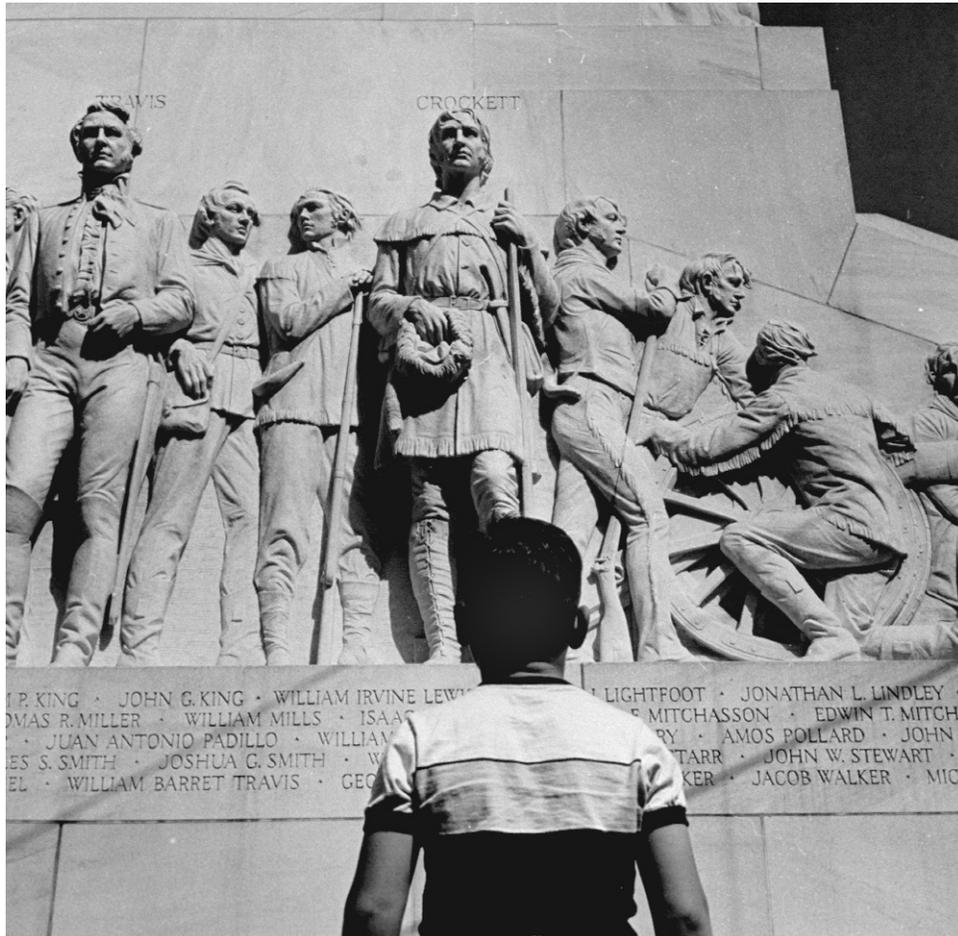


The Public Eye

A PUBLICATION OF POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES FALL 2006 • Volume XX, No.3

\$5.25



Credit: A.Y.Owen/Time & Life Pictures

A potential recruit gazes at the Davy Crockett memorial at the Alamo.

The Art of the Slur

From Joe McCarthy to David Horowitz

By Aaron Barlow

Bill O'Reilly, Rush Limbaugh, and Ann Coulter: these are perhaps the best known of the right-wing commentators who seem to have trouble with the truth — although their lies have little impact on their careers. The list also includes David Horowitz, the former leftist who has become a spokesman for right-wing causes and, perhaps more importantly, something of a conservative movement tactician.

From among this august grouping, it was Horowitz who actually codified lying, making it into a tactic rather than just a careless mistake. In his latest book, *Dangerous Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*, and related writing, Horowitz drips out misleading “information” in an attempt to discredit liberals in

Art of the Slur continues on page 11

Cruising on Military Drive

'Good' Latinos and 'Bad' Latinos in the Age of Homeland Security and Global War

By Roberto Lovato

If you want to understand how Homeland Security influences us, go to south Texas and take a walk around neighborhoods whose streets were paved by the “clash of civilizations” in cities and towns at or near the border. One such street is San Antonio's Military Drive where, on any Friday, Saturday, or Sunday night, you can, if you pay close attention, watch some of the directions

Latino identity is taking in times of war.

Between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. teen and twenty-something Mexican and Mexican American youth drive along a six-block stretch of Military Drive that sits between Lackland and Kelly Air Force bases. On their way to secluded spots for hanging out and making out, young people in trucks, jalopy Toyotas, and other cars pass F-14's, Flying Fortresses, and other storied war-

Cruising on Military Drive continues on page 8

IN THIS ISSUE

Editorial	2
Laying Seige to the Last Abortion Clinic in Mississippi ..	3
Ballot Initiatives on the Right ...	6
Book Reviews	19
Reports in Review	21
Eyes Right	23

EDITORIAL

IN MEMORY OF MAYA MILLER,
Activist, Donor, and Mentor

1915 – 2006

Maya Miller died at home on her ranch outside Carson City, Nevada at the age of 90, surrounded by friends and family. While Maya's death was not unexpected, it has left the many people who were profoundly influenced by her with a sense of loss and grief.

Maya was a feminist, humanist, and political ally, especially of women who were marginalized and dismissed by the larger system. She worked both in Nevada and nationally, even running for the U.S. Senate in Nevada in an attempt to raise the profile of her progressive politics. She founded an environmental training center at her ranch even before there was a movement. She was a pro-choice activist in an anti-choice stronghold, and her work for peace often involved placing herself on the ground where conflict was occurring.

Maya was a donor to Political Research Associates since our founding in 1981 in Chicago, providing consistent support for our work for 25 years. For me personally, she was both my beloved friend and my political mentor. Maya taught me, by example as much as by explicit guidance, how to channel profound rage and disgust into useful political work. When I visited her at "the ranch," she always had a list of questions she was struggling to answer. This was true until the end of her life. I know that there are many of us across the country who share my wish to live a life that is fractionally as courageous and principled as was Maya's.

— Jean Hardisty, Founding Director, Political Research Associates



IN MEMORIAM

Eric Rofes

1954 - 2006

The LGBTQ movement has lost one of its most thoughtful, progressive, and feminist leaders with the sudden, unexpected death of Eric Rofes. Eric came out and did his early gay rights work in Boston, then moved to Los Angeles and San Francisco to head major organizations, teach at Humboldt State University, and continue a prolific writing career. He dedicated his entire life to the cause of gay rights, providing vision, energy, and leadership. His death will leave a profound gap in the LGBTQ movement's strategic thinking, activism, and heart. Political Research Associates and the *Public Eye* staff share the

grief of his partner, his colleagues and his many friends. Memorial gifts in his honor should be made to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force or The Highlander Center for Research and Education.

CLARIFICATION

In "Back to the Future: GOP Revives Anti-Gay Marriage Campaign for '06" by Doug Ireland in the Summer Public Eye, he referred to the Catholic Church, meaning the Roman Catholic Church.

The Public Eye

Publisher

The Rev. Katherine Hancock Ragsdale,
M. Div., D. Min.

Editor

Abby Scher, Ph.D.

Design/layout

Hird Graphic Design

Printing

Red Sun Press

Editorial Board

Chip Berlet • Pam Chamberlain
Frederick Clarkson • David Cunningham, Ph.D.
Surina Khan • Roberto Lovato
The Rev. Katherine Hancock Ragsdale
Tarso Luis Ramos • Abby Scher
Holly Sklar • Paul Watanabe, Ph.D.



POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

Founder and President Emerita

Jean V. Hardisty, Ph.D.

Staff

The Rev. Katherine Hancock Ragsdale,
Executive Director
Chip Berlet, *Senior Analyst*
Pam Chamberlain, *Research Analyst*
Cindy King, *Business Manager*
Sean Lewis-Faupel, *Webmaster*
Tom Louie, *Director of Development and Communications*
Tarso Luis Ramos, *Research Director*
Abby Scher, *Senior Editor*

Interns

Andrew Dykens and Douglas Foote

Board of Directors

Richard Gross
Heeten Kalan
Vivien Labaton
June Lorenzo
Mohan Sikka
Wendy Volkmann
Paul Watanabe, Ph.D.

The Public Eye is published by Political Research Associates. Annual subscriptions are \$15.00 for individuals and non-profit organizations, \$10.00 for students and low-income individuals, and \$29.00 for libraries and institutions. Single issues, \$5.25. Outside U.S., Canada, and Mexico, add \$9.00 for surface delivery or \$14.00 for air mail.

Please make checks payable to Political Research Associates, 1310 Broadway, Suite 201, Somerville, Massachusetts 02144-1837. 617.666.5300 fax: 617.666.6622

PRA is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization. All donations are tax-deductible to the extent permitted by law. © Political Research Associates, 2006.

Website: www.publiceye.org

All rights reserved. ISSN 0275-9322

ISSUE 53

Laying Siege to the Last Abortion Clinic in Mississippi

By Michelle Goldberg

On Tuesday, July 18th, for the first time in ten years, protesters arrived on Dr. Joseph Booker's block in Jackson, Mississippi. They went door to door, ringing bells and telling people that their neighbor, the state's last abortion provider, is a baby killer. A few weeks before that, protestors showed up at the Raleigh, North Carolina, home of Susan Hill, the owner of the Jackson Women's Health Organization, the clinic where Booker works. Soon the death threats started coming. "There is a feeling that things are ramping up," Hill says. "The protestors that we see in various places are more vocal, screaming, not just protesting." In her experience, clinic violence is often preceded by just this kind of heightened rhetoric.

The last abortion clinic in Mississippi is under siege. In mid-July, Operation Save America—previously known as Operation Rescue—held a week of

protests outside the Jackson Women's Health Organization. The next week, another anti-abortion group called Oh Saratoga! commenced its own seven days of demonstrations. Impatient for a change in the Supreme Court, anti-abortion forces are determined to make *Roe v. Wade* functionally irrelevant in the state, and they believe they're getting close.

Clinic blockades are far less frequent these days, due largely to both a public backlash and a legal crackdown.

A decade ago, there were six clinics in Mississippi. Yet the combination of constant harassment and onerous regulations led one after another to shut down, and since 2004, Jackson Women's Health Organization has stood alone. Closing it would be the biggest victory yet in the anti-abortion movement's long war of attrition. This makes Mississippi an alluring target.

Operation Save America is not what it used to be and on the surface its Mississippi sojourn certainly didn't look victorious. There were at most a few hundred demonstrators in Jackson. That meant that women coming to the clinic had to brave a gauntlet of shouting people, many holding massive photos of aborted fetuses. But this was a far cry from the days when Operation Rescue brought tens of thousands of protestors to cities like Wichita and Buffalo during the early 1990s, where they tried, and sometimes succeeded, in physically shutting clinics down.

Clinic blockades are far less frequent these days, due largely to both a public backlash and a legal crackdown. Not long after Operation Rescue's most high-profile demonstrations, a number of abortion providers were murdered, and their deaths sent the militant wing of the movement into disrepute. Then in 1994, partly in response to the killing of Florida abortion doctor David Gunn, President Bill Clinton signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act. FACE makes it a federal crime to use "force, threat of force or physical obstruction" to block access to reproductive health services, and imposed prison sentences and fines up to \$250,000. The law also allows clin-

Michelle Goldberg is a contributing writer for Salon.com and the author of Kingdom Coming: The Rise of Christian Nationalism.



Marianne Todd/Getty Images

Police remove a demonstrator from Operation Save America's clinic action in Jackson, Mississippi in July.

ics and health care workers to bring civil suits against violators.

