

Challenging the Religious “Right”

*A Resource from the
Office of Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian and Transgender Concerns
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Because: Gay and Lesbian Studies 101

*And so one of the members
of the search committee asks me
“But why do you people”—
he really said that, “you people”—
“have to talk about it?”
Right.*

*Well because:
Because, if I fell in love,
you know, with sonnets and everything,
and wanted to name all the stars of heaven
one at a time with a goofy smile on my face
I'd like to be able to.
Because, if I didn't fall in love,
I'd like to grouse a bit,
or work up a bitter Theory
to explain it.
Because, if my lover got run over
By a drunk driver (it happens, you know,
remember blue-eyed Stewart?)
I'd like to be able to take a few days off work
to cry and stuff, OK?
Because if my partner-in-life
whom I can't legally marry because
it upsets someone's stomach or something
suddenly developed an infection
and got Job's sores all over his body
and had to go to the hospital
(you know, just like my friend Stephen)
I'd kind of like to take him there
and hold his hand for a few days
and still get paid on family emergency leave
so I could eat food and pay rent and all.
Because if my lover left me
after fifteen years I'd like to be able to sob
without consolation
and feel suitable depressions
and not have to smile a lot
and pretend to be stunned for months.
Because lying all the time is still wrong, isn't it?
Oh, and because,
whether you believe it or not,
my life is just as important to me
as yours is to you.*

—The Reverend Mark Belletini

INTRODUCTION

There's no doubt about it. *I am obsessed.* I want to convince every Unitarian Universalist in North America, and the congregations to which they belong, to do the work of the world, **in** the world, and **with** the world.

We Unitarian Universalists have let ourselves fall victim to what our President, John Buehrens, calls self marginalization. We have hidden ourselves inside the comforting walls of our churches and societies and indulged in the nice, but not very useful, practice of talking to ourselves.

But now it is imperative that we move out and move on. We, as well as those from other liberal religious communities, are under siege from the theocratic Right. We are under attack as religious people, as citizens, as workers, as family members. If we are to fight back successfully, we must join with others. We must act out our Unitarian Universalist faith in the wider community. It is an imperative. A weary and cynical world needs to hear our message of hope and tolerance, needs to take heart from our unabashed liberalism, needs to feel our energy and enthusiasm.

As Unitarian Universalist minister, Jacob Trapp put it: "Religion as a set of right beliefs and right observances becomes divisive and absurd. Religion is walking with others, listening to others, sharing with others, is not a creed but a way of life. To be religious is to be grateful for the much we are given and to give in return as much as we can."

Patti Pomerantz gives us the gift of a blueprint for effective walking with others. Heed it well. Go forth and do good things in the world.

Denise Taft Davidoff

Moderator, Unitarian Universalist Association

October 29, 1996

FOREWORD

Over the past several years, many Unitarian Universalist congregations have experienced the challenge of the “Radical Right.” We’re not always sure who they are, or what exactly their agenda is, but we know when they’re pushing our boundaries—perhaps in a ballot initiative or a “stealth” school board election; or by a particular environmental or anti-immigration campaign.

The specific focus of this packet is ballot initiative targeting the rights of bisexual, gay, lesbian, and transgender people. It is a compilation of the experience of many UU congregations and districts; we hope it will support your congregation in developing your own approaches to work in your community. Resources are listed throughout this packet. It is impossible to keep current with all of the resources available in this work; if you know of something that is not mentioned here, please drop a line to OBGLTC at 25 Beacon St, Boston, MA 02108 or e-mail obgltc@uua.org.

This packet is based on some specific assumptions: political action pursued from within a religious community should be qualitatively different from pursuits of non-religious groups; Unitarian Universalists are called to an important role in strengthening the liberal, religious voice of justice; the UU principles and purposes provide the foundation for our work in our communities; the model presented in this packet considers action for justice as part of our on-going ministry. The process is a circular one containing four basic components:

- gathering information;
- working within the congregation to study and create action plans;
- [net]working within the larger community to create coalitions and support;
- nurturing ourselves to insure our work is long-term.

What makes this model faith-based? It is not so much defined by the work we do, but how we approach both the issues and the actions. In faith-based political action, all of our work needs to be informed and supported by our religious values and principles. Our partners are other religious groups. Here we are called to build bridges and provide an effective, religious answer to the political questions raised by the theocratic right.

It is my hope that reading this material and working with these issues becomes an important part of how you experience religion. *For it is from within the common ground we discover with our interfaith partners, that we will create the world our Unitarian Universalist heritage challenges us to bring forth.*

Blessings in your work,
—Patti Pomerantz

MINISTRY IN THE TRENCHES OF THE CULTURE WARS

The name Meg Riley is very familiar to many of us. Currently the director of the UUA Washington Office, she continues to travel extensively around the country as well as work in Washington, DC to build a liberal religious political voice. Her community ministry is tirelessly devoted to witnessing our common humanity and insuring the rights of all people. In addition to contributing much of the information in this resource packet, she provides the following instructions to help us support each other in this challenging work.

Assaults on the dignity and rights of bisexual, gay, lesbian, and transgender people take many forms—anti-gay legislation, police brutality, anti-gay violence, homophobic decisions in custody cases, job terminations based on sexual orientation, etc. etc. etc. When any of these assaults are the focus of media attention, they take on a public nature as well, which permeates the daily lives of congregational members.

As you think about the needs of congregational members, consider especially three categories of people: bisexual, gay, lesbian, and transgender people themselves; parents, families, and friends of BGLT people, and the general congregational population. Each group will have some distinct and specific needs for ministry. She reminds us that, “the first step of transformation is honest acceptance of current reality.”

MINISTRY FOR THE GENERAL CONGREGATIONAL POPULATION

The congregation will need 1) education about what's going on; 2) information about how to live UU values in the face of what's going on; and 3) acknowledgement of/honesty about “heart lag” or “gut lag.”

