



Irene Gomez-Bethke Papers.

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Constitutional Convention to balance national budget.

60-70s in which there were substantial new opportunities and programs for minorities, the poor, and the handicapped were substantial enough to threaten the status quo and generate resistance. N.R. encourages the politics of polarization setting group against group. blatant overtones of sexism, racism, classism, and prejudice against the poor.

Against busing, affirmative action, welfare CETA and youth employment initiatives - opposition to desegregation efforts.

### Solutions

1. We must rely on alliances with other groups.
2. Set of programs addressing the most pressing issues

H.F. 43

I 1st time are linked organizationally.

1. fear of losing jobs

2. issue women "seniority provision"

3. Media control - supervisor should not have bargaining power -

4. Senator Tower - RW - on labor - etc. NR supports.

5. Will be using Pro life - as cover for real goals.

N.R. 6. Archie Stokes - labor lawyers Contract (rights)

7.

## Areas of Concern - Legislation

1. Constitutional amendments providing initiative and ~~refer~~ referendum in the State Minnesota.
2. Bill on student dismissals Act.



## "NEW RIGHT-WING" POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

### \*NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE (1956)

- Operates at National, State, and Local levels
- 1.25 million members
- 85 full-time employees
- \$5 million budget
  
- AIMS
  - Passage of National and State "Right-to-Work" laws that would ban Union Security Clauses and greatly weaken unions.
  - Defeat of pro-labor legislation (Labor Law Reform, Public-Employee unionism, etc.)
  - Defeat of pro-labor political figures.
  - Influence Public Opinion in support of their aims.
  
- METHODS
  - National and State campaigns for passage of "Right-to-Work" laws.
  - Political and Financial support of anti-labor politicians.
  - Active opposition of pro-labor political candidates.
  - Lawsuits aimed at contractual Union Security agreements.
  - Massive direct mailing of propaganda (25 million pieces of mail in 1977).
  - Sophisticated, nationwide fund-raising campaigns (8.5 million in contributions in 1977).
  - National opinion polls designed to support stands of Right-to-Work organizations.
  - Newspaper, radio, magazine advertising.
  - Distribution of pamphlets, books, newsletters, movies, filmstrips, speakers, classroom material.

### BRANCH ORGANIZATIONS

- CONCERNED EDUCATORS AGAINST FORCED UNIONISM
- STUDENT RIGHT-TO-WORK COMMITTEE
- NATIONAL RIGHT-TO-WORK LEGAL DEFENSE FOUNDATION, INC.
- EMPLOYEE RIGHTS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

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## "NEW RIGHT-WING" POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

The following groups are openly anti-labor.

### \*AMERICANS AGAINST UNION CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT

- 1 million members
- \$2.5 million budget
- Active supporters - Senators Jake Garn, Orrin Hatch, Jesse Helms.
- AIMS
  - Block Federal and State bills giving public employees right to unionize and bargain collectively
  - Block unionization of military.
- METHODS
  - Oppose pro-public employee legislation
  - Oppose pro-labor candidates and support anti-labor candidates.
  - Public Relations campaigns to raise money and support for organization.
  - Mailings, newspaper ads, etc.

### \*COMMITTEE FOR SURVIVAL OF A FREE CONGRESS (1974)

- Active supporters - Senators Curtis and Helms, Congressmen Symms, Spence, Hanson and others.
- Raised \$1.6 million in 1976.
- Creation of Joseph Coors, multi-millionaire anti-union employer.
- AIMS
  - Oppose pro-labor legislation (Labor Law Reform, OSHA, Davis-Bacon, Etc.)
  - Oppose pro-labor candidates and support anti-labor candidates.
- METHODS
  - Fund-raising and donations to anti-labor candidates thru FUND TO DEFEAT BIG LABOR POLITICIANS.
  - Selection and support of anti-labor candidates nationwide.
  - Hiring of staff of expert political strategists.
  - Newspaper and radio ads, mailings, and public relations campaign.
  - Public Opinion polls designed to support organization's stands.

### \*COMMITTEE TO DEFEAT THE UNION BOSSES CANDIDATES

- Active supporter - Congressman Lawrence McDonald, democrat from Georgia.
- AIMS
  - Defeat all pro-labor politicians.
  - Sees itself as right-wing's answer to COPE.
- METHODS
  - Fund-raising.
  - Mailings, newspapers, radio.
  - Campaign support.

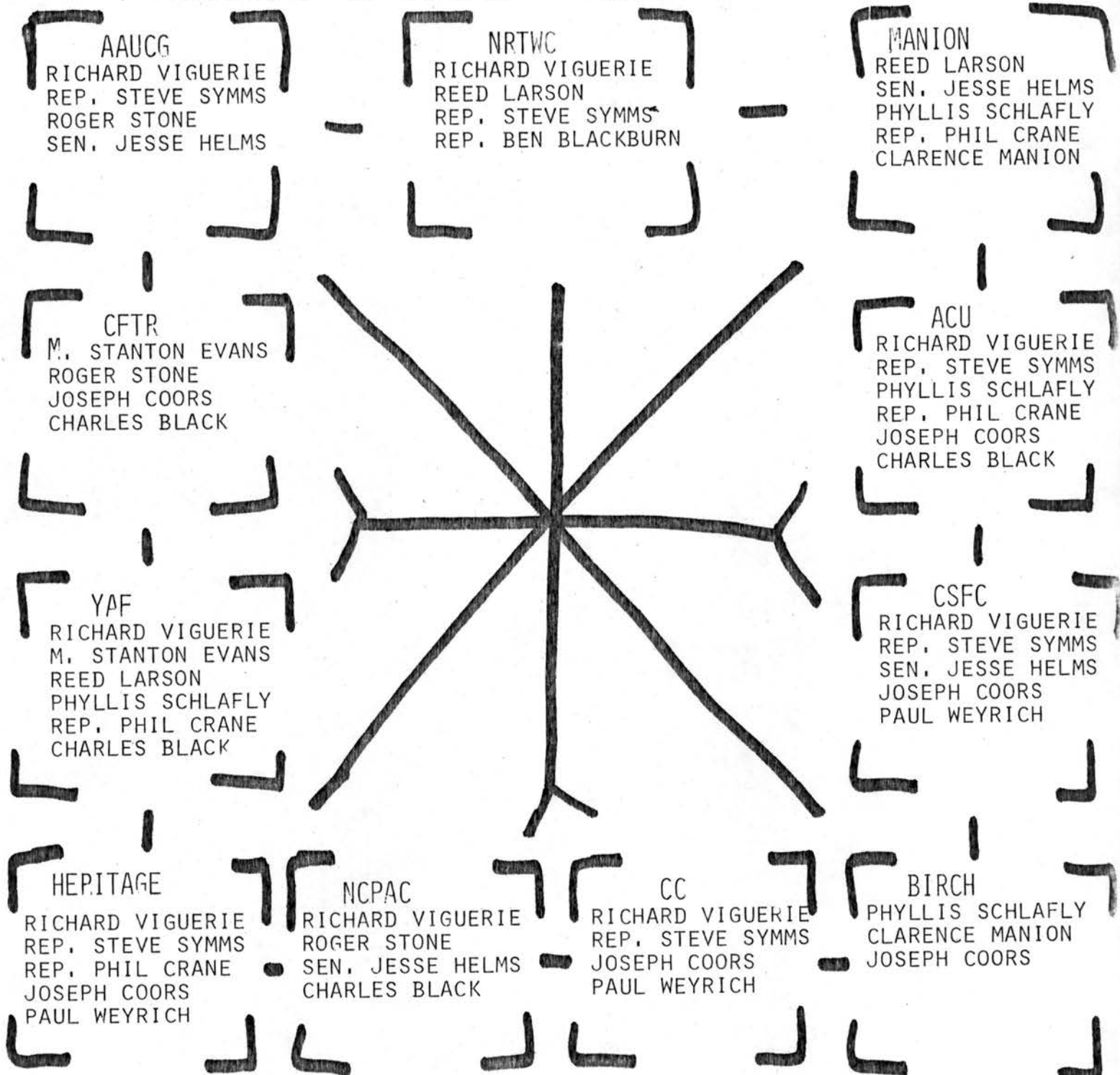
## \*HERITAGE FOUNDATION (1973)