“We’ve been sued for millions and millions of dollars,” says Flip Benham, the head of Operation Save America. A Texan with ruddy, sun-cured skin, and short brown hair, he has the hearty manner of a high school football coach. “Thanks to the media, we’ve been painted with the broad brush stroke of being violent folks because of a few loose cannons, who aren’t even Christian, who blew up abortion mills and killed abortionists. So what happens is, folks are afraid. There are new laws in place now that weren’t there in the 1990s, like FACE.”

The result has been a drastic decline in Operation Rescue’s fortune and its clout. As legal judgments piled up, Benham, who took over the group’s leadership in 1994, changed the group’s name to Operation Save America in an attempt to get out of paying. It didn’t work. “Planned Parenthood came into our office and confiscated every computer, every file, every piece of paper, every pencil that we had,” he says.

Yet Benham and his crew can still make life difficult for reproductive health workers in Mississippi. The protests create a constant, low-level state of emergency among the clinic’s staff, intimidate many of the patients, and add to the tension that plague doctors already living with the omnipresent threat of violence.

Hill owns five clinics throughout the country, and she has to be on constant alert. Over the years, her facilities have been subjected to 17 arsons or firebombings, as well as butyric acid attacks and anthrax threats. One of the doctors who was murdered, David Gunn, worked for her. “Fortunately we’ve been safer in the last few years for whatever reasons,” says Hill. “Thank God there haven’t been the shootings.”

By and large, the people who showed up in Jackson so far are not nearly as belligerent as their rhetoric. Historically, though, the doctors who’ve been targeted by protests—especially protests that demonize them personally—are the most likely to be assaulted or killed by extremists. “All we can

say is, when protests at a clinic go up, that’s when there tends to be a shooting,” says Eleanor Smeal, president of the Feminist Majority Foundation. “There seems to be some link.” Many of the abortion providers who have been shot, including George Tiller in Wichita, Kansas, Dr. George Patterson in Mobile, Alabama, Gunn and John Britton in Pensacola, Florida, and Barnett Slepian outside Buffalo, New York, were first the subject of repeated demonstrations and threats. Their names were put on hit lists and wanted posters, and information about them cir-

A decade ago, there were six clinics in Mississippi. Now the Jackson Women’s Health Organization stands alone.

culated throughout the violent wing of the anti-abortion movement.

Even if the movement’s extreme wing wasn’t represented in Jackson, it has some support there. The most faithful of the Jackson clinic demonstrators is a local man named C. Roy McMillan, who sees protesting abortion as his full-time job and says he’s been arrested 65 times. McMillan is one of thirty-four signatories to a 1998 statement that calls the murder of doctors who perform abortions “justifiable...for the purpose of defending the lives of unborn children.” He describes the late Paul Hill—the murderer of gynecologist Dr. John Britton and his bodyguard, retired Air Force Lt. Col. James Herman Barrett—as a friend.

So Dr. Booker has reason to worry. He’s long been one of the gynecologists singled out by militant anti-abortion forces. He’s

been stalked repeatedly, and during the 1990s, he was put under the protection of federal marshals. “We were very fearful he was going to be killed,” says Smeal. He had a police escort during the recent protests, but if he’s fearful, he won’t admit it. A 62-year-old black man with a trim, white-streaked mustache and goatee, and a stud in his left ear, Booker says anti-abortion harassment has been increasing but he dismisses the protesters as “more bark than bite. If you don’t get intimidated, they get frustrated and don’t show up as much.” A Pittsburgh native who was educated in San Francisco, he describes himself as “a Yankee, pro-choice, outspoken, and black. And that’s a bad combination in Mississippi.”

Race is an omnipresent issue at the protests, though it shows up in unexpected ways. The clinic’s staff and most of the patients are black; the majority of the protesters are white. Still, the demonstrators see themselves as the heirs of the civil rights movement—they carry pictures of Martin Luther King, Jr., compare the pro-choice movement to the KKK and call abortion “black genocide.” What they generally refuse to do, though, is support government measures that might ease the burdens of poverty in the state’s poor, black communities—or help women better control their reproductive lives. Mississippi’s high rate of unplanned pregnancies, says McMillan, is due to the “moral degeneration of the black culture, and I submit it’s caused by the welfare mentality.”

The protests are just one side of the vise that the Jackson Women’s Health Organization and the women it serves are caught in. Both are also being squeezed by an ever-expanding panoply of anti-abortion legislation that’s made Mississippi the most difficult state in America in which to terminate a pregnancy. Even as the Jackson Women’s Health Organization hangs on, the state offers the country’s clearest view of the religious Right’s social agenda in action. It’s a harbinger of what a post-Roe America could look like.

On July 19, a white taxi that says “Choose Life” on its side pulled into the

parking lot of the Jackson Women's Health Center. Out jumped one of the clinic's surgical technicians. Her boyfriend is a cab driver, and his boss, the owner of Veterans Taxi, has emblazoned the anti-abortion message on every car in his fleet. Opposition to abortion is everywhere in this state — more than an ideology, it's part of the atmosphere. Recently, Mississippi came close to following South Dakota and banning most abortions; many expect it will do so during the next legislative session. The local government leads the nation in anti-abortion legislation. Mississippi is one of only two states in America where teenagers seeking abortions need the consent of both parents, forcing some mothers to go to court to help their daughters override a father's veto.

Many cars have "Choose Life" license plates; the state gives much of the proceeds from the plates to Christian crisis pregnancy centers. More than two-dozen such centers operate in the state. They look very much like reproductive health clinics, and they offer free pregnancy tests and ultrasounds, but they exist primarily to dissuade women from having abortions. Like other crisis pregnancy centers nationwide, those in Mississippi tell their clients that abortion increases the risk of breast cancer, infertility and a host of psychiatric disorders, none of which is true. And although the women who come to them are virtually all both sexually active and unprepared for motherhood, they also counsel against contraception, believing that abstinence is the only answer for the unwed. At Jackson's Center for Pregnancy Choices, which gets around \$20,000 a year in money from the Choose Life plates, a pamphlet about condoms warned, "[U]sing condoms is like playing Russian roulette... In chamber one you have a condom that breaks and you get syphilis, in chamber two, you have an STD that condoms don't protect against at all, in chamber three you have a routinely fatal disease, in chamber four you have a new STD that hasn't even been studied..."

According to Barbara Beavers, a former sidewalk protestor who now runs the Center for Pregnancy Choices, as many as 40

percent of the pregnancy tests the center administer come back negative. Some of the women who take them live with their boyfriends, making a commitment to abstinence unlikely. But Beavers is unapologetic about her opposition to birth control, in part because she thinks a woman whose contraception fails might feel more entitled to an abortion. "They think, it wasn't their fault anyhow, so let's just go ahead and kill it," she says.

Already, places like the Center for Pregnancy Choices are leading public dispensers of reproductive health advice in

The number of abortion providers dropped 11 percent between 1996 and 2000, and almost 90 percent of U.S. counties lack abortion services.

Mississippi. The schools teach either abstinence or nothing at all. Besides private physicians, the only places that provide birth control prescriptions are the Jackson Women's Health Organization and the offices of the State Department of Health.

For women seeking to avoid pregnancy, there are other hurdles. According to a survey by the Feminist Majority Foundation, of 25 pharmacies in Jackson, only two stock emergency contraception (EC). Even when the pharmacies do carry EC, individual pharmacists may refuse to dispense it; Mississippi is one of eight states with "conscience clause" laws protecting pharmacists who refuse to dispense contraceptives. Dr. Booker says he has written several EC prescriptions, only to find his patients unable to fill them.

Not surprisingly, Mississippi has the third highest teen pregnancy rate in the

country, and the highest teenage birth rate. It is tied with Louisiana for America's worst infant mortality rate. According to The National Center for Children in Poverty, more than half of the state's children under 6 live in poverty. The immigration of Mississippi's women and children isn't solely the result of diminished reproductive rights, of course. But it's clear that enforced ignorance and lack of choices play a major role. "You would be surprised what they don't understand about their own bodies," Betty Thompson, the former director of the Jackson Women's Health Organization, says about the clinic's patients.

For the anti-abortion movement, though, Mississippi isn't lagging behind the rest of the nation. Rather, it's the vanguard. "We're not waiting for the president, we're not waiting for the Congress, we're not waiting for the Supreme Court to be packed," says Benham, the head of Operation Save America. "This issue can't be won from the top down. When you're on the streets and you see these battles won over and over again, when you see the statistics of abortion dropping, you begin to realize hey, this battle is being won."

Indeed, the same strategy at work in Mississippi is being used all across the country. According to the National Abortion Federation, 500 state-level anti-abortion bills were introduced last year, and 26 were signed into law. The number of abortion providers dropped 11 percent between 1996 and 2000, and almost 90 percent of U.S. counties lack abortion services.

Abortion rights won't disappear in America in one fell swoop, and they can't be protected by a single Supreme Court precedent. Congress's ban on adults taking a minor who is not their child across state lines for an abortion, and South Dakota's attempt to ban abortion outright, are making headlines. But the more gradual erosion of rights often escapes people's view. Through a combination of militant street actions and punitive legislation, *Roe v. Wade* is being hollowed out from the inside. The right to an abortion doesn't mean much if there's no way to get one. ■

Ballot Initiatives on the Right: 2006

By Kristina Wilfore

In 2004, the Right deployed state ballot initiatives opposing gay marriage to pull out socially conservative voters on Election Day. While this tactic apparently only enjoyed success in the key state of Ohio, it nonetheless helped frame the national election, provided right-wing candidates with a distinct message, and primed voters to support candidates who supported the marriage bans. The Right is running with the issue again this year, while also appealing to economically conservative voters with initiatives “protecting” taxpayers, opposing eminent domain, and cutting education spending.

The past five years have seen a seismic shift in the use of initiatives, which are experiments in direct democracy won by reformers a century ago. They allow citizens to push for a popular vote on a key issue in their state either by gathering voter signatures — a Citizen’s Initiative — or by winning interest from the state legislature — a referendum. Big business’s embrace of these mechanisms defies their populist roots. And as more national organizations on the Right and Left deploy them strategically to boost voter turnout, build campaign coffers, or generate support for an issue, ballot measures are losing their local flavor and becoming homogenized across the country.

Among the ballot attempts on the Left this year: increases in the minimum wage (in six states — Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, and Ohio), and reversing South Dakota’s abortion ban.

Here is a roundup of the ballot initiatives on the Right, courtesy of the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center in Washington, D.C. As of press time, it looks like the Right will have to find more promising ways to get out the vote.

Kristina Wilfore is Executive Director of the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center in Washington, D.C.

TABOR

TABOR stands for the Taxpayer’s Bill of Rights, a policy gimmick designed to shrink state government through a constitutional amendment that must be approved by voters. TABOR’s proponents are national anti-tax ideologues like Grover Norquist, Dick Armey, and Howard Rick from Americans for Limited Government, who seek to “drown government in a bathtub” through a simplistic formula of tying the

The grand strategy to ‘drown government in a bathtub’ has truly lost its momentum.

budget to inflation and population growth.

TABOR laws would impose a cap on the revenue the state is allowed to spend each year; any excess must be returned to taxpayers. Norquist’s intention to push TABOR through state legislatures in 41 states has failed miserably. After it was rejected in a bi-partisan fashion in 24 legislative committees in 2005, advocates turned to ballot initiatives.

After trying to gather enough signatures in eight states, they only succeeded in Maine, although Rhode Island’s governor referred a non-binding measure to the ballot. TABOR was kicked off the ballot in Missouri and Ohio. In Oklahoma, 56,000 of the signatures in support of the initiative proved invalid, so the state will probably take it off the ballot, and fraudulent signature gathering has been reported in Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, and Oregon. TABOR still faces stiff legal challenges in several of those states. The grand strategy to “drown government in a bathtub” has truly lost its momentum.

