, California

Thank you for clarifying SHMATE’s finances for me. As I understand them SHMATE takes in about $1,500 per issue excluding negligible donations. The cost of each issue is $1,900. SHMATE loses $400 an issue and you lose the time and expenses you put into the magazine for free. If expenses were to stay the same (Ha!) you would need 200 new subscriptions and renewal of every old one to close the $500 gap. Even so, you would personally be no better off and the magazine would still be totally dependent on you. Furthermore, SHMATE would still be reaching only 1300 paying readers—not enough to attract advertisers or to establish SHMATE as an influential voice. Am I correct?

The problem with Jewish magazines is that with only a few exceptions they are supported by organizations. Jews are used to getting their magazines because they are a member of something. Even magazines that are not membership benefits are often run by organizations (Commentary, Midstream). Independent magazines like SHMATE must therefore work against the habits of Jews. In addition SHMATE has a second independence problem. One of the best things you have done is not identify the magazine with any political line. SHMATE provides a place for conflicting ideas. When I pick up a copy of SHMATE, as opposed to sham independent mags like Moment, I am not sure what opinions or ideas I will bump into. But that independence means that, unlike Commentary or the official magazine of an organization, SHMATE cannot be sold as an intellectual massage kit.

On top of everything you persist in being too gentlemanly and principled about asking for money. Does any organization get money without being annoying and doing as least some guilt-tripping?

So why not turn SHMATE’s problems into assets? Have you ever thought of pushing SHMATE as the

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LETTERS: continued

only truly independent Jewish magazine. It is unaffiliated with any organization and uninfluenced by advertising. It is the independent Jewish magazine for the independent Jew. But independence costs. If SHMATE is the only magazine devoted to its readers rather than an organization or advertisers, then the readers, rather than an organization or advertisers, must pay.

If you won't use traditional fundraising techniques like guilt-tripping, I don’t see how you can keep SHMATE going without some nutty proposals. With such a low circulation can you rely on the intrinsic quality of SHMATE to win over readers? I suspect that SHMATE has a readership too small to reach the threshold for a good word-of-mouth campaign.

But are you opposed to traditional fundraising other than guilt-tripping. Have you thought of selling yichus?

Anyway as I told you in my last letter I have a problem of my own. I don't give money to magazines in which I publish. It would sap whatever self-esteem I have. It would be hard to maintain the illusion that writing is my business. But I like SHMATE and what you are doing. So I will compromise myself, not with a donation but a subscription renewal even if my subscription is not close to lapsing.

Burton Levine
Hamden, Connecticut

I think the work you have been doing is fantastic. Your existence is very important for all of us. I read from SHMATE at a Jewish lesbian lecture/reading I gave at a gay women's group here in D.C. They loved it and I talked about SHMATE.

Evelyn Torton Beck
Washington, D.C.

I cannot get by without SHMATE and I thank you so much for all your work.

Debbie Levoy
Northampton, Mass.

Just when I thought it was safe to pick up a progressive Jewish periodical ... you prove me wrong. It literally hurts to find such an ill-conceived and written editorial about Jews and the Left, especially since there are others like myself who left the Jewish community (and were not so subtly forced out) over the issue of Israel/Palestine. I would like to think that your editorial is naive, but at the same time as a target of your swipe, feel queasy attributing so much naivete to the publisher of a progressive Jewish periodical. Indeed, it appears as if you would like to define the parameters of what constitutes legitimate criticism of Israel, as evidenced by your editorial and Burton Levine's articles, relegating all other critics to the status of anti-Semites. Space doesn't allow me to address all your points, but let my try to take on a few of them:

You claim that leftists do not criticize other countries to the same degree as Israel. You bring diverse examples such as Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, and Cambodia (sic), yet ignore the only country which shares any semblance to the objective conditions which we see in I/P: South Africa. After all, 75% of all land in Israel is Arabien, due to land policies of the government of Israel and its quasi-national agencies (JNF, Israel Land Authority, etc.). Both Israel and South Africa engage in racist policies which systematically deny equal rights to all citizens: Israel is defined as a Jewish state, South Africa as an Afrikaaner one. And you will no doubt find severe criticism of both countries on the Left. The problem isn't the "absurd things that Israel does," it is what Israel is. Surely South Africa came to mind, or is it too painful to think that in fact Israel and South Africa have much in common?

You commit the same misrepresentation in criticizing CAFIOT, having ignored the national significance of the struggle to keep Bir Zeit University and other Palestinian institutions open. And after all, CAFIOT is very similar to the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University in Israel, which you make no mention of. By mentioning East Timor, Tibet, Lithuania, and Libya, are you suggesting that there are equally valid reasons why it is important to set up committees in support of academic freedom there?

Unfortunately, I could go on and on. Your understanding of the left's position on Israeli identity is monolithic, but unfortunately again, the left's position is not.

Let's face it. Anti-Semitism does exist. But I'm afraid that you missed the boat. It doesn't occur because leftists are anti-Semitic. It occurs because we live in an extremely racist and oppressive society, the effects of which none of us can escape, only work to overcome!!

David Millstein
San Francisco, California

I used to have a book called A TREASURY OF JEWISH HUMOR, which someone borrowed years ago and did not return. One story that has remained with me went something like this: An old Jew was walking in the streets of Berlin in the 30's and was approached by two SS officers. One said to him "Hey Jew, who caused the war?" Being a smart Jew he said: "The Jews did" then added "and the bicycle riders!" The SS officer said: "Why the bicycle riders?" and he retorted: "Nu, why the Jews?"

All four of my grandparents came from Russia, were Orthodox (in various degrees), and my parents were 'Americans'. My childhood memories revolve, amongst other things, around pickled pigs-feet, lobster, and Christmas trees (and "Don't tell your Grandmother"). My childhood memories also contain memories of neglect, cruelty, anti-Semitic kids and grown-ups, schools with quotas. I also

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LETTERS: continued

remember many years in between then and now when I 'passed for white' (as it were, meaning non-Jewish and non-Gay).

Somewhere I became a Radical (of sorts). When I was 35, I went through Gay-Lib in Berkeley in the days of People's Park, and found that the Gay sub-culture was not for me. I could not deny the sexuality I was born with, but I found no common bond, and often being Jewish meant being an outcast in the Gay Community.

I have found that being Jewish is important, and something that can stand on its own, especially living in a very small rural community as I do. I don't particularly care if the Rabbis don't like my sexual orientation. I have lived for the past 10 years with a Jewish man, we have made a good home together, and we keep a Kosher house and celebrate the holidays. If I am to be judged, I will be judged by God, not a bigoted Rabbi who might think that he, like the Pope, speaks for God. I keep the 10 Commandments. They do not say: "Thou shalt not love another man." What does anyone in their right mind think that Jonathan and David were up to?

But going back to my original story, I have grown tired of "The Jews are to blame." First and foremost, who killed Christ: the Jews, not the Romans (sure); The Holocaust: the Jews should have stood up to Hitler (sure); the Palestinian refugees and their camps: the Jews not the Arabs (sure); the killing of Jews in Israel by terrorists: the Jews for being there (sure); Sabra and Shatila refugee camps: the Jews (have you ever heard anyone cry out for the Arabs to punish the Arabs that did the killing? No, of course not, blame the Jews — it's easy); etc.

If you are on the Left, the Jews are no good; if you are on the Right, the Jews are no good; if Israel makes a mistake, yell about it; if Israel does something good, don't mention it. I am tired of it all.

If you read The Jerusalem Post you will find that Jews in and out of Israel have enough problems of our own. We need self-criticism, but we do not need to be blamed for everything. In fact I have come to the conclusion that we don't need advice from the goyim at all. Although I hate to say it, I have long been of the opinion (reinforced by seeing Civilization And The Jews) that history repeats itself and that we, the Jews of the United States, are next. It could not happen you say? How many communities have said that before? What happened to them? We are, after all, only one and a half percent of the population here, and we are a traditional scapegoat.

Since we cannot escape being Jewish, even if some of us would want to, let's find out what and who we are. The first lesson might be contained in the word "Shalom."

By the way, do you have any idea of what I think is the greatest single threat to the Jews of the world? Not the Arabs, not the Russians, not the neo-fascists of Europe - we can all see those threats. The biggest single threat is the American Jews, both left and right. Fat cats who think it cannot happen here and if it did, certainly not to them because after all they are AMERICANS. Shades of Germany in the 20's!!

My political thinking was very greatly influenced by an interesting Jewish man who I met when I was 10 years old (he was one of my mother's boyfriends). He was a 30's socialist, but he was also a realist. He convinced me of a couple of things that no one has ever succeeded in talking me out of:

1. Always keep a valid passport.
2. It can happen here, and the first to get it will be you.
3. If you see any sign of it happening, get out of the country, leave everything and GET OUT.

I must say that judging from the letters and articles I read in SHMATE, I feel that most of your readers do not like Israel, or its policies but are not willing to do anything but complain about what they don't like. With Jews like that, Israel doesn't need other enemies. It sounds like they think there will be a socialist revolution in the world and that things will be OK for the Jews and everyone else (like Cuba, Russia, Cambodia or Ethiopia?). Do you believe that?

There is a difference between complaining about Israel, and offering constructive criticism. They should be urging people to get involved and back the people who are doing our job for us bucking the rightist forces there.

I have been reading back issues of SHMATE, trying to get caught up, and I finally got to #9. Your editorial was thought provoking and I appreciate the need for all of us to engage in some serious thought about Israel. I really got annoyed with the two large articles written by Burton Levine, "Israel and Bolivia" and "Israel Arms Policy." I feel that they were badly written, overly long (the points could have been made in a few paragraphs), and without any positive intent. In fact it reminds of me of Nixon's campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas: 'kick her again boys, give a good swift one.' As it turned out the issue should have been called FUCK ISRAEL instead of FOCUS ISRAEL.

Israel is a democracy, and most of the voters are Jews from Arab countries. They were deprived of their rights, homes and possessions and forced to flee to Israel. They don't have any liking for the Arabs; their political backgrounds are not the same as ours in this country, and they

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LETTERS: continued

vote in patterns that we do not like. Therefore, if you want a change the only way to get it is to MOVE THERE AND VOTE THERE. It is no good sitting back and yelling about how bad they are.

It would seem to me that SHMATE would work towards getting more positive material on Israel. What about the Citizens Rights Movement? What about the whole issue of the test our new weapons? What about Peace Now? Why not peace in the area? Why don't you planes using even have she given the Kreisky Award? How is the Abraham Lincoln Brigade" in Issue #5, Bill wrote to me and I was able to provide him with the contacts who could fill in an important gap in his family's history, the disappearance of his brother-in-law. Alex Kunstlich, in Spain during the Civil War.—editor

I think you're a true original. I love what you're doing.

Irena Narell
Oakland, California

The latest issue I have is #5, so this is probably out of date. I have believed for a long time that the resistance of Jews to the Holocaust, and anti-Semitism in general, was a task for individuals to accomplish alone. Now that I see you and the simple writings you show, I am of a different opinion. The need of solidarity among all progressive Jews is of paramount importance, for the survival of the group is what we are discussing. Also the future generations must be given a fertile field on which to build their world.

As the son of a German Jew and a Russian/American Jew I feel I have reaped the benefits of two diverse segments of Judaism. But you people from San Francisco are the really diverse segment of Jewish Culture.

I hope SHMATE writes more about current events in the field of progressive Jewish thought. Keep up the good work. It is important.

Please do an article on the Jewish aspects of Health Care and its relationship to the elderly, Medicare, the JUF, halacha, Reagans' mandate, the welfare state, and Israel's role.

Daniel Weinberg
Oak Park, Illinois

Issue #9 was great, and I agree completely and wholeheartedly with your editorial, "Israel and The Left."

Bill Dobkin
New York, N.Y.

[Once a year something occurs which rewards me with deep satisfaction for producing SHMATE. Bill Dobkin provided me with just such a moment. As a result of his reading "Jews In the Abraham Lincoln Brigade" in Issue #5, Bill wrote to me and I was able to provide him with the contacts who could fill in an important gap in his family's history, the disappearance of his brother-in-law. Alex Kunstlich, in Spain during the Civil War. —editor]

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Daniel Weinberg
Oak Park, Illinois

I have never read a magazine quite like yours, and I enjoy it more than I can express with words. I always enjoy hearing Jews argue and discuss issues, because I think many of us are so open-minded, educated, and intelligent, and I have observed that all our arguments seem to be concerned with morals. Whatever else we are or aren't, we Jews seem to be the most idealistic people I know. I find your contributors to be very well informed, very opinionated, and very enjoyable. With all the bad news and sensationalism one reads in newspapers and all the schmaltz in many magazines, your magazine is a pleasant change. Please, continue your excellent work in your living room. If your child doesn't mind the papers among the toys, I think this magazine will make it yet.

Another aspect of the Jewish personality I enjoy is our indomitable sense of humor. Your Chanukah issue was just great. I have never laughed at an editorial before and I enjoyed it. I especially enjoyed the "State of the Rag." I read both while on a bus, and people kept looking at me because I couldn't help laughing. Thank you for the pleasure you and your contributors have given me.

I have enclosed a copy of my letter to President Herzog. I put a lot of effort and time into that letter and plan to send at least three more to Israel to various leaders. I called the nearest Consulate General's office and am waiting for names and addresses to send the letters to. I'm one of those cockeyed optimists who believes that if you really believe in something, at least TRY to do something about it so you can face yourself in the mirror. So, I'm into a personal PROJECT PEACE. Ghandi was only one man, and the anti-Viet Nam War demonstrations of the '60's may have first started with only one person; so I'm trying to start a project for Israeli peace. I'm trying to convince local Rabbis to pray for peace, because I'm one of those strange, old-

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fashioned creatures who believes in
prayer, especially when it’s com-
bined with action.

Donna Shoupe
Albuquerque, New Mexico

I can’t let this order go by without a
hasty thanks. Since my (compara-
tively recent) politicization via the
Central American issue, I have
tended to be a one-issue person
although, even there, the lessons to be
drawn are pretty universal. Your
magazine not only touches on
Jewish themes, it has touched on
Nicaragua and Israel’s militariza-
tion, thereby drawing full circle for
me. Along the way, not least, it has
opened me up to my own
(neglected) background by speak-
ing to me in a way that I can and wish
to understand—joyfully. If every kid
were given a choice between
SHMATE for his/her initiation into
the joys of Judaism or the Bar/Bat
Mitzvah factory into which so many
of us were fed, I think I know which
alternative would invariably be
chosen.

Lee Kaplan
Bronx, New York

Enclosed is a . . . Chanukah
present [subscription] for my
parents. SHMATE is a refreshing
change from the Jewish Exponent. It
is to the Jewish Exponent what the
Bay Area Reporter is to the
Advocate.

Carl Armon
Boston, Massachusetts

It’s absurd that SHMATE subs go
for $15 per year, so I hope others will
join me in voluntarily raising the
subscription cost to $25—still a
modest price for the excellent issue!
Enjoyed the “Caring” issue very
much.

Murray Kaufman
Berkeley, California

I find your magazine quite relevant
to problems and issues my friends
and I are currently concerned with.
Although I am not totally in agree-
ment with all I read in SHMATE, it’s
trace to hear a progressive Jewish
voice in the wilderness, i.e. west of
the Hudson River. Mazel Tov.

Hank Brownstein
Forest Hills, New York

Thanks for the beautiful response
to my modest contribution. Never
have I sent a check to an organiza-
tion (except Chabad) which showed
such gentility.

I read through your magazine,
hurriedly I must confess. It is very
interesting, but we receive innum-
erable reports, bulletins, etc. from the
worthy causes to which we contrib-
ute (Zionist, local, national, Jewish
and non-Jewish) that I suggest you
do not spend more money mailing
future issues. It made me feel bad to
count 63¢ postage already spent.

Rose Luecke
Albany, California

This letter is directed to Mr. Leffler
and La Farge. Mr. Leffler’s article in
SHMATE #10 was, I felt, beautifully
personal, introspective, simple, and
comprehensive. I especially
enjoyed, appreciated, and agree
with his remark about a eulogy.

When my father was dying in a
hospital, only his older brother and
sister, two friends, and his two chil-
dren visited him. My father was an
alcoholic and a taker who, appar-
tently, gave of himself only to his two
children. However, despite irrespon-
sibility and neglect, his two children
were totally loyal to him. Why? While
our nonalcoholic relatives, who
were religious, wealthy, responsible
members of the community, left us,
unvisited, in institutions for seven
years, our travelling father either
wrote to us or saw us as often as he
could.

An aunt of mine dedicated her life
to the Jewish National Fund, but
never visited me or my brother in the
institutions. I always visited my rela-
tives; they never visited me. When a
cousin was thrown out by her hus-
band for, he said, adultery, and went
to live on the streets, the aunt who
helped make Israel happen told me
the cousin was “dead to us,” and
they did not talk about her anymore.
A year later, she was dead. I’m sure
few people were at her funeral. I was
in another state then and didn’t
know about the death until much
later. I agree with Mr. Leffler that an
unattended funeral shows a lack of
caring—but from both the
deceased and those who knew the
person.

My father’s funeral was well-
attended by many people I didn’t
know. They were Jews, Christians,
atheists, and agnostics, which put
the funeral parlor director into the
uncomfortable position of asking a
Lutheran minister to deliver a “neu-
tral” eulogy. The eulogy was beauti-
ful—about the relationship between
father and children and between
friends. I have always been grateful
to that minister for the warm, human
eulogy. So— the funeral attendance
was deceptive, but not the eulogy.
My father was judged by others an
irresponsible adult and unfit parent,
but his children mourned his loss. It
was my uncle who told the minister
what to talk about. He knew the bond
between his “black sheep” brother
and his two children and two friends.

What Mr. Leffler, as a chaplain,
said to the addicts in the hospital
was perfect. Unknowingly, he had
tapped the secret of almost the only
known possible recovery for an
addict—a useful life of helping
others. Both the programs and lit-
terature of Alcoholics Anonymous and
Narcotics Anonymous are based on
faith in a Higher Power, recognizing

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personal limitations and helping others — what Mr. Leffler's article is all about.

In the book *ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS* are the sentences: (p.77) “Our real purpose is to fit ourselves to be of maximum service to God and the people about us...” (p.20) “Our very lives, as ex-problem drinkers, depend upon our constant thought of others and how we may help meet their needs...” and (p.97) “Helping others is the foundation stone of your recovery.” Caring is what both programs are all about.

However, as a "clean" addict and sober alcoholic of three years, I resent Mr. Leffler’s generalization about addicts. Alcoholism is also an addiction (although a legal one), and alcohol and/or prescription drug and/or street drug addictions exist at all social levels among all people in the U.S. I have been discussing my A.A. program, literature, and experiences with a Rabbi. When I read him a paragraph describing the situation of a practicing alcoholic, he made the statement, “That sounds to me like the human condition.” Here is part of the paragraph: (p.52) “...We were having trouble with personal relationships, we couldn’t control our emotional nature, we were a prey to misery and depression, we couldn’t make a living, we had a feeling of uselessness, we were full of fear, we were unhappy, we couldn’t seem to be of real help to other people...”

I can’t write on behalf of the thousands of alcoholics and/or addicts in the U.S., but I can write for myself, when I ask Mr. Leffler to investigate the A.A. and N.A. programs and literature, try ninety meetings in ninety days (what some judges sentence alcoholic and addict lawbreakers to), and then to judge us as a group and generalize about us as a people. The addicts Mr. Leffler talked with in the hospital may simply have been more honest than most people are.

If Rabbi Leffler is still a prison chaplain and does not investigate the A.A. and N.A. programs, I suggest that the education for his position is incomplete. It was an honor convict, who is a heroin addict, who told me that most convicts are either alcoholics or addicts or both, and both a convict and corrections officer told me the recent riot in the Santa Fe prison were caused by alcohol and drugs. It was after the inmates broke into the pharmacy that they went berserk.

Because both A.A. and N.A. have a tradition of anonymity “at the level of press, radio and films,” and all the media have usually been most cooperative, this letter is anonymous. However, those Jews who believe there are no alcoholic or addict Jews should try a Jewish A.A. Meeting in New York City. Many A.A. and N.A. meetings are open to the public, and those who deal with practicing alcoholics and addicts — doctors, nurses, psychologists, social workers, teachers, and the clergy — are usually warmly welcomed. Any readers in those professions should, I am certain, find it very worthwhile to attend meetings, read the literature and talk with recovering alcoholics and addicts in order to function more effectively in their professions.

Alcoholism also reared its head in the La Farge article. The writer, I believe, very accurately described the plight of the alcoholic’s child. I think she should know that medical and psychological research have proven that the children of alcoholics have a very high chance of becoming alcoholics also. Al Anon people call alcoholism “a family disease.” Both of my parents were alcoholics; so, I understand the question about concealing the mother’s illness. If it’s any consolation, almost everyone does it. I think the writer’s question is unanswerable and it is time the writer realize that he or she did the best one could in the situation. If the mother has become and is still sober, the writer is a very blessed person, because my alcoholic grandparents and parents all died young.

Please, understand, I cannot represent, or speak for, A.A. or N.A. I am only speaking for myself. Those readers who wish to know more about the programs may phone the “Alcoholics Anonymous” number listed in their local phone books, and there may also be a listing for Narcotics Anonymous. The only reason I sent this letter is because Mr. Leffler aroused my ire and La Farge aroused my empathy. Without contacting the A.A. General Service Office in New York, I should really write nothing, but I did. This letter is not from A.A. or N.A.; it’s from me.

It seems to me that some writers explained their need to care about others as a direct result of also being socially “different.” If so, all I can say is: VIVA LA DIFFERENCE! I am proud to be a Jew and grateful to be “different,” when it places me into such excellent company. Perhaps, there is a lesson to be learned from that issue of *SHMATE*. Perhaps, “the Messiah” doesn’t tarry “in better neighborhoods.”

Anonymous
New Mexico
A brief review of the history of the Right in the United States is helpful in understanding the origins of its contemporary manifestation, the New Right. Historically, a good starting point is 1932 and the election of FDR. For seventy years before 1932, Republicans had been in office in the White House, with only two exceptions, Wilson and Cleveland. By definition, the right wing of the Republican Party had, therefore, been close to the center of power. But with the Depression and the election of FDR, the United States went through what is called, in political science jargon, a "political re-alignment." The Democratic coalition was formed, uniting blacks, labor, farmers, Jews and liberal reformers in a block that was to retain power for nearly 50 years. The arrival of this coalition in 1932 (the "First New Deal"), was reinforced in 1935, with the "Second New Deal," a package of reform measures far more sweeping than those instituted by Roosevelt at the time of his election in 1932. It was in reaction to FDR and the New Deal that the major themes of the Right were developed, themes that we find echoed today in the platform of the New Right.