- Another creation of the union-busting Joseph Coors.
- Actively supported by Senators Curtis and Garn, and Congressmen Crane and Symms.
- Operates under guise of a non-partisan, tax-exempt educational and research institution. Real purpose create propaganda for New Right Wing.
- AIM
  - Oppose all pro-labor, liberal legislation
- METHOD
  - Use of propaganda disguised as policy studies, surveys, polls.
  - Fund-raising through Heritage's FUND TO STOP BIG LABOR.

The following organizations have proven to be Anti-Labor in philosophy and/or in their opposition to pro-labor legislation and political candidates. Many of the organizations and their leaders are linked to other Anti-Labor organizations:

- JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
- LIBERTY LOBBY
- CHRISTIAN CRUSADE
- YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM
- CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS AND THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS RESEARCH, ANALYSIS, AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION
- NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
- CENTER ON NATIONAL LABOR POLICY
- AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION

# THE GURUS OF THE NEW RIGHT - - MAINTAIN A TIGHT WEB



NRTWC - NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE  
 AAUCG - AMERICANS AGAINST UNION CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT  
 MANION - THE MANION FORUM  
 CFTR - CITIZENS FOR THE REPUBLIC  
 ACU - AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION  
 YAF - YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM  
 CSFC - COMMITTEE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF A FREE CONGRESS  
 HERITAGE - THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION  
 NCPAC - NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  
 CC - CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS  
 BIRCH - THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY







## TASK FORCE ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

## WHAT EVERY TEACHER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE NEW RIGHT

By Mary Peek

"It is imperative that teachers - public and nonpublic, prekindergarten through post-college - be alerted to and understand the activities of the New Right.

"If left unchecked, the New Right will make a mockery of education - particularly the public sector, which has evolved into a state of refinement the likes of which the world never has known.

"If teachers do not care, do not act to negate impact of the New Right, public education as we know it will die.

"Teachers need knowledge so they can decide how to act effectively.

"This treatise, commissioned by the Minnesota Education Association to help provide that knowledge, can be the beginnings of such effective action."

Don Hill,  
President  
MEA

### WHY SHOULD TEACHERS CARE ABOUT THE NEW RIGHT?

- New Right groups seek to destroy citizen confidence in public education in order to replace public schools with their own Christian schools.
- New Right groups, on the basis that public schools are teaching "secular humanism," are attempting to stifle academic freedom.
- New Right groups pursue a strategy of undermining public employee's unions organizationally and politically. They insist that payment of union fees by public employees is "the ultimate threat to academic freedom."
- New Right groups are spearheading the Tax Revolt that bodes ill for the continued generous support of public education.
- New Right groups attack social programs to assist minorities, the poor, and other disadvantaged groups. If they are successful in destroying these programs, the effects will fall heavily, not only on adults, but on the children who come from these groups.
- New Right groups, as part of their anti-women's movement crusade, oppose changes that Title IX would make in the sex discriminatory curriculum offerings and employment patterns common in most schools.

#### WHAT IS THE NEW RIGHT?

The New Right is made up of a group of conservative (they call themselves "radical") activists who, in the past five years, have created a set of right-wing political organizations whose aim is to build a nation-wide grass-roots conservative movement. They plan to elect a majority of conservatives (of both parties) to Congress, and, eventually, to place their own man in the White House.

"The people heading the New Right are not mere political charlatans; they are bold, resourceful, well-organized, and well-financed, and they are also deadly serious, true and passionate believers," writes former Democratic Senator Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire. McIntyre was defeated by a New Right Republican in his bid for re-election last year, and he has written a book about the movement entitled The Fear Brokers.

McIntyre is right -- they are indeed well financed. These groups work together and have created a centralized fundraising operation that is successful beyond any previous attempts by older conservative groups and the present money-raising capability of the liberal community.

#### "God Father" Richard A. Viguerie

The political guru and financial wizard of the New Right (he has often been called its "godfather") is Richard A. Viguerie of Falls Church, Virginia. Without Richard Viguerie, there might have been no meaningful New Right movement, at least not one with the money and organization to become a serious factor in national politics.

Viguerie operates a direct-mail business, and has elevated fundraising to a high art. He has millions of names encoded on miles of computer tape, and he can and does raise millions of dollars for right-wing candidates and causes.

At the tap of one of his computer buttons, he can stir up a blizzard of protest letters to Congress on any number of selected issues.

In addition to his direct-mail activities, Viguerie has become a key organizer of more than a dozen New Right groups, among which are the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the Conservative Caucus, and the Gun Owners of America.

His Falls Church office frequently serves as the setting for the periodic meetings of the New Right leadership to map nationwide campaigns against such items as the Panama Canal Treaty, detente with the Soviet Union, military budget cuts, collective bargaining for public employees, government regulations (except, in some instances, where they freeze the status quo in favor of business), affirmative action, busing, abortion, and gay rights. A prominent institution under attack is public education.

The New Right feels that any one, or all of these public policy items are worth its attention in order to prevent what it feels is the disintegration of the American social and political fabric.

#### "Fear Brokers" Among Us

Senator McIntyre cautions that in discussing the New Right, he is not merely "viewing with alarm " out of professional habit, but that he is talking about something real. He writes, "There are 'fear brokers' among us, and it is important that they be recognized for what they are."

McIntyre points out the difficulties we face and says, "...the presence of a faction willing to factionalize the rest of us -- willing, out of fanatical confidence in its own solution, to heighten our fears and play upon our temptation toward panic -- is a great danger to all. Our best resources are reason, mutual trust, determined calm, and disciplined following of our inherited, tested processes

innumerable schemes to gain public funds for parochial schools or have sought to distort Constitutional principles to make it possible for an education based on the Judeo-Christian religion to be provided by the state.

This attack on the schools is part of the highly personal, single-issue politics practiced so assiduously by the fundamentalist New Right. It is characterized by a lack of concern for First Amendment guarantees and a lack of restraint and rationality in advancing an argument that should concern all public educators.

#### HOW IS THE NEW RIGHT TRYING TO STIFLE ACADEMIC FREEDOM?

The right-wing critics of education claim that they have accumulated extensive evidence that school teachers as well as textbooks, library books, films, supplemental series, and other educational materials are tools in the school's conspiracy to foist secular humanism on unsuspecting children, making them vulnerable to socialist and communist philosophies.