Marriage Discrimination

Although the anti-gay marriage campaign sought to prime conservatives to support George W. Bush and conservative candidates around the country in 2004, will it really do the trick this year? Faced with record-low poll numbers for Congress and the President, a war that keeps grinding on, and skyrocketing energy prices, the Right is increasingly overreaching, and the continued strategy to push gay marriage as a leading issue is indicative of their desperation. Most states that will vote on anti-gay marriage measures will see the harshest possible versions of the amendment on the ballot. These strict laws punish many more people than gays and lesbians, outlawing not only gay marriage and civil unions, but all domestic partner benefits.

Marriage discrimination is again a national electoral strategy for the Right, and is already on the ballot (or very likely to be) in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Wisconsin, South Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Activists in Washington failed miserably in their effort to secure the signatures needed for a vote on repealing the non-discrimination law passed recently by the state legislature. In Illinois, they did not submit enough signatures to put even a nonbinding proposal on the 2006 ballot.

Even Republican leaders nationwide have wondered whether this strategy will be enough to save them in the mid-term elections.

“Anti-Takings”

This sleeper issue of 2006 is eminent domain, with elements of both the Left and the Right seeking to curb the power of the government to take private property for “public” use. The Left is concerned about the abuse of government power on behalf of business interests. Still the initiatives are being pushed largely by anti-government

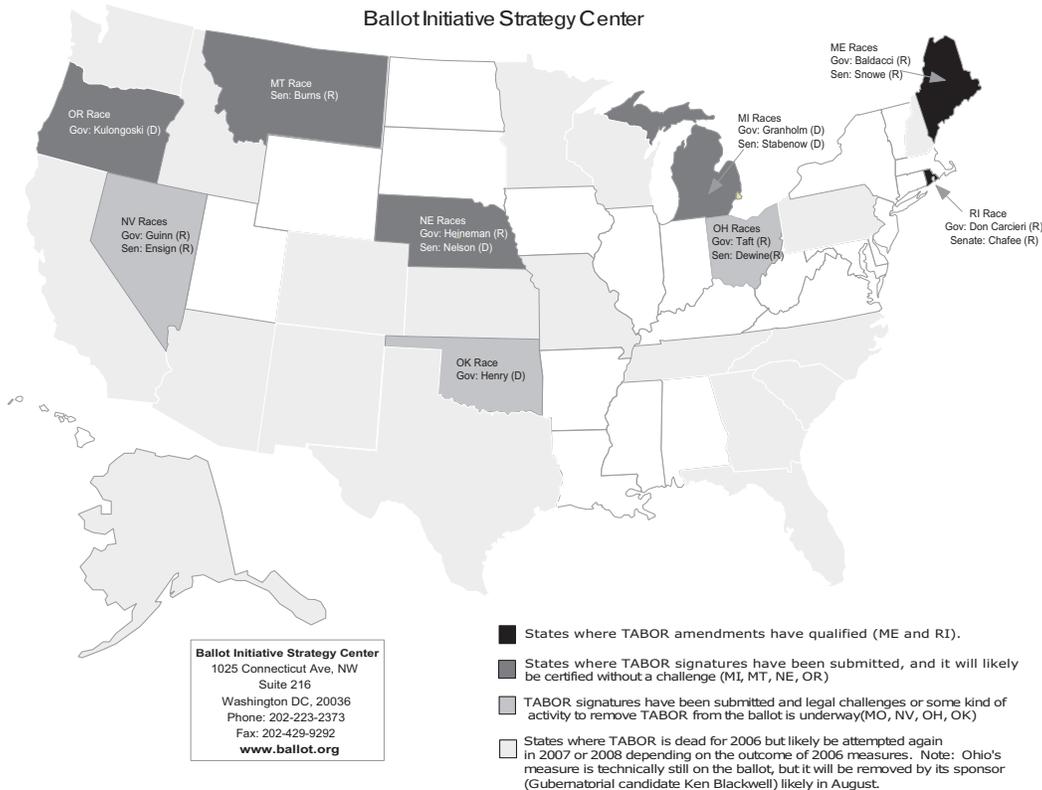
**For more information,
visit www.ballot.org.**

activists. They are responding to the controversial *Kelo v. New London* decision of 2006, in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that local governments could seize property for private enterprises, providing they would use the property for the public good. But the Court's ruling also makes land use a state issue, and allows states to outlaw this type of eminent domain.

Using the charged atmosphere following *Kelo*, campaigners are stirring up property rights activists. Anti-*Kelo* initiatives and referenda are expected to be on the ballot in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, South Carolina, California, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada

In some cases, property rights zealots are including provisions that echo Oregon's damaging Proposition 37, passed in 2004, which requires governments to compensate for such regulation of private property as zoning, or else waive the regulation. The effect of this "regulatory takings" provision gives special rights to big landowners and developers, whose demands for compensation are too heavy to be met by local governments. The landowners thus have another avenue to challenge regulations that curb unmitigated growth. This provision (or full ballot measure) is moving in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Montana and Washington.

2006 TABOR ("Taxpayer Bill of Rights") THREATS



65% Deception

Another simplistic policy gimmick being pushed nationally is the "65% Solution," which would remove funding decisions from communities and mandate that 65% of all state education funding be spent "in the classroom." Funded by Overstock.com entrepreneur Patrick Byrne, the front group behind the measure is called First Class Education. According to their website, "in the classroom" includes not just teacher salaries and classroom expenses,

but football teams, field trips, and extra tuition for special needs students. Not included are building repairs, nurses, meals, security personnel, transportation, guidance counselors, or even library services.

65% is moving in states where TABOR is likely to qualify, in order to provide cover for legislators pushing draconian tax limitations to claim they still support education. The measure is also designed to split the education unions between teachers and support staff and divert teacher union money away from funding competitive races. It is on the ballot in Colorado and petitions are circulating in Oklahoma and Oregon. A measure has been filed in Arizona. Activists are mulling a campaign in Ohio, but as yet have not filed a ballot measure. The Florida legislature is very likely to refer it to the ballot (with an amendment that links revisions in class size with the 65% mandate). It's also being used in Republican gubernatorial primaries in Illinois, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Ohio. ■

Right-wing Ballot Initiatives of 2006

ON THE RIGHT

- Anti-Judiciary: Recall / Sue Judges – Colorado, Montana, Oregon, South Dakota
- Anti-Choice: parental notification in Oregon and "redefinition of the fetus" in Colorado

THE "GUN BEHIND THE DOOR"

These are initiative attempts that state legislatures took off the table to stop them from appealing to voters who could swing an election

- Minimum wage hikes – Michigan and Arkansas
- Regulation of usurious payday loans – Oregon
- Universal health care – Massachusetts

CRUISING MILITARY DRIVE *continued from page 1*
planes displayed in front of the many air bases and military production facilities lining the drive in this martial metropolis.

Young cruisers usually end their back and forth search for companionship, love, and lust by parking in front of one of the several military recruitment offices dotting the strip malls that line Military Drive. Their desire leads some into a crowded lot across the street from a recruitment office that is the center of daytime life on the drive. Nightlife on this part of the strip centers around the nearby Diversions Game Room which stays open late to accommodate the entertainment needs of cruisers and walkers in the neighborhood.

It is stunning to see how technology and big money have transformed — and integrated — video games and war since the days of Pac Man and Space Invaders. Gamers who enlist will be trained with war game simulations designed by the same companies that designed those at Diversions. Here they pay for the opportunity to play “Crisis Zone,” “King of Fighters,” “Police 9-11,” and other video games requiring them magically to enter digitized worlds, like one in which they must free white Americans being held hostage in shopping malls by dark-skinned terrorists.

Gamers leaving Diversions who look across the drive see the windows of a Marine and Navy recruiting office, plastered with colorful posters of planes, ships, and troops engaged in “real-life” versions of scenarios depicted in the video games. The posters are emblazoned with messages encouraging youth to “accelerate your life” or to dedicate their lives to “Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of all who threaten it.”

Roberto Lovato is a New York-based writer with New America Media. This article was supported with an award from the Independent Press Association's George Washington Williams fellowship. He can be contacted at robvato63@yahoo.com.

In the lot in front of Diversions, a young man is punching another as friends try to separate them. Several minutes after his friends calm one of the somewhat inebriated young teens, I approach him to ask a few questions.

A recent graduate of one of San Antonio's worst high schools (and one with a heavy presence of recruiters in a city that is one of the Pentagon's most important source of new recruits), the young man seems primed to continue traveling along Military Drive beyond the cruise: “I just graduated and signed up for the Army.” Asked if the war in the Persian Gulf influenced his decision, he quickly answered,

It is no coincidence that just as the war in Iraq has fallen in public opinion polls, the Bush Administration and the Republican Party have framed the immigration debate as a military issue.

“Fuck yeah. I wanna go kill Iraqis!”

This soon-to-be soldier boy was about to be baptized into the kingdom of war, a kingdom that is smelting his youthful bravado, worship of violence, and poor man's patriotism into another one of the “good guy” heroes hailed by politicians and recruitment posters in San Antonio and beyond. His tragic disposition to kill — and die — reminded me of how fervent nationalism, poverty, and military conflict forged similar identities of “good” and “bad” people, of “terrorists” and “defenders of freedom” in Cold War Central America. And at a time when the “war on terror” is well on its way to replacing the Cold War as the primary wedge separating “good” and “bad” governments, and “good” and “bad”

citizens, identity choices like those of the video-gaming young fighter can be seen as fresh expressions of the newly reconfigured national security culture that is wiring us for war.

Latinos — young and old, native born and immigrant — have fast become fodder for a U.S. elite urgently needing to align individuals, institutions, and entire communities along the “axis of good” in the “global war on terror.” Everyone from President Bush and Karl Rove to corporate and religious leaders, are speaking Spanish and learning about cultural intricacies in a mission-critical task to sustain power. Cruising on Military Drive has meaning for many besides those in its cars and video arcades.

How the very young Latino population (the average age is 26) aligns itself in this “new kind of war” is a matter not just of national but global import. The Pentagon has staked the future global deployment goals of the most powerful military on earth on the life — and death — decisions of the country's largest “minority” as African Americans and women reject military recruiters at exponential rates; African American recruits are now 14 percent of the total, dropping from 23.5 percent in 2000. The enlistment of large numbers of gamers, immigrants, and other Latinos is nothing less than a matter of survival for U.S. power interests struggling to reconfigure their own great global game.

Similarly, the electoral choices of Latino voters will determine the fate of politicians and parties for years to come. What kind of “Americans” recent immigrants, U.S.-born, and other Latinos decide to become depends on several external and internal factors, factors that will increasingly define distinctions between “loyal,” “civilized,” God-fearing, pro-war Latinos and undocumented immigrants, gangs, anti-war and anti-recruitment activists — the throngs of Latinos being cast in the role of anti-civilizational “bad guys.”

In this sense, certain Latinos also serve as a powerful, media-driven contrast



www.caglecartoons.com

around which whites and Blacks and even more assimilationist Latinos in the United States can define what they are not; viewed as the “law breakers” and as “potential terrorist threats,” undocumented immigrants in particular reinforce conservative ideas about citizenship, ethnic and racial identity, and political persuasion. Similarly, transnational gang banger “bad guys” have become the lynchpin linking, in Cold War fashion, rich and poor neighborhoods from the United States to Central America to a new cross-border struggle, one that fuses the “War on Drugs” to the “war on terror.”

As domestic law enforcement morphs into an extension of the “Global War on Terror,” a growing choir of FBI officials, police chiefs, and increasingly militarized police departments label those formerly designated a “gang problem” during the war on drugs as “terrorist threats.” District Attorneys, like the Bronx’s Robert T. Johnson, apply statutes originally designed to combat terrorists to Chicano, Central

American, and other transnational inner-city gangs like the Salvadoran Mara Salvatrucha. The Minutemen and the growing cohort of anti-immigrant, anti-Latino groups are not the only ones forging identities by civilizationally clashing with the “bad” Latinos. Pressures to align against the new “bad guys”—be they Arab or immigrants or Latino gang bangers—also push many San Antonio Latinos to adopt “good” identities as they pay homage at the local “shrine” of those who defend freedom.