Our major themes form the building blocks of American right-wing ideology. The first is an attack on the liberalism of the New Deal as a betrayal of "true" liberalism, freedom from economic interference in the personal life of the individual. With the loss of this freedom that occurs with the advent of the "alphabet soup" social welfare programs of the New Deal, comes the "inevitable" second step, the loss of political freedom and the slide down the slippery slope to socialism and communism. The second theme developed by the Right follows directly from the first - that is, with the appearance of the New Deal programs comes the presence of socialists and communists in influential places in American society, including within the government itself. (This theme reappeared most virulently during the McCarthy era, when the State Department was attacked for its "Red penetration.")

The third theme to emerge is a critique of immigrants, especially Jews, who are not the "real" Americans who founded this country and developed its ideals. The advent of "socialistic" ideas, as manifested in New Deal programs, is traced to immigrants, especially Eastern European immigrants, many of whom were Jews, who brought these ideas with them. In fact, there may be some historical justification for this theme; Eastern European immigrants came from a political context in which socialism and communism were not the pariahs they have historically been in this country. In addition, many of these immigrants were the poorest of American citizens, so they were socially and politically aligned, in many cases, with progressive causes and organizations, such as unionization and the Communist Party USA. This historical linkage of Jews and communism serves as a major excuse for the persistent anti-immigrant and anti-Jewish theme of the American Right.

Finally, the fourth theme to emerge is a defense of specific versions of traditional institutions, such as the church, the family and the school. The rationale here is that without these institutions, which have characterized all "civilized nations," society would dissolve into anarchy. In other words, these institutions serve as the "glue" that keeps society from disintegration.

[The first] major theme of right-wing ideology . . . is an attack on the . . . New Deal as a betrayal of "true" liberalism.

Therefore, weakening these institutions, especially the church and the family, would lead to the weakening of order in society, and its subsequent disintegration and fall.

These four themes emerged during the 1930s, as an anti-New Deal backlash began to form. The birth of the American Liberty League and the creation of the first Special Committee on Un-American Activities launched the modern era of right-wing politics. During the 1940s, out-of-power right-wing Republicans opposed the entry of the United States into World War II, forming the America First Committee (still in existence, and based in Chicago). But it was after the war that the Right began to make a serious comeback with the emergence of the Cold War and a full-blown anti-communist campaign orchestrated by Sen. Joe McCarthy. In 1949, the victory of the Chinese Revolution fed this movement, as the Right launched a "Who Lost China?" campaign, and treachery in the State Department (by "Reds" who had penetrated our country) became a theme of McCarthyism. For a while during this period the Right seemed successful in its attempt to make a comeback—that is, regain the seat of power it had so bitterly lost to the Democrats. Hopes were raised that the country could still be saved from its inexorable slide into decadence and communism.

But by 1954, McCarthy had been discredited, and the Right had been put back in its corner of the American political scene. At this point, a fifth theme emerged,
The second theme... is the presence of socialists and communists in influential places in American society...

undemocratic manner and represent a value system antithetical to that of the average American. Richard Nixon, veteran of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings and Vice President under Eisenhower, became a major promoter of this new theme.

During the post-McCarthy 1950s, William F. Buckley was the most prominent right-wing political figure, working tirelessly to keep right-wing themes in the public consciousness. There was little improvement in the fortunes of the conservative Republicans, whom Buckley represented, until the early 1960s, when Barry Goldwater captured the Republican Presidential nomination. But Goldwater's defeat was so overwhelming that the right-wing forces were once again defeated and discouraged. The successful bid of Richard Nixon for the presidency in 1968, followed by his re-election in 1972, was tarnished by Nixon's inability to sufficiently capitalize on his ascendance, and by his disgrace and exit from office during the Watergate scandal. The very young, bright, and ambitious men of the Right, many active in Young Americans for Freedom, saw that their political strategy would have to be fundamentally shifted if this pattern of failed comebacks was not to repeat itself indefinitely.

In the 1970s, this new generation emerged with an articulated political plan. A group of the right wing's bright young men — Richard Viguerie of Viguerie Communications, Paul Weyrich, a political strategist and in-fighter, and Howard Phillips, a right-wing ideologue and writer — considered the string of failed right-wing comebacks since the New Deal and shrewdly took a page from Political Science A-01. They accepted the reality of American politics and for the first time brought that realism into right-wing political strategy, seeing that, to capture power in American politics, one must capture the political center. Because the United States uses an electoral system known as "single member, simple majority," it is a winner-take-all system. The candidate who wins the majority of votes is elected, as opposed to European systems, in which small extremist parties are able to capture a seat or two in parliament, under a system known as "proportional representation." Victory for extremist parties is nearly impossible in our system, and without victory, there is no representation at all in elected positions. In such a system, the political center is the key to power, a lesson these young right-wingers understood well. There is only one solution to this dilemma for an extremist party — to move the party's political position toward the middle of the political spectrum to capture a substantial part of the political center. Thus the new strategy is the creation of a "new" Right — cleansed of the extremist elements that had given it a bad name with the political center.

The third theme... is a critique of immigrants, especially Jews, who are not the "real" Americans who founded this country and developed its ideals.

A key element was brought to the effort by Richard Viguerie's pioneer work in direct-mail fund-raising. In the early 1970s, Viguerie had gone down to Capitol Hill and painstakingly copied by hand all the names of donors to the Goldwater presidential campaign, information that was a matter of public record. Viguerie understood that such a list was the beginning of a larger political ideology, the Weyrich-Viguerie-Phillips triumvirate cast about for the necessary elements of a winning political strategy. With benefit of hindsight, we can now see just what those elements were which, when assembled with skill and ambition, resulted in the astonishing success of the New Right in 1980.
list of dedicated conservatives and that such a list would be invaluable to the New Right’s fund-raising. He then computerized this list and developed a business known as Viguerie Communications, which has made him a millionaire. We now are very familiar with direct mail, but Viguerie was one of the first to see its potential. He used it extremely effectively as both a fund-raising and an educational technique.

A second element of the winning strategy for a right-wing comeback is the now-famous tactic of coalition-building. Credit for this idea often is given to Paul Weyrich, but must be shared by all three members of the leadership triumvirate. Understanding that in order to reach into the center of American politics and to expand its base the “old” Right must draw in new constituencies, three groups were identified as potential allies — single-issue groups that focused on issues historically associated with right-wing ideology (gun control, opposition to abortion, opposition to gay rights, etc.), the anti-feminist women’s movement (whose foremost leader is Phyllis Schlafly) and the religious fundamentalist and evangelical organizations. These constituencies had been outside the mainstream of American politics since the 1950s and were responsive to the political courtship of a promising new movement. The New Right’s emphasis on social issues struck a chord among conservative grass-roots issue groups that was strong enough to bring many of those groups into the coalition.

The religious fundamentalist connection, made by bringing Jerry Falwell into the leadership on an equal level with the original triumvirate, was particularly important to the expansion of the New Right’s base. Because fundamentalism is a heavily rural tradition, fundamentalist leaders for years had communicated with their followers through radio and television. Further, appeals for money are a common modus operandi within fundamentalist and evangelical organizations. Thus, in addition to contributing a mass of followers, the fundamentalist connection also contributed additional sophisticated means for practical political mobilization — cable TV, radio programs and fund-raising appeals and scams.

The third element of a winning political strategy was the addition to the leadership of John “Terry” Dolan and the creation of NCPAC, the National Conservative Political Action Committee. NCPAC’s job was to create openings within Congress for the entry of New Right candidates by orchestrating the removal of liberal congressmen and senators. The goal was to kill two birds with one stone by weakening the liberal opposition to New Right political goals while at the same time creating openings for New Right operatives to step into. To reach that goal, Dolan employed a new hardball format in political advertising, now called “negative campaigning,” in which a political action committee that is sympathetic to a candidate smears the candidate’s opponent on behalf of the candidate. The candidates supported by the New Right remain relatively “clean” because it was not their campaign that ran the defamatory TV, radio and printed ads, but rather a sympathetic “other.” Dolan borrowed a page from Buckley’s style, using snide put-downs, frontal assaults, innuendo and red-baiting, with such bravado and arrogance that it caught the liberal opposition off guard. It proved so effective that the style and tone of American campaigning has remained changed since.

Three further elements must be mentioned in an account of the rise of the New Right. The first is the grass-roots organizing that occurred both before and during the time of the public notice of the emergence of the New Right. Local, county and state politics were targeted by conservatives some years before the liberal Democratic coalition realized the growing importance of local politics. Second is the role of large funders, such as Joseph Coors of Coors Brewery and Richard Mellon Scaife of the Mellon fortune, who provided the seed money required to build the political structure now known as the New Right, multimillionaires who still play a critical role. And finally, we must remember the times themselves, a period of economic stagflation, international humiliation and reversals, and a Democratic candidate perceived as weak and ineffectual. The leadership of the New Right certainly deserves credit for the political success it reaped in 1980, but we must not forget that it was not strategy alone, but also a fortuitous set of historical circumstances that parted the sea through which the New Right marched.

Jean Hardisty is the director of Midwest Research in Chicago.
In the decade since the advent of the New Right, its leaders have attempted to overcome some of the major shortcomings which had marginalized the old Right, conservative and far Right alike. They have tried to reframe the issues of public debate in an appeal to those middle and lower class white people missed by the aristocratic old Right in its forty year war with liberalism and Roosevelt's New Deal. In doing so, they have spawned a vast array of political action committees, public interest law firms, publications, and foundations that have attempted to influence public policy through law suits, electioneering, and the development of a comprehensive political, economic, and social agenda.

Unlike the shadowy figures of the nazi-underbelly of the far Right, New Right leaders have emerged as major public figures with instant name recognition. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, is perhaps the best known. But fundraiser and publisher Richard Viguerie, Senator Jesse Helms, Congressman Newt Gingrich, and Terry Dolan are also well-known public figures. The New Right has also become the object of a large number of investigative articles and books, that have either dealt with one particular aspect of the movement or have attempted to make sense of the movement as a whole. Since Reagan's presidential election in 1980 brought the New Right close to the actual levers of governmental power, covering the New Right has become a regular part of the average White House reporter's beat. In fact, much of the New Right's program since 1980 has been devoted to jockeying for power within the Reagan administration. While such high-visibility politics has meant that the innerworkings of the New Right are familiar to every avid reader of the Washington Post, they remain a mystery to almost everyone else.

Perhaps most interesting to Jewish readers is the emergence of the neo-conservatives. Neo-conservatism initially developed from within a segment of Jewish liberalism. But in the last several years, it has become one tendency within the broader New Right. Neo-conservatism developed after the 1967 Six Day War and the emergence of the Black Power thrust within the broader Black freedom movement. In many ways it cut its ideological teeth in opposition to the Black Power movement. Unlike the old conservative Right, the neo-conservatives attacked the Black Power movement as a threat to America's democratic pluralism. In addition, they shared the old Right's concern for stability and law and order. They added a specifically Jewish twist by arguing that student rebellions and "mob" democracy were part of Hitler's rise to power.

The best known neo-conservative publication has been Commentary magazine. It is published by the American Jewish Committee, but Norman Podhoretz, the editor, enjoys a great deal of independence. Less well known, but more influential, is Irving Kristol. Kristol has published a magazine called The Public Interest.

Another major neo-conservative figure is Midge Deeter. Deeter heads an organization called the Committee for a Free World, whose main raison d'etre is fighting Western European independence and Third World national liberation with anti-communism. (Deeter is also Podhoretz' wife. The two are the in-laws of Reagan's Assistant Secretary of Human Rights, Elliot Abrams.)

[The New Right has] tried to reframe issues of public debate in an appeal to those middle and lower class white people missed by the aristocratic Old Right.

Podhoretz, Deeter, and Kristol have continued to place their right-wing political agenda within the context of the welfare of the Jewish community. And they have made no secret of their affinity for the larger goals of the New Right. In the Heritage Foundation's Policy Review, Summer 1984, Midge Deeter was part of a panel of New Right leaders arguing for school prayer and that sex education should consist of teaching high school girls to keep their knees together. Kristol carried the theme to Commentary. In October, 1984, he wrote "Do we Jews really wish to argue that it is permissible for high-school students to use a schoolroom, after hours, to study Das Kapital, but not to study the Bible?"

The neo-conservatives made an extra affort to win Jewish voters for Reagan in 1984. Their failure to deliver has been noted by every segment of liberal Jewish opinion. Though they have not been able to develop a mass base within their presumed constituency, they have remained a strong ideological center with connections throughout the organized Jewish community.

Kristol's most recent calling card is from another New Right think-tank, the American Enterprise Institute, where he is a member of the Board of Directors, along with Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Michael Novak. Novak is also a major figure in the Insti-
NEW RIGHT: continued

tute on Religion and Democracy. The Institute on Religion and Democracy and the American Enterprise Institute have joined the Heritage Foundation as the intellectual centers of the New Right. The I.R.D. and the A.E.I. have taken major cultural themes as their battleground. Both have made an attempt to influence religious leaders, and both have provided ammunition for the attack on the liberalism of the National Council of Churches. Novak, who is Catholic, has made Vatican religion a major issue. He issued a counter-report to the American Bishop's Letter on Nuclear War. In addition, Novak wrote The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism, a book that argues the theological virtues of capitalism.

The significance of these New Right think-tanks and their respective publications is that they have successfully challenged an area long thought to be under liberal hegemony — the realm of ideas.

The other major think-tank, the Heritage Foundation, has dealt primarily in areas of government policy. It has been responsible for drafting specific policy documents on education, the federal budget, and defense spending. Many of the Heritage Foundation's proposals have become government policy during the Reagan Administration. The Heritage Foundation was established with financing from Joseph Coors and Richard Scaife. Coors needs no introduction to SHMATE readers. Scaife is an heir of the Mellon fortune. Both men have been major financial pillars of the non-profit foundations that litter the New Right landscape.

The significance of these New Right think-tanks and their respective publications is that they have successfully challenged an area long thought to be under liberal hegemony — the realm of ideas. They have been so successful that, since 1980, it is liberalism that has been regarded as being in a state of intellectual collapse, with no "new ideas." They have also served as an alternative to the Trilateral Commission in the fight for domination of the political Center. The Trilateral Commission was established in the early 1970's to provide solutions to the crisis that had developed within Western Capitalism during the 1960's. The Trilateral Commission was made up of intellectual and political leaders from the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. It also published long documents analyzing cultural and political themes. It successfully dominated the U.S. Presidency until Reagan's election in 1980. Since then the Trilateral Commission, best personified by David Rockefeller, has been eclipsed by the New Right foundations. In fact, Reagan's former chief-of-staff, James Baker, was constantly attacked by the New Right for his old ties to the Trilateral Commission.

Another center for New Right activity has been Conservative Digest, published by Richard Viguerie. Viguerie is best known for his direct-mail fundraising empire. But in addition to raising money for others, he has developed a following for his own ideas. Conservative Digest is much leaner and meaner than William Buckley's National Review. It has provided a forum for nearly every New Right leader, as well as a launching pad for attacks on the "Trilateral" wing of the Republican Party. Viguerie himself has had a long love-hate relationship with the Republican Party. In 1976, after Gerald Ford won the Republican presidential nomination, Viguerie attempted to win a spot on the American Independent Party ticket. The American Independent Party was the inheritor of George Wallace's independent presidential bid in 1968. In 1984 Viguerie referred to it as a collection of racists and anti-Semites. Viguerie has made an attempt to keep the pages of his magazine devoid of overt racism and anti-Semitism. In fact the March, 1984, issue of Conservative Digest carried the banner "How Conservatives Can Appeal to Blacks, Hispanics, Women."

Viguerie is smart enough to realize that the New Right mass following is not really "conservative." He has directed the pages of his magazine in an anti-elitist, quasi-populist direction. Although most of the political positions that Conservative Digest take are very similar to those other conservative Republicans take, they are framed differently. For example, Viguerie's latest book is titled The Establishment vs. The People, and he advertises it as "the coming revolution against the elite establishment — and how the political energy of America's working people could dramatically renew the American dream." Viguerie and other New Right leaders have gone so far as to create an organizational shell called the Populist-Conservative Tax Coalition, which could easily transform itself into another "Third Party", if George Bush seized control of the Republican Party.

Viguerie has also promoted yet another New Right political formation, the Conservative Opportunity Society. The Opportunity Society consists of conserva-

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Jesse Helms is probably the one public figure who could unite New Right and old extremist Rightists in a presidential bid.

Helms has remained a tough figure on the Republican right-wing. In addition to his patronage of El Salvadoran fascist Robert D’Abussion, Helms has created his own fund-raising organization to help insurgent conservative candidates. He has developed a mass following that cuts across New Right lines into the base of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby. The Liberty Lobby liked Helms, because he refused to vote for foreign aid, including aid to Israel. He is probably the one public figure who could unite New Right and old extremist rightists in a presidential bid.

Other New Right organizations that have attempted to influence Congressional and Senate elections have been the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Conservative Caucus, and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

In addition to the political organizations, think-tanks, and publications, the New Right has also spawned “public interest” law firms. Since 1973, over five such firms have sprung up as non-profit foundations to pursue conservative causes through the courts. These include the Pacific, Washington, American, Mountain States, and Capital Legal Foundations. According to the St. Louis Journalism Review, the American Legal Foundation has concentrated on court challenges around media issues. They have attacked affirmative action plans instituted by broadcasting stations and the “bias” of liberal institutions such as the Pacifica Network. The American Legal Foundation has specifically targeted the program of the National Black Media Coalition. The Washington Legal Foundation, for its part, is responsible for filing a complaint with the House Ethics Committee over Geraldine Ferraro’s financial statements. Other legal actions taken by these law firms have attempted to open National Parks to resource exploitation.

Although it is generally regarded as a cult and not properly part of the New Right, Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church occupies a significant place within the right-wing pantheon. The Unification Church, or Moonies, is best known for its street corner flower sales and brainwashing “study” sessions. Moon, however, sits atop a far-flung media empire, provides financial aid to Central American rightists, and maintains a hand-in-glove relationship with other parts of the New Right.

According to the November, 1984, issue of Columbia Journalism Review the Moonies have been pumping $1.5 million a year into its own New Right-type think-tank, the Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy. According to the Washington Post, one of the Church’s political affiliates, Causa, has been shuffling U.S. public officials and journalists down to Guatemala and Honduras to be briefed by local government officials and U.S. embassy staff. Causa also donated a half million dollars to Terry Dolan’s National Conservative Political Action Committee. Dolan used the money as part of his campaign for Star Wars and against trade with the Soviet Union.
NEW RIGHT: continued

The Moonies are not universally loved on the Right however. Fascists object to the “one-worldism” and inter-racial marriages, that are part of the Unification Church’s theology and practices. Other conservatives have objected to the Church’s direct domination of their newspapers’ affairs. An interesting twist, however, is that Moon has sought and won support from Black clerics in his battle with the Internal Revenue Service. Moon is currently in jail for tax evasion. He contends that he has been unfairly discriminated against. As part of his campaign, the Unification Church has distributed six-hour videotapes explaining the Unification theology. The tapes are professionally done and have been delivered free to every possible Jewish and Christian religious leader at a cost in the millions. They obviously haven’t financed the videotapes from their flower sales.

There are other parts of the Right that are neither part of the neo-nazi movement nor the old aristocratic blue-bloods. They include the Young Americans for Freedom, the National Right-to-Work Committee, the American Conservative Union, and the John Birch Society. Only the Birch Society deserves passing mention here. During the Sixties it was the pre-eminent organization on the extreme right. However, beginning in 1969 it began to purge the openly anti-Semitic leaders from its midst. Since then its two most notable accomplishments have been Congressman Larry McDonald and Phyllis Schlafly. McDonald, who was the Society’s leader when he died in Korean Airliner 007, joined Schlafly in presenting a respectable, if extreme, conservative face to the organization. Since the founder, Robert Welch, has also died recently, the future of the Society does not look as bright as it does for other right-wing organizations.

In its first decade, the New Right developed in something of a hodge-podge fashion. It remains to be seen whether, in the coming decade, the New Right will evolve into a genuine movement with coherent politics and organizational structure or whether it will remain a coalition, shifting in composition and power with the issues at hand.

Lenny Zeskind from Kansas City, Missouri, is co-editor of The Hammer.

HONOR THY FATHER AND MOTHER AND TEACHERS

This is a good — even if not entirely appropriate — place to acknowledge an intellectual debt. Back in the early Sixties I was most fortunate in being able to study under Nelson Pike, Mulford Sibley, and Hannah Arendt. From Pike I learned to think, from Sibley I learned to think before opening my mouth, and from Arendt I learned to shut my mouth. To them my gratitude runs deep for their demonstration of the vitality and beauty not just of profoundly capable intellects, but of minds which function with true integrity.

STEVE FANKUCHEN

PLEASEPLEASEPLEASEPLEASEPLEAPLEASEPLEASEPLEASE

Please look at the code number after your name on the address label. If the LAST TWO DIGITS are 08, 09, 10, 11, or 12, your subscription has expired. You must renew to receive another issue of the magazine. I can no longer afford the time or the expense of sending out three reminder letters, as well as continuing to send the magazine. In addition, if you move you must send me a change of address card. The Post Office will not forward SHMATE, even if you have a forwarding request filed with them (unless you specifically request and agree to pay for magazine forwarding).

THANKYOUOTHANKYOUOTHANKYOU

YOU DON'T NEED A WEATHERMAN...

54% of the readers of Commentary magazine earn at least $50,000 per year. 79% hold American Express cards. In addition to that kind of support, the magazine is sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. SHMATE subscribers, on the other hand, . . . well, look in the mirror and your checkbook (if you have one) and you’ll see a typical SHMATE subscriber. Obviously a $20 donation to this magazine will be harder for almost all of you than a $200 donation from a Commentary subscriber to that magazine. But as that last Burma Shave sign—now ensconced in the Smithsonian Institution—said:

SHMATE's barbs
stripped away
Commentary's clothes
That's when
Its bank account rose.
Donate!
A

n envelope arrives in the mail. The return address belongs to an organization called Tax Reform Now (TRIM) or American Education Legal Defense. They ask for your help solving a major crisis in our society. True, the tax and educational systems could be better. The written appeal is reasonable yet stirring. You are made to feel that you can make a difference with only a small contribution to their cause. Besides, it’s getting to the end of the year, so you get out the checkbook.