Since these critics are "true believers," they do not recognize that they live in a religiously and socially pluralistic society. They insist they alone know what education should be and have a corner on morality, decency, and God's truth. They are, in Eric Sevareid's words, filled with "dangerously passionate certainties."

They assume, therefore, that they have a right to impose those "passionate certainties" -- truths -- on others. It is a short step from that position for them to feel justified in censoring materials with which they do not agree, or which they do not understand.

Dr. J. Charles Park, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, long-time student of right wing pressures on public education, says that the concern about humanistic education carries within it the suggestion that schools ought not to teach children to critically examine issues, that to do so is to promote atheism,



since truth is already known. He feels that in that fact lies the threat to inquiry and the rights of academic freedom and access to information. He points out that when citizens are under stress, as they are in many ways in our society today, some want the comfort of "absolutist rhetoric." Since it is also a time of voter apathy and general public misinformation about much of what education is attempting to do, conditions are ripe for well-organized, anti-education groups to flourish.

Among the interest groups attacking public education at the national level are the Heritage Foundation (New Right "think tank"), Citizens for Educational Freedom and Parents' Rights, American Legislative Exchange Council, and the John Birch Society.

#### Minnesota Censorship Groups

In Minnesota, Young Parents Alert based in Lake Elmo and Parents of Minnesota, Inc., headquartered in St. Paul Park, have attacked various school districts and programs throughout the state. Among them are South St. Paul, Lakeville, Prior Lake, Forest Lake, and Washington County District 833. Many other schools, and the State Department of Education, have felt the effect of the work these groups are doing.

Parents of Minnesota, Inc., (P.O.M.), cautions its members that "elementary and secondary children who experience stomach aches (sic), headaches, nightmares or similar complaints and/or disorders that cannot be accounted for " may be suffering "trauma " from the "uprooting " of their "value system " that shows itself through these signs.

Parents are encouraged to keep in close contact with their children regarding school work, questioning them often on the content of various courses and urging them to bring home "objectionable " material. P.O.M. also advises parents to, "insist on seeing ALL classroom materials " and instructs them further that



"When objecting to materials in your children's classes, DO NOT fall victim to the educator's claims to 'ACADEMIC FREEDOM!'"

Judith Krug, Director of the American Library Association's Office of Intellectual Freedom, in response to what has been termed "the wave of book burning in schools and libraries," calls what is happening "the most massive, vicious, and sophisticated " censorship since McCarthyism of the 1950's.

An upcoming book, Censors in the Classroom: The Mindbenders, by Edward Jenkinson, Chairman of the Committee Against Censorship of the National Council of Teachers of English, will document what he calls "a forefront attack on the public schools."

#### HOW CAN TEACHERS DEAL WITH THESE ATTACKS?

Make sure:

- your school system has a set of text book adoption procedures and written list of criteria for selection.
- your department has a written philosophy incorporating the rationale for all materials taught.
- you have good reasons for what you teach and are able to explain these reasons to others.
- your department has written procedures for handling complaints. (The MEA can help you.)
- you involve parents in whatever ways you can in order to build trust, communication, and cooperation.
- you know your constitutional and contractual rights.
- you keep local association leaders informed and seek their assistance.
- that if the problem is large and cannot be handled in channels, you consider going public. You may want to contact the press. (This is usually a group, not an individual, action.)
- you contact MEA's Task Force on Academic Freedom, 41 Sherburne, St. Paul, Minnesota 55103 or,
- Minnesota Coalition Against Censorship, 628 Central Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414.

HOW DOES THE NEW RIGHT AFFECT FEMALE EDUCATION?

Title IX, a federal law passed in 1972, requires all schools to evaluate their curriculum offerings and employment practices in order to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex. The law requires schools to allow free access to all courses -- vocational, home economics, and business as well as all other subjects. It covers physical education and athletic programs, treatment of students, student parental or marital status, financial assistance, counseling, and employment of students and staff. The aim is to provide an education free of sex bias.

Since the right wing accepts the traditional role for women as the only correct one, they see no purpose to Title IX. They defend sex-biased education on the basis that having women in the home caring for children is "natural," that God (through the Bible) has ordained women for wifehood and motherhood, has destined man to be leader and provider, and woman to be follower and server. Equality is equated with sameness and alarms are raised about unisex.

Despite the fact that statistics show the largest percentage of women who are working do so in order to help keep their families fed and sheltered, and that single parent families (with the woman as principal child care provider) are growing at an astounding rate, the Right chooses to close its eyes to those realities. It seeks to restore an earlier concept of womanhood based on separation and inequality.

Phyllis Schlafly, pillar of the New Right and head of the Eagle Forum, wages continual war against the Equal Rights Amendment, raising specters of unisex toilets, rampant family destruction, and women rushed into integrated army barracks after having their screaming babies torn from their arms. "Stop ERA " is the general name for many small groups affiliated with Phyllis Schlafly to oppose ERA in order to "save the American home " and American womanhood from "desecration."

HOW IS THE NEW RIGHT TRYING TO UNDERMINE PUBLIC EMPLOYEE UNIONS?

If the New Right has its way, teachers may have to go back to negotiating their own salaries in competition with every other teacher in their school systems.

While the right wing purports to be a friend to labor, saying that while they have "differences " with labor on specific issues they recognize that unions are a part of the American system, they are in fact trying to break unions, particularly public employee unions.

This attack is carried on in the main by the National Right-to-Work Committee and the attack is two-pronged. In the first instance, the committee conducts slick, professionally designed, and hard-hitting ad campaigns against unions.

For example: One ad run in numerous "respected " magazines last year was headlined "The Ultimate Threat to Academic Freedom." It featured a bearded, scholarly college teacher described as "an officer of the Minnesota Democratic Party and an unabashed liberal " who had rebelled against the concept of mandatory payment of union fees by public employees.

Another ad, run early this year in The Instructor by a New Right group called "Concerned Educators Against Forced Unionism," a division of the National Right-to-work Committee, was headlined, "Tenure protects your job/unless the NEA wants you fired." An attractive young woman, Susan LaVine, was alleged to have been fired because she "stood up for freedom " by refusing to pay what was called "tribute money to the union." The ad warned teachers that, "If union officials can control your paycheck, they can control your job. It's all very simple."

These ads are carefully designed to appeal to individuals who consider themselves liberal, as well as conservatives whose minds are already made up on the

union question. In a recent fundraising effort, Reed Larson, of the National Right-to-Work Committee, boasted, "We are gaining ground every day in freeing teachers from the clutches of NEA's bosses."

Knight Case Crucial for Teachers.

In addition to their advertising campaign, the New Right also tries to cripple unions through judicial action, keeping a full stable of capable attorneys in the office of the National Right-to-Work Legal Defense Foundation for that purpose.

Such legal action is now taking place in Minnesota with a comprehensive case involving the constitutionality of PELRA. It is called the Knight Case. In 1974, eighteen community college professors filed suit against the Minnesota Community College Faculty Association (MCCFA) and the NEA, MEA, IMPACE, and a number of state officials on the grounds that their (the teachers) First Amendment freedoms of speech and association were impinged upon because they could not negotiate for themselves and because they did not agree with the views held by the exclusive faculty representative.