1. **Education:** There is so much to keep up with in the Information Age that it's easy to fall behind on the specifics of any issue! Services, newsletters, Sunday bulletins, bulletin boards, etc., provide basic information about the exact nature of what is going on, who is responsible, how anti-gay forces are shaping the discourse, how the community at large is responding, how this agenda connects with other community agendas (e.g. censorship of library books, abstinence-only sex education classes, etc.). Identify a congregational member to speak with for more information, and provide action steps which congregational members can take (e.g., writing the newspaper).
2. **Information about Living UU Values:** It is important to publicly link our objections to anti-gay initiatives to our religion. The purposes and principles, prominent UU BGLT people, and our 26-year history of supporting equality for BGLT people should all be cited regularly. Here are some possible methods:
 - Ask laypeople to present “living the principles” testimonials about actions they have taken, their feelings, how this affects them, etc. Provide human faces and stories of activists who are speaking out and being strengthened by doing so
 - Take a good look at the “biblical justifications” used for homophobia (see [The Welcoming Congregation Handbook](#) for help!) Use these scriptures with alternative analysis. Congregations resist understanding Biblical homophobia at the risk of being left out of the whole conversation
 - Have a service where you use only hymns and hymnal readings from BGLT authors
 - Offer a weekly session on “Living the Principles” where people can talk together about how our religion calls us to responsibility and action
 - Offer a “Bigotry is Against my Religion” class for people to role play non-violent confrontation—have the group generate situations and critique what is and isn't effective

- Ask for volunteers to listen to the concerns of BGLT people or their family members for one hour a week. They will offer no advice, judgments, or “solutions” to the concerns. They will simply listen. Provide training in effective listening
 - Have an “Inherent Worth and Dignity” party or dance. Make it intergenerational
 - Children and youth in the congregation may be confused or upset if the attacks dominate TV images or community conversations. Take time in RE classes to talk with them and especially listen to them
3. **Honest Acknowledgment of “gut lag” or “heart lag”:** Many good Unitarian Universalists of all ages and sexual orientations struggle with cognitive dissonance: discomfort about the gap between what our intellect tells us is “right” or “just” for BGLT people, and the homophobia each of us is steeped in. Verbalize this reality. Create space around it. Don’t judge it or denounce it, or liberal guilt will take it to the “don’t ask, don’t tell” section of life. FYI, see [The Welcoming Congregation Handbook](#) introduction to the adult education series. The first step of transformation is honest acceptance of current reality.

MINISTRY FOR PARENTS, FAMILIES, AND CLOSE FRIENDS OF BGLT PEOPLE

These folks will need: 1) safe places to express the complexity of their feelings; 2) opportunities to speak publicly about/act on their feelings; 3) recognition that they are particularly affected by the assaults; and 4) reassurance that they and their BGLT child, sibling, parent, or friend will be harbored by the congregation.

1. **Safe places to share feelings:** A PFLAG group in your congregation can provide a great deal of support. To find the chapter nearest you, contact Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays at (202) 638-4200.
2. **Opportunities to “come out”/to act:** parents, family members, and friends need opportunities to speak out publicly, just as BGLT people do. Many of the best BGLT-rights activists are parents or family members of BGLT people! PFLAG can help these people move from silence to language and action. Parents in particular may blame themselves or feel ashamed. They may need reassurance that they were good parents and their children are valued members of the community
3. **Recognition that those who love BGLT people are being assaulted too:** family systems theory says that when any member of a family is abused, every member of that family is abused. People need language to break through denial and express grief and rage. The story of Abraham and Isaac can be powerfully re-imagined as the story of a father of a gay son who is told he has to “kill him” and is then liberated by a God of love, not judgment. The courage and morality of those who break through the bondage of shame and homophobia should be celebrated in Sunday services, providing a model for others who want to become more active allies.
4. **Harboring:** For families and friends, as well as BGLT people, the baseline fear is that no one will notice or care about assaults because they’re “only” happening to queers. The congregation must be a very safe harbor. Some ways to do this in addition to verbal reassurance are:
 - A large red ribbon around the building which reads “Discrimination Free Zone,” etc.
 - A moment of silence in the service for BGLT people, who do not deserve sub-human treatment
 - Sales of “Inherent Worth and Dignity” T-shirts (available through Uni-Uniques) or “Straight but not Narrow” buttons (available at many gay book stores)
 - Guest newsletter column space/chalice-lighting testimonials

- Verbalization about the impact that these assaults have on the community

BISEXUAL, GAY, LESBIAN, AND TRANSGENDER PEOPLE

These people will need: 1) reassurance that the assaults matter to the congregation as a whole; 2) chances to express thoughts, feelings, hopes, and fears; 3) reflections of their lives as moral, faithful, and worthy of pride; 4) role models for positive actions; and 5) education about the impersonality of oppression, even as it is very personal.

1. **Reassurance that the Assaults Matter:** Courts, media, legislators, and especially religious leaders have dehumanized BGLT people to the point where many fail even to notice anymore. Rather than making homophobia a “topic” which is addressed periodically by the faithful few, make sure that it is interwoven into many religious education classes, sermons, and publications of the congregation. Oppression is part of daily life for the BGLT community, not something, which is “topical” or isolated.
2. **Chances to Express Thoughts, Feelings, Hopes, and Fears:** The rage, grief, fear, despair, love, and hope felt by oppressed people is held in the deep freeze so tightly that it can be hard to access. It can also make people behave in negative or odd ways. Offering safe opportunities for emotion, as well as analysis, will free up a great deal of energy.
 - Ask BGLT people to write pieces in the newsletter—poetry as well as factual articles
 - Ask a gay choir or dance troupe to do music or dance during a church service
 - Ask BGLT people to light candles of hope and celebration, or to light the chalice
 - Provide “fishbowl” opportunities where BGLT people speak with each other and allies sit in a supportive outer circle and simply listen. Use such starting questions as “Something I love about being BGLT is...” “One things I never want to hear about being BGLT is...” “What I want people to know about being BGLT is...”
 - Be sure that BGLT youth are acknowledged as an important part of your congregation
3. **Reflections of their lives as moral, faithful, and worthy of pride:** Many BGLT people recall with tears how it felt to be asked to teach children in the religious education program, or to serve on church committees.
 - Be sure that the BGLT folks in your congregation are included in leadership roles
 - Go beyond just using inclusive language and use specific examples of gay couples and gay parents as positive families
 - The images given back to gay people who try to recognize themselves in cultural mirrors are distorted funhouse impressions. To come out is to be afraid of never being seen as normal again. Offer alternative, positive options
 - Cultural homophobia especially undermines loving relationships between couples. Offer opportunities for BGLT couples to be in supportive, nurturing environments.

4. **Role models for positive action:** BGLT people can become immobilized in times of attack, and often attack one another, community leaders, and other “safer” targets. To celebrate people who take action, no matter how imperfectly, is to encourage others that it is OK to make mistakes on the road towards justice. Along with telling stories of “star” types of leaders, celebrate the small steps taken by average people in daily life.