Such is the style of fundraising these days. Following the incredible success of the New Right in direct mail campaigns, even the Left has begun to punch up its appeals with a more emotional approach, shocking paragraphs, and personal letters from prominent citizens. Some groups have gone so far as to hire the same fundraisers that have made so much money for the Right.

There are dozens of perfectly reasonable sounding organizations that were created to solicit money to be pumped into the larger organizations that created them. Other organizations like the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (Jeane Kirkpatrick is a member), the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee (not affiliated with the Republican National Committee), and the anti-labor National Right to Work Committee trade on name confusion for many reasons including funding opportunities. Some groups are out-and-out blinds for their parent organizations. TRIM is a front for the John Birch Society and American Education Legal Defense was founded by arch-conservative Senator Jesse Helms. Protect Our Women is another Birch Society front.

One beneficiary of all this letter writing is New Right fundraiser Richard A. Viguerie. His RAVCO (Richard A. Viguerie Co.) operates through a clutch of companies including the Diversified Mailing Co., the Mail House, the American Mailing List Co. and Prospect House, as well as Viguerie Communications. Viguerie uses his money to publish the New Right Report and Conservative Digest and to help found groups like Americans Against Union Control of Government and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

Viguerie has received so much attention partly because of his skill and success and partly because of the large cut — reported to be as high as eighty percent — he takes off the top. So, should you send a check to the Korean Cultural Freedom Foundation, Help Our Police, or one of his many other clients, you are not only making Richard A. Viguerie a richer man, but you are also funding untold New Right activities.

Jesse Helms alone has founded the Institute for Money and Inflation, the Institute for American Relations, the Center for a Free Society, and the American Family Institute, as well as the American Education Legal Defense, mentioned earlier. The bulwark of his power is the Congressional Club, which raises more money than the Republican National Committee, mounts its own national and state campaigns, and has sired its own stable of subsidiary organizations, including the Churches of Life and Liberty and the Coalition for Freedom. Not surprisingly, its Campaign Committee began a short-lived “Jesse Helms for President” campaign.

This organization of coordinating committees sprouting special interest groups has reaped many benefits for the New Right. It has been able to solicit funds for one cause and use them for another. Money begged to buy Bibles actually ends up buying a telecommunications satellite. Due to his large cut, much of the money raised through a Viguerie solicitation for other groups is siphoned off and directed to his various enterprises. Jesse Helms, a leading anti-abortion advocate, can afford to buck the Republican Party, fund the campaigns of other extremists, and still give millions to Reagan’s campaign, with the money he gets from his front groups.

Everything is connected to everything else. All the little campaigns make up one big campaign, but the New Right shows the public only one face at a time. There is no guarantee that the money given to any cause will stay there and, therefore, there is no way you can support only one plank of the New Right agenda.

**IF NOT NOW, WHEN**

A magazine arrives in the mail. The return address belongs to an organization called SHMATE. They ask for your help solving a major crisis in our society. The written appeal is reasonable, yet stirring. You are made to feel that you can make a difference with only a small contribution to their cause. Besides, you just paid your taxes and would like your hard-earned money to go for something other than MX missiles and Star Wars Lasers. So you get out your checkbook and make a donation to **SHMATE**, Box 4228 Berkeley, CA. 94704
WHITHER THE JEWS?

In recent years it has become popular to remark on the "Jewish shift to the Right". This has come from gloating Rightists and what-do-you-expect Leftists alike, most noticeably from Jews. Hopefully the past election put an end to that myth. Only Blacks went more for Mondale than did the Jews. In fact the Jewish vote for Mondale was substantially greater than that of students, young people in general, blue-collar workers, women, and union members. In addition, Jewish support of issues such as affirmative action, gay rights, bussing, and the nuclear freeze was at least 20% greater than that of the general public.

This is not the place for a discussion of the reasons for the maintenance of liberal Jewish voting patterns. However, I would like to note what I believe to be the causes of the misperception of a Jewish rightward drift. First, there are no longer broad-based leftist Jewish organizations as there were one and two generations ago. Essentially folks now function as Jews who are in groups of the Left. As such, the Jewish component of one's political work is usually absent in practice, and often in the individual consciousness as well. Thus Jews are not as visible within the Left as they once were. Second, is the increased noise — and, thus, visibility — of right-wing Jews, most notably the crowd "affiliated" with Commentary magazine. The third reason is that the continued Left politics of Jews in the midst of relative affluence simply flies in the face of the preconceptions of many Leftists, and, instead of altering their theories to fit reality, they prefer to maintain their theories and deny reality. Fourth is the opportunism of many right-wing Jews, such as Norman Podheretz, Irving Kristol, and Midge Dector, who stand to enhance their position as power-brokers, if they can convince non-Jewish leaders and the media that they actually represent the wave of the future, or at least a substantial segment of the Jewish population.

STEVE FANKUCHEN

Scientific Study Shows T.V. Evangelists Destroy Brain Cells

Not long ago ABC screened a movie called "Pray T.V." in which an actor, portraying a television evangelist, said "If you have a problem of any kind — financial, medical, spiritual — call the number you see on the bottom of your screen and let us help you to be born again by the spirit of God." In the following three hours the phone company recorded 15,000 calls to the phony number! Too bad they didn't cast Orson Wells as the preacher. I believe Dylan said it best — "You never ask questions with God on your side!"

A VERY SHORT PLAY
by Lanny Beckman

The scene: a large, crowded gymnasium on Vancouver's west side. The chairperson calls the meeting to order.

CHAIRPERSON: As we've just heard, a ten megaton hydrogen bomb was dropped on Seattle fifteen minutes ago. We're here to make plans to evacuate the city as quickly and orderly as possible.

A VOICE FROM THE BACK: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to move that there be no smoking in this meeting.

(Fade to black)
The New Right has a Jewish agenda: it is looking for new members. The New Right is a Christian movement. Built upon the audiences of the electronic church and led by preachers like Jerry Falwell, the Christian Right espouses a political platform based upon its particular interpretation of the Christian Bible; ban abortion, homosexuality, and Darwin. Its overall goal is the return to a mythical time when good old Christian values were the rule.

So you might well ask what the New Right has in mind for the Jews. Part of the answer is simple political opportunism. The New Right's power comes from its ability to deliver decisive votes to the right candidate. The lifeblood of that effort is the money that comes from members and those on its good as gold mailing lists. It also needs to develop the appearance of a broader base of support. To do this the New Right tailors its election campaigns and creates political action committees to attract targeted groups.

Though opportunism explains a lot, there is a stranger side to the relationship. Jews have a unique place in the bizarre Christian Fundamentalist cosmology of many New Right members, including national leaders. In this vision current events are interpreted to fit Christian prophesy and Israel and the Jews are placed at the center of the Second Coming and the end of the world.

The New Right approaches political campaigns scientifically. Organizations like the National Conservative Political Action Committee and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, which plan the New Right's election campaigns, look at the voting population the way marketing departments look at consumers: where can they get the most votes for their bucks? Because Jews, like other targeted groups, traditionally support liberal candidates and causes, a swing in the Jewish vote counts twice; once, taken away from the liberals and again, given to the conservatives. Likewise, new members fill the campaign treasury and build the ever hungry mailing lists while leaving the opponents lacking.

Jews, however, have a particular attraction for the Christian Right, which desires to seem more balanced and ecumenical in its membership and program. It is very sensitive to charges that it is a sectarian movement and the inclusion of Jews is considered proof against such accusations. Explaining “our broad base of support and interest and participation from the various denominations,” Religious Roundtable president Ed McAteer says, “I've got Rabbi Hecht who is head of the Rabbinical Alliance of America . . . I have Howard Phillips from the Jewish community.” Howard Phillips, who is ostensibly the director of the Conservative Caucus, appears to have no role except as being “from the Jewish community.”

One of the New Right's more effective recruiting strategies has been the use of single-issue groups. The New Right is essentially a mass of single-issue groups coordinated by a handful of strategists and policymakers. This structure allows it to incorporate people with different views under its umbrella. One cause is apparently insulated from the others, while actually tied together by a few key individuals and coordinating committees. It has allowed the New Right to harness the anti-abortion energy of Catholics and the protectionist leanings of workers, without compromising its hostile attitudes toward the progressive Catholic Church in Central America and organized labor at home.

When Jerry Falwell speaks sternly about the evils of anti-Semitism he speaks not of racial prejudice, but a foreign policy alignment.

The New Right takes over a group, or failing that, creates a parallel organization, in order to control and exploit an issue and its adherents. It then bleeds away support from the original leadership while filling its own coffers and mailing lists. Thus Gun Owners of America was created to bring a vocal and powerful special-interest group under its wing after attempts to take over the National Rifle Association failed.

Recruitment of Jews has centered on Israel. The New Right's support for Israel partly follows the same pattern. It has a genuine interest in Israel. It likes anti-communist regimes which are not afraid to flex some military muscle on behalf of U.S. interests. Israel gets extra points for being near all that oil and a special commendation for supplying arms and training to countries even the U.S. is embarrassed to do public business with.

Following the familiar pattern, the New Right has moved into the issue, sought out Israel's other supporters — American Jews — and has set up its own organizations. Now, in typical Newspeak fashion the New Right has redefined anti-Semitism to mean not supporting Israel. It has a new label with which to brand their enemies and, by definition, has cleansed itself of any taint of
JEWS: continued

anti-Semitism. When Jerry Falwell speaks sternly about the evils of anti-Semitism he speaks not of racial prejudice but of a foreign policy alignment.

And then there is the Apocalypse. Apparently it is coming. Soon, Jerry Falwell wrote about it in his "Armageddon and the Coming War with Russia."

It looks as if the Christian Right is actually looking forward to a nuclear holocaust as the signal of their lord's return.

James Watt testified before the House Interior Committee that we may not have too many generations left before Christ's return. During his second presidential debate with Mondale, Ronald Reagan tried to sidestep a question about his belief in the Apocalypse and the possibility of a nuclear war. Hardly reassuring from a man in his position. It looks as if the Christian Right is actually looking forward to a nuclear holocaust as the signal of their lord's return.

According to Falwell, a nation in the north, the "Rosh" — that's the Soviet Union — will battle the AntiChrist in the Promised Land. The Rosh will first attack on horseback using wooden spears and then nuclear weapons. If you follow their interpretation of the Bible, almost everything is in place — except Jews. Wouldn't you know it, the Jews have to be back in their homeland before any of this can happen.

Absurd and unworldly as it is, the need to make a homeland to which the Jews can return is apparently one basis for New Right support for Israel. "Next year in Jerusalem" may take on a whole new meaning — perhaps as a Republican Party platform plank — in coming years.

The idea would be considerably more laughable if it did not have adherents in unfortunately high places. Reagan's familiarity with the notion of a real-world Armageddon is getting wider public attention. Falwell, aside from being the leader of one of the largest and most powerful political organizations in the country, is a Fundamentalist preacher who has predicted the Apocalypse in our time and has also been a strong supporter of Israel.

It is a mistake to think of the New Right as a monolithic organization with one vision. It derives much of its strength from its ability to harness many different forces into a single engine. Those that see the Jews as a potential New Right voting force have one place in the organization and those with a vision of Jews in Israel and Christ on Earth have their place too.

Neither the simple motives of the political opportunists nor the apocalyptic vision of a dozen demagogues and their sheep bodes well for the Jews. Each has at its root the same cold-blooded manipulation of people and issues. Whether as a voting block or a beacon for the returning Christian saviour, Jews must realize that they are being used to further the New Right's ends.

Jews who believe that collaboration with the New Right can be beneficial or equitable are fooling themselves. Considering where Jews fit into the New Right's plans, the stakes are too high: collaboration is not too strong a word. The New Right has its own agenda which supersedes any intervening issues and will eventually make itself felt. The New Right's back yard is littered with the rotting carcasses of former allies.

Even those Jews who imagine that they share common purposes with the New Right do not have a place in the Millenium.

Those already convinced that it is in their best interest to conduct business without the assistance or interference of the New Right have another dilemma: do you look up the sleeve of every hand offered in aid? Unfortunately, the answer is yes, and count your fingers afterward. A little paranoia, or sensible caution, is in order whenever the New Right is concerned.

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Far beyond the political shores of Jerry Falwell and Richard Viguierie lies a territory of far-right groups that is a mass of alphabet soup organizations. The far-right groups are not interested in any particular piece of legislation, and they are only peripherally interested in who the personalities in government are. They are not interested in a stronger police system or “law and order.” In fact, they think the White House, the Congress, the Courts, the media, and the economy are all run by an international Jewish conspiracy. These far-right groups have been called a number of things, “extremists,” “far-right,” “radical right,” etc. The most accurate descriptive term to use, however, is the “nazi-right.” The members of the nazi-right don’t want to change the laws; they want to break the laws. Their ultimate vision of society is to turn everything inside out and establish the unquestioned rule of white Christians as a biological fact all across the map.

Even though the nazi-right seems to be an incomprehensible mass of groups, there are, in fact, clear political patterns among them. Some of the groups are small and inconsequential as a political force. Others have larger numbers and have developed sophisticated strategies to develop mass influence. Some of the smaller groups are a nesting place for violent terrorists, who occasionally conduct an individual campaign of murder and violence. And recently there has developed a strategy of terror among some of the organizations that goes beyond isolated acts of individual violence. Some of the organizations have taken the words Nazi or National Socialist into some part of their names. Others have discreetly tried to package their nazism as the most sincere form of red, white, and blue patriotism.

The exact organizational composition of the nazi-right is fluid and changing. It should be considered more of a movement than any particular series of organizations. This SHMATE article, for example, is considerably different than it would have been one year ago, when it was first conceived. Two of the most significant developments on the nazi-right have occurred within the last twelve months. The first development was the birth of the Populist Party as a united effort by a core group of Klansmen, neo-Nazis, and other far-rightists to build a bridge from the nazi-right into the mainstream of American politics. The other significant development has gone in exactly the opposite direction. It is the birth of a united Klan-Nazi Underground that has staged a spectacular series of robberies and shoot-outs. In both cases members of the nazi-right have attempted to find unity and common ground outside of their particular organizations. However, while the Populist party shows up in force at farmer protest rallies and has attempted to build a mass political force around an economic and political program that deals with the perceived immediate concerns of their white constituency, the underground is drawing its members further and further from the mainstream of white society, as part of their effort to protect their racial and ideological homogeneity. Although their strategies and tactics may differ, both tendencies on the nazi-right believe that an International Jewish Conspiracy is the root cause of the world’s major events.

The German Nazi Party’s full name, you might recall, was the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP). Today there are a handful of groups who use the words Nazi or National Socialist in their names. Taken all together, there probably aren’t 2,000 members in these organizations. They are all small and marginal politically. Most of their membership are marginal members of society. They stage rallies, usually in uniforms, and parade the paraphernalia and symbols of Hitler’s Nazi Party. They usually rely on their own members for finances and, as a result, are usu-

ally broke. However, they are a nesting place for racist and sociopathic criminals. For example, Joseph Paul Franklin, who murdered a number of interracial couples, passed through these groups. Frank Spisak, who is a lieutenant in Keith Gilbert’s Social Nationalist Aryan Peoples Party, killed two Black people and a white person he thought was Jewish before he was arrested. John Hinckley, who shot Ronald Reagan, was a member of Harold Covington’s National Socialist Party of America. There are, unfortunately, many more such examples.

Almost all of these Nazi groups trace their lineage back to Norman Lincoln Rockwell’s American Nazi Party. When Rockwell was killed in 1967 by a dissatisfied party member, his organization splintered into competing factions. The largest became the National Socialist White Peoples Party, led by Matt Koehl, and headquartered in Arlington, Virginia. Two years ago the party changed its name to the New Order. Although they announced that they wanted to change their headquarters to the Midwest, presumably Chicago, they

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have yet to move. They are plagued by financial difficulties, including a $50,000 judgment against them by the I.R.S. The National Socialist White People’s Party has had members in St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis. However, it is likely that Koehl has wanted to move to Chicago to pick up the pieces of the organization left from Frank Collin’s incarceration.

Collin called his organization both the American Nazi Party and the National Socialist Party of America. Collin achieved national notoriety when he staged a media campaign about marching in Skokie, Illinois. Eventually Collin didn’t march in the largely-Jewish suburb of Skokie, but in Marquette Park, a Chicago neighborhood with a history of white racism. In 1980 Collin went to jail for taking indecent liberties with children. Harold Covington, from North Carolina then took over the group. He moved the organization into the United Racist Front, an alliance of Klan and other nazi groups in North Carolina. Three members of the National Socialist Party were among the nine indicted for the November, 1979, murders of five Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina. Several other members were indicted for conspiracy to blow up several sites in Greensboro if the murder indictments actually ended in convictions. In addition, Covington ran for North Carolina Attorney General in 1980 and received 54,000 votes. Covington stepped down from the National Socialists after the arrest of member John Hinckley.

There are several other National Socialist groups. One is the National Socialist Movement headquartered in Cincinnati. Another is the National Socialist Liberation Front organized in Louisiana. Another is a small group of gay male nazis, the National Socialist League, in San Diego and Los Angeles.

Besides their capacity and willingness to commit murder and mayhem, probably the most significant aspect of this part of the nazi-right is two publishing operations. One is run out of Lincoln, Nebraska, by 30-year-old Gerhard Lauck. Lauck calls his operation the N.S.D.A.P.-A.O., the letters for the German language name of the National Socialist German Workers Party—Overseas Organization. Lauck smuggles German language nazi literature into the German Federal Republic (West Germany). Lauck has been banned from West Germany. Another is a publishing house that George Dietz runs from Reedy, West Virginia. He was a member of the Hitler Youth in his native Germany. Besides his publishing business, Dietz has established a computer bulletin board similar to the one used by the Aryan Nations and Ku Klux Klan.

The Nazi and National Socialist names and the open mimicking of the style and symbols of Hitler’s Nazi Party make this part of the nazi-right perhaps the most emotionally troubling for Jews. But their fringe behavior also almost guarantees their long-term political ineffectuality.

THE KLANS

The Klan is the best known and most native American fascist phenomenon. The Klan had grown and died down three different times before its current resurgence began in the mid-Seventies. The first Klan period after the Civil War was essentially aimed at restoring the ante-bellum social relations that had begun to be destroyed by Black Reconstruction. The Klan rose on a wave of terror and murderous insurrection and toppled the Reconstructions governments in the south. As a result of its success, the Klan disbanded. The second Klan period of the Nineteen Twenties was a nativist Protestant movement that had millions of members.

The most significant developments on the nazi-right . . . are the birth of the Populist Party . . . to build a bridge . . . into the mainstream . . . and the birth of a united Klan-Nazi Underground.

Klansmen were elected to public office all across the nation, North and South. One of the Klan’s major goals was limiting Jewish and Catholic immigration from Eastern Europe. When the Immigration Bill of 1924 fulfilled their demands, the Klan succumbed to internal corruption and collapsed by the end of the decade. The third Klan period occurred in the Sixties, when tens of thousands joined the Klan in a violent attempt to stop the Civil Rights movement. The sixties brought Robert Shelton and his United Klans of America to the fore as the largest of the various Klan groups. Shelton was a racist and an anti-Semite, but he never overtly identified with the ideology or symbols of naziism. His program has always been reactionary, to turn the clock back to the days of Jim Crow. He has not adopted the revolutionary rhetoric of some of those who have followed him.

By the end of the decade the Klan had collapsed for two reasons. The first reason, the Klan’s inability to actually defeat the Black movement, caused it to lose members. The other, the George Wallace campaign of 1968, disoriented large sections of the racist and anti-Semitic movement. Racists and anti-Semites joined the Wallace campaign all across the country, in some cases assuming high positions in the campaign apparatus. But Wallace ran a one-man show, and most of the racists came out of the campaign with less influence and organization than they went into it with.

In the mid-Seventies, a small Klan faction called the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was taken over by David Duke. Duke was not the archetypical redneck that the mass media portrayed as a Klansman. He wore a three-piece suit, was college educated, and an articulate proponent of his views. Duke learned how to use the media to promote his Klan, and it quickly started to grow. Most talk show hosts were completely unable and
unprepared to successfully counter Duke's smooth presentation of neo-nazism. Duke then personally handed the leadership of the Knights to Don Black, another young articulate leader. Duke went on to form the National Association for the Advancement of White People, although he still continues to play a role in Klan politics. Black went to jail in 1982 for his role in an aborted Klan-Nazi attempt to invade the Caribbean island of Dominica and establish a Klan-Nazi base offshore. When Black went to jail, his Klan stood at the head of a new unity move among the nazi-oriented Klan groups called the Confederation of Klans. In October of 1982 his National Chaplain, Thom Robb, led a staged media-event march in Washington, D.C. When Black got out last fall, his Klan had been split by a faction led by Stanley McCollum. And although the annual Klan meeting on Labor Day have continued to be an important part of the growing political unity of various Klan and Nazi groups, in some regard these events have been eclipsed by others on the nazi-right. However, Black is back in his seat as Grand Dragon and has promised a media blitz, a la David Duke, to promote his Knights. One of the other factions in the Confederation of Klans, the New Order of Knights, led by Georgian Ed Fields, has recently merged with the Knights.

Fields and his long-time associate, J. B. Stoner, are, perhaps, the best known personalities among the racist leaders. Both have been in and out of the Klan movement for over 30 years. In the fifties they led a group called the Christian Anti-Jewish Party. They then went on to join the National States Rights Party. Stoner became Chairman of the Party, and Fields edited the party's monthly tabloid, The Thunderbolt. In 1972 Stoner ran for U.S. Senate in Georgia and received 40,700 votes. The States Rights Party also ran candidates for a number of other offices. Stoner and Fields have both traveled internationally. Fields has attended a nazi gathering that occurs annually in Diksmuide, Belgium. They both reflect the "white internationalism" that is common on the nazi-right. They are not nativists and narrowly patriotic like other sections of the Right. They believe in the international unity of white people in the face of their common enemy, Jews and people of color. Stoner went to prison last year on an old church-bombing charge from the Sixties. As a result, the National States Rights Party fell apart. A faction led by Jerry Ray, the brother of the man who shot Martin Luther King, opposed Fields and the time he devoted to his Klan activities. Eventually Fields had to merge his New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan into the Knights led by McCollum and Black. Fields has maintained his control of The Thunderbolt.