The case, in preparation for many months, has so far cost hundreds of thousands of dollars and is expected to come to trial soon. It is Right-to-Work's effort to make sure that public employees may not band together and bargain with their employers. The outcome of this lawsuit is crucial to every teacher and public employee in Minnesota and the nation.

HOW IS THE TAX REVOLT LED BY THE NEW RIGHT AFFECTING SCHOOLS

Schools are supported by taxes, whether that money comes from local property taxes, state-mandated revenues, or out of national funds. Therefore, when budget cutters (and they are growing in number and ferocity) search for items they can reduce to accommodate some pressing new need or to absorb a revenue loss, public



schools are an easy target. If tax revenues fall because of economic stagnation or by deliberate legislative action, as happened in California with Proposition 13, schools are among the first to suffer.

The New Right has led the Tax Revolt. Howard Jarvis, father of Proposition 13, was a long-time member of the Liberty Lobby, a John Birch offshoot, and he is receiving aid from a number of New Right organizations which have sprung up in recent years to carry the hue and cry of the Tax Revolt. Among these organizations are the National Taxpayers Union, National Tax Limitation Committee, American Legislative Exchange Council, TRIM (Tax Reform Immediately), and the Act Now! Committee, a creature of the American Conservative Union.

As has been pointed out by NEA Economist, L. Lazlo Ecker-Racz, "The years of increasing amounts of public resources at the disposal of elementary and secondary education is ending. Local restrictions on revenues from the property tax, limitation on the growth and aggregate level of taxes and expenditures at the state and local levels, and budgetary stringencies at the federal level -- all these factors point (to less money for public schools in the coming years)."

It is not only declining enrollments that may give public education a headache in the future. Teachers need to be alert to the propositions of the tax cutters and try to understand what is being advocated, whether such cuts are necessary, and what actions will be detrimental to public schools. One such proposition will surely be the proposal for a Constitutional Convention to balance the national budget.

#### WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF THE NEW RIGHT ON THE MINORITIES AND THE POOR?

As was pointed out earlier in a quote from Terry Herndon, the 60's and the early 70's was a period in which there were substantial new opportunities and programs for minorities, the poor, and the handicapped. They were numerous



## RESOURCES

The following resources were used in the preparation of this paper. These materials are on file in the IPD Office at MEA for anyone wishing to read further on the Right Wing.

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Crowley, Michael. "A First Amendment Right to Burn Books?" The Public Eye, Twin Cities, March 1979.

Downes, Allen, "Secular Humanism in the Public Schools." Speech, 1978.

Ecker-Racz, L. Laszlo, "Public Schools in the Wake of Proposition 13." Today's Education, April-May, 1979.

Group Research Report. Group Research, Inc., 419 New Jersey Avenue S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. (Any issue of this report will be informative).

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Kopkind, Andrew. "American's New Right." New Times, October 30, 1977.

International Association of Machinists. "Examining the Opposition's Tangled Web, Who's Who in the Right Wing." The Machinist, October 1977.

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McIntyre, Thomas, J. "People of Conscience -- Stand Up." "Issue on the Far Right Wing," Viewpoint, Second Quarter, 1978.

Park, J. Charles. "The Threat to Inquiry: A Look at Right Wing Critics of Education." Social Education, December, 1978

Puddington, Arch. "The Evolving Threat of the New Right." American Federationist, AFL-CIO, August, 1978.

Rhode, Robert T. "Is Secular Humanism the Religion of the Public Schools?" Unpublished Article.

Sand, Paul, O. "A Case Study Approach to the Constitutional Implications of Quasi Religious - Political Groups Censoring Educational Materials and Methods in the Public Schools." Monograph, Upper Midwest Division, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Sand, Paul, O. "Right-Fundamentalism: The Politics of Sin." Unpublished Article.

WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF THE NEW RIGHT ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM?

The New Right is a fundamental and dangerous threat to the health of the political institutions of this state and nation. It is a threat because its tactics prohibit reasonable dialogue on major issues, and it is dangerous because it employs, not only the "politics of polarization " to divide group against group but the "politics of intimidation " to silence those who oppose its positions. In these ways, it damages the democratic process.

Richard Viguerie is very frank about the New Right's long-range intention to draw conservatives away from the Republican Party, destroy that party and create a "new majority " by pulling alienated blue collar workers, urban ethnics, and other social conservatives away from the Democratic Party. Since a third party is not realistic at this point, however, the New Right is presently intent on taking over the Republican Party and plans to increase its numbers with dissident Democrats.

Paul Weyrich, National Director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, has said, speaking of the New Right, "We are different from previous generations of conservatives. We are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals working to overturn the present power structure in this country."

Another leader of this new movement, Howard Phillips, National Director of the Conservative Caucus, has declared, "We organize discontent...We must prove our ability to get revenge on people who go against us...We'll be after them, if they vote the wrong way. We're not going to stop after the vote's past."

"New Right" Not Traditional Conservatism

Senator McIntyre agrees that these groups are different from those made up of traditional conservatives. He says, "I know the traditional conservatives of my own state...they are people of honor, civility, and decency...The New

Right cannot comprehend how people of opposing viewpoints can find common ground and work together. For them, there is no common ground; and this, in my judgement, is the best indication of what they truly are -- radicals whose aim is not to compete with honor and decency, not to compromise when necessary to advance the common good, but to annihilate those they see as enemies."

These groups are growing powerful. They have frightened and harassed Congress and defeated much progressive legislation. In party politics, they have succeeded in installing their people in dozens of key local, state, and national party positions in both parties. Their election victories in November, 1978, solidified their core of activists in the House and Senate for at least the next two years.

They are here with us in Minnesota. Their issues, techniques, and strategies surfaced in last fall's election, and watching the legislature at work, citizens saw attacks on public education and advocacy for censorship of various kinds by a bi-partisan group of legislators calling themselves the Pro-life, Pro-family, Pro-decency Caucus.

#### Our Society "Free, Open, Pluralistic"

"We live," writes Senator McIntyre, "in a free, open, and pluralistic society, the kind of society in which issues of profound meaning to many citizens must be resolved in the public forum." We have methods of problem-solving, but if they are to work well, we must also have a problem-solving spirit. One ingredient of that spirit is an understanding that solutions to real problems that are defined differently by different groups within our society will rarely, if ever, wholly square with the views of any one group...but despite that the working of the democratic process, despite its imperfections, calls forth all the ingenuity of the human mind toward reaching accommodations that respect, as much as possible,



all the differing values of all the different moral systems within the community...Therefore, it appears to me that any who are willing to alienate half the citizenry of the country by insisting that their own truth must prevail in all respects do not assess the gift of freedom at its true price."

WHAT ARE NEA AND MEA DOING ABOUT THIS THREAT TO PUBLIC EDUCATION?

NEA has been the target of the Radical Right for many years. In 1965, Billy James Hargis, head of Christian Crusade, said:

"There is a master conspiracy loose in the world today headed by Satan himself.  
In the field of religion, the satanic conspiracy uses the National Council of Churches...  
In the field of education, the satanic conspiracy uses the National Education Association...  
In the field of politics, the satanic conspiracy uses the Americans for Democratic Action...  
In the field of race relations, the satanic conspiracy uses the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People..."

This quotation is an example of the unreasonable charges made against NEA by the Right over the years. As a result, the Association has for a long time been trying to explain and alert its membership and the public to the periodic and virulent attacks on it as an organization and on the public schools.