- Have groups check-in with “tales of power”—something they did to challenge homophobia that made them feel stronger
- At times, people can be asked to embellish and wildly exaggerate what they did, just to feel the joy of telling someone
- Gather together as if it’s the year 2020, and have people tell the story of how we overcame homophobia. What did they contribute to the struggle?
- Have a wall designated to celebrate courage, and have people write names and acts on newsprint which is posted on that wall

5. **Education about the impersonality of oppression:** BGLT people, especially if they are white and middle class, may be shocked and hurt to learn that they are hated by people who don’t even know who they are.

- It is not appropriate to equate homophobia with other forms of oppression, but it is appropriate to see how many forms of oppression function in similar ways
- Focussing on racial or economic justice may provide opportunities for white BGLT people to learn about how others have survived
- It is particularly important to learn from BGLT people who are poor, who are Jewish, or who are people of color. Authors, speakers, musicians, and others can be of help.
- An adult education class in liberation theology (Christian or Jewish) may provide helpful insights.

Above all, facilitate honest communication at all levels within the congregation, including verbalization of the inevitable, “We’re talking about THIS again?” Give everyone a chance to be present in the ways in which they are most deeply living out their religious beliefs. And never, never, forget the words of longtime activist Barbara Major:

“This isn’t gonna be easy, so it had better be fun!”

*The Rev. Meg A. Riley, November, 1996
Updated May, 2000 by Barb Greve*

GATHERING INFORMATION

Addressing the religious right is always multidimensional. In order to work in any one arena—for the purposes of this packet in the arena of anti-gay ballot initiatives—it is important to understand the broader context of the political strategies of the radical right. This excerpt from Suzanne Pharr's book—In the Time of the Right: Reflections on Liberation—introduces the many dimensions of the “theocratic right.” It is a starting point for understanding how gay rights issues work within the larger context of the theocratic right.

Suzanne Pharr has been working for social and economic justice for decades; her insights are some of the most current and sophisticated analyses available in print. In addition to her writing, Ms. Pharr travels around the country helping to educate and activate. She came to the Pacific Northwest from Little Rock, Arkansas and a long history of working for civil rights and women's rights in the South. Her historical perspective and insight help us to see the importance of working together in a united movement to protect everyone's rights. Excerpted, with the permission of the author, from In the Time of the Right: Reflections on Liberation.

When I considered the Right, I thought of it as made up of distinct groups. The most dangerous was what seemed to be a corporate Right, that during most of the 1980's I viewed as economic conservatives who were filled with greed but not necessarily turning toward an ideological Right. The far Right was clearly on my radar as primarily an influential, white supremacist defining edge, shaping the parameters of bigotry and violence. As for the theocratic Right, I was one among many who did not take them very seriously, who, in fact, saw them as buffoons on the fringe appealing to those who put emotion before thought and sought simple solutions as salvation in a world of complex problems that were overwhelming them. I was not a researcher, I was a social justice organizer—I saw the Right through a fractured lens as they entered my everyday organizing experience, and I did not see their connected, mutual interests.

Even in 1992 during the major onslaught from the Right in so many places across the nation, many of us still did not understand their power nor how fast they could put it in place and use it. Perhaps the 1992 elections misled us as we watched what seemed to be the victory of the Right at the Republican National Convention and their subsequent defeat at the polls with the election of Bill Clinton. At that time, we were more assured there was a debate, that the middle of U.S. politics could be struggled over, that the Right could be turned back handily by a generation of baby boomers and politically organized identity groups, that the working class and poor would rise up. Very few predicted how fast right-wing ideology would move into the mainstream or recognized this political force for the steamroller it was.

Who would have thought that two years after the 1992 elections Republican conservatives and right wingers would take over the Republican Party and sweep victoriously through both the House and Senate as well as through many local legislatures? That there would be ballot initiatives to limit the civil rights of immigrants, lesbians, and gay men and one called the “Civil Rights Initiative” designed to eliminate affirmative action? That the Supreme Court would begin moving us backward decades by unraveling civil rights and liberties? That there would be a strong move toward the privatization of public lands and the elimination of regulations protecting workers and the environment? That the Democratic Party, abandoning its traditional base and moving toward business interests, would have almost fallen apart? That Aid to Families with Dependent Children and almost every other federally funded program designed to meet human needs would be on the verge of being defunded? That the U.S. would embrace a return to states' rights? That the civil liberties and civil rights guaranteed in the Constitution would be in jeopardy? That there would be a major social change movement, indeed a revolution, in place and it would belong not to the Left but to the Right?

...The Right consists of individuals and groups that range from conservative, free-market capitalists to white supremacist neo-Nazis. It is not monolithic but a confederacy of loosely related individuals, groups, and organizations, some of which work in coalition with each other, some of which simply work toward similar goals, and some of which oppose each other. They do not act in a vast conspiracy, but their work often complements and supports each other to advance the effort to control the economic and cultural climate...

An examination of the Right's activities and public statements indicates their goals are to:

- establish more rigid social control through reinforcing traditional hierarchical and increasing the police arm of the state;
- redefine and dismantle civil rights;
- promote unequal social and economic opportunity based on individual merit and privilege gained from belonging to the historically dominant class, race, gender, and religion;
- eliminate barriers to an unregulated free market.

The success of the collective forces of the Right is enhanced by the fact that the theocratic Right embraces these goals (adding their own framework of goals to the mix) and works on every level, from the small local church to the Supreme Court, to achieve their right-wing agenda through grassroots organizing, direct action, media, legal, and electoral strategies.

The broad goal of the theocratic Right is to replace democracy with theocracy, merging church and state so that authoritarian (and male) leaders enforce a fundamentalist vision in this country's public and private life. This goal is illustrated in these comments of the Christian Coalition's Pat Robertson: "I believe that [Jesus] is lord of the government, and the church and business and education, and hopefully, one day, lord of the press" (*Christianity Today*, 6-22-92).

...In the past two decades, the Right has vigorously opposed teaching evolution, multi-culturalism and sex education, school-based clinics, HIV/AIDS education, gay and lesbian equality, welfare, parental leave, tax increases for public funding of entitlements and social services, environmental protections, reproductive rights, battered women's shelters, the Equal Rights Amendment, the United Nations, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Department of Education, affirmative action, pay equity for women, immigrants and union organizing.