Another major Klan leader had been Bill Wilkinson. Wilkinson left the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (led by Duke) and formed his own Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Wilkinson was also adept at using the media and built the largest Klan organization outside the South during the late Seventies-early Eighties. It is reported by Klanwatch that in 1979 Wilkinson had 2,000 members of the Invisible Empire in the Tennessee Valley of Alabama alone. In 1979 Wilkinson's Klan staged a violent attack against a Civil Rights march in Decatur, Alabama. Shortly after the attack it became known that Wilkinson had been holding regular briefings with the F.B.I. Since the F.B.I. is regarded as an enemy by the anti-establishment Klan, a large number of his members quit. As a result of the litigation from the Decatur incident, what membership remained also began to leave. Wilkinson resigned his leadership and left the few hundred Invisible Empire members to James Blair.

At the height of Klan activity between 1979 and 1981, there were approximately 15,000 Klan members. Most authorities consider a ratio of ten sympathizers for every Klan member a close approximation. A Klan sympathizer is someone who contributes money or buys publications. By the end of 1984 Klan membership had shrunk to about 7500, and the number of sympathizers per member had also decreased. Internal divisions, like the ones inside the Knights between Black and Robb and between Ed Fields and Jerry Ray in the National

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States Rights Party, have played a definite role. But a large number of lawsuits and criminal prosecutions have also proven costly to every Klan faction, not just Wilkinson's Invisible Empire. A number of these lawsuits have been brought by the National Anti-Klan Network, Klanwatch, and the Center for Constitutional Rights.

Stoner and Fields reflect the "white internationalism" that is common on the nazi-right. They are not nativists and narrowly patriotic like other sections of the Right.

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

The Christian Identity movement has provided the theological basis of Aryan supremacy theories among Klansmen, Christian-Patriots, and other sections of the nazi-right. It has also increasingly become the basis for the first steps towards united action on the part of these groups. Important Identity ministers include:

- Bill Gale, a veteran of the Korean War. Gale has been around far-right politics since the early Sixties, when he ran for Governor of California on the Constitution Party ticket. Most recently, Gale's Mariposa based Ministry has had its racist and anti-Semitic garbage broadcast from radio station KTTL-FM in Dodge City, Kansas. Gale has also led paramilitary training sessions with Posse Comitatus members in the Midwest.
- James K. Warner, the aging leader of the Christian Defense League. Warner's publishing house in Louisiana is one of the largest distributors of Identity literature. Before moving to Louisiana, Warner was a major force in the Odinist Nordic Faith Movement in California. Odinism and other forms of Nordic spiritualism were the religious orientation of the German Nazis during Hitler's era. The fact that Warner, and other nazis, have been drawn to Christian Identity is an indication of its strength within the nazi-right.
- Johnny Bob Harrell, the head of the Christian-Patriots Defense League from Flora, Illinois, heads a Church of Jesus Christ-Christian. The Church of Jesus Christ-Christian is the name common to a number of Identity churches. It is the name that Richard Butler gave to his church on the Aryan Nations compound.
- Thom Robb, the National Chaplain of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is an Identity minister. His church is in Harrison, Arkansas.
- Sheldon Emry, the author of a pamphlet popular on the nazi-right, Billions for the Bankers, Debts for the People, has maintained an Identity ministry from Arizona for a number of years.

There are, of course, many other Identity operations peppered in every corner of the United States. They cover every organizational manifestation of the nazi-right. The essence of Christian Identity belief is that the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel migrated through the centuries and became the peoples of Northern Europe. These Northern Europeans are the people with whom the Lord is supposed to have a Covenant. They believe that Biblical prophecy is being revealed through the history of the Northern Europeans, God's "chosen people," and that America is the land of God's promise. These beliefs have existed over one hundred years in a form known as British Israelism. The Worldwide Church of God, the publisher of the slick give-away magazine The Plain Truth, are British Israelists. They do not go the extra step the Identity movement does, however. The Identity movement gives the whole theology a racist cast by preaching that Jews are literally the Children of the Devil and that people of color are "pre-Adamic," that is false starts before God made a perfect Adam and Eve.

Christian Identity owes its elaboration principally to Wesley Swift and Gerald L. K. Smith. Swift was a leader in the California Rangers, a paramilitary right-wing group in the early Sixties. Smith was literally the bridge figure between the Nazi movement in the U.S. in the Thirties and the nazi-right that exists today.

The essence of Christian Identity belief is that the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel... became the people of Northern Europe... [and] are the people with whom the Lord is supposed to have a Covenant.

None of the Identity Churches is particularly large or wealthy. Their significance is in the theological unity that they give the nazi-right. That unity is sometimes the first step of more ambitious plans for united activity. It is likely that the Identity movement served as the underground apparatus that hid Posse Comitatus member Gordon Kahl.

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THE POSSE COMITATUS

The Posse Comitatus, or Christian Posse as it sometimes calls itself, came to public attention in 1983 when Gordon Kahl, a Posse member, shot and killed two federal marshals who were attempting to arrest him outside Medina, North Dakota. Kahl went underground and was later killed in a firefight in Arkansas. However, the Posse was first started in 1969 by a former Silver Shirt member from Portland, Oregon. And in the late Seventies a Posse enclave in Wisconsin, led by James Wickstrom, had a number of encounters with various law enforcement bodies.

Despite its unorthodox nature, the political and economic beliefs of the Posse have made it possible to recruit among people... who wouldn’t join a group that wore white sheets or brown uniforms.

The Posse is a particularly American phenomenon. It is, in some sense, “Constitution Fundamentalist.” The Posse’s interpretation of the Constitution considers the entire Federal Reserve Bank system as illegal and Federal Reserve Notes that are not redeemable by gold as paper debt, not money. They also believe that income taxes are illegal and unconstitutional, hence they became known as “tax protesters.” Posse members believe that county sheriffs and their “Christian Posses” are the highest lawful authority in the land, and they have their own understanding of the widespread application of English Common Law to judicial questions. Despite its unorthodox nature, the political and economic beliefs of the Posse have made it possible to recruit among people, particularly those in rural areas, who wouldn’t join a group that wore white sheets or brown uniforms. However, the Posse belief that the Federal Reserve and other “unconstitutional” and “un-Christian” activities are the results of an international Jewish conspiracy have made them easy friends of the nazi-right. In fact, Posse literature encompasses more than just legalistic tracts on the “Christian” interpretation of the Constitution; it includes the entire range of beliefs common to the nazi-right. Posse members have worked with Klan and Aryan Nations organizations, as well as serving in key posts in the recently formed Populist Party.

Since the Gordon Kahl incidents, Posse members have become more secretive. In some cases it is reported that they continue to train for paramilitary activities “underground,” or in smaller groups of four or five. In most instances they now operate by other names, like the “Educated Citizens of Iowa,” or the “America First” in Wichita, Kansas. Exact numbers of Posse members are difficult to determine, because of the Posse’s loose anarchistic structure and its overlap with other organizations like the Christian-Patriots Defense League. However, in some small pockets of the Great Plains-Midwest the Posse has come close to making a breakthrough and becoming a mass organization. These pockets, to the best of this author’s knowledge, have been in eastern Colorado, western Kansas, and northeastern Kansas. There are probably other pockets, including the one in Tigerton Dells, Wisconsin. Estimates of Posse members have ranged from 5,000 to 50,000, with the numbers at the lower end more likely correct.

The significance of the Posse is in the role it plays as a forecast of the appeal of the nazi-right among everyday Americans. Unlike the National Socialist groups, Posse members are usually steady, hardworking, and a normal part of their communities. They have been usually radicalized by the deteriorating economic conditions in rural America. It is possible that an effective progressive movement could one day win them away from their racist and anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. In the interim, the Posse has become a serious, armed danger on the nazi-right.

THE KLANT-NAZI UNDERGROUND

The most dangerous armed group on the nazi-right is the Klan-Nazi Underground. It emerged into public view in 1984 through a series of spectacular murders, robberies, shootouts, and arrests. It has been called “The Order,” “The White American Bastion,” and the “Silent Brotherhood” by the media. Though the main political thinkers for this political tendency, Bob Miles and Louis Beam, call it the Fifth Era Klan, the Underground seems to encompass a number of neo-nazi organizations besides the Klan. They include the Aryan Nations and the National Alliance. In fact, it is a book published by the National Alliance, The Turner Diaries, which seems to provide a fictionalized account of activities now being carried out by the Underground. The Turner Diaries was written by National Alliance

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chairman William Pierce. Pierce was a publicist for Rockwell's American Nazi Party and an editor for the World Union of National Socialists, before joining Willis Carto in 1968 in the Youth for Wallace. Eventually Pierce formed his own group, which has become an intellectual center for the nazi-right. The Turner Diaries was originally sold through ads in gun magazines and Soldier of Fortune. It has been on the literature list of the Klan groups ever since 1980. Louis Beam circulated the book widely, when he was head of the Texas Klan's paramilitary outfit, the Texas Emergency Reserve.

Beam has developed a point system for the... targets of this new, armed Underground. The most points go for hitting people of influence, rather than indiscriminate terror against Black people. . . .

Beam and Michigan Klan leader and Aryan Nation's member Bob Miles have elaborated their views on building an Underground in a newsletter they call the Inter-Klan and Survival Newsletter.

"We do not advocate... segregation. That was a temporary political measure that's time is past. Our Order intends to take part in the Physical and Spiritual Racial Purification of ALL those countries which have traditionally been considered White Lands in Modern Times... We intend to purge this land-area of Every non-White person, idea, and influence."

In order to advance, Beam says the Klan must understand,

"the vast majority of the White Race will... oppose the Klan and any other racial movement... It is... pure fantasy to imagine the Klan as a broad-based movement that will... effect peaceful change... There should be no doubt that all means short of armed conflict have been exhausted."

Beam has also developed a point system for the relative importance of various targets for this new armed Underground. The most points go for hitting people of influence, rather than the indiscriminate terror against Black people that is common to other Klan groups.

Beside the admission that the Klan cannot win large numbers of white people simply by parading down main street, and beside the emphasis on clandestinity and new targets, the Fifth Era Klan represents the rejection of social and economic intercourse with their white neighbors by Klansmen. Normal economic functions should be carried out as much as possible within self-sufficient economies of Klansmen and other neo-nazis.

The Aryan Nations is the central axis around which the new political direction of the Fifth Era Klan, the unified military Underground, various neo-nazi and Identity church groups, and the new high-tech computer Klan spin. Both Klan leaders, Beam and Miles, are members of the Aryan Nations. And the leader of the Aryan Nations, Richard Butler, is a central figure in all the latest developments.

Butler has a long history as a neo-nazi. In the 1930's he is reported to have been a member of the Silver Shirts, a fascist organization that was broken up when the U.S. finally went to war with Nazi Germany. In the Sixties he was a member of the California Klan and in the mid-Seventies he and his followers from Southern California moved to Idaho. Butler established a 20 acre compound with about 100 people living in it. It has a church-school and an extensive paramilitary training ground.

Over the following several years, neo-nazis began moving in and out of the compound, some settling in small communities around the Pacific Northwest. Butler established an Aryan Nations prison ministry through the pages of his newsletter and began to recruit new forces to the northwest, particularly members of the Aryan Brotherhood. The Aryan Brotherhood is a white racist prison gang whose slogan is "Kill to Get In, Die to Get Out." The Aryan Nations also began to attract some of the Klan forces in the late Seventies and early Eighties. In 1982 they held their first "International Congress of Aryan Nations." Klan and neo-nazi leaders from across the U.S. met together in what amounted to a leadership council. The Aryan Nations also developed a paramilitary aspect similar to the Christian Patriots.
Defense League and the Covenant, Sword, And Arm of the Lord. The Covenant group has a 90 acre compound—similar to that of the Aryan Nations—on the Missouri-Arkansas border.

Underground activities have put this military training to constant use. Their activities have included:
- April 23, 1984 robbery of an armored car in Seattle. The Underground got $500,000.
- June 18, 1984 Denver talk show host Alan Berg, a Jew, was murdered in his driveway.
- December, 1984 Robert Matthews and other underground members kept a 100-man SWAT team busy until Matthews was burned to death in a fire-fight on Whidbey Island, Washington.

So far 24 people have been arrested for activities related to the Klan-Nazi Underground. Huge caches of weapons have been discovered and an Underground counterfeiting ring broken up.

The outstanding question is the size, scope, and organizational nature of the Underground. It is likely to be organized in a fairly sophisticated fashion through cells that are not formally connected to each other. In addition, the Underground is presumably still in control of the millions of dollars not recovered by the F.B.I. Though it is certain that the wave of arrests in the past few months have hurt the Underground and put it on the offensive, it is unlikely that the Underground has been totally broken up. Important Underground leaders are still fugitives, and the political leadership, Beam, Miles, and Butler, remain unindicted.

THE POPULIST PARTY AND WILLIS CARTO

The Populist Party, which formed last year, represents the most ambitious attempt by far-right racist, and anti-Semitic forces to find a common ground through which to inject themselves into mainstream politics. The Populist party is a departure from other attempts to run for office by Klansmen and neo-nazis. The Populist Party has attempted to disguise its neo-nazi core, instead of theatrically calling attention to it. It has programs that include abolishing the income tax, abolishing the Federal Reserve Bank, parity for American farmers, and tariffs to protect American industrial jobs, along with its disguised call for the segregation of America and the Christianization of the body politic. The Populist Party considers homosexuality a social disease, roughly of the same order as drug addiction. It has developed a party apparatus in all fifty states and last year carried a presidential election campaign in fifteen states.

The central figure in the Populist Party is Willis Carto. He has provided the theoretical trappings for the Populists' political efforts through his book Profiles in Populism. Carto's efforts have been to draw a line between his version of "Populism" and the "Populism" now being espoused by New Right fundraiser Richard Viguerie. In the process Carto has drawn into his Populist orbit John Birch Society members, remnants of the American Independent Party, and other sections of the far-right not normally associated with neo-nazism, as well as Klan leaders, neo-nazis like Ralph Forbes, and elements from the Posse Comitatus. Carto has launched a never-ending series of polemics against the New Right for its support of Israel and its refusal to be openly anti-Semitic. It may be a strategy that is paying off, and if Viguerie does ever try to launch an independent electoral effort on the Far Right, he will come in behind the efforts that Carto has already begun.

**The Populist Party has attempted to disguise its neo-nazi core, instead of theatrically calling attention to it.**

However, the Populist Party's effort to enter the mainstream of electoral politics is far from complete. They never filed documents with the Federal Election Commission for matching funds in the Presidential election. Their candidate, Bob Richards of Olympic Gold Medal and Wheaties box fame, was clearly unhappy with the Klan and neo-nazi tint the Party had. Richards has left the Populist Party since the election, as has the Alabama Conservative Party. In the shakeup it appears that the Party's second chairman, William Baker, has assumed the role of chief party spokesman. Baker replaced Mississippi Klansman Bob Weems last summer as the Chairman. Baker has led the drive to bury the party's neo-nazi core as far beneath the rhetoric of middle America as possible. Whether the Populists can flesh out their organizational skeleton before the 1986 congressional elections is problematic. A faction led by Arkansas Klansman and former National Socialist Party member Ralph Forbes believes that the more openly racist a candidate is, the bigger their vote count. As evidence Forbes has used the Gerald Carlson congressional race in Detroit. Carlson has run three times. Last year he ran an openly racist campaign rather than the quiet conservative campaign he had in the past. He received the most votes ever. The Populist Party itself received approximately 60,000 votes in last fall's presidential elections. Both La Rouche and the Populists did better than any other third party candidates, except the Libertarians.

The Populist Party is only the latest in a thirty-year career of racist and anti-Semitic enterprises by Willis Carto. Carto began his career with the Liberty Lobby in 1957. It started out as a small operation, tailing behind organizations like the John Birch Society. His only noticeable achievement was recruiting author Taylor Caldwell to his Board of Directors. Since then, Carto has constructed a maze of corporations and organizations that embody different aspects of his nazi-right politics. Carto's Liberty Lobby has been the pub-

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Both LaRouche and the Populists did better [in the Presidential election] than any other third party candidates, except the Libertarians.

In addition to the Liberty Lobby organization and The Spotlight tabloid, Carto has the Noontide Press, the Institute for Historical Review, and the Legion for the Survival of Freedom. Noontide was the first American publisher of Imperium, by Francis Parker Yockey. Carto, who had known Yockey, wrote the introduction to the book. Imperium is a long discourse on the fate of Western civilization that combines the lingo of Oswald Spengler and Fredrich Nietzsche with the politics of Adolph Hitler. Imperium became the center of an intellectual movement among Nazis in the early Sixties. Noontide Press also published a monthly magazine, Western Destiny, during that period as a continuation of the themes around culture and politics that Yockey had sounded in his book. The editor of Western Destiny was a British fascist, Roger Pearson, who had taken up residence in the United States. (Last summer Public Eye magazine released a copy of a letter from President Reagan lauding Pearson's current activities.) In addition to Pearson other European fascists contributed to the magazine. Among them were Andrew Fountaine and G.K. Chesterton. Both men were instrumental in founding the British National Front, a neo-Nazi organization, ten years later. Pearson became the American representative to the World Anti-Communist League after Western Destiny folded. Carto has never lost his taste for British fascism. To this day he continues to print articles favorable to the British National Front, as well as the French National Front, in The Spotlight. His first director for the Institute for Historical Review was Lewis Brandon. Brandon was a pseudonym used by ex-British National Fronter David McCalden.

McCalden was the director at the time of the Institute's most famous stunt, offering a $50,000 reward for proof that Hitler's gas ovens actually existed. Since the reward offer, both Carto and McCalden have been involved in a lawsuit around the refusal to pay the reward. They have also parted ways, and McCalden is pursuing his revisionist goals through an organization he calls Truth Missions. McCalden has attempted to make the circulation of his nazi theories a question that "honest" civil liberterians should take up. To a certain degree, so has Carto. Carto's Institute is the more successful of the two. Since 1979 the I.H.R. has had four conventions, with an average attendance of around 100.

The conventions are as droll and academic as any group of Aryan supremacists can make them. They draw participants from Europe, continuing Carto's decidedly internationalist bent. Their book list contains over thirty-five titles. And Carto has turned an arson of the I.H.R.'s offices in California into a successful fundraising initiative. The Institute has begun to make some gains with people outside of the nazi inner-circles. For example, one of the largest of the new religious cults, The Way International, urges its 100,000 members to read revisionist literature. Sections of the Libertarians have also embraced the revisionist cause. There is other evidence that sections of the American people need very little convincing to believe that the Nazi gas chambers were a myth created in order to gain more political power for Zionism. Another campaign that the I.H.R. has engaged in with the help of other right-wingers is the devaluation of the terms "Holocaust" and "Genocide" themselves. For instance, The Spotlight ran an article describing the U.S. Department of Agriculture's destruction of birds who possibly carry Avian Flu with the title, "Prized Flock Dies in Federal Holocaust." In other instances the revisionists constantly refer to the Russian civil war and its famine aftermath as a genocide of Christians. Unfortunately, the Left, for its own reasons, has also considerably devalued the coinage of these terms.

The ultimate fate of Willis Carto's multi-million dollar nazi grouping is not certain. The Liberty Lobby-Populist Party-Institute for Historical Review complex doesn't march around in white sheets or brown uniforms. They have learned to wear bib overalls, business suits, and academic gowns where appropriate. And while the core of their politics remains committed to neo-Nazi ideals, they will continue to try and build bridges into the mainstream of American political life.

While the Klan-Nazi Underground makes good newspaper copy, the quiet plodding of the Populist Party represents the more dangerous long-term problem.

That is an approach altogether different from that taken by other sections of the Nazi-Right. The Klan-Nazi Underground campaign is a deliberate rejection of a strategy aimed at winning the battle for the majority of white people's minds. Their strategy is to terrorize people into acquiescence of their final goals. While the Klan-Nazi Underground makes good newspaper copy, the quiet plodding of the Populist Party represents the more dangerous long-term problem.

Both groups, however, as well as others on the Nazi-Right thrive on the collapse of the Center of American political life. It may be the health of that political center that will determine the ultimate success of the Nazi-Right more than Carto's corporate shells or the Underground's stolen millions.
Feminists, liberals, civil rights activists, civil libertarians and educators have reacted with horror to the New Right’s “pro-family” movement — the aspect of the New Right’s program that attacks the mainstream women’s movement, the gay rights movement, the Equal Rights Amendment and humanistic school curricula. The “pro-family” movement’s titular head, Phyllis Schlafly of Alton, Illinois, has become the symbol of right-wing menace to progressives, especially feminists, who see her as a misleader and a dangerous reactionary. However, we are likely to miss an important aspect of the work of the “pro-family” movement by focusing exclusively on the threat it represents to women’s rights and social issues. While the explicit agenda of the Schlafly rank and file is to roll back the progress made by the women’s movement (using mystification, innuendo, fear-mongering and caricature), the hidden agenda of the leadership of this movement is equally important to understand.

That hidden agenda is the promotion of the traditional right-wing platform — support for free enterprise, virulent anti-communism, privatization, protection of Christian privilege and opposition to civil liberties for minorities, such as gays and immigrants. Although the New Right has dropped the racist jargon of the traditional right-wing from its otherwise Old Right platform, so the “pro-family” movement also does not use racist rhetoric. In other respects, however, the New Right and Schlafly’s “women’s arm” are more a revival of the old right-wing agenda than a new political phenomenon.

The “pro-family” movement itself is a loose coalition of single-issue groups, pulled together by the New Right leadership to broaden the New Right base and to bring these groups under the aegis of the New Right leadership. Under this umbrella are groups that oppose the ERA, homosexual rights, sex before marriage and “secular humanism” in the schools, as well as those that support prayer in the schools and the mandatory teaching of creationism. The fulcrum of the movement, however, is the anti-abortion movement and the plethora of groups that work to eliminate or limit abortion. It was the capture of this issue and its activists that put the “pro-family” movement on the map.

When the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision upheld a woman’s right to abortion as protected by the “right to privacy” of the U.S. Constitution, the “right-to-life” movement was given a central organizing focus — passage of federal and state legislation that would, in effect, override the Supreme Court decision. The Catholic Church, leading the way, began to organize the counter-attack against the effects of Roe v. Wade with its direction-setting mandate, the Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities.

With a new emphasis on legislation, it was not surprising that an alliance sprang up between the “right-to-life” movement and the New Right. Right-to-life advocates Judie and Paul Brown became the keys to implementing the political bonding of the two movements, stressing the two movements’ commonalities and holding out the carrot of money and political savvy.

The “pro-family” movement... is a loose coalition of single-issue groups, pulled together by the New Right leadership to broaden the New Right base and bring these groups under... New Right leadership.

which the “right-to-life” movement would gain by uniting with the New Right. This courtship reflected the strategic planning of the Library Court Group, weekly planning sessions held in Washington, D.C., to coordinate just such strategic maneuvers.