Making Enemies: American Exceptionalism and the Never-Ending Need for the Other

Not far from Military Drive, San Antonio’s Alamo powerfully symbolizes the workings of war and identity, the mixing of religious and military myths, in a narrative that inspired whites to kill and conquer Mexicans in the name of Texas and, soon after, the United States. As a symbol of then-ascendant modernity, the Alamo

also contributed to the depiction of backward, agriculturally oriented Mexicans (hence the “lazy Mexican stereotype”) in contrast with increasingly industrial whites working in the name of “progress.” In Alamo country, Mexicans provided the foil against which whiteness in the West was won. Even today, what locals tellingly call the “Alamo shrine” still has enormous power to define “good” and “bad” citizens.

During a recent trip to San Antonio, I visited the Alamo and found among the thousands of tourists throngs of young cadets and soon-to-be deployed enlisted personnel and their families. Many of the cadets were, like the young fighter on Military Drive, local kids from decaying neighborhoods with decrepit schools whose faculties the *New York Times* reported were “filled with men and women who served in uniform for 20 years or more.” With romantic battle pictures of Davy Crockett hanging nearby, I asked some of them what they were seeking there just before

being sent to Iraq and Afghanistan. Whether Latino, Black, or white, the young men and women answered my question in much the same way that Tejano helicopter pilot and U.S. Navy Captain Ron Sandoval did: “The Alamo ties it all together. It galvanized Texans in their fight for independence from Mexico. A lot of us are here now to draw inspiration as we get ready to go to Iraq. It (Iraq) seems like a no-win situation. But that’s what they thought about the Alamo.”

Especially interesting is how Sandoval, a U.S. citizen of Mexican descent, sees the Alamo and Iraq as part of the defense and expansion of American freedom. His perspective positions him in a manner similar to that of Mexicans and Mexican Americans depicted in the most recent—and more politically palatable—Alamo movie, which opened on Good Friday when I first visited San Antonio in 2004. The national media covered the pyrotechnics and star power of the gala opening more than the capture earlier that day of a local man who had set fire to five gas stations owned by Muslim and South Asian immigrants.

Mexicans in the most recent Alamo movie were divided into good Mexicans, who fought with Davy Crockett, Jim Bowie and other “heroes” (some local Mexicans view them as slaveholding elites who were the vanguard of a historic land grab), and

bad Mexicans, who, on promotional posters lie in the shadows of the glowing, golden-white walls of the Alamo. In the current context of war, conquest, and assimilation framed as a “clash of civilizations” by Bernard Lewis, Samuel Huntington, and other national security ideologues, the racial wedging of “good” and “bad” Latinos at the Alamo still exercises enormous cultural and political power. Its imagery supports those who champion wars of defense against domestic Others while providing a symbol for those supporting the more expansionist imperial project in places like Iraq.

Post 9-11 wedging of racial and political identity like that found in the streets and tourists traps of the Alamo city is, with some important distinctions, only the most recent rendition of the narrative of U.S. history as the history of necessary wars, inevitable conquests and civilizing assimilation in the fight of “good” against “evil.” Such events are, according to this narrative, divinely designed to realize the American Exceptionalism.

We can find the wedging of racial identities as early as the establishment of the English colonies in New England. During conflicts like King Philip’s War, the New England uprising of indigenous peoples in 1675, for example, we find the distinctions between “good Indians” who allied with the colonists and the “bad Indians” who fought them. We also find these dynamics present during the 19th century when Manifest Destiny informed and rationalized the need for wars requiring the extermination of Indians and the pillaging of Mexican lands in the name of a higher good.

Semi-religious symbols like the Alamo were cultivated in response to the growing cultural needs created by the hemispheric land and power grab justified by Manifest Destiny, which provided the ideological foundation for the invasion of Mexico and the beginnings of U.S. politico-military domination west of the Mississippi—and south of the Rio Grande. The United States’ drive for dominance in the hemisphere in the 19th century marks the start of a Latin identity defined, in part, by the

comparison, contrast—and clash—with citizens, especially white citizens, of the country that decided to assume the name of the entire continent. Latinos in and outside of the United States became Other, often “bad,” Americans. And the tradition continues.

Immigrants, Gangs, and the Al-Qaedaization of Latino Identity

Not far from the white walls of the Alamo, Mexican and other Latino immigrants are again being cast as the anonymous “bad guys” as they run up against the political, physical, and psychic borders of the U.S. immigration debate. As the Bush Administration and the Republican Party continue their steady spiral downward, they have done what Bill Clinton and other politicians have done in times of crisis: declare war. Viewed from this perspective, the election year focus on immigrants serves the same function as the Iraq war in terms of keeping the populace on war footing, this time against the “invaders” denounced on billboards in San Antonio and across the country.

In what is not so much a coincidence as it is an urgent political necessity, the Bush Administration and the Republican Party have, in their desperation, taken the frame of war and applied it to the issue of immigration. Witness Rep. Ed Royce (R-Calif.) who set the tone of recent hearings of the Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Non-Proliferation by remarking that Homeland Security officials report that “Al-Qaeda has considered crossing our Southwest borders,” and “It may already have happened.”

Royce went on to offer a laundry list of post-Cold War bad guys: “Drug cartels, smuggling rings, and gangs operating on both the Mexico and U.S. sides are increasingly well-equipped and more brazen than ever,” he said, adding “some border areas can be accurately described as war zones. These border vulnerabilities are opportunities for terrorists.”

Such enemy-making statements—and policies—have deepened the racial and political effects of the national security

Now Online at
www.publiceye.org

9/11 Conspiracies Run Rampant!

9/11 conspiracy theories on the Left suggest that the U.S. government attacked the World Trade Center itself, while on the Right some suggest that Jews planned it. Why are these and other conspiracy theories persisting?

PRA Researcher Chip Berlet offers a roundup of what and why.

On publiceye.org now!

culture on Latinos. It is no coincidence that just as the war in Iraq has fallen in public opinion polls, the Bush Administration and the Republican Party have framed the immigration debate as a military issue. As in Guantanamo, the government grants multi-million dollar no-bid contracts for immigrant super-prisons to Halliburton. Like Royce, other Republican leaders including Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Col.) and Rep. James Sensenbrenner (R-Wisc.) regularly apply terms like “invaders,” “terrorists,” and other post-9-11 tropes to immigrants who were previously framed by the “criminal” tropes of the war on drugs; and like President Bush in his Global War on Terrorism, “Minutemen” have built a cultural-political movement around the idea that immigrants are “invaders” who need to be defended against.

For his part, President Bush denied militarizing the border when he sent 6,000 troops there. Deploying the National Guard is but the most recent and most dangerous acceleration of the trend towards militarizing the debate and practice of immigration policy. That Bill Richardson, a Democratic Latino Governor (of New Mexico), set the precedent for the further militarization of migration—and Latino identity—with his calls for National Guard deployment to the border several months before Bush says much about the growing chasm between “good Latinos” and “bad Latinos” in this bipartisan battle against law-breaking (and therefore “bad”) immigrants.

So does the work of the country’s highest law enforcement official, Alberto Gonzalez, hailed by many, including many Latino elites, as the country’s first Hispanic Attorney General. Yet he is a walking, talking and prosecuting symbol who will jail more immigrants, more alleged terrorists, more gang bangers, more Latino “bad guys” than any Attorney General in U.S. history. The Miami-Dade NAACP denounced Gonzalez for selective prosecution of politically insignificant groups after his two very high profile press conferences following the arrest of mostly black Haitian Americans for alleged al-

Qaeda sympathies. By naming and prosecuting bad guys—even those found to have minor criminal records but no weapons, money, or direct links to al-Qaeda—he is, by implication, positioning himself as a good guy.

Defined as the new “bad guys” by national security operatives, Latino gangs have become an especially valuable source for sowing fear. “It’s established that Mara Salvatrucha and al-Qaeda have had meetings, Middle Eastern people are willing to spend millions to get into this country,” said Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D-Texas) last year. A 2005 Senate hearing titled “Current and Projected National Security

The case of Jose Padilla, former gang member and alleged U.S. al-Qaeda operative being held indefinitely without charges, may preview the great fusion of ‘Latino’ with ‘terrorist threat.’

Threats to the United States” discussed the gang, as well as a new FBI task force charged with making an “international attack” against it.

Within this language of global war, Latino gangs, like immigrants, connect the security dots from cities and neighborhoods like those in San Antonio or Miami to cities and neighborhoods in Latin America. The case of Jose Padilla, former gang member and alleged U.S. al-Qaeda operative being held indefinitely without charges, may preview the great fusion of “Latino” with “terrorist threat.”

Cruisers on Military Drive and other San Antonio youth who physically resemble Padilla will increasingly resemble him politically if they do not adopt an identity acceptable to national security elites. The alleged and preposterous connection

between Salvadoran gangs and Al-Qaeda made by Rep. Ortiz and other mainstream U.S. media and Central American government officials has taken on frenzied levels. Reports in the *Boston Globe*, “gangsta” lifestyle magazine *Don Diva*, a National Geographic channel special hosted by “The View’s” Lisa Ling, and network (English and Spanish language) special reports (also unproven) of “terrorists” moving into the United States among undocumented immigrants have an impact far beyond the border.

Gangs and “illegal aliens” have become metonymic of an entire generation of Latinos because these images of border crossers, gangster thugs, or any number of amalgams of these stereotypes, are among the most popular Latino representations in the U.S. media. Newscasts, cop shows, movies, and TV preview the creation of new kinds of Latino identity in times of perpetual anti-terrorist war, a war that certain interests have unsuccessfully tried to bring closer to the Americas.

The attempt to create and connect the various types of new enemies is well-illustrated by Donald Rumsfeld’s statements at a 2004 meeting of Latin American and Caribbean defense ministers in Quito, Ecuador. At that meeting, Rumsfeld echoed Rep. Ortiz and Rep. Royce in his view of “new” hemispheric threats, connecting Latinos in the United States with “threats” in Colombia, Venezuela, El Salvador, and other parts of Latin America: “The new threats of the twenty first century recognize no borders. Terrorists, drug traffickers, hostage takers, and criminal gangs form an anti-social combination that increasingly seeks to destabilize civil societies.”

Gangs like the transnational Mara Salvatrucha have been the topic of widely reported regional security meetings among U.S., Mexican, Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and other foreign ministers; Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice mentioned gangs in her surprise announcement last September of a treaty establishing a multimillion dollar, regional, anti-drug and anti-gang training center in El Salvador. Critics see the

International Law Enforcement Academy, as it will be called, as a more police-focused version of the infamous School of the Americas which trained foreign military leaders responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Latin Americans in the name of defending freedom. Most of the killers and the killed I saw in El Salvador in the 1980s looked like the young cruisers searching for their freedom in San Antonio.

A “New Kind of War” Inspires a New Kind of Hope

But not all is dreary in the Latino Americas. The repressive and assimilationist pressures influencing the identity of “good” Latinos in El Salvador, at the Alamo, and in Iraq are also giving way to another kind of struggle, another kind of Latino: the *movimientista*. One of the collateral effects of the raids, exploitation, surveillance, and other repressive components of the war on immigrants has been to energize and inform identities of defiance among many Latinos. Because they are arguably those most affected by national security policies and their cultural implications, immigrants have been forced to take their place alongside African Americans, women, Latin American revolutionaries, and others who sought to redefine freedom beyond the usual notions.

The *movimientista* was not just born of Congressional bill HR 4437, which would have criminalized the undocumented, or the drumbeat of disc jockies. Of equal or greater influence are the more than 5,000 immigrant dead in the deserts near San Antonio since 1994, the countless raids, the perpetual harassment by Minutemen and other perpetrators of white fear, and countless other ravages of our national security culture.