They have supported creationism, laws to increase the rights of private property owners, home schooling, school vouchers, censorship of books and the arts, anti-environmental laws, fathers' rights, states' rights, laws limiting protection for victims of abuse, strict crime and punishment and prison reform laws, expansion of the death penalty, privatization of social programs, severe immigration laws, "right to work" and other laws designed to destroy unions, English-only laws and other anti-immigrant proposals, and laws requiring that tax increases be limited and submitted to the public vote for approval.

In all that they oppose or support, it is people of color; women; children; bisexual, gay, lesbian, and transgender people; poor people; and the environment that will suffer most if they succeed in their goals. In the end, it is all of us because the repression of these targeted groups of people will limit the lives of everyone in the U.S. When, for example, the tax base that funds public services is destroyed, everyone will suffer from the reduction in the number of public schools and public libraries that help create a universally literate populace and a rich culture. If public safety is given over to private companies who serve people living in gated suburbs, then those suburban homes will become their own kind of prisons behind walls and gates. When the environment is poisoned, everyone will have to breathe polluted air, not just poor people. And in a Christian theocracy, there would be little freedom for Jews, Hindus, Muslims, and persons with other spiritual and secular philosophies and beliefs.

...The Right hopes to accomplish its anti-democratic goals by casting a wide net of governmental, corporate, legislative, cultural and social strategies that destroy the possibility of equal participation in this country's public and economic life. One must always remember that *misinformation* is a primary tactic in all that they do; that at the center of their organizing message on each issue is a heightened sense of scarcity, "There's not enough to go around," combined with mean-spiritedness, "You are taking something from me," with a focus on people of color as the primary problem; and that they move so quickly that their strategies are changing rapidly even as we write about them. [An example] of tactics the Right uses and some possible results if they are successful:

Lesbians and Gay Men—The issue of homosexuality has provided a major source of fundraising for the Right's organizations as well as their best vehicle for changing the country's thinking about civil rights. For several years, homosexuality has been the flash point of the theocratic Right's organizing; they have mounted an extraordinary campaign of distortion to play on the public's economic and social fears and to prepare the way for their larger goal of eroding civil rights protections for people of color and women. Demonizing lesbians and gay men as disease-carrying sexual predators whose purpose is to destroy families, they have found an emotionally-charged way to lead the public to support legislative and ballot initiatives that oppose the enhancement and enforcement of civil rights protections.

Result—Along with immigrants and welfare recipients, lesbians and gay men are scapegoated as the cause of social and economic problems. A primary purpose of the attack against lesbians and gay men is to get the public to think of all civil rights as "special rights" that "majority" people have the power to withhold or bestow on deserving or undeserving "minorities." The Right has altered the definition of civil rights to mean protections one is given based on deserving behavior that will then, supposedly, give a person immediate preference and gain in the job market—and linked these rights to deserving or undeserving behavior of minorities which must be approved by public vote. In so doing, the Right has thrown fundamental civil rights on the public auction block. Rather than remaining the cornerstone of democracy, these rights now are turned over to media-driven, fear-based campaigns that are won by those with the most money and ability to sway public opinion. In the end, any group (such as immigrants and welfare recipients) that is stereotyped as engaging in bad behavior—associated with crime, drug use, teenage pregnancy, etc.—can have its rights eliminated by current public sentiment taken to the voting booth.

...The Right is not just one group, but is a linkage of people and groups that share many of the same beliefs. What may not be so obvious is that many of those beliefs also reside in the general population, including those of us who consider ourselves progressive. The Right is not working in a vacuum as it moves the body politic, including the Democratic Party, to the right. It is working with and exploiting the racism, sexism, homophobia, and financial greed that exist in ordinary people.

Much of the current conservative analysis of our ills masks the fact that it was a combination of corporate greed and governmental policies, particularly under Ronald Reagan's administration, that led us to this time of social and economic crisis. When people are ignorant or forgetful of the cause of their problems, they can be moved easily to scapegoat those closer to them as the source of their dissatisfaction and discontent. They welcome anything that relieves their discomfort and pain, even if it is state violence and loss of freedom.

Meanwhile, free market capitalism runs unchecked, with obscene profits going into the hands of the few, while less and less is spent on services and human needs for the many. And right-wing demagogues, particularly the zealots of the theocratic Right, pave the way for theocratic authoritarianism by eliminating personal freedoms, autonomy, access, participation, and critical thinking—by destroying hope of participatory democracy in America.

Some of us fear that this volatile mix of global capitalism, racial nationalism and the rise of reactionary religious fundamentalism could give rise to neo-fascism in this last decade of the twentieth century. Many of us are reluctant to raise the specter of fascism because the anti-fascist battles of this century have left us with such a sense of human loss and fear of its re-emergence. We are also hesitant because the term has been used so loosely as an epithet, thrown at people or government policies that offend but do not merge with other authoritarian factors to make true fascism. In a time when right-wing talk show master Rush Limbaugh refers to feminists as “feminazis,” one is inclined to be particularly careful about words.

In unsettled times, however, vigilance about freedom is always mandated. While many of us desire to expand democracy in this country, we also have to be prepared to defend it when under attack. A people warned is a people more prepared to defend and protect the freedoms we hold dear.

Few people agree on a definition of fascism, though the word is broadly used not only to describe the rightist revolutionary movements of Germany and Italy in the 1930's but any mass movement toward authoritarianism and a police state throughout the world. Those who study fascism agree that it involves a combination of nationalism, militarism, racism, charismatic leadership, populism, and religiosity or sense of heroic destiny, with an emphasis on law and order, discipline, ultra-patriotism, hierarchical families, and institutions. It is born out of chaos and disorder, emerging at the point when people are afraid and angry and are seeking survival through the creation of order at any cost. Many of these indicators are now evident in the social and political climate of the United States.

Our fears in worsening economic and social times lead us to be vigilant about the elements that could ignite to create a neo-fascism that serves financial, religious, and military interests and can lead to repressive and even genocidal policies. Recognition of the early signs of fascism allows the possibility of offering an alternative vision of how people can act together to seek answers for creating order from economic and social justice, not the injustice of scapegoating and repression. Instead of building a society on the notion that “there is not enough to go around,” and “you are taking something from me,” we can build on the idea of being generous and inclusive, of being tolerant, good neighbors who enjoy both individual rights and mutual responsibility. In this atmosphere, fascism cannot thrive.