From these beginnings, an overall “pro-family” agenda has been developed, which is a descendant of the historic right-wing theme of traditionalism — based on the notion that the family, the church and the school are the “glue” that holds society together and must not be weakened by anti-traditional ideas and practices being promoted by liberals. As noted, the “pro-family” coalition is the key to broadening the base of the New Right, so this movement is the key to the New Right’s ascendance. Further, the New Right leadership has an ideological commitment to the issues of the “pro-family” movement. Home and hearth, traditional sex roles and Christian values are bedrock elements of right-wing ideology. Convincing evidence of the importance of the “pro-family” movement to the New Right is the presence of New Right leadership at the head of many “pro-family” organizations.

However, that leadership is also using the “pro-family” movement in a cynical attempt not only to broaden its base but to deepen the politics of its new recruits. Thus we see more in the “pro-family” movement than initially meets the eye. It seems unlikely that the predominantly male top leadership of an ambitious
political grouping would be so obsessed with issues of the family and female sexuality. Perhaps it is not really the family and female sexuality that dominate the leadership's consciousness; perhaps these issues serve as the starting point in a long-term strategy that features moving people from this foothold on to other, more important, right-wing issues. Indeed, it seems clear that the "pro-family" movement serves as both starting point and an integral part of the larger body of right-wing thought. An examination of the right-wing's ideological beliefs about the family supports this thesis.

A good source of these beliefs is the book Ronald Reagan used as his guide at the time he came into office in 1980, *Wealth and Poverty* by George Gilder. Although Reagan's interest in the book lay primarily in its attack on public aid and federal poverty programs, Gilder also discusses the family at length. He begins his comments on the family with the analysis mentioned above — that the family is one of the two or three most important societal institutions acting as the "glue" that holds society together. But then Gilder goes on to account for the "naturalness" of the traditional family unit. This analysis lies at the heart of the "pro-family" movement's program and rhetoric.

Men and women, according to Gilder, are fundamentally different. The difference is not simply the obvious physical differences but also a difference in their natures. Men are by nature violent and aggressive, characteristics that stem from the male sexual drive. Women, on the other hand, are nurturing and stable, characteristics that stem from the woman's ability to bear children and her natural interest in the care, feeding and protection of those children.

In a stable society, the violence and aggression of young men is tamed when they marry young women and begin a family. At this point in their lives, men assume the burden of responsibility for a family, which forces them to go to work to provide for that family. The effects of being married and of having the responsibility of a family tame male sexuality (the husband now has access to sexual relations) and force the male to turn his violence and aggression to constructive ends, namely productive work. Thus, Gilder argues, the married male is the most productive force in society and it is the taming of the male by the family that accounts for the high productivity and civilized nature of healthy societies. So the decline of the family will lead to a decline of the society — both its productivity and its level of order.

Home and hearth, traditional sex roles, and Christian values are bedrock elements of right-wing ideology.

Women, on the other hand, are by nature stable and nurturing, thus are naturally suited for motherhood. Women serve as the conscience and civilizing force in society, thus should be respected and revered, so long as they are serving in that role. It follows from an understanding of these sex roles that those who violate the natural have only themselves to blame when their lives become confused and disordered. This confusion and disorder is problematic when it occurs at the level of the individual, but it is alarming when it occurs at the level of society. For if large numbers of people begin to step outside the natural order, the forward advance of civilization will be impeded, and the very society itself will be under threat.

It takes little imagination to play this line of reasoning out to its logical conclusion. Sex roles have indeed, in the past decade especially, been questioned, loosened and altered. The result has been increased work outside the home by women, increased involvement in child-rearing by men, and a liberalization of the rigid stereotypes attached to men and women. And who is to blame for this development?

According to the New Right, it is feminists and liberals who are promoting this wrong-headed and dangerous new world-view. These feminists and liberals (categories that are not mutually exclusive) have promoted their incorrect world-view through such innocent-sounding packaging as "secular humanism," "equal rights" and "women's liberation."
FAMILY: continued

This last association between recent changes in family structure and traditional roles on one hand and liberalism and the women's movement on the other is critical to an understanding of New Right strategy and structure. For it is not simply issues of the traditional family that interest the New Right, but rather the use of these issues to expose the "evils" of the political opposition—those liberals who have plagued the right-wing since their ascendance in 1932. With its denunciation of the programs of liberalism in the social arena, the New Right leadership has captured the attention of its rank and file. The next step is to expose these troops to the full right-wing ideological agenda, bringing them along to acceptance of the crucial issues of support for enterprise capitalism and vehement anti-communism. It is critical to remember that this is a hidden agenda behind the explicit agenda of the New Right's "pro-family" movement. The explicit agenda is clear—to advocate for traditionalism in social issues and to oppose changes in that ultimate of traditional bastions of society, the family. The hidden agenda is less easy to identify, but I suggest that it consists of the reassertion of political power and influence by the Old Right in its repackaged form, the New Right. The "pro-family" movement's importance to the New Right is its recruiting power. In order to succeed in American politics, the political right-wing needs a softened foot in the door to the national political consciousness. Like all good salesmen, right-wing politicians need a starting point, a "hook." The "pro-family" issues provide that hook and are skillfully exploited for it.

Our understanding of the "pro-family" movement serves to alert us to what is truly going on in the New Right's apparent obsession with women's issues. We must be conscious of the larger agenda while we defend the ground gained over the last two decades. When we are fighting battles over day care, abortion rights or curriculum, we should understand that it is not only these issues at stake, but also a larger agenda. This understanding will serve us in two ways; we will know the opposition and we will have additional insight into its overall strategy.

One final note. This understanding of the use of family issues to promote a larger right-wing agenda should increase our effectiveness in fighting this agenda, but it should not make us deaf to the words of those who are being used by the New Right leadership. We must listen to the concerns that are real and learn to distinguish between those and the concerns that are fabricated by the leadership to manipulate a pliable following.

CHRISTIAN BILL OF RIGHTS
by JERRY FALWELL

Amendment I: We believe that, from the time of conception within the womb, every human being has a scriptural right to life upon this earth.

Amendment II: We believe that every person has the right to pursue any and all scriptural goals that he or she feels are God-directed during that life upon this earth.

Amendment III: We believe that, apart from justified capital punishment, no medical or judicial process should be introduced that would allow the termination of life before its natural or accidental completion.

Amendment IV: We believe that no traitorous verbal or written attack upon this beloved nation advocating overthrow by force be permitted by any citizen or alien living within this country.

Amendment V: We believe that all students enrolled in public schools should have the right to voluntary prayer and Bible reading.

Amendment VI: We believe in the right and responsibility to establish and administer private Christian schools without harassment from local, state, or federal government.

Amendment VII: We believe in the right to expect our national leaders to keep this country morally and militarily strong, so that religious freedom and Gospel preaching might continue unhindered.

Amendment IX: We believe in the right to receive moral support from all local, state, and federal agencies concerning the traditional family unit, a concept that enjoys both scriptural and historical precedence.

Amendment X: We believe in the right of legally-approved religious organizations to maintain their tax-exempt status, this right being based upon the historical and scriptural concept and church and state separation.
ABORTION AND THE RIGHT

by JEAN HARDISTY

In June 1983, the Supreme Court handed down a decision that heartened “pro-choice” activists and has, for now, preserved a woman’s right to safe and legal abortion. The decision struck down the “Akron Ordinances,” a set of restrictions on the practice of abortion designed to modify and undermine the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision affirming a woman’s right to choose abortion. The “right-to-life” movement and the Catholic Church, in response to this setback and the failure of a Human Life Amendment or a Human Life Bill to succeed in Congress, have developed several new tactics to outlaw abortion.

In spite of its peace advocacy and liberal positions on other issues, the Catholic Church is unbending in its total opposition to abortion and, under the leadership of Pope John Paul II, has reasserted an extremely conservative position on sexual mores. American bishops, notably Archbishop O’Connor of Boston, are now playing a more aggressive role in the political arena, including suggesting that Catholics have an obligation to oppose candidates who support the right to abortion.

The “right-to-life” movement now is more tolerant of violence against clinics and harassment of individual women as valid political tactics. Joe Scheidler, the fanatic head of the Pro-Life Action League (formerly too extremist for other organizations), is now a sought-after hero, who conducts workshops on “direct action.” Scheidler claims that his “direct action” is limited to such affronts as “sidewalk counseling,” a technique of harassment and intimidation against women entering abortion clinics. Such “counseling” includes hurling epithets such as “Nazi” and “baby-killer” in hopes that women will be frightened into leaving the clinic. Other actions, such as clinic bombings (at least 28 in 1984), threats against abortion practitioners, and, most recently, a threat against a Supreme Court justice, are clear cases of terrorism, ostensibly not organized by Scheidler, but in reality encouraged by his brand of fanaticism. We will undoubtedly see more and more of this sort of violence and harassment in the next four years.

The federal bureaucracy is now being used to illegally deter the practice of abortion. Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler, and her ally, Maryjory Mecklenberg, director of the Office for Family Planning, have tried to institute regulations manipulating funds and instituting new restrictions on both abortion clinics and family planning services, against the instructions of Congress. In order to block this sort of maneuver, a congressional committee has to intervene, or a judge has to stop the implementation of Title X (family planning) money, one of the principal sources of financial support for family planning centers and clinics, now being denied to any clinic that includes the option of abortion in any of its counseling or referral services.

Finally, another recent tactic adopted by both the Catholic Church and the “right-to-life” movement is to find related issues to exploit, especially the “Baby Doe” question. In this case, anti-abortion activists favor having federal inspectors monitor the medical treatment of babies born prematurely in order to “protect” the baby’s right to treatment, regardless of the parents’ wishes or the doctors’ advice. This campaign has grown out of the accusation that there are cases of negligence and disregard for life by “those same sort of people who support abortion.” Such attempts to smear those who are pro-choice promise to be a prominent aspect of anti-abortion activism for the foreseeable future.

The most recent issue adopted by the “right-to-life” movement is family planning — illustrated by the recent U.N. International Conference on Population, in which James Buckley presented the Reagan administration’s ultimatum that the United States is henceforth cutting off all international aid for family planning to any organization or country that advocates the use of abortion.

It is little comfort that these tactics are necessary because the Supreme Court has refused to reverse its 1973 decision assuring a woman’s right to abortion on the grounds of the constitutional protection of her privacy — little comfort because we have every reason to expect several new appointments to the Supreme Court during the next four years of a Republican administration that has written into its party platform that appointments to the Supreme Court should be screened for their attitudes on abortion. For now, the “right-to-life” movement and the Catholic Church may be reduced to civil disobedience and violence against clinics, but soon it may be pro-choice activists who are, once again, fighting for a woman’s health, safety and right to choose.
The Right seeks to enforce upon America, a narrow set of political and moral standards. It knows that in order to accomplish this, it must stifle debate and dissent. And to do that, it must seriously curtail our civil liberties. Certainly it has a Constitutional right to hold its views, but we should not be so naive as to allow it to pass laws and establish mechanisms that would deny us our right to hold our beliefs and disseminate our views; and this outlawing of our views is, indeed, the agenda of the New Right. The continued health of our democratic society depends on stopping them.

Civil liberties are conferred upon us by the Constitution and Bill of Rights, guaranteeing our right to freely associate and express our ideas without restrictive government intervention. Freedom of speech, religion, and association, along with freedom from unreasonable search, seizure, and detention are legacies from the colonists, who all too well remembered the iron-fisted reign of the British colonial government. Civil liberties are essential for a society that values pluralism, but New Right philosophy rejects pluralism and thus often considers civil liberties as superfluous or dangerous.

When I speak of the New Right, I am specifically referring to a small, but well-organized and amply-financed, group of political zealots, who reject the concepts of pluralism, diversity, and tolerance. Many of us see these concepts as cornerstones of a Constitutional democracy, which mandates majority rule with minority rights. The New Right wants their minority to rule — and they'll decide who deserves the rights.

Among the many civil liberties threats actively being pursued by the New Right and its allies are:

- The passage of the so-called “Anti-Terrorism Legislation” currently pending in Congress.
- The political use of witch-hunting Congressional committees — the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (SST) and the proposed revival of the infamous House Committee on UnAmerican Activities (HUAC).
- The unleashing of the Federal Investigative agencies.
- Full implementation of the Heritage Foundation report on National Security — the admitted blueprint of the Reagan Administration for intelligence issues — which urges restrictions on civil liberties for alleged national security reasons.
- Enactment of a constitutional amendment to abolish the right to choose abortion.
- A constitutional amendment permitting prayer in public schools.
- Gutting the Federal Voting and Civil Rights Acts.
- Enactment of legislation stripping federal courts of jurisdiction to decide constitutional challenges to school segregation, abortion, and school prayer cases.
- Repealing or substantially cutting back the Freedom of Information Act and the Federal Privacy Act.
- Elimination of Federal Affirmative Action programs.
- Enactment of legislation providing federal aid to religious schools or tax breaks to parents paying tuition to such schools.
- Drastically reducing available legal services to the poor by crippling or abolishing the Legal Services Corporation.

These planned infringements of our civil liberties are just a small portion of the New Right agenda, parts of which have already been implemented. The trends are clear, here are some realities.

- Doubleday publishers has self-censored the word “Evolution” from their biology textbook, Experiences in Biology.
- Legislation mandating that Creationism be taught in public schools has been introduced in over 15 states.
- Censorship incidents have jumped 300% since 1980, according to the American Library Association. The public burning of books, records, and posters are now commonplace.
- Private Christian schools in 1982 were opening at the rate of one every seven hours.
- Through several Reagan Administration Executive Orders the Federal Freedom of Information Act has been rendered useless for certain federal agencies and types of requests.
- The Senate has passed a bill legalizing “preventive” detention of suspects, without arrest.
- The FBI has been authorized to disrupt and harass members of non-criminal dissident groups, if done as part of alleged national security investigations.
- In a series of decisions, the U.S. Supreme Court has so weakened the Constitutional rights of criminal suspects and arrested persons that journalist Carl Rowan penned a column titled “Say Goodbye to the Fourth Amendment.”

The all-out assault on the Constitution and our rights by the New Right and its allies inside and outside of government includes attacks against the reproductive rights and employment rights of women, the rights of organized labor, the rights of Blacks, Native Americans and other ethnic, religious and cultural minorities and the rights of persons with non-traditional lifestyles and sexual preferences.

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CIVIL LIBERTIES: continued

The Constitution has already been trimmed; if we allow the New Right to press ahead with its legislative agenda, it will be in tatters.

So much for our Bill of Rights. But don’t worry! Jerry Falwell has a new “Christian Bill of Rights” ready to replace the tired old version. If that’s not enough to worry you, consider that we are only three states away from calling a Constitutional Convention that could totally rewrite the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

TERRORISM AS SCAPEGOAT

Many of the items on the New Right agenda speak to the real fears and anxieties of many Americans. Fear is frequently fanned and exploited by the New Right as a tactic, and fear of terrorism is currently being used as the primary scapegoat to engineer public consent for civil liberties infringements.

The [Senate] Committee [on Security and Terrorism] is not looking for terrorists at all; it is not looking for subversives... [or] even looking for criminals... The real purpose of the committee... is to stifle dissent.

The spectre of terrorism is sufficient to convince many people that it is now necessary to curtail our civil liberties to achieve safety. Fear of flying with a mad bomber must wake up the New Right leaders in a cold sweat every night, because the direct mail letters and the magazines they circulate are littered with scare stories about KGB agents under every bed and armed terrorists lurking behind every social change organization.

As a result of this manipulated hysteria, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism continues to hold hearings into these matters; in many New Right publications, ranging from Richard Viguerie’s New Right Conservative Digest to the far right John Birch Society’s American Opinion, there are calls for tighter security and increased utilization of the FBI and the CIA. Pending in Congress are several measures collectively called the “Anti-Terrorism” legislation, which would criminalize support for foreign nations, parties, or groups deemed “terrorist” by our government.

We all want protection from real threats to our security, but among the groups the New Right claims pose potential terrorist and internal security threats (or are duped by terrorists and spies) are anti-nuclear activists, labor union militants, civil libertarians, political leftists, gay rights advocates, community organizers, public interest attorneys, women’s rights advocates, and activists who support various dissident and revolutionary foreign groups and governments.

The New Right even talks about how the media needs to be investigated or even controlled for its alleged liberal/left bias, which supposedly encourages security problems and terrorism.

There is real terrorism, and all civilized people condemn it. The fear of terrorism, of suffering bodily injury or emotional coercion is real.

But be careful. Though the fear is real, the actual threat is being inflated by right-wing ideologues. The FBI statistics on terrorism around the world show a relative decline, and it certainly has been on the decline in the U.S. in recent years. Terrorism is ranked low on the FBI’s list of priorities for dealing with criminal problems in this country. The only terrorist act at the Olympic this past summer was carried out by a disgruntled Los Angeles Police Officer who attempted to pin the blame on Armenian activists.

Yet the New Right would have us believe that there are hoards of armed communist terrorists stalking across the land. Further, they claim world terrorists are all armed by the Soviet Union and supported by American Communists, fellow travellers, and “dupes.”

Definitions are important here. To the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Communists are the conspiratorial masterminds behind abortion rights, compulsory busing for racial integration, sex education, and gay rights. (Actually, the CACC calls gay rights: “homosexuality, disease, and mass murder”, which they consider as one issue.)

One specific of how “terrorism as scapegoat” is being used in the campaign to restrict our civil liberties is seen in Reagan’s so-called “Anti-Terrorism” legislation.

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CIVIL LIBERTIES: continued

Pending in Congress are several bills that would criminalize support for foreign governments or groups unilaterally declared "terrorist" by the Secretary of State. In typical Alice-in-Wonderland logic, there is no way to challenge the charges based on whether or not the country or group is truly terrorist or not.

According to an analysis by the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, one draft version of the terrorism bill states that if the President determines that "acts or likely acts" of international terrorism threaten U.S. national security or foreign policy interests, he may regulate certain undefined activity, including "serving in or with" the security forces of a foreign government; "providing any training ... to or for" those forces; and recruiting or soliciting others for these activities.

Among possible violations of this act could be speaking out against U.S. aid to the Contras in Nicaragua, lobbying for an end to aid to El Salvador, teaching English or providing other literacy training in a country whose policies are not deemed to be in U.S. foreign policy interests. Violations carry a ten year prison sentence and/or $100,000 fine.

THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE AND THE NEW WITCH HUNT

Both the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and the Reagan Administration accept the "dissident as terrorist" formulation, and the Subcommittee has repeatedly held hearings on American social change organizations which are identified, a la McCarthy, as being dupes or agents of the Soviet Communists. In some instances the groups investigated have been relatively small and unpopular; but if one examines the public statements from staffers on the Senate Committee, it is possible, if not probable, that the Committee will schedule hearings that might encompass all dissenting Americans in a Senate probe.

Since the whole purpose of the drive against our civil liberties is to stop us from organizing, then we should not be diverted from our organizing.

Some of the groups already named in the hearings, in the Heritage Foundation report, or by Committee stalwarts (including Sam Francis, committee staff/aide who wrote the Heritage Foundation report), include such groups as the North American Conference on Latin American (NACLA), a progressive New York research group, The Institute for Policy Studies, Mother Jones magazine, Pacifica Radio, and The Mobilization for Survival.

The Committee is not looking for terrorists at all; it is not looking for subversives; it is not even looking for criminals. Clearly the witch-hunting Committees in the 50's failed miserably in fulfilling any stated legislative purpose or in uncovering any criminal activity. Investiga-
CIVIL LIBERTIES: continued

So what is the real purpose of a Senate Committee on Security and Terrorism or a House Committee on UnAmerican Activities, a Red Squad, an FBI Internal Security Investigation? Their real purpose is to stifle dissent. No matter what they claim their purpose is, the net result is to disrupt the social change movement. The civil liberties threat of these committees is their use as a political inquisition.

The result is to disrupt the social change movement. The net result is to disrupt the social change movement. The political inquisition.

Throughout the New Right there is a call for increased domestic spying restrictions from FBI regulations, which were formulated in the wake of Watergate. Throughout the New Right there is a call for increased political surveillance and harassment of social change organizations and Viguerie's Conservative Digest has devoted considerable attention to a project dubbed "Defend the Left," which seeks to cut off legitimate government funding from groups deemed "leftist" by the New Right.

During the Carter administration, guidelines reigning in the excesses of domestic intelligence agencies were established to protect Americans from intrusive surveillance and intentional harassment and disruption of non-criminal dissenting organizations. Those guidelines were shelved by Reagan soon after taking office, and most of the previous illegal FBI COINTELPRO activities are now legal. Under Reagan Administration executive orders, the FBI is now authorized to conduct intrusive operations in the name of national security; this includes "Black Bag" jobs (breaking, entering, theft) to enter a group's office to steal their mailing lists and photograph their files. Since late February, 1984, widespread FBI harassment of Latin American Support and anti-interventionist groups has been reported nationwide. Other intelligence agencies and right-wing groups are stepping up their red-baiting campaigns, which also are affecting exile, emigre, sanctuary, and other groups with an international focus.

Typically, several scenarios have developed:

- FBI agents visit the employer, friends, and coworkers of an activist, asking: "Did you know that "X" works with communist and KGB agents?"
- FBI agents appear in the evening at the home of an activist, and say: "We know you are sincere, just tell us the names of the KGB agents."
- FBI agents attempt to interview activists about the "lawbreakers" involved in the sanctuary movement.
- FBI agents threaten exposure to Immigration officials, unless an undocumented activist talks.
- FBI agents threaten activists with jail, unless they reveal their "plans" for "terrorist" attacks on the Olympics, political conventions, etc.

Military intelligence agents have also appeared at reserve weekends to interview co-workers of activists saying "tell us about your co-worker, who hangs out with Soviet spies."

Activists have also received written threats of violence signed by the "Posse Comitatus" or "National Socialist Liberation Front."

After the Olympics an FBI spokesperson confirmed that, for several months prior to the games, FBI agents had contacted activists, their friends, and associates so the activists would know the FBI was keeping an eye on them.

The Heritage report on U.S. intelligence said we need the Senate Committee, we need the House Committee, we need to expand FBI investigations into all sorts of domestic groups. It also said we need to hire private security groups, who specialize in collecting information on progressive political activity to get around constitutional protections that prohibit public law enforcement agencies from collecting that sort of non-criminal information. There are numerous private right-wing spy groups that would just love to assist the government.