The latest such effort to educate NEA members was a conference held in Washington, D.C., on February 23-25, this year, entitled "Rise of the New Right: Human and Civil Rights in Jeopardy."

The Right's efforts in the areas of curriculum, textbooks, minority rights, privacy, affirmative action, taxes, collective bargaining, ERA and other women's issues were covered in provocative and well attended sessions. Representatives from all parts of the nation, including Alaska and Hawaii, were present.

The MEA followed suit with a conference of its own, "The New Right -- Its Impact on Education," at the Radisson Inn, Plymouth on May 4 and 5.

### NEA Rights "Problem"

Herndon asserts that the New Right considers NEA its "principal political obstacle" in its efforts to "roll back" educational opportunity.

"We are their problem," he says, " and the far right works diligently to besmirch our standing with the people. Their papers print tirades against NEA. In their publications, NEA leaders are characterized as 'slippery union officials' who are 'never at a loss for schemes' and our UniServ directors, 'union bosses' using 'strong-arm tactics.' Contributions to NEA-PAC are rendered 'extorted monies.'"

NEA and MEA have further plans for the education of teachers on the New Right threat through publications, meetings, drive-ins, and conferences. However, Herndon asserts these are not enough. While they are an important first step, what is really needed is enhanced political power for teachers and their organizations. Every teacher must become aware of this, Herndon believes, and help teacher groups achieve such power.

### WHAT CAN TEACHERS DO TO COMBAT THE NEW RIGHT?

1. Start small. Inform yourself and your colleagues. Try to get them interested in this subject of such vital concern to teachers. Distribute copies of this paper and other resources to your colleagues and urge them to inform themselves. Tell them the fate of public education and their own "bread and butter" may well be involved.
2. Arrange for speakers on the New Right and its issues within your own local, for your school administrators, school board, and local community leaders.
3. Contribute to NEA-PAC. Contribute to IMPACE. Remember effective political action costs money.
4. Work on local school board races. Search for good candidates, then support them with your skills and money.
5. Participate in your political party. If the New Right is to be overcome, it will have to be done politically. That means party work. Become a precinct worker, telephone canvasser, caucus attender, convention delegate, doorknocker, campaign organizer, money contributor -- whatever fits your time and energy. Your party needs you! You need your party!
6. Do something! Even a little. The threat is real. You are needed to confront it.



# The Far-Right Plan for 1980

*"All we want is a chance to run the country"*

BY SASHA LEWIS

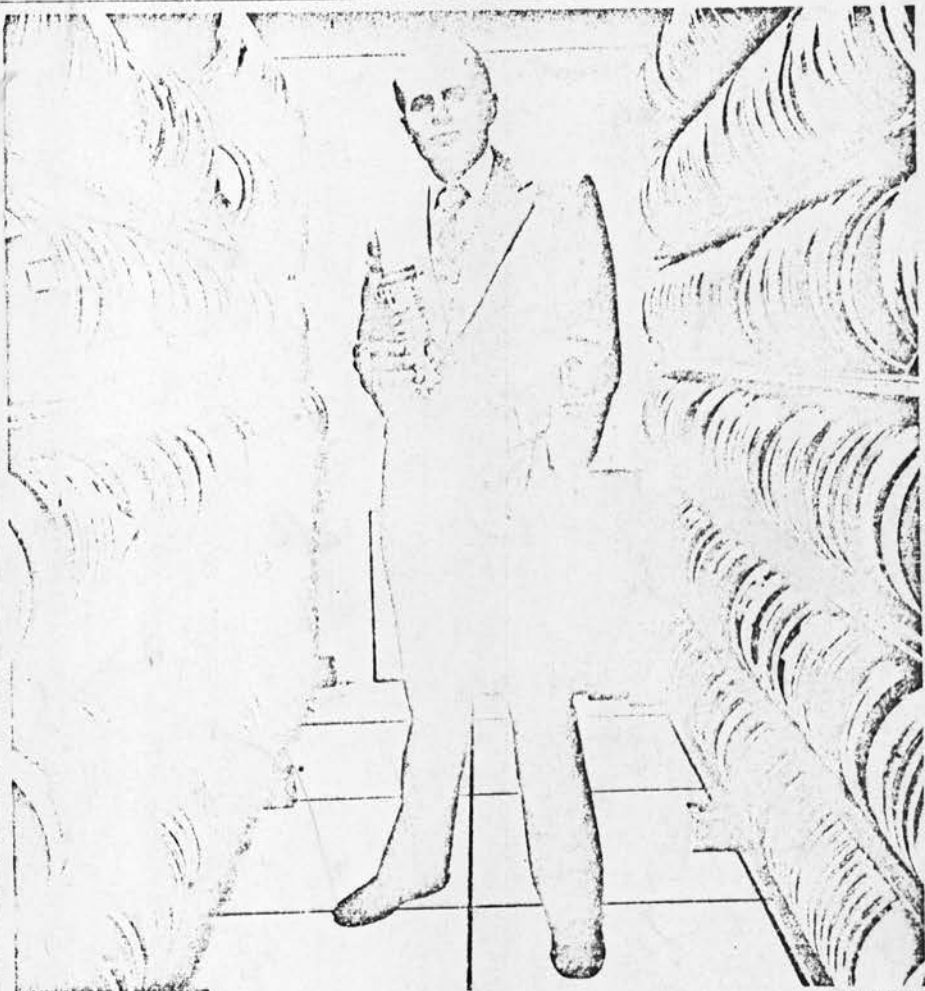
"All we want is a chance to run the country." It sounds like the name of a bad country-western tune, but it's the theme song of the New Right's operation to take control of Congress in 1980.

It all started in 1974 as Watergate was crashing around Nixon.

Three men—a deposed Nixon appointee from Harvard, a timid Texan, and a Colorado political tactician—launched a plan to save the nation for free enterprise, the Bible, and the memory of Senator Joe McCarthy. Howard Phillips was the man Nixon had chosen to dismantle the War on Poverty. Richard A. Viguerie had first gotten his political feet wet in Texas senator John Tower's early campaigns and had gone on to raise money for Young Americans for Freedom. (It was there that he discovered he was too timid to ask for money in person and began to solicit funds through direct mail.) The third member of the team was Paul Weyrich, who had arrived in Washington as a press aide to ultraconservative Colorado senator Gordon Allott and gone on, with backing from fellow Coloradan Joseph Coors, to create the Heritage Foundation—a right-wing "alternative" to the liberal Brookings Institution.

Their original plan called for a vigorous third-party effort rising from the ruins of the GOP and lead by a Reagan/Wallace ticket in 1976. The basis of the new party was to be an organization called The Conservative Caucus (TCC), directed by Phillips and funded by Viguerie's efforts. When Reagan and Wallace ended up going their separate ways in 1976, the three made a last-ditch effort to control a national political party in an attempted coup in the Wallaceite American Independent Party. The AIP showed the trio and their aides the door, and the dreams for a third party went underground. It was probably the best thing that could have happened for Phillips, Viguerie, and Weyrich, who have since come to be known as the troika behind the "New Right."

It was the worst thing that could have happened to liberals. Had the threesome succeeded in taking over the AIP or crea-



WIDE WORLD

Richard Viguerie, direct-mail wizard of the New Right.

ting a legitimate third party, it would have been much easier to follow their activities in the years to come. But like a snake (Viguerie likes to compare his direct-mail techniques to having a water moccasin as a watchdog: the snake is deadly and leaves no footprints), an underground third party leaves few tracks in the public record.