In our faith-based paradigm, there is an additional reason for understanding the goals and tactics of this special interest group. We must always remember that “they” are really us. Political movements depend on individuals exercising their democratic responsibilities. In this case, the theocratic right does an excellent job of simply getting out the vote. The citizens mobilized by the theocratic right to vote in ways we think are dangerous to our religious and political beliefs are our neighbors, our co-workers, members of our families and of our religious institutions. In many cases, they have the same fears and concerns that we do. We must learn how to engage “them” in conversation, to begin talking together about the values that are so important to us and learn to work cooperatively on community issues.

ACTIONS FOR GATHERING INFORMATION:

- Are there organizations **monitoring** candidates for elected offices; school board and parent/teacher/student association meetings; Republicans and Democratic Party caucus meetings? Monitor local newspapers for articles, editorials, and ads regarding right wing activities.
- Monitor Religious Rights activities by dropping in regularly to read bulletin boards in Christian bookstores, by visiting a conservative fundamentalist church in your local area and tune in regularly to conservative Christian radio stations and cable networks in your area. Listen to Rush Limbaugh, Dr. Laura and others, to learn what people are being told to feel about whom. Watch Pat Robertson's 700 Club "News" to see what issues are galvanizing the Christian Coalition.
- Listen carefully to conversations in public places.
- Subscribe to an online service and browse regularly through Right Wing web sites and message boards.

CONGREGATIONAL INVENTORY

Examining ourselves in worship alone isolates us. We are called to action. The ability of the theocratic right to mobilize constituents far outstrips that of liberal religious movements. As we are educating ourselves on the theocratic right political movement, we must also explore the resources and concerns of the congregation.

One of the biggest challenges for our community service ministry is combining our individual interests and talents into focused, intentional congregational responses. As people living in a busy world, we often avoid "the planning," choosing instead "the doing," so we can have a sense of accomplishment in our faith work. Unfortunately, this is what often leads us to the "tyranny of diversity"—our strength as community is marginalized by our individual interests. This is probably the biggest challenge to the ability of liberal religious communities to impact political events.

Consider these questions:

- What are our individual interests and strengths; how do they translate into our congregation's interests? What social justice work or planning for social justice work is underway in our congregation? How does the mission of the congregation support work in the community? How does responding to these ballot initiatives fit in with that work?
- How can we be most helpful in responding to community needs while respecting the limited resources of our members and staff? What congregational resources are available? What related work is occurring denominationally and in the local district? How are Board members and other lay leaders involved? If they are not, how will we get them involved? What are other congregations of similar size doing?
- What are our congregational goals right now; are we focused on involving many people, or developing projects that can be maintained over time?
- How can our congregation make a meaningful statement within our community?

WORKING WITHIN THE CONGREGATION

We are used to giving community service. We do it in our daily work, in our neighborhoods, in our volunteer commitments, bringing our Unitarian Universalist values with us. Reflecting on our principles and purposes and how those beliefs impact our actions is, at the core, faith-based work. Creating religious action begins with our primary religious community activity—worship. It is through worshipping together that we can build the foundation of our religious response. Here we can explore our congregational call, understand our individual strengths and questions, and get support from our faith community.

ANTI-GAY INITIATIVES: HOW TO RESPOND IN WORSHIP – *The Reverend Marilyn Sewell*

Marilyn Sewell is the senior minister at First Unitarian Church in Portland, Oregon. In Salted with Fire: Unitarian Universalist Strategies for Sharing Faith and Growing Congregations (SkinnerHouse Books), Reverend Sewell talks about how the anti-gay political movement in Portland put the First Church community into the political spot light. Here she summarizes how worship supports community action.

Our ministers can go directly to our Purposes and Principles and to our historical tradition: we believe in the worth and dignity of each and every human being, and we foster an attitude of personal freedom, grounded in concern for community. People need to be reminded in sermons, prayers, and readings about who we are as a free church. This reminding helps hold us steady when the forces of judgment and hate and prejudice run loose. And it reassures [bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender persons] that they are welcome and safe in our midst.

We can conduct special worship services where [bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender people] and those in solidarity with them can join together in support, affirm their values, and stay strong in the face of attack. We hold a community service before the Gay Pride March each year in Portland.

We can mention [bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender people] and the ballot measures as illustrative material in various sermon contexts. This will acknowledge them and keep the issue before the congregation. We can invite [bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender] choirs and soloists to provide music. We can preach about AIDS and HIV and help the congregation to see it as OUR problem, not THEIR problem.

One problem that may emerge is that a few congregants may begin to resent the amount of attention given to [bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender people]. Some would like the problem to go away. This is the “they’re taking over” syndrome that happens every time a minority group becomes visible. Do not be intimidated by critical remarks—it is the sound of congregants stretching.

ACTIONS FOR WORKING WITHIN CONGREGATIONS:

- *Make sure everyone in your church or other organizations you belong to is registered to vote. Sponsor a “100%” voter registration drive in your church. Hand out non-partisan voters’ guides. Check with United for Diversity (UU Interfaith Organization) for ideas about creating and distributing voter guides; also the Unitarian Universalist Association’s Washington Office for general information along with CC Watch.*

In meetings, structure check-ins so that they elicit positive information. These will create positive energy, which will make your meetings more productive.

Examples:

- 1) *Name a source of hope for you*
- 2) *Say something that has really surprised you in your political work*
- 3) *Say three things that you feel proud of*

- *Cultivate hope as a discipline. When you hear yourself thinking negatively, remind yourself about the power that we have to make change.*
- *During the Ballot measure campaigns in Oregon, gay members of First Unitarian Church wrote an open letter to church members. Among their requests was:*

“Ask us what we need and how we are doing; listen to our anger, fears, and paranoia; if you are so inclined, bring us flowers or invite us to dinner; let us know you are concerned about this ballot measure; make time in this church and in your lives for us to be nurtured and recharged and most importantly, don’t stop after the elections...perhaps the biggest reward we can all gain from this horrible fight is the knowledge that we are really all one people, fighting one fight—and that it is our love and understanding for each other that will bring us through this and give us strength to move on...”