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Since the whole purpose of the drive against our civil liberties is to stop us from organizing, then we should not be diverted from doing our organizing. The New Right wants us to become obsessed with the security issue and divert our attention from our primary tasks.

We should not let them do this, but at the same time we cannot let the New Right establish security regulations, laws, and restrictions that would keep us from being able to disseminate our views, because that's what the game is all about: your right and their right to have a debate about what is the proper path for this country to follow.

Secondly, an attack on one is an attack on all. We simply cannot let people who hang out on the fringes of political thinking be picked off one by one. The groups that are probably going to be called first before the Congressional Committees are the groups that you might find personally noxious. Remember, if history is indeed a guide, YOU'RE NEXT. Don't kid yourself into thinking they'll just pick off a few of this, a few of that, a few people who hold views not in the "progressive mainstream." They'll nibble themselves right down to every one of us, if we let them. The best way to stop that from happening is to stop them now, to stop them when they attack anyone with smear charges, with the unsupportable, ludicrous attacks they are now mounting.

**We must encourage the debate, but not on their terms, the terms of fear, disunity, divisiveness, and hysteria.**

There are no legitimate targets for these Congressional investigative Committees. If someone commits a crime there are laws to arrest that person and deal with them. There is no reason to go on another witch hunt. If there are indeed terrorists in this country who blow up buildings, that's property damage, if they kill someone that's murder, and there are plenty of laws for both of those crimes. We don't need a Congressional committee to snoop through all of our social change organizations looking for people who might have that proclivity. That's a ridiculous concept, and we should recognize it as such. We must say that these committees have no legitimacy whatsoever.

Finally, we must encourage the debate. We aren't going to find the answers to the real and pressing problems that confront America without an extensive debate. It is important to recognize that the New Right has sensed there are many people in this country who are concerned about what is happening, and who are looking for new answers. Where the New Right is wrong is in assuming that the majority of people in the country would be happy with the answers provided by the New Right.

The New Right does not have the answers that will provide lasting solutions. You simply cannot legislate morality without forfeiting civil liberties, to say the least. Iran, Saudi Arabia, and other restrictive societies legislate morality, and the results are evident. The New Right's answers are didactic, narrow, simplistic, and ineffective. They are not the solutions we need to find. We must encourage the debate, but not on their terms, the terms of fear, disunity, divisiveness, and hysteria.

**It is important to recognize that the New Right has sensed there are many people in this country who are concerned about what is happening and who are looking for new answers.**

We must also realize that people are concerned about the issues affecting them, and we must take the time to hear what their fears are, even though we may disagree with what they're stating. We must then try to reason with them from that basis. It is only in that way will we be able to still those fears, fears which are the underpinning of the support for the New Right's attack on our civil liberties.

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**THANK YOU BILL AND ELSA LEWIS**

I would like to give long-overdue recognition to Bill and Elsa Lewis of Lewis Publishing in Oakland California. Their kindness, understanding, good cheer, cake, horseshoes, and thorough sense of decency have made typesetting the most enjoyable part of producing SHMATE. To them go profound feelings of appreciation and gratitude.
Both the American Security Council and Church League of America have tens of millions of pages of files on political activists, which have been available to law enforcement officers and fee-paying corporate security agents for decades.

The Washington, D.C., based American Security Council is now best known for its organizing around a beligerant military and foreign policy. The Council, however, was started in Chicago during the Fifties to help corporations that wanted to check the ideological credentials of potential employees. ASC apparently still carries out this function today. Among corporations known to have subscribed to the service in the past are Lockheed and Honeywell, both facing lawsuits charging they conducted political surveillance campaigns against critics and dissident workers.

The Church League of America for many years offered to check their computerized files for a certified right-wing private citizen who made a donation of $150. The money bought a file check on four names and included a year's subscription to the Church League's two newsletters. The League even bragged about using infiltrators to collect information.

Some of the Church League files at their Weaton, Illinois, library have curious origins: they start with Karl Baarslag, a former research director for Senator Joe McCarthy's investigative subcommittee. Baarslag's "subversive" files were sold to Wackenhut Corporation, the private detective firm. The remaining 700,000 pages of files were turned over to the the Church League, where Wackenhut still has access to the information. The Church League circulates material on the ACLU, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, Center for National Security Studies, Campaign to Stop Government Spying, American Friends Service Committee, and the Institute for Policy Studies. The Church League published a book claiming the National Council of Churches was run by communists.

The new leadership at the Church League insists it is getting out of the dossier business, but when one Chicagoan called the League last July for information about the background of a certain Mayoral appoint­ment, she was read material from the man's dossier, including clippings from 1950's newspapers.

Research West, Inc. in California formed the foundation of its files on political activists when, in 1969, it obtained the subversive files of the Western Research Foundation, which for years supplied information to anti-union corporate customers such as Pacific Gas and Electric, the Hearst newspapers, and Standard Oil of California. Both Pacific Gas and Electric and Georgia Power have hired Research West for "security investigations", which critics charge include supplying information about the activities of anti-nuclear groups. Research West denies the charge, but one researcher boasted that, while he worked at Research West, the company claimed to be infiltrating and spying on anti-nuclear groups all over the country. The researcher's affiliation with Research West was later verified by phone. There is no denying that one Research West contractor, Georgia Power, collected files on anti-nuclear activists.

Western Goals foundation has partially computerized files on "those who seek to destroy our Republic." It publishes a newsletter formerly edited by John Rees, one of the right-wing's most active spies. Western Goals was founded by the late Congressman Larry McDonald, who specialized in placing anti-progressive diatribes and reports on left-wing activities in the Congressional Record. Broken Seals, the outfit's first book, charges that groups including the Campaign for Political Rights, National Lawyers Guild, American Friends Service Committee, and the Center for National Security Studies are part of a Soviet-backed attempt "to destroy the foreign and domestic intelligence capabilities of the United States."

Western Goals, John Rees, and Larry McDonald's widow are currently being sued by the American Civil Liberties Union for their alleged role in a scheme where secret Los Angeles Police Department surveillance files, ordered destroyed by the city council, turned up in

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SPIES: continued

the garage of a cop whose wife happened to have a
contract with Western Goals for data entry of informa-
tion on subversives.

INTELLIGENCE NEWSLETTERS

Information Digest has been publishing its detailed
reports on the activities of left, liberal, and radical
groups for over a decade. Its subscribers are mainly
corporate security agents, law enforcement officials,
and wealthy, albeit paranoid, right-wing businessmen.

Information Digest has collected its
information not only by voraciously
reading leftist periodicals, but also by
physically infiltrating various groups.

The work of John and Sheila Rees, Information Digest
has collected its information not only by voraciously
reading leftist periodicals, but also by physically infil-
trating various groups. Information Digest has turned
up in the spy files of several local and federal intelli-
gence agencies being sued for illegal surveillance and
disruption. It’s specialty is tracing alleged communist
infiltration of movements for social change. John Rees
spent some time working at the Church League of
America. John’s spouse, S. Louise Rees, is a well-known
spy in her own right, having spent several years as the
office staffer of the Washington, D.C. National Lawyers
Guild Chapter where, known as Sheila O’Connor, she
efficiently compiled up-to-date membership, contact,
and planning lists for the Guild — information which
later turned up in law enforcement agency files.

Lyndon LaRouche, guru of the National Caucus of
Labor Committees and founder of the U.S. Labor Party,
has now branched out into the intelligence field. His
Investigative Leads newsletter is backed by a Telex
network with offices in 20 U.S. cities and 9 foreign
countries. Circulation of Investigative Leads is
hampered by its editorial line claiming the world is
controlled by secret cabals of British and Jewish spies.
Still, at least two police departments have used informa-
tion provided by the LaRouche network to plan for
demonstrations in Seabrook, New Hampshire, and
Philadelphia. LaRouche has circulated to Congress
lengthy dossiers charging that several political activists
were part of a bizarre, unsubstantiated Soviet KGB spy
ring. Congressman Paul McCloskey was forced to
denounce the “dossiers” as a fraud when one of his aides
was included in the list. Other groups spied on included
the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Movement for
a New Society.

The Reagan administration has confirmed that
LaRouche and his investigators regularly supplied
intelligence data to staffers on the National Security
Council and CIA during 1983, and a seathing article in
New Republic has documented the extent to which
LaRouche agents have penetrated the government.

LaRouche has twice received federal matching funds
for his Presidential bids, now orchestrated by a group
called the National Democratic Policy Committee. Over
2,000 LaRouche-affiliated candidates have run for
office in the past two years.

RED-BAITING NEWSPAPERS

Pink Sheet on the Left has changed its name to the
American Sentinel, but it still monitors the activi-
ties of people viewed by the editors as commu-
nists, fellow travellers, or dupes. Pink means every-
one to the left of Teddy Kennedy, who is considered by
the American Sentinel, to be a dupe of the KGB. The
Sentinal lumps together reports on George McGovern
with such groups as the Revolutionary Communist
Party and Communist Workers Party. The newsletter
used to be printed on pink paper — now it’s blue.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, run by Dr.
Fred Schwartz, used to conduct nation-wide workshops
on the Communist Menace. Now its main function is a
newsletter which warns that abortion, homosexuality,
busing for racial integration, sex education, and birth
control are part of the international communist con-
spiracy to weaken the moral fiber of America.

The newsletter circulates to over 13,000 supporters.
The group’s 1982 25th anniversary banquet in Indian-
apolis was endorsed by Phyllis Schlafly and emcee’d by
Herbert Philbrick, an FBI informant who infiltrated
the CPUSA. Ronald Reagan sent a telegram of congratu-
lations.

The above groups are just a handful of the private
security groups the Heritage Foundation wants law
enforcement agencies to contact to obtain information.
Other private intelligence groups include corporate
security specialists and computerized law enforcement
data exchanges run by private companies.

The targets are anyone who is working for social
change, or anyone who disagrees with the current
official government line.
ome people think God made the universe in six days and personally handcrafted each plant and animal specie. They think so because that's what it says in Genesis, the Bible story. And they regard that story as the literal Word of God. They also believe in a “young earth,” probably not more than 10,000 years old. And Noah's Ark. And the “special,” sudden creation of human beings during the same week—not very long ago—that God created algae, amoeba, and chimpanzees.

They should, of course, be completely free to believe these things. And to say what they believe. But “Creationists” do much more than merely hold beliefs. Or express them. For instance, they:

- Sponsor legislation—e.g., in Arkansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Tennessee, and at least 17 other states—requiring that Creationism be taught in public schools—i.e., in public school science classes—as a competing “theory” with evolution, and lobby at the national level for passage of an “Act To Protect Academic Freedom and To Prevent Federal Censorship in Scientific Inquiry Funded With Federal Tax Monies” that would mandate research, curriculum development, and museum exhibit funding for both origin “models.”1

- Try to foist the same “two theory” approach on textbook publishers; or, failing that, demand the total elimination of “evolution” from biology texts, this most notably in Texas, a major market, whose buying policies—heavily influenced by the fundamentalist Gablers—affect school districts everywhere.2

- Initiate “civil rights” court suits, arguing that their children’s “religious liberty” is being violated by compulsory school exposure to evolution (which contradicts their religious beliefs) without complementary instruction in Creationism (which accords with those beliefs). In Iowa, for example, teachers and superintendents have been threatened with having their certification revoked for “violating students’ civil rights,” while school board members who “allow discrimination” face removal from office by the District Court.3

Train and certify Creationist biology teachers—at institutions like Tim LaHaye’s Christian Heritage College and Jerry Falwell’s Liberty Baptist College—for essentially “undercover” activity in public schools; in fact, the nearly one thousand fundamentalist teachers who belong to NACE—the National Association of Christian Educators—“unabashedly,” according to Fred Edwords, “vow to teach Christian fundamentalism in the public schools wherever they can find an opening,” and especially target gifted students. This clandestine teaching has taken place in Michigan, Wisconsin, California, New York, and elsewhere, with perhaps the greatest concentration in California’s Santa Clara Valley and San Francisco Bay Area. As declared in late 1983 by NACE’s national leaders, the organization’s next tactic will be the formation of parent pressure groups:4

“We have now begun our campaign to start a Christian parents’ organization called “Citizens for Excellence in Education.” Our goal is to have committees in all 16,000 school districts in America. We can totally change our schools through these parent groups, who will influence all our school boards and bring back our Christian values and morality, and a national faith in God.

- Attempt to pack libraries—especially in schools—with Creationist materials, harassing those that either don’t meet their quotas or stock too many occult, non-Christian, or other unsavory, irreligious items. Still another approach is to demand the removal from libraries and classrooms of works that “dogmatically support evolution”; for example, Helena Curtis’ Biology, a textbook, and PBS’ Life on Earth program.5

- Want Creationist literature to be considered bona fide “science” and thus classified by libraries in the Dewey 500s rather than in 231.765, the notation specified for “Creation” within the sequence devoted to “Specific topics in Christian doctrinal theology”; and would probably like to substitute SCIENTIFIC CREATIONISM or CREATION SCIENCE for the current Library of Congress subject heading, CREATIONISM, the “science” again lending respectability to the topic.6

This nationwide, well-financed Creationist crusade is not simply about fundamentalist children’s “rights” or quibbles over The Flood and Garden of Eden. It is—as the Judis and Sewell sidebars suggest—a deliberate effort to publicly legitimize a central doctrine, a key dogma, of Christian Fundamentalism and, by so doing, promote and expand the entire movement, leading ultimately to a Fundamentalist America: a theocratic state and thoroughly “Christian-
CREATIONISM: continued

ized" society founded on Christian Biblical literalism and viewing non-believers as pitiable, if not despicable, heretics, as unredeemed, Christ-denying, second-class citizens. Says Anthony Holz in the Oct. 26, 1984 American Jewish World (p. 5):

Current efforts to reintroduce prayer in public schools and to control what people see, read, or do in privacy, illustrate the increasing urge to Christianize this country. We see this in attempts to incorporate into our laws, principles, and values that are basically Christian (and not necessarily shared by other faiths). Depending on how they view the founding of this country, the would-be Christianizers can be easily divided into two groups. The first perceives America as having been founded Christian, and therefore as always having been a Christian country. The second realizes that America was not founded as a Christian state, but contends it should have been. Consequently, that group considers it a religious and moral duty to Christianize the nation and thereby remedy what they see as a grave defect. Liberal religion, Jewish or otherwise, can exist only in a pluralistic democracy. The basic principle of liberal religion, that all people have the ultimate right to decide for themselves on all matters of belief and value, can be realized only in a society that is free, non-theocratic and non-authoritarian.

In short, the Creationist onslaught must be seen as one aspect of the larger New Right/Christian Right offensive, a danger not solely to good science education (precisely at a time when schools are being exhorted to produce more and better scientists and engineers), but also to Church-state separation, religious pluralism, intellectual freedom, and elemental democracy.


5. For further data, see "Four More Library Surveys," Bible-Science Newsletter, August 1984, p. 13; Creation/Evolution Newsletter, March/April 1984, p. 3; "News Briefs," Creation/Evolution, Fall 1984, p. 50-2; and Des Moines Register sidebar.


ONGOING RESOURCES

Sanford Berman, Head Cataloger, Hennepin County Library, 12601 Ridgedale Drive, Minnetonka, MN 55343-5648; (612) 541-8570. Authority on library-connected matters.

Bible-Science Newsletter, 2911 E. 42d Street, Minneapolis, MN 55408. $17 yearly. Monthly. Organ of Bible-Science Association. Important for learning not only what they're doing or plan to do, but also why.

Creation/Evolution, P.O. Box 146, Amherst Branch, Buffalo, NY 14226-0146. $9 yearly. Quarterly. Editor: Fred Edwards. Deals mainly with legal, teaching, and science aspects of Creationism. "Major source of ammunition for debaters, lawyers, lobbyists, teachers, and concerned citizens."
Creation/Evolution Newsletter, National Center for Science Education, Box 32, Concord College, Athens, WV 24712. $5 yearly. Bimonthly. Editor: Karl D. Fezer. Accents Creationist ploys and organized counterattacks by the scientific, educational, and civil libertarian communities. Combined subscription to both C/E and C/E Newsletter: $12.

People for the American Way, 1424 16th Street N.W., Suite 601, Washington DC 20036. Anti—New Right organization founded by Norman Lear. Produces TV spots, print ads, films, posters, Quarterly Report, issue papers, and citizen action guides for combatiing not only school, library, and textbook censorship, but also attempts to mandate prayer and Creationism in public schools.

Skeptical Inquirer, Box 229, Central Park Station, Buffalo, NY 14215. $16.50 yearly. Quarterly. Editor: Kendrick Frazier. Organ of CSICOP (Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal). Often runs Creationist-related news and articles; e.g., in “The Creationist Threat: Science Finally Awakens” (Spring 1982, p. 2-6), Frazier details the Creationist offensive, including such “terrorist tactics” as “a call by the Institute for Creation Research to have members turn in the names of teachers who are teaching evolution or preventing the teaching of Creationism”; surveys the counter-attack being mounted by scientists, educators, and civil libertarians; and concludes with this observation by Isaac Asimov: “With Creationism in the saddle, American science will wither. We will raise a generation of ignoramuses ill-equipped to run the industry of tomorrow, much less to generate the new advances of the days after tomorrow.”


Why do you wear a yarmulke?

“I don’t want to be taken for a Wasp.”

CREATIONISM’S GREATEST HITS

“It is true that a belief in creationism will never save someone. Yet it will open the door to the possibility of a person’s receiving Christ as his savior. After all, if a person deeply believes in evolutionism, then he also believes that the Bible cannot be true, and is thus not receptive to the gospel of salvation—it must be just a fairy tale. This is the factor that leads most college students to reject their Christian raising.”—Curtis Sewell, born-again Christian and Creation Science instructor at Trinity Baptist Church (Livermore, California), quoted in the Valley Times (Pleasanton, CA), August 11, 1984, p. 5A.

“A word about fundamentalism. It dates from the publication in the 1910s of the 12-volume series, The Fundamentals. Fundamentalists advocate biblical inerrancy, evangelism, and personal salvation, the rejection of scientific method and the theory of evolution, and the second coming. The second coming will occur when, upon the return of the Jews to Israel, the Beast and the Anti-Christ unleash ‘great tribulation.’ Christ will then return to lead an army of saints against the infidels. Only true Christians will enjoy the reign of peace and justice that will ensue after Christ’s army triumphs.”—John B. Judis, “Reagan vs. Thomas Jefferson,” In These Times, Sept. 26, 1984, p. 4.

Seeing Charles Darwin’s Origin of Species (published in 1859) and the Chattanooga Daily Times’ of July 14, 1925 (during the trial of John Scopes for violating a Tennessee law that forbade the teaching of evolution), I thought of those who today would compel schools to teach creationism, the story of Adam and Eve, alongside Darwin’s theory. Would those fundamentalist ever allow Indian, Greek, or Chinese creation myths to be taught with science? —Frank Clancy, “Library Traces 500 Years of Censorship,” Free Reader II (Nov. 1984), p. 1.
A strange and troubling alliance has been formed recently between elements of the feminist anti-pornography movement and the right-wing. And although the alliance is not formalized—Phyllis Schlafly has not joined New York's Women Against Pornography and anti-pornography crusader Andrea Dworkin is not out stump­ing for the Moral Majority—it is, nonetheless, dangerous. The fact that the alliances are as much theoretical as tactical and that the lines of agreement are fuzzy make them no less threatening.

In Minneapolis, on December 31, 1983, the City Council passed an amendment to that city's human rights ordinance, which defined pornography as "a systematic practice of exploitation and subordination based on sex which differentially harms women." Rather than exercising any prior restraint, the ordinance gave women who felt they had been harmed by pornography the right to sue publishers and sellers of the material. Civil libertarians feared that the law would have a chilling effect on free speech, as booksellers and publishers, fearing the possibility of large damage suits, would be reluctant to carry any material that might be construed as "pornographic."

The Minneapolis ordinance was vetoed by the mayor, but it proved to be the beginning of a trend. Elected officials in Indianapolis—a far more conservative town than Minneapolis—learned of the measure. Republican City-County Councilmember Beulah Coughenour introduced a similar bill before the Indianapolis City Council. Coughenour is an activist in the Stop ERA movement and a member of the conservative lobbying group Pro-America.

In an article in the October 16, 1984 Village Voice, Lisa Duggan describes Coughenour as having "much in common with Phyllis Schlafly," although "she doesn't share her flamboyance—she doesn't challenge or antagonize. Instead she emphasizes her listener's points of agreement, smoothing over any possible conflict." Duggan details how Coughenour skillfully shepherded the bill through the Indianapolis Council, keeping anti-porn feminists and Moral Majority supporters separated—and each faction seemingly convinced that it was using the other. In the end, after Reverend Greg Dixon of the Moral Majority showed up for the final vote with nearly 300 right-wing supporters in tow, the law passed. Voting in favor of the measure were all 24 Republican members; voting against it were all five Democrats, including Black councillors who feared that the already overloaded Equal Opportunity Board, charged under the law with handling anti-pornography complaints, would be forced to neglect complaints of race and sex discrimination.

In addition, Arlen Specter's Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice has heard mainstream feminists testify that a federal law is needed to "empower women harmed by pornography to seek civil remedies." The Reagan administration has joined in the fight to prove that pornography harms women (perhaps so we'll ignore the harm done to women by its policies). In an article in the December 22, 1984 Gay Community News, Gayle Rubin reports that the Justice Department has given a grant of $800,000 to Judith Reisman. Rubin says: "According to a report by Larry Bush, Reisman contends that porn causes chemical changes in the body, which in turn are thought to contribute to 'out of wedlock births...juvenile delinquency...' and 'divorce, homosexuality, [and] wife battery...’"
family. In the early days of the women’s movement, when we criticized the “sexual revolution” of the 60s, we attacked it for not going far enough, for failing to challenge the power imbalance between women and men, for failing to examine its own heterosexual bias — in short, for not being a genuine revolution. To find some feminists now rushing to support a bill that sees “sodomy” as negative and enshrines the “family unit” is strange indeed.

How did this strange alliance between some feminists and conservatives come about? In order to understand it, we need to look at the roots of the contemporary feminist movement. In many ways, this wave of feminism was a child of the Left, growing out of the social movements of the late Sixties and early Seventies. Many women formed their feminism out of their disillusionment with and anger at the sexism of their leftist comrades. They had plenty to be angry about: the left refused to take seriously issues such as rape, abortion rights, and unequal pay; internally, many women found themselves to be second-class members of a movement that supposedly was fighting for the liberation of all human beings. The style of the New Left was heavy on macho posturing; rather than seeking to do away with male categories, they emphasized identification with the rebellious sons against the authoritarian fathers.