Viguerie had spent ten years creating the most extensive list of right-wing contributors in the nation, starting out, in 1964, by hand copying the names and addresses of the Goldwater contributors. He made a business out of his operation and kept on building his list from clients like Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, the Anti-Communist Book Club, John Ashbrook's 1972 race against Nixon, and

finally, in 1973, George Wallace. The Viguerie list, now handled by a 300-employee operation, numbers five million individual contributors to right-wing, conservative, and Christian causes. Within a few months in 1974 the Viguerie list raised \$250,000 for Paul Weyrich's new Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) and helped elect 15 percent of the victors in the '74 races.

On yet another front, North Carolina senator Jesse Helms in 1974 had inspired the creation of an outfit called the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), which organizes meetings of right-wing state legislators and drafts model legislation for right-wing causes.

By the end of 1974 the New Right had

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built the key components of a political party: a policy arm (the Heritage Foundation), a national campaign committee (CSFC), a grass-roots organizing committee to develop campaign volunteers and candidates (TCC), and a state legislative arm to groom candidates for higher office (ALEC). The operation also had a political strategy. Described by Howard Phillips as "organizing people's discontent," it was based on a three-pronged assault: (1) tough-minded political pragmatism—if an issue or campaign doesn't work, dump it and go on to something that does; (2) loyalty to issues before political parties; (3) a set of issues guided not by an overriding philosophy of government but by movements that stir passions in grass-roots Americans.

In 1975 the operation expanded significantly and began reaching out to single-issue "anti" constituencies: anti-gun-control, antibusing, anti-Communist, antitax, anti-ERA, and antiunion. Where there weren't special-interest organizations already spending money and organizing people for elections, the New Right created them. Where groups existed, the New Right tried coopting them. In addition, the New Right created a second national multi-issue political action committee, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). NCPAC has a milder

tone than CSFC's harsh anti-Communist line and is more attractive to contributors not yet ready to believe in the imminent takeover of government by Marxists.

By 1976 the New Right had helped to elect almost 25 percent of the U.S. House of Representatives. Amazingly, almost no one commented on the phenomenon—it was still tough to follow the water moccasin's path. But the New Right was well aware of its achievement. An early 1977 TCC flier proudly displayed a *Chicago Tribune* article that began with the statement, "A group of conspirators is meeting here this weekend to plan a takeover of the United States Congress through a 'guerrilla strategy.'" The same leaflet states TCC's goal: "1980—Conservatives Achieve Dominance Over the Policies of the U.S. Congress."

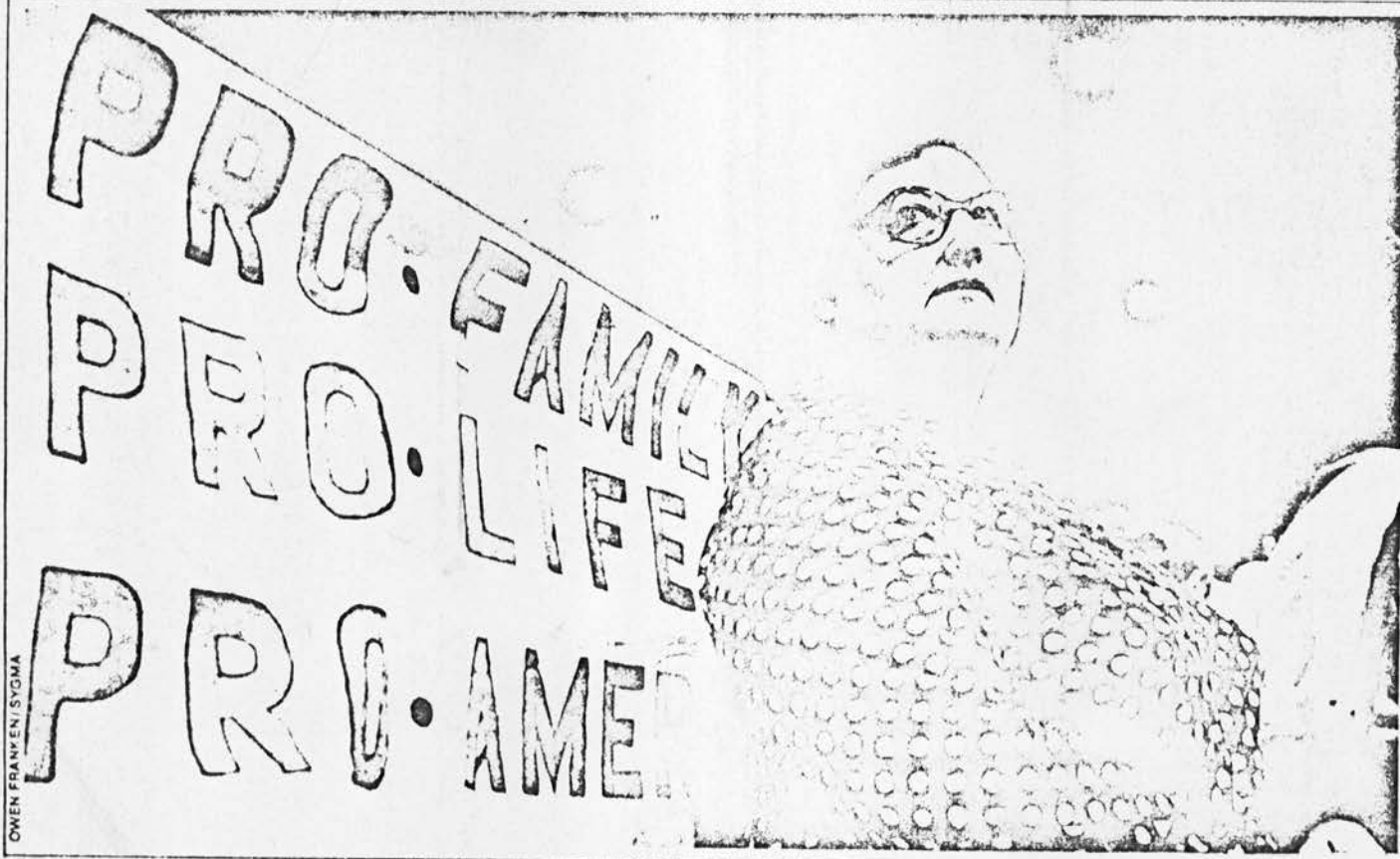
By the end of 1977, New Right Republicans had won upset victories in all three special elections for the U.S. House of Representatives: TCC organizer Arlan Strangeland in Minnesota's seventh district, which pundits felt was safely in Democrat-Farm-Labor party hands; John E. Cunningham in Washington's seventh district, which all observers had agreed was a safe Democratic district; and Robert Livingston was the first Republican to win in 104 years in Louisiana's first district. By the beginning of 1978 the New Right was

big news and reporters were swarming around Richard Viguerie, the New Right moneyman, for interviews. "All we want is a chance to run the country," Viguerie boasted to the *Charlotte North Carolina Observer*, "and that is beginning to happen."