- *Write an open letter to the churches in your community inviting them to participate in worship, and faith-based political action, and education to build an interfaith network. The Good Neighbors PAC on the Oregon north Pacific coast, led in part by local Unitarian Universalists, wrote a letter to clergy inviting them to participate in a “Hate Free Sunday.”*

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

We are faced with the unique opportunity in this work to build coalitions within our larger communities to further our Principles and Purposes. The liberal religious movement has always had numerous voices—as numerous as there are religious entities. We can serve as a bridge within the liberal religious community between many with different theologies. We must learn how to speak with unified voices. It is a strategic imperative. The organizational strength of the theocratic right comes from the very core structure of the fundamentalist Christian religious movement. Their ability to mobilize individuals and funds for action is a keystone of the political strategy and success of the theocratic conservative political movement. Our social justice ministry needs to be motivated in addition by what activities will best support our mission in our community.

Once you have an idea of the resources and interests in your congregation, find out what is already going on in your community. What groups are already addressing your interest issues. They may be:

- Gay and Lesbian Groups
- Political Groups
- Religious Groups
- Special Interest Groups

Then answer these questions:

- Who needs help?
- What's missing?
- How can we strengthen what already exists?
- Where can we build bridges?
- What can make the work of these groups more permanent?

ACTIONS FOR COMMUNITY OUTREACH:

- *Interfaith coalitions will provide a much more unifying voice in your community than an UU-only group. Choose methods and strategies that will allow the broadest base of support from your community. Start with your friends, neighbors, co-workers, and family. Listen to their points of view, even if they're different from your own. Practice non-polarized discussion.*
- *Call in to talk radio shows; write in to the newspaper; speak up at your parent-teacher association. When “religion” or “Christian” is used in media to describe right wing beliefs, call the paper and tell them that they are misrepresenting you.*
- *You can't do it alone. Build the broadest-based coalition possible to challenge the small vocal minority of right wing people in your community. Think creatively; new situations breed new alliances. Do your best to create a multi-racial coalition. Don't be misled by “spokespeople for communities of color” who identify with right wing agendas.*
- *Use language that is personal and anecdotal. Don't allow patriotism or religion to be co-opted by the Right. Be out and proud as a person of faith, as an American, as a pro-family person. Wear buttons, bumper stickers, and t-shirts that identify who you are. Humor can soften your image as a militant: Get a bumper sticker that reads, “When evolution is outlawed, only outlaws will evolve” or “Jesus is coming: Look busy!”*

- *Don't polarize the debate, and refuse to allow yourself to be represented as a "fringe minority." Instead, align yourself constantly with the majority (which all surveys show to be against the right wing's agenda). Use words like "mainstream," "majority," "the average American."*
- *Local religious and community leaders in Eugene/Springfield, Oregon, where the anti-gay initiatives were launched, were worried about possible unrest during a scheduled meeting of the Promise Keepers. The community called a meeting of supporters of Promise Keepers, evangelical and other Christian leaders and concerned citizen leaders to produce a statement of agreement including: "There are many diverse families and family structures in our country...we will work to create communities in which all families are respected; violence driven by hatred or prejudice toward any person is unacceptable."*
- *From Meg Riley's fantasies...imagine people trained in non-violent interaction sitting all over communities with signs that say, 'Against (measure XXX)...Willing to Listen.' Then we sit and listen, not fighting or arguing, just listening. After people have vented and spewed and felt heard and respected, they might feel ready to hear the stories of the people sitting with the signs...*

RURAL AND SMALL COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Political campaigns focus on population centers, leaving many residents un-represented. The theocratic right political organizers use this to their advantage by entering and usually winning elections in these often rural and sparsely populated areas. Their strategy is straightforward: find an uncontested election for a minor position and stage a write-in campaign for an unknown candidate. Since many people don't vote in uncontested and incumbent elections, these "stealth" candidates often win and influence local policy, particularly on school boards. To offset this isolation in Oregon, a group called the Rural Organizing Project was formed to support the work of rural activists. Their major tools are helping local leaders network through the Internet—ROP has a network of over 50 groups who regularly share information and strategize together, and provide statewide training events. This rural coalition is now an important political force in both local and state politics.

DEVELOP A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH

Now that you have a framework for building your social justice ministry from both interests within your congregation and needs within your community, you can create a congregational action plan. The Faith In Action Department (formerly the Department of Social Justice) at the UUA distributes a model called "Social Justice Empowerment Program," as well as sending staff members to facilitate congregational planning sessions. This model helps us to see social justice as a part of the ministry of the whole congregation. It explores such issues as the role of the Board of Trustees, financial resources, and preparing action plans. The following two excerpts are examples from the model: How to Motivate People to Do Social Justice Work; and The Social Change Cycle. In addition, the First Unitarian Church in Rochester, NY also publishes a booklet called, "To Change the World;" it is an example of how one congregation has integrated social justice activity into their community life.

WORKING WITH LEGISLATORS

- *Remember that Senators and Representatives are your employees! Don't be intimidated by them. They are human beings, and basic human connections will make your visit more memorable and productive.*
- *Learn where they live, what their profession is, and who their financial supporters and campaign workers are: Buy the U.S. Congress Handbook, Box 566, McLean, Virginia 22101. (703) 356-3572 or to buy a pocket-sized directory listing Senators' and Representatives' committee assignments, room number, phone numbers, and other pertinent information, call 1-800-638-6582. Learn members' committee assignments, special interests, voting records, positions, and campaign promises.*
- *Write your legislators regularly. If you have professional letterhead, or letterhead from an association you represent, use it. Write clear, direct, one-issued letters. Ask specific, even unusual, questions so that they need to answer your letter personally. Your own language, even if it is slightly awkward, will be better than "canned language" from an advocacy group. Be brief, courteous, timely, and make reasonable demands. Don't ever threaten. Don't even hint, "I'll never vote for you unless you do what I want." Don't pretend to wield vast political influence. Speak for yourself or, if you are elected to represent a constituency, present that constituency accurately.*
- *Visit your member or aide regularly; be helpful, courteous, and speak only about one issue (two at the very most!) at a time. Be sure you know how your issue relates to specific bills that are current. If appropriate, ask that the member approach another member on a bill. Prepare a written copy of your request for the member; provide articles from professional journals.*
- *Remember to thank your member when they do something you like—vote right, speak out, etc. Relationships with all the member's staff people are essential. Get to know them personally; don't treat them like lackeys or unimportant people. Often, they determine your access and reputation. Indicate that you will inform your congregation (neighborhood group, etc.) about what they have said. After the visit, write a thank you note.*

LIVING IN THE STRUGGLE

Our recent experience addressing the activities of the theocratic right serves to remind all of us that the work of supporting our religious principles and purposes is a constant challenge. We are mistaken when we see defeated ballot measures as the victory; victory will come to our social justice ministry when we live in a society that respects our values.