Because the actions of leftists were so close to home — and because more was expected from them — there is a current of rage against the Left that runs through much of early feminist literature. The Left was castigated for being one more male power trip. While some moved into socialist feminism, radical feminists tended to be dismissive of the Left (and sometimes of all non-feminist movements for social change). It is among these radical feminists that the anti-porn movement finds its greatest — although not exclusive — strength.

Another root of the anti-porn movement was the feminist insistence that “the personal is the political.” That slogan — which more than anything else encapsulated the early feminist movement — opened up whole areas that previously had been taboo for political discussion. Women talked about and saw as political issues that had previously been seen as only personal and, therefore, trivial. Power relations between men and women, child care, birth, abortion, and rape were all rightfully, and at last, seen as political issues.

But “the personal is the political” took on another dimension as well. Within the feminist community, personal life could take on a rigid political cast. Lesbianism was elevated from being a sexual choice to being the sexual choice. And for many women, lesbianism was not primarily a sexual identification, but a political one. You weren’t a good feminist if you slept with men. The cry, “Feminism is the theory, lesbianism is the practice,” began to be heard. Heterosexuality came to seem tainted, a path that women would never choose unless they were brainwashed or coerced by the patriarchy. To be politically correct, you had to have correct sexuality.

I don’t mean to give the impression that this norm was forced by lesbians onto heterosexual women. Many heterosexual feminists felt guilty over their sexual orientation, had furtive relationships with men, felt complimented if people assumed they were lesbians, and in general scrambled into new closets.

Another factor crucial to the formation of the anti-abortion movement and its subsequent alliance with the Right was the broader attitude in our society of hostility towards sex and sexuality. It is widely proclaimed that our society is sexually open. Lately we have been hearing proclamations issued by Time magazine about the sexual revolution having gone too far, and demanding a return to the simpler days of socially-enforced monogamy. In fact, while we tend to get offered plenty of sexual titillation, our culture does not offer us much that is positive and open about sexuality. Many people remain deeply uncomfortable and guilty about their own sexual practices and desires.

The anti-porn movement began to coalesce in the mid- to late-Seventies. It is significant that it began at a time when the women’s movement was facing major setbacks. The Hyde Amendment, which cut off federal funding for abortions, had dealt a significant blow to the newly-won right to abortion. The ERA was headed for defeat. And when we looked out at the forces arrayed against us, we saw women — lots of women — saying that they didn’t want reproductive freedom, they didn’t want the ERA, but they did want the nuclear family.

All these factors — hostility towards the Left, discomfort with sexuality, a belief that there was a one-to-one correspondence between one’s sexual practices and one’s entire way of relating to the world, and the hard political times that we have faced since the mid-Seventies — have contributed significantly to the rightward drift of the anti-pornography movement.

Throughout the Seventies commercial pornography,
which formerly had existed in a twilight world, came into the open. "Adult" movie theaters and bookstores became part of the urban landscape, and what used to be called "girlie" magazines came out from under drugstore counters and onto display racks. Sexual practices such as sado-masochism and bondage, which had previously been hidden, became increasingly visible.

There was (and is) plenty in pornography that's objectionable. The showing of a film called Snuff, which claimed to show a woman being killed before the camera, galvanized the anti-porn movement. (The ads claimed that "only in South America, where life is cheap" could such a film have been made.) Hustler magazine appeared on the scene with a blend of sexual explicitness and contempt for women that seemed to confirm for many women that the rise of pornography was part of a backlash against feminism.

But the anti-porn movement quickly moved from criticizing specific pieces of pornography as sexist to acting as if all pornography was misogynist and brutal. The movement began to see violence against women everywhere in porn, particularly in depictions of sadomasochism and bondage. Anti-pornographers usually ignore the depictions of females as dominant and males as submissive that occurs frequently in pornographic material. Eventually, pornography came to be seen, and of itself, as a form of violence against women. Finally, pornography has come to be seen as the source of woman-hating and violence against women.

Pornography is a product of this culture, and like most of what this culture produces it has plenty of racism and sexism. On the other hand, I can generally find plenty of offensive portrayals of women within ten minutes of turning on my television set; and I don't have to look much further than the rack of romance books at the supermarket to find images of women as empty-headed, passive, and submissive creatures. Yet feminists don't demand laws defining romance novels as oppressive to women; or that Harlequin novels be hidden away so that we won't be offended by them or suggest that television commercials cause violence against women.

What's wrong with the alliance between feminists and the Right? After all, if we can use the right-wing to further the interests of women, why shouldn't we? And isn't the anti-pornography movement the place where a cross-section of American women, many of whom currently seem to be alienated from the women's movement, can come together to oppose the misogyny and racism inherent in most porn? Is there anything inherently wrong with seeking to have the state protect us from porn, just as we have sought to have the state protect us from sexual harassment and rape?

Increasingly, sectors of the feminist movement have begun to respond to these questions with concern about the dangers of the anti-pornography movement itself. The protests came first from women who were members of sexual minorities within the women's movement—women who practiced "politically incorrect" sex, such as sado-masochism and bondage. They pointed out that there was not a one-to-one correspondence between what a woman did in bed and who she was politically, that women could not be totally defined by whom they had sex with and how they made love.

As the rhetoric of the anti-porn movement became stronger, and began to point to porn as the locus of oppression against women, more voices were raised. Were we focusing on pornography because it was easier to talk about than capitalism, the patriarchal family, unequal wages, and women's lack of reproductive rights? Wasn't it dangerous to try to force rigid dichotomies on sexuality, an area that is fraught with ambiguities, complexities, and deep and powerful emotions that cannot be rationalized?

While reading Take Back the Night, an anthology which is the bible of the anti-pornography movement, I was struck by the narrowness of vision and the substitution by writers of rage for analysis. Don't misunderstand. There is nothing wrong with being enraged at forced sex, rape, and denial of our rights to be sexual beings. But rage cannot take the place of analysis. The feminist movement needs to question the source of the misogyny portrayed in pornography — and in mainstream culture. Blanket assertions that pornography is the leading cause of violence against women do not bring justice for the millions of women who are battered, raped, and sexually abused every year.

The recent wave of anti-porn legislation has made even more feminists wary of the anti-pornography movement. Even those who agree with some of the basic tenets of the anti-porn movement point out that the potential for abuse with such a law is tremendous. Feminists may have initiated these laws, but they are not in control of them. History teaches us that repressive legislation is invariably turned against progressive forces.

Some anti-pornography activists have argued that one of the advantages of the new laws is that they can be
used not only against what is commonly thought of as pornography but also against "respectable" works, like the writings of Norman Mailer and Henry Miller, or the films of Brian de Palma. But if we impose a standard of feminist political correctness on all art, we end up creating a new version of socialist realism — art that is politically proper, uplifting — and derivative and soulless.

There is a difference between fighting for legislation against rape and unequal wages and fighting for laws against pornography. Rape and wage discrimination can be clearly defined and clearly shown to harm women. It is not nearly so easy to define pornography, or to show that it harms women. The anti-pornography movement likes to say that it's in favor of erotica and opposed to pornography. But it's a neat trick to define which is which. In her book, Pleasure and Danger, Carol Vance offers "Vance's rule of one-third." Show any sexual image to a group of people and one-third will find it hot, one-third will find it disgusting, and one-third will find it boring.

The anti-porn movement uses a number of studies which it says "proves" that some are harmed by pornography. Recently, they have found themselves criticized by the authors of those studies for confusing a shift in attitude under clinical conditions — which those studies do show — with a change in actual behaviour in the world — which has definitely not been shown.

Blanket assertions that pornography is the leading cause of violence against women do not bring justice for the millions of women who are battered...every year.

While working on this article, I have been reading When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany. Edited by feminists Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan, the book will shake up anyone with a naive belief that movements that start out as progressive always stay that way — or that the women's movement is somehow immune to becoming part of the forces of reaction and right-wing terror. The book traces the development of the German women's movement in Weimar and Nazi Germany — and describe in depressing detail how easily sections of that movement knuckled under to "Nazification." I am not, of course, calling anti-porn feminists Nazis, or seeking to draw a parallel between Hitler's Germany in 1933 and Reagan's United States in 1985. I am saying that we must be aware that some demands that initially are raised as feminist demands can be co-opted and used by the Right. This is particularly true when behind those demands is a portrayal of women as inherently more gentle and pure. Rather than doing away with patriarchal ideology, such concepts reinforce it.

Another lesson to be learned is that we cannot shut our eyes to the political realities of the day. We are living in a time when conservative ideologies seem to be holding more and more people in their sway and a right-wing government is firmly entrenched in power. In a time when the progressive movements often have to fight — and fight hard — against losing more and more ground, the lure of a demand that we can "win" is powerful. It is as tempting as it is dangerous to find common cause with reactionary ideologies.

Perhaps this is nowhere shown more clearly than a recent statement by the head of Minnesota's Moral Majority, who said that he would favor using the ordinance drafted by Dworkin and MacKinnon to attack a book Andrea Dworkin wrote against pornography, since it contains vivid descriptions of what she protests against.

Anne Finger is a writer on feminist issues who lives in Los Angeles.
CEDARTOWN AND THE KLAN

by LYN WELLS

You get to Cedartown, Polk County, before you get to the mountains. Nestled in northwest Georgia's rolling hills, the town is not unlike thousands of towns in today's "New South." Until 1970, Cedartown was fairly prosperous, with a strong industrial base that included many small and medium-sized factories and a healthy retail trade on Main Street. Unlike most of Georgia and South Carolina, Polk County's mills and shops were largely unionized — a proud tradition in the area. About 15% of Polk County is black, a little less than average for the Piedmont South.

While Cedartown prospered, only a few became wealthy — but at least most folks were progressing. Then the Good-year textile plant shut down, leaving the town of 8,500 without 600 better-paying union jobs. Shops began to close on Main Street. Everything began to go "downhill."

In 1981, the Klan moved in. This was not the Klan of the 1960s, though this "new" Klan retained every frightening feature of old. Named the New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan after Hitler's "New Order," its leaders dismissed the "fight for segregation" as a hopeless reform. Edward Fields, longtime editor of America's largest circulation anti-Semitic, racist newspaper, the Thunderbolt, built his own Klan faction, dutifully committed to a revolution. Only a pure, "White America" will do — no more "putting blacks back in their place," rather "there's no place here for blacks."

A black high school student in nearby Rome, Georgia, was necking with a white girl at the back of a school bus one afternoon. The KKK screamed "rape" and began to hold massive rallies, demanding the school officials expel the black youth. Robed Klansmen staged bold daylight visits to Pepperell High School and even an elementary school. Both students and teachers were terrified. Crosses were burned at the home of the boy, who lived with his elderly grandmother. After a juvenile trial, which found the young man innocent of the rape charge, Rome school officials quietly moved the kid to neighboring Rockmart, in Polk County. The Klan retained every power in this country" and that America was being driven into the ground by the "Jew Bankers" in New York.

The Cedartown story went on: Another Mexican, Casiano Zamudio, was murdered in April 1983 and his killer, also, was acquitted; Tyrus Cazzort, isolated among the town's whites for being a "race traitor," died in a house fire determined to be arson; Tim Carey, an 18-year-old black youth, was beaten with brass knuckles on Main Street in April, 1984, by a group of robed Klansmen doing daytime Klan literature distribution — one block from the police station.

I used to wonder how Hitler could come to power in Germany... why didn't people stop the Nazis? After working in Cedartown for the last year, the answers came more easily.

upon and they fled back to Mexico. The jury refused to believe the testimony of the lone white witness, Tyrus Cazzort, who accompanied the killers that night and later turned them in, telling his mother "I've got to do something, I just can't stomach this."

A strike was called against Zartic Foods by the American Workers Union. Robed Klansmen picketed the plant, intermixed with the majority of the company's white workers. A number of its black employees even joined the line. They demanded better pay, humane working conditions, and deportation of the Mexicans. Fields told them that "the white working class is losing power in this country" and that America was being driven into the ground by the "Jew Bankers" in New York.

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WHO WILL STAND UP

I used to wonder how Hitler could come to power in Germany. How could he get such a hold on people, why didn’t people stop the Nazis? After working in Cedartown for the last year, the answers come more easily.

The folks who run Cedartown, its business and civic leaders, genuinely regret the “nasty little problem” that Polk County’s Klan resurgence has become. The mayor, county commissioners, and other political leaders are not Klansmen — they are typical “New South” fellows, most of whom would not even seriously consider joining the invisible empire — it’s too “low class.” To them, the Klan is a headache. Why? Because it gets the blacks and Mexicans all riled up; because it has, evidently, kept two manufacturing plants from relocating in Cedartown; and because it disrupts the social peace upon which the smooth running of the status quo is built. These men run a racist town and probably share many of the Klan’s views on the “decline of America,” morality, affirmative action, etc., but their disdain for “rednecks” and “white trash” about equals their prejudice against people of color and Jews.

So it is these men who set policy and direction for Cedartown. There have been no arrests for the scores of harassing acts committed against Mexicans and blacks. The only exceptions are the two murders of Mexicans, where arrests were made (eye witnesses in both cases), but prosecutions ended with “not guilty” verdicts from local juries. While most white southern cops are not in the Klan today, there are several indications that some city police and county sheriff’s department personnel are Klan members and friends of Klansmen. Instead of dealing with Cedartown’s problems, the town’s elite has chosen to attack the Atlanta Constitution for presenting factual and editorial coverage of Cedartown’s Klan menace.

There has been no outcry from Cedartown’s religious community. A lone Catholic priest has spoken out, but the ministerial association even declined his mild suggestion that a documentary film on the Klan be shown at their meeting.

Even black community leadership was, at first, slow to respond to the Klan’s growth. The fact that the Klan’s first two murder victims were Mexicans may account for its slowness. Black community leaders are sometimes hesitant to be the first to be outspoken — not surprising when you consider that they are often the only ones to speak out.

Who has joined the Klan? Mostly blue-collar whites, people who have nothing else but their ability to work, and maybe own some land, a house, or a car. The white Zartic Co. workers who joined the Klan were probably not very much more racist in their upbringing or habits than those whites in Cedartown who didn’t join. Striking for a union, deporting the Mexicans, and joining the Klan seemed to be the thing that might give them a brighter future. In a lot of ways, these people became radicalized — and Edward Fields was there to give an analysis of why they lacked political and economic power.

THE KLAN IS THERE—
BUT WHERE’S OUR SIDE?

So the Klan has carved out a base area in Cedartown, Georgia, as it has in scores of other Georgia, Carolina, and Alabama small towns and suburbs. But where is “our side?” The sad fact is this — “our side” doesn’t work in places like Cedartown much.

In a lot of ways these [workers] became radicalized—and [the Klan] was there to give an analysis of why they lacked political and economic power.

There is no ready-made opposition to the Klan in Cedartown, no ready-made force of working people or their unions, who see the need to stand up to the Klan’s bullying and division of the workforce, no ready-made force of “decent” uptown folks, who see the Klan as anything more than a joke or a skeleton in their closet to be ignored. Believe it or not, the majority of whites in Cedartown oppose the Klan. There are the seeds of a multi-racial union movement in Cedartown and a grassroots effort against the Klan. But these seeds will never grow without a lot of watering.

The word “fascist” used to be part of popular American vocabulary. It’s not anymore (probably the victim of McCarthyism), but it should be. Its use by members of the political left has mainly been as an ugly epithet rather than a precise description of a social, economic, or political phenomenon.

Political work against fascism by progressive movements has consisted primarily of a struggle to preserve our civil liberties and the right to organize against the establishment, which periodically names various movements its “enemy.” The emergence of the Black freedom movement in the 60’s broke through the bloodless terror of McCarthyism and its witch-hunt committees. Work by such groups as the ACLU, the National Committee against Repressive Legislation (the old anti-HUAC committee), the Campaign for Political Rights, and the Center for Constitutional Rights have all contributed to the fight against government repression. Popular will following Watergate also brought a few needed reforms.

But from my vantage point here in Georgia, this cannot be the main or only work to oppose fascism.

The overthrow of constitutional government and the institution of fascism will never take place simply by the gradual institution of a series of repressive laws. For fascism to come to power there must be both a mass fascist movement and the decision by a section of America’s

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ruling circles, that, for reasons of their own economic and political survival, they can't rule in the old way.

Thus it is necessary for us to build majority sentiment against the growth of a mass fascist movement. We should point out where it will inevitably lead, utilizing popular sentiment to compel those in power to curb the illegal activities of fascist groups, while placing every possible obstacle in the way of the establishment of these groups.

So the Klan has carried out a base area in Cedartown . . . But where is "our side?"
The sad fact is ... "our side" doesn't work much in places like Cedartown.

Finally, genuine political alternatives to the fascist mass appeal and organization must be developed, particularly among those very sections of white farmers, workers, women, and "middle class" Americans they are making their radical appeals to.

BUILDING POPULAR SENTIMENT

Looked at this way, the work of the National Anti-Klan Network is unique and pioneering. The five-year-old clearinghouse operation has brought together an impressive array of political viewpoints and constituencies. While anti-fascist movements in the 30's were undoubtedly much larger, they were primarily aimed at fascism in foreign lands — not, perhaps, as great a test of determination.

Since its formation in 1979 following the Klan's armed attack on peaceful civil rights demonstrators in Decatur, Alabama, the network has grown to embrace 67 affiliated groups, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Klanwatch, NOW, the National Council of Churches, and New Jewish Agenda. Its member organizations range in political philosophy from moderate to radical. Most importantly, it has managed to avert any major organizational splits over such issues as the "first amendment" or non-violence.

The Network has waged an extremely uphill battle against the common view held by many liberals that the Klan should be ignored. The idea, expressed in the New Republic and The New York Times, is that a struggle against the Klan gives it much-desired publicity and, thus, ignoring it is better, has been disproved by the Network and other Klan monitoring groups. Gradually, more people are being dissuaded from ignoring the Klan.

By the same token, the Network has resisted efforts by the sectarian left to diminish its broad, public appeal. Dogmatic leftists have argued that the Network's focus on demanding federal prosecutions amounts to "relying" on the government; most communist groups have refused to join the Network. They disagree with the Network's rejection of confrontational street fights with the Klan and its pledge to non-violence in joint counter-Klan activities. Others on the left have stayed away because of the Network's refusal to take any position on the Klan's exercise of the first amendment.

The Network, working with traditional institutions like teachers' groups, has developed a model curriculum on the Klan, which was published by the National Education Association and the Council on Interracial Books for Children. It has conducted workshops for almost all the major Protestant denominations and the YWCA. It has worked in conjunction with ten international labor unions to develop an educational project directed at union members.

The Network has also worked at the grass-roots. Religious, women's and labor groups have given their support at the national level. Unfortunately, this has had woefully little effect on the local chapters and members of these institutions. Having the National Council of Churches or NOW as a Network affiliate produces few results in places like Cedartown.

Therefore, in 1982 the Network launched an ambitious organizing campaign in Georgia. The Georgia Counter-Klan Project has focused on diminishing Klan influence in several west Georgia towns. In one of them, LaGrange, Klan membership has dipped from 200 to 75. The Network injected the Klan issue into the Georgia governor's race in 1982 by requesting that all seven candidates take a public stand against white terror. It also joined a broad array of groups to support new legislation outlawing "terrorism based upon race or religion," which was signed into law by Georgia's new governor.
CEDARTOWN: continued

In Cedartown, Georgia, Network organizers have helped to initiate the “Polk County Multi-Racial Coalition,” bringing together whites, blacks, and Mexicans concerned about Klan harassment and murder, discriminatory acts of local police, and the atmosphere of intolerance. It is the first time in anyone in Cedartown’s memory that such a grass-roots effort has been attempted.

FEDERAL INTERVENTION

To the extent that the Network has built up popular sentiment against the Klan and other fascist groups, we have directed it toward changing Justice Department prosecution policies in cases of racially-motivated violence. Nearly 1,100 acts of intimidation and violence have occurred against blacks, Jews, and people of color since 1978, including 24 murders. Of these, 600 were committed by members of Klan organizations. Less than fifty of the cases have been prosecuted by the U.S. Justice Department, despite “anti-Klan statutes” which have been on the books since 1871.

The Network has conducted several major national campaigns to alert the public to the extent of racially- and religiously-motivated violence and demanded that the Justice Department change its current policy of “limited jurisdiction.” Under this policy the Department officials claim that while they have jurisdiction in cases where the victim of violence was engaged in the exercise of a “specifically protected” right (voting, interstate travel, use of a public accommodation, etc.), they have no jurisdiction in cases where the victim was simply walking down the street or in their front yard.

The Network conducted a major “People’s Lobby” in 1981 to demand enforcement of the laws: it organized Congressional briefings, prestigious delegations to visit Justice Department officials, collected tens of thousands of signatures on petitions, and held a 24-hour vigil in front of the Justice Department, with the participation of nearly 20 victims of Klan violence.

Arrests and convictions of klansmen for violent and illegal activity have a very, very important effect. Not only does it tell both the Klan and the public that it will not tolerate terrorism, but it also explodes the “new Klan” myth of “non-violence.”

Both to win some semblance of justice and apply pressure to prompt government prosecutions, Network legal affiliates such as the Center for Constitutional Rights, Klanwatch, and the Greensboro Justice Fund have undertaken civil suits against the Klan in federal court. These suits have also made a material dent in Klan violence and recruitment.

With very limited resources and staffing, the Network has become the principal clearinghouse for counter-Klan activity in the country. However, much more work is needed if we are to build a broad movement against the rise of these anti-democratic forces.

ALTERNATIVES NEEDED

When the Klan came to Cedartown, many of the white workers at Zartic Foods were attracted. Many would not have been had there been a different set of choices. One white union leader recently told me that had she known that the NAACP would have been supportive of their union efforts she would have gone to them instead of the Klan.

Network staff and volunteers have now begun to provide a counter to the Klan by helping rebuild the local of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union at Zartic on a new, multi-racial basis. Right now, the Klan and the anti-Klan forces are running about neck and neck for the allegiance of the whites. But it is not within the scope of the Network’s mission to provide alternatives to the Klan — this is the job of the progressive movement as a whole. It is up to all of us to provide direction for the anger and frustrations, to provide an analysis which looks forward rather than backwards to the “good ole days,” and to convince the majority of whites of the need for unity with minorities.