In 1978 the New Right raised more money than either labor or big business. It scored several key upset victories and backed nearly 40 percent of the successful candidates in the U.S. House of Representatives. In early 1979, the New Right backed yet another special-election upset victory, Bill Royer, for the California seat left vacant by the slaying of Congressman Leo Ryan in Guyana.

As the numbers add up today, the New Right victories mean 168 members of the House who can generally be counted on to vote the New Right line on issues it considers important: against gun control, against school desegregation by busing, against affirmative action, against labor-law reform, and against abortion (Weyrich and Phillips are known to be extremists on so-called family issues—everything from gay rights to ERA and abortion. Viguerie, meanwhile, is never far from his Bible). Most of the 168 are Republicans, but there are a growing number of Democrats in the New Right camp.

New Right strength in the U.S. Senate



OWEN FRANKEN/ SYGMA



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has picked up as well due to their success in retaining right-wing senators in office and adding to their ranks through upset victories. There are now a minimum of 24 senators who will predictably vote the far-right line and six additional "conservatives." This is only four short of the number needed to block treaty ratification, and only eleven votes short of the margin needed to prevent cloture of a Senate filibuster, and stifle legislative action. Meanwhile, most of the remaining liberal senators are up for reelection in 1980 and are beginning to run scared.

New Right power in both houses of Congress is already dragging some moderates and even weak-kneed liberals down the right line on some votes. Just a few months ago Congress did what was once unthinkable: Both houses, by surprising margins, voted in favor of a legislative amendment that would allow prayer in public schools. On June 7, the Senate, where New Right strength is the weakest, cast 46 votes in favor of legislation that would have ended school busing.

New Right gains in Congress, thanks to the Federal Elections Commission, are fairly easy to tabulate. Success in the 50 state houses and legislatures is more difficult to measure because of the variety of campaign finance disclosure laws operative in the different states. But the New Right can claim at least two governors: John Dalton, elected in Virginia in 1977, and Massachusetts Democrat Edward King, elected in 1978. Another measure of New Right strength in the state houses is the fact that in 1979 two New Right groups, ALEC and Gun Owners of America, stopped the move to ratify the District of Columbia Representation Amendment dead in its tracks by promising to deliver 13 states that would enact resolutions opposing ratification.

But the trail of the underground third party is becoming harder to follow as the troika incorporates more of its own front organizations: tax-deductible research and education foundations to support the studies needed for congressional races and lobbying activities, tax-deductible public-interest legal corporations, countless local political action committees (one NCPAC employee claimed to have organized 75 of them in 1978 alone), national lobbies like the new American Life Lobby, and yet more national special-interest political-action committees. Meanwhile, former employees of CSFC have gone on to boost the operations of other far-right political organizations such as the Life Amendment PAC, which includes Paul Weyrich among its advisers and former CSFC staff member Barbara Baroody among its key em-

## SOME NEW RIGHT LEADERS AND ORGANIZATIONS TO WATCH IN 1980

**The Conservative Caucus (TCC):** Titular head: former New Hampshire governor *Melchior Thomson*, a member of the John Birch Society national council and possible candidate in 1980 either for the American Independent Party presidential slot or for the senate seat now held by Democrat John A. Durkin. (The National Conservative Political Action Committee [NCPAC] has already begun an out-Durkin media program.) Thomson, in 1978, had considered running for the U.S. Senate seat then held by Democrat Thomas McIntyre, but bowed out in favor of political neophyte and state TCC director *Gordon Humphrey*. (Humphrey went on to win an upset victory.)

Aside from his ties to TCC and NCPAC, South Dakotan *Dale Bell*'s drive for the Senate also benefits from an anti-McGovern campaign by the New Right's Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC).

Louisiana state representative *Louis "Woody" Jenkins*, another TCC organizer as well as a leader in the New Right's American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) may run against the more moderate Senator Russell B. Long in 1980. Jenkins made a good showing in the 1978 U.S. Senate race.

**Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC):** Among CSFC's advisers in the U.S. House of Representatives are: *Charles Grassley* (R-Iowa), whose speaking tours have included the "white right" organization Liberty Lobby; *Steve Symms* (R-Idaho), who has reportedly been a booster of the John Birch Society; *Lawrence P. McDonald* (D-Georgia), another member of the Birch Society's national council; and *Robert Dornan* (R-California), a lifetime morality crusader who, under public pressure, had to fire an aide who

had earlier worked for a Birch Society magazine.

Grassley may run against Iowa's Senator John Culver, a Democrat, in 1980. Culver is another on LAPAC's hit list and is reportedly already the target of NCPAC media attacks.

Symms may run against Idaho's Frank Church, another LAPAC (and NCPAC) target. (NCPAC was, in late spring, exploring an out-Church media campaign.)

McDonald, apparently discontented as a member of the lower house, may try running against the more moderate Senate incumbent, Herman Talmadge.

Dornan, meanwhile, may surface as an opponent to California Senator Alan Cranston, but there is already some competition for this honor.

**American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC):** Current ALEC chairman is *Woody Jenkins*. First vice chairman "is" *Donna J. Carlson*, a member of the Arizona House of Representatives and a regular Birch Society speaker. Second vice chairman is *H.L. "Bill" Richardson*, a California state representative, former Birch Society member, and head of the New Right's Gun Owners of America. Richardson made an ill-fated run against U.S. Senator Alan Cranston in 1974, and many Golden State natives expected him to make another try next year. However, Congressman John Rousselot has already announced for the seat and has gone so far as to drop his longstanding membership in the Birch Society in preparation. While Rousselot has remained aloof from the New Right, he has apparently struck a bargain with Richardson—Rousselot will try for the Senate, and Richardson will try for (and probably win) Rousselot's seat in Congress.

—S.L.

ployees. There's also an outfit called Christian Voice, one of whose key leaders is a former assistant CSFC director, David Troxler. Although CV calls itself a public-interest lobby and denies any ties to Richard Viguerie, its list of advisers is drawn entirely from the New Right ranks of Congress. Its avowed aim is organizing fundamentalist Christians and Mormons for political action on what it believes to be "moral" issues including abortion, inflation, and SALT II.

The New Right has grown so much it is difficult to label it, as did the *Chicago*

*Tribune*, a "conspiracy." Instead of a dozen or so right-wing leaders who met weekly beginning in 1976 to organize strategy and, in the words of Howard Phillips, "divide up the tasks to be done," the meetings now are reported to include from thirty to forty people. And the New Right congressional delegation, as it grows in size within both political parties, also grows more difficult to keep in line. *The New Right Report*, a kind of public house organ published by Viguerie, frequently lashes out at members who deviate from

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## HOSPITALS

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In Brooklyn, the \$200-million Woodhull hospital is also part of the great give-away. The hospital has been surrounded by controversy due to cost overruns, construction delays, and management problems. When it was finished, it cost anywhere from \$9 to \$50 million more than projected, and now the city says it can't afford to open the doors. On the 12-foot-high fence that surrounds the facility today, someone has scrawled, "We died waiting for Woodhull."

"Ten years the city spent building Woodhull and now they don't want to open it," says Maria Ruiz, who lives across the street and had hoped to use its outpatient clinics for herself and her three-year-old son. "They say it's too expensive—too good for poor people." But according to the Committee of Interest and Residents (CIR), Woodhull would cost no more to run than Cherkasky's Montefiore. Cherkasky again recommended that a consortium of private hospitals take over the most modern hospital in the city (alternatively, that the Justice Department use it as a prison or detention center for undocumented workers).