Beyond giving rise to the largest simultaneous protests in U.S. history, with an estimated 2 million people marching in a single day, the *movimientista* has cast Latinos in a new identity, a new historic role: bearers of hope.

While it can be argued that the flags and some of the rhetoric of the big marches sig-

naled a desire for assimilation, and a will to be defined as “good” in ways deemed acceptable by elite interests, such a perspective misses the point about the breadth of the *movimiento*. In direct contrast to the “good” Latino identity, the new forms of Latino identity are increasingly positioned

Alberto Gonzalez is a walking, talking, and prosecuting symbol who will jail more immigrants, more alleged terrorists, more gang bangers, more Latino ‘bad guys’ than any Attorney General in U.S. history.

in direct opposition to the national security culture identities shaped by war, conquest, and assimilationist pressures. Marchers marched in response to and in spite of the extreme pressures to either remain silent or assimilate that Latinos receive from corporate, political, academic, military, religious, and other interests.

The leadership of the *movimiento* is made up of immigrant and U.S.-born Latinos and brings together various strands—domestic and Latin American—of political experience to create a more globalized response to the nationalist workings of national security culture. Back near Military Drive, for example, local immigrant rights activists staged some of the largest marches in that very conservative city’s history. And in many cities like Milwaukee and Atlanta, where newer Latino populations had not yet found a political identity, the *movimiento* has given voice to millions of immigrants and non-immigrants that they lacked previously. Like the

power of previous movements, the effects of this one will be felt for years to come as many Latinos search for what defines them in the United States.

A whole spectrum of choices will be made available to a population that had few alternatives to cruising on Military Drive. Some, like the young fighter, will cruise straight to Iraq, while others will work to stop business as usual at the recruitment centers, perhaps in the process shaping a new freedom fit for the global era.

One of them is a lanky 16-year-old who I met standing apart from hundreds of other Latino students waiting to enter the cracked and curved white walls of the “Alamo shrine.” Mario Anguiano was less-than-reverential. “I see a cover-up on top of a cover-up. This used to be a Catholic mission where they enslaved and killed a lot of Indians. Then it became a fortress where they killed a lot of Mexicans” said the high school junior whose baggy pants, Converse sneakers, shoulder-length black hair and wire rim-spectacles are reminiscent of a previous generation of San Antonio *activista*. “That history is not here.” ■

INTERNS WANTED!

The Public Eye

The Public Eye welcomes interns to join us in producing the only magazine dedicated to exposing the U.S. Right.

Political Research Associates

Political Research Associates, the parent think tank of *The Public Eye*, offers a research internship, and a communication and development internship.

To apply, just email a letter and resume identifying the internship that interests you to c.king@publiceye.org.

ART OF THE SLUR *continued from page 1*

academia — claiming, for instance, that a New York University professor teaches a subversive book (are books to be banned from the classroom?) and that a respected Princeton professor is a member of a left-wing legal organization that Horowitz implies is traitorous to America (when he merely delivered a speech to the group).

Horowitz long ago recognized the value of such slurs on both Left and Right. And starting in the 1970s, he began precociously showing the rest of the Right just how to use them effectively. Never simply a defender of any particular right-wing set of beliefs, Horowitz is much more comfortable on the attack—and has shown many on the Right just how well that can work.

A self-styled intellectual and scholar, Horowitz is able to bring his crusades against the academy to public attention primarily because of generous funding from right-wing foundations, particularly the “four sisters”: the Lynde and Harry Bradley, John M. Olin, Sarah Scaife, and Randolph (formerly Smith Richardson) Foundations. Together, they provided his Center for the Study of Popular Culture (now known as the David Horowitz Freedom Center) with more than \$1 million in 2003 alone. He also receives substantial funding from the Coors’ Castle Rock Foundation, among others.

Such backing, along with what he earns through speaking engagements, provides Horowitz with a substantial financial cushion—and motivation to keep his name in the news. With negligible grassroots financial support to rely on, he has little choice but to depend on the foundations which back him, funding him because of what his intellect offers the conservative movement as a whole: the poisonous, Rove-like atmosphere he tries to cast over a sector many conservatives loathe.

Aside from his books, speeches, and appearances on television, Horowitz’s main conduit to the public is his *Front Page*

magazine (*frontpagemag.com*), an online journal where Horowitz maintains a personal blog. The website, which presents original material, also reprints from a wide variety of right-wing sources and links to other Horowitz projects, such as his “Dangerous Professors” blog and his Students for Academic Freedom (*studentsforacademicfreedom.org*) organization, an “Astroturf” group Horowitz founded and sustains, although the sixty-something Horowitz has not been a student for quite some time.

Unlike many of the contemporary Right, Horowitz can claim no base in the

‘In political warfare you do not fight just to prevail in an argument, but rather to destroy the enemy’s fighting ability,’ says Horowitz.

fundamentalist Christian movement, nor does he fit in with the Straussian neo-cons who have become so influential in foreign affairs. A maverick unaffiliated with any particular conservative world view, he made a public conversion to the Right in 1980 when he supported Ronald Reagan. His conservatism comes down to “a single patriotic idea: The revolutionary failures of the Twentieth Century had demonstrated the wisdom of the American founding, and validated its tenets: private property, individual rights, and a limited state.”¹ That he still manages to find substantial funding despite his free agent status is a tribute to his skill as a writer and to his ability to provide the sort of strategies that are currently igniting campus Republican clubs and even state legislators.

Student Republican Club activists have embraced Horowitz, bringing him and his tactic of baseless slurs to their campuses.

For instance, last year in California the Santa Rosa Junior College Republican Club created a blacklist, “red starring” ten “troublesome” faculty for “openly advocating Communist and Marxist theories”; they eventually retreated to charging “leftist bias” when they could not corroborate their claims.

Their crusade was linked to that of a Republican state legislator who around the same time introduced a “Students Bill of Rights” opposing the indoctrination of impressionable students.² Nineteen such bills have been introduced by conservative state legislators across the country since 2004, thus far with little success, according to the National Education Association.³ Horowitz provides the inspiration and scurrilous tactics for this ferment.

Who is Horowitz?

The child of Communist parents, Horowitz was himself an important part of the Left for a short time in the 1960s, editing the high-profile *Ramparts* magazine which carried much substantial material, but also was known for promoting the conspiracy theories of former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison concerning the Kennedy assassination. By the mid-1970s, in part due to suspicions over the death of a friend who may have been killed by members of the Black Panthers, Horowitz began the transformation that would lead him from leftwing conspiracism to the right—a change of hats, but accompanied by little change in the belligerent, no-quarter-given attitude he had already developed.

A key to understanding Horowitz is recognizing that he needs enemies, no matter which side he is on. His attacks are so relentless that it is easy to be left wondering what Horowitz himself stands for. In his autobiography *Radical Son*, Horowitz describes the impact of his conversion:

Like [Whittaker] Chambers, I had become the most hated ex-radical of my generation. And like him, I had discovered that the enemies against who I once battled so furiously were more fantastic than real.[...]

Aaron Barlow teaches at New York City College of Technology. You can read his blog at <http://laudsandens.blogspot.com/>.

I am now as prominent on the conservative side of the ideological divide as I once was in the ranks of the Left. But the conservatives I have joined are unlike the enemies I once imagined.⁴

He never takes the next step, never considers that his former allies, on whom he turns his wrath today, are no more deserving of it now than the conservatives were, then. Ultimately, it is his simplistic “friends or enemies” attitude that underlies his justification of lying.

Although he may not gather the same notice of the top pundits and political figures, Horowitz works in ways reminiscent of Karl Rove. Each is among the best of the conservative strategists; they influence what others say and do without always winning the prime media focus themselves. George W. Bush, long ago zeroed in on by Rove (who was searching for the perfect candidate), is the type of politician Horowitz was also wishing for when he wrote his 1998 pamphlet *The Art of Political War* (later incorporated into *The Art of Political War and Other Radical Pursuits*) which was distributed widely among Republican operatives in 2000 (see box). In this screed, Horowitz wrote:

In political warfare you do not fight just to prevail in an argument, but rather to destroy the enemy’s fighting ability.[...] Even if you had time to develop an argument, the audience you need to reach (the undecided and those in the middle who are not paying much attention) would not get it. Your words would go over some of their heads and the rest would not even hear them (or quickly forget) amidst the bustle and pressure of daily life.⁶

Bush was a perfect mix, able to present the veneer of a “compassionate conservative” while never shying away from the

attack politics which both Rove, who endorsed the Horowitz pamphlet, and Horowitz partake of.

Horowitz and Tailgunner Joe

Much of the strategy developed by Horowitz in that pamphlet seems to look back to the successes of “Tailgunner Joe” McCarthy, the ex-Marine who claimed shrapnel in his leg (there was none), to have risen from the ranks (though he enlisted as a lieutenant—and was discharged at the same rank), and more than 25 combat missions (he flew fewer than half that, and generally as a passenger). In his anti-Communist crusade of the 1950s, McCarthy

Instead of responding to charges, Horowitz, like McCarthy, changes the subject, turning to attack and accusation.

fabricated with impunity—and it never seemed to hurt his career. His implosion was not a result of his lies directly, but more from ill-considered attacks, from his continually acting off the cuff and without considering strategic needs—including his lack of clear goals.

Fifty years after his death, it sometimes seems we are oversaturated with McCarthy (even Ann Coulter has written a book on him), but his demagogic spirit imbues our time, as a close look at Horowitz shows.

The question of McCarthy becomes even more important in light of the successes of Horowitz, Coulter, O’Reilly, Limbaugh and the others inspired by or echoing McCarthy’s methodology. They seem to have studied him, learning tactical lessons from both his successes and failures.

For McCarthy, the real goal was simply winning. Without needing to achieve any other end, his focus turned solely to tactics. This creates a problem for opponents, especially those who try to focus on goals outside of winning, who want discussion and compromise—for neither discussion nor compromise is of interest. Once goals are set aside, it is easy for cynics to then claim that older goals and ideals were thwarted, undermined by their enemies. Rarely, then, does the focus return to the goals themselves. Writing in *Harper’s*, Kevin Baker suggests that:

the Right has distilled its tale of betrayal into a formula: Advocate some momentarily popular but reckless policy. Deny culpability when that policy is exposed as disastrous. Blame the disaster on internal enemies who hate America. Repeat, always making sure to increase the number of internal enemies.⁷

The only real goal left is defeat of the enemy who has “held them back”; even program implementation becomes meaningless.

The Professors’ “Straw Men”

Recently, Horowitz has gathered attention for the “straw man” he sets up in *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*—the good that America can achieve is being subverted by a group of nefarious academics. His remedies, listed in an “Academic Bill of Rights,” mingle statements no one can disagree with—such as, “The central purposes of a University are the pursuit of truth... Free inquiry and free speech within the academic community are indispensable to the achievement of these goals.”—with a call to arms increasingly embraced by right-wing students, namely, affirmative action for conservative faculty.

Still, he never details the damage done by those academics he sees as the enemies of America. Instead, he takes a page from McCarthy’s playbook, and just offers a slur:

My most difficult task in writing this book was living daily with the

For more on David Horowitz, visit Political Research Associate’s website, www.publiceye.org/horowitz.

knowledge it provides of the enormous damage that several generations of tenured radicals have inflicted on our educational system; and of being cognizant of the unrelenting malice that so many of them hold in their hearts for a country that has given them the great privileges and freedoms they enjoy as a birthright.⁸

Nowhere in the book does Horowitz detail this “enormous damage” or provide any proof that these academics’ hearts hold “unrelenting malice” towards the United States. Horowitz’s purpose seems not to change academia, but to destroy those he sees as his enemies—so it really doesn’t matter that his charges have no substance and his putative goals no attainability.