There are a few very bright spots that I have noticed. The formation of the progressive North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) is vying for leadership among farmers with extreme right-wing groups such as the Posse Comitatus, which has made deep inroads into what is left of the old American Agricultural Movement. The development of the Mon Valley Unemployed Movement probably did a lot to stem the Klan’s western Pennsylvania recruitment drive a few years back, at least among white steelworkers.

But there is no work among veterans and nothing on the tax issue. Whites in the progressive movement have yet to go into the blue-collar suburbs and small towns, where whites will vote for Reagan or the Populists. Why should it be so difficult for a progressive movement to shed its contemptuous attitudes toward white people who are fed up and who share such a fundamental interest with people of color?

Both the Network and the Klan have dug into Cedartown. In miniature, it is the struggle to preserve what democracy exists in America today. It is a battle to unite people on the basis of their own interests, and for whites to go against hundreds of years of mis-education about where those interests lay. Our victories in Cedartown may turn out to be small, but our experiences from this engagement will surely shed some light on the future we all face.

Lyn Wells of Atlanta, Georgia, is the Executive Director of the National Anti-Klan Network.
If members of the extremist New Democratic Policy Committee are to the right of most Republicans, why do they run for office as Democrats? The National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC), is a self-styled “citizens militia” that says it hopes to “sweep the country.” It may also have been a covert effort of the Reagan Administration and the Republican National Committee to disrupt the Democratic Party and the candidacy of Walter Mondale — as well as one of Reagan’s connections into the far-right and neo-nazi networks.

The NDPC has produced over 2,500 candidates for public office in the past 24 months — mostly in local races — with vote tallies ranging from miniscule to over 40%.

For instance, in Michigan, the NDPC attempted to field a slate of candidates against incumbent Democratic congressmen as well as Sen. Carl Levin, adding efforts to obtain Democratic slots in Republican-held congressional districts at the last minute. The bipartisan State Board of Canvassers threw all but two of the NDPC candidates off the ballot, however, citing various petition irregularities, including the use of names of dead persons.

A typical Michigan NDPC breakfast meeting (at a Denny’s) is geared towards attracting supporters and recruiting candidates. The event features video replays of nationally televised speeches by Lyndon LaRouche, the ultimate and unquestioned leader of the NDPC.

It is the LaRouche role behind the NDPC that should set off warning signals. On first encounter, LaRouche followers seem as if they are committed to reasonable goals — low interest loans, agricultural and industrial development, improved education, expanded scientific research, and stopping drug use.

But when you probe further, core NDPC members will tell you that these goals cannot be achieved, because there is a vast, ruthless “Dark Ages Conspiracy” at work.

The conspirators are diverse: the Queen of England (“a dope pusher”), Jimmy Carter (“a hundred times worse than Hitler”), Playboy magazine, Milton Friedman, Fidel Castro, Jesuits, Masons, and the AFL-CIO. If you don’t join the NDPC, it is argued, and help build the “citizens militia” to propel LaRouche to power, the conspiracy will win and billions will die; the New Dark Ages will have arrived with plagues, total famine, and nuclear war: the Apocalypse.

Now surely anyone approaching politics seriously wouldn’t have anything to do with such a group, or so it would seem. But Ronald Reagan and the Republican National Committee have been associated with the LaRouche operation for years, beginning in the mid ’70s, when the character of the group was already known.

THE BEGINNING OF A CULT

Lyndon LaRouche has always had his own peculiar ideas of how to gain power in the U.S. Early in his political career he was a member of several left-wing groups, but was considered eccentric and ignored. In the late 1960s he recruited a few followers and sent them into the leftist Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to recruit more. By the time he was expelled in 1968, LaRouche had enough people to start his own group, the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC). He slowly established internal control methods and eliminated nonconforming members.

In 1973 he created phony crises (Cuban frogmen-assassins lurking in New York Harbor to get LaRouche, KGB-CIA brainwashing plots, etc.) as an excuse to stage a six-month series of beatings on political opponents. The “security” group within the NCLC came to the fore, instituting paramilitary training, conducting “deprogramming sessions” (i.e. brainwashing through intimidation), and monitoring the private lives of members, who were forced to cut off ties to friends and relatives who refused to join the organization. A cult had begun.

An arms training school was set up in upstate New York for select members. Contacts were made with the Republican National Committee and extreme rightist elements, including the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, and the Liberty Lobby. The Republican National Committee and the Liberty Lobby were eventually to become the most important political connections for the NCLC.

The U.S. Labor party was formed as the campaign arm of the NCLC, with LaRouche running for president as Jimmy Carter was challenging Gerald Ford in 1976.

A Washington Post editorial writer in September, 1976 compared the NCLC to Hitler’s brownshirts, based on the group’s tactics, hate propaganda, and glorification of the all-knowing leader. A month later, according to ex-members, the Republican National Committee directed approximately $90,000 to LaRouche from various corporate sources. Campaign records show large donations made to LaRouche the day before the

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LAROUCHE: continued

election. The donors listed are not the real source of the funds, according to at least a dozen ex-members interviewed.

LaRouche used the money to buy a half-hour of NBC prime time to urge his supporters to get behind Gerald Ford, saying that Carter would start a nuclear war. During the campaign, LaRouche's followers met regularly to plan pro-Ford and anti-Carter efforts. After the

In 1978 LaRouche published a book claiming that Jewish organizations were behind the drug trade.

election, units of the Republican party joined with the U.S. Labor Party in unsuccessful lawsuits charging the Carter campaign with voting fraud. Support for the suits was voiced by Michigan Congressman Guy Vandenjagt, a member of the Republican National Committee.

High-level intelligence contacts were established during this period as well. C.I.A. contract employee Mitch WerBell became LaRouche's "security advisor" and cemented NCLC's relationship with the Liberty Lobby. WerBell in turn gave the NCLC a list of dozens of his contacts. One is allegedly a high-level member of the C.I.A. who was involved in the Wilson-Terpel arms-running to Libya scandal. While his name is not known, it is believed by ex-members that contacts are maintained between the C.I.A. official and the NCLC through Roy Frankhouser, a Pennsylvania leader of both the Ku Klux Klan and the paramilitary Minutemen organization.

Frankhouser is also a "pastor" in Michigan KKK leader Robert Miles' Identity Church, which promotes racial and anti-Semitic theology. According to ex-members, the LaRouche "security" staff maintained regular contact with Miles, including a number of visits to his farm in Howell, Michigan. Miles has included LaRouche material in his newsletter and in 1980 provided the LaRouche campaign with a midwest mailing list originally used by the George Wallace campaign. On the record, however, Miles denies having any connection to LaRouche organizations.

LaRouche has also maintained contact with other neo-Nazi and proto-fascist groups, including the extremely violent Posse Comitatus, whose members have shot at and killed law enforcement officers, while claiming to be combatting a "Jewish-Communist" conspiracy. According to ex-members, the Posse organized forums in Wisconsin for LaRouche's 1980 Presidential campaign.

LaRouche's ties into nazi-right networks began when he attacked the Democratic Party and Jimmy Carter in a pamphlet accusing the Democrats of controlling all international terrorism. It was picked up and sold by the Liberty Lobby, although they allegedly complained privately that the booklet failed to mention "the Jews," and publically criticized the absence in the booklet of the co-conspirators of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

In 1978 LaRouche published a book claiming that Jewish organizations were behind the drug trade. The book also endorsed the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the fabricated anti-Semitic text used by Nazis worldwide to "prove" fictitious international Jewish conspiracy theories. Just before the book came out, LaRouche stated that "only" 1.5 million Jews were killed in the Holocaust. Some of LaRouche's allies go so far as to say the Holocaust never happened.

LaRouche has exorted his members to become like "gods" and approach perfect knowledge. Borrowing from Plato's Republic, LaRouche and the NCLC see themselves as select "golden souls" meant to lead the world. They believe that the mass of humanity is "bestial" and should not be considered as full citizens.

THE REAGAN CONNECTION

LaRouche's hostility to the Democratic Party contrasts sharply with his attraction to the GOP and Reagan. LaRouche greeted the election of Ronald Reagan with enthusiasm and called for support of the new President. When Reagan was considering names for the administration, LaRouche's was in the hopper, according to sources who heard the matter discussed. James Watt apparently came close to hiring LaRouche as a consultant, until wiser heads put a stop to it. Nevertheless, two senior NDPC members were breakfast guests of Watt in July 1981.

An arms training school was set up... and contact was made with the Republican National Committee and extreme rightest elements, including the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, and the Liberty Lobby.

During his tenure as deputy director of the CIA under Reagan, Bobby Inman met with LaRouche about half a dozen times. Approximately a dozen meetings between members of the National Security Council and LaRouche and his aides have taken place. Norman Bailey, a former National Security Council member and Reagan campaign advisor, admitted to NBC's "First Camera" that he and others had meetings with the NCLC, and said that he felt LaRouche followers had some influence on Reagan policymakers. After NBC's "First Camera" expose of NCLC assassination plots, KKK connections, and cult fanaticism, LaRouche stated in a court deposition that he and Bailey continue a cordial relationship.

LaRouche publications such as New Solidarity praise cabinet secretaries Casper Weinberger, Ray Donovan,

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE
and William Clark, as well as CIA Director William Casey and other Reagan officials. When former Labor Secretary Ray Donovan, now under indictment, was being investigated for alleged links to organized crime and other wrongdoings in New Jersey, LaRouche's people attempted to defend the Secretary and discredit the investigators by seeking damaging information on them. According to New York freelance writer Dennis King and NCLC ex-members, these Donovan supporters also met with the Provenzano family in New Jersey, for many years linked to organized crime in that state.

In a press release last April, LaRouche stated that "candidate LaRouche, for three years, has not only maintained a cooperative attitude toward the President, but has exerted his resources consistently in the effort to defend the President's life against sordid threats."

It is clear that rather than being part of the Democratic Party, the NDPC collaborates with the GOP and the extreme right. Their publications have attacked the Democratic Party from its beginning under Thomas Jefferson to the present.

In a Detroit Free Press interview in 1979, Max Dean claimed that "the Democratic Party is a front for drug pushers." Yet several months later Dean joined the Democratic Party in Flint, Michigan. He began arranging meetings around the state to convince people that U.S. Senator Carl Levin, a target of right-wing groups nationally, somehow might be an agent of Moscow.

**During his tenure as Deputy Director of the C.I.A. under Reagan, Bobby Inman met with LaRouche about half a dozen times. Approximately a dozen meetings between members of the National Security Council and LaRouche . . . have taken place.**

Nationally, the NDPC says the same things about Mondale, Henry Kissinger, and others whom they oppose.

The NDPC doesn't limit itself to the written word. Various dirty tricks and spying have been used against opponents. Demonstrations have been held where favorite targets are hung in effigy. Throughout last spring, press conferences of Walter Mondale were disrupted by NDPC members.

In the future, the level of NDPC activity against other Democratic Party targets will depend on how much encouragement and support they get from the Right, according to ex-members. One former NCLC member said that "LaRouche hopes that his attacks on Mondale and others will gain him further benefits, financial support, and more political contacts among the right-wing. That's how he always works."

**LA ROCHE UBER ALLES?**

In 1984 the NDPC initiated the founding conference of a German-American institute, whose stated purpose is to revive the "golden soul" and the "classical soul" of Germany, where LaRouche has a sizable organization. The goal of LaRouche's European Labor Party in saving the German "soul" is to revive German nationalism and end guilt over the Holocaust and World War II. (It was Britain's fault!)

Co-sponsor of the event was the German-American National Congress, a small pro-Nazi group, whose publication is laced with anti-Semitism and fond memories of the Third Reich. They speculate that UFOs may come from survivors of Hitler's elite still hiding out in Antarctica.

**The Republican National Committee directed approximately $90,000 to LaRouche, according to ex-members . . . .**

In spite of the suspicious links between the NDPC and the Reagan administration, despite NBC's excellent "First Camera" expose, and despite former Democratic chair Charles Manatt's call for an investigation, nothing has happened. The Chicago Tribune is the only paper that more than mentioned the charges in the NBC report; it also confirmed the White House links. Nor does the Internal Revenue Service seem to be very interested in the fact that LaRouche has not paid taxes in years, has mixed nonprofit and for-profit funds together, and has paid members of his business fronts in cash so that they do not pay taxes either.

The possibility of the GOP using the NDPC in a covert operation with domestic CIA links against the Democratic Party is disturbingly reminiscent of Watergate. Only a congressional investigation can adequately examine the matter.

Russ Bellant is a researcher for the United Auto Workers.
Of all the organizations on the far-Right, Lyndon LaRouche's are the best financed and most efficiently organized.

The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), the core group of the cult in the United States, has about 400 members. Internationally the International Caucus of Labor Committees has an additional 1,000 members. The international members are concentrated in West Germany and a few countries in Latin America.

The National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC) is the mass electoral front for LaRouche. It fielded over 2,000 candidates for public office in 1984. Most of them were for local seats, and a number were for uncontested spots in the Democratic Party's committee structure. In a number of cases LaRouche candidates did well. In Ohio's 7th Congressional District, a farmer running as a LaRouche Democrat won the party's nomination and received 40% of the vote in a normally Republican district.

The LaRouche presidential campaign spent $6.1 million in 1984. LaRouche candidates spent close to $20 million in all the races together. $500,000 of the $6.1 million was from Federal Election Commission matching funds.

LaRouche received 79,000 votes in his independent bid for the Presidency. He was on the ballot in nineteen states.

The National Caucus of Labor Committees continues to publish a twice-weekly newspaper, New Solidarity. They claim 25,000 readers.

LaRouche-associated businesses include a typesetting service, Computron, in New York. LaRouche associates are reportedly building a printing plant in Leesburg, Virginia on a 9.8 acre site they bought for $373,000. The plant is expected to have 200 employees. They also recently opened a bookstore in Leesburg that cost them $275,000, before they renovated it. And according to the Washington Post LaRouche's people have bought a 171 acre estate in Leesburg for $1.3 million.

It has become fashionable lately to put the pictures and names of missing children on milk cartons. This is unconscionable! And I say this as the parent of a young child. The effect of being graphically confronted each morning with an endless parade of victims can do little except seriously scare those children who look at the cartons. Why milk cartons? Why a product consumed primarily by children? If the purpose is to actually get results, why not put the pictures on alcoholic beverages and cigarettes instead? Why not have a booklet of pictures available in the staff rooms of every school, hospital, doctor's office, religious institution, and social service agency? Why not give every cop such a booklet to go over every day, just as he or she now has to go over a list of missing cars? The responsibility for dealing with the widespread and traumatic problem of missing children belongs to adults. Much more should and can be done about the problem. Giving our kids a daily dose of early morning indigestion and fear is not the solution. At best, it's misguided. Functionally, it's abuse.

STEVE FANKUCHEN
"After the Christian majority takes control, pluralism will be seen as immoral and evil, and the state will not permit anybody the right to practice evil."
—Gary Potter, Catholics for Political Action

"I hope I will see the day when, as in the early days of the country, we won't have any public schools. The churches will have taken them over .... and Christians will be running them. What a happy day that will be."
—Rev. Jerry Falwell

"As long as the schools continue to teach abnormal attitudes and alien thoughts, we caution parents not to urge their children to pursue high grades and class discussion."
Norma and Mel Gabler, Handbook I

Referring to the atomic bomb: "a marvelous gift that was given to our country by a wise God."
—Phyllis Schlafly

"Individual liberties are secondary to national security and civic order."
—Heritage Foundation

"I love the Jewish people deeply. God has given them talents he has not given others. They are His chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money ... they control the media, they control the city."
—Rev. Dan C. Fore, then chairman of Moral Majority, Inc.

"[Material wealth] is God's way of blessing people who put Him first."
—Rev. Jerry Falwell

"[T]he minute you turn the [Constitution] into the hands of non-Christian people and atheist people they can use it to destroy the very foundation of our society. And that's what's been happening."
—Rev. Pat Robertson

"The non-Christian can't understand spiritual things."
—Rev. James Robison

"Humanists have totally rejected God, Creation, morality, the fallen state of man, and [free enterprise]. As such, they are the mortal enemy of all pro-moral Americans, and the most serious threat to our nation in its entire history."
—Rev. Tim LeHaye

"I don't buy the theory of integration."
Randy Wright, on Pat Patterson's 700 Club TV Show.

You should be aware of the fact that a powerful, well-financed coalition of radical leftists and homosexuals is determined to see Ronald Reagan's policies crushed. They have nearly unlimited funds and fanatic determination. ....
—Robert Dolan, Young Americans For Freedom Chairman

Almost all abortion doctors are Jews. Abortion makes money for Jews. Almost all abortion nurses are lesbians.... When abortion is declared to be murder, they [will] be hung by piano wires for the holocaust of 20 million white children.
—Dial-A-Message recording of Tom Metzger's White American Resistance

T H A N K S , F O L K S !

I would like to thank all of you who made a special contribution to publish this SHMATE. Without your support, it would have been impossible to produce a double-length issue with a print run large enough to get the material on the Right to a large number of people, not just the usual readership.
The most outstanding feature of the development of the Right in the last ten years is that it has come to embody the hopes and aspirations for the future of millions of white Americans. The political Right has done more than just capture the apparatus of the Republican Party and occupy the White House; it has shaped the national debate on what constitutes a humane, decent life and how a society should organize itself. The Right has generated an image not as the reactionary defender of the privileged few, but as the vehicle for the future of the popular millions. This change in perception, even if not in actuality, has meant a major change in the United States political landscape.

That landscape, of course, is not entirely made up of the Right. Forces normally known as Left, Liberal, and Centrist still exist. In fact, the development and prospects of the Right are determined by the development of the Left and Center. Each exists independently, but only as they exist in their interconnectedness. To understand the development of the Right, it is necessary to understand its relationship to other forces. Most of the discussion of the Right since 1976 has treated it as if it had sprung out of nowhere and was connected to nothing.

1968 was the year Martin Luther King was assassinated and Black communities all across the country let loose a mighty roar of pain and anguish — and power — that shook this country to its foundations. 1968 was also the year of the Tet Offensive, and the U.S. Armed Forces began to taste its first defeat in its imperial history. 1968 was also the year of the Columbia University strike, a symbol of a movement among white Americans unequalled since the trade union battles of the thirties. All across the country people were questioning the status quo and experimenting with different ways to live.

1968 was also the year that George Wallace launched an independent campaign for President. His campaign apparatus was brimming with every conceivable kind of racist, anti-Semite, and far-rightist. He attacked the student movement, he demeaned Black people, and he campaigned with General Curtis “Bomb’em Back to the Stone Age” LeMay. George Wallace also received ten million votes and carried a number of Southern States. He also did very well among the urban ethnic groups of the industrial North.

On the one hand a movement was in full swing that was challenging every assumption of the status quo. On the other hand a reactionary movement existed, composed of people with their own frustrations, trying to defend the way they thought life should be. But the two different movements were not of equal strength or dynamism. When the election was over, Wallace’s movement fell apart and eventually dissipated. The other movement forced the President to retire and still continued to grow and challenge an increasingly broader array of social assumptions.

By 1974 the situation was exactly the reverse. Again a President was forced out of office, and what should have been a victory for the anti-establishment Left was, in fact, a stalemate.

Watergate became the symbol of public corruption and abuse of power by the privileged few. The government was exposed as essentially anti-democratic, more interested in thwarting the public will than in being responsive to it. The critique of society projected by the social protest movements of the Sixties seemed to become public facts. Yet, unlike the Sixties, the social movements did not grow as a result of their apparent success. Instead of toppling a President and then developing a stronger, broader movement like in 1968, Nixon’s resignation seemed to benefit only Woodward and Bernstein.

Of course the Right didn’t do any better in 1974; that would come later. The Right was still disoriented from its inability to meet the challenges from a progressive and democratic movement on the Left.

And the establishment-center didn’t have any cards up its sleeve either. They had been buffeted by the Black movement, then the youth movement, and then the women’s movement. Each movement had broken a sector of the population away from the handed-down consensus of normative social relations. And after Watergate, nobody trusted the government. It was as if everybody had come out of ninth grade civics class with an “F”.

In addition a severe economic crisis in the Seventies superimposed itself on the social and cultural crisis of the Sixties. The unquestioned economic supremacy of the United States disappeared. The dollar was
unhooked from the gold standard. Technological com­petition from Japan and Germany escalated. The term stagflation was invented to cover the appearance of inflation and stagnation at the same time. By the end of the Seventies the existence of entire industries — steel, rail, and auto—were questioned. A new economic debate opened up at the highest corporate levels. It was undecided whether the basic industries in the "rust belt" should be recapitalized or scrapped in favor of new, high-tech and service industries. Even as millions of people were thrown out of work and forced to move from Cleveland to Houston, the corporations could not reach a consensus on the road out of the economic quagmire.

It was as if everything had become unhinged and nobody had a screwdriver to tighten it back up again. A political vacuum had opened up. The old ideas had been challenged and found wanting; the new ideas were yet to emerge. For whatever reason (and I'm sure each SHMATE reader has a different one), the Left never found a way to include the millions of middle-class whites, whose conditions of life were being challenged on every side.

For whatever reason ... the Left never found a way to include the millions of middle-class whites whose conditions of life were being challenged on every side.

Eventually the Right did. The New Right appeared with its "new ideas" eight years before Gary Hart. The new ideas were designed to roll back the uncertainties of the Sixties and Seventies and restore the social relations of white supremacy and patriarchy to their "natural" place.

After Ronald Reagan's 1980 victory, everyone looked up and wondered what happened. But the New Right had already been organizing against Jimmy Carter's "malaise" for four years. By the time of the 1984 Republican Party convention, the New Right was able to institutionalize itself within the party apparatus. The pundits now openly discuss the possibility of an electoral realignment occurring in the next election similar to that which occurred in 1936 and made New Deal Liberalism the center of the nation's political spectrum.

Although the Right, through the Reagan administration, has been able to steal center stage and dominate the national debate, they are still unable to totally control national events. Despite the Reagan "recovery," none of the essential questions about the direction of the economy has been resolved, although it does seem like the high-tech, service industry side has the upper hand. Unemployment has not yet — and probably won't — return to its previous low levels (5.8%). And although the Reagan administration has been successful at undermining and removing the Civil Rights gains of the previous period, Black people are not laying down and playing dead. And most significantly for the New Right, it is unlikely that they will be able to win their social agenda for women and the family. The number of women working outside the home guarantees a long and difficult return to the traditions of the 1950's.

But the radicalization of middle class white Americans represented by the New Right has not yet abated. Their dreams remain unfulfilled. The social issues are still unresolved to their satisfaction. They may become even more right-wing as the New Right becomes part of the Center of American politics.
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