"The taxpayer is paying for those private hospitals anyway," says Ed Gluckman of CIR, "whether they pay in city, state, or federal taxes. And they're paying more because the privates—both nonprofit and profit-making—cost more to run."

"The people who'll suffer the most are the so-called working poor—those who make too much to qualify for Medicaid, but can't afford private insurance," Gluckman adds. "These people will just get sicker and sicker with no outpatient and no hospital care, until someone sees them bleeding on the floor at work and sends them home to die." Half the patients at New York's municipalities have no health insurance. These hospitals also provide 90 percent of all emergency services and half of all outpatient visits in New York.

The city has promised that more outpatient clinics will be opened in neighborhoods with hospital closings. "They don't mention that the clinics will be run by the city Health Department—whose budget has just been cut by \$4 million," claims Dr. Jonathan House, CIR's chair.

Dr. Samuel Wolfe thinks the reason the city hospitals should remain open has nothing to do with costs: "The answer is a simple-minded democratic response. At a time when more and more federal monies are being pumped into the health-care system, it makes more sense to make all hospitals publicly accountable." □

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the hard-core New Right line in their votes, threatening on occasion to replace them with true believers during the next election.

And, as the New Right expands, it becomes harder for journalists to trace the real activities of the operation. The New Right brought in two stunning upset victories in the 1978 Senate races: the defeat of Thomas McIntyre in New Hampshire and Dick Clark in Iowa. Reporters covering the races sought a simple explanation and blamed the upsets on the Right-to-Life movement. The antiabortionists indeed were instrumental in the strategy to oust the two senators, but their opponents—both advisers to Christian Voice—Gordon Humphrey, a New Hampshire TCC director, and Roger Jepsen were recruited by the New Right machine, financed by the New Right machine, and followed campaign strategies laid out by the New Right. To the surprise of no one familiar with the New Right as an underground third party, both Jepsen and Humphrey have become

## SUMMIT

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offense, and proposed that the U.S. participate in North-South reunification talks—a condition which the North has repeatedly rejected, and rejected once again. Carter also promised to review his plan to withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea, once again putting off fulfillment of his firm campaign promise. Also on the agenda, according to an informed source, was Japan's adherence to ANZUS, the pact uniting Australia, New Zealand, and the U.S.

The gloomy backdrop to all these plans was oil insecurities. Carter and O'Neill worked feverishly to prepare a united front against the Western Europeans when the full Tokyo summit began a day later. Much to the embarrassment of the Japanese prime minister, despite the flattering "linchpin" designation for Japan, President Carter joined the leaders of Italy, France, Britain, and West Germany for a final morning meeting before the official summit began on his own soil. As at this January's summit in Guadeloupe, Japan was left waiting worriedly at the door. This subordinate role was even more unsettling to Japanese leaders than the Guadeloupe snub for a second reason: In the face of American pressures, they had agreed to reduce their dependence on oil by increasing purchases of American coal from 25-million tons a year to 200-million by 1985; it is beginning to look as if rather than

key New Right leaders on a variety of issues ranging from opposition to recognition of the People's Republic of China and lifting economic sanctions against Rhodesia to favoring school prayer.

Early this year the New Right began its campaigns against some senators up for election in 1980, including George McGovern. An opponent, Dale Bell, former TCC organizer and NCPAC consultant is already campaigning in South Dakota. Meanwhile, NCPAC has launched a newspaper ad campaign against McGovern, depicting him handing over the United States to a Chinese soldier, reading, in part, "McGovern supports a sellout of Taiwan and the United States. Can you support a senator who would sell out your interests?" Alarmed, McGovern has declared the campaign against him to be the "work of a hard-core extremist."

But liberals should expect below-the-belt campaign tactics in 1980. As Paul Weyrich says, "We are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals, working to overturn the present power structure." □

obtaining security from one danger, they had become vulnerable to two.

Japan's leaders don't see many allies to choose from. The West Europeans, particularly France and West Germany, have a "survival strategy" based on "Eurafrica" and "Eurabia" initiatives and a willingness to collaborate with the Soviet Union. American and Japanese policy makers place their emphasis on a Pan-Pacific alliance which may include China.

In this context, the joint summit statement pledging limits on oil imports was little more than propaganda to appease rising domestic dissatisfaction in all five countries represented. The restrictions did not specify types of oil, which leaves a real possibility of bitter competition over light petroleum. The basic problems remain unresolved: inflation resulting from higher oil prices, more unemployment, further erosion of the value of the dollar in relation to stronger currencies (a tendency likely to be accelerated by the reluctance of OPEC nations to spend most of their new profits on American goods and securities). The result could be trade wars, aggravated by persistent stagflation, coupled with sharper conflict between developed and developing nations.

Negotiating this rocky road from the Tokyo summit will prove difficult for a global economic vehicle with seven engines, an iffy gas supply, and no driver. If a crash ensues, Japan's rulers may be grateful that they had this opportunity to test the efficiency of their police. □



## The New Right: What it means to Hispanic Interest

A major change became evident on the first day of the 1999 legislative session in New Mexico, when a coalition of Republicans and 11 conservative Democrats gained control of the House.

The consequences of this reorganization of power quickly became apparent. First, The Senate and House passed a "Right to Work bill." Then, funds for the governor's "Service Centers were halved." These service centers, located in six cities, gave ordinary citizens easy access to the state government and made state agencies more responsive to their needs. The centers are especially important to that state's Latino citizens, many of whom still feel ignored by a faceless bureaucracy. Now the slash in funding has caused three of the centers to be closed.

Unfortunately for Latinos, this setback and others may not be merely temporary. They reflect an increasing current of conservatism in the Southwest.

Last year, Texas elected a conservative Republican Governor.

② IN California, a conservative lieutenant governor.

IN ARIZONA, Governor Bruce Babbitt complains that he has been forced to veto many anti-Latino bills due to an "unholy" alliance among conservatives of both parties in the State legislature. ~~In New Mexico, Latino census population in 1990 was 400,000~~

③ IN San Diego it could be 1954 all over again. In a wave of McCarthy-era xenophobia 25 yrs. ago; Immigration and Naturalization Service and other law enforcement officials drew an alarming picture of a "brown tide" of undocumented workers from Mexico, sweeping into the U.S.; taking precious jobs away from legal residents, adding to the welfare rolls and generally threatening to shred the country's social fabric.



## N. R. undermines

1. Unions 2. social programs to assist minorities, the poor and other disadvantaged groups.

2 jeopardy 3. Title IX apposes changes that title IX would make in sex discriminatory curriculum and employment patterns.

affirmative action, busing. (fear of diverse people.)

hits at - social welfare programs for the aged, the infirmed, the disabled, the un-employed, and indigent. Ed. appor - for historically neglected

## old set of values

1. Cherishes perpetuation of priv cap't. more than the expansion of social enterprise and the collection of requisite taxes on wealth. order more than personal liberty.

\$1 million dollar lobby for television and radio is a very serious threat to by mind control through media.

Nat. Rt. to work: ① Hard hitting ad campaign against union articles ② judicial action: "Knight case" - It is Rt to work's effort to make sure that public employees may not band together and bargain with their employers.

If tax revenues fall because of economic stagnation or by deliberate legislative action, schools are first to suffer.