The book consists mainly of assertions with little substantive verification, many of which are close to the truth but have been twisted into inflammatory claims. He attacks Richard Falk, the emeritus professor at Princeton’s Institute for Advanced Study, as a member of the left-wing International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL). While Falk did give talks for them, he was never a member. Horowitz also makes statements about what goes on in classrooms without ever having visited them. In correspondence with me, he claimed he had once tried to visit a class—but a film was being shown. The slight, anecdotal “information” he gleans from a former student or two is sufficient for his purposes.

Many of the problems with *The Professors* come from unsubstantiated statements that, in the context of a putatively “scholarly” book, can lead a reader to assume they are fact. He claims award-winning director and playwright George Wolfe is anti-Israeli, for example, with nothing to back it up but the assertion itself. There are also lies by omission, such as an attack on New York University professor Todd Gitlin for assigning works by German sociologist Jürgen Habermas, implying that any student contact with the scholar’s writings poses a threat to America. He never mentions that Gitlin also assigns thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas,

NO EXIT

© Andy Singer



Thomas Hobbes, and Edmund Burke—in addition to the Christian Gospels. The list can go on for pages, and does, at the website of Free Exchange on Campus which has catalogued Horowitz’s errors.⁹

When called on any of these, Horowitz claims the errors are trivial. In fact, each error really is trivial, taken alone. In the aggregate they present a picture of academia that is demonstrably false. The damage is still done, though, because refuting him focuses back on his individual errors, not on the problems with the larger picture they compile.

The Art of the Lie

Why lie, if it can be so easily discovered? The point, for Horowitz, like McCarthy before him, seems to be to lie in such a way that the rebuttal sounds like a splitting of hairs, as he does in *The Professors*. So what if Falk is not really a member of the leftist IADL? He spoke under its auspices, so the association is there. Even if proven false, the claim has served its purpose. Gitlin does teach Habermas, doesn’t he, even if the writer is a defender of democracy?

The apparent lies put you on the defensive, making it difficult to ask, why, given even Horowitz's "support" for academic freedom, is it wrong to speak to a leftist legal group, or teach texts that challenge the justness of the current economic structure?

McCarthy was himself a "preposterous liar."¹⁰ But his legacy is not quite so simple, for his lies were only a part of what he was, of what has developed into the extremely effective strategy of people like Horowitz. The premise is that it is not the research that's important, but the way it is presented. By contrast, FBI Director and Red hunter J. Edgar Hoover based his career on meticulously collecting and analyzing "data" that he often kept hidden (even while wielding it with rare talent).

His mantra, when confronted with his 'errors,' is that the 'mistakes' are trivial.

Unlike Hoover, McCarthy found more power in the charge than in the foundation, so he could pretty much ignore the information gathering that was Hoover's bread and butter. It's the charge in the open that was the thing for McCarthy, and is now for Horowitz.

When lies become part of a tactical package, they become part of a system of justification. According to Sissela Bok, such a system is based on:

three circumstances [that] have seemed to liars to provide the strongest excuse for their behavior—a crisis where overwhelming harm can be averted only through deceit; complete harmlessness and triviality to the point where it seems absurd to quibble about whether a lie has been told; and the duty to particular individuals to protect their secrets.¹¹

Together or separately, these can provide justification for almost any type of lie and provide the underpinning for their use.

Horowitz, who has never served in government, relies least on the last of these excuses—protecting an individual. For his recent book, he invented "crisis" in education provides the first excuse (those nefarious professors have to be gotten rid of—so it is OK to lie about them to accomplish that), and his mantra, when confronted with his "errors," is that the "mistakes" are trivial, the second excuse.

On his "Dangerous Professors" website, Horowitz reproduces an email he sent to Scott Jaschik of InsideHigherEd.com, responding to a question about errors in the book. Horowitz writes, "Without exception the claims that I have seen are all trivial and normal to a book of this size and do not affect in the slightest the argument I have made."¹² Yes, there are mistakes in any book—I called Jim Jarmusch "Joseph Jarmusch" in my last book, and still get emails pointing that out—but that does not excuse them, certainly not in *The Professors*, where the number of "errors" is staggering. As the work of Free Exchange on Campus shows, there are serious problems with details in at least a quarter of the entries, probably more.¹³

Notably, all of the professors Horowitz lists in his book are in secure (generally tenured) positions within academia. No one is likely to lose his or her job because of the book. Ward Churchill, even though tenured, did lose his, but for reasons unre-

THE ART OF POLITICAL WAR

Horowitz's book on "the professors" is little more than a list that, taken as a whole, is meant to paint a picture of universities out of control. Horowitz likes lists, and seems to feel that they constitute argument by themselves. Even his "The Art of Political War" contains lists, including a list of "principles"²³ that illuminate his current tactics:

1. Politics is war conducted by other means:

In political warfare you do not fight just to prevail in an argument, but rather to destroy the enemy's fighting ability. [...]

Even if you had time to develop an argument, the audience you need to reach (the undecided and those in the middle who are not paying much attention) would not get it. Your words would go over some of their heads and the rest would not even hear them (or quickly forget) amidst the bustle and pressure of daily life.²⁴

2. Politics is a war of position:

Choose the terrain that makes the fight as easy for you as possible.²⁵

3. In political warfare, the aggressor usually prevails.

By striking first, you can define the issues as well as your adversary. Defining the opposition is the decisive move in all political war.²⁶

4. Position is defined by fear and hope.

When and how to use fear is a political art.²⁷

5. The weapons of politics are symbols evoking fear and hope.

With these audiences, you will never have time for real arguments or proper analyses. Images—symbols and sound bites—will always prevail.²⁸

6. Victory lies on the side of the people.

You must define yourself in ways that people understand. You must give people hope in your victory, and make them fear the victory of your opponent.²⁹

Honesty, clarity, discussion, and compromise: these have no place in Horowitz's "war." Lies do.

lated to his depiction in *The Professors*. The errors so common in the Horowitz book make it unlikely that it could be used against any single professor anyway. Here again, clearly, the attack is meant to be against the aggregate, not the individual.

Horowitz seems to justify his slurs exactly as Bok would predict in her description of liars. Bok's liars see:

those who threatened society [as] outside its moral bounds and, as a result, need not be treated with the honesty due to others. Armed with such a conviction, those who contemplate action against enemies may then throw ordinary moral inquiry to the winds. They see no reason to seek alternatives to lying and rarely question either their own motives or the process whereby they came to see their enemies as enemies, as outside the social contract.¹⁴

And this, of course, brings us back once again to Joe McCarthy and the tactics he developed in the early 1950s.

Here is my own modest list showing Horowitz's overlap with Tailgunner Joe:

1. Claim to Be Acting in the Public Interest:

We need Horowitz to protect the youth of America from leftist indoctrination, just as we needed McCarthy to stop those Communists who had already been purged from government!

2. Claim definite proof (but never precisely reveal it):

McCarthy waved paper around on the floor of the Senate and pointed to it—but never released any paper containing proof of his charges.¹⁵ He discovered: If you make it seem real, it will be believed as real. Horowitz's anecdotes are equally unsubstantiated, such as the ones claiming leftist professors gave students "F's" to retaliate against their conservative views.¹⁶

3. Use numbers:

Part of what brought McCarthy to the fore was his (false) assertion that he knew the specific number of Communists in the State Department.¹⁷ If he has a number, the rationale goes, there must be some

truth behind it. Horowitz's "dangerous professors" sometimes number 100, 101, or 103. Horowitz even asserts, with no real supporting evidence, that there are 60,000 leftist professors in America, although he arbitrarily cut that number in half at one point.¹⁸

4. Always attack, never defend:

"Asked by the press to explain some statement that didn't add up, [McCarthy] would change the subject, bluster, or somehow get away without answering."¹⁹

Instead of responding to charges, Horowitz, like McCarthy, changes the subject, turning to attack and accusation.

A key to understanding Horowitz is recognizing that he needs enemies, no matter which side he is on.

When Joel Beinin sued Horowitz for using his picture on the cover of a pamphlet, Horowitz responded by attacking Beinin for having bought the rights to the photograph, never accepting that he had made a mistake by not gaining permission before using the picture.²⁰ He attempted to change the conversation from what he had done by attacking what Beinin had done.

Scott McLemee of *InsideHigherEd.com*, also tried to put Horowitz on the defensive and force him to concede his errors, but never succeeded:

Once again, when push came to shove, Horowitz had been obliged to concede that the facts were not quite on hand. But that was only how it appeared. "I didn't retract what I said," he wrote to me. "I just acknowledged that I could not confirm the veracity of the student's claim."²¹

5. Justify the Lie (Making Sure You Believe):

The only way I can come to terms with the purposeful deceit that Horowitz, like Joe McCarthy, employs is to imagine that he believes he is justified through his pursuit of what he sees as a "greater good." Is he like this figure described by Bok:

The powerful tell lies believing that they have greater than ordinary understanding of what is at stake; very often, they regard their dupes as having inadequate judgment, or as likely to have respond in the wrong way to truthful information.²²

Both McCarthy and Horowitz have demonstrated intelligence—they never did anything out of stupidity. McCarthy completed four years of high school in one and went on to earn a law degree. Horowitz attended Columbia and Berkeley, earning a Masters degree. Their intellect, I fear, inspired in each of them a contempt for the American public that is demonstrated in their pronouncements, actions and (in Horowitz's case) writings.

The two share another trait. Though quite smart, neither ever felt that they received respect enough for their brains nor the recognition they desired. For this oversight, are we neglectful scholars to be Horowitz's targets until his last breath?

Horowitz likes to claim a huge change in his thinking leading to his move from Left to Right. However, if we examine his work carefully, no real change is evident. The tactics he uses now are the same that he used then—and tactics are at the center of everything he does. Though he does seem to believe in his cause (vague as it might be), Horowitz cares less for the ends than for the limelight—and for the fight itself. ■

End Notes

¹ Horowitz, David, *Radical Son* (New York: Touchstone, 1997), 397.

² Bacon, David, "Right-wing students 'red star' ten instructors: Action timed to conservative 'Student Bill of Rights' in California Legislature," *California Teacher* (April/May 2005), 15.

³ <http://www2.nea.org/he/freedom/aboraction.html>. Another good source on Horowitz-inspired campus and legislative attacks is Free Exchange on Campus, a coalition of 10 groups, including the American Association of University Professors, American Civil Liberties Union, United States Student Association, and Campus Progress/Center for American Progress. *Freeexchangeoncampus.org*.

⁴ Horowitz, 2-3.

⁵ Berkowitz, Bill, "Not Your Grandma's Religious Right," Common Dreams News Center, <http://www.commondreams.org/views/05/0106-30.htm>, 7/20/06. Referencing Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber, *Banana Republicans — How the Right Wing Is Turning America Into a One-Party State* (Tarcher/Penguin, 2004).

⁶ Horowitz, David, "The Art of Political War," *Left Illusions: An Intellectual Odyssey* (Dallas: Spence, 2003) 349-350.

⁷ Baker, Kevin, "Stabbed in the Back! The Past and Future of a Right-Wing Myth," *Harper's*, Vol. 312, No. 1873, June, 2006, 31.

⁸ Horowitz, David, *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2006), xlvi.

⁹ Free Exchange on Campus, http://www.freeexchangeoncampus.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=7&Itemid=34. 5/30/06.

¹⁰ Lewis, Anthony, "Demagogue Without a Cause: A Review of *Shooting Star: The Brief Arc of Joe McCarthy* by Tom Wicker," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. LIII, No. 10, June 8, 2006, 53.

¹¹ Bok, Sissela, *Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 166.

¹² Horowitz, David, "Article: E-Mail Interview with Scott Jaschik, Editor of InsideHigherEd.com," *Dangerous Professors*, http://dangerousprofessors.net/2006/05/article-e-mail-interview-with-scott_10.html, 5/30/06.

¹³ [Freeexchangeoncampus.org](http://freeexchangeoncampus.org) has a Horowitz Fact Checker for easy reference.

¹⁴ Bok, 138.

¹⁵ Wicker, Tom, *Shooting Star: The Brief Arc of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Harcourt, 2006), 128.