Our work is long term...and as important as our work related to anti-gay ballot measures is—it is more important seen in the context of our larger mission than in the narrow corridor of the anti-gay movement. Nurturing ourselves is a key component to maintain our perspective and our strength. If you are not a person who is comfortable with the public image of activist work, perhaps you could be one of the congregants who nurtures the activists. Here are some ideas:

- This is a long haul; we need to congratulate ourselves on small successes. Have parties, church services, awards ceremonies to celebrate small steps along the way. Adopt the motto of longtime activist Barbara Major: It isn't going to be easy, so it better be fun!

- Don't allow bad process to alienate you from those who should be your allies.
- Spiritual discipline—prayer, meditation, and holy house cleaning—can give strength for the journey.
- A trusted group of colleagues in this work is essential. Invite other activists to do fun things with you, as well as working on the issues together!
- Remember to take time off; take vacations; look after your health. You aren't going to do any good for the movement if you're burnt out or sick!
- Creativity is essential for good organizing. When you feel trapped, burnt out, reactive, and reptilian, take a day off; go to the beach; hang out with a three year-old; finger-paint; watch a silly movie.
- If the news is making you crazy, avoid it for a while. Pray while you read it. Turn it over to the wind.
- Tell other people when you are upset about politics.
- Consider giving yourself the gifts of massage, acupuncture, or other healing on a regular basis.
- Don't forget to nurture your closest relationships with friends and family! These are the people who will be there with you when times are toughest. Take time to hang out, talk, laugh, and goof off with them.
- Get on the mailing list for the UUA Bookstore, Beacon Press, and Skinner House Books to find new and accessible books. Here are some titles from other sources that you may find inspiring:

Joanna Macy, World as Lover, World as Self *Contains exercises to help spiritual strengthening to overcome despair. Gather an empowerment group to use some of these exercises.*

Martin Luther King, Where Do We Go from Here? and Chaos or Community

Ghandhi, An Autobiography

Adrienne Rich, What is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and other essays and assorted poetry

Audre Lorde, Sister Outsider and assorted poetry

Cornell West, Keeping Faith and Race Matters

Carter Heyward, Our Passion for Justice

Pam McAllister, Renewing the Web of Life: Feminism and Non-Violence

Frank Chikane, No Life of My Own

Starhawk, Truth or Dare

Dr. Seuss, Yertle the Turtle

and many many others, to keep focused on the larger vision and to remain hopeful.

RESOURCES TO CREATE SPIRITUAL SPACE

SERMONS:

The UUA's Office of Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian and Transgender Concerns, the UUA's Faith in Action Department and the UUA's Washington Office all carry copies of sermons relating to a variety of social justice issues. You are encouraged to contact any of the offices to obtain sermons related to the topic(s) you are dealing with.

FROM OUR HYMNAL, Singing the Living Tradition

In addition check the Topical Index, p. 673

HYMNS:

- 121 We'll Build a Land
- 131 Love Will Guide Us
- 168 One More Step
- 170 We Are a Gentle Angry People
- 325 Love Makes a Bridge
- 407 We're Gonna Sit at the Welcome Table

READINGS/OPENINGS AND CLOSING WORDS:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 567 To Be of Use | Marge Piercy |
| 576 A Litany of Restoration | Marjorie Bowens-Wheatley |
| 577 It Is Possible to Live in Peace | Mohandas K. Gandhi |
| 586 The Idea of Democracy | Abraham Lincoln |
| 598 Without Hate | Buddhist |
| 429 Come into this Place of Peace | William Schulz |
| 686 Go in Peace | Mark Belletini |
| 683 Be Ours a Religion | Theodore Parker |
| 561 Never Doubt that a Small Group | Margaret Mead |
| 579 The Task of the Religious Community | Mark Morrison-Read |

RESOURCES – AVAILABLE FROM THE UUA

OFFICE OF BISEXUAL, GAY, LESBIAN, AND TRANSGENDER CONCERNS

25 Beacon Street; Boston, MA 02108 phone: (617) 742-2100 x 475 obgltc@uua.org
<http://www.uua.org/obgltc>

- *Worship materials, including copies of sermons*
- *Information from the 1994 campaign press kit including: articles from Connections, UU World; Public Speaking Tips; Key Elements of a Public Relations and Ad Campaign; Media Strategies; Sample Interfaith Statements; Statements from National Religious Bodies; Parents as Homophobia Educators*
- *Biblical Response to Homophobia Resource List*
- *History of UU Involvement in the fight against homophobia*
- *UU general resolutions*

UU WASHINGTON OFFICE

2026 P Street, NW; Washington, DC 20036-6097 phone: 202.296.4672 uuwo@uua.org
<http://www.uua.org/wo>

- *Organizations networking for political and legislative issues*
- *Information on upcoming legislative and political organizing workshops*
- *UUWO legislative briefings and reports...*
- *Information for churches about voter guides*

VIDEOS (available from OBGLTC)

Ballot Measure Nine
54 West 16th St. #12-J
New York, NY 10011

Not In Our Town (1995) and *Not In Our Town II* (1996)
c/o California Working Group
(510) 547-8484

With God On Our Side: The Rise Of The Religious Right In America
(six hour series)
ITVS (Independent Television Service)
(612) 225-9035

The Straight Agenda
Fair is Fair Productions
2300 Market Street, Suite 139
San Francisco, CA 94114

RESOURCES – ORGANIZATIONS

ACLU

132 W. 43rd St.
New York, NY 10036-6599
<http://www.aclu.org/>

AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Newsletter: Church and State. Publications, clergy network, phone consultations.