¹⁶ Jaschik, Scott, "Retractions from David Horowitz," *InsideHigherEd.com*, <http://insidehighered.com/news/2006/01/11/retract>, 6/20/06.

¹⁷ Hofstadter, Richard, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Knopf, 1963), 339.

¹⁸ Horowitz, David, "Response to Neil Gross." *Dangerous Professors*. <http://dangerousprofessors.net/2006/02/review-right-left-and-wrong-david.html>. 5/30/06.

¹⁹ Lewis, 53.

²⁰ Horowitz, David and Jacob Laksin, "Joel Beinin: Apologist for Terrorists," *Front Page Magazine*, <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=22536>, 5/30/06.

²¹ McLemee, Scott, "D'Ho," *InsideHigherEd*, http://www.insidehighered.com/views/2006/02/22/node_35635, 5/30/06.

²² Bok, 168.

²³ Horowitz, David, "The Art of Political War," 349.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 349-350.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 350.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 351.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 353.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 354.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 355.

Support The Public Eye magazine!

Help us provide the best reporting and analysis on the U.S. Right and government repression.

Each issue of *The Public Eye* costs \$12,000 to produce – not including staff time! Yet we still make it available to everyone who wants it, with your help.

Yes! I want to support *The Public Eye*.

Enclosed is a donation of:

\$1000 \$750 \$500 \$250 \$100 \$50

Other \$ _____

Check Enclosed

Charge my Mastercard or Visa (*circle one*)

Account # _____ Exp Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail form with payment to:

Political Research Associates, 1310 Broadway,
Suite 201, Somerville, MA 02144-1837

Who is Lyndon LaRouche? Not just a relentless tabler at anti-war rallies. Visit www.publiceye.org for a new flyer exposing his history of bigotry, crackpot claims and criminal activities.

Book Reviews

A Conservative Challenge to Operation Rescue

The Rhetoric of Operation Rescue: Projecting the Christian Pro-Life Message

by Mark Allen Steiner

T & T Clark, 2006, \$29.00 paperback, \$95.00 cloth; 226 pages.

Reviewed by Eleanor J. Bader

Mark Allen Steiner describes himself as a conservative, evangelical Christian and at first blush, his credentials seem stellar. An assistant professor at Pat Robertson's Regent University, he appears to walk the walk and talk the talk.

What a shock, then, to read his critique of Operation Rescue's rhetoric and hear his close-to-stunning plea to tone down the histrionics in favor of civility and respect.

Steiner's assessment of the meteoric rise of the militant anti-abortion group Operation Rescue and the language that propelled group founder Randall Terry into a sustained lime-light is fascinating. He starts by articulating the role rhetoric plays in community life. "Rhetoric does function as persuasion in the traditionally understood sense. More fundamentally, though, rhetoric also engages fundamental aspects of worldview and community. It helps shape what we think is good, and what we think is worth thinking about. And for Christians, more specifically, it helps shape not only what they think the faith means, but also their vision of how to grow and become more mature in that faith; how, in other words, to be true to the faith that they profess."

Interesting, but practically speaking, what does this mean for evangelical Christians vis-à-vis abortion?

While Steiner never reveals his opinion of legalized abortion, he is clearly no fan of either Operation Rescue or of Terry. Indeed, his distaste for the anti-abortion group's tactics likely propelled this in-depth look at its ascension and decline.

So why **did** Operation Rescue have such appeal?

Steiner believes that two flaws in contemporary evangelical thinking led people to respond favorably to Terry's rhetoric and involve themselves in the blockades, clinic invasions and protests that wreaked havoc on reproductive health centers from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s. The first is anti-intellectualism and the second is the "impulse to hegemony."

In the first, Steiner cites a confluence of errors: the notion that faith is antithetical to analysis or interpretation; the concept that theological deconstruction of texts is both irrelevant and elitist; and the belief that the Bible should be read in a literal, oversimplified way. These beliefs, he argues, made it easy for Terry's

followers to accept language that merged abortion with child killing.

The hegemonic impulse—the idea that there is one, and only one, way to be an "authentic" Christian—posed other problems, Steiner writes. Pluralism becomes impossible, and acceptance of diversity becomes little more than the condoning of immoral behavior. Not surprisingly, when Terry said, "If you believe abortion is murder, you have to act like it's murder," the troops mobilized.

The upshot is that the "rhetoric of Operation Rescue encourages a particular view of abortion history, one that frames the abortion issue as an acute and severe crisis," he continues. Stir in Francis Schaeffer's diatribe about the evil of secular humanism, and much of the evangelical community was prepped for action.

Randall Terry's often-eloquent and impassioned demand to *save the babies, stop the bloodbath and end the holocaust*, proved effective. Thousands of previously apolitical churchgoers decided it was time to defend themselves, their families and their churches from encroaching infidels. "Satan receives the blood of these little ones as human sacrifice, and he is not going to give up his stronghold and demonic altar without a fight," Terry told adherents. The flipside of this is redemptive. The United States can regain its moral stature, he exhorted, if people turn back to God and reject abortion, homosexuality and pre-and-extra-marital liaisons.

By stressing America's moral crisis, Terry gave Operation Rescue members a common purpose. For a time, this glued them together and offered their lives meaning. In addition, they were collectively repentant, serving as exemplars of sacrifice for the rest of the country.

And then the violence began. Once Michael Griffin, Paul Hill and Shelley Shannon came on the scene in 1993 and 1994—killing two doctors and a clinic escort and wounding Dr. George Tiller—the rhetoric of the "holy war" began to sour. Both the public and the media, once eager to hear what Terry had to say, began to characterize Operation Rescue as insensitive, intolerant and fanatical. Suddenly, Operation Rescue was not a legitimate protest group, but a horde of crazies.

This shift caused the group's rhetoric to become even more inflamed. "You're going to have to sacrifice everything," Rev. Pat Mahoney told protesters in Wichita. "There's [sic] going to be people wounded....It's about whose will shall rule on this planet, God's or man's." Joseph Scheidler of the Pro-Life Action League, an ardent Operation Rescue supporter, called the abor-

**'You're going to have to sacrifice everything,'
Rev. Pat Mahoney told
Operation Rescue
protesters in Wichita.
'There's [sic] going to
be people wounded.'**

tion controversy “a battle between good and evil.” Leaders dubbed pro-choice activists witches and feminazis. “They hate God,” Scheidler announced.

This over-the-top language, Steiner says, contributed to Operation Rescue’s downfall. But it was not the sole cause. Increasing violence, as well as the passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act [FACE] in 1994, played a role in its demise. The Act made it a criminal offense to block clinic doors. The punishment, a year in jail and fines of up to \$10,000, stymied all but the most devoted. Fines forced Operation Rescue into bankruptcy, although the movement eventually regrouped under the name Operation Save America (see Goldberg, this issue). Unfortunately, Steiner steers clear of the muck surrounding Randall Terry’s high-profile divorce, rumors of extramarital dalliances, and rejection of his homosexual son, sidestepping both Terry’s hypocrisy and its deleterious impact on the organization’s faithful.

Despite this, and despite a few gratuitous snarks about pro-choice rhetoric, Steiner’s recommendations are nothing short of remarkable.

First, he calls on evangelicals to “acknowledge the diverse ideas, values, experiences and moral commitments held by those

whom they seek to influence.” He further asks that they consider “the sacred” in different communities. Secondly, he urges evangelicals to “cultivate the life of the mind and critical thinking as values.” He further stresses the need to avoid rigid or dogmatic thinking and to consider alternative perspectives. Third, he writes, “evangelicals need to cultivate a greater appreciation for humility as an overarching attitude.” Laughter, at oneself and at others, is a central tenet of humility and Steiner stresses it as an antidote to ideological ossification. Fourth, he continues, “evangelicals need to be more fully cognizant of the fundamental power of rhetoric in its generative, perspective shaping capacities.” Lastly, he calls on evangelicals to cultivate nuanced perspectives on faith, practice and civic involvement.

In the end, Steiner hopes to enhance democracy by maximizing tolerance for, and recognition of, the ethical differences inherent in a pluralistic society. One can only wonder what Pat Robertson, Randall Terry and other conservative evangelicals think of his arguments.

Eleanor J. Bader is a teacher, writer, and activist, and coauthor of Targets of Hatred: Anti-Abortion Terrorism.

POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES BOOKSTORE

Reports and books from the premier watchdog on the US Right

Special rates for Public Eye readers!

Our Activist Resource Kits

Defending Justice (2005): \$10

Defending Immigrant Rights (2002): \$5

Defending Public Education (1999): \$5

Defending Reproductive Rights (2000): \$3

Defending Democracy (2001): \$3

Special Reports: \$3

Deliberate Differences: Progressive and Conservative Campus Activism in the United States (2004)

Privatizing the Common Wealth: The Pioneer Institute (2002)

Calculated Compassion: How the Ex-Gay Movement Serves the Right’s Attack on Democracy (1998)

Challenging the Ex-Gay Movement: A resource packet (1998)

Books by PRA Associates

Right-Wing Populism in America by Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons: \$15

Mobilizing Resentment: Conservative Resurgence from the John Birch Society to the Promise Keepers by Jean Hardisty: \$10

Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy by Frederick Clarkson: \$10

To order, call PRA at 617.666.5300

Or send your check with \$3.50 postage for first item plus \$1.50 for each additional item to:

PRA, 1310 Broadway, #201, Somerville, MA 02144

www.publiceye.org

Visa and Mastercard accepted

.....*Reports in Review*.....

REPORT OF THE MONTH

No College for You

Resilient and Reaching for More: Challenges and Benefits of Higher Education for Welfare Participants and Their Children.

Avis A. Jones-DeWeever and Barbara Gault, Institute for Women's Policy Research, Washington, D.C., April 2006.

This report is particularly welcome since the Bush Administration is starting to force the few states still supporting college study for women on welfare to drop the program.

Resilient and Reaching for More provides moving evidence that higher education helps raise welfare recipients out of poverty. A joint report by the Institute for Women's Policy Research and LIFETIME, a California welfare rights group that supports higher education for those receiving public assistance, it documents the strength and persistence of these "student/parents" in the face of huge odds.

Women who attend college and receive welfare benefits confront obstacle after obstacle, from bureaucratic hassles in both

welfare and college administrator offices, lack of adequate child care, and the need to juggle schedules to carve out study time. Plus they are racing against the clock created by a five-year lifetime limit on assistance. One woman interviewed was actively discouraged by a caseworker from entering college using benefits; she didn't know it was even possible until she joined LIFETIME.

Despite these impediments, the report demonstrates that women who obtain a degree have better job opportunities, earn more than their counterparts who are still in school, and are more successful at obtaining economic self sufficiency and increased self esteem. Sixty-eight percent said they had more financial resources, and 83 percent said they had better job opportunities. Ironically, officials are discouraging the very strategy—promoting education—that has proven the most successful in reducing welfare recipients' reliance on government assistance.

—Pam Chamberlain

Other Reports in Review

The Jungle, Cajun Style

Risk Amid Recovery: Occupational Health and Safety of Latino Immigrant Workers in the Aftermath of the Gulf Coast Hurricanes

By Tomás Aguilar with Laura Podolsky, UCLA Labor Occupational Safety and Health Program and the National Day Laborer Organizing Network, June 2006.

After hurricanes Katrina and Rita, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration suspended its safety enforcement regulations in parts of four southern states to allow "faster and more flexible responses to hazards facing workers involved in the cleanup and recovery." The result: deadly health and safety hazards for those doing the massive cleanup and reconstruction. The most threatened are the largely undocumented Latino workers who are doing the fundamental demolition and clean up work.