1816 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 466-3234 voice
(202) 466-2587 fax
<http://www.au.org>

AMERICANS FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7000 voice
(215) 241-7272 fax
e-mail: afscinfo@afsc.org
<http://www.afsc.org/>

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Washington Newsletter
245 Second St., NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-6000
(202) 547-4343—legislation action message

CC WATCH

Independent electronic subscription news service tracking and reporting activities of the Christian Coalition
3471 NE 163rd St., Suite 311
Sunny Isles, FL 33160
e-mail: Watch97@aol.com
<http://www.wlo.org/ccwatch>

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

Bi-monthly newsletter, "The Monitor"
P.O. Box 50469
Atlanta, GA 30302-0469
(404) 221-0025 voice
<http://www.publiceye.org/cdr>

THE INTERFAITH ALLIANCE

Focus on media work, to lift up "another religious voice"
1511 K St. NW, Suite 738
Washington, DC 20005
<http://www.interfaithalliance.org/>

INTERFAITH WORKING GROUP
P.O. Box 11706
Philadelphia, PA 19101
(215) 235-3050
<http://www.iwgonline.org>

INSTITUTE FOR FIRST AMENDMENT STUDIES
Newsletter: Freedom Writer. Phone consultation, books-by-mail service.
P.O. Box 589
Great Barrington, MA 01230
(413) 274-3786 voice
(413) 274-0240 fax
email: frdmwriter@aol.com
<http://www.ifas.org/>

MAINE SPEAK OUT PROJECT
PO Box 15303; Portland, ME 04112
MSOPProject@gwi.net
<http://www.mainespeakout.org>

NATIONAL BLACK LESBIAN/GAY LEADERSHIP FORUM
Phone Consultation, written resources; linking racism and homophobia in the Radical Right's agenda.
1436 U St. NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 483-6786 voice

NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE FIGHT THE RIGHT PROJECT
1151 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 492-6393
<http://www.ngltf.org>

NORTHWEST COALITION AGAINST MALICIOUS HARASSMENT
P.O. Box 16776
Seattle, WA 98116
(206) 233-9136 voice
(206) 233-0611 fax

NORTHWEST SPEAKOUT PROJECT
"Everybody's a speaker," how to set up an effective speakers bureau; letters to the editor on disk.
921 SW Morrison, Suite 506
Portland, OR 97205
(503) 231-1129 voice
(503) 223-5098 fax
email: NSOP@aol.com

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY
Newsletter: "Right Wing Watch." Publications, activists alert network, clergy network, and phone consultations.
2000 M St. NW, #400
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 467-4999
email: pfaw@pfaw.org
<http://www.pfaw.org>

POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

Newsletter: The Public Eye
120 Beacon St., Suite 202
Somerville, MA 02143
(617) 661-9313
email: publiceye@igc.apc.org
<http://www.publiceye.org>

PROJECT Freedom of Religion

Newsletter: FORSIGHT
First UU Church
4190 Front St.
San Diego, CA 92103
<http://firstuusandiego.org/public/programs/for>

SIMPLE JUSTICE

Network of Christians in the Northwest committed to supporting human rights and civil liberties.
P.O. Box 20116
Seattle, WA 98102
(206) 632-9066

UNITED FOR DIVERSITY

Voter guides
N33 W7174 Buchanan St.
Cedarburg, WI 53012
(414) 375-1522

WESTERN STATES CENTER

522 SW Fifth Ave., Suite 1390
Portland, OR 97204
(503) 228-8866
<http://www.westernstatescenter.org/>

RESOURCES – E-MAIL AND INTERNET

Conservative

Cato Institute <http://www.cato.org>

Has lots of links including many non-English ones

Heritage Foundation <http://www.heritage.org>

Has an on-line journal and listserv for weekly updates. Has lots of links that don't duplicate Cato and are all in English.

Faith Based

Interfaith Working Group

Possibly best site in this section

<http://www.iwgonline.org>

Lutherans Concerned North America

<http://www.lcna.org>

Unitarian Universalist Association

<http://uua.org>

Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian and Transgender

Human Rights Campaign

<http://www.hrc.org>

Lambda Legal Defense Fund

<http://www.lambdalegal.org>

National Gay & Lesbian Task Force

<http://www.ngltf.org>

Parents, Families & Friends of Lesbians & Gays

<http://www.pflag.org>

Queer Resource Directory

<http://www.qrd.org>

Unitarian Universalist Association's OBGLTC

<http://www.uua.org/obgltc>

Political

Thomas

<http://thomas.loc.gov>

Library of Congress Congressional Bill tracking system

The United States House of Representatives

<http://www.house.gov>

The United States Senate

<http://www.senate.gov>

The United States White House

<http://www.whitehouse.gov>

Religious Right

American Family Association

<http://www.afa.net>

Buchanan Brigade

<http://www.buchanan.org>

Christian Coalition

<http://www.cc.org>

Concerned Women for America

<http://www.cwfa.org/>

Family Research Council

<http://www.frc.org>

Divided into three areas: government related, public policy groups, religious links

Focus on the Family

<http://www.family.org>

RESOURCES – BOOKS TO CONSIDER

Challenging the Christian Right: an Activists Handbook

Institute for First Amendment Studies.

The Covert Crusade: The Christian Right and Politics in the West

Western States Center

Historical analysis; many good appendices including the American Citizens Alliance Statement of Principles

Created Equal: Why Gay Rights Matter to America

Michael Nava & Robert Dawidoff; 1994, St. Martins Press, New York.

Easy reading, considering the topic. Written by a gay lawyer and gay history professor discussing constitutional issues and the overall agenda of the radical right.

Decline to Sign: A Guide to Defeating Anti-Gay Initiatives Through Counter Petitioning

Bigot Busters; 1202 E. Pike #1110; Seattle, WA 98122-3934

Eyes Right

Ed. Chip Berlet. South End Press. (617) 266-0629

New anthology with good analysis on many issues.

How to Win: A Practical Guide to Defeating the Radical Right in Your Town

National Jewish Democratic Council; 711 Second St. NW; Washington, DC

The Religious Right: The Assault of Tolerance and Pluralism in America

Anti-Defamation League; 1994, 823 United Nations Plaza; New York, NY 10017

Good overview on the “phenomenon known as the Religious Right”

The Political Activity of the Religious Right in the 1990'S: A Critical Analysis

Rabbi Lori Forman; The American Jewish Committee

26 page pamphlet including bibliography

Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right

Sara Diamond; 1989, South End Press, Boston, MA

Detailed, historical analysis of the growth of the radical right

Study War No More: Uncovering the Right on Campus

University Conversion Project; Box 748, Cambridge, MA 02142

Transformations: Articles on the Religious Right

Suzanne Pharr; C/o The Women's Project

When Hate Groups Come to Town

Center for Democratic Renewal and Education, Inc.; P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302,
(404) 221-0025

Anthology of reflections and community-based strategies addressing the rise of the “far right.”

Why the Religious Right is Wrong About Separation of Church and State

Rob Boston; Prometheus Books, (800) 421-0351