Risk Amid Recovery presents the shocking working conditions of these day laborers through their own voices. Hired by contrac-

tors on behalf of the huge corporations that get the clean up contracts, they strip buildings saturated with mold and toxic mud without protective gear and clothing. This mold can trigger infections. They pay \$300 a month to pitch tents in the city park, are spurned payment by bosses, and are harassed by police and employers. Employers often ignore hard-won health and safety regulations that are on the books; but in New Orleans these same regs are simply waived by the government.

The authors recommend educating the workers about their rights, providing necessary protective equipment, and establishing permanent workers rights centers as direct responses to the immediate problems. But they also demand that both the contractors hiring these workers and the government agencies overseeing the process be held accountable.

—Pam Chamberlain

Not Just a Few Bad Cops

Stonewalled: Police Abuse and Misconduct against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People in the United States

Amnesty International USA, September 2005, New York. <http://www.amnestyusa.org/out-front/stonewalled/report.pdf>.

Amnesty International's two-year investigation of police misconduct and abuse of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender individuals concludes the problem is so severe that it constitutes abuse and torture. Government agencies should thus be held accountable under international agreements on human rights and the prohibition of torture, the organization says in its report *Stonewalled: Police Abuse and Misconduct against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People in the US*.

It documents two major forms of misconduct: Hostile police single out LGBT individuals for abuse, and complacent police and other agencies ignore hate crimes targeting them. Police assault them, arrest them without grounds, and issue insults. This is true

even in cities with LGBT police liaisons and officer sensitivity training.

Amnesty USA argues that anti-gay policing is the result not of isolated rogue police but of systemic homophobia in the culture. *Stonewalled* particularly highlights the criminalization and profiling of LGBT youth by the police, and documents that “within the LGBT community, transgender individuals, people from ethnic or racial minorities, young people, homeless people and sex workers are at most risk of police abuse and misconduct.”

While necessary, working with police departments and civilian review boards is not sufficient. “The issue of police brutality cannot be tackled without addressing both the pervasive discrimination that LGBT face, and the social, economic, and cultural marginalization of many within the LGBT community.” —Pam Chamberlain

The Campus Right

Turning the Tide: Challenging the Right on Campus: An analysis of the right wing and corporate influences in higher education

By Anuradha Mittal with Felicia Gustin, *The Institute for Democratic Education and Culture/Speak Out (Emeryville, Calif.) and The Oakland Institute (Oakland, Calif.)*, May 2006

http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/pdfs/Turning-theTide_1.pdf

Although student activism is traditionally a liberal landscape, this report documents the growing role of national conservative organizations in promoting campus action. They make major investments: in 2002-2003, Young America's Foundation dedicated \$10.4 million, Intercollegiate Studies Institute spent \$6.9 million, and the Leadership Institute spent \$6.2 million on campus activities. The total spent by all conservative groups in that year was \$36.7 million.

These national groups help spread conservative ideas, including the claim that conservatives are oppressed. They provide speakers, funding for conservative publications, and outside leadership training, while also suggesting tactics like mobilizing alumni.

However, the report doesn't analyze whether this collegiate conservative insurgency is a wave or a hiccup. Nor does the report

include student perspectives or many examples of student-instigated action. This means they miss both key aspects of current student activism and possible recourse. For instance, nowhere do they consider how new technology, especially the internet, has shaped new conservative strategies, or its potential for supporting an effective response.

Instead, they propose creating large-scale national initiatives that mimic those of the conservative groups. Yet is this appropriate given their destructive use by the Right? Above all, the report sounds a call for a war on the Right to block their advance on campuses. Ironically, this approach, along with similar ones from the Right, may itself be creating a new trend: students who utterly reject partisanship outright and strive for a better world through cooperation and perseverance.

—Sean Lewis-Faupel

The New Spymasters

The State of Surveillance: Government Monitoring of Political Activity in Northern and Central California

Mark Schlesinger, *ACLU of Northern California*, July 2006.

Since 9/11, this report shows, state and federal agencies have blurred the line between terrorism and dissent, and dropped protective regulations, while the federal government has invested millions in building up local and state surveillance structures. This has led to intensified surveillance on California activists, with governments infiltrating groups, criminalizing legal protest, videotaping, and otherwise monitoring peaceful organizations,

particularly those in support of animal rights and against the war.

For instance, during a nonviolent demonstration, police assaulted Direct Action to Stop the War and the International Longshoreworkers Union in Oakland with wooden bullets, after the department had spied on them. Local police in Fresno placed an undercover operative at a student animal rights event.

A new State Terrorism Threat Assessment Center is a central state outpost, and according to the *Los Angeles Times*, monitored an animal rights rally protesting seal hunting and an anti-war demonstration in Walnut Creek addressed by a Congressman, among other events and groups. The FBI's anti-terrorism database tracks anti-war groups including ones on the UC Santa Cruz and Berkeley campuses. After Sen. Diane Feinstein lodged a protest, the feds agreed the information was inappropriate.

Much of the information in the report came from news reports, some triggered by whistleblowers, while Freedom of Information requests seemed almost useless. The list of offenses goes on, as do the ACLU's proposed solutions. Whether the state and federal governments will issue regulations and laws reigning themselves in—a key demand—seems unlikely.

—Abby Scher

Read the best analysis on the Christian Right on Talk2Action.org!

Talk2Action is a group blog led by Public Eye writer and editorial board member Frederick Clarkson. Read weekly contributions from Fred, Political Research Associates researcher Chip Berlet, and the rest of the best thinkers on the Christian Right.

Visit Talk2Action.org.

Eyes

RIGHT

NO GIRLY MEN NEED APPLY

New Man, the Promise Keepers magazine for Men on a Mission, is looking for men. Not just any men, but real men. Men who take risks and want to live the “unsafe” life.

In a recent story, *New Man* suggests that evangelical churches are turning adventure-seeking, risk-taking souls of men away from God with their namby pamby messages. This is a problem for the Promise Keepers, since it seeks to encourage men to reclaim their rightful role as head of the family through a renewed relationship with God.

“Men are about risk and adventure, but today’s church culture is all about comfort and relationships,” the article quotes Mark Galli, author of *Jesus Mean* and *Wild*, as saying, “One of the things men are reacting to in the Christian Church is that the church emphasizes the gentle compassionate virtues of the faith.”

Instead, men should be encouraged to take risks to glorify God and thereby discover their true purpose in life. Otherwise, they will never be the best husband, father or churchgoer that they could possibly be. Said Kenny Luck, founder of Every Man Ministries, “The unsafe life is where...you don’t know if all your needs will be met. You don’t know if it will all work out. That’s an unsafe life, but it’s the best life.”

New Man doesn’t presume to tell men how to figure out what risks God wants them to take, saying simply that, “God wired us for risk, but it’s the kind of risk that is for His kingdom.” This leaves just a little room for interpretation. Has anyone seen Ralph Reed?

Source: “The Unsafe Life” by Kirk Noonan and Chad Bonham, *New Man* (July/August 2006), pp. 20-24.

WHAT’S THE MATTER WITH SHOES?

Responding to the many issues facing our country, avowed conservative and Opus Dei member Senator Sam Brownback (R-Kansas) introduced as many as 17 bills regarding duties on shoes in the final days of the Senate session. To please his conservative base, Brownback made sure to ease the pain on stay-at-home mothers by including an amendment to “reduce temporarily the duty on certain house slippers.” Does this have anything to do with the fact that Payless Shoe Source is headquartered in Topeka? Or is the tradition-minded senator giving in to his inner-Imelda Marcos or his inner-Carrie Bradshaw? *The Wichita Eagle’s* Alan Bjerga has his doubts, reasoning, “Besides, it’s doubtful that Carrie or Imelda would buy their shoes at Payless. Now, if Manolo Blahnik gets a tax break...”

Source: Bjerga, Alan. “Immigration bill still thorny, Brownback fan of feet?” *Kansas.com*, *The Wichita Eagle Online*. May 28, 2006. http://www.kansas.com/mld/kansas/news/columnists/alan_bjerga/14685151.htm.

RETURN OF THE COULTER-GEIST

Bestselling conservative author and actively blond pundit Ann Coulter, promoting her new book on TV’s “The Big Idea with Donny Deutsch,” said that Bill Clinton’s “rampant promiscuity” is an indication of his “latent homosexuality.”

When questioned on this logic, Coulter dug herself deeper: “Well, there is something narcissistic about homosexuality. Right? Because you’re in love with someone who looks like you. I’m not breaking any new territory here, why are you looking at me like that?”

During the line of questioning related to those comments, Coulter combined outrageous leaps of logic with blatant homophobia, backing up her theory of Clinton’s homosexuality by referring to his “self-obsession” and that his activities were “reminiscent of a bathhouse.”

When asked about her comments later on “Hardball with Chris Matthews,” Coulter said that while she may not completely believe Clinton is gay, Al Gore is a “total fag.” She immediately followed with “No, no, that’s a joke.”

Source: Weigel, David. “Coulter Comes Out Against Gay Clinton Marriage.” *Wonkette! Online*. July 25, 2006. <http://www.wonkette.com/politics/movies/coulter-comes-out-against-gay-clinton-marriage-189845.php>

Video Clip found at <http://www.crooksandliars.com/posts/2006/07/28/coulter-on-clinton-and-gore-gay-and-fag/>

“TOTE ‘EM AND QUOTE ‘EM!”

Is it unconstitutional for teachers to *evangelize* with their Bibles in the classroom, not just teach it as part of a nonsectarian curriculum? The week of September 24th is the Ninth Annual Scriptures in School week. Founded by teacher Bob Pawson, Scriptures in School seeks to bring the Bible back to America’s youth by encouraging students and teachers to bring up the Bible whenever they can.

“Dare to bring your Bibles. Let’s return the Bible to our public schools and restore basic Biblical literacy to America’s children,” says Pawson, a teacher in the Trenton, New Jersey, public school system since 1980 who founded the campaign nine years ago. It’s now a grassroots effort with churches encouraging teachers and students to read the Bible in class, at recess, or at lunch. “Ironically, the only people keeping Bibles out of America’s public schools are us Christians,” says Pawson. “All we have to do is bring them in. Let’s do so. It’s a real confidence booster to participating students knowing that millions of other people all across America are also bringing their Bibles to public schools that week.”

“Tote ‘em and quote ‘em!” is his battle cry. Creating a total atmosphere of Bible quoting in every public school is the goal, creating a really inviting environment for non-Christians. Thanks, Bob!

Source: *Christian News Wire*, July 20, 2006; <http://www.bringyourbible.com/>

★ Special 25th Anniversary Rate ★

SUBSCRIBE

SUPPORT

Subscribe!

Yes, I want to subscribe to *The Public Eye*, the quarterly of PRA. Please send a subscription to the address below.

Support *The Public Eye!*

Yes, I want to help *The Public Eye* unmask the Right and its attacks on democracy and diversity. I have enclosed a contribution of \$_____ toward your work. (Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip Code _____

My subscription is a gift to the person listed above. Please enclose a card to let them know the gift is from _____

Individual/Non-Profit Organization Anniversary Year Special! \$15 ~~\$24~~

Student/Retired/Low-Income \$10

Outside U.S., Canada, and Mexico add \$9.00/surfacemail, \$14.00/air mail

Subscription (4 issues) \$ _____

Postage (outside U.S., Canada, and Mexico) \$ _____

Donation to support *The Public Eye* \$ _____

*(Donors of \$50 or more receive a subscription to *The Public Eye*)*

TOTAL \$ _____

Check Enclosed (Make payable to Political Research Associates)

Charge my Mastercard/Visa

Account # _____ Exp Date _____

Name _____

Signature _____

Mail form with payment to:

Political Research Associates, 1310 Broadway, Suite 201, Somerville, MA 02144-1837

For information on additional materials available from PRA, please visit our website: www.publiceye.org and order on-line.

The Public Eye
NEWSLETTER

Political Research Associates
1310 Broadway, Suite 201
Somerville, Massachusetts 02144-1837

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S POSTAGE
PAID
BOSTON, MA
PERMIT NO. 54584